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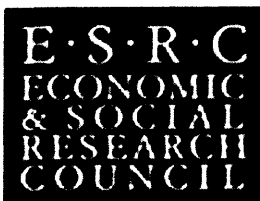


**SUBJECTIVE ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY OF  
WELSH IN THE CHUBUT PROVINCE, ARGENTINA**

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## **SUMMARY**

This thesis takes a sociolinguistic perspective regarding the Welsh in Patagonia, discussing the subjective perceptions held by Chubut Province residents of the vitality of the Welsh language and culture in their surroundings.

Drawing upon the theories and taxonomy of Vitality, suggested by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), a questionnaire was developed to uncover the subjective perceptions of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province. This questionnaire was distributed between September and November 2004 in seven urban areas, with 369 completed questionnaires being returned by inhabitants of these municipalities. The distribution of the questionnaires included a wide cross-section of society to reflect perceptions of the strength of the Welsh language amongst the society as a whole and not just the 'Welsh community'. The concept of a 'Welsh community' in the Chubut Province is problematised in the thesis, with informants self-reporting their affiliation and fluency in oral Welsh.

Analysis of the questionnaire results has shown generally positive trends in informants' responses, suggesting that Welsh in the Chubut Province has medium strength vitality, a stronger than might be expected finding. Factor analysis uncovered seven different factors. Further analysis of these factors through Oneway ANOVA and Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered significant differences in responses uncovered in relation to the informants' location, their self-reported affiliation to the 'Welsh community' and their self-reported fluency in oral Welsh and. Some significant differences existed in responses according to the informants' age, although fewer than had been predicted.

Additionally, ten focus-group style interviews were held with members of the 'Welsh community' in the Chubut Province. These interviews suggest opportunities for further development or re-working of the ethnolinguistic vitality concept, with informants noting the importance of tourism, transnationality and the wider linguistic economy in determining the ethnolinguistic vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province.

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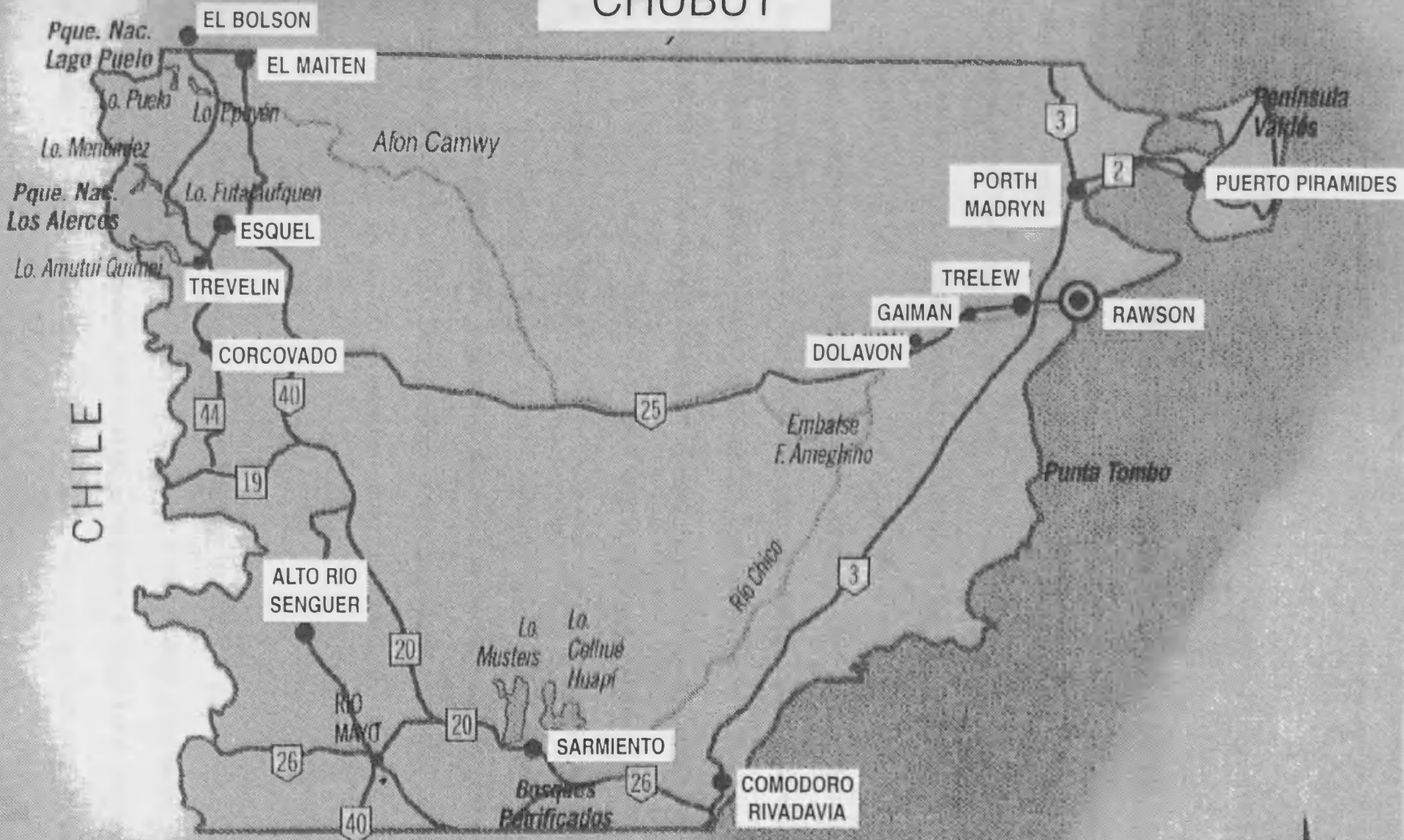
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# CHUBUT



Source: Williams, C. (2000) *Madryn dy boced*



## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 A personal preface**

Since the ship *Mimosa* departed Liverpool Docks with a little more than 150 passengers in 1865, the history of the Welsh in Patagonia is a subject that has become part of folklore in Wales. My personal journey towards conducting research regarding the present-day perceptions of the Welsh language and culture in the region colonised by the Welsh is one which is not quite as exotic, but nevertheless memorable.

My family background is predominantly English on one side and Irish on the other, all brought to Wales by the class and identity-forging experiences of the Industrial Revolution in South Wales. The language at home was English, the only one spoken by my parents. It was through the Welsh language that I learned at school during my teenage years that I first came into contact with the story of the Welsh emigration to Patagonia or '*Y Wladfa*' ('the Colony') in Welsh. A touring play visited a local school and I was invited along to watch the drama of this Welsh colonisation unfold. My memories of the event are hazy. I didn't understand much, the Welsh being far too complicated, and I was left to infer happenings from the actions of the actors – perhaps the purest form of watching drama. Over time, my Welsh improved and I began to use the language beyond the academic sphere long before I left school.

Having learnt Welsh, I developed an interest in language learning and this led me out from Wales to London where I studied Dutch at university. It was through these studies that I became interested in sociolinguistics, the social use of language. Amongst the courses related to language learning, politics, history and literature, was my official introduction to

sociolinguistics, discussing the position of the Fries language within the Netherlands (which I immediately compared with the situation of Welsh in Wales), the fight for linguistic rights for Dutch speakers in Belgium, the ongoing linguistic change in Brussels, dialectology of the Netherlands and linguistic developments in Dutch in the former colonies, the creation of Dutch-based creole and pidgin languages in South and Central America and South Africa.

It was this last subject that engaged my interest as I sought, once again, to make the comparison with the Welsh colonial situation, especially to find what was happening in the present day in these areas. It was during these attempts to find academic material written about the Welsh in Patagonia from a sociolinguistic perspective that this doctoral thesis was born. It was clear from the limited research available at this time (2001-02) (discussed in greater detail in chapter two) that there was a need for more research about the present day Welsh in the Chubut Province, the name given to the province that includes the area colonised by the Welsh in the late nineteenth century. My research interests in this field are related to language attitudes. I am interested in how people within the Welsh community perceive the strengths of Welsh language and Welsh culture, and how this is perceived by those who are outside of the Welsh community. I am interested in discovering the future prospects of Welsh in this region, believed to be the most successful Welsh colony in terms of the maintenance of Welsh language and culture. This thesis moves forward from this point, with a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the content explained below.

## **1.2. Contents of the thesis**

The opening chapter establishes the context in which this thesis is written. The history of the Welsh in the Chubut Province is briefly explained, followed by a description of the Welsh linguistic and cultural events that take place in this region. The results of a 2004 report on the

teaching of Welsh in the Chubut Province are noted in depth to explain the situation regarding the teaching of the Welsh language in this region. The focus then shifts to the relationship between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province, where concepts such as diaspora and transnationality are foregrounded.

The second chapter is a review of previously written academic literature. The chapter begins with an introduction to relevant sociolinguistic concepts, with description of different linguistic phenomena encountered with minority languages that may be relevant to the situation of the Welsh in the Chubut Province. These include ideas such as diglossia and bilingualism, language death, theories of language ecology, minority language rights and suggestions regarding reversing language shift. The focus then moves to the previous academic sociolinguistic research that has taken place on the Welsh in the Chubut Province. There are several major studies on this topic, specifically those by Glyn Williams, Robert Owen Jones and by Cecilia G. de Glanzmann and Ana Virkel de Sandler. These pieces of research span several decades and provide an academic context to the thesis by profiling previous work and illustrating the direction which this thesis will take in developing the previous research. Finally, the previous sociolinguistic ideas and research feed into a discussion on ethnolinguistic vitality, the method chosen as how to best capture the modern-day position of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province.

Chapter three, the methodology chapter, explains how the research was carried out. There is a brief discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, both of which are used in this thesis in a mixed-methodology survey. I then pose the research questions to be answered by this thesis. The development of the questionnaire instrument is explained as are the independent variables and the sampling

techniques. Similarly, the development of the focus groups used in the qualitative part of the survey is explained as are the sampling techniques employed.

Chapter four is the quantitative analysis chapter, where the main findings of this research are set out. Once collected, the questionnaire data was entered into SPSS14 (Statistics Package for Social Scientists) and a factor analysis was conducted as a means to order the data. Further analysis concentrates on the five factors that explain most variance in the data. These factors relate to the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, vitality shift and cultural importance of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, institutional support for Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, and, finally, participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Province. These five factors are analysed in order to address the research questions and are each followed by a brief discussion of the major roles.

Chapter five features the analysis of the qualitative data. The intention is not to triangulate with the results discussed in chapter four, but to further develop concepts related to vitality that are not part of the quantitative data. This data will allow informants from the Welsh community in the Chubut Province to explain their perceptions regarding the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province while, at the same time, promoting a greater discussion of the variables that make up ethnolinguistic vitality.

Chapter six concludes the thesis by drawing together the various strands that have been present throughout. It answers the research questions that were posed in chapter three and that informed the choices of methodology in chapter three, as well as the analysis of data in chapters four and five. The position of Welsh in the Chubut Province is discussed with

reference to the findings of chapters four and five, with relevant discussion based upon the theories noted in chapters one and two about the international links with Wales and minority languages in general. The findings of this piece of research and suggestions for the development of the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality are made in this section, based on the limitations noted in chapter three and the findings of chapter six. Methodological problems encountered in carrying out this research are noted and suggestions made for future research on the Welsh in the Chubut Province.

### **1.3 History of the Welsh in the Chubut Province**

This section will briefly explain the historical circumstances of the Welsh in the Chubut Province with reference to the concept of vitality, an idea that will be explained in greater idea and critically analysed in section 2.3. Here, vitality will refer to the objective vitality or strength held by the Welsh language, which is related to the strength of the Welsh ethnic community. The term Welsh ethnic community is not unproblematic. In the early days of the colony when there was a clear in- and out-group (for more information, see section 1.4.1), the in-group consisted primarily of migrants from Wales. However, the end of migration from Wales and the integration of this group into the wider society have led to a Welsh ethnic community marked largely by the practice of Welsh language and culture, with members of Welsh ethnic background able to leave the community and those not of Welsh background able to join the community.

The mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of unprecedented emigration from Wales, most commonly to North America (A. Jones and B. Jones, 2001). However, there were concerns in Wales that this emigration ultimately led to the loss of the Welsh language amongst emigrants, replaced with English due to the need to integrate, and to the loss of religious and cultural values. The

suggested solution to this loss of language, religion and culture was the founding of a colony distant from any other settlements, thereby obviating the need to integrate with other ethnic groups and allowing Welsh language and values to flourish unhindered. A number of suitable locations were considered (I. Jones, 1934), but those organising the venture eventually decided upon the River Chubut region of Argentina where they were promised land by the Argentinean government in return for claiming Argentine sovereignty over the region (Owen, 1977). There was no permanent settled population in this region of Argentina, although nomadic tribes used the Chubut region on a seasonal basis.

The first colonists left from Liverpool in May 1865, arriving at the modern-day Puerto Madryn on 28<sup>th</sup> July (see page viii for a map of the Chubut Province). There is commonly claimed to have been 153 members of this original group, but modern estimates (McDonald, 1999: 218-20) suggest that in total there may have been 159, 161 or 164 in the party. The colonists had been poorly prepared for the economic situation they faced in Patagonia, but, after several years of near-starvation, better farming methods were introduced which allowed the colony to survive and allowed the integration of more immigrants from Wales (Owen, 1977). The population of the colony doubled between 1874 and 1876 when nearly 500 new immigrants arrived from Wales and grew significantly again with 300 new immigrants in the mid-1880s. The growth in population was accompanied by large-scale public works such as the growth of the canal irrigation network in the 1870s to open up larger tracts of land for farming. Another example is the building of the rail network in the 1880s to allow quicker and cheaper transport of crops from the River Chubut to the Puerto Madryn coast. There had been a smaller increase in immigration in 1880, but in general immigration to the region remained small until after the turn of the century. It then increased significantly for a brief period before the end of emigration from Wales to the Chubut in 1912. In total, the

immigration into the Chubut region from Wales was no more than 3,000 people in this period from 1865 to 1912 (G. Williams, 1991: 41). However, emigration in the Chubut was not always intended as a final destination. Many people returned to their homes in Wales or kept in contact with their families, sending their children to school in Wales (Green, 1984: 5), studying at a higher level (R.B. Williams, 1942: 5; 1944: back cover) or for extended visits (V. Jones, 1985: 96). Between 1865 and 1912, towns were formed at Puerto Madryn on the coast, Rawson, Trelew and Gaiman along the course of the River Chubut. In the Cordillera de los Andes area 600km to the west of the Atlantic Coast, the towns of Trevelin and Esquel were formed. The town of Dolavon was later founded in the Chubut Valley.

Although receiving economic and political support from the Argentinean government, the Welsh settlement in the Chubut Valley was largely independent and self-sufficient and therefore high in vitality. The Welsh developed their own education system, forms of local government, religious buildings and developed an economic company to organise their business interests. A local Welsh language newspaper, *Y Dravod*, was published on a regular basis. However, this privileged position of the Welsh language was not allowed to continue by the national government who introduced linguistic regulation into the state schooling system. In 1893 there had been five state schools, of which two taught in Welsh and three in Spanish, and five private schools all teaching in Welsh. However, it was made law in 1896 that all state schools should teach through Spanish and three years later all schools were under the control of the government and therefore teaching in Spanish (R.O. Jones, 1996: 1-2). At this time, the population of the region was predominantly Welsh, but in-migration from Wales itself ended in 1912 and prior to that there was outward migration from the Chubut to a new colony being founded in Saltcoats, Canada (Wilkinson, 2004) and to a new colony in the Rio Grande region of Argentina (Nozzi and Edelstein de Itzkow, 1967; Baudi, 1999).



This was in contrast to consistent in-migration from Spanish speakers who began to make up a greater percentage of the local population and held a special status as speakers of the national language (G. Williams 1991: 252). This gave added vitality to the out-group and militated against the vitality of the Welsh ethnic group.

For much of the period between the turn of the century and the 1930s, Welsh and Spanish held similar economic positions in Chubut social life and vitality, but this was to change during the mid-twentieth century. It was during the 1930s that Welsh began to lose its status in the region, and therefore, its vitality, due to being under pressure from immigration of Spanish speakers and inter-group marriages that gave priority to Spanish as the national language (G. Williams, 1991: 252). Argentina's increasing industrialisation led to improved methods of wheat and alfalfa production, the Chubut's main exports, in the hinterland surrounding Buenos Aires. These traditional markets suddenly became closed to the Welsh farmers as those in the national capital developed cheaper crops produced closer to the city and therefore without the expensive travel costs. Additionally, investments made through stocks and shares suddenly became worthless in the international economic stock exchange crashes. Industrialisation in the Chubut, especially in the Trelew region, prompted greater immigration from monoglot Spanish speakers into the towns, making the urban areas more Spanish than before and making the Welsh language connected largely with agriculture. As a result of these changes, the Welsh community lost a great deal of their economic and political influence and this hastened an already clear shift towards Spanish in place of Welsh in the Chubut (G. Williams, 1991: 253-256).

After World War Two, and with Argentina under military control, the Welsh language in the Chubut did not appear strong, especially with the introduction of government policy that

promoted a monolingual, mono-cultural country. The closure of the Welsh teaching secondary school in 1947 meant that the Welsh language was no longer being taught as a written language in the province. The language was therefore only supported through the domains of the family and the Welsh churches (see section 2.2), although the *Y Dravod* newspaper continued to be published at irregular intervals. Spanish has become the lingua franca of the Chubut communities, with Welsh used only amongst Welsh speaking families and in religious circles (G. Williams, 1991: 253-256). However, the centenary celebrations of the founding of the colony in 1965 saw a shift towards recognition of the importance of the Welsh role in the region as the people who colonised the Chubut (Brooks, 2005). This re-assessment of the importance of the Welsh led to an improvement in status for the Welsh ethnic group and maintenance of Welsh culture in the region, and therefore an increase in their vitality.

Use of the Welsh language in the Chubut appears to have risen during the first half of the 1990s (R.O. Jones, 1996: 1). There appears to be a growing interest in the language and Welsh culture amongst the inhabitants of the region, reflective of curiosity regarding the origins of the original settlers, greater freedoms allowed since the restoration of democracy to Argentina and devolution of powers to individual provinces. This growth in use and interest points to a growth in vitality for Welsh in recent years.

Since the beginning of the early 1990s a number of native Welsh speaking teachers have visited the region to promote the language. Originally this was carried out by retired teachers, but following a report by Professor Robert Owen Jones of Cardiff University, this was integrated into a formal plan to promote the Welsh language in Argentina sponsored by the Welsh Office, now the Welsh Assembly Government, and by the British Council (see section

1.5). There are now three teachers sent to the province for one year, covering different regions of the Chubut. These teachers have the responsibility for teaching at various levels, including adult learners and school age learners, as well as being foci for Welsh language activities in their towns and villages. The Welsh cultural festival, the *Eisteddfod*, remains at the centre of Welsh language life in the Chubut. The main *Eisteddfod del Chubut* (Chubut Eisteddfod) is held on an annual basis in Trelew at the end of October, while there is also an *Eisteddfod de la Juventud* ('Youth Eisteddfod') held in Gaiman in September and regional Eisteddfod in Trevelin in the Andes and in Puerto Madryn (see section 1.4.3. for more information about the Eisteddfod). Unlike the National and *Urdd* (a youth organisation) Eisteddfod in Wales, these are bilingual events designed to attract Spanish speakers to Welsh culture and the language. Other methods of promoting the Welsh language include the nursery formed in Gaiman a little over ten years ago and providing basic instruction in Welsh for children between the ages of two and five for between three and five hours a week, dependent upon their age (R.O. Jones, 1996: 15-16). This has been followed by the foundation of other nurseries in other towns such as Trelew and Trevelin. The language is taught as a school subject across the Gaiman region.

#### **1.4 Profile of the Chubut Province**

This section includes a brief profile of the Chubut Province as I experienced it during my research period from July to November 2004. This includes further contextualisation of the position of the Welsh in the Province and the ethnic groups that reside there. It also includes descriptions of the different municipalities in the Chubut Province and their links to the Welsh community. These locations are 28 de Julio, Dolavon, Gaiman, Puerto Madryn, Rawson and Trelew in the Chubut Valley region of the province, and Esquel and Trevelin in the Cordillera de los Andes. Brief mention is also made of Comodoro Rivadavia, further to

the south of the Province (see map on page viii). There will also be a brief description of the major events of the Welsh calendar – the *Gŵyl y Glaniad* (la Fiesta del Desembarco, Landing Festival) celebrations of 28<sup>th</sup> July and the two main Eisteddfod, namely the Eisteddfod de la Juventud, which takes place in Gaiman in September and the Eisteddfod del Chubut in Trelew in October. Descriptions are made in alphabetical order, according to locations in the Chubut Valley, the Cordillera de los Andes and then Comodoro Rivadavia. The purpose of these descriptions is to provide an understanding of the level of vitality held by Welsh in each location and the link between specific events and linguistic and cultural maintenance of Welsh.

#### **1.4.1 Language and ethnic self-description in the Chubut Province**

The Chubut Province has a varied population of many different ethnic groups. Although the Welsh were the first ethnic group to permanently settle in the region, there were indigenous tribes, such as the Tehuelche and the Mapuche, who visited the region on a seasonal basis. Since the arrival of the Welsh colonists, there has been immigration into the region from various ethnic groups, including Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Portuguese, Basques and Poles amongst others. There are no monolingual Welsh speakers and, with the exception of recent emigrants from Wales, all members of the Welsh ethnic group hold a dual ethnicity as Argentineans of Welsh extraction. Most members of the Welsh community can lay claim to a number of ethnic identities as a result of mixed marriages that have taken place in the past century (Brooks, 2005). This inter-relationship between communities makes it difficult to distinguish in- and out-groups as the majority of residents in the region hold sometimes competing and sometime complementary group memberships.

Spanish is the common language of everyday usage in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions and it is assumed that with the few exceptions of recent immigrants from Wales, all permanent residents have communicative fluency in Spanish. There are no available statistics to indicate the number of Welsh speakers in the region, but it is believed that the number of Welsh speakers as a percentage of the region population of 400,000 people is very low, probably no more than 1% of the population (see Table 1.1 for population of the Chubut according to different locations). There has been a clear failure in the intergenerational transmission of the Welsh language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (explained in greater detail in section 2.2). Some speakers of Welsh are willing to converse in the language to illustrate that it remains in use but other speakers, perhaps recalling an era in which the Welsh language had low status, are apparently unwilling to use Welsh in public. This makes a firm number of Welsh speakers difficult to gauge because some informants may deliberately inflate their claimed knowledge of the language to gain acceptance as a Welsh speaker. Others may conceal their ability to speak Welsh in order to 'pass' more easily as a native Spanish speaking resident (Piller, 2002).

It is easier to trace the genealogy of the Welsh ethnic group but there are again no confirmed figures of the modern day residents of the Chubut Province descended from the Welsh settlers. At its highest, the Welsh ethnic group is not more than between 5-10% of the total regional population being surveyed. The number of people claiming a Welsh ethnic identity through genealogy is therefore a linguistic and ethnic minority of no great number. Furthermore, these figures presuppose that any genealogical link with the Welsh implies an ethnic identification with the Welsh group, whereas (as noted above) an individual may have a number of competing or complementary ethnic self-identifications of which Welsh is only one. Individuals may therefore not rate their link to the Welsh community as being greater

than to any other minority ethnic group present in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. In contrast, residents of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera who have no direct genealogical link with the Welsh community may ‘opt-in’ to the community because of a perceived status of the Welsh community, including it as an addition to their own personal identity.

Location	Population
28 de Julio/ Tir Halen	489
Dolavon	3,014
Gaiman	6,057
Puerto Madryn/ Porth Madryn	61,401
Rawson (inc Puerto Rawson and Playa Union)	27,663
Trelew	92,241
Esquel	29,879
Trevelin	6,725
Comodoro Rivadavia	140,075

*Table 1.1: Estimate of population of major locations in the Chubut Province (2004)*  
Source: Centro de Documentación y Difusión de la Provincia del Chubut, Rawson

#### **1.4.2 Locations in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

The Welsh were the founders of modern day society in the Chubut Valley area, founding the urban areas of Puerto Madryn on the Golfo Nuevo and Rawson, Trelew, Gaiman and Dolavon along the River Chubut. The Welsh also founded Trevelin and played a key role in the founding of Esquel in the Cordillera de los Andes region. Both the Chubut Valley (‘Dyffryn Camwy’ in Welsh) and Cordillera areas are in the modern-day Chubut Province. Welsh migrants also founded the town of Tir Pentre on the island of Choele Choel in the Rio Grande province in 1902 (Nozzi and Edelstein de Itzkow, 1967; Baudi, 1999). The town is now known as Luis Beltran. There are Welsh communities in Comodoro Rivadavia, which is part of the Chubut Province, Bariloche and the national capital, Buenos Aires. Here, only the locations in the Chubut Province will be discussed.

## **28 de Julio / Tir Halen**

Named in both Spanish and Welsh, *28 de Julio* ('28<sup>th</sup> of July') and *Tir Halen* ('Salt Land'), this is the smallest community involved in the study, with fewer than 1,000 permanent residents in the small urban area and surrounding farmland. The town was officially recognised by the *Comision de Fomento* ('Board of public works') of 28 de Julio in 1931. 28 de Julio was given its name by the authorities in memory of the day of arrival of the Welsh colonists in 1865. Comision de Fomento de 28 de Julio promote their Welsh heritage through large signposts advertising the location of chapel Bethel, Tir Halen, and sponsorship of a Welsh young learners' page in the *El Regional* newspaper. A museum of the history of the village in 28 de Julio pays significant attention to the role of the Welsh in the founding of the area. Because of its size, 28 de Julio does not appear on the provincial map on page viii, but is located a few kilometres to the south of Dolavon.

## **Dolavon**

Dolavon is the second smallest of the locations under investigation in this study, with a population of approximately 2,000 including a rural population on nearby farms along the Chubut River. Dolavon was first inhabited during the nineteenth century during the initial Welsh occupation, but experienced population growth during the early twentieth century, leading to local government through the formation of the *Municipalidad de Dolavon* ('Dolavon town council') in 1919. The most obvious Welsh influence is the many chapels which were built in the region. There are five in this area, including Bethesda, Carmel, Ebenezer, San David and Glan Alaw. Of these, monthly services in Welsh are offered in Carmel, which is located in the centre of Dolavon, and Bethesda, which is located on a farm

between Gaiman and Dolavon. Recently, Glan Alaw chapel has been re-built as part of the Welsh Chapel Renovations Project. Welsh lessons in the area are taught at the William C. Morris secondary school from beginners to advanced levels through the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5 for more information).

## **Gaiman**

Gaiman is generally considered to be the urban area in the Chubut which has most attachment to Welsh language and culture (R.O. Jones, 1976; Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981; Plwm, 1992). It has a population of approximately 6,000, including the farms which surround the town. The region surrounding Gaiman was amongst the first areas to be colonised by the Welsh upon arrival, the town being founded in 1874. Following the introduction of state sponsored national Spanish-language education, *Coleg Camwy* ('Camwy College') was founded as a trilingual intermediate school in 1906 in the town (see section 1.3). The school still retains its position in the Welsh community, with a number of staff fluent in the language and a large (albeit infrequently used) library of Welsh language books. The school also teaches Welsh as a second language to its pupils as part of the curriculum. Welsh is also taught to more than 200 primary school age pupils in the Gaiman region, as well as adult education classes which have been in place since 1991 (see section 1.5). Some of these classes are taught by teachers from Wales, others by local tutors.

Gaiman is a tourist location, with many visitors arriving in the town for 'Welsh tea', a service of tea, savoury items and cakes. There are seven such tea shops whose interior decoration, waitresses and advertisements reflect their Welshness. Although these tea-shops are commercial in nature and intended for tourists, many special events in Gaiman are celebrated



with a 'Welsh tea'. Gaiman is also the home to a Welsh museum, located in the former railway station. The museum is an historical monument to the Welsh founders of the region, with materials presented bilingually in Spanish and Welsh. The town is also renowned for its choral singing with the Gaiman Music School prominent in both of the major Eisteddfod (a Welsh cultural festival) in the Chubut (see section 1.4.3) and many concerts held throughout the year. The chapel still plays a major role in Welsh community life in the region, with *yr Hen Gapel* (la capilla vieja, 'the Old Chapel') used as a community centre and fortnightly Welsh language services in Bethel Chapel in the town. Other Welsh chapels in the Gaiman region include Salem, Bryn Gwyn, Bryn Crwn and Drofa Dulog. Of these, monthly Welsh language services are held in Bryn Crwn. Gaiman is the location of the annual Eisteddfod de la Juventud which takes place in September, attracting nearly 1,000 participants and visitors, mostly local, but also including others from Comodoro Rivadavia, Puerto Madryn and the Andes.

### **Puerto Madryn / Porth Madryn**

Puerto Madryn ('Porth Madryn' in Welsh) now claims 28 July 1865 as the day of its founding, thereby making the town of approximately 60,000 people the oldest urban area in the region. As the site of the landing of the first Welsh colonists in the Chubut, Madryn has a special place in the history of the colony, reflected in the Welsh Interpretative Centre which can be found at the location of the Welsh arrival, *Puntas Cuevas* ('Caves Point'). The Oceanography Museum in the centre of Madryn also has a permanent exhibition dedicated to the Welsh. Along the promenade, there is a large statue dedicated to Welsh women that dominates the skyline as residents and tourists walk towards the sea. However, despite this historical position of the city, the economy and self-image of Madryn is perhaps the least Welsh of all of the urban areas in this study. From an industry perspective, Madryn is the

home of the only aluminium plant in Argentina while tourists from all over the world visit the city to see the whales which reside in the waters close to nearby Peninsula Valdes. There are small classes of Welsh taught in the city, with advanced classes taught by tutors from Wales and beginners' classes taught by local tutors. There is a Welsh association based in the city. Aside from the increasing number of celebrations which go hand in hand with the public holiday of the city's founding and 28<sup>th</sup> July, a local Eisteddfod, the *Eisteddfod Mimosa* ('Mimosa Eisteddfod', named after the boat of the original settlers), was held in 2004 at the local university, which was also the location of the International Conference on the Welsh in Patagonia, a biennial academic conference. A new estate in the fashionable southern end of the town pays homage to the city's Welsh history, with streets named after famous Welsh figures from the colonisation of the Chubut.

## **Rawson**

Rawson is the provincial capital of the Chubut, despite its 22,000 population being comparatively smaller than other cities in the Chubut Province. Nearby *Puerto Rawson* ('Rawson Port') and *Playa Union* ('Union Beach') have both been included in the urban region of Rawson, leading to a total population of 26,500 people. Rawson was founded by the Welsh settlers in 1865, and was named *Trerawson* ('Rawsontown') after the Argentinean government minister who assisted the Welsh colonisation of the region. The Welsh form, *tre* ('town'), has been dropped from common usage. It is the site of one of the oldest Welsh chapels, Capel Berwyn, which is located on the western side of the town. The chapel is now only used on special occasions. There were previously Welsh language classes given in the town under the aegis of the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5), but these appear to have come to an end due to a lack of interest. Museums in the town, including the City Museum and the Salesian Museum both pay homage to the role of the Welsh in

founding the region. Street names such as J.C. Evans and Plaza Elizabeth Adams also note the early influence of the Welsh in the town. The seaside resort of Playa Union and the port, Puerto Rawson, show little Welsh influence. Perhaps the most Welsh area of Rawson is the farmland between the town and Trelew to the west. A tea-house is advertised here, while there is a memorial to the chapel, *Tair Helygon* ('Three Willows'), which once stood on one of the main roads between the provincial capital and the city.

### **Trelew**

With a population of around 90,000 people, Trelew is the most highly populated city in the Chubut Valley, acting as an economic and cultural magnet for the smaller centres of population nearby (Rawson, Gaiman and Dolavon). Founded in 1886 as a railway junction, the city grew significantly in importance after the floods of 1899-1903 and then after a wave of in-migration between 1955 and 1975 (Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981). Trelew remains an important centre of Welsh life, most notably with the hosting of the Eisteddfod del Chubut every year. There are two Welsh chapels in the city, both of which are in use. The *Tabernacl* ('Tabernacle') in the centre of the city features fortnightly services in Welsh which alternate with Spanish language services. Moriah, further to the south, alongside the River Chubut, holds a symbolic importance as the burial place of many of the original colonists and for that reason was chosen as one of the first Welsh chapels to be restored under the Welsh Chapel Restoration Project. The chapel was re-opened for use in August 2004. Alongside the chapel, the *Asociación San David* (Cymdeithas Dewi Sant, 'Saint David's Association') also acts as a centre for Welsh community life in Trelew. The Association was founded in 1892, and in 1913 built San David, a multi-purpose building in the centre of the city. At present, the building includes a small Welsh library and information centre for tourists, an office used by the Eisteddfod committee for their organisation, a small theatre space used for concerts and

rehearsals and a larger salon which the Welsh community use for dinners. Welsh classes are taught at all levels, from a daily nursery in operation at the Tabernacl for youngsters, up to advanced literary classes. A Welsh folk dancing group, *Gwanwyn* ('Spring'), has been in existence for twenty years with varying numbers of participants at different ages. Trelew also has a monthly *Cylch Lenyddol* ('Literary Circle') in which Welsh literature is discussed, often with guest readings from visiting Welsh authors or preparing the way for future visitors with readings from their work. The city museum, housed in the former railway station, features a history of the Welsh in the city. Outside the museum is a monument to the hundredth anniversary of the Welsh arrival in the Chubut, alongside a park named *Plaza Centenario* ('Centenary Square'). In the centre of the park is a mural depicting the Welsh building of the city and a statue of Lewis Jones, after whom the city Trelew is named.

## **Esquel**

Esquel is the most populated urban area in the Andes Cordillera in the Chubut Province with a population of 28,000 people. Skiing is the major industry for the local area, and the town has a large number of tourists during the winter months. The town was founded in 1906. Esquel is the home of *Canolfan Gymraeg yr Andes* ('Andes' Welsh Centre'), a community centre used by the Welsh for social functions, meetings and for teaching purposes. This multi-purpose facility includes a Welsh book and video library, accommodation for visiting teachers from Wales, historical records of the Welsh community in the town including photographic records and catering facilities to host dinners and special occasions. The centre therefore acts as a focal point for all Welsh activities in the town. In addition to Welsh lessons which are given at the centre, choirs use the building for practice, as does a folk dancing group. The centre is located next to *Capel Seion* ('Seion Chapel'), a Welsh chapel which recently celebrated its hundredth anniversary (Novella and Oriolla, 2004). The chapel

is now only used occasionally for Welsh language services. Esquel also has two tea houses. One of these, *Melys* ('Sweet'), is clearly a Welsh tea-house while the other, *Mama Ines*, advertises itself as serving both Welsh tea and Fondue. Many restaurants in the centre of Esquel include bilingual Welsh-Spanish menus as the result of a translation scheme implemented by a language teacher from Wales. There are also small hotels in the town whose interior decoration reflects the Welsh roots of their owners. However, away from the Welsh centre and the tea-houses, there is little public attention given to the Welsh community in Esquel in terms of statues or architecture. The exception is a number of streets named after famous Welsh colonists, such as 'Eluned Morgan' or 'Juan C. Evans' (also known as John or Jhon).

### **Trevelin**

*Trevelin* (el Pueblo del Molino, 'Milltown') is located 25 kilometres to the south of Esquel, near the border with Chile. This area was settled prior to Esquel after being discovered in 1888 and given the title *Cwm Hyfryd* ('Beautiful Valley') by the Welsh who moved there. The title *Valle del 16 Octubre* ('16<sup>th</sup> October Valley') was also given to the region, before the urban area was named after the mill which had been founded there (Fiori and Vera, 2002a). As the first colonists, the Welsh took much of the land in the region, and remain farmers and land-owners with significantly larger homesteads than those in the Chubut Valley. More than a third of the total population of Trevelin live outside of the town itself, including a large number of the Welsh community. Welsh lessons are held in the church house, a small building next to the old *Capel Bethel* ('Bethel Chapel') which has not been in regular use since the 1950s. Lessons are held for all age groups and abilities, with a Welsh library available. A large number of competitors from Trevelin compete in both Eisteddfod de la Juventud and Eisteddfod del Chubut in both individual, choir and folk dancing competitions.

Tea-house *Nain Maggie* ('Grandmother Maggie') is a significant part of the tourist circuit in Trevelin and is heavily advertised both locally and in Esquel. Next to the tea-house itself is a small gift shop under the same ownership which sells memorabilia of Trevelin, highlighting the Welsh connection through dragons, daffodils and traditional Welsh women's clothing. Trevelin celebrates its Welsh history through several museums. One is the tomb of Malacara, a horse which carried its owner John C. Evans to safety after an attack by Indians, making a heroic leap to save their lives. Next to the tomb is a renovated early twentieth century house, *Hogar Abuelo* ('Grandfather's House') which shows life of the early settlers. Nearby is the regional museum which shows artefacts used by the Welsh during their colony of the area and gives a brief history of the area. Further away is *Escuela Numero 18* ('School Number 18'), where a plebiscite supposedly took place in 1902 in which the Welsh colonists voted for the region to remain inside Argentina, rather than be transferred to Chilean jurisdiction (Fiori and Vera, 2002b).

### **Comodoro Rivadavia**

Comodoro Rivadavia is the largest city in the Chubut Province, with a population of 135,000 people. It is the only sizeable city in the Chubut Province that was not founded by the Welsh immigrants in the late nineteenth century. However, there are a number of people of Welsh descent living in the city, leading to the founding of an Asociación San David in the city that celebrates Welsh holidays such as Gŵyl y Glaniad. There is a Welsh folk-dancing group in the city and a Welsh teaching class is held every Saturday. Comodoro Rivadavia is not included in the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5).

This description of the major locations in the Chubut Province gives information on the vitality of Welsh, showing the number of events and their importance for the Welsh

community, all of which is necessary in contextualising both the objective vitality of Welsh, as can be seen in the community, and the subjective levels of vitality, as perceived by informants. I intend to use all locations in the Chubut Province that are included in the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5). This includes all of the above locations except for Comodoro Rivadavia.

### **1.4.3 Special events for the Welsh community**

In this section, I provide a brief description of the major events organised by the Welsh community in the Chubut Province. The purpose of this description is to illustrate the importance of specific events for the maintenance and perceptions of Welsh cultural life in the Chubut Province, which is very strongly linked to perceptions of the vitality of Welsh.

#### **Gŵyl y Glaniad**

Gŵyl y Glaniad is almost certainly the highest profile Welsh festival in the Chubut Province. The day, 28<sup>th</sup> July, has been declared a provincial holiday with schools and many businesses closed for the day. It has taken on special importance in Puerto Madryn, where the date has been adopted as the founding of the city and therefore the centrepiece of a week long series of celebratory events. The most enduring and well-known Welsh tradition in Chubut is the afternoon tea service and this is seen as the most important event of the Gŵyl y Glaniad celebration, and something which reaches far beyond the confines of the Welsh community. The Welsh community are keen to emphasise the integrative nature of Gŵyl y Glaniad as the founding of the Chubut Province in which all ethnic groups resided, rather than being a purely 'Welsh' celebration, although the predominance of Welsh-style events suggests that it is still seen as being of primary importance to the Welsh community. The events were well reported in local print and televisual media (see appendix E for examples).

### **Eisteddfod de la Juventud**

The Eisteddfod de la Juventud is an annual celebration of art and culture for those under the age of 25 at the time of the competition in September. The format of the event is similar to that used by the adult Eisteddfod del Chubut (see below), with individual poetry recitals and singing as well as choirs and folk-dancing. There are also competitions for practical arts and translation. A jury or judge decides the standings in the competitions and offers constructive criticism. The event receives significant media coverage, including live broadcast on Gaiman based community station, Arte FM, during the Saturday sessions. During my fieldwork period, photographs and commentaries appeared in the daily newspapers from Trelew while monthly newspapers in the Gaiman region printed names of all the winners as well as extended photoshoots of the event. Participants in the Eisteddfod de la Juventud were drawn from all over the Chubut province, although there was a geographic bias towards those from Gaiman and surrounding areas.

### **Eisteddfod del Chubut**

The Eisteddfod del Chubut is the centrepiece of the Welsh community calendar in the Chubut. The Eisteddfod takes place on the third weekend in October and is the highlight of a week-long series of events that, in 2004, included dinners, *asados* (an Argentinian-style barbecue), book launches, concerts, plays and other events relevant to the Welsh community. Participants for the Eisteddfod come from all over the Chubut Province, and also from the federal capital, Buenos Aires, San Carlos de Bariloche and Luis Beltran (in the province of Rio Negro) amongst other Argentinean locations, and from Wales. The event has become a tourist attraction in its own right, both for tourists from Wales and other countries. The event receives significant media coverage in the daily local papers in Trelew (see appendix E for



examples), as well as radio coverage and lengthy news items on provincial television. Amongst guests in recent years at the Eisteddfod were the Chubut Provincial Governor, Mario das Neves, and the Welsh Assembly Government First Minister, Rhodri Morgan AM.

### **Anniversary of the death of Lewis Jones**

Friday, 26<sup>th</sup> November 2004 was the centenary of the death of Lewis Jones, one of the leading colonists in the Welsh party in 1865 and the man after whom Trelew was named. This event was commemorated in a Trelew primary school which bears his name, with members of the Welsh community invited to participate in a service remembering his achievements as one of the founders of the Chubut province. Following the service, members of the Welsh community went to another memorial, this time at the site of Lewis Jones' former home and at the Capel Berwyn, both located in Rawson.

### **1.5. The Welsh Language Teaching Project**

The Welsh Language Teaching Project has been in existence in an official form in the Chubut Province since 1997 and is of great importance in discussing the vitality of Welsh. The Project was a development building on voluntary and loosely-organised, ad-hoc Welsh language teaching, usually carried out by retired teachers from Wales or religious ministers as an extension to their chapel duties. This system of teaching was formalised by Robert Owen Jones in 1996 when his Report on the Welsh Language in Argentina's Chubut Province called for three teachers to be sent annually to the Chubut Province, one teacher to work in the Trelew, Rawson and Puerto Madryn region, another to work in the Dolavon, Bryn Gwyn, Gaiman region and, finally, a third to work in the Andes communities, Trevelin and Esquel (R.O.Jones, 1996: 5). The scheme was originally funded by the Welsh Office in conjunction

with the British Council for a three year period. The scheme has now been renewed on three occasions, ensuring funding until 2008, with the Welsh Assembly Government replacing the Welsh Office as the funding body, following devolution of Wales in 1999. To monitor the progress of the Welsh Language Teaching Project, an annual report is written by the Project's co-ordinator, Professor Robert Owen Jones, of Cardiff University based on a month long inspection of teaching and facilities in the Chubut Province, detailing the numbers of students attending classes, the progress that has been made during the year, the extra-curricular development of Welsh in the society at large and constructive criticism designed to improve the provision of the Welsh language teaching in the future.

As the intention of this chapter is to provide a profile of the Welsh in the Chubut Province at the time of the research, the findings of the Annual Report of the Welsh Language Teaching Project 2004 have been collated here. The Annual Report includes statistical details on the number of classes that were taught during 2004, student numbers according to age, location and linguistic ability. Some of the data provided is historical, allowing for comparisons over the eight years of the project to date.

	Gaiman/Trelew	The Andes	Total
1997	348	225	573
1998	428	212	640
1999	443	220	663
2000	501	241	742
2001	509	157	666
2002	513	149	662
2003	418	161	579
2004	479	102	581

*Table 1.2: Number of students for the duration of the Welsh Language Teaching Project*  
Source: R.O. Jones (2004a)

The total number of participants in the Welsh Language Teaching Project can be seen in Table 1.2. The numbers for the Gaiman and Trelew regions have been combined to constitute one figure for the Chubut Valley, while the Andes are a separate figure. This shows that there have been a relatively constant number of participants during the lifespan of the Welsh Language Teaching Project, with more than 500 people enrolling for courses each year. Although not made clear, it is presumed that this includes a large number of year-on-year enrolments. As a raw figure of enrolments, this reflects the inclusion of 0.2% of the total population of these areas in Welsh language learning classes on an annual basis. The largest number of enrolments so far was in 2000, when 742 participants were enrolled. Since then, the number of enrolments has returned to its original level. This includes a sharp drop in the number of registrations in the Andes region, falling from 241 in 2000 to only 102 in 2004. It is acknowledged in the Annual Report that 2004 was a very difficult year for the Project in the Andes and it was hoped that greater teamwork between committees in the region will see a quick return to the previous registration levels.

	Level 1	Level 2/3	Level 3/4	Level 5/6	Level 7
Gaiman	10 (10)	7 (5)	9 (5)	1 (4)	2 (3)
Trelew	1 (7)	2 (3)	4 (3)	1 (0)	1 (2)
Andes	5 (11)	6 (3)	4 (3)	1 (1)	3 (2)

*Table 1.3: Number of classes according to teaching levels in Gaiman, Trelew and the Andes*  
Source: R.O. Jones (2004a)

During the academic year 2004 (the Argentinean academic year runs from March to December in the same calendar year), pupils participated in 57 Welsh language classes that were taught in the Chubut Province under the aegis of the Welsh Language Teaching Project. This was a fall from 62 classes in 2003, but this is explained in the report as being the result of a shift to more intensive teaching courses in which students have more contact hours. Classes are given in seven different graded teaching types from beginner to fluent. The

number of classes in each region can be seen in Table 1.3. The bracketed figure in the table is the number of classes taught in the previous academic year at that level. The large number of classes taught in the Gaiman region is a result of the inclusion of Welsh as a subject on the curriculum of a number of schools. Courses were taught at secondary school level in Coleg Camwy, in Aliwen College, at Bryn Gwyn School and Escuela 100 in Gaiman. The report also notes the increase in classes taught at post-beginner levels, especially in Gaiman and the Andes, suggesting that pupils are making progress through the system. Confusingly, 'Level 3' is labelled twice in the table, making the actual number of classes taught at this standard unclear.

	Gaiman	Trelew	The Andes	Total
Adults	37 (60)	50 (37)	63 (53)	150
Young People	179 (94)	27 (25)	11 (21)	215
Children	103 (102)	6 (18)	9 (49)	118
Post Nursery	21 (23)	5 (6)	4 (14)	30
Nursery	32 (35)	20 (18)	15 (25)	67
Total	372 (314)	108 (104)	102 (162)	

*Table 1.4: Registrations according to age in Gaiman, Trelew and the Andes*  
Adapted from R.O. Jones (2004a)

The number of children enrolled on courses can be seen in Table 1.4, with the significant growth in Young People in Gaiman standing out clearly. The report notes that 90% of enrolments in the Gaiman region were children of differing ages. No clear guidance is given as to the different age ranges included. Brackets explain enrolments from the previous year.

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Adults	279	239	210	234	148	202	149	150
Young People	131	109	145	223	120	161	140	216
Children	120	205	239	211	320	182	169	118
Post Nursery	12	36	39	29	30	37	43	30
Nursery	31	51	30	45	48	80	78	67

*Table 1.5: Registrations according to age*  
Source: R.O. Jones (2004a)

Table 1.5 shows that there had been an 80% increase in the number of children attending Welsh language classes since 2001. The Report also notes that nearly three-quarters of the total number of pupils in classes were children. This is described in the report as a positive development, apparently reflecting enthusiasm amongst younger people, although it is more likely that this reflects the inclusion of Welsh on the curriculum at schools. The static or falling number of adults enrolling is explained due to the continued sluggish performance of the Argentinean economy that makes the time and investment in second language learning a luxury for many.

	Level 1	Level 2/3/4	Level 5/6/7
Gaiman	248	95	28
Trelew	21	72	15
The Andes	30	29	43
Total	299	196	86

*Table 1.6: Registrations according to linguistic ability*  
Source: R.O.Jones 2004a

The number of registrations at each level of linguistic ability is explained in Table 1.6, although this is collapsed into three groups which masks the actual numbers in each category at the higher linguistic levels, making it difficult to gauge progress. The high numbers of Level 1 learners in Gaiman reflects the number of primary school children included in the Welsh Language Teaching Project, as explained above.

The Welsh Language Teaching Project Annual Report is largely a vehicle for explaining and justifying the impact of the Welsh Language Teaching Project over the past year. In addition to the quantitative data explained above, the Annual Report explains data on a basic qualitative level, explaining the role of individuals in the Project, and also concerns regarding

the Project's development. Amongst these concerns is the poor budget allotted for paying local tutors of Welsh from Patagonia and the organisational failure on a local level of many of the committees developed to plan the teaching curriculum for the year. Although the Annual Report notes the development of different cultural forums, such as the renewal of the Cylch Lenyddol ('Literary Circle'), the impact of the various Eisteddfod and the International Conference about the Welsh in Patagonia, these fall outside of the remit of the Welsh Language Teaching Project. As such, the Annual Report, whilst being a good overview of the spread of Welsh events in the Chubut Province, and especially the numbers participating in Welsh language learning, cannot explain in depth the quantitative and qualitative impact of all Welsh events. Not least, it cannot provide a good overview of the cultural events which do not necessarily include the Welsh language, or of the activities and efforts of fluent Welsh speakers who play no role in the Welsh Language Teaching Project. However, the report provides the most accurate and detailed information on participation in Welsh language and cultural events in the Chubut Province.

The impact of the Welsh Language Teaching Project is quite considerable in terms of the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province. The Project funds three full-time teachers of Welsh in different communities to stimulate and develop interest in the Welsh language and Welsh cultural activities. These individuals are usually highly-motivated and are placed in the heart of the community where they receive support from similarly motivated community members. The aim of the Project is to develop a system whereby, eventually, the organisation will be under the control of the local community and not from Wales. The constant introduction of teachers, of all ages, from Wales has broken stereotypes about Welsh being used only by the elderly, making it more relevant to younger people. The teachers have brought with them materials developed in Wales for young people in order to expand interest in the Welsh

language amongst younger generations, and this has been integrated into school communities, especially in Gaiman and Trelew. The organisational abilities of these teachers have given rise to a greater number of Welsh cultural events taking place, such as the Cylch Lenyddol. Some of the Welsh teachers have immigrated to the Chubut Province and integrated into the community where they take lead roles in the revitalisation of the Welsh language. It is here, through this long-term commitment to the Welsh community in the Chubut Province, that the Welsh Language Teaching Project has been most important in increasing the vitality of Welsh.

### **1.6 Diaspora and transnationality**

The Welsh in the Chubut Province have been discussed in great detail in sections 1.3-1.5, but understanding the current linguistic and cultural situation in the Chubut Province is not possible without also having an understanding of some of the other influences that affect events in the region. Firstly, it must be understood that the Chubut Province is one of Argentina's 23 provinces. This is a Spanish speaking, largely Hispanic country with a cosmopolitan population, of whom the Welsh are just one small group in one small part of the country. Spanish is the third most spoken language in the world (Crystal, 1997: 289) and the most widely spoken in South America. The effect of centralisation and the growth of the nation-state was the growing influence of Buenos Aires, national government and national culture, which all have an effect upon the Chubut Province, despite the distance of 1500km from the federal capital. Although the Welsh were the first European settlers in this region, there are indigenous tribes, such as the Mapuche, who resided in Argentina before the European arrival. The Chubut Province has seen large-scale in-migration from people with Spanish, Italian, Basque, Portuguese, German, Lebanese, Syrian and Polish heritage amongst

other ethnic groups, forming a multi-ethnic society (Virkel de Sandler and Gutierrez de Jones, 1994).

It is important to take into consideration that the Welsh community in the Chubut Province were a migratory group, with a different homeland, Wales itself. Diaspora and transnationality therefore play significant roles in the psychological make-up of the Welsh community and how these interact in the community need to be taken into account in discussing the Welsh in the Chubut Province.

While the concept of diaspora has been in existence for many hundreds of years, the current meaning of the word has become more complex and all-encompassing. Robin Cohen's 1997 *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* suggests that diasporas hold a number of common features (see Table 1.7). Cohen uses the Jewish and Armenian diasporas as the most focal examples of diaspora, but notes that diaspora can take on many different forms. His typology includes a number of features that are relevant to the Welsh situation in the Chubut Province. The most important element of identity is his first point, the dispersal from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions. If Wales is considered the original homeland, then the Chubut Province is one of these 'foreign regions', with other Welsh emigrants moving to England, the United States, Canada and Australia amongst other locations (A. Jones and B. Jones, 2001; Hartmann, 1985; Bowen, 1978; Howells, 2001; W.D. Jones, 1993; D.J. Williams, 1913; Friedgut, 1989; M. Williams, 1983; S.W. Jones, 2004; Wilkinson, 2004). For the Welsh experience in the Chubut Province, another very important element of Cohen's definition of diaspora is number six in the typology (Table 1.7): 'a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate'. This is the maintenance of an ethnic identity,



something that has clearly been maintained amongst the Welsh in the Chubut Province. Other elements of Cohen’s typology are also relevant, or have been at different times in the history of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, such as number seven: ‘a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group’. This was a concern at a time when Argentina was under a military dictatorship and the concept of a Welsh ethnic group was suppressed in society. In contrast is the present situation that can be suggested by number nine (Table 1.7): ‘the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism’, where the Welsh language and culture have been given a new lease of life in an Argentina where power has been devolved to the provincial governments, thereby allowing a greater local influence in governance and cultural support. However, not all of these criteria are relevant to the Welsh in the Chubut Province, as will be discussed later in the thesis (section 6.6).

Common Features of a Diaspora
1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions
2. Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its localization, history and achievements
4. An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation
5. The development of a return movement that gains collective approbation
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate
7. A troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group
8. A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement
9. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

*Table 1.7: Common Features of a Diaspora*  
Source: Cohen (1997: 26)

The importance of whether or not the Welsh in the Chubut Province is a diaspora is the relationship with Wales and the extent to which the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province is linked with what happens to the Welsh language and culture in Wales. To what extent are the Welsh in the Chubut Province a diasporic group that look towards the ancestral homeland for linguistic and cultural maintenance or to what extent is that vitality produced from within the community itself?

Also of importance in understanding the position of the Welsh in the Chubut Province is the concept of transnationality. Social anthropologist, Ulf Hannerz, claims that 'transnational connections are becoming increasingly varied and pervasive' (1996: 4) and this is an aspect of Welsh life in the Chubut that has been of growing importance in recent years. As noted earlier (section 1.3), there was continued contact between Wales and the Chubut Province during the period of emigration from 1865 until 1912, with many colonists returning to Wales after spending time in the Chubut Province (R.B. Williams, 1942: 5). Contact between Wales and the Chubut Province was then relatively limited until the Centenary celebrations (Brooks, 2005) when it began to grow once again. The growth of international air travel has aided this growth to the extent that groups from Wales or from the Chubut Province are able to visit the other location for cultural holidays (Plwm, 1992). Although many of the Welsh community in the Chubut Province have had the opportunity to visit Wales, the difference in the population size between Wales and the Chubut Province, as well as the economic situation of the two locations, means that the majority of contact between the Welsh from Wales and the Welsh from the Chubut Province have taken place in the Chubut, with the Welsh usually visiting as tourists, although some have stayed for longer periods of time and become involved in the local community. This flow of transnational contact (Hannerz, 1997: 6) between Welsh people from Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province inextricably links Welshness in the

two locations and means that the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province cannot be seen in isolation, but that any assessment of its vitality must be placed into a more global context.

Similarly, the impact of globalisation upon the Welsh in the Chubut Province must be established. Although not claiming to fully define globalisation, Coupland notes that the factors that make up globalisation from a sociolinguistic perspective include 'community interdependence, the compression of time and space, disembedding and commodification' (Coupland, 2003: 467). Coupland's description can be used to include the organisation of the Welsh Language Teaching Project as an example of 'community interdependence', while the re-packaging of different elements of Welshness clearly involves the 'compression of time and space' and a 'disembedding' from their traditional settings. Especially in Gaiman, Welshness in the Chubut Province has clearly been 'commodified' for the tourist market.

Argentina is a cosmopolitan country (Birt, 2005: 146) whose population descends from many different ethnic populations. The type of transnationality seen above with regards to the Welsh may well also be found amongst other in-migrant groups in the Chubut Province. Other effects of globalisation may include the tourist trade which attracts international visitors to the Chubut Province for the region's nature tourism along the Atlantic Coast and the mountains in the Andes, as well as for the Welsh culture in the area, while the growth of the internet allows increasing international contact. The global economic situation that requires English for international business may also prove to be of importance, as are the cultural aspects of English, now utilised in Argentina as the international language of music lyrics and films. It is not yet clear how, or if, the global market for English affects the Welsh in the Chubut Province. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Welsh embraced English as a means of internationalism (Birt, 2005: 128-130), but present-day attitudes of

Chubut Province residents inside and outside the Welsh community to English language and culture are not so clear from the literature.

Although there has been emigration from Wales to all four corners of the world (A. Jones and B. Jones, 2001; Hartmann, 1985; Bowen, 1978; Howells, 2001; W.D. Jones, 1993; D.J. Williams, 1913; Friedgut, 1989; M. Williams, 1983; S.W. Jones, 2004; Wilkinson, 2004), there has been no single emigration that has caught the Welsh imagination like that of the Welsh emigration to Patagonia. The importance of the Patagonian emigration is that the aim of the venture was largely cultural preservation, rather than the economic reasons that underpinned most emigration ventures from Wales during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That is, of course, not to deny that economic circumstances played a significant role in the choice of many emigrants to leave Wales but that the leaders of the Patagonia emigration had specific aims and the isolation of the region assisted them in maintaining the Welsh language and culture which they perceived to be under threat in Wales. Recent research on other parts of the Welsh diaspora in the United States (Bishop, Coupland and Garrett, 2003; Bishop, Coupland and Garrett, 2005; Coupland, Bishop and Garrett, 2003; Coupland, Bishop and Garrett, 2006; Garrett, Bishop and Coupland, 2006; Wray, Evans, Coupland and Bishop 2003) and Australia (Hughes, 1994) have shown that in these areas there is a strong appetite for the maintenance of Welsh culture and for the symbolic and ceremonial use of Welsh. However, these members of the Welsh community are often geographically isolated and elderly. The focus of this thesis on the Welsh in the Chubut Province is in the maintenance of a Welsh community and to discover the vitality possessed by Welsh language and culture, whether Welsh has survived as a language of daily use, how residents of the region both inside and outside the Welsh community perceive the Welsh language and culture and whether the language and culture are growing or weakening in

strength and the opportunities or chances for their survival in the Argentina of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Having provided a detailed profile of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, it is now important to approach these issues from a more academic, sociolinguistic perspective, beginning with a discussion of some of the sociolinguistic concepts that are pertinent to the situation of the Welsh in the Chubut Province. I will then examine and critically analyse previous sociolinguistic literature about the Welsh in the Chubut Province and the concept of vitality. These will all be discussed in detail in chapter two.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE**

Having contextualised the Welsh in the Chubut Province in chapter one, I will now provide a critical analysis of previous academic literature in order to gain a better understanding of the situation from a sociolinguistic perspective. The first section of chapter two examines the relevance of a number of sociolinguistic concepts to the situation of the Welsh in the Chubut Province. The second section of this chapter is an analysis of the previous sociolinguistic research carried out on the Welsh in the Chubut Province to illustrate what has already taken place and where there are opportunities for further research. Having noted the need for a wide-scale attitudinal survey of the Chubut Province about the Welsh, the third section then focuses on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, critically analysing its suitability for this research.

### **2.1 Sociolinguistic concepts relevant to the Welsh in the Chubut Province**

Since its origins as a discipline, sociolinguistics has been interested in gathering data to determine the strength of a language or community. This brief discussion of sociolinguistic literature reviews some of the main issues regarding language use and means of assessing the strength of different languages, with the subject of the Welsh in the Chubut Province in the background throughout. This includes an introduction to studies of language attitudes, definitions of bilingualism, diglossia, theories on language death, ecological linguistic theory and minority language rights and, finally, reversing language shift.

#### **2.1.1 Studies of language attitudes**

This research on the Welsh in the Chubut Province will be a study of language attitudes. It is necessary, therefore, to explain the purpose and form taken by previous language attitudes

studies. These studies are intended to understand attitudes towards languages and their behavioural outcomes. Often they also have a deeper aim, to understand what defines these attitudes. Attitude studies can tell us about differences within a community and also about cross-community variation and cultural differences (Garrett, Coupland and Williams, 2003: 14). The main foci of language attitudes surveys are found in Table 2.1. All of these foci could be relevant to the Welsh in the Chubut Province.

1. Attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style
2. Attitude to learning a new language
3. Attitude to a specific minority language
4. Attitude to language groups, communities, minorities
5. Attitude to language lessons
6. Attitude to the uses of a specific language
7. Attitude of parents to language learning
8. Attitude to language preference

*Table 2.1: Foci of Attitude Research*  
Source: Baker (1992: 29)

It is widely claimed that both language attitudes and social identities have a tri-partite structure (Garrett et al., 2003: 3; Livingstone, Manstead, Spears, Bowen, and Kennedy, 2006), comprising cognitive, affective and behavioural components. The cognitive element includes beliefs about the world, e.g. 'I am Welsh'. An affective component might be: 'I am happy to be Welsh', while a behavioural component could include the active use of the Welsh language, an example relevant both to Wales and the Chubut Province. How the informants perceive their relationship with the cognitive and affective components may explain the actions they take in the behavioural and evaluative component. However, responses to language attitudes surveys might not correspond with actual behaviour, and surveys must be aware of 'social desirability' factors, informants responding as they believe the interviewer wishes them to (Garrett et al., 2003: 6-8). A language attitude survey about the Welsh in the

Chubut Province must take into account these elements of personal identification in order to understand and appreciate these attitudes.

### **2.1.2 Bilingualism**

In discussing bi- or multilingualism, it is customary to make a primary distinction between individual and societal bilingualism. Individual bilingualism occurs when a single person has a mastery of two (or more) languages while societal bilingualism takes place within a community where a large number of members have fluency in two (or more) languages. As Baker notes (2006: 3), there are links between these two parts and that ‘the attitudes of individuals towards a particular minority language may affect language maintenance, language restoration, language shift or language death in society’. Thus the choice of the individual in favour of, or against, a language can have ramifications for the wider social group or network. Baker explains (2006: 3-4) that there are at least eight dimensions of bilingualism, some of which overlap and interact. These can be found in Table 2.2.

At different points in history, all of these examples may have been relevant to Welsh-Spanish bilinguals in the Chubut Province, with a changing profile over different generations. Amongst the older age group, who were schooled in Welsh, there is both productive competence and receptive ability in both languages, but amongst members of the Welsh community a generation younger there is less productive competence in Welsh. The domains in which Welsh is, or has been, used will be noted in greater detail (see section 2.2).



1. <b>Ability:</b> Productive competence (speaking and writing) and receptive ability (understanding and reading).
2. <b>Domains of usage:</b> Home, workplace, social spheres.
3. <b>Balance of languages:</b> Equal or dominant?
4. <b>Age of language learning:</b> Simultaneous (two from a young age) or sequential (one after the other)
5. <b>Development:</b> Ascendant bilingualism with growing capacity in second language, or recessive bilingualism with language attrition.
6. <b>Culture:</b> Bicultural (two language and two cultures) or monocultural (two languages, one culture)? Acculturation after immigration.
7. <b>Contexts:</b> Endogenous communities that use more than one language on a daily basis. Networks. Subtractive bilingualism where the second language replaces the first language. Additive bilingualism where the second language is learned in addition to the first language.
8. <b>Elective bilingualism:</b> Those who choose to learn a second language. As opposed to circumstantial bilinguals who need to learn a second language because of outside influences.

*Table 2.2: Forms of Bilingualism*  
Adapted from Baker (2006: 3-5)

Spanish is the dominant language of almost all members of the community. Older speakers of Welsh would have learned Welsh first and then Spanish in a sequential fashion. Their younger siblings learned both languages almost simultaneously while, in the present day, Spanish is the first language and Welsh the second. Similarly, in the earlier days of the Welsh colony, learning Spanish would have been part of an ascendant bilingualism, but during the mid-twentieth century, Welsh would have been lost due to language attrition. Now, Welsh is learnt as part of an ascendant bilingualism. Speakers would have been bicultural. As before, Welsh speakers learning Spanish would have been considered additive bilinguals, but those losing their ability in Welsh became subtractive bilinguals. Modern-day Welsh learners are additive bilinguals. They are also elective bilinguals, while those who previously needed to

learn Spanish for school and work were circumstantial bilinguals, required to learn a second language by outside influences.

### 2.1.3 Diglossia

Early sociolinguistic works, such as C.A. Ferguson’s ‘Diglossia’ (1972 [1959]), discussed the use of languages in different contexts, giving an initial introduction to the concept of diglossia as being ‘speech communities [in which] two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions’ (1972: 232). In discussing a monolingual diglossic situation, for example between standard speech and use of dialect then one speech style would be used for formal public use (the H ‘Higher’ form) and another for informal use (the L ‘Lower’ form). In a bilingual diglossic situation a group would use different languages in different situations, for example the dominant (H) language in a formal situation being used with someone in a position of responsibility, and the (L) language in informal situations, such as at home with the family or with close friends. Fishman (1972) suggests a schema of diglossia and bilingualism that show the different domains in which these languages can be used. This can be seen in Table 2.3.

BILINGUALISM	DIGLOSSIA	
	+	-
+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
-	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

*Table 2.3: Relationship between bilingualism and diglossia*  
Fishman (1972: 93)

Rubin (1968) uses Paraguay with its bilingual Spanish and Guarani speaking population as an example of a community with both diglossia and bilingualism. A further example of a bilingual diglossic situation can be found in Gal’s survey of the use of Hungarian in a small

community in Austria (Gal, 1997 [1978]). This shows the use of German as a status language but often Hungarian for solidarity reasons within the community. This would seem to imply a static linguistic situation or at least a consistent shift over time (Fishman, 1972) where a language continues to lose its position in the community. The reality of many bilingual and inter-group interactions is that one group has a better grasp of both languages than the other and that often the language choice is not available in the interaction. Historically, there has been diglossia amongst the Welsh in the Chubut Province, explained in greater detail in section 2.2, showing that use of Welsh was very much restricted to certain domains. There will be further discussion on present-day use of Welsh in these domains in section 2.2 and chapter six.

#### **2.1.4 Language ‘Death’**

Languages with a small number of speakers are said to be at risk of ‘language death’. Welsh in the Chubut Province has often been considered to be under such a threat (R.B. Williams, 1962; R.O. Jones, 1979). However, the concepts of ‘language death’ and ‘language revival’ are problematic. It used to be generally considered that a language ‘died’ with the death of its final speaker, but with the ability to ‘revive’ languages, such as Manx or Cornish (Sayers, 2005), through teaching of the language, which has a grammar, spoken form etc., this terminology is less useful (Fishman, 2001: 223). It is more important, perhaps, to uncover the circumstances in which languages begin to lose their vitality amongst their speaker populations and how these can be reactivated.

In studying small languages, Dorian’s study of the loss of East Sutherland Gaelic in North East Scotland (1978) noted the existence of a ‘tip’ where the number of speakers suddenly dropped from one generation to the next (1981: 51), presumably through a lack of

intergenerational transmission. The 'tip' is described as the shift from one language to another. This language shift may happen suddenly, within one generation, but may be the result of a long-term process in this direction whose force has been building for some time due to growing social and economic pressures on the language community. As Dorian says, (1981: 51), 'A language which has been demographically highly stable for several centuries may experience a sudden 'tip', after which the demographic tide flows strongly in favour of another language.' These pressures may be different in each community.

With regards to the Welsh in the Chubut Province, two case studies of language shift towards 'language obsolescence', Dorian's preferred term (1989) for a language that falls out of regular use, are of interest. Both are related to language use and loss in a colonial context, European languages brought by colonists from Europe to the American continent. One of these is Einar Haugen's study of Norwegian in the USA in which he notes the original maintenance of the language by Norwegian immigrant communities, albeit through a struggle, followed by a substantial shift towards English. Haugen says (1989: 70) 'The scenario...does not seem to be very different from that which applies to most immigrant languages in the United States (and Canada)'. Haugen notes an interest amongst the younger generations in the language as a 'heritage' language, but this does not lead to communicative fluency except in occasional circumstances (1989: 71). As Argentina is a cosmopolitan country drawing its population from a variety of nationalities and linguistic sources, it may be that this situation in the United States is replicated there amongst ethnic groups.

Another study of interest to the Welsh situation in the Chubut Province is that of the Gaelic community in Nova Scotia, Canada; the most notable other Celtic speaking community outside Europe. The Gaelic community are the descendants of emigrants to the area at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, from an initial voyage in 1773 until approximately 1850. The majority of emigrants were from the northern, Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland, estimates suggesting that as many as 50,000 Scots moved to Canada, although not all settled in Nova Scotia, with many moving further westwards to Ontario (Edwards, 1991: 272). The number of Gaelic speakers in the region has fallen consistently since it was first included in the Canadian census as an independent option in 1931 (Edwards, 1991: 275), falling by half at each decennial census since the end of the nineteenth century. Gaelic came to be associated with poverty, a rural lifestyle and a lack of sophistication and therefore its use came to be stigmatised. Edwards suggests (1991) that Nova Scotian Gaelic has shed its negative image and was positively viewed as a 'heritage language' by speakers and learners. However, the respondents expressed the concern that without younger learners the language, whose speakers perhaps numbered as few as 540 Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia in the 1981 Canadian census, may not survive (Edwards, 1991: 276). The domains in which Gaelic can be used appear to be highly restricted and there is little intergenerational passage of the language (Edwards, 1991: 280). Nevertheless, the Gaelic culture appears to be strong in the region with, for example, an annual Highland Games contest and ceilidhs being held (Edwards, 1991: 281). Although there are fewer native speakers than ever before, the language and Gaelic culture have been adapted for a heritage tourist market, appealing to people with Celtic roots in Canada, while there have been attempts at language revival, including assistance from Gaelic teachers in Scotland, and to continue to use the language where possible or desirable (Mertz, 1989).

These two case-studies replicate many of the conditions of the Welsh in the Chubut Province – the emigration to a cosmopolitan country, the maintenance of cultural practices and linguistic competition with a higher status language form.

### 2.1.5 Language Ecology

The ecological view of language espoused by Peter Mühlhäusler (1996, 2005) is a theory that language is related to the environment that surrounds it and should be maintained in the same way as endangered species of plant-life or animals. Mühlhäusler explains (2005: 11) that

‘The ecological paradigm has a number of characteristics, including the following:

- considerations not just of system internal factors but wider environmental ones;
- awareness of the dangers of monoculturalism and loss of diversity;
- awareness of the limitations of both natural and human resources;
- long-term vision; and
- awareness of those factors that sustain the health of ecologies’

The ecological view is that language is an integral part of the eco-system, just like plant life and animals, and therefore that the ‘death’ of any language would be an irretrievable loss damaging the planet’s eco-system. The logical conclusion of this way of thinking is that efforts should be made to preserve all languages because they each reflect a unique worldview and maintain the world’s diversity. This goes as far as languages developing differently in distinct ecological locations, such as ‘high-rainfall languages’ (Mühlhäusler, 2005: 23).

However, this ecological view of language is criticised for failing to take into account the needs and changes of the societies who use these languages. The most robust criticism is that of John Edwards (2001) who takes issue with the theoretical origins of the ecological view of language. Edwards accepts (2001: 232-3) the metaphorical linking of human opinion that ‘can be galvanised to save the whales, to preserve wetlands...or to repair and restore rare books and paintings’ with the question as to ‘why should we not also try to stem language decline and prevent linguistic predation?’ Edwards suggests that an ecological view which promotes

'co-operation rather than competition' is different from the traditional Darwinist perspective of competition and that, if extended, this will lead to a stasis of linguistic development and artificial maintenance that fails to take into consideration the needs of speakers. As he points out (2001: 237), 'Globalisation and its ramifications are often welcomed by many who see in them upward mobility – physical, social, psychological.' Edwards also pours scorn on the suggestion that the loss of language would inevitably lead to the loss of descriptive nature and that there are somehow untranslatable items that could never be expressed in another language, suggesting that, if required, language will adapt to describe different surroundings.

Of Mühlhäusler's points, the most relevant to the Welsh in the Chubut Province is related to the dangers of monoculturalism and loss of diversity. While the continued existence of Welsh in Wales means that the loss of the language from the world cannot be used as a motivation for Welsh language maintenance in the Chubut Province, the ecological linguistic perspective could be used to defend a language which has had more than a century to adapt to a different environment, as a unique form of Welsh with changes to vocabulary and phonetics (R.O. Jones, 1976), different to that spoken in Wales. However, I would argue that linguistic diversity, although welcomed, is not itself a reason for language maintenance and that language maintenance must be a product of the community wishing to use and retain the language for its own purposes.

### **2.1.6 Minority Language Rights**

Related to the ecological paradigm are theories of minority language rights, put forward by Stephen May (2000, 2001, 2005, 2006) and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson

(1995). May describes the arguments of John Edwards (above) as being ‘resigned language realism’, the belief that diversity and language maintenance is good, but not achievable. May argues that this perception is an interpretation of history, and warns against ‘presentism’, failing to adequately question the current linguistic position (a criticism shared by Bourdieu, 1991), ‘sanitisation’, the simplification of historical sociolinguistic developments, and the ‘linguistic fait accompli’, that there is nothing that we can do about this situation (May, 2005: 321-7). He draws evidence from a number of communities where minority language rights have been implemented to show that this process can be changed, most notably Catalonia and Wales (May, 2001), which both operate on a territorial community basis (Grin, 1995), and also the ‘personality language principle’ where ‘particular language rights are granted to minority language speakers when there is a *sufficient* number of these speakers to warrant language protection’ (2005: 326; May’s italics). His examples for this include French speakers outside Quebec in Canada, state-based Indian language legislation and, in theory, the multilingual language policy adopted by post-Apartheid South Africa. The Canadian situation of individual and group rights show that it can be possible to develop a mixed system that largely respects the rights of minority language speakers. However, this is not necessarily the same for all minority groups, as seen with regard to the Inuit minority, who are actually a majority in the Nunavut Territory (Patrick, 2005).

One of the most significant problems that faces minority language rights is the idea of ‘tolerability’ (May, 2001, 2006), that the majority speaking population should accept the increasing use of the minority language. May claims that this often requires a redefinition for the majority language population of their perception of the minority language, to see the minority language as being of value, whether culturally or economically. He says that ‘monolingual majority speakers are being asked to *accommodate* to the ongoing presence of a



minority language and to recognise its status as an additional language of the state – a process... described as ‘mutual accommodation’ (May, 2001, May’s italics). May’s attempts to integrate minority language rights with the linguistic ecology paradigm give the latter additional credence through linking communities and their success with the right to use the language of choice. As shown in the cases of Catalonia and Wales, the integration of language into the state and education apparatus on a territorial basis (Grin, 1995) have shown that minority language rights, when a product of the needs and motivations of the communities have led to positive changes without necessarily causing civil strife, although action such as Quebec’s *Loi 101* (‘Bill 101’, the law regarding French language signage) has not been without criticism (Bourhis, 1994; Bourhis and Landry, 2002).

Although minority language rights interact more closely with other sociolinguistic and social-psychological theories of language use and maintenance, they are still open to some of the criticisms of ecological linguistic theory (Mühlhäusler, 1996, 2005). They aim to right previous ‘wrongs’ and to balance social justice with language maintenance. When enacted, the minority language rights paradigm seems, like that of linguistic ecology, to prioritise the legitimacy of the ‘indigenous’ language in what discursively is a ‘good’ language, the minority, against a ‘bad’ or aggressor language, the majority language. When language rights come into play, there is a fine line between tolerance of other people’s cultures and the ‘mutual accommodation’ of which May (2001) speaks and an aggressive use of the legal system to ensure the required product. To what extent can minority language rights arguments be used in the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, where an indigenous minority language (Mapuche) is also used? Although not an indigenous language, Welsh nevertheless has legitimacy as one of the first languages of the region, having been the community language prior to Spanish. In this way, it is different to other ‘immigrant’

languages in the Chubut Province, such as Italian or German, and, if the Welsh want to, can arguably lay claim to minority language rights because of this legitimacy. This sense of legitimacy may have an impact on the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province (a theory discussed in greater detail in section 2.3). In fact, the concept of minority language rights relies upon a certain level of vitality being present in the community, to enable themselves to work as an ethnolinguistic group to maintain and protect their group identity and language.

### **2.1.7 Reversing Language Shift**

The concept of language planning to maintain minority languages has been a regular feature of the twentieth century. Most notably, pressure from the minority populations in Belgium, Wales and French-Canada created a situation in which governments were obliged to take the linguistic needs of these minority groups into consideration at various levels of official use, such as education, government services and official signage. After writing for many years about the aims and effects of this type of minority language planning (Fishman, 1972), Joshua Fishman (1990, 1991) began to describe these efforts in maintaining minority languages as ‘reversing language shift’, arguing that the language shift that had eroded the traditional communities in which these languages were used was not an irreversible condition nor an inevitability. He believed that these communities could not just maintain their own language and ethnic identity in the face of a challenge from another language, but they could actually reverse these effects. To explain the different situations in which minority languages might find themselves, Fishman created an eight stage typology, the Graded Intergenerational Disruption System, GIDS (see table 2.4) (Fishman, 1991: 88-109), which ranges from the speakers of a language being elderly and socially isolated and the language needing to be re-assembled and taught to demographically dispersed adults (stage eight) to stage one, which is some use of the language in higher education, occupations, government and media, but

without political independence for the ethnolinguistic group. Arguably the most important of these eight stages is stage six, intergenerational transmission of language from parent to child, a process that reproduces native speaker ability, comprehension and confidence in the infant, something that Fishman perceives as being the key to language maintenance and reversing language shift (1991: 92-95). Fishman uses a series of examples, such as Irish, Frisian, Basque and aboriginal languages in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, to illustrate his ideas, noting specifically the relative success of 'reversing language shift' in Modern Hebrew, French in Quebec and Catalan in Catalonia.

In addition to a further volume updating the situations in these language contact zones (Fishman, 2001), Fishman's concept of 'reversing language shift' has been adopted by scholars from minority language groups in the Welsh in Argentina context by R.O. Jones (2004b), from French in Canada (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2004; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2005) and in the Celtic Countries as a whole (O'Neill, 2005). However, while R.O. Jones and O'Neill accept Fishman's theories without significant criticism, Deveau et al. (2005: 86-89) draw attention to a number of shortcomings in Fishman's typology (1990, 1991). They point to Fishman's apparent acceptance that minority language groups share the same social space and are homogenous, whereas in the case of French speaking Canadians, many live in urban environments where they are in frequent contact with members of the out-group and therefore an increased level of exogamy. They also criticise the manner in which Fishman (1990, 1991) describes the school as being in the 'public sphere' and therefore recommends intergenerational transmission as the only manner to maintain the language when research in Canada has shown that, alongside family support, education can contribute very strongly to the construction of an identity that supports the minority culture (Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006).

Stages of Reversing Language Shift
Severity of intergenerational dislocation (read from the bottom up)
1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
2. Local/regional/mass media and governmental services
3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and Ymen
4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control
<i>II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment</i>
5. Schools for literary acquisition, for the old and the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of mother-tongue transmission
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL
<i>I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)</i>

Table 2.4 Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Source: Fishman (1991: 395)

A further criticism of Landry et al.'s is that Fishman ignores the role of the state in supporting the reversal of language shift. It is clear from the successes in Wales (C.H. Williams, 2000) and in Canada (Bourhis, 2001; Landry, 2005) amongst others that the role of the state in reversing language shift can be quite considerable and therefore his typology should include suggestions of how to use the state apparatus to improve the situation for the minority language group (Deveau et al. 2005: 87). Deveau et al. go on to note (ibid. 87-88) that, as

Fishman himself has noted in 2001, that the passage from stage to stage of his typology is not automatic or even linear, and therefore that an ethnolinguistic group could find any number of stages relevant to their position at any one time. Drawing their critique of Fishman's reversing language shift typology to an end, they note (ibid. 88), in agreement with Fishman (1991), that his scale is largely descriptive of situations and that he has not taken into account social-psychological variables that may affect individuals' and group language choice. The relevance of Fishman's 'reversing language shift' theories to this study of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, Argentina is the adoption of these aims by R.O. Jones (2004b) in order to facilitate the increased usage of the Welsh language in this area. The aim of the Welsh Assembly Government funded Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5) is to teach Welsh as a second language to adults. In drawing conclusions to this study (see section 6.6), reversing language shift theory and possible strategies or effects will be taken into consideration.

## **2.2 Sociolinguistic literature on the Welsh in the Chubut Province**

This section will discuss the small amount of previous academic research and literature that has been written regarding the position of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions. Specific attention will be drawn to the sociolinguistic research that has already been conducted in this area, to reports published on the position of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. The section concludes with a brief discussion of what research will best provide an understanding the position of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

One of the earliest academic writers about the Welsh in Argentina is Glyn Williams, who has contributed two important volumes to discussions of the history of the Welsh in the Chubut

Province. His first book-length publication, *'The Desert and the Dream'* (1975) was a historical view of the development of the colony in its first fifty years of existence between 1865 and 1915, roughly mirroring the period of colonisation from Wales. His second piece of work, *'The Welsh in Patagonia: The State and the Ethnic Community'* (1991) builds upon this work by discussing the socio-political situation in the Chubut Province over a longer period. It is a very detailed sociological and economic history of the Welsh colony from its outset until the mid-twentieth century. Williams deals with the establishment of the settlement, its economic growth, socio-religious organization, political and economic crises, the agricultural sector, labour power and mutual aid, rural-urban migration, language and the ethnic community. In explaining the reasons for the attrition of the Welsh language throughout the twentieth century, Williams discussed the importance of power and language prestige (1991: 240), noting the Welsh community's loss of status, demographic and institutional support over a period of time, subsuming these categories to his claim that 'the struggle over identity is a struggle over the status that accrues from a control over the economy' (ibid. 274). Williams' explanation of the history of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province notes that, despite the ideological backdrop to the colony and the creation of a municipality that functioned through the medium of Welsh, administrative occupations were not open to the Welsh, but were imposed from Buenos Aires and conducted exclusively in Spanish, the national language of Argentina (ibid. 242). Williams claims that, although of importance at a local level for business, education and religion, the Welsh language was substantially weakened by the economic and political events of the 1930s and 1940s with the disappearance of many of the ethnic institutions that had supported the language, including the Eisteddfod (ibid. 249) and the market value of the language being diminished (ibid. 257). He suggests that the language developed a stigma and was perceived by many as handicapping social advancement in the wider-Spanish speaking community of the Chubut

Province (ibid. 253) leading to a situation where there was a failure of inter-generational transmission of Welsh. Further to that was the increase in exogamous marriages in which Welsh ceased to be the language of the home (ibid. 251-2, 273). In discussing identity and this change in social position, Williams makes a number of interesting comments regarding perceptions of the Welsh by the out-group, noting that:

Within a short period of time the out-group had ceased to view the Welsh as a group of comparatively high socio-economic status marked by a distinctive language and religion which served to close them off in interactional terms from the wider society. Rather they were seen as members of an occupational group of comparatively low status, marked by distinctive social and economic practices.  
(G. Williams, 1991: 273)

This sums up the position of the Welsh at the time of Williams's research during the 1960s and 1970s, but he goes on to note how the Welsh have dealt with this stereotyping, explaining that:

In response, many of the in-group drew upon the historical discourse and linked it with the discourse of the state. Thus, as members of the Welsh cultural group, they claimed descent from the settlers whose sacrifices had won Argentina the right to govern Patagonia, and as such they were worthy Argentinians. This argument links the local identity with allegiance to the state without viewing their Welsh ethnic identity as being in contradiction with their very existence as Argentinians. Yet their Welshness is very clearly in subordination to their status as Argentinians.  
(G. Williams, 1991: 273)

Here, Williams explains the integration of the Welsh into the Argentinean society, managing to maintain an unproblematic balance of holding a national identity as Argentinean and a Welsh ethnic identity that are complementary rather than exclusive. However, although these are very interesting conclusions to his work, there is the lack of an authentic Patagonian voice, and he offers no interview or questionnaire data, for example, to support his claims regarding the development of a Welsh-Argentinean identity in the Chubut Province.

The first major piece of sociolinguistic fieldwork conducted in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera was the 'Sociolinguistic Survey of the Welsh Language' by R.O. Jones (1974), written in Welsh. Jones was interested in the use of the Welsh language in the area and which groups of people spoke Welsh. Some of his findings were published in two Welsh language articles during the mid-1970s, '*Amrywiaeth tafodiaethol a phatrwm newid ieithyddol yng Nghymraeg y Wladfa*' ('Dialect variation and patterns of language change in Chubut Welsh') (1974) and '*Cydberthynas amrywiadau iaith a nodweddion cymdeithasol yn y Gaiman, Chubut*' ('Relationship between language variation and social status in the Gaiman, Chubut') (1976). The first of these articles discusses the vocabulary used in Welsh in the Chubut and traced the origins of the dialect words. Using a word list in different locations, R.O. Jones sought to identify the origins of words used in Chubut Welsh in Welsh dialectology and then find reasons for this usage. He found that the overwhelming majority of forms used in Chubut Welsh were standard forms or dialect words of North West Walian Welsh. He explains that:

Nid un ffaith hanesyddol na chymdeithasol a all egluro cyfansoddiad geirfaol cyfoes y Wladfa ond plethiad o nifer o resymau. Mae'n bosibl fod gan y patrwm ymfudo rhywbeth i'w wneud a'r ymdoddi ond prin fod hyn yn allweddol. Y posibilrwydd yw mai arddull addysgol, arweinwyr y gymdeithas, a phwyslais y gymdeithas ar ddiwylliant a'r iaith ysgrifenedig a gafodd y prif ddylanwad. Y tebyg yw nad proses o ogleiddeiddio pur a gafwyd yma ond, yn hytrach, safoni. Y patrwm fynychaf yw iaith addysg, pregethu, a siarad cyhoeddus a'r rheini yn eu tro sylfaenedig ar yr iaith ysgrifenedig.

(R.O. Jones, 1974: 296)

('There isn't one historical or sociological fact that can explain the composition of modern Chubut vocabulary but a fusion of a number of reasons. It's possible that the migration patterns had something to do with the fusion but this is hardly key. The possibility is that the educational style, leaders of the community and community stress on culture and the written language had the greatest power. It is likely that it wasn't a process of pure northernisation here, but, rather, standardisation. The most frequent pattern is of educational language, preaching and public speaking and, respectively, those are founded on the written language.')

The second article dealt specifically with the speech of Gaiman in the centre of the Chubut Valley. R.O. Jones (1976: 55) aimed initially to uncover the number of Welsh speakers in the village, on the basis of the 1973 Electoral Register, an assessment of whether a name is



Welsh or not, Chapel and Sunday School notes and the Annual Report of *Agua y Energia* ('the Water and Energy Board'). From this information and personal information local sources, he believed that 23% of the population are of Welsh descent and that 15% of the population speak Welsh, although the concept of Welsh speaker was not problematised. As shown in Table 2.5, the majority of both of these groups are women.

Proportion of the population of Welsh descent	Male	Female
23%	21%	25%
Proportion of the population who speak Welsh		
15%	11%	19%

*Table 2.5: Proportions of the population of Gaiman who are of Welsh descent and speak Welsh*

Source: R.O. Jones (1976: 55)

Jones goes on to classify speakers of Welsh according to age, as can be seen in Table 2.6 below.

	60+	45-60	30-45	20-30	Under-20
Male	41%	24.5%	16%	15%	3.5%
Female	25.5%	22.6%	27.5%	19.4%	5%

*Table 2.6: Welsh speakers in Gaiman according to age and gender*

Source: R.O. Jones (1976: 56)

It can be seen that there has been a break in the intergenerational continuation of the language and that older generations in the village, especially men, make up the majority of Welsh speakers. Fewer than one in 20 of Welsh speakers are in the younger generation. This generational difference is almost certain to have an impact on any modern research into Welsh as, if this trend has been continued in the thirty years since this research, there will be very few fluent speakers of Welsh under the age of 50, and this in Gaiman, supposedly the most Welsh urban location in the Chubut Province. Unfortunately, no actual numbers are calculated in the article to illustrate the demographic strength of the Welsh speaking

population or community in Gaiman at this time. For the purposes of his research, R.O. Jones (1976) divides Welsh speakers into four age categories (as in Table 2.6, but with the youngest two groups merged) and further divided according to their level and language of education, religious beliefs, ethnic self-description and economic status, finding that the elder the subject or the more religious, the greater their ability in Welsh. From a participant-observer position, R.O. Jones (1976) also makes several insightful comments regarding social use of Welsh. He notes that:

Nid yw dewis iaith wedi ei gyflyru gan gywair, ond yn hytrach gan y sawl y sgwrsir ag ef. Os Cymro yw'r person arall, yna Cymraeg a siaredir, os di-Gymraeg yna fe ddefnyddir Sbaeneg.  
(R.O. Jones, 1976: 57)

(‘The language choice is not conditioned by register, but rather by those with whom he is speaking. If the other person is Welsh, Welsh is spoken there, if he isn’t Welsh, he uses Spanish.’)

R.O. Jones also notes that Welsh is used more often in certain situations, commenting that:

Defnyddir y Gymraeg yn y cartref ac yn yr eglwys gan ddewis y Sbaeneg ar gyfer pob amyglchiad arall...Ni siaredir Cymraeg hyd yn oed gyda Chymry mewn swyddfeydd, banciau, ysgolion, neu swyddfeydd llywodraeth lleol.  
(R.O. Jones, 1976:57)

(‘Welsh is used in the house and in the church with the choice of Spanish for every other circumstance...Even with Welsh people, Welsh is not spoken in offices, banks, schools or local government offices.’)

These are the most accurate available published figures regarding the size of the Welsh community and attitudes towards actual language use in the second half of the twentieth century. However, the length of time between this research and the present day makes it difficult to draw comparison with modern society in the Chubut Province. This research also provides no information on the level of usage of Welsh outside Gaiman, the location generally considered to be the most Welsh in the Chubut Province. Taking into account the relative size of Gaiman when compared with other locations in the Province, it is clear that,

by this point, the Welsh speaking population must have already been a very small percentage of the total population and that the language had already lost the majority of its status and was now confined to an ageing population who spoke Welsh only in a minority of domains, as noted above by R.O. Jones (1956: 57). These findings include attitudes to a specific minority language (Welsh), language groups, communities and minorities, uses of a specific language and language preference, four of the attitude research foci listed by Baker (1992: 29).

Several years after the work of R.O. Jones, Cecilia G de Glanzmann and Ana Virkel de Sandler's *Aspectos Bilingüismos Español-Galés en el Valle Del Chubut* (1981) is perhaps the most important previous survey of attitudes towards the Welsh language in the Chubut Province. It is a short survey of perceptions of the Welsh language amongst residents of the Chubut Valley (which includes Trelew, Gaiman and the nearby farmland of the Chubut Valley), written in Spanish. Their research is based upon methods and theories pioneered by Fishman (1972). They use quotes from a series of short interviews with local residents to explain the different attitudes towards the Welsh language (Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981: 15-17). They note that there were differences in the ability to speak Welsh fluently according to age, with elder speakers most fluent (*ibid.* 10-12). They also drew attention to women using the language more than men (*ibid.* 12) and to a rural-urban continuum that saw Welsh more widely used in the farms outside the urban areas (*ibid.* 12) than in the urban areas such as Gaiman and Trelew, where the use of Welsh was least common. They went on to note the prestige status of English as the international language (*ibid.* 15-16). Interview data showed pride in Welsh with an emotional attachment and linguistic loyalty (*ibid.* 17-18) but also embarrassment and indifference (*ibid.* 16). In profiling

the Welsh community in the Lower Chubut Valley, G. de Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler drew the following conclusions, noting the social and linguistic factors:

El desplazamiento del galés obedece a una serie de causas de orden social y lingüístico; entre las primeras señalaremos:

- 1 – Condición de grupo minoritario de la comunidad galesa, particularmente en Trelew
- 2 – Constante interacción con individuos no pertenecientes a la comunidad.
- 3 – Deseo de asimilación por parte de los niños y adolescentes de ascendencia galesa al resto de la población, lo que se traduce en la voluntad de no hablar galés
- 4 – Abundancia de matrimonios en los que uno de los cónyuges no pertenece a la comunidad, por lo cual se debilita la practica del gales en el hogar.
- 5 – El hecho de que el galés tal no se enseñe, en la primera infancia, en el dominio del hogar, salvo contadas excepciones

Entre los factores estrictamente lingüísticos podemos mencionar:

- 1 – Competencia con el inglés, lengua de mayor prestigio
- 2 – Restringida utilidad del galés para la comunicación
- 3 – Cierta dificultad para el aprendizaje, basada esencialmente en la acentuada diferencia del sistema fonológico del galés respecto del español.  
(Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981: 18)

(‘The displacement of Welsh is due to a series of causes of social and linguistic nature; amongst the former we note that:

- 1 – Minority group position of the Welsh community, especially in Trelew
- 2 – Constant interaction with individuals not belonging to the community
- 3 – Desire to assimilate on the side of the children and adolescents of Welsh descent to the rest of the population, something which means in practice a lack of will to speak Welsh
- 4 – Abundance of marriages in which one of the partners is not part of the community, consequently weakening the practice of Welsh in the home
- 5 – The fact that Welsh is not taught in early childhood in the home domain, except for rare exceptions.

Amongst the purely linguistic factors, we can mention:

- 1 – Competition with English, high prestige language
- 2 – Restricted utility of Welsh for communication
- 3 – Some difficulties with learning, essentially based on the difference of the phonological stress system of Welsh in relation to Spanish.’)

This profile continues some of the themes that were clear from R.O. Jones’s studies during the 1970s, that the Welsh speaking demographic is an ageing minority group with some interest from young people as a heritage language, but general indifference from younger members of the community who wish to integrate with the dominant Spanish-speaking

population of the region. This study relates to the same foci as those of R.O. Jones in 1976, but is more strictly concerned with language attitudes.

A further piece of research about the Welsh in the Chubut Province is *A Geographic Study Of The Welsh Colonization In Chubut, Patagonia* (1986 [1976]) by David Hall Rhys, a thesis written in the United States. Although not specifically dealing with the modern day position of the Welsh language, Rhys makes interesting points regarding the economic status with Welsh, specifically a comparison of Cwm Hyfryd (the Cordillera) with the Chubut Valley. He claims that the higher socio-economic status of Welsh speaking farmers in Cwm Hyfryd has allowed the Welsh language to maintain a greater presence there than in the Chubut Valley. Rhys goes on to give statistics relating to the percentage of Welsh speakers in each region. According to his figures, which have no stated source, 80% of farmers in Cwm Hyfryd speak Welsh, 40-50% speak Welsh in the rural Chubut Valley, 22% in Gaiman and less than 5% in Trelew and Rawson. These figures appear a matter of conjecture, with the only comparable figure being the claim of R.O. Jones (1976) that 15% of the population of Gaiman could speak Welsh. Percentage figures are again used, rather than giving a number to indicate the demographic strength of the Welsh language.

Robert Owen Jones's second major input into the field of Welsh sociolinguistics in the Chubut Province was his 1996 *Report on the Welsh Language in Argentina's Chubut Province*. The report is the precursor to the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5) in which Robert Owen Jones sets out the Welsh linguistic situation in the Chubut Province as it stood during his visit in 1996. As part of the report, Jones met with around 50 individuals and more than a dozen Welsh institutions, including choirs, literary societies and Welsh societies in different locations. He also met with members of the Provincial

Departments of Education and Culture (R.O. Jones, 1996: 31-2). Jones asked a series of questions related to recent changes in the position of Welsh, asking about domain usage and possible plans for the future (ibid. 30). Disappointingly, there are no results published in this report for the survey conducted. The remainder of the report is an overview of the Welsh linguistic and cultural situation of the time, with R.O. Jones making a number of key recommendations, the most important of which was public funding from Wales to send Welsh teachers to Argentina to teach Welsh and that students from Argentina should be sent to Wales on intensive Welsh courses in Lampeter (ibid. 5). All of the key recommendations put forward by R.O. Jones for supporting the Welsh language in the Chubut Province have now been met in one form or another.

Ana Virkel's *El Español Hablado en el Chubut* ('The Spanish spoken in the Chubut') (1999) is a discussion of the Spanish as spoken in the Chubut Province in which she pays attention, amongst other elements, to the effects of bilingualism on the Spanish-Mapuche and Spanish-Welsh speakers. In discussing the present situation of Welsh, Virkel gives a clear indication of the abilities in the Welsh language according to age. She notes that:

'En general, los hablantes mayores de 50 años no transmitieron el galés a sus hijos, por lo cual en la generación intermedia predominan los bilingües pasivos, que lo entienden pero carecen de competencia oral. En el segmento etario de 15 a 30 años, muchos de los hablantes bilingües aprendieron o están aprendiendo la lengua étnica en espacios institucionales con ese fin, y consolidan dicho aprendizaje en el ámbito del hogar, mediante la interacción con parientes de más edad, o en situaciones comunicativa donde su empleo es habitual; por ejemplo, interpretan canciones o recitan poemas escritos en galés'  
(Virkel, 1999: 289)

('In general, the speakers older than 50 years old did not transmit Welsh to their children, consequently passive bilinguals dominate the intermediate generation, who understand it but lack oral competency. In the age group between 15 and 30 years old, many of the bilingual speakers learnt or are learning the heritage language in institutional spaces with this aim, and consolidate this learning within the home, through the interaction with older relations or in communicative situations where its usage is habitual, for example, singing songs or reciting poems written in Welsh.')

This shows the importance of the institutions and culture in language maintenance of Welsh in the Chubut Province after the failure of intergenerational transmission. Virkel goes on to repeat R.O. Jones's 1976 findings regarding language choice and interlocutor, explaining that Welsh speakers will only use the language together in informal gatherings in rural settings, for example, on a family farm, rather than in public. Virkel also notes the multi-lingual nature of the Eisteddfod del Chubut (ibid. 293), the role of religion in maintaining Welsh (ibid. 294) and also the importance of education, teaching the Welsh language in school, the incorporation of the heritage language into the curriculum (ibid. 294), therefore giving the language additional status. In conclusion, Virkel claims that Welsh bilingualism is socially restricted, aided on the one hand by the family and ethnic institutions but abetted by the tendency of young speakers to develop as monolingual Spanish speakers (ibid. 301).

Research has been recently undertaken by Robert Owen Jones, Walter Ariel Brooks and Geraldine Lublin in the School of Welsh at Cardiff University. This research is under the umbrella title of *Cymdeithaseg y Gymraeg y Wladfa 1900-2000* ('Sociology of Welsh in the Chubut Province 1900-2000') and is a wide-ranging piece of work that aims to understand the processes and effects involved in the slow loss and then revitalisation of Welsh in the Chubut Province during the twentieth century. At the present time, the research has not yet been published, but a number of presentations have been given by members of the team working on this project, including *Sociologia del idioma galés, con énfasis en el Proyecto de Enseñanza del Idioma, o sea, el nuevo interés en el galés desde los '90* ('Sociology of the Welsh Language, with emphasis on the Language Teaching Project, or rather, the new interest in Welsh since the 1990s') by Robert Owen Jones and *Algunas consideraciones sobre los patrones de casamientos en el valle del Chubut 1900-1960* ('Some considerations about marriage patterns in the Chubut Valley 1900-1960') by Walter Ariel Brooks at the

Second International Conference about the Welsh in Patagonia (2004), ‘1965 – A Welsh Patagonian Milestone. The celebrations of the Centenary of the Welsh landing in Chubut’ by Walter Ariel Brooks (2005) and ‘Welsh-Patagonian Identity and the Iconisation of Lady Di: But Whose Princess Was She Anyway?’ by Geraldine Lublin at the Language and Global Communication Conference in Cardiff (2005). These papers have addressed the revitalisation of Welsh in the 1990s, the growth of exogamy amongst the Welsh community in the early years of the twentieth century, the importance of the Centenary celebrations in raising the profile of the Welsh community and the strategies adopted to protect authentic Welsh identity in the town of Gaiman (see section 5.1 for discussion on heritage and authenticity).

The introduction of an international conference about the Welsh in Patagonia has also led to a number of other publications about the Welsh language and Welsh identity in Argentina. Papers presented at this conference included *La comunidad galesa en la argentina: Construcción o deconstrucción de la identidad?* (‘The Welsh community in Argentina: Construction or deconstruction of identity?’) by Paul Birt of the Celtic Studies department in University of Ottawa, Canada. Birt’s most interesting comments are reserved for his discussion of the apparent revival of Welsh in the 1990s and identity issues, noting the rise of the ethnic identity in a cosmopolitan country, similar to Canada or the United States (Birt, 2004: 34), the opportunities this provides for participation in community events and the creation of a local form of ‘argentinidad’ (the expression of being Argentine) (Birt, 2004: 34). This opinion is in agreement with that of Glyn Williams (1991) that the existence of a Welsh identity amongst residents of the Chubut Province is complementary to their identity as Argentinians. Another paper presented was *Eisteddfod del Chubut: Cultura galesa e identidad regional* (‘The Chubut Eisteddfod: Welsh Culture and Regional Identity’) by Dora Beatriz Neumann in which the author explains the integration of the Eisteddfod del Chubut



into the regional identity of the region since its relaunch in 1965, pointing to the Eisteddfod as a provincial icon, rather than belonging only to the Welsh community. Finally, *Lengua e identidad: El Gales en la Patagonia Argentina* ('Language and Identity: Welsh in Argentinian Patagonia') by Ana Virkel discusses the strategies adopted by the Welsh to maintain their language during the past century. She claims that these included the historical motivation for preserving the Welsh language, the isolation of Patagonia and geographical concentration of the Welsh community and finally the diverse ethno-cultural institutions that served to maintain the language in regular usage (Virkel, 2004: 198-202). Virkel then explains current attitudes towards the language with a series of quotes which show a relationship between language and identity (ibid. 202-203), although she fails to explore these in any depth. These three papers were all presented at the first conference in 2002 and were published in a selection of papers from the conference two years later, in 2004.

A review of the previously published literature on the Welsh in Argentina shows that the major research has concentrated on several issues: sociological and historical accounts of the shift away from Welsh to Spanish (G. Williams, 1975, 1991), the forms of Welsh used by Welsh speakers (R.O. Jones, 1974) and attitudes towards the Welsh language by Welsh speakers (R.O. Jones, 1976; Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981 and Virkel, 1999). These accounts have been constructed over a period of nearly three decades from the time of the first studies by Glyn Williams and Robert Owen Jones, until that of Ana Virkel, and therefore fail to include recent developments in Welsh life in the Chubut Province, such as the effect of the Welsh Language Teaching Project. Attitudes towards the Welsh language would need to be re-assessed following the introduction and continuation of this large-scale project. The previous academic research has concentrated solely on the Welsh community, rather than contextualising it within the wider community. There is therefore a need to find

out how non-members of the Welsh ethnic group and community perceive the Welsh and Welshness. Research has been geographically limited to the Gaiman and Trelew areas, but the Welsh community in the Chubut Province is spread over a number of locations (see section 1.4.1), and the research should reflect this. Similarly, previous research has used only a small sample, and in order to better represent different attitudes and opinions towards Welsh, a larger sample is needed. There is a need for a more comprehensive survey of attitudes towards Welsh in the Chubut Province, one that is spread across a wider geographical area and that includes the 'outgroup', not just the Welsh community. The third section of this chapter will discuss in detail the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, and its potential for use in a study of this sort.

### **2.3 The origins of ethnolinguistic vitality theory**

This section will provide a brief overview of the origins of ethnolinguistic vitality theory developed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). This will include the strands which fed into the original conceptualisation of ethnolinguistic vitality theory, the developments made in its early years and then raise some of the concerns which have been expressed more recently about the viability of the construct. Previous articles on the beginnings of vitality theories include that of Harwood, Giles and Bourhis (1994).

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory has its origins in the social psychological work of Henri Tajfel (1974, 1978) and Howard Giles during the 1970s (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975) and further developments by Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987). The theoretical basis for ethnolinguistic vitality has its roots in Tajfel's Theory of Intergroup Relations and Giles's Theory of Interpersonal Accommodation through Speech (Giles et al., 1977). Tajfel's theories of intergroup relations (Giles et al., 1977: 318-321) include the

importance of self-definition and characterization, which leads to a social identity which is in opposition to other groups to varying degrees. These theories include the concept that groups are in competition with each other for status and position. It is therefore expected that members of this 'ingroup' would seek to promote themselves as superior to 'outgroup' members on valued dimensions, for example language, social status or religion, and that this would lead to positive distinctiveness. If the 'ingroup' were unable to view themselves positively in contrast to the 'outgroup' then they would be forced to accept themselves as 'inferior' in some way and accept the superiority of the 'outgroup' or seek to merge with the 'outgroup' taking on their characteristics (Giles et al., 1977: 320). Theories of speech accommodation (Giles et al., 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975) discuss the motivation and social consequences which underlie changes in people's speech styles. It is suggested that when conversations take place between two ethnic groups (an intergroup conversation) with different languages (an interlanguage conversation) there are many different methods and styles of convergence or divergence between speakers, dependent upon the willingness and speech repertoires of the participants, ranging from total accommodation of speech by one of the speakers to a blank refusal to change or alter any form of speech (including rapidity of speech, language used etc.) by both speakers (Giles et al., 1977: 328-331).

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory was developed from social psychological theory, an approach to language in social interaction that attempts to explain not only the existence of social norms and rules which govern verbal behaviour, but also 'seeks to explain how speakers perceive and internalise these norms depending on their psychological needs and aspirations' (Bourhis, 1979: 128). It moves away from describing the speech of individuals or groups but attempts to explain the reasons behind these differences, how these change perceptions and the impacts that these processes have upon the participants. Bourhis (1979: 119) suggests that

'social psychological factors can help explain why individual speakers use the speech strategies they do in terms other than just social norms and rules.' He cites factors such as 'ethnic identity, ethnic threat, ethnocentrism and intergroup attitudes' as important social psychological motivations which may help to explain the choice of individuals and of ethnolinguistic groups (1979: 122).

The strands which make up ethnolinguistic theory were first drawn together by Giles et al. (1977). This included a taxonomy of the structural variables which they considered to affect ethnolinguistic vitality. The variables were divided into three different dimensions. These scales relate to the status of the group in economic or social terms; the group's demography, including the numbers and proportion of the population, and also to the institutional support which the group receives, either in a 'formal' manner, such as education or governmental services, or through 'informal' means, such as religion. This taxonomy is still in use to explain the factors that lead to an assessment of a group's ethnolinguistic vitality.

The variables of ethnolinguistic vitality, as defined by Giles et al. (1977: 309) are according to three factors: status, demography and institutional support. The relationship between these factors can be found in Figure 2.1 and will be described below.

There are four variables in the status factor, relating to economic status, social status, sociohistorical status and language status. Economic status refers to the level of control which a group holds over its economic well-being, for example the vitality of the Jewish diaspora over the years has been through their control of the economic environment around them (ibid. 310; Cohen, 1997). The social status of a group refers to the group's self-esteem, how they position themselves in contrast to other groups. A group with a high self-esteem or vitality is

likely to grow, while a group with a low self-esteem or vitality is likely to decrease in membership and importance. Socio-historical status is defined according to the traditional position of the group. The language status is defined by the status of the language both inside and outside of the language community. For example, a language may be highly prized within the language community but not by groups outside the community. In contrast, as with French speakers in many provinces of Canada, a language may have an international prestige but not be so well regarded within the community, where, in this example, French is considered less important than English (Landry and Allard, 1994a).

Demographic factors can be divided into two different sections, one relating to group distribution factors and the other relating to group numbers factors. Included in the group distribution factors are national territory, concentration and proportion. National territory is defined as the ancestral home of the group, where they feel a sense of legitimacy as the rightful inhabitants of the region. Many of these national territories have been politically divided, separating members of the same ethnolinguistic group across officially recognised territorial boundaries, such as the Hungarians, Romanians and Serbs in South-Eastern Europe (White, 2000). Concentration refers to the diffusion of members of a group. There may, for example, be a large number of migrant workers from one ethnolinguistic group living in a different territory, but if they are geographically isolated and have little social contact with each other, then they are unlikely to be able to develop a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977: 313). This is in contrast with communities where group members interact on a daily basis. The proportion of speakers of a language is also of great importance to the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group as the inter-group relations are dependent upon the number of language speakers in each group in each individual context.

There are a further five variables included that take into account 'group numbers'. These are absolute numbers, birth-rate, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration. The absolute numbers variable is the number of actual speakers of the language. It is believed that the more speakers of the language, the higher the vitality that the group possesses. The group's birth-rate in comparison with the out-group's birth-rate will show whether or not there is likely to be an increase in one group when compared to the other, which will supposedly be reflected in the group's vitality (ibid. 314). It is claimed that mixed-marriages have an effect which displaces the subordinate language and therefore the fewer mixed marriages, the better this will be for the maintenance of the subordinate language (ibid. 314). Immigration can increase the vitality of a group by being a population who learn the in-group's language or can decrease it by learning the out-group's language and thereby strengthening their position (ibid. 314). Similarly, large-scale emigration of members of the in-group, either for economic reasons or through expulsion, can weaken the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group, while the emigration of out-group members can strengthen the in-group's vitality.

Giles et al. (1977: 315) explain that 'Institutional support refers to the degree of formal and informal support a language receives in the various institutions of a nation, region or community.' The variables that make up institutional support represent different levels of formality from that which is centrally organised, such as the mass media, education and government services. The actions of these institutions are presumed to reflect the priorities of the state as a whole and can only be influenced by well organised ethnolinguistic groups. This

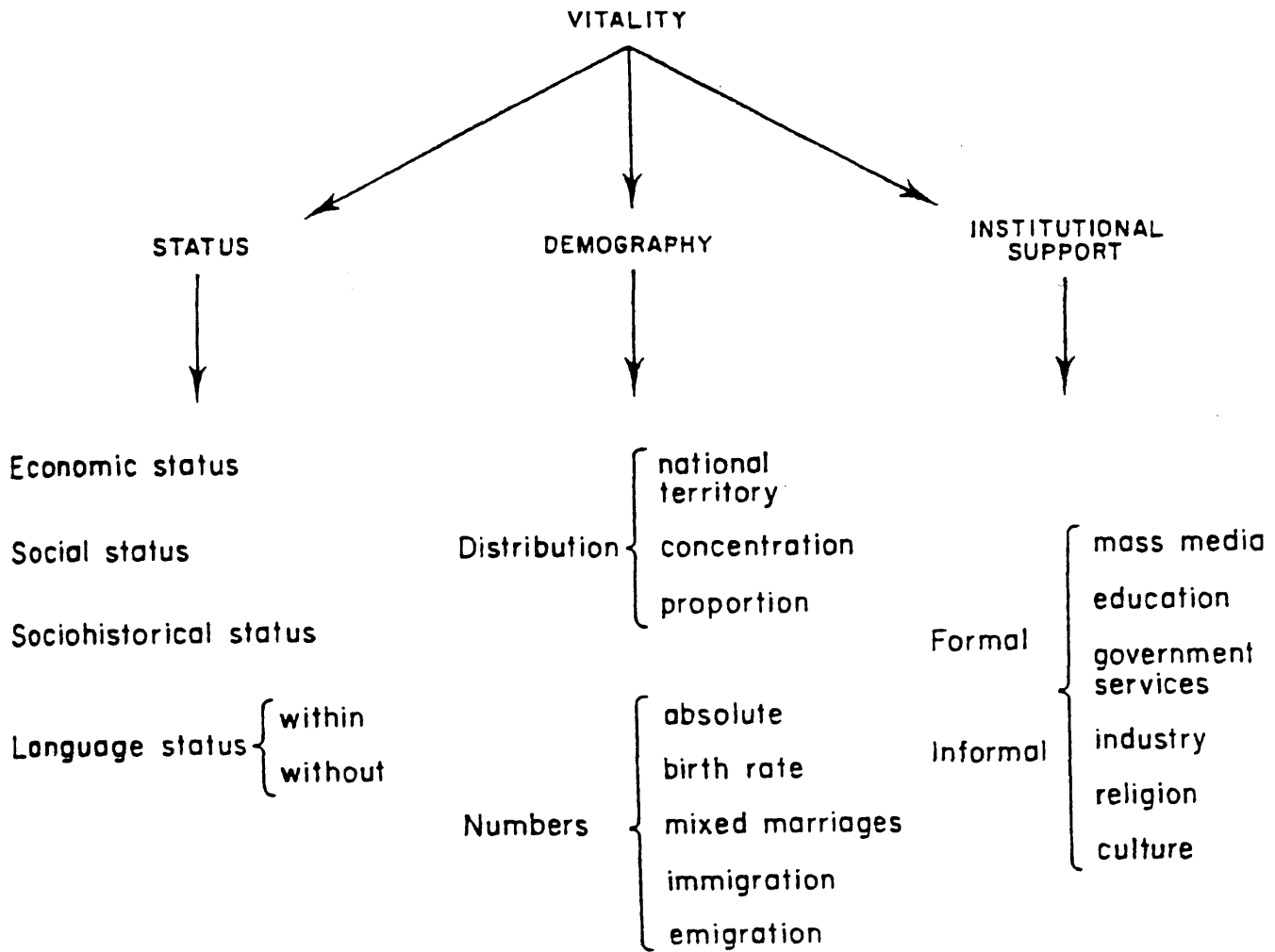


Figure 2.1: Ethnolinguistic vitality theory variables  
 Source: Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977: 309)

continuum then continues to more informal influences which can be changed at a more local level or are more representative of the actions of the community. Closer to this level of informality is industry, religion and culture, all of which are more responsive to local needs. Although noting the importance of these six variables in determining the amount of institutional support that is received by an ethnolinguistic group, Giles et al. go on to note (ibid. 316) that these six elements are not all inclusive and offer examples where other elements of institutional support may change the overall perception of the institutional support enjoyed by an ethnolinguistic group.

Giles et al. (ibid. 317) go on to explain how they rank the respective ethnolinguistic vitality of different groups, using a scale from high to low. In-between these two anchors are medium-high, medium and low-medium. Using five different ethnolinguistic groups, they suggest some configurations (as seen in Table 2.7). This shows that Anglo-American English has high vitality in all three factors and therefore an overall high vitality. At the other end of the scale, Albanian-Greek has low vitality in all three factors and therefore an overall low vitality. Between these two groups, French-Canadian, Welsh and Mexican-American are given as three examples where they have different vitality ratings for different factors and therefore a mixed outcome, French-Canadian vitality being considered to be medium-high, Welsh vitality considered to be medium and Mexican-American vitality considered to be low-medium.



Sociolinguistic Group	Status	Demography	Institutional Support	Overall Vitality
Anglo-American	High	High	High	High
French-Canadian	Low-Medium	High	Medium	Medium-High
Welsh	Medium	Medium	Low-Medium	Medium
Mexican-American	Low	Medium	Low-Medium	Low-Medium
Albanian-Greek	Low	Low	Low	Low

*Table 2.7: Suggestions of ethnolinguistic vitality ratings*  
Giles et al. (1977: 317)

Ros, Cano and Huici (1987) (in Lasagabaster 2004: 290) offer a similar description of vitality amongst the languages in Spain. This is shown in Table 2.8.

Grupo sociolingüístico	Estatus	Demografía	Apoyo Institucional	Total
Castellano	Alto	Alta	Alto	Alto
Catalan	Alto	Media-baja	Medio-alto	Media-alta
Euskara	Medio	Baja	Medio	Media
Valenciano	Medio-bajo	Media	Bajo	Media-baja
Gallego	Medio-bajo	Media	Bajo	Media-baja

*Table 2.8: Ethnolinguistic vitality in the Spanish national context*  
Ros, Cano and Huici (1987) in Lasagabaster (2004: 290)

It was originally postulated (Giles et al., 1977: 308) that the greater the ethnolinguistic vitality held by a group, the greater the likelihood that the language would survive and thrive, and, conversely, that a group or language with a low ethnolinguistic vitality would have less chance of survival. Social psychological theories (Giles et al., 1977) suggested that individuals who felt that they belonged to a group with lower ethnolinguistic vitality would attempt to pass into the dominant group. However, testing of this theory (Giles and Johnson, 1987; Johnson, Giles and Bourhis, 1983) showed that, under certain circumstances, an awareness or belief of low ethnolinguistic vitality could also be a spur to greater efforts on behalf of the group and language thereby increasing the vitality. This was related to the perceived legitimacy of the group's position. It was also noted, though, there must be a point

at which a significant proportion of the group may abandon the language and it could be considered as losing in vitality. The findings here are also illustrative of the differences between objective vitality and subjective vitality of a language or ethnolinguistic group. The objective vitality is that which can supposedly be measured through an analysis of the various dimensions which make up 'ethnolinguistic vitality' and lead to a conclusion that a group has 'high vitality', 'low vitality' or, more normally, one of many shades of grey between these two poles. However, while objective vitality offers an unbiased picture of the ethnolinguistic situation, the outcomes of these tests may not be reflected in the feelings of the people who participate in conversations. It is here that subjective vitality becomes important as it attempts to measure how and in what manner participants will react in encounters, as well as providing valuable insights into how groups measure themselves in inter-group situations, including accentuating or attenuating inter-group differences in language, demography and status (Giles, Rosenthal and Young, 1985). In this way subjective vitality is a better measure of what people will actually do, whereas objective vitality gives an independent picture of the situation.

While an objective assessment of a group's ethnolinguistic vitality could be used as a means of explaining society-wide changes in inter-group behaviour, it was soon found necessary (Johnson et al., 1983) to create a tool which could give an insight into individual perspectives on ethnolinguistic vitality and how people themselves interpreted ethnic issues. As a result of this, the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) was developed by Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) as a means of testing theories regarding comparative views on ethnolinguistic vitality. The 22 questions included in the SVQ were chosen to each represent one of the dimensions which made up Giles et al.'s taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality (1977: 309).

The SVQ was first tested in Melbourne, Australia (Giles et al. 1985) upon the Anglo- and Greek-Australian population where it illustrated the attitudinal differences between members of the two groups on a variety of issues, as well as noting the differences between the perceived ethnolinguistic vitality and the 'objective' reality of the situation. The SVQ has also been adapted for a number of different ethnolinguistic contexts including Italian-Canadians (Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984), Chinese-Canadians (Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang, and D'Eye, 1987), Cantonese professionals in Hong Kong (Pierson, Giles and Young, 1987), French and German speaking Swiss (Young, Bell and Giles, 1988), the situation in Israel (Kraemer and Olshtain, 1989), the Vietnamese in Australia (Currie and Hogg, 1994) and in Catalonia and Friesland (Ytsma, Viladot and Giles, 1994).

A number of studies have been carried out on communities that allow comparison with the Welsh community in the Chubut Province. The foci of these studies were relatively small scale but well-established migrant communities attempting maintaining their identity in a cosmopolitan social sphere. The principal finding of studies about the Acadian French in Louisiana by Landry, Allard and Henry (1996) was that there was a correlation between vitality perceptions and the respondent's fluency in the language. A similar finding was uncovered by Gibbons and Ashcroft (1995) in their study of Italian vitality in Sydney, Australia, where high proficiency Italian speakers were more positive about the vitality of Italian than low proficiency speakers (Gibbons and Ashcroft, 1995: 299). Gibbons and Ashcroft also note that perceptions of vitality regarding language and the community were slightly different, suggesting that, although one of the principles that underlies ethnolinguistic vitality, the language is not necessarily central to maintenance of a strong ethnic identity. A third study of interest is that of Kristiansen, Harwood and Giles (1991) in Solvang, a small Danish-American settlement. A comparison of subjective vitality assessments by people from

Danish, Anglo and Hispanic ethnic groups showed a perceptual distortion in favour of the 'outgroup', that all groups gave higher subjective vitality ratings to the 'outgroup' than their own community. In the case of the Danish group rating the Anglos, this is an expected finding given the high vitality of English in the United States, while the high Anglo rating of the Danish vitality is attributed to the importance of heritage and Danish-related economic activities in the town. The findings of these three studies which resemble the experiences of the Welsh in the Chubut Province will be taken into consideration later in the thesis.

The processes involved in ethnolinguistic vitality are not static in their operation (Johnson et al., 1983). Therefore a belief that a language which previously had low status has improved its position may lead to ingroup members increasing their efforts on their behalf and subsequently increasing its vitality. Alternatively, a general belief that the vitality of a language is slipping may lead to a loss of confidence in the group's institutions and therefore a loss in the vitality. This can make it difficult to gain a clear picture of an ethnolinguistic group's vitality as the confidence of a group can change very quickly dependent both upon the context of the research and the interference of other important considerations which are not based around ethnic ties, not least when the boundaries between groups become blurred. The effect of political changes is clear from studies that have taken place in Hong Kong around the time of the signing of the treaty to end British control and return Hong Kong to China (Pierson et al., 1987; Pierson, 1994) and the Intifada in Israel (Kraemer and Olshtain, 1989; Kraemer, 1992; Kraemer, Olshtain and Badier, 1994). The subjective vitality of a group can therefore fluctuate significantly subject to these differing factors and the result of an ethnolinguistic vitality study is therefore only a 'snapshot' of perceptions.

The most robust criticism of ethnolinguistic vitality was that of Husband and Khan (1982) in which a series of concerns are expressed about the use of vitality as a concept. Amongst the most serious criticisms levelled at the ethnolinguistic vitality concept, Husband and Khan believed that it was 'conceptually ambiguous' (1982: 194) and 'an untheorised pot pourri' (1982: 195). They claimed that it was far from simple to derive vitality from 'readily available sociological and demographic information' as suggested by Bourhis et al. in 1981, and that such an aggregation of data was 'likely to produce a *clear* but dangerously simplified analysis of types of ethnolinguistic group' (Husband and Khan, 1982: 194; their italics). They believed that dividing groups into such broad categories as having 'high', 'medium to low' etc. was a less than meaningful simplification of what is often a complex set of circumstances. Furthermore, I feel that given the extent of research undertaken in search of the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, whether the objective or subjective vitality, this appears a very broad and simple finding to research questions. Husband and Khan were also concerned by Giles et al.'s (1977) definitions of the independent variables chosen, claiming that these variables are, in fact, inter-related, for example that a group's current social status is dependent upon their socio-historical status and that these cannot be separated (Husband and Khan, 1982: 185). Husband and Khan also claimed that because the original ethnolinguistic vitality concept was atheoretical, because of 'the absence of a theory, they have no means of sifting and weighting the many variables listed' (1982: 195) in the original taxonomy (Giles et al., 1977: 309) and the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al., 1981: 161-163). For the purposes of this research about the Welsh in the Chubut Province, one other criticism by Husband and Khan (1982: 198) is worthy of comment. In order to contextualise their criticisms, they use the example of the Punjabi-Pakistani and English monolingual speakers in Bradford, England. They drew attention to the fact that:

the breakdown of demographic variables does not recognise that many ethnolinguistic groups (at least in England) are not indigenous ethnic minorities. A typical feature of non-indigenous ethnic minorities is their dislocation from their 'traditional 'national' territory'...Accepting this enlarged geographical framework and the possibility of the *mobility* of group members influences the need and type of institutional support organised by the minority groups and allows direct contact with the language of the homeland. Similarly, the types and channels of communication with the homeland influence language use and identity development.

(Husband and Khan, 1982: 198; Husband and Khan's italics)

As already noted in chapter one, the Welsh in the Chubut Province are in regular contact with the Welsh in Wales, so this criticism is valid for the purposes of this research. Johnson et al. (1983) rebutted these criticisms, arguing principally that ethnolinguistic vitality was a work in progress model that has shown its value in several test situations and that it will be adapted according to the findings of empirical data. The rebuttal focuses largely on the lack of constructive criticism from Husband and Khan (1982) regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality concept, with Johnson et al. (1983) suggesting that the nuances of the concept and adaptability of the questionnaire instrument were more than sufficient for their purposes in identifying the objective and subjective vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. In response to the points made by Husband and Khan (1982) regarding the links between the original homeland and the new land to which migration has been made, the response was a rather dismissive confirmation that the questionnaire can be adapted to meet such needs, without fully explaining how. As shown earlier, the existence of transnational links makes this important in the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province and must be taken into account when drawing conclusions about the vitality of the Welsh ethnolinguistic group there.

Making a similar argument, other critics of ethnolinguistic vitality are Glyn Williams and Delyth Morris who say that '[ethnolinguistic vitality] is fundamentally a typological rather than theoretical model, and...involves the spatial distribution of minority-language speakers' (G. Williams and Morris, 2000: xxxi). Williams and Morris go on to argue that

ethnolinguistic vitality fails to understand both sociology and economics, with no 'clear conception of social structure and an equally weak understanding of the relationship between language and labour markets within the dynamics of economic restructuring.' (ibid.). These criticisms of the vitality concept are returned to, in part, in discussions of the wider linguistic economy (see section 5.3).

The first major revision to the ethnolinguistic vitality concept was that of Allard and Landry in 1986. Allard and Landry advanced the concept through several different methods. Firstly, they attempted to add theory to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality by giving ethnolinguistic vitality a purpose beyond explaining inter-group interactions. Allard and Landry (1986: 4) argued that ethnolinguistic vitality should be 'cognitive based with prediction of behaviour as its goal, an aspect which is lacking or has not yet been considered, to our knowledge, in the present research on subjective ethnolinguistic vitality.' Allard and Landry went on to develop a belief system for their research, of which subjective vitality was just one belief. These can be found in Table 2.9, as explained by Mann (2000: 462).

Using their different beliefs, Allard and Landry (1986) also identified the need for a different questionnaire to the SVQ. This questionnaire, the Beliefs Evaluative Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), has been adapted over time to reflect the findings of different research carried out. The 2002 edition of the BEVQ features questions relating to all eight beliefs with twelve questions for each belief. When answered for both languages, this is a total of 192 responses. Landry and Allard have the advantage of institutional support for their research which allows them access to a 'captive' school-age audience as informants. Completion of a questionnaire of this length in a less formal capacity may be more difficult. Also changed are the variables

to be used in ethnolinguistic vitality. Using the definition of ‘capital’ as suggested by Bourdieu (1986) and by Prujiner et al. (1984, in Allard and Landry, 1986), the variables are

1. <b>Present Vitality:</b> a group’s perception of its and other group(s) relative degrees of vitality
2. <b>Future Vitality:</b> the latter, in terms of the future
3. <b>Legitimate Vitality:</b> a group’s perception of the justice of its present degree of vitality, relative to other groups
4. <b>Social models:</b> beliefs based on the behaviour of friends and social models, relating to ethnolinguistic vitality
5. <b>Belongingness:</b> an individual’s beliefs, relating to his sense of belonging to an ethnolinguistic group
6. <b>Valorization:</b> beliefs on the degree to which a group members feels he should have access to the resources identified by ethnolinguistic factors
7. <b>Efficacy:</b> beliefs reflecting a group member’s degree of confidence concerning his ability to achieve personal goals formulated in the light of EV factors
8. <b>Goals and wishes:</b> beliefs that provide information on a group member’s desire to have access to and utilize resources identified by EV factors

*Table 2.9: Self and social beliefs approach*

Source: Mann (2000: 462), adapted from Allard and Landry (1992)

divided into four factors. The status variables were removed as these were seen to be the ‘result’ of perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality rather than the independent variables which lead to perceptions of vitality. The demographic variables remained as a factor while the Institutional Support variables were broadened in their importance to reflect a group’s economic, political and cultural capitals. Landry and Allard (1994c) added these factors into a model of additive and subtractive bilingualism (see Figure 2.2) in which ethnolinguistic vitality is seen as a sociological level in influencing language behaviour. The Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), the people, media etc. with whom the individual interacts during their lifespan (based on the ideas of Milroy, 1980) is the socio-psychological



level, while other factors such as aptitude and competence in languages and vitality beliefs and identity make up a psychological level.

Tested in the Canadian environment, the BEVQ was claimed to be a better predictor of language use, i.e. the language which will be used in specific social situations (e.g. French speaker amongst friends or when attending a cultural event) (Allard and Landry, 1994) than the SVQ, although they acknowledged that the SVQ was nevertheless a better predictor than previous tools. Allard and Landry claim that the BEVQ explains 70% of variance, while the SVQ explains 44% (1994). The advantage of the BEVQ is its thoroughness in covering a large number of issues in one questionnaire. This is also its disadvantage as the number of responses required may be unpractical for use outside of the captive audience of a classroom situation or in locations without a high level of literacy. They have attempted to circumvent these difficulties by analysing which questions are most important, through the use of Cronbach's Alpha (Allard and Landry, 2002) which finds the questions which give higher levels of internal consistency amongst items. This means that the questionnaire can be shortened by only using the questions which are the best predictors of behaviour.

In recent papers, Landry, Allard, Deveau and Bourgeois (2005) have further developed these concepts with a model in which objective ethnolinguistic vitality and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality are both considered to be just two of a number of factors that come into play in the bilingual identity and actual language usage. The majority of research by Landry and others (Allard and Landry, 1986, 1994, 2002; Landry 2004, 2005; Landry and Allard, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; Deveau et al. 2005; Landry et al. 2005; Landry, Deveau and Allard, 2006; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2006; Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Labrie and Clement, 1986) is carried out in Anglo-French situations in Canada in which a significant

amount of previous research has been conducted on language attitudes, including official census data. In the Chubut Province, relatively little of this type of data or research exists (see section 2.2). For this reason, although taking into account the significant quantitative work done by Landry, Allard and others in Canada, for research being conducted in the Welsh context in the Chubut Province, using the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and adopting the aim of finding how different groups perceive the Welsh seems to be more realistic as a means of providing a benchmark for future studies.

Recent research using the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality has included that of Mann (2000), Atkinson (2000), Caesenoves-Ferrer and Sankoff (2003), Shaaban and Ghaith (2002), Yagmur and Kroon (2003), Smith (2006) and Beswick (2006). Their differing interpretations of ethnolinguistic vitality are explained below.

Mann (2000) suggested that the continued growth of Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) in Nigeria undermines the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality because a language with low status, low demography and low institutional support should not experience significant growth in use. He suggested that a new term, 'sociolinguistic vitality', be used to take into account languages such as ANP. I would argue that ethnolinguistic vitality is a measure not only of the strength of the language but of the strength of the community that is represented by this language and that Mann's suggestion for 'sociolinguistic vitality' relates to the 'capital' of a language (as noted above by Allard and Landry, 1986; Bourdieu, 1986) which does not represent a culture (such as ANP) or whose use has been abstracted from its traditional settings as part of the wider linguistic economy (discussed in more detail in section 5.3). Shaaban and Ghaith's (2002) analysis of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Arabic, French and English in Lebanon followed a similar pattern in being an analysis of perceptions

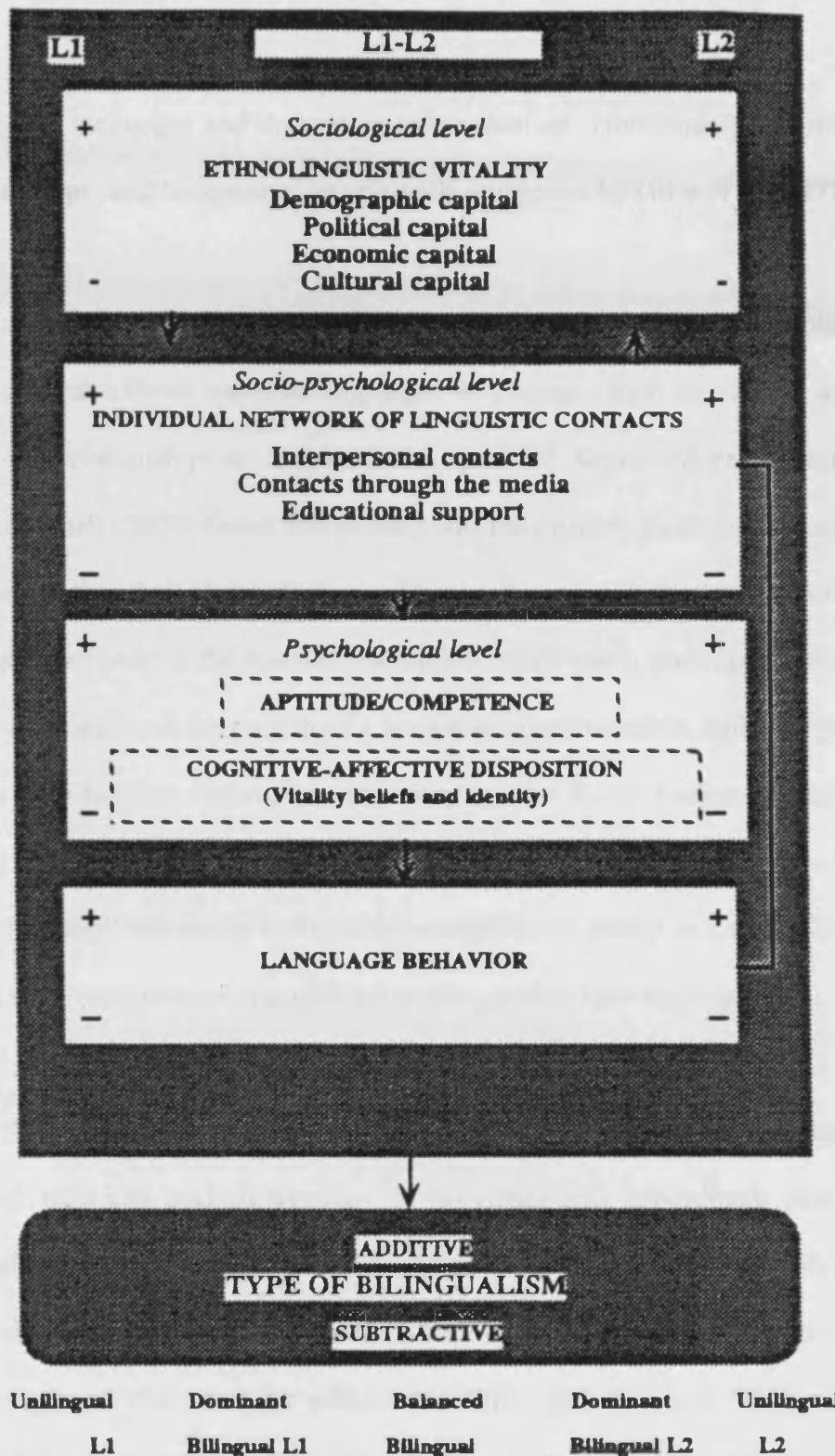


Figure 2.2: Model of the determinants of additive and subtractive bilingualism

Source: R. Landry and R. Allard (1994c: 23)

of vitality of the individual languages and their users rather than an 'ethnolinguistic' group view of vitality with 'ingroups' and 'outgroups' as originally suggested by Giles et al. (1977).

Atkinson (2000) explained the comparative 'minority' position of Catalan, a language spoken by more people than several official national languages in Europe (such as Danish and Norwegian), through its relationship as a constituent part of Spain. More recently, Caesenoves-Ferrer and Sankoff (2003) found that identity was the primary factor of language choice in Valencia, Spain, rather than social class or political orientation. Yagmur and Kroon (2003) found that in Bashkortostan in the Russian Federation, there was a growing sense of vitality for the Bashkir language and the growth of a revitalisation movement. Smith (2006) showed that perceptions of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality in New Zealand effect teachers' attitudes towards language teaching. Beswick (2006) used ethnolinguistic vitality to investigate the reasons for third generation Portuguese immigrants in Jersey to return to the 'heritage' language and use Portuguese in in-group interactions, rather than English.

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory was first developed during the 1970s as a means of explaining the social psychological activities and motivations of dominant and subordinate ethnic groups. Research into ethnolinguistic vitality has been carried out not only on the 'objective' vitality of groups, but also into the subjective vitality which individuals believe is held by both the ingroup and outgroup. The need for subjective vitality and the tools (SVQ and BEVQ) which were created and adapted was to predict language choices made by groups and by the individuals within. At its roots, ethnolinguistic vitality is about the linguistic motivations of ethnically similar groups of people and should not be confused with the linguistic vitality of a language. It is a social psychological construct which can be invoked in sociolinguistics. More research is required into where and when groups act on behalf of their

ethnolinguistic vitality and when they choose to act on behalf of a different categorization, e.g. class, and into the many other variables, such as diaspora which may interfere with ethnolinguistic vitality.

The discussion of previous literature above has shown that the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality is appropriate for describing and explaining the strength of Welsh in the Chubut Province. I shall use the concept to study subjective perceptions of the Welsh from residents of the region. It is clear from the context (sections 1.3 – 1.6) and previous academic research on the Welsh (section 2.2) that any study must take into account the position of not just the Welsh language, but also Welsh culture, taking into account Fishman's 'X-man via Y-ish' comments (Fishman, 1991) on members of the community who no longer speak the traditional community language. Chapter three will explain the methodology used to carry out this survey of attitudes towards the Welsh language and Welsh culture in the Chubut Province.

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY**

Following contextualisation of the Welsh in the Chubut Province in chapter one and an analysis of previous literature in chapter two, this chapter will discuss the methodology used in carrying out this research. There is a brief description of the advantages and disadvantages of different research methods, followed by the research questions that will be answered during the course of this thesis. This chapter then goes on to explain how the quantitative research was developed through a questionnaire, detailing the questions to be included and the rationale behind these choices. These are then followed by an explanation of the format of the questionnaire and its distribution in the Chubut Province. Discussion of the quantitative methodology is completed with an explanation of the methods of analysis chosen to uncover the findings of the questionnaire. After discussing the quantitative research elements of the study, the aims of using a qualitative methodology for this research are explained, followed by a description of how these data were collected and analysed.

### **3.1. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies**

Quantitative and qualitative methodologies can offer different advantages in accessing data for analysis when conducting research. The aim of quantitative research methods is often to ‘discover how many and what kinds of people in the general or parent population have a particular characteristic which has been found to exist in the sample population. The aim is to infer a characteristic or a relationship between variables to a parent population.’ (Brannen, 1992: 5). The intention is to draw an accurate picture of the subject under research in a manner in which similarities and differences can be assumed, often according to typical social classifications such as age, gender, class or location differences. In the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, this would also involve issues such as affiliation to the Welsh

community and ethnic group and fluency in Welsh. Questionnaires are an effective manner of reaching a large number of the target population in a short period of time, according to the distribution methodology being used by the researcher. A questionnaire allows the researcher to briefly ask for information on a wide variety of topics, although not in such great depth as qualitative research can potentially provide.

In contrast, qualitative research privileges rich descriptive data, usually drawn from a smaller group of informants. While quantitative data makes it difficult to draw out the response of the individual, because it is interested in the relationship with the parent population, qualitative data aims to treat informants as individuals. Qualitative data is often uncovered through interview data, where the informant is asked a series of questions about a subject and allowed to talk as an 'expert', or where the researcher takes an observational role. This type of analysis notes that individuals can give very different responses to similar questions according to different interview conditions or even in the same interview or across a period of time. The level of analysis of qualitative data is dependent upon the aims of the research. The interviewer's paradox comes into play strongly when collecting qualitative data as many interviews are an unnatural situation for informants, who may tailor their responses according to perceived social desirability needs.

Studies of ethnolinguistic vitality have concentrated largely upon a quantitative methodology of distributing and analysing questionnaires, and few have attempted to uncover vitality data through adopting a qualitative methodology. Bourhis and Landry (pers. comm.: 2005) and Pierson (1994) felt the need for vitality to be interrogated in a different manner than quantitative research in order to further explain the findings that have been produced in the past. Pierson felt that a qualitative study would 'deepen and correct the interpretations and

claims of quantitative research' (1994: 56). Meanwhile, Landry (pers. comm.: 2005) believed that qualitative research would help uncover rich data on perceptions relating to vitality that might shed more light on linguistic choices made by informants in their everyday lives. In this way, a mixed methodology, using both quantitative and qualitative methodology, could illuminate more clearly the vitality held by a community.

Bryman (1988) suggests that there are clear advantages to combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. He notes that there are three main 'mixed methodologies'. These involve qualitative work facilitating quantitative work, quantitative work facilitating qualitative work or equal weight being attributed to both methods. In carrying out research in the Chubut Province, I carried out two separate but ultimately linked studies. A questionnaire survey would uncover the vitality of Welsh through traditional quantitative methodology and be achieved through the distribution of questionnaires. Meanwhile, I also intended to access qualitative data through a series of focus groups that would provide richer data.

Although suggested by Pierson (1994) and also by Bourhis and Landry (pers. comm., 2005), I do not intend to triangulate the results of the quantitative and qualitative data because of the methodological difficulties involved in carrying out this type of triangulation of data. Instead, I aim to broaden awareness of the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. As previously noted (section 2.3), the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire is based upon the original vitality taxonomy of Giles et al. (1977: 309). The SVQ and questionnaires based upon this generally only take into account the established taxonomy of variables. These were defined more than quarter of a century ago and it may be, as suggested in chapter two, that the variables important for defining vitality have changed in the intervening period. By adopting a qualitative methodology it may be possible to discuss with informants issues related to



vitality that have not been included in the traditional paradigm, thereby shedding new light on the concept of vitality.

After taking into account the advantages and disadvantages of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, as well as the potential for using a mixed methodology framework, it seems that adopting elements of both methodologies is most appropriate for this research. These are explained in greater detail in sections 3.3 to 3.6.

### **3.2. Research questions**

In determining current attitudes to Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, there are a number of research questions that need to be answered.

The most important question is also the most global:

1. What are the perceptions of the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, Argentina amongst residents of the region?

This question will be answered by means of the questionnaire instrument and focus groups that were suggested above in section 3.1 and will be discussed in more detail in sections 3.3 to 3.5.

The second question concerns the relative vitality of the Welsh language and Welsh culture in the Chubut Province and can be expressed as follows:

2. Is there a difference in the perceptions of the vitality of Welsh language and culture amongst the informants?

This question will be answered through a comparison of responses given by informants to questions relating to the vitality of Welsh language and Welsh culture.

The third question is regarding whether there are different responses to questions about vitality according to different independent variables, and is as follows:

3. Are there statistical differences between groups of informants according to different independent variables?

In responding to this question, quantitative research methods will also be used to discover what statistical relationships exist between informants' responses to the questionnaire according to a range of different independent variables. Independent variables that will be collected for testing include the respondents' age, gender, the location in which they were raised, their current location, occupation, fluency in oral and written Welsh and their affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community.

In addition to these questions about the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, there is the requirement to establish a greater understanding of sociolinguistic and social-psychological theory, so a further global research question is:

4. What does research about the Welsh in the Chubut Province tell us of the usefulness of ethnolinguistic vitality theory and does it shed any light on whether this theory can be improved?

The results of the questionnaire can be compared with the findings of previous research using ethnolinguistic vitality theory and the different forms of questionnaire employed. The questionnaire can be used to test whether there are additional items that are either unique to the Chubut Province situation or that need to be integrated into the wider paradigm. The qualitative data can be used to explore whether there are further issues relating to ethnolinguistic vitality that have not yet been uncovered and which may have wider consequences.

### **3.3. Questionnaire development**

As previously noted, the standard questionnaire for uncovering subjective vitality was the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) developed by Bourhis et al. (1981). This questionnaire asks for 44 responses to the 22 items that make up the original Vitality paradigm (Giles et al., 1977). Other vitality questionnaires were consulted, including the Belief Vitality Questionnaire of Allard and Landry (1986, 2002) and adaptations of these questionnaires by Lawson and Sachdev (1999) and Kraemer (1994). Other questionnaires such as those used by Coupland, Garrett and Bishop (2006) were analysed for useful content that could be adapted to the circumstances of the Chubut Province. Methodology used in earlier analyses of the situation in the Chubut Province by R.O. Jones (1974 and 1976) and Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler (1981) were also consulted.

After this consultation period and taking into account potential factors such as literacy of informants, the time required to complete the questionnaire and the circumstances under which it would be distributed, I took the decision to adapt the original Subjective Vitality Questionnaire to take into account the specific conditions of the Welsh in the Chubut Province. I hoped that, by adapting the SVQ, I would be able to uncover more rich and varied data than simply that requested by the original SVQ.

In order to answer the second research question, the choice was made to separate the Welsh language from the Welsh culture whenever possible as it was believed that the Welsh language appeared to be in a weaker position in the Chubut Province than Welsh culture. It was hoped that a separation of these two items would perhaps shed light on their comparative positions, as perceived by informants from the area, and answer the research question regarding the comparative positions of language and culture.

It was also decided that where possible all questions should follow the same pattern to allow comparison of data. A seven point Likert scale was adopted for all questions with 1 being the 'negative' response and 7 being the 'positive' response. The anchors for questions were all designed in the same fashion to prevent informants from becoming confused. The left hand was always used as the 'low'/'weak'/'negative' end represented by the number 1 with the right hand side of column always being 'high'/'strong'/'positive' represented by the number 7. There are advantages to varying this pattern, to avoid repeated patterns of responses, but the disadvantages of greater confusion and complexity appear greater.

The questionnaire was divided into five sections. These can be seen in Table 3.1. The full questionnaire can be found in appendix A.

Strength of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera
Importance of Welshness for the Chubut Valley and Cordillera
Support for the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera
Welsh identity in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera
Personal information

*Table 3.1: Questionnaire in five sections*

The strength of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera section of the questionnaire was designed to ask informants about the current vitality of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions. Nine questions were asked in this section, requiring 18 responses from informants.

As can be seen in appendix A, five of these questions were of a single-response nature, although Q2a also asks for the informant to decide which location they are claiming as their hometown. The intention of the first four questions was to uncover the broad perceptions of the perceived vitality of Welsh language and culture across the area and to uncover how this compared with perceptions in individual areas. This would give a global overview of the perception of Welsh linguistic and cultural vitality as well as allowing observation of more localised beliefs on the vitality of Welsh language and culture. The remaining questions asked informants to give judgements on various aspects of the interaction of people of different age groups with Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. These age groups were selected according to the need for readily distinguishable groups of people. They were defined as 'under 25', therefore equating with children and young adults, 'between 25 and 45', therefore equating with relatively young working people, 'between 45 and 65' to be equated with middle aged people and, finally, '65 and older' to be equated with those who had retired from work. The purpose of asking informants to rank according to different age groups was to uncover whether there was a perception that feelings towards Welsh, whether perceived usage, enthusiasm and participation in events, were related to age. The aim of these four questions as a whole was to uncover perceptions of the actual usage and enthusiasm for Welsh language and culture. These later questions relate to the demography section of the original vitality paradigm, as seen in section 2.3.

The section relating to the importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera was designed to assess the impact of the Welsh upon the region. The section included seven questions requiring eleven responses from informants. The majority of these questions were exo-centric questions relating to the importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions, and their populations, as a whole. The opening question was an ego-

centric question asking the informant to rate the personal importance of speaking Welsh (Q9). This was followed by a similar but exocentric question regarding the importance of speaking Welsh to the majority of people in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (Q10). These two questions were intended to uncover how the informants themselves perceived the importance of the language and how they perceived that 'others' in general saw the language. The following two questions were specifically aimed at uncovering how the 'outgroup' were considered to perceive the Welsh. One question asked what non-Welsh speakers thought of Welsh speakers (Q11) while the second asked what non-members of the Welsh community thought of those who were members (Q12). This is a means of discovering the status of the Welsh as perceived by the out-group. Informants were asked to rate the importance of Welshness for the identity of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (Q13) as a means of discovering the socio-historical importance of Welshness for the regions. Informants were also asked to rate the importance of Welsh culture for tourism purposes in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (Q14), in this way asking them to judge the local economic impact of the culture, and giving information about the economic capital held by the Welsh. The final question in this section was a multi-response question asking informants to rate their personal importance towards five different languages (Q15), an attempt to understand the position of Welsh in the wider linguistic economy (see section 5.3). The intention of this question is to identify how Welsh is perceived amongst inhabitants of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera vis-à-vis their daily language, Spanish, the international language, English, and two other languages of world standing. In this way, an ego-centric question regarding personal preferences and importance will be used to discuss international linguistic trends and how they impact upon the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. The questions in this section therefore relate to the importance of Welsh language and culture, with a mixture of ego-centric and

exo-centric questions asking informants to give a personal opinion and to judge how others perceive these issues.

The third section relates to only one question, but has eight responses. This question relates to the support for Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (Q16), what is known as the institutional support factor by Giles et al. (1977) in the original vitality paradigm. This question asks informants to rate the support given to Welsh language and culture (for reasons of space they were not separated in the questionnaire) by the mass media, education, government services, industry, tourism, religion, the Eisteddfod and other cultural events. The majority of these institutions are those identified by Giles, et al. (1977 - see section 2.3), but also included are two elements specific to the Welsh in the Chubut Province, tourism, which is clearly of great importance, and the Eisteddfod, a large Welsh cultural event (see section 1.4.3). This question will uncover the perceptions of informants regarding the amount of support offered to Welsh language and culture and how well they are represented in these diverse forms of public and institutional life.

The fourth section of questions is related to the Welsh identity in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. The first question asks informants to rate how 'Welsh' they feel (Q17). This question relates to their affiliation to the ethnic group. This is followed by two questions relating to the importance of Welsh culture, one an ego-centric question asking informants how important it is to them to know about Welsh culture (Q18), followed by an exo-centric question (Q19) asking them to rate how important other people believe it is to know about Welsh culture. In this way they are giving their own opinion and their belief of other people's perceptions of the importance of Welsh culture. The next question asks informants to rate their own position in (or outside of) the Welsh community. This will mark how they perceive

their role in the community and this may well be related to their affiliation to the Welsh group. The final four questions in this section are related to the shift in vitality that informants perceive to have taken place in the last decade and their predictions for the next decade. Answers to these questions will show the perceptions of trends that are taking place with the Welsh language and culture. As in the first section of questions, these questions were divided into language and culture questions so that informants could give differing responses if they felt that these trends were moving in different directions.

The fifth and final section of the questionnaire is the personal information required from the informants to allow analysis according to a series of independent variables. This section includes seven questions, two of which are in the same seven-point Likert scale as the remainder of the questionnaire while the others ask for the informant to write in data. This data was valuable in establishing independent variables that will be used to analyse responses collected to the questionnaire.

### **3.4. Questionnaire distribution**

The methods involved in distributing and collecting the questionnaire responses can have significant effects upon the validity of the results claimed upon the basis of the analysis of this data. This section will explain the methods of distribution used to obtain completed questionnaires in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, draw attention to some of the difficulties that were presented by this task and suggest improvements for future research in this area.

Prior to the research period in Argentina, a minimum number of 300 fully completed questionnaires were considered a suitable target number (Field 2000: 443). This was based upon the results and constraints found in previous quantitative research (see section 2.3), the





time frame for data collection, the distances involved in travelling between locations and the ability to thoroughly analyse the data which were being collected during the lifetime of the study.

A convenience sample with quotas was the best means of gaining a large number of completed questionnaires from the target respondents. Quotas were included for pre-determined independent variables such as age and location, either as percentages of the total number of questionnaires or as a discrete number of responses. For age, a minimum age of 16 was introduced with the intention of accessing members of all ages in the community. For location, the need to analyse the data in detail meant that a minimum aim of 20 respondents from each of the seven locations was considered suitable for comparison with other locations. A further aim of 0.1% of the total population of each location might increase the validity of the sample across the population. However, one of the aims of the research as a whole was to understand the relationships and differences in responses according to the informants' affiliation with the Welsh community or fluency in the Welsh language, amongst other independent variables. Therefore, in addition to the need for suitable informants according to age, gender and location, the intention was also to gain access to self-referring in-group members, peripheral group members and out-group members related to the Welsh community in order to achieve data collection from these groups for analysis. The Welsh community is known to be a group of significantly less than a third of the population of the region under survey (see section 1.4.1). This means that the results of the questionnaire should not be generalised across the whole community of the northern towns in the Chubut Province, but to illustrate differences in beliefs and opinions between different groups resident in the region, according to their affiliation to the Welsh community or fluency in the Welsh language.

Four editions of the questionnaire were printed for distribution. One edition was printed in Argentinean Spanish and another printed in standard Welsh. Alternative versions were printed in large-print in both languages. All four editions were monolingual in the language of choice with a large print instruction on the front page of all editions to inform the respondent of the existence of a large print version of the questionnaire and the existence of the questionnaire in a different language. 700 questionnaires were printed for distribution in this period. 630 were printed in standard print Argentinean Spanish, 50 in standard print Welsh and 10 each in large print of each language.

The questionnaire was distributed between September and November 2004 in the urban locations included in the Welsh Language Teaching Project. These were Dolavon (including 28 de Julio), Esquel, Gaiman, Puerto Madryn, Rawson (including Playa Union), Trelew and Trevelin. Residents from farming regions between these seven areas completed their location according to their nearest respective urban area under whose municipal governance they are included.

These were distributed in a variety of locations in the northern part of the Chubut Province in this period in order to gain a wide selection of informants. The locations where questionnaires were distributed can be found in Table 3.2. According to the aim of reaching members of the Welsh in-group, I approached members of Welsh community organisations to assist me in the distribution, completion and collection of questionnaires. These included Welsh language religious ministers and their congregations, Welsh language teachers and their classes and members of specifically Welsh organisations, such as folk dancing groups and choirs. In order to reach informants who might consider themselves as peripheral members of the Welsh community, an explicit priority of the questionnaire sampling in order

to avoid over-determining the constitution of 'Welsh people' in the survey, I approached audience members at Welsh events to complete questionnaires before performances or during the intervals. I also asked participants in Welsh language classes and Welsh cultural organisations to distribute questionnaires to their friends and family. Out-group members of the wider community were accessed through a variety of means. These included distribution of questionnaires at a gymnasium, internet café, local café's, local shops and information centres. In total, 675 questionnaires had been distributed by the end of November 2004. One drawback of this method is that the distribution of questionnaires at Welsh-related events may have pre-disposed pro-Welsh attitudes amongst informants. However, given the frequency and number of these events, this was by far the most appropriate means of accessing large numbers of high-affiliating Welsh community group members. The possibility of excessive pro-Welsh attitudes being formed at these events is taken into consideration in analysing the results.

The distribution of the questionnaire was comparatively successful with a return rate in excess of 50%. More than the target 300 completed questionnaires were returned. There were sufficient members of both genders included in the received questionnaires, while the ages of informants ranged from 16 to 88. More than twenty responses were collected from each of the remaining six locations included in the survey. In six of the seven locations this also included a population sample in excess of 0.1%. There were also sufficient respondents who claimed varying levels of membership of the Welsh ethnic group and community and varying levels of fluency in the Welsh language to enable analysis according to the seven scales for these categories. It was possible to use the information gained from the informants' location to extrapolate information on the strength of the Welsh community network in which people live, using the previously collected objective data.

Questionnaires were distributed at the following locations and events during this period.

**Dolavon:**

Welsh classes at William C. Morris secondary school  
Final year students at William C. Morris secondary school

**Esquel:**

Welsh classes at Canolfan Gymraeg yr Andes (Welsh centre)  
Tourist information centre  
Shop workers and customers in central business district  
Celtic folk dancing group (un-named)

**Gaiman:**

Welsh classes at Colegio Camwy (school)  
Final year students at Colegio Camwy (school)  
Breuddwyd tea house  
Tŷ Té Cymraeg (Welsh Tea House)  
Shop workers in central business district  
Eisteddfod de la Juventud  
Tourist information centre  
Tavarn Las café pub

**Puerto Madryn:**

Segundo foro internacional sobre los galeses en la Patagonia (Academic Conference)  
Students at San Juan Bosco University in Patagonia  
Tourist information centre  
Shop workers in central business district  
Welsh Investigation Centre  
Oceanography Museum

**Rawson:**

Chubut Bureau of Statistics  
Chubut Bureau of Tourism  
Tourist information centre

**Trelew:**

Welsh classes at San David  
Members of Capel Tabernacl (church)  
Members of Cylch Lenyddol (literary circle)  
Members of Gwanwyn Folk Dancing Group  
Gimnasio Flex, Calle Roca  
Cyber World internet café, Avenida Fontana  
Eisteddfod del Chubut  
Lewis Jones memorial service  
Trelew municipal youth service  
IPPI English language teaching institute  
SJ's café pub  
Libreria Almafuerte (bookshop)

**Trevelin:**

Welsh classes at Tŷ'r Hen Gapel (Old Church House)  
Tourist information centre  
Regional museum

Table 3.2: Locations at which questionnaires were distributed

The collection of the questionnaire therefore successfully met the criterion outlined prior to the distribution related to age, location, affiliation to the Welsh community and fluency in spoken Welsh.

### **3.5. Analysis of independent variables**

In total, 383 completed questionnaires were received at the time of the research period coming to an end in November 2004. These included eleven respondents who gave their location of permanent residence outside of the seven urban areas being surveyed. Seven gave their location as Buenos Aires, the Argentinean federal capital, and four respondents gave other locations. These responses were discounted from the survey as the purpose of this questionnaire was to determine the subjective vitality of Welsh language and culture according to permanent residents of these seven urban areas in the north of the Chubut Province. The remaining 372 respondents gave their location as one of the municipal areas under investigation. Three of these questionnaires were further removed from the survey due to insufficient personal data provided by the informant. These final 369 responses are a sample of approximately 0.15% of the population of the municipalities under investigation (see Table 1.1).

Five independent variables were utilised in the analysis of the questionnaire results. These were chosen according to the aims of the research and the data collected. As explained below, some of the independent variables were not used in the final analysis of the results.

#### **Age**

The age of the informant, as replied to Q25, was used to uncover whether there is a significant difference in the perception of the vitality of Welsh according to this independent

variable. As there was an age range of more than 70 years difference between the youngest and eldest respondents and there were very few age groups where the number of respondents was greater than 20, the informants were grouped according to age in order to interrogate the data. Informants were grouped into three approximately equal categories according to their age. This created an elder group with a large age range, greater in fact than the combined range of the two youngest groups. However, this should still allow for the creation of three relatively homogenous groups of young adults, often students, (aged 16-25), young working adults (aged 26-42) and older adults (middle aged and retired, aged 43-88). The sample clearly has a bias in favour of younger elements of the population.

<b>Age</b>	<i>n</i>	%
16-25	125	33.9
26-42	121	32.8
43-88	123	33.3
Total	369	100.0

*Table 3.3: Age of questionnaire respondents*

### **Gender**

The informant's gender, as replied to Q26, was used to determine whether there are significant differences in the perception of vitality of Welsh between men and women. This data needs no further treatment in order to be used for analysis as there are sufficient numbers of both genders who have completed the questionnaire. The ratio is 3:2 in the favour of women to men, an acceptable ratio for testing.

<b>Gender</b>	<i>n</i>	%
Male	148	40.1
Female	221	59.9
Total	369	100.0

*Table 3.4: Gender of questionnaire respondents*

### Oral Fluency in Welsh

The self-rated fluency in oral Welsh of the informant, as replied to Q30 was used as a measure of whether there are significant differences in perceptions of the vitality of Welsh according to 'fluency'. Very few respondents claimed to have high literacy levels in Welsh, their response to Q31, and there were not enough to conduct statistical tests. Therefore, the oral fluency of the informant is a better independent variable for determining differences of perception of the subjective vitality of Welsh language and culture. As the oral fluency question was asked using a seven point Likert scale, these responses can be seen as ranging from those who claim no oral ability whatsoever in Welsh, scale one on the seven point scale, to those who claim a very high level of fluency in spoken Welsh, who rate themselves as scale seven out of seven. A large number of informants, more than half of the sample, claimed to have no ability whatsoever in Welsh. This was expected, as the survey does not only include the Welsh ethnic group and community but the community as a whole in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. For statistical purposes, there were sufficient numbers of informants in each of these seven groups to allow further testing as an independent variable.

Oral Fluency in Welsh	<i>n</i>	%
Scale 1 (No Fluency)	198	53.7
Scale 2 (Low Fluency)	47	12.7
Scale 3 (Medium Low Fluency)	26	7.0
Scale 4 (Moderate Fluency)	27	7.3
Scale 5 (Moderate High Fluency)	27	7.3
Scale 6 (High Fluency)	24	6.5
Scale 7 (Very High Fluency)	20	5.4
Total	369	100.0

Table 3.5: Oral fluency in Welsh of questionnaire respondents

### **Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community**

The 'affiliation' of the informant that was used for further testing was developed as the composite result of two responses given during the course of the questionnaire. These were the responses to Q17, 'How 'Welsh' do you feel?', and Q20, 'To what extent do you feel that you are a member of the Welsh community in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' These two questions required the informant to rate their feelings of membership of the Welsh ethnic group and then to judge their own membership of the Welsh community. To arrive at a final score, the responses to these two questions were added together then divided by two to create a mean score. For ease of analysis and comparison, these were then grouped into seven scores to make it similar to the seven point Likert scales used throughout the questionnaire. Informants who averaged 1 over both questions were grouped as scale one (no affiliation). Those who averaged 1.5 or 2 were grouped as scale two (very weak affiliation) and so forth until those who averaged 6.5 or 7, who were grouped as scale seven (very high affiliation). There were sufficient numbers of informants in each of these seven groups to allow further testing. There are 17 informants 'missing' from this independent variable because they failed to complete both questions relating to this variable and so have been excluded from further analysis. These tests will uncover whether or not there are significant differences in the perceptions of the Vitality of Welsh according to the affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.



<b>Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community</b>	<i>n</i>	%
Scale 1 (No Affiliation)	84	22.8
Scale 2 (Weak Affiliation)	37	10.0
Scale 3 (Medium Weak Affiliation)	38	10.3
Scale 4 (Moderate Affiliation)	34	9.2
Scale 5 (Moderate Strong Affiliation)	40	10.8
Scale 6 (Strong Affiliation)	63	17.1
Scale 7 (Very Strong Affiliation)	56	15.2
Total	352	95.4
Missing	17	4.6

*Table 3.6: Affiliation of questionnaire respondents to the Welsh ethnic group and community*

### **Location**

The current location of the informant, as given in the reply to Q28, was used as the basis for discovering whether or not significant differences in the perception of the vitality of Welsh are uncovered according to the location in which the informants are resident. These have been coded as according to the previously defined seven locations of Dolavon (including 28 de Julio), Esquel, Gaiman, Puerto Madryn, Rawson, Trelew and Trevelin. At first glance, the number of respondents from Trelew would seem to be exceptionally large in the context of the survey, more than 40% of the total number of responses, but this was in context with the percentage of population which Trelew makes up in the survey (see Table 1.1). Many questionnaires completed in other locations would have Trelew as the informants' location. More than twenty completed questionnaires were received from all seven locations, meeting that quota. In six of the seven locations, more than 1.0% of the population was sampled. It was only in Puerto Madryn that this target was not fully met.

<b>Location</b>	<i>n</i>	%
Dolavon	26	7.0
Esquel	36	9.8
Gaiman	56	15.2
Puerto Madryn	36	9.8
Rawson	32	8.7
Trelew	160	43.4
Trevelin	23	6.2
Total	369	100.0

*Table 3.7: Location of questionnaire respondents*

### **Independent variables that were not tested**

Information was collected during the questionnaire that was not used for further testing as independent variables. This includes the written fluency in Welsh of informants (Q31), where it was found that too few informants had high level skills to allow testing of this independent variable. Difficulties were found in the coding of the categories for Occupation (Q29), with many elder informants describing their occupation as 'retired' rather than giving their previous occupation as asked in the questionnaire. Drawing comparisons with occupational categories as used in the UK was found to be difficult. However, it is believed that the questionnaire includes a significant majority of people of a comparatively well-educated background and social status. Finally, the question on the location of upbringing (Q27) is not being used because of spatial constraints. Responses to this question may yet provide rich data on the impact of in-migration to the Chubut Province and internal migration from one location in the province to another.

Analysis of the results of the questionnaire can be found in chapter four and appendix B.

### **3.6. Qualitative methodology**

My intention in using qualitative methodology was to conduct a series of interviews with residents of the Chubut Province to uncover their perceptions of the subjective vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. These were to be uncovered through a series of focus group-style interviews that would discuss a series of topics related to vitality. The aim was to stimulate discussion amongst participants that would not only reveal the vitality of Welsh in their perceptions but also to access people's more specific, individual accounts of vitality, as perceived through their own frames of reference.

The reason for this approach is that vitality was first theorised by Giles et al. in 1977 and took into account variables that were present during the 1970s. The world has changed during the more than quarter of a century and it may be that the elements that make up vitality have changed during this period of time. Furthermore, as noted by Giles et al. (1977: 311), it may be that the variables of vitality that are of most importance differ from community to community and that other variables may be present in this situation. Therefore, while the questionnaire was adapted from the original Subjective Vitality Questionnaire of Bourhis et al. (1981) and included the traditional elements of vitality, by allowing informants to talk about vitality themselves, they shed light on different aspects of vitality that are relevant in this region and might prove to be a general addition to the taxonomy of variables that make up vitality. This qualitative data was very useful in gathering 'rich' data to further understand the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province through the detail provided by informants. By doing this, I hoped to re-formulate the concept of vitality to take into account new variables that had not been noted in the original theory or in other reconstructions of the vitality concept that have taken place.

A list of topics was drawn up, intended to cover the basic elements of vitality and note issues which had been brought to my attention during my time in the Chubut Province. This list of questions can be found in Table 3.8. As part of the focus groups, informants were asked to introduce themselves and their relationship with the Welsh community and ethnic group before discussing topics that included the present vitality of Welsh language and culture, perceptions of the Welsh community, the importance of tourism, comparisons of Welsh with other language and communities and the institutional support provided for Welsh. As informal discussion was to be promoted in a 'semi-structured' manner, there was no fixed order to these questions as it was hoped that discussion would be 'organic' and that informants would themselves create topics for discussion rather than require to be 'led' from topic to topic.

The format of the interviews was intended to be a discussion of around 45 minutes with pre-formed groups of informants. Due to the nature of the interviews, a detailed discussion of the Vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, it was decided to concentrate on organising interviews with groups who were participant-members of the Welsh community. In completing the questionnaires, these informants usually rated themselves close to anchors that described themselves as feeling 'very Welsh' and 'full and active members of the Welsh community'. Pre-formed groups were chosen in order to negate any form of awkwardness in the interview situation and to allow free discussion amongst informants whose relationship with the Welsh community could be characterised as similar in at least one form. Interviews were held with groups from as many different towns as possible to allow the possibility of comparing across different locations.

The following questions provide a basic template for the group interviews that were carried out in November 2004.
Could you explain your relationship with the Welsh language and culture?
How much Welsh language and culture is there in your hometown?
How has this changed in the last decade?
How do other people see the Welsh community?
How does the Welsh community see itself?
What is the importance of Welsh to the tourism industry?
How important is Welsh language compared with other languages?
What support does Welsh receive and from where?

*Table 3.8: Prompts for focus group interviews*

Unfortunately, the limited amount of time spent in the Cordillera made it difficult to gain sufficient access to pre-formed groups in order to record an interview with informants from Trevelin, although interviews were carried out with informants in the remaining six locations. Groups were chosen according to their cultural practices so as to represent a wide range of Welsh cultural activities in these regions, such as chapel attendance, Welsh learners groups, Welsh language teachers, family groups and tea-house owners. The differences between these cultural activities also allowed diversification of participation in the interviews according to age and gender. Interviews were carried out in the language of the informants' choice. Full details of location, age, gender and language of interview, along with a note of the code to which the interview will later be referred can be found in Table 3.9.

Group	Participants	Location	Age	Gender	Language	Venue
1	3	Esquel	Middle	3F	Spanish	Welsh Centre
2	2	Dolavon	Young	2F	Spanish	School
3	3	Trelew	Old	3F	Welsh/Span	Home
4	5	Trelew	Young	4F 1M	English	College
5	3	Puerto Madryn	Young	3F	Spanish	Home
6	3	Trelew	Varied	3M	Welsh/Span	Home
7	3	Gaiman	Middle	2F 1M	Spanish	Shop
8	3	Gaiman	Middle	2M 1F	Welsh	School
9	4	Gaiman	Young	2F 2M	Spanish	School
10	2	Rawson	Old	2F	Welsh/Span	Home

*Table 3.9: Information about informants in the focus group interviews*

All ten focus groups were conducted in November 2004 with the use of a Sony portable mini-disc recorder MZ-B10 that was clearly laid on the table in front of the informants with a flat microphone capable of recording sound from all directions. Informants were asked to confirm their permission to be recorded at the beginning of the interview so that their comments could be used in this piece of research. Interviews took place in the most suitable locations where the informants would feel at ease, including participants' own homes (four), educational establishments (four), local community centres (one) and in the workplace (one).

There were 31 informants who represented a wide age range from 17 to 78. Two interview groups consisting solely of retired informants, two groups consisted of school-age informants, one group was of university student informants, while four groups were of working adult informants and one group of varying ages as part of a family unit. Twenty-one of the informants were female while ten were male, but this does seem to be relevant to levels of active participation in many voluntary Welsh cultural activities. The interviews represented informants in six different towns or cities in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera with single interviews taking place amongst informants in Dolavon, Esquel, Puerto Madryn and Rawson. Three interviews each were conducted in Gaiman and Trelew, reflecting the

wider range of Welsh cultural activities that take place in both locations and ease of access from my own location. The language of the interview depended upon the linguistic fluency of the informants. Five of the interviews contained monolingual Spanish speakers that determined that the interviews would be conducted in Spanish. One group were of fluent Welsh speakers who were able to maintain a discussion in the language throughout the whole interview. Another group were English language students at university level who participated in the interview as part of their course and so the interview was conducted in English. The remaining three groups included informants with full fluency in Spanish and varying degrees of fluency in Welsh. The interviews began in Welsh and Welsh was sometimes used throughout by different participants but there appeared a general accommodation towards the Spanish speakers as the interviews proceeded, including the need to ask questions bilingually to ensure that all participants were able to understand what was being required of them. Interviews lasted between 25 and 50 minutes depending upon the amount of discussion generated by the topics and the other commitments of the informants, such as childcare or employment.

There were a number of difficulties with the hosting of the interviews. As noted, some interviews were cut short by alternative commitments of the informants. More disappointingly, a number of invited informants were unable to attend at the time of the interview leading to smaller than anticipated groups participating in some of the interviews. However, non-attendance is a regular factor in gaining interview data in group situations (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas and Robson, 2001) and therefore the generally high attendance of invited informants was very good for the group interview process. This high attendance may have been related to the groups being pre-formed and therefore an expectation of attendance and participation through peer pressure. The interviews produced generally positive results

with informants willing to talk about the Welsh community and discuss a wide range of issues surrounding the language and culture.

After returning to Wales in December 2004, I transcribed the interviews with the intention of discussing their discourse rather than their methods of conversation. Having taken translation courses as part of my undergraduate degree, I translated the interviews from Spanish and Welsh into English while transcribing the interviews. Recognised difficulties of transcription were present, including muffled speech and multiple participants talking at the same time making speech unclear, but the translation provided no significant difficulties in being transcribed in a simple, but clear manner. The English language translations of the transcripts have been provided in appendix C for consultation. Each informant was allotted a separate letter to represent them in the transcripts in order to try and preserve their anonymity.



## CHAPTER FOUR: QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

### 4.1. Factor Analysis

The questionnaire data was entered into the SPSS 14 statistical analysis computer software programme and a factor analysis of these responses was conducted. As Gorsuch explains (1983: 2), the purpose of a factor analysis is 'to summarise the interrelationships between the variables in a concise but accurate manner'. The factor analysis is 'achieved by including the maximum amount of information from the original variables in as few derived variables, or factors, as possible to keep the solution understandable' (ibid.). The factor analysis should therefore simplify a wide array of variables, making it easier to group responses into factors according to the manner in which the informants responded to each of the questions. This will enable further analysis of questionnaire items according to their factored groups.

The questionnaire required the informant to make fifty-two responses. Of these, ten refer to personal data (affiliation, age, gender etc. as previously outlined in section 3.3 and listed in Table 4.1) and have been removed from the factor analysis as they will be used as independent variables later in the study (see section 3.5).

Question No.	Question
Q2a.	In which town do you live?
Q17.	How 'Welsh' do you feel?
Q20.	To what extent do you consider yourself a member of the Welsh community in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?
Q25.	Age
Q26.	Gender
Q27.	Place of residence during your youth
Q28.	Current place of residence
Q29.	Occupation
Q30.	Define your Oral Ability in Welsh
Q31.	Define your Written Ability in Welsh

*Table 4.1: Independent variable items not included in the factor analysis*

After testing for both high and low correlations between variables, five further items were removed from the factor analysis due to their non-significant correlation ( $p>0.05$ ) with the majority of other items (Field 2000: 444). These five items can be found in Table 4.2.

Question No.	Question
Q15a	How important is English to you?
Q15b	How important is French to you?
Q15c	How important is Portuguese to you?
Q15d	How important is Spanish to you?
Q16d	To what extent do you consider that Welsh language and culture receives support from Industry?

*Table 4.2: Items that were removed from the factor analysis due to low correlation with other variables*

The responses to the remaining thirty-seven items were then entered into a factor analysis equation using the ‘data reduction’ and ‘factor’ commands. The procedure was carried out according to that advised by Field (2000: 423-469). Principal axis factoring was used to ensure the best possible factor solution with each factor requiring an Eigenvalue of 1 or greater (Kaiser’s criterion - Field 2000: 434-437). After 9 iterations, a varimax rotation reduced these thirty-seven items into eight orthogonal factors with an Eigenvalue greater than 1. These eight factors explain 69.37% of the initial variance associated with the original scores from these items, and 61.63% of the variance following rotation of the factors to achieve the best possible factor solution. Table 4.3 demonstrates the loading of each item to the relevant factor on a rotated factor matrix. Loadings of less than 0.4 were suppressed for ease of interpretation. ‘Double loadings’, where an item loads strongly on more than one factor have been noted, but did not change the final factor solution, as outlined below in Table 4.3.

	Factor							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
q2b	.809							
q5a	.763							
q1	.693							
q5b	.680							
q4	.664							
q6a	.551							.458
q7	.551							
q6b	.479							.411
q3	.434							
q21		.795						
q23		.776						
q24		.768						
q22		.751						
q9		.607						
q18		.596				.413		
q15e		.594						.476
q16f								
q6d			.806					
q6c			.761					
q5d			.745					
q5c	.555		.664					
q10			.452					
q16c				.734				
q16a				.636				
q16b				.628				
q16e				.621				
q16h				.462				
q16g								
q8c			.429		.743			
q8b					.717			
q8d			.555		.645			
q8a	.453				.597			
q13						.650		
q14						.541		
q19						.423		
q11							.785	
q12							.710	

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.  
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.  
 Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

Table 4.3: Rotated Factor Matrix

	Factor	Questions	Var.	Alpha	Eigen
1	Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera	<p>'What is the Strength of the Welsh Language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' (Q1),</p> <p>'What is the Strength of the Welsh Language in your hometown?' (Q2),</p> <p>'What is the Strength of Welsh Culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' (Q3),</p> <p>'What is the Strength of Welsh Culture in your hometown?' (Q4),</p> <p>'To what extent is the Welsh language used amongst groups younger than 25 (Q5a) and between the ages of 25 and 45 (Q5b)',</p> <p>'How much enthusiasm for the Welsh language do groups younger than 25 (Q6a) and between the ages of 25 and 45 (Q6b) hold?'</p> <p>'How many people do you think learn Welsh as a second language?' (Q7).</p>	13.88%	.901	5.120
2	Vitality shift and the importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera	<p>'How important is it to you to speak Welsh?' (Q9),</p> <p>'How important is the Welsh language to you personally?' (Q15e),</p> <p>'How important do you think it is to know about Welsh culture?' (Q18),</p> <p>'To what extent do you think that the Welsh language is more or less important now than 10 years ago?' (Q21),</p> <p>'To what extent do you think that Welsh culture is more or less important now than 10 years ago?' (Q22),</p> <p>'To what extent do you think that the Welsh language will be more or less important in 10 years time than now?' (Q23) and</p> <p>'To what extent do you think that Welsh culture will be more or less important in 10 years time than now?' (Q24).</p>	12.15%	.905	4.496
3	Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language	<p>'To what extent do people aged 45-65 (Q5c) and older than 65 (Q5d) use Welsh?' and</p> <p>'How much enthusiasm for the Welsh language do people aged 45-65 (Q6c) and older than 65 (Q6d) have?'</p>	9.93%	.913	3.673
4	Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera	<p>'To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from the Mass Media? (Q16a),</p> <p>Education (Q16b),</p> <p>from Government Services (Q16c),</p> <p>Tourism (Q16e) and</p> <p>Other Cultural Events? (Q16h)'.</p>	7.49%	.791	2.771
5	Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera	<p>'To what extent do those aged under 25 (Q8a), those aged between 25 and 45 (Q8b), those aged between 45 and 65 (Q8c) and those aged over 65 (Q8d) participate in Welsh cultural events?'</p>	6.50%	.881	2.403
6	Cultural importance of Welshness	<p>'How important is Welsh identity for the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' (Q13),</p> <p>'How important is tourism for Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' (Q14) and</p> <p>'How important is Welsh culture for the majority of residents of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' (Q19).</p>	4.50%	.711	1.661
7	Out-group perceptions	<p>'What do non-Welsh speakers think of those who can speak Welsh?' (Q11) and</p> <p>'What do non-members of the Welsh community think of Welsh community members?' (Q12)</p>	4.12%	.711	1.523

Table 4.4: Factors uncovered through factor analysis

A cursory examination of the rotated factor solution shows that there are, in fact, only seven complete factors that have been uncovered in the factor analysis and that the final, eighth, factor includes no additional items, only 'double loadings'. These are items that had already been partly statistically allocated into other factors to which they had a higher loading. After removing this eighth factor, 66.57% of the initial variance was explained by the remaining seven factors, or 58.51% of the variance associated with the Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings. Table 4.4 present the seven factors, including the items relevant to each factor, the amount of variance that they explain and the Cronbach's Alpha of each factor. This is a reliability analysis test to ensure that these factors show an internal reliability and have not been factored into the same solution through statistical chance. The raw items were entered into the Scale command in SPSS to determine the Alpha. A score of .700 or above is considered acceptable to claim that a series of items makes up a coherent factor. An Alpha can only be detected when there are two or more items in a factor.

The seven factors uncovered in the Factor Analysis are as listed below and in Table 4.4.

#### **Factor 1 – Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

As seen in Table 4.4, 13.88% of variance is accounted for by the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor, making it the most important of the seven factors in terms of explaining responses to the questionnaire. Data from nine questions were included in this factor, see appendix A and Table 4.4 for the exact questions asked. Items related to both language and culture have been factored together here, indicating that there is a relationship between how informants responded to questions about the present strength of the language and the culture. The factor includes questions relating to the strength of the language and culture in the informants' own hometown and in the region as a whole.

This suggests a relationship between how the informants answered questions relating to the strength of Welsh language and culture in their hometown and across the Chubut Valley and Cordillera region. While this relationship may appear to be intuitive, it is not necessarily the case that these questions should be factored together, as is seen in the rest of the factor analysis. Also included in this factor were questions related to the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst the younger generations. However, it is important to note the inclusion of only some of the questions relating to the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. By answering questions about young and older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language in a different manner, informants are suggesting that they perceive a difference between the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language of young and older people. The direction of this difference will, of course, be investigated during the course of the analysis of these factors. The final question is about the perception of the number of second language learners of Welsh, thus the demographic vitality of Welsh. That informants have answered these questions in a statistically related manner suggests that these concepts related to the present vitality of the Welsh language and culture is perceived in a similar relationship by informants. The Alpha for this factor was .901, suggesting an internal coherence to this factor and that it can be used for further statistical analysis.

## **Factor 2 – Vitality shift and the importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

As seen in Table 4.4, 12.15% of variance associated with the rotated factor solution is explained by the 'Vitality shift and the importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor, making it the second most important of the factors uncovered. Seven items were included in this factor. These questions all relate to the vitality shift of Welsh language and culture, that is, their perceived change in vitality over a period of time, or to their

personal importance to the informant. As factor analysis is based upon statistical correlations between responses, it does not always produce simple or expected results, and sometimes, as here, can produce a factor that does not have an intuitive connection between the items included. This means that there is a statistical relationship between how informants have responded to these items, but it is up to the researcher to determine whether these items should actually be included together, as, in some cases, it may make no sense to include items where there is no conceivable relationship. Questions 21 to 24 draw contrasts between the informants' perceptions of the position of the language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera ten years ago, their position at the time of completing the questionnaire and how they perceive it will change in the next ten years. Responses to these items will illustrate the trends that informants believe can be seen in Welsh language and culture. This may be a continuous linear trend, either positively or negatively, indicating either consistent growth or decline over two decades. It could also be a mixed trend, suggesting a decline in the last decade but a perception of growth in the coming ten years, or, alternatively, a growth in the last ten years, but a belief that this will not be sustained in the next decade. It would be dangerous to pre-judge the findings of the questionnaire, but on the basis of the circumstances explained in sections 1.3 - 1.6, it is predicted that there has been a growth in the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the last decade and therefore it is likely that this will be reflected at least in responses to questions 21 and 22. In either situation, the relationship between these two groups of items can be explained, and it therefore seems appropriate to utilise these together as one single factor.

The remaining items in this factor relate to the importance of Welsh language and culture, whether it is to the individual's ability to speak the language (Q9) and the personal importance which they attach to the language (Q15e) or to the personal importance of

knowing about Welsh culture (q18). These items represent ego-centric beliefs regarding the importance of Welsh language and culture, i.e. they are questions which relate to the personal importance attached to Welsh language and culture by the individual. The factor includes questions relating to both language and culture, once again suggesting that informants responded to these items in a similar manner and that the changes in perceptions of vitality over time are related to both ego-centric and exo-centric beliefs regarding the importance of Welsh language and culture. A further item regarding the institutional support for Welsh language and culture from religion (Q16f) was attributed to this factor solution, but it loaded at less than 0.400 (as can be seen in Table 4.3), and so was excluded from further analysis.

The factor analysis has found a relationship between the informants' personal importance to the Welsh language and their perceptions of change in vitality over a period of time. This relationship had not been predicted prior to the questionnaire being completed. The most likely relationship between these two sets of questions is that informants who have a stronger personal attachment to the Welsh language will more optimistic about the vitality trends than informants with a weak personal attachment.

### **Factor 3 – Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language**

'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' was the third factor uncovered by the factor analysis. The four items all relate to the perceptions of Welsh language usage by those over 45 years of age, and their perceived level of enthusiasm for the language. The Alpha for this factor was .913. A fifth item, Q10, 'How important is speaking Welsh to the majority of residents in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?' was statistically included in this factor, but, as shown in Table 4.3, this had a weak statistical loading with this factor (0.452) as well as the question apparently showing little connection with the remainder



of the items in this factor. Further tests in SPSS using Scale showed a poor corrected item-total correlation and a noticeable increase in the Cronbach's Alpha for the factor if this item was deleted. Although the initial Cronbach's Alpha was higher than .700, for these reasons, this fifth item was omitted from the final factor solution.

This existence of this factor, and the distinction of use and enthusiasm along age-based grounds, shows that there is a consensual perception amongst informants that separates young and older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. On the basis of previous findings by R.O. Jones (1976, see section 2.2), it could be expected that informants have been more positive regarding the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language by older people than younger people.

#### **Factor 4 – Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

7.49% of the total variance associated with the questionnaire is explained by the 'Institutional Support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor. In terms of the amount of variance explained, this is the fourth most important factor. These five items are all related to the institutional support factor originally created by Giles et al. (1977: 309), suggesting a common perception of the amount of support given to Welsh language and culture by the various institutions which play a role in the Chubut Province – the mass media, education, governmental services, tourism and other cultural events. As seen in Table 4.3, there was a relatively poor loading for 'other cultural events' on this factor (0.462), but the Cronbach's Alpha confirmed this item as an integral part of the factor solution. Three further items that made up Q16 are missing from this factor. Firstly, Q16d, regarding the support given to the Welsh language and culture by industry was omitted from the factor analysis because of the item's poor correlation with other variables. As shown in Table 4.3, one of the remaining two

items regarding institutional support, Q16g, support for Welsh language and culture from the Eisteddfod, has been factored in this solution. However, this item has a loading of less than 0.4, suggesting only a loose correlation with the other items in this factor. Q16f, the support for Welsh language and culture from religion, was factored separately from the remainder of the questions here. The Alpha for the five items that make up this factor was .791, above the .700 criterion that suggests internal coherence to the factor.

### **Factor 5 – Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

The 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor explained 6.50% of the total variance and was the fifth most important factor in terms of explaining variance. The items in this factor are the four questions regarding the perceived amount of participation in Welsh cultural events amongst four age groups, suggesting that informants have a common perception of the amount of cultural participation from different age ranges. Interestingly, with regards to culture, informants did not make a statistical distinction between the younger and older generations in the same way that they had when responding to questions about language, implying that they perceive cultural participation in Welshness in a different form to use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. This suggests that participation in Welsh cultural events has not been subject to the same inter-generational break as the Welsh language (R.O. Jones 1976, see section 2.2). It is also of interest, and perhaps a little surprise, that there was no overlap between questions regarding language and culture with regards to age and participation/use/enthusiasm, suggesting that even though the present vitality of language and culture has been factored together, other aspects of language and culture are not perceived as having quite the same relationship. As shown in Table 4.4, the Alpha for this factor was .881.

### **Factor 6 – Cultural importance of Welshness**

The sixth most important factor uncovered in the factor analysis includes questions that are related to exo-centric beliefs regarding the importance of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. The questions relate the importance of the Welsh identity for these regions, the importance of tourism and the importance of Welsh culture to the majority of people in the Chubut Valley and the Cordillera. These are all exo-centric questions that relate to the wider society, in contrast to the ego-centric questions of personal attachment and importance that make up much of Factor 2. It is surprising to note that Q10, regarding the importance of speaking Welsh to the majority of residents in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, does not feature in this factor. This suggests a common perception amongst informants of the importance of cultural icons of Welshness and a Welsh identity, but, unlike in other factors, this does not include language when discussing exo-centric perceptions. Similar to the findings of Allard and Landry (2002), these exo-centric questions have been clearly separated from the ego-centric questions that were found in the second factor, about the Personal Importance of Welshness. By their nature, these exo-centric questions also include members of the Welsh ethnic group and community as well as those in the wider society. This factor explains 4.49% of the total variance and has a Cronbach's Alpha of .711.

### **Factor 7 – Out-group Perceptions**

The Out-group Perceptions factor explains 4.12% of the variance. These items are specifically concerned with the perception of the out-group (non-Welsh speakers and non-members of the Welsh community) of the in-group (Welsh speakers and members of the Welsh community). These are different to the exo-centric questions that make up Factor 6, as the exo-centric questions asked informants to refer to the community as a whole, whereas

these questions asked informants to refer solely to people who are either non-Welsh speakers or non-members of the Welsh community. The Alpha for this factor was .711.

The Factor Analysis has uncovered seven coherent factors with a Cronbach's Alpha of greater than .700. These factors are orthogonal, each reflecting a different response employed in answering items on the questionnaire. The factors which have emerged from this analysis are, in many respects, in accordance with many factors uncovered in previous research in ethnolinguistic vitality (Allard and Landry, 1994, 2002). Due to spatial constraints, further analyses will primarily concentrate on the five factors which explain most variance – 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera', 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera', 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language', 'Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' and 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera'. These factors will be analysed in the next section according to the mean responses given to each factor (achieved by totalling the responses to individual items), the trends that can be seen in each factor and the interactions between the different independent variables in each factor. This will assist in providing an answer to the research questions posed in section 3.2.

#### **4.2. Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

As the factor that includes questions relating to perceptions of the current strength of Welsh language and culture, this factor includes items that could be considered most central to the sociolinguistic concept of vitality. These items are therefore perhaps the most important in the whole questionnaire as they require the informants to give their perception of the current strength of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole

and in their hometown. The first four questions, those relating to the strength of the Welsh language and culture in the informants' hometown and in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole, are the kernel of the vitality concept, and indeed the informants' responses to these four questions could, in many ways, be synthesised as 'the findings' of the study. However, it was also be argued that informants responded differently to questions that draw their attention to the purpose of the study and more information could be uncovered from their responses to more subtle questions regarding the vitality of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. In this way, it was interesting to compare informants' responses to those opening four questions with the five other items that make up this factor. Both Questions 5 and 6 required informants to give their perceptions on the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language of people of four different age ranges. Only the items relating to younger people (those under the age of 45) were included in this factor, suggesting that informants have a different perception of the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language between younger and older members of society.

In order to analyse this factor, firstly, descriptive statistics of the mean responses to each question were calculated. The analysis focused on the statistical relationships between these items and the independent variables that were previously noted in section 3.5 (age, affiliation, fluency, gender and location). A composite variable was created using informants' responses to the nine items in the factor, achieved by totalling the responses to each item by informants and dividing by the total number of items. The mean response of each informant was then used to illustrate and explain the underlying trends that make up responses to this factor. This was done through Oneway ANOVA tests to uncover whether there is a significant difference in response between groups, according to the different independent variables. It was hoped that Two-way or Three-way ANOVA tests might be undertaken to uncover correlations

between different independent variables, but, due to small cell numbers ( $n < 20$ ), this was not possible. Post-hoc Scheffe tests were conducted to uncover significant differences in the mean scores of these groups (Hinton, 1995). Comparisons were then drawn between differing responses to questions relating to language and to culture and to differences in response to questions regarding the region as a whole and the informants' own hometown.

#### 4.2.1. Descriptive statistics

Question	<i>n</i>	Mean (2d.p.)	Std Deviation (2d.p.)
Q1 Welsh Lang Ch Valley Cord	368	3.92	1.66
Q2b Welsh Lang Hometown	365	3.32	1.85
Q3 Welsh Cult Ch Valley Cord	365	5.02	1.50
Q4 Welsh Cult Hometown	367	4.23	1.80
Q5a Use of Welsh under-25	338	2.20	1.45
Q5b Use of Welsh 25-45	317	2.76	1.49
Q6a Enthusiasm for Welsh under-25	344	2.73	1.62
Q6b Enthusiasm for Welsh 25-45	329	3.08	1.48
Q7 No. of Welsh L2 learners	366	2.93	1.38
Vitality of Welsh Lang & Cult (factor)	287	3.30	1.16

*Table 4.5: Mean scores for items included in the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor*

As can be seen in Table 4.5, the mean response to Q1 was 3.92 ( $n=368$ ,  $s.d.=1.66$ ), too close to the scalar mid-point to allow any strong claims regarding the strength or otherwise of the Welsh language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, while, in response to Q2b, informants gave a mean response of 3.32 ( $n=365$ ,  $s.d.=1.85$ ). This suggests that informants perceive that the strength of the Welsh language 'in their hometown' is relatively weak in comparison with responses given to the previous question. They perceive that the strength of the Welsh language in their hometown is weaker than the strength of the Welsh language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole.

Yet the mean response to Q3 was 5.02 ( $n=365$ ,  $s.d.=1.50$ ), suggesting a favourable perception of the strength of Welsh culture across the area as a whole. This is also more than one scalar

point greater than the response to Q1, suggesting that informants believe that the strength of Welsh culture is greater than the strength of the Welsh language. The mean response to Q4 was 4.23 ( $n=367$ ,  $s.d.=1.80$ ), reflecting a perception of moderate strength of Welsh culture in their hometown. Responses to these questions appear to indicate that Welsh culture is thought to possess a greater strength than the Welsh language in the region. The mean response to Q4 is also noticeably smaller than the comparable question regarding the strength of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole. This can be seen clearly in Figure 4.1. As noted earlier, the asking of such marked questions regarding the vitality of Welsh Language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera may receive different, more conscious responses from the informants than more subtle, unmarked questions.

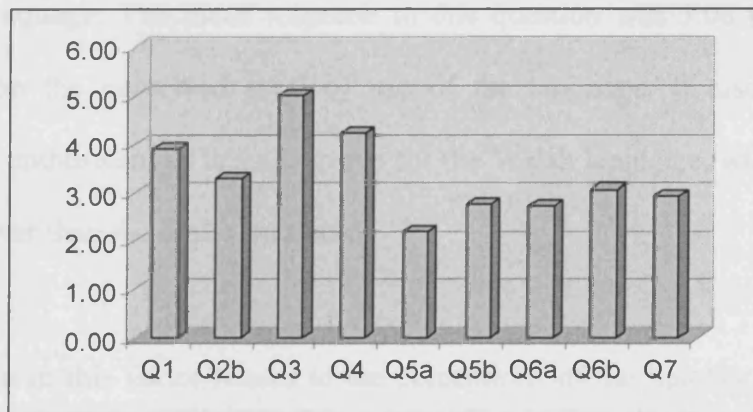


Figure 4.1: Bar graph showing mean scores for items included in the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

As shown in table 4.5, the mean response to Q5a, about young people under the age of 25's use of the Welsh language, was 2.20 ( $n=338$ ,  $s.d.=1.45$ ). The mean score for this question is substantially lower than the mean response regarding the strength of the Welsh language for the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole or the informants' own hometown. Being considerably lower than the scalar mid-point, it reflects informants' perception that young

people under the age of 25 do not use the Welsh language very often. The mean response to the same question, but regarding people aged between 25 and 45 (Q5b) was 2.76 ( $n=317$ ,  $s.d.=1.48$ ) was slightly higher, but still reflecting a perception of rather low usage.

A similar question was asked of informants once again, only this time regarding their perceptions of the 'enthusiasm' for the Welsh language. In the case of Q6a, the enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people younger than the age of 25, the mean response was 2.73 ( $n=344$ ,  $s.d.=1.62$ ). Although this is again a weak perception of the enthusiasm of young people for the Welsh language, it is more than half a scalar point greater than the perception of their usage of the language. Enthusiasm is perceived to outstrip usage. The same pattern can be found in the mean response to Q6b, the enthusiasm of people aged between 25 and 45 for the Welsh language. The mean response to this question was 3.08 ( $n=329$ ,  $s.d.=1.48$ ), again greater than the perceived level of use of the language. It also suggests a weak perception of the enthusiasm of this age group for the Welsh language, with a mean response nearly a point lower than the scalar mid-point.

The final question in this factor relates to the perceptions of the number of people learning Welsh as a second language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, Q7. The mean response to this question was 2.93 ( $n=366$ ,  $s.d.=1.38$ ). This suggests that informants believe that there are relatively few Welsh second language learners in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

It can be seen from a comparison of the responses of the marked questions regarding the strength of the Welsh language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera and the unmarked questions that followed, that there is a clear difference in these responses, and that when asked a direct question, informants gave higher responses before later claiming that the



Welsh language is weak in terms of usage and enthusiasm from young people under the age of 45 and in demographic strength of second language learners.

#### 4.2.2. Composite variable, ‘Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera’

As the vitality variable includes many different items in the questionnaire, the mean results for the composite variable are not in themselves reliable because the items in the composite variable relate to very different questions that are not fully comparable. However, the underlying trends of response can be uncovered through noting significant differences between groups of respondents according to the five previously noted independent variables. The results of each sub-group for each independent variable can be found in appendix B while the results of the Oneway ANOVA tests can be found in Table 4.6.

Variable	Degrees of Frequency	F	Sig.
Gender	1,284	1.428	.233
Age	2,283	0.002	.998
Affiliation	6,270	13.759	.000
Fluency	6,279	7.211	.000
Location	6,279	25.167	.000

*Table 4.6: Oneway ANOVA tests of independent variables using the ‘Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera’ factor*

#### Gender

There was a non-significant difference to informants’ responses according to the gender of the informant ( $F(1,284)=1.428$ ,  $p=0.233$ ,  $p>0.05$ ). Women gave a higher average response than men, but this was not significantly different.

## **Age**

As seen in Table 4.6, there was a non-significant difference between the three different age groups in their responses to the composite variable ( $F(2,283)=0.002, p=0.999, p>0.05$ ). There is a difference of less than 0.01 between the mean scores of all three age groups, showing that age is clearly not a variable that has a relationship with how informants have perceived the present vitality of Welsh. This is a surprising finding as it had been expected that age would be an important variable in uncovering differences in responses to the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. Instead, there appears to be a relatively consensual opinion between informants of different age groups regarding the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

## **Affiliation**

Table 4.6 shows that informants' responses differed significantly according to the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community ( $F(6,270)=13.759, p=0.000, p<0.05$ ). Responses were along a positive general linear trend, with the stronger the informants' affiliation the greater the informants' perceived vitality of Welsh by the informant. This can be clearly seen in Figure 4.2. Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered a significant difference in responses between those with no affiliation (scale 1 of 7) and all groups with moderate or higher affiliation (scales 4-7 of 7). This is a positive finding for Welsh vitality as it suggests that those with most affiliation believe that the language and culture has the most vitality and are therefore likely to continue efforts to use and maintain the language. While the causal link is not clear as to whether these groups of informants claim a stronger affiliation because they believe that the Welsh language and culture have greater vitality, or that they believe the Welsh language and culture have a greater vitality because of their strong affiliation, it

nevertheless suggests a confidence in the Welsh community in the vitality of their language and culture, something that which will be discussed later in this chapter (see section 4.2.3).

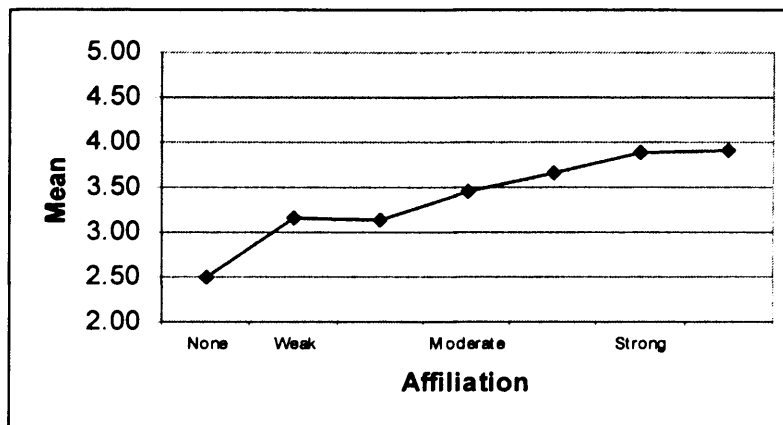


Figure 4.2: Mean scores for the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor according to affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community

### Oral Fluency

Differences in the informants' self-assessed fluency in spoken Welsh were found to be significant in their responses to questions regarding vitality ( $F(6,279)=7.211$ ,  $p=0.000$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). However, responses according to fluency were not the general linear trend that had been uncovered previously when the informants' affiliation had been tested. This non-linear trend can be seen in Figure 4.3. Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered a significant difference between those with no ability in Welsh (scale 1 of 7) and those with a basic level of fluency in the language (scale 2 of 7), who were the informants who gave the highest mean scores. Although there was a significant difference between the responses of different groups of informants, this was not the expected finding, as it had been expected from previous literature that there would be a linear trend according to the informants' self-assessed level of oral fluency (Landry, Allard and Henry, 1996). Reasons for this expectation not being met will be discussed later in this chapter.

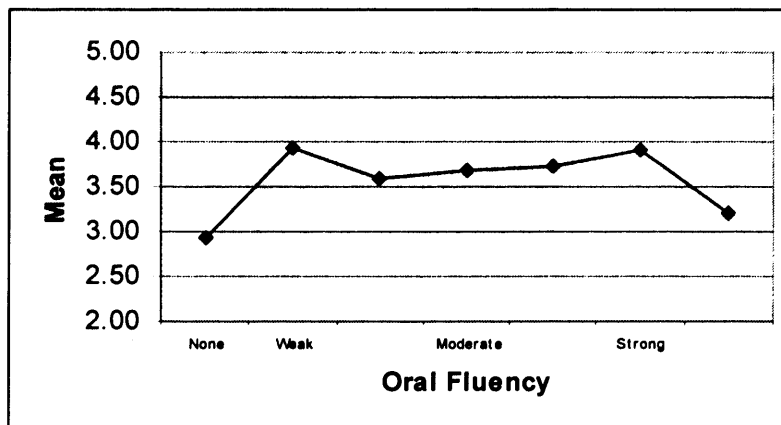


Figure 4.3: Mean scores for the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor according to oral fluency in Welsh

### Location

Using the location of the informant as an independent variable a significant difference was found ( $F(6,279)=25.167, p=0.000, p<0.05$ ). Confirming expectations that Gaiman would be the location where the vitality of Welsh would be considered strongest, as noted by Robert Owen Jones (1976, see section 2.2), there was a significant difference between the responses of informants from Gaiman and every other location in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. This is quite evident from Figure 4.4. A significant difference in the vitality of Welsh was also found between respondents from Puerto Madryn, predicted to be the location where Welsh vitality is weakest (see section 1.4.2), and respondents from Trelew. The role of Gaiman as a centre of Welsh language and culture is important in perceptions of the vitality of Welsh language and culture and an analysis of the results of individual questions shows that, in response to almost every question in this factor, there was a significant difference between the responses of informants from Gaiman and from every other location. There is a relationship that exists between informants' perceptions of the strength of the Welsh language and culture in their hometown and in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole. In response to these items, informants in all six other locations perceive a greater strength for the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole than in their

own hometown, Gaiman was the only exception to this trend, as informants perceive a greater strength for the Welsh language and culture in their hometown than in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole. The importance of this exception, and the role of Gaiman in the Chubut Province, will be discussed later, in section 4.2.3.

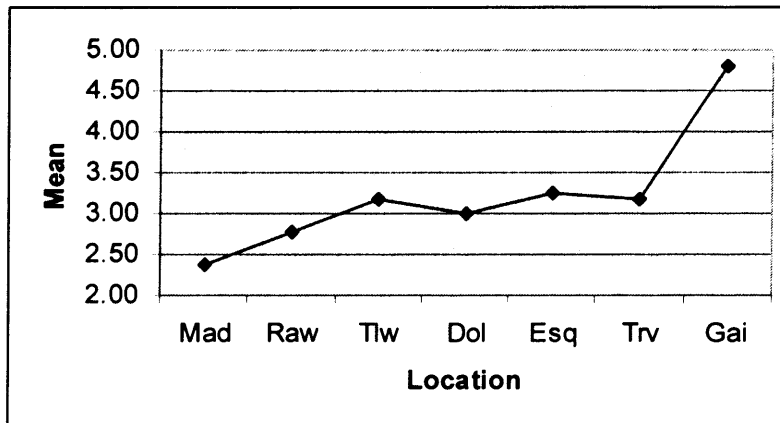


Figure 4.4: Mean scores for the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor according to location

#### 4.2.3. Interpretation / Discussion

As might be expected in a factor which includes questions asking informants to compare the Welsh language and culture of their hometown with that of the region as a whole, the informants' location was highly important as an independent variable. Results show the highest mean scores from residents in Gaiman, and the lowest from residents in Puerto Madryn and Rawson. The other four localities, Dolavon, Esquel, Trelew and Trevelin all shared similar scores. The results of these questions show the importance of Gaiman as a 'heartland', or centre, for Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions.

The scaling of responses for the strength of Welsh language (Q1) and Welsh culture (Q3) in the region as a whole appears at first sight to offer a positive image of the vitality of Welsh, especially the strength of Welsh culture, for which all mean results are higher than the scalar

mid-point. However, this is in noticeable contrast with the results for the strength of Welsh language (Q2) and Welsh culture (Q4) in the informants' hometown. In response to both questions, the mean score of the strength of Welsh in the hometown, whether the language or culture, is less than that of the region as a whole. Gaiman is the only exception to this trend, residents judging both Welsh language and culture in Gaiman as being higher than in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera as a whole. This appears to indicate that while respondents to the questionnaire were aware of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut, it is something which takes place 'elsewhere' from their own locality. In this way, Gaiman appears to fulfil its own marketing strategy as a centre of Welsh culture in the Chubut, an awareness of its central position to Welshness in the Chubut being reflected both by its own residents and by residents in the rest of the area under survey who recognise that Welsh language and culture do exist and have strength, but not in their own hometown. The results from Gaiman are consistently strong, with the mean score for the strength of Welsh culture in the town (Q4) standing out as very high, an average of 6.34 on a seven point scale. This questionnaire, therefore, has found that both Welsh language and culture are perceived as having strength by residents of Gaiman to a high degree.

The high mean scores in Gaiman should not undermine or overshadow the responses from the other six locations in the study. Whilst the lower scores for hometown Welsh language or culture as opposed to Welsh language or culture in the whole region give the impression of Welshness as taking place elsewhere, the mean scores for all four questions are often higher than might be expected. Of greatest note is the high mean score for the strength of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (Q3), every location giving a mean score in excess of the scalar mid-point. Although Gaiman reported the highest mean scores, there were no significant differences to responses to this question, suggesting some sort of agreed

strength for Welsh culture across the area. The responses for the strength of Welsh culture in the hometown (Q4) show a drop from the previous question, but apart from Gaiman, three other towns, Esquel, Trelew and Trevelin, give positive results. It is worth noting that both Cordillera towns have reported high marks in this question, leading to question whether residents in the Andes areas are making judgements based on different criterion and comparisons to those in Chubut Valley area. It could be suggested that residents of the Cordillera have greater familiarity with both parts of the Chubut under study due to their participation in the Eisteddfod in Gaiman and Trelew, and general population movements in the Chubut Province and therefore might be in a better position to make judgements across the whole region. The lowest mean score regarding Welsh culture in the hometown was given by residents of Rawson, a surprise as in the previous question, regarding Welsh culture across the region, Rawson's residents gave the second highest mean response (after Gaiman). This response perhaps reflects Rawson's proximity to areas of Welsh culture in Gaiman and Trelew (see map on page viii). Informants from that town have an awareness of Welsh culture taking place in the Chubut Province, but that there is a lack of Welsh cultural events in their own town.

This notion of Welshness as taking place 'elsewhere' is also seen in response to questions 1 and 2, regarding the strength of Welsh language in the region and in the hometown. The responses to this were, as expected, lower than those related to the comparable strength of Welsh culture. There was less agreement regarding the strength of Welsh language than culture, with significant differences between Gaiman and everywhere else, informants from Gaiman giving far higher mean scores than informants from other locations. Although the finding of the questionnaire was that informants perceive that the strength of the Welsh language was relatively weak, i.e. below the scalar mid-point, this should be placed into

context regarding the limited demographic strength of the Welsh group as a whole (see section 1.4.1). In fact, a perception that the Welsh language is only 'relatively weak' could be interpreted as relative success for a minority language. There were comparatively positive perceptions of the strength of the Welsh language across the region. The results from question 2, strength of Welsh language in the hometown, though, continue to suggest that this perception is based on the idea that Welshness takes place elsewhere than the informants' hometown. Again, only residents from Gaiman report a higher mean score for the strength of the Welsh language in their hometown than in the region as a whole. Results from the remaining six localities suggest that they consider the language to be weaker in their hometowns than the average of the region. Most obviously, the results from Puerto Madryn and Rawson are very low (1.77 and 2.00 respectively) and are significantly lower than all of the remaining localities. This assessment suggests that Gaiman is the area with the greatest amount of Welshness and Rawson and Puerto Madryn as the areas with the least. Only respondents from Gaiman believe that the Welsh language has strength in their hometown in excess of the scalar mid-point. Respondents from Dolavon, Esquel, Trelew and Trevelin all reported mean scores between half a scalar point and one scalar point lower than the mid-point, suggesting if not entirely negative perceptions then certainly that the Welsh language is not seen as holding a position of strength in these places.

More worryingly for the future strength of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera are the negative responses to Q5a, Q5b, Q6a, Q6b and Q7, about the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people under the age of 45 and the number of Welsh second language learners in the region. This points to a perceived lack of demographic growth for the Welsh language, in that there is little usage amongst younger people and that there are few second language learners of the language. Once again, informants from Gaiman were the



most positive, perhaps reflecting the larger Welsh learner demographic of the town, which includes Welsh taught as part of the school curriculum (see sections 1.4.2 and 1.5). This raises an important question regarding perceptions of the strength of the Welsh language in the region. As already noted, perceptions of the Welsh language across the region were if not strong, then certainly robust (an average of 3.92), but the perception of there being few learners of the language (an average of 2.93) would appear to undermine this. This negative perception of the number of learners must be concerning for those promoting attempts at reversing language shift in favour of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (see section 1.5 and 2.1). However, there is a small positive in terms of Welsh language development amongst the young that they are perceived as being more enthusiastic about the language than able to use Welsh. This suggests a perception of an enthusiastic target group for RLS efforts that would be interested in second language learning of Welsh.

Although the differences in responses between informants from different locations in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera have been debated at length, it is the informant's affiliation to the Welsh community and self-assessed fluency in oral Welsh that may have the greatest effect upon their responses to the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province. The consistent linear trend between positive responses to questions in this factor and affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community was noted. It might be expected that fluency in Welsh would reflect the same patterns of response, but this was not found to be the case. While a level of fluency in Welsh may suggest a higher general response than the response from informants with no oral ability in Welsh, it is not true to say that the greater the fluency in spoken Welsh, the higher the response, as seen in Landry, Allard and Henry (1996) and Gibbons and Ashcroft (1995). This unexpected finding may reflect any number of perceptions amongst residents in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions. It may be that those with a medium

fluency in Welsh have a greater enthusiasm for the language and culture than other groups or maybe a more romantic outlook on the linguistic situation. It may be that those with a greater fluency are comparing the present situation with previous periods when the vitality of Welsh in the region was higher. It could also be that, as a result of their bilingualism, they are in a better position to make comparisons between the strength of the Welsh language and culture and the dominant Hispanic-Argentine Spanish language and culture of the region and judging the vitality of Welsh accordingly and more critically than those with lesser linguistic skills. This should not necessarily be considered a negative finding as these results suggest a pool of positive subjective opinions amongst groups with moderate fluency, including Welsh language learners and those with some knowledge of the language through their family background. This enthusiasm could be tapped accordingly by those interested in reversing language shift regarding Welsh in this region. The use of independent variables such as affiliation to the Welsh community and fluency in spoken Welsh have shown that it is difficult to use fluency in Welsh as a predictor of response to questions regarding vitality, but that there is an alignment between positive responses to vitality questions and positive affiliation to the Welsh community. This alignment suggests a strong in-group positivity amongst the Welsh community for their language and culture and that the greater the affiliation to the community, the more likely the informant to hold positive judgements on the vitality of the language and culture.

The findings of this analysis are therefore that Welsh culture has a higher subjective vitality than the Welsh language, but that both are considered to be of at least moderate strength. It was also found that both language and culture were considered to be stronger in the region as a whole than in the informants' hometown. Informants perceived a greater enthusiasm than usage of the Welsh language for young people, although the responses to these questions

were generally that both usage and enthusiasm were weak, and the perception that there were relatively few people learning Welsh as a second language. The informants' location was found to be important in explaining differences between responses, as was the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community and their self-reported oral fluency in Welsh. Surprisingly, the informants' age was not found to be important, as was their gender.

#### **4.3. Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

This factor included two distinct types of questions – one set relating to the changing vitality shift trends of Welsh language and culture in the past decade and projected opinions for how this will change in the coming decade, and the other set relating to the exocentric and egocentric importance of Welsh language and culture to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

This is a complex factor to explain. That these two apparently distinct groups of questions were factored together indicates a statistical relationship between the perceptions of informants when answering these different questions. There are two likely relationships between these apparently distinct groups of questions. One of these relationships is that informants who have the most positive perceptions of the importance of Welshness would have the most positive perception of the vitality shift trends. This would imply that they believe that Welshness is important and that the strength of Welsh language and culture is growing. Alternatively, it might be that informants with the most positive perceptions of the importance of Welshness, those that believe it is of importance, have the least positive perception of vitality shift trends; that the strength of Welsh language and culture is weakening over time. It is possible that the statistical relationship between informants' responses to these questions is coincidental and a product of the factor solution. However, I interpret this relationship as being more solid and predict that informants with the most positive perceptions of the importance of Welshness are the informants with the most positive

perceptions of vitality shift trends and am therefore justified in including these apparently distinct questions in one factor.

In identifying the global trend of growth or attrition of the Welsh language and culture, the questions that related to vitality shift were important in determining the position of the Welsh language and Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. There were four questions in this section, relating to perceptions of the change in strength of the Welsh language and Welsh culture in the past decade and perceptions of how they will change in strength in the coming ten years. The full questions can be found in Table 4.3 (see section 4.1). The importance of these four questions in this factor is that they gave a good indication of the trends that informants perceive to be taking place in the strength of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera over the past decade and in the decade to come. The remaining three questions in this factor relate to the importance of Welshness, on an ego-centric level. These questions relate to the personal attachments of informants to either Welsh language or culture, asking informants to give responses on the personal importance of speaking Welsh, and the personal importance of Welsh culture. Tests were carried out as previously explained (see section 4.2).

As shown in Table 4.7 and in graphic form in Figure 4.5, the mean score for the personal importance of speaking Welsh (Q9) was 4.49 ( $n=366$ ,  $s.d.=2.19$ ). While this result appears a relatively positive mean score, almost half a point greater than the scalar mid-point, it is important to note that this masks a large standard deviation, which suggests a polarisation of responses to this question. These responses can be most clearly observed by analysis of the Affiliation and Fluency variables, where those with high levels of affiliation and fluency gave responses to this question that were close to the maximum on a seven point scale (6.71 and

6.5 out of 7), while informants with no affiliation or fluency in Welsh gave negative responses (2.13 and 3.34 out of 7). This is an expected response to an ego-centric question where the informants' personal interests are being questioned. Responses of all groups can be found in appendix B. The mean score for the importance of the Welsh language (Q15e), a question that was asked in contrast with four other important world languages, was 5.10 ( $n=354$ ,  $s.d.=1.86$ ). The informants gave a clearly positive response to the importance of the Welsh language in this ego-centric manner. When asked to give a perception of the personal importance of Welsh culture to themselves as informants, another ego-centric question, informants gave a mean score of 5.74 ( $n=362$ ,  $s.d.=1.54$ ). This suggests a high personal connection with the importance of Welsh culture, with a mean score nearly two points greater than the scalar mid-point.

#### 4.3.1. Descriptive statistics

Question	<i>n</i>	Mean (2d.p.)	Std Deviation (2d.p.)
Q9 Personal Importance of speaking Welsh	336	4.49	2.19
Q15e Importance of the Welsh language	354	5.10	1.86
Q18 Personal Importance of Welsh culture	362	5.74	1.54
Q21 Welsh language more or less important than 10 years ago	354	4.69	1.82
Q22 Welsh culture more or less important than 10 years ago	356	4.93	1.65
Q23 Welsh language will be more or less important in 10 years	359	4.77	1.84
Q24 Welsh culture will be more or less important in 10 years	358	5.01	1.68
Vitality Shift and Importance of Welshness (factor)	334	4.97	1.44

*Table 4.7: Mean scores for items included in the 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor*

In response to the question regarding the change in strength of the Welsh language in the past decade (Q21), informants gave a mean response of 4.69 ( $n=354$ ,  $s.d.=1.82$ ). This suggests a belief that there has been a slight positive growth in the strength of the Welsh language in the

Chubut Valley and Cordillera in comparison with ten years ago. When asked the same question as to whether the strength of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera has increased or decreased in the last ten years (Q22) respondents gave a mean response of 4.93 ( $n=356$ ,  $s.d.=1.65$ ), suggesting a perception of the strength of Welsh culture increasing in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera in the past decade. This response is slightly higher than the mean response to the comparable question regarding the increase in strength of the Welsh language during the past ten years. This suggests that respondents believe that the strength of Welsh culture has increased by a greater extent than the strength of the Welsh language, but that both have strengthened at least slightly during this time-span.

When asked to judge to what extent they thought that the strength of the Welsh culture would increase or decrease in the next ten years (Q23), respondents gave a grand mean response of 4.77 ( $n=359$ ,  $s.d.=1.84$ ), suggesting a slightly positive belief that the strength of the Welsh language will increase during the next decade. This suggests that informants believe that there is an upward trend for the language, having given positive responses to questions relating to the strength of the language over the past decade and the coming decade. This mean score is slightly greater than the mean score for the comparable question relating to the growth in strength of the Welsh language in the past decade, suggesting that informants believe that the Welsh language will grow in strength in the future, more than it has done in the past decade. Respondents to this question about whether they believed that the strength of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera would increase or decrease in the coming decade (Q24) gave a mean response of 5.01 ( $n=358$ ,  $s.d.=1.68$ ). This response suggests that informants believe that the Welsh culture will enjoy a substantial growth in the next decade. As there were positive responses to both questions regarding the strength of Welsh culture (Q22 and Q24), it would appear that there is a perceived pattern of growth for Welsh culture.

This perception is that the culture has grown in the past decade and that it will continue to grow during the coming decade. The importance of these patterns will be discussed later in this chapter.

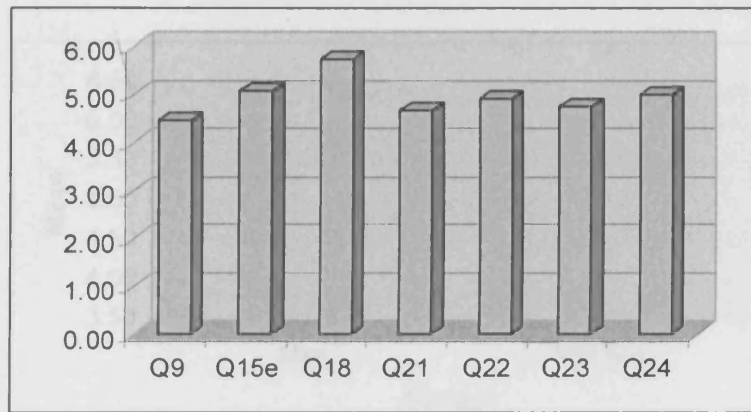


Figure 4.5: Bar graph showing mean scores for each item in the 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

### 4.3.2. Vitality shift and importance of Welshness

A composite variable, 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera', was created as before. The results of tests conducted using this variable can be found in Table 4.8.

Variable	Degrees of Frequency	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Gender	1,332	7.170	.008
Age	2,331	26.016	.000
Affiliation	6,325	59.087	.000
Fluency	6,327	19.174	.000
Location	6,327	5.115	.000

Table 4.8: Oneway ANOVA tests of independent variables using the 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

#### Gender

Using the informants' gender as the independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, a significant difference was uncovered in the informants' responses ( $F(1,332)=7.170, p=0.008, p<0.05$ ). It

was found that women gave a higher mean score than men to these questions, suggesting that women have a higher perception of the positive nature of vitality shift and the importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera than men.

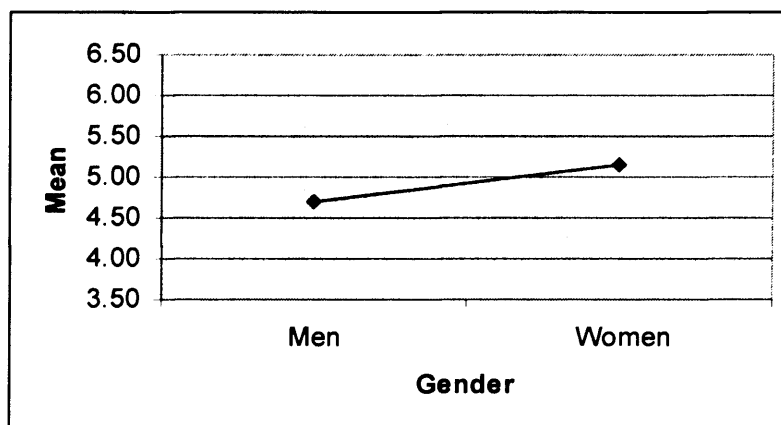


Figure 4.6: Mean scores for 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to gender

### Age

When age was entered into a Oneway ANOVA as an independent variable, a significant difference in informants' responses was uncovered ( $F(2,331)=26.016, p<0.001$ ). Responses were according to a linear trend, with the youngest age group giving the lowest mean score and the eldest age group giving the highest mean score. Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered significant differences between the responses of all three age groups, showing that there are significant differences between the perception of the positive nature of vitality shift and importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera according to the age of the informant. This shows that in response to this factor, members of the oldest age group of informants are more positive than both of the two younger age groups, and that there was a similar difference in positive perceptions between the medium and the youngest age groups.



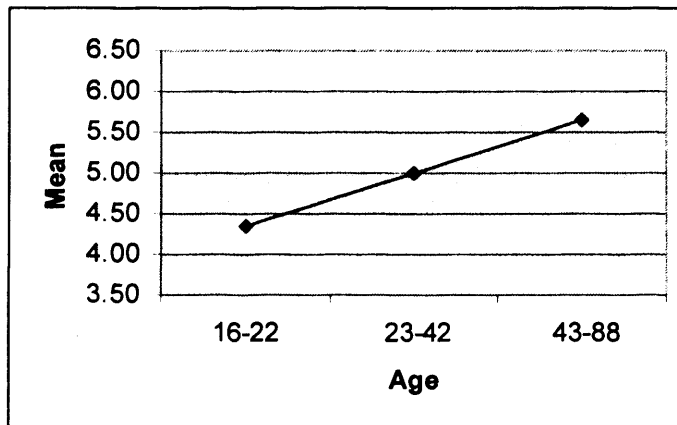


Figure 4.7: Mean scores for 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to age

### **Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community**

Using the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community as an independent variable, a significant difference in response was uncovered ( $F(6,325)=59.087, p<0.001$ ). Responses were according to a linear trend from those with no affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community (scale 1 of 7) to those with a high affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community (scale 7 of 7). Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered a number of significant differences in the responses between groups, according to this linear scale of response. There was a significant difference in the responses of those with no affiliation (scale 1 of 7) and those with any level of affiliation from moderately weak (scale 3 of 7) to those with very high affiliation (scale 7 of 7). There was also a significant difference in the responses of those with weak affiliation (scale 2 of 7) and those with moderate affiliation (scale 4 of 7) and higher. There were further significant differences uncovered between those with very high affiliation (scale 7 of 7) and those with all levels of affiliation up to and including moderately high (scale 5 of 7). There was also a significant difference in the responses of those with high affiliation (scale 6 of 7) and those with all levels of affiliation up to and including moderate (scale 4 of 7).

These significant differences between almost all levels of affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community show that there are differences in perception of the vitality shift in Welsh according to how the informants' affiliate themselves to the Welsh ethnic group and community. They show a clear linear trend linking the informants' affiliation with their perception of vitality shift and the importance of Welshness and that those who claim higher affiliation also perceive a more positive vitality shift and a greater importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. This is a predictable trend as informants with a high affiliation are also likely to perceive an importance to Welshness and, in my estimation as a participant-observer, a positive trend for vitality shift.

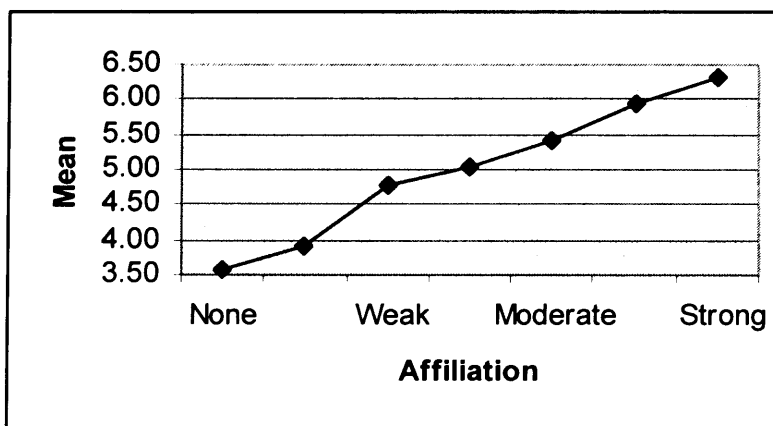


Figure 4.8: Mean scores for 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community

### Oral Fluency in Welsh

When the informants' self-reported fluency in oral Welsh was entered into a Oneway ANOVA, a significant difference in informants' response was uncovered, ( $F(6,327)=19.174$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Responses were found to correspond to a general linear trend from those who claim to have no fluency in Welsh to those who claim a high level of fluency in Welsh. The lowest mean scores came from those who claim no fluency in the language while the highest mean scores were from those who claim to have a moderately high fluency in Welsh (scale 5

of 7). A significant difference was uncovered between those who claim no ability in Welsh and those with any ability in the language, whether it be a very weak ability (scale 2 of 7) or very high ability (scale 7 of 7). There were no other significant differences in response to the composite factor, suggesting that, while there is a difference in perception between those with and without an ability to speak any level of Welsh, there are no significant differences in perception between those who claim an ability to speak the Welsh language. It appears therefore that any level of fluency in Welsh is linked with a more positive perception of vitality shift and the importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. This suggests a difference in perceptions between those with any relationship with the Welsh language, either through the family or through institutions, such as the school, and those who have had no contact with the language, and that contact with the language is important in forming or reflecting these opinions. The causal link between these perceptions is not clear, whether it is the relationship with the Welsh language that has formed these opinions, or that holding these opinions make a person more likely to engage with the Welsh language at some level.

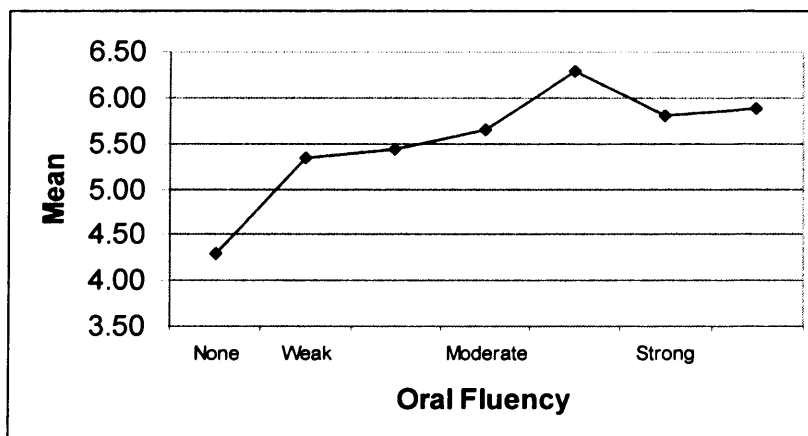


Figure 4.9: Mean scores for 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to oral fluency in Welsh

## Location

The informants' location was entered into a Oneway ANOVA and a significant difference was uncovered in their responses to the composite factor ( $F(6,327)=5.115, p<0.001$ ). Informants from Puerto Madryn gave the lowest mean scores, followed by informants from Rawson and Trelew. The highest mean scores were given by informants from Trevelin and Gaiman. Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered a significant difference in the responses of informants from Puerto Madryn and those from Trevelin and Gaiman. This finding suggests that informants from Trevelin and Gaiman, the two locations considered to possess the most Welsh vitality by their inhabitants (see section 4.2, Q2 and Q4) hold the perception that the vitality shift and importance of Welshness is significantly more positive than informants from Puerto Madryn, the location whose informants believe has the lowest amount of Welsh vitality.

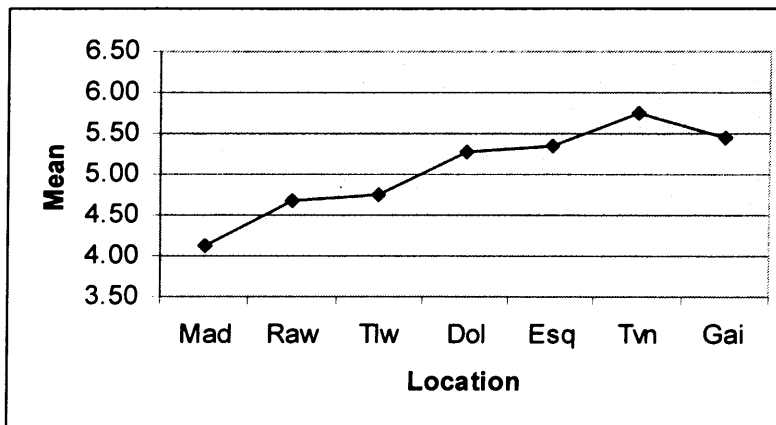


Figure 4.10: Mean scores for 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to location

### 4.3.3. Interpretation/ Discussion

In responding to questions regarding the vitality shift trends and importance of Welshness, it appears that informants with any level of ability in speaking and understanding the Welsh language have a more positive perception of these issues than non-Welsh speakers. In

addition to a greater personal attachment to the Welsh language and culture, Welsh-speakers also have a greater belief in a positive trend of growth of Welsh linguistic and cultural vitality compared with non-Welsh speakers. This could be the result of their own participation in this process, that they see vitality in Welsh language and culture through their own contact and participation with these items, either as native speakers who have used the language throughout their lives or as learners themselves. As previously noted, the causal relationship here is not clear as it may be that being able to speak Welsh brings people closer to the Welsh language and Welsh culture or that their participation in Welsh cultural events has led them to learn or to continue to use the language. Nevertheless, it is clear that any level of claimed ability in the language is enough to perceive a more positive trend in vitality growth for both the Welsh language and culture as well as a greater personal importance for the Welsh language and culture. This is a clearly positive perception and significantly different from informants who claim no affiliation to the ethnic group and community or any oral fluency in Welsh. Informants with some level of oral fluency Welsh will usually have learnt the language in the family or an institutional environment and been regularly exposed to the language at cultural events, such as the Eisteddfod or choir meetings. In contrast, the majority of non-speakers will have had little contact with the language during their lives. It appears that the greater interaction with the Welsh language, and therefore Welsh culture, promotes a stronger feeling of the importance of Welshness and vitality shift trends than being uninvolved in the language and community.

This perception of the 'vitality shift and importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' is also related to the informants' self-categorization as a member of the Welsh ethnic group and community. Responses according to affiliation followed a linear trend in which the greater the informants' claimed affiliation with the Welsh, the greater their

perceptions of questions relating to ‘vitality shift and importance of Welshness’. Again, this could be a result of their own participation in the processes and therefore being ‘closer’ to Welsh cultural events, whether or not they speak the language. As before, the causal relationship is unclear, that their affiliation with the Welsh ethnic group and community leads them to perceive that the Welsh language and culture has increased in vitality and will continue to do so, or that a perceived growth in Welsh linguistic and cultural vitality has brought them closer to the Welsh ethnic group and community. The findings from the analysis of the factor as a whole confirm, though, that the informants’ self-categorized affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community is of significance and is associated with their perceptions of Welsh vitality trends and the importance of Welshness.

Analysis of the mean scores to the three questions that related to the importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera showed differing but nevertheless positive responses. While taking into account the large standard deviation associated with Q9, the personal importance to the informant of speaking Welsh, it is clear that there are a large number of informants for whom speaking Welsh is of great importance. As this includes a large number of informants who claim high levels of affiliation, but weak levels of fluency, any attempts at increasing the uptake in Welsh language classes or wider use of the language needs to further identify these individuals and their language needs, as the findings to this question suggest a presence in attachment to the language and therefore the potential motivation to learn Welsh. Naturally, however, responses to this question also suggest a large group of people for whom the Welsh language holds little or no personal importance. This result should be compared with Q15e, in which the importance of Welsh is compared with that of four other major world languages (English, French, Portuguese and Spanish). The mean score for Welsh is between that of French and Portuguese, for whom there was a mean response hovering

around the scalar mid-point, and those of Spanish and English, the common daily language of the Chubut Valley and the Cordillera and the perceived global language, which scored very highly. This suggests the perceived importance of Welsh as a major language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera; a language that is of less importance than Spanish in daily life and perhaps lacking in the global kudos of English, but nevertheless of more importance to residents of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera than other world languages, although this result is inevitably skewed by the responses of those affiliated to the Welsh community.

The responses to the question regarding the personal importance of Welsh culture, Q18, showed a slightly different pattern, with informants from all sub-groups claiming that Welsh culture is of great personal importance to themselves in response to Q18. This appears to confirm the importance of Welsh culture to all people in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, whatever their age, affiliation, fluency, gender, location or strength of Welsh community network.

Analysis of the mean scores related to the vitality shift questions has shown a mildly positive perception of the growth in strength of Welsh language and culture in the last decade and a belief that these will continue to grow in strength over the coming decade. Informants appear to believe in a positive trend of vitality growth for the Welsh language and culture in which the strength of Welsh linguistic and cultural vitality has grown slightly in the past ten years and will grow by the same amount, and a little more, in the next ten years. There is a perception, both over the past decade and in predictions of the future, that Welsh culture has grown in strength and will grow in strength more than the Welsh language has and will continue to do so. Informants therefore perceive a slightly more positive future for Welsh culture than the Welsh language. This mildly positive perception of the vitality shift trends

that the Welsh language and culture are undergoing is quite widespread. While there are a number of sub-groups who gave responses around the scalar mid-point and therefore not giving a definitive answer to the question, there are comparatively few sub-groups in any of the independent variables that gave outright negative responses to any of the questions. In fact, the only sub-group of note to give such a negative response was the sub-group with the lowest affiliation in response to the growth in strength of the Welsh language over the past decade. In contrast, there were a number of sub-groups who gave high mean scores, greater than 6, indicating a strong positive belief in a growth trend for vitality. Most clearly, this was evidenced amongst the sub-group with the greatest affiliation, who gave responses of this level for questions related to the past growth of the Welsh language and culture and also for the future growth of Welsh culture. The moderately high Welsh fluency group gave similar scores in response to questions regarding the historical growth of Welsh language and culture in the past decade. This all points to a general consensus of perception, regardless of independent variable and sub-group, that the Welsh language and culture has grown in the past decade and will continue to do so.

While the age of the informant was not found to uncover a significant difference in responses to questions in the 'vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor (see section 4.2), significant differences in responses were uncovered in response to the questions in this 'vitality shift and importance of Welshness' factor. These showed that the oldest age group of informants held more positive opinions regarding the vitality shift of Welsh than the youngest informants, for whom the mean score was often 'hedged' around the mid-point. However, there are certain difficulties in interpreting results of a question based around 'time-lapse' questions that require a comparison over a period of time, the most important being that the youngest informants were still children at the



beginning of this period (some as young as six years old) and possibly unable to draw comparisons between the two decades. Alternatively, with a much greater life experience, elder informants may be drawing judgements with earlier periods than only a decade ago. The eldest age group and medium age group, the youngest of whom were at least teenagers a decade earlier, were relatively positive regarding Welsh vitality trends, suggesting that amongst those who could clearly recall the position of the Welsh language and culture a decade ago, there is the perception of an increase in the strength of both.

As with the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor, location is also important in perceptions of the 'Vitality shift and importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor. In Gaiman and Trevelin, the Welsh are at the centre of the community and as such the towns have strong Welsh community networks, while in larger towns where there is a strong Welsh community, such as Trelew and Esquel, the Welsh may have the institutional presence of the church, schools and associations, but are not part of the daily life of the majority of residents. Informants from Gaiman had been by far the most positive in questions relating to the present-day vitality of Welsh, but there was no difference between their responses and those of informants from Esquel and Trevelin, who were equally positive about the trends of vitality shift that the Welsh language and culture is undergoing. Informants from Puerto Madryn gave responses close to the scalar mid-point, offering neither a positive or negative opinion. However, as noted in the Vitality of Welsh factor, informants from Rawson gave differing responses to certain questions. On this occasion, although giving 'hedged' opinions close to the scalar mid-point in response to questions about the historical growth in strength of the Welsh language and culture and the future of the Welsh language, they gave an undoubtedly positive opinion regarding the future growth in strength of Welsh culture. As before (see section 4.2

and the map on page viii), one possible explanation is that informants from Rawson do perceive Welshness as taking place in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, at least on a cultural level, and that there is a slight time lag in the perception of cultural events that have taken place in the 'heartland' of Welshness in Gaiman since the early 1990s, that have increasingly taken place in Trelew, and it is through experience and awareness of these events that Rawson inhabitants perceive that Welsh culture will grow stronger in the coming decade than it has done in the last ten years.

As noted earlier, informants from both Cordillera communities, Esquel and Trevelin, gave highly positive responses to the questions relating to vitality shift trends. This finding suggests that informants in the Cordillera have a distinct belief that, from their experiences, the Welsh language and culture have grown significantly in strength in the past decade and that they will continue to do so. Further to this, it suggests that these communities should perhaps be treated separately to the Chubut Valley communities, and that their geographical isolation in the Andes, geographically distant from the other Welsh founded towns in the Chubut Province is providing them with a different experience of Welsh language and culture. It is also of importance to note that in both Cordillera towns, there is a perception that the Welsh language and culture will grow more in the coming decade than in the past decade, that is, not just a perception of growth, or of sustained growth, but of an increasing growth. This is not repeated across all seven locations, and in a climate of generally positive opinions, this is an interesting barometer of vitality shift. As noted, informants from Esquel and Trevelin gave more positive responses to questions regarding the future than the past. This was the same trend in Trelew and Rawson, perhaps, as suggested earlier, because of an increase in Welsh language and culture gravitating eastwards from Gaiman. However, informants from Puerto Madryn and Dolavon were not as positive about the future as they

were about the past decade. Informants from Gaiman gave very similar responses to both sets of questions.

Analysis of the ‘vitality shift and importance of Welshness’ factor has uncovered a positive vitality shift trend for Welsh language and culture over the last decade and the next ten years. It was found that any ability in oral Welsh was linked to more positive opinions about the vitality trend shift and the importance of Welshness. Those with greatest affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community gave significantly more positive responses than those with weak affiliation. Informants from the eldest age group gave more positive responses to questions in this factor than informants from the youngest age group while informants from the Cordillera towns and Gaiman gave the most positive responses according to region and location.

#### **4.4 Older people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language**

The questions in this factor are all related to informants’ perceptions of older people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, referring to people older than 45 years old. This suggests that in the perception of the informants who completed this question, the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera amongst people younger than 45 years old is different from those older than 45 years old. This perception has some historical basis to it, in that intergenerational transmission of the Welsh language largely ceased after World War Two (see sections 1.3 and 2.2) and therefore there are only a small number of Welsh native speakers under the age of 45. Informants therefore make a distinction between the older generation(s), where presumably Welsh language is perceived as having greater strength, and the younger generation(s), where results in section 4.2 have already shown the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language to be relatively weak.

Questions in this factor included: ‘To what extent do you think that the following age groups use the Welsh language?’ (Q5) and ‘To what extent do you think that the following age use groups are enthusiastic about the Welsh language?’. In both questions, four age groups were presented in the questionnaire: those aged younger than 25, those aged between 25 and 45, those aged between 45 and 65, and, finally, those older than 65 years old. It might be expected that responses to all four age groups might factor together in the factor analysis process, due to the proximity of these items in the questionnaire design. However, informants’ responses to the younger age groups (those younger than 25 years old and those aged between 25 and 45) were separated into a different factor (see Vitality and younger people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, section 4.2) than their responses to older age groups (those aged between 45 and 65 and older than 65 years old). Tests will be carried out using the same procedure as before (see section 4.2). These will then be followed by conclusions and comments on the findings of perceptions of older people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, including drawing brief comparisons with already uncovered results of perceptions of younger people’s use of and enthusiasm for the same.

#### **4.4.1 Descriptive statistics**

As can be seen in Table 4.9, the mean responses to Question 5c, ‘What is the use of the Welsh language amongst people aged between 45 and 65?’ is 3.70 ( $n=330$ ,  $s.d.=1.61$ ). In contrast to this, the mean response to Question 5d, ‘What is the use of the Welsh language amongst people aged older than 65?’ is 4.59 ( $n=337$ ,  $s.d.=1.85$ ), which whilst not suggesting a strongly positive perception of the use of the Welsh language amongst elderly people in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, this is at least a mildly positive indication of their perceptions that Welsh is more likely to be used by older people. The difference between mean responses

to Question 5 regarding the use of the Welsh language and Question 6 regarding the enthusiasm for the Welsh language is almost negligible. In the case of the mean response to Question 6c, ‘What is the enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people aged between 45 and 65?’, the mean response to this question is 3.79 ( $n=336$ ,  $s.d.=1.52$ ). The mean response to Question 6d, ‘What is the enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people older than 65?’ is 4.53 ( $n=336$ ,  $s.d.=1.81$ ), a slight drop when compared to the mean response to Question 5d. These differences in the mean responses are too small to claim that they suggest either perceptions of greater enthusiasm for the language than usage amongst people aged between 45 and 65 years old or that there is any less perceived enthusiasm than usage of the Welsh language by people older than 65 years old.

Question	<i>n</i>	Mean (2d.p.)	Std Deviation (2d.p.)
Q5c Use of Welsh Aged45-65	330	3.70	1.61
Q5d Use of Welsh Aged 65+	337	4.59	1.85
Q6c Enthusiasm for Welsh 45-65	336	3.79	1.52
Q6d Enthusiasm for Welsh 65+	336	4.53	1.81
Older People's Use of and Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language (factor)	310	4.16	1.51

Table 4.9: Mean scores for items included in the ‘Older people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language’ factor

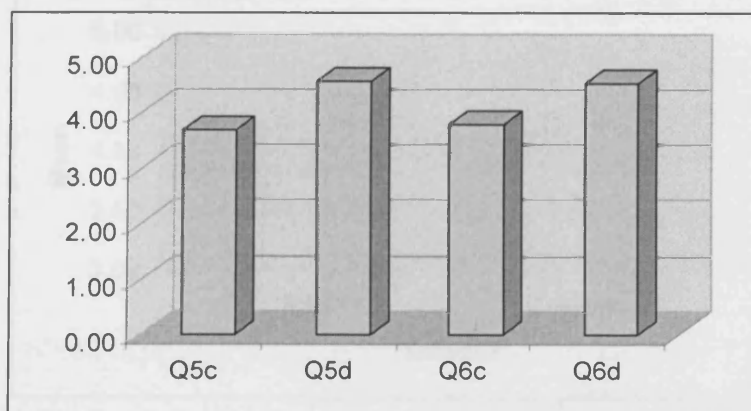


Figure 4.11: Bar graph showing mean scores for each item in the ‘Older people’s use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language’ factor

#### 4.4.2. The composite variable, 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language'

As before, a new composite variable was created. The results of tests conducted on this variable can be found in Table 4.10.

Variable	Degrees of Freedom	F	Sig.
Gender	1,308	4.807	.029
Age	2,307	2.090	.125
Affiliation	6,292	6.733	.000
Fluency	6,303	4.247	.000
Location	6,303	7.661	.000

Table 4.10: Oneway ANOVA tests of independent variables using the 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' factor

#### Gender

Using the informants' gender as the independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, a significant difference was uncovered in the informants' responses ( $F(1,308)=4.81, p<0.03$ ). As seen in the responses to previous factors, female informants gave significantly higher mean responses for older people's usage of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language than male informants.

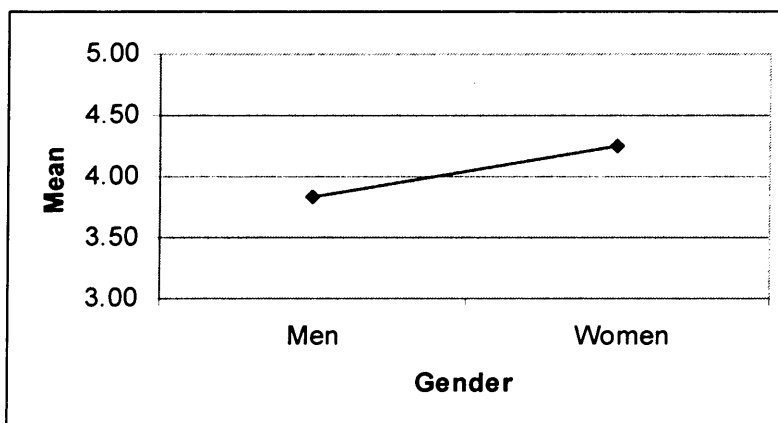


Figure 4.12: Mean scores for 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' according to gender

## **Age**

As seen in Table 4.10, when age was entered into a Oneway ANOVA as an independent variable, a non-significant main difference was uncovered, ( $F(2,307)=2.090$ ,  $p>0.05$ ,  $p=0.125$ ). Using the three previously defined age groups of 16-22 years old, 23-42 and 43 years and older, the youngest age group gave the highest mean responses, followed by the oldest age group. The medium age group gave the lowest mean responses, although all three mean scores were very similar. This is a very interesting finding as it suggests that all age groups in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera share a similar perception of the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst older residents of the regions and an agreement that those older than 65 years old use the Welsh language and are more enthusiastic than those aged between 45 and 65 years old.

## **Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community**

Using the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community as an independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, a significant difference in response was uncovered, ( $F(6,292)=6.733$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The lowest mean responses were given by those with no affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group or community (scale 1 of 7) while the highest mean responses were given by those with strong affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community (scale 6 of 7) and moderately high affiliation (scale 5 of 7). Scheffe post-hoc tests were performed upon the seven different levels of affiliation, uncovering that there was a significant difference in responses to questions regarding older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language between those with no affiliation and those with strong or moderately high affiliation levels to the Welsh ethnic group and community. This suggests that those with a strong affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community (but not those with the highest level of affiliation) perceive the greatest use of Welsh and the most

enthusiasm for the language amongst people of 45 years old and older, while those with no affiliation perceive the least usage and enthusiasm amongst people older than 45 years old.

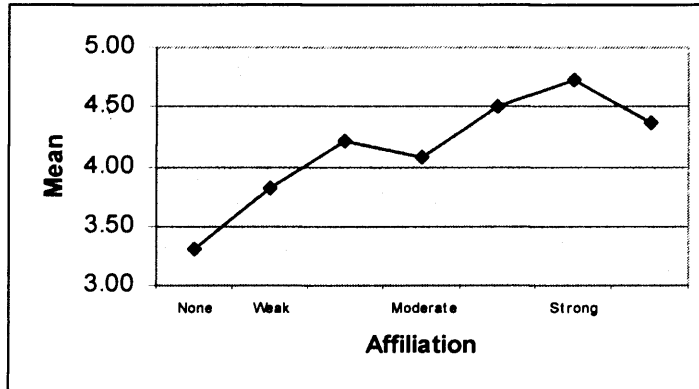


Figure 4.13: Mean scores for 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' according to affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community

### Oral Fluency in Welsh

Table 4.10 shows that when the informants' self-assessed level of oral fluency in Welsh was entered into a Oneway ANOVA, a significant main effect was uncovered in relation to responses to the composite variable ( $F(6,303)=4.247, p<0.001$ ). There were no clear linear trends in responses to these questions according to the informants' level of fluency in Welsh. Those who claimed to have no ability in Welsh (scale 1 of 7) gave the lowest mean responses to questions in this factor, while the highest mean responses came from those with a moderate ability in the Welsh language (scale 4 of 7), followed by those informants' with a very weak level of Welsh (scale 2 of 7). Scheffe post-hoc tests confirmed that there was a significant difference in the responses of informants with no ability in Welsh when compared with the responses of informants with a moderate ability in spoken Welsh. As previously noted (see section 4.2), many people in these fluency categories are learners of Welsh and there may be a relationship between perceived use and enthusiasm for Welsh and the informants' own efforts at learning the language. Those who claim higher levels of fluency are more positive



about older people's usage of Welsh and enthusiasm for the language than those with no affiliation, but this is not statistically significant.

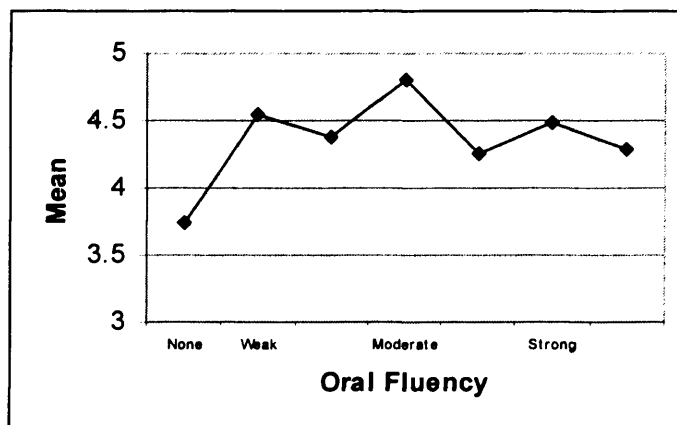


Figure 4.14: Mean scores for 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' according to oral fluency in Welsh

## Location

The informants' location was entered into a Oneway ANOVA and a significant difference was uncovered in their responses to the composite factor ( $F(6,303)=7.661, p<0.001$ ). Informants living in Puerto Madryn gave the lowest mean responses, with informants from Trelew and Rawson also giving relatively low mean responses. Informants from Gaiman gave the highest mean responses. Scheffe post-hoc tests confirmed that there was a significant difference in the responses of informants from Puerto Madryn when compared with the responses of informants from Gaiman. There were also significant differences between the responses of informants from Puerto Madryn and those from Dolavon and Esquel. A significant difference in responses also existed between informants from Trelew and those from Gaiman. These results suggest that informants from Gaiman have the highest perception of the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, followed by informants from Esquel and Dolavon. This may be reflective of the demographics of these locations. It is interesting to note in Gaiman and Dolavon that the responses to the question regarding the

use of Welsh by people older than 65 years old was noticeably greater than the question regarding enthusiasm for the Welsh language (5.69 v 5.17 in Gaiman and 5.00 v 4.79 in Dolavon), perhaps suggesting the difference between being a first language speaker of the Welsh language and therefore having an ability in Welsh and actually being enthusiastic about the language. This contrasts with perceptions of younger people as being enthusiastic about Welsh but not using the language.

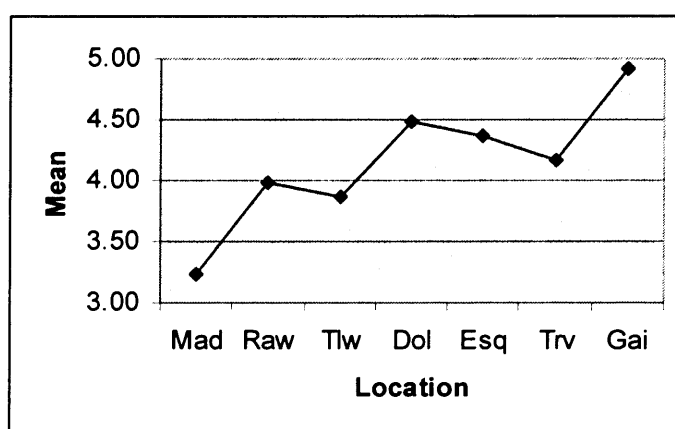


Figure 4.15: Mean scores for 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' according to location

#### 4.4.3. Interpretation/ Discussion

Arguably the most important element of the 'older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' is its existence as a separate factor. Under normal circumstances, it might be expected that the results of Questions 5 and 6 regarding perceptions of the usage of Welsh and enthusiasm for the language according to different age groups would have factored together. However, this has not been the case, suggesting that informants perceive that the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people under the age of 45 is different from the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people older than the age of 45. A brief comparison of the mean scores for all age ranges in questions 5 and 6 shows a linear trend in perceptions of the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. These

responses show that informants perceive that the youngest age range (younger than 25 years old) have least usage and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, followed closely by those aged between 25 and 45 years old, with the mean responses for both usage and enthusiasm less than 3 out of 7, indicating a perception of weakness of Welsh amongst these age groups. Then, as shown above, the mean score for the age range 45 to 65 years old is slightly lower than 4 of 7 while the mean responses for the use of and enthusiasm for Welsh amongst the oldest age group, aged from 65 upwards, is a little over 4.5, suggesting a very slightly positive perception amongst informants. The results to these questions are perhaps the best illustration of the perception amongst informants that the Welsh language belongs more to the older generation than to younger people. This is very much a reflection of perceptions of historical trends in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera: that the last children raised only in Welsh are now much older than 65 years old and that their children, who are in the generation between 45 and 65 years old, may have some Welsh that they learned at home, but that people younger than this age group are unlikely to speak Welsh (see section 2.2).

In the opinions of the informants, there appears to be no significant distinction between use of the Welsh language and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people over the age of 45, with the descriptive statistics showing that mean scores for both were very similar. Presuming that informants were correctly understanding the intention of the question, that is, the difference between actual usage of Welsh and people's enthusiasm for speaking Welsh or being able to speak Welsh, this suggests that informants perceive the levels of spoken Welsh and enthusiasm for speaking Welsh to be roughly the same in these age groups. This suggests a level of legitimacy, as the use of Welsh reflects enthusiasm for the language. This contrasts with the younger age groups, where there is a slightly higher enthusiasm for speaking Welsh than actual usage of the language, perhaps reflecting ability and scarcity of speakers.

Perceptions of a higher usage of the language than enthusiasm may suggest a language with reticent speakers who may shift their language in future or do not currently use their Welsh, while perceptions of a higher enthusiasm than usage suggest a target market of potential language speakers who may wish to learn Welsh and use it in the future.

It is perhaps expected and understandable that informants who live in communities with the strongest Welsh networks would have a higher perception of the usage of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. The presence of these networks, and the various institutions that make up the networks, such as the chapel, provide a series of locations and accepted social occasions in which the Welsh language can be spoken in public between speakers. Gaiman, the location considered by its residents to have the most vitality for the Welsh language, is again the location where informants are most positive about the use and enthusiasm for Welsh amongst people over the age of 45 years old. This is especially important with regards to the difference in perceptions of the generation aged between 45 and 65 years old and those older than 65 years old. Whilst in all locations, except for Puerto Madryn, there is a greater than scalar mid-point perception of the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people older than 65 years old, it is only in Gaiman that this is in any way replicated in the perceptions of those aged between 45 and 65 years old (see appendix B for results). This is perhaps a result of greater intergenerational transmission of the Welsh language in Gaiman than other locations as well as a series of strong institutions supporting the use of and maintenance of the Welsh language. There appears to be a larger number of Welsh speakers in this age range than are found elsewhere in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, and this may explain a stronger perception of the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst this age group in Gaiman but not in other locations.

As previously noted, it was surprising that there was no significant difference in the response to this factor according to the age of the informant. There appears to be a consensus amongst informants regarding the relative amounts of usage of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people older than 45. The numerical bias in the study towards younger people (more than two-thirds are younger than 45 years old) means that only one-third of the informants are rating their own age range in these questions, but it is clear that their opinions do not differ significantly from younger informants. If it is true that there is a general perception that the Welsh language is associated with older people, it might be expected that younger people could exaggerate the importance of the Welsh language in these age groups, but that has not been found to be the case and informants of all age groups clearly have similar perceptions of the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst people older than 45 years old.

Analysis of previous factors has shown that informants with no affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community or any level of fluency in the Welsh language have a significantly lower perception of the Welsh linguistic and cultural situation in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera than informants with a high level of affiliation or with any level of fluency in Welsh. In broad terms, this pattern was continued in the 'older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' factor. For both 'affiliation' and 'fluency' independent variables, the lowest mean scores were recorded by informants who claimed either no affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community or no fluency in oral Welsh, again suggesting a link between their personal lack of affiliation or ability in the language and a perception of a lack of vitality of the Welsh language amongst people older than 45 years old. As with the 'Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor analysed in section 4.2, the highest mean responses were from informants with a moderately strong to strong affiliation with the Welsh community and with a weak or

moderate knowledge of the Welsh language. This again highlights the link between the strength of affiliation and perceptions of the vitality of the Welsh language and also that those with limited amounts of fluency, many of whom are themselves language learners, are perhaps over-estimating the use and enthusiasm for the language, inflating these according to their new-found skills and environments, while fully fluent speakers are more moderate in their responses.

Working in conjunction with data uncovered in section 4.2, the 'Older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language' factor has shown that there is a linear trend in the perception of the use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language from the youngest age groups in society to the oldest, with the oldest age groups perceived as using Welsh most and having most enthusiasm for the language. Amongst the two oldest age groups included in this factor, there was no noticeable difference in informants' perceptions of their usage of Welsh or their enthusiasm for the language, contrasting slightly with younger age groups where there was a perception that they had more enthusiasm for the language than actual usage. Informants from communities with strong Welsh networks, especially Gaiman, were more positive about the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language in these age groups, especially the generation aged between 45 and 65 years old, while informants from Puerto Madryn were noticeably more negative. Previously established patterns regarding informants' affiliation and self-assessed fluency in Welsh were repeated in this factor, while, as with the present vitality factor (see section 4.2), it was found that age was not a contributing factor in differences in perception.

#### 4.5. Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

The questions that make up this factor all derive from Question 16, in which informants were asked to mark on a seven-point Likert scale, ‘To what extent do you think that the following institutions provide support for the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?’, the list of institutions being an adapted version of the institutional support factor suggested by Giles et al. (1977: 309). Eight different institutions were included in this question. As shown in section 4.1, of these eight items, five were factored together, indicating that informants responded to these stimuli in a similar manner. The five that were factored together were ‘mass media’ (Q16a), ‘education’ (Q16b), ‘government services’ (Q16c), ‘tourism’ (Q16e) and ‘other cultural activities’ (Q16h). ‘religion’ (Q16f) and ‘Eisteddfod’ (Q16g) were not included in this factor, suggesting that informants responded to these stimuli indifferently, while ‘industry’ (Q16d) had been removed from the factor analysis because of its lack of correlation with other items. The same tests were performed as before. These will then be followed by conclusions and comments on the perceptions of institutional support for the Welsh language and culture amongst informants.

##### 4.5.1. Descriptive statistics

Question	<i>n</i>	Mean(2d.p.)	Std Deviation (2d.p.)
Q16a Inst Support from Mass Media	341	3.71	1.80
Q16b Inst Support from Education	341	3.20	1.74
Q16c Inst Support from Government Services	327	2.91	1.61
Q16e Inst Support from Tourism	342	4.98	1.61
Q16h Inst Support from Other Cultural Activities	294	4.52	1.78
Institutional Support for Welsh Language and Culture (factor)	272	3.86	1.26

*Table 4.11: Mean scores for items included in the ‘Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera’ factor*

The five responses that make up the Institutional Support factor show markedly different responses, dependent upon the type of institution. The mean response to 'mass media' (Q16a) was 3.71 ( $n=341$ ,  $s.d.=1.80$ ). The institutional support for the Welsh language and culture from 'education' (Q16b) is considered to be weak, with a mean score of 3.20 ( $n=341$ ,  $s.d.=1.74$ ). The institutional support for 'government services' (Q16c) is considered to be weaker still, with a mean response of 2.91 ( $n=327$ ,  $s.d.=1.61$ ). In contrast, with these negative perceptions of the institutional support for the Welsh language and culture, the remaining two aspects of institutional support in this factor are above the scalar mid-point. For 'tourism' (Q16e), the mean response was 4.98, ( $n=342$ ,  $s.d.=1.61$ ), while in the final question in this factor, the mean response to Q16h, 'other cultural activities' was 4.52 ( $n=294$ ,  $s.d.=1.78$ ), suggesting a slightly positive institutional support for the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

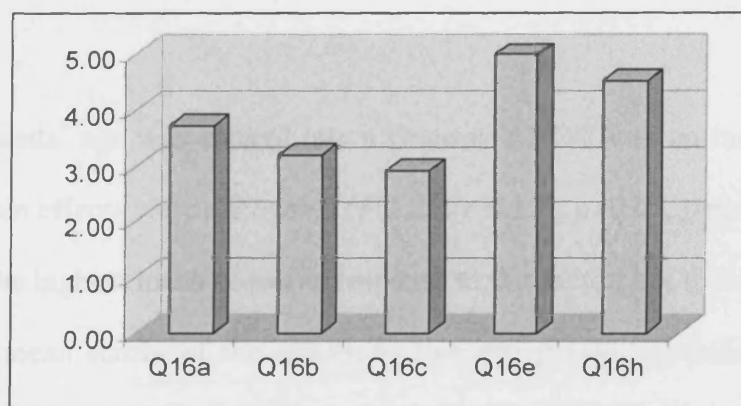


Figure 4.16: Bar graph showing mean scores for each item included in the 'Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

#### 4.5.2. Composite variable, 'Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera'

A composite variable was created using the same methods as before. It is useful to consider the results of the composite variable as this will explain trends of perceptions of institutional



support for Welsh language and culture according to different independent variables. The results of tests performed on this variable can be found in Table 4.12.

Variable	Degrees of Frequency	F	Sig.
Gender	1,270	2.662	.104
Age	2,269	0.171	.843
Affiliation	6,258	1.143	.338
Fluency	6,265	0.988	.434
Location	6,265	4.593	.000

*Table 4.12: Oneway ANOVA tests of independent variables in the 'Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor*

### **Gender**

Using the informants' gender as the independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, no significant difference was uncovered in the informants' responses ( $F(1,270)=2.662, p>0.05, p=0.104$ ). As in previous factors, women gave a higher mean response than men, although this was not found to be statistically significant.

### **Age**

When the informants' age was entered into a Oneway ANOVA as an independent variable, no significant main effects were uncovered ( $F(2,269)=0.171, p>0.05, p=0.843$ ). The youngest age group gave the highest mean scores in response to this factor, but these were only slightly greater than the mean scores of the remaining two age groups. As before, this suggests a consensus opinion between different age groups regarding the issues in the questionnaire.

### **Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community**

Using the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community as an independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, no significant difference in response was uncovered ( $F(6,258)=1.143, p>0.05, p=0.338$ ). This was a surprising finding as in the previous factors the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community had uncovered a

difference between responses. However, this is not the case in this factor. Although the group of informants with no affiliation (scale 1 of 7) gave the lowest mean responses, these were little different from informants with greater levels of affiliation. The highest mean scores were from those informants with a moderate level of affiliation (scale 4 of 7). This suggests that there is a consensus opinion of the institutional support enjoyed, or, in some cases, not enjoyed by the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

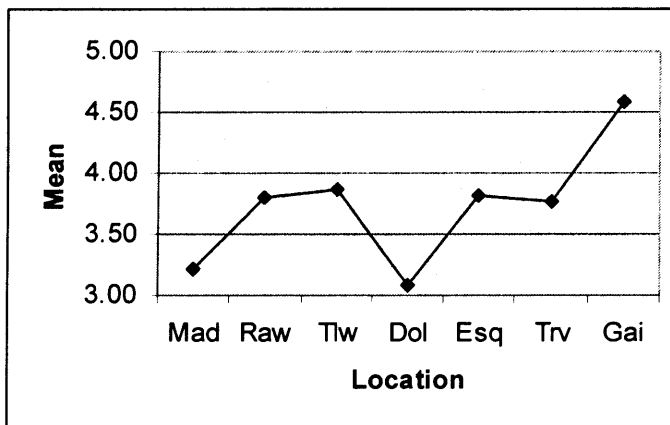
### **Oral fluency in Welsh**

When the informants' self-assessed level of oral fluency in Welsh was entered into a Oneway ANOVA, no significant main effect was uncovered in relation to responses to the 'composite variable ( $F(6,265)=.988$ ,  $p>0.05$ ,  $p=0.434$ ). This was again a surprising finding as, in previous factors, analysis according to the informants' self-assessed fluency level had uncovered significant main effects. For the first time in the study, the group that claimed no oral fluency in Welsh (scale 1 of 7) did not give the lowest mean score. Instead the lowest mean score was given by the informants with highest level of fluency in Welsh (scale 7 of 7), perhaps reflecting their real-life experience of the institutional support for the Welsh language and culture. Again, these findings suggest a consensus between informants regarding the institutional support given to the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, irrespective of their ability in spoken Welsh.

### **Location**

The informants' location was entered into a Oneway ANOVA and a significant difference was uncovered in their responses to the composite factor ( $F(6,260)=4.508$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In response to this factor, informants from Dolavon gave the lowest mean response, followed by informants from Puerto Madryn. Informants from Gaiman held the most positive perceptions

of institutional support for the Welsh language and culture. Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered that there was a significant difference between the responses of informants from Gaiman to this factor and the responses of informants from both Puerto Madryn and Dolavon. The reasons for these distinct responses from informants from Gaiman will be examined in section 4.5.3 at the end of this section.



*Figure 4.17: Mean scores for 'Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to location*

### **4.5.3. Interpretation/ Discussion**

Location was the only independent variable that was found to influence perceptions of institutional support for Welsh language and culture. Individually, there were three questions where significant differences were uncovered between informants' responses according to their location. These questions, relating to the institutional support of the mass media, education and other cultural activities were significant because of the very different responses given by informants from Gaiman.

As noted in the introduction (section 1.4.2) and seen in responses in section 4.2, Gaiman is often considered to be the centre of Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera and this may explain the difference in responses to, at least, education and other cultural

activities, if not mass media. Gaiman is the only location in which Welsh is taught through the educational curriculum as a second language in a number of schools, with a developed network that sees the language taught at primary and secondary school age ranges by people from the town as well as in a nursery which has been open for more than a decade. This means that a large number of youngsters in the Gaiman region have basic skills in the language through the impact of this teaching. This would explain why informants from Gaiman gave a more positive response regarding the institutional support offered by education than informants from other locations. Gaiman's focus on Welsh cultural affairs, including the choir and tea-houses, means that Welsh culture is regularly and more publicly practised in the town than in other locations. This may explain the more positive responses from informants in Gaiman about the institutional support offered by other cultural activities. Gaiman is the location in which the Welsh language periodical, *Y Drafod* (the original orthography has been changed to reflect Welsh norms), is edited and where Welsh community news can be found in the monthly newspaper, *El Regional*. This may go some way to explain the more positive response of Gaiman's informants to the question regarding the institutional support of the mass media than informants from other locations.

This is the first occasion in this study in which the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community has not been related to a significant difference in responses. In previous factors, there has been a statistically significant difference between informants with no or weak affiliation to the Welsh community and those with strong or very strong affiliation, often in a linear trend. Instead, it would appear that, irrespective of how they position themselves in relation to the Welsh ethnic group and community, informants hold a similar perception of the institutional support that is given to Welsh language and culture. These findings show that, although in response to many questions, informants with a higher

level of affiliation perceive a higher level of vitality, there are also occasions when their responses show little or no difference to those with no or weak affiliation. In the case of institutional support, it could be that the more objective nature of the questions, discussing exo-centric factors such as the support provided for the Welsh language and culture by outside bodies rather than ego-centric personal opinions, is responsible for these shared beliefs. Of course, simply because a view is commonly held does not mean that this is necessarily an accurate reflection of the institutional support given to the Welsh language and culture, but this does suggest that there is a consensus opinion that the institutional support offered, and that this is strongest for tourism and other cultural activities and weakest for government services. Similarly, there were no significant differences amongst informants' responses, according to their self-assessed fluency in oral Welsh. Although significant differences between informants according to their fluency in Welsh have not been as strong as the differences according to affiliation, this finding that there were no statistically significant differences in response was again surprising.

As noted in the introduction to this section, institutional support was one of the three strands identified by Giles et al. (1977) in their original definition of vitality. This study has found that questions regarding the institutional support for Welsh language and culture have been identified as one single factor. It could be argued that questionnaire design has played some role in the creation of this factor, with all five questions printed close to each other on the same page. However, not all of the questions relating to institutional support were included in this factor, suggesting that while the questionnaire design might be relevant in the creation of this factor, it was certainly not the only influence on its creation. Eight questions were included in Q16, of which only five are included in this factor. The remaining three questions were related to industry (Q16d), religion (Q16f) and Eisteddfod (Q16g). These were not

included in the factor because, statistically speaking, informants did not respond to these questions as they had the others. While it has been established that informants perceive a relatively weak to moderate level of institutional support for the five questions that are included in the institutional support for Welsh language and culture factor, their responses when asked about the institutional support provided by the Eisteddfod (Q16g) were much greater (a mean scores of 6.27, see appendix B), suggesting, unsurprisingly, that they perceive a more positive institutional support from the Eisteddfod than other variables in Giles, et al.'s institutional support strand. Unexpectedly, religion (Q16f) was not included in this factor.

In order to understand institutional support for Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, the responses to these other two questions must also be taken into account. This shows that informants perceive that the most institutional support for Welsh, as could be expected, comes from the Eisteddfod, which very positively supports Welsh followed by other positive responses regarding religion, other cultural activities and tourism. There are then less positive responses relating to the institutional support provided by education, the mass media, government services and, finally, industry. It is clear that the distinction between these two groups of variables relating to institutional support is the ability of local people to influence the level of support provided. The former group contains institutions and activities over which the Welsh ethnic group and community are able to exert a certain amount of control in the form that these institutions and activities take in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera, while the institutions with control over education, mass media, government services and industry are more distant from the Welsh ethnic group and community. As shown in Gaiman, it is possible for the Welsh ethnic group and community to take more control over the educational syllabus to introduce language teaching and in a

devolved Chubut Province, it is possible that this lead could be followed elsewhere by the Welsh ethnic group and community, and to some extent already has been in Trelew with the foundation of a bilingual Welsh-Spanish school, *Ysgol yr Hendre* ('Old Town School'). However, as institutions that support the wider framework of society in the Chubut Province and Argentina as a whole, it might prove to be difficult to gain greater control or to lever greater institutional support from the remaining three institutions, mass media, government services and industry.

The institutional support factor has once again uncovered the importance of the informants' location in determining their perception of the situation of Welsh language and culture, with informants from Gaiman holding a significantly higher perception of the institutional support than informants from other locations. Surprisingly, though, there were no significant differences between informants according to their affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community or their oral fluency in Welsh. When taking into account the remaining institutional support questions, the variables that influence levels of institutional support come more clearly into focus – these are related to the ability of the Welsh ethnic group and community to take control of affairs at a local level. As such, institutional support is strongest where the Welsh ethnic group and community have most power to decide and is weakest when the institution is more distant, serving the provincial, or even national, population as a whole.

#### **4.6. Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

Four responses were included in this factor, all related to Question 8, informants' perceptions of participation in Welsh culture by people of four different age groups in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. The question asked was: 'To what extent do the following age groups

participate in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?'. The four age groups consisted of people younger than 25 years old, people aged between 25 and 45 years old, people aged between 45 and 65 years old, and, finally, people aged older than 65 years old. Unlike responses regarding the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language which was separated by the factor analysis into two distinct factors, responses regarding all four age groups' participation in Welsh cultural activities were factored together. Responses to no other questions were found in the same factor.

It is interesting to note that the questions regarding use of the Welsh language and participation in Welsh cultural events were not factored together, suggesting once again that informants perceive a division between language and culture. The discussion in this chapter will draw upon the descriptive statistics from responses regarding the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language in addition to the responses to questions in this factor to draw comparisons between perceptions of language and culture amongst informants. Tests were conducted as previously explained. Analysis of these will then be followed by conclusions and comments on the findings of perceptions of participation in Welsh cultural events, including drawing comparisons between perceptions of language and culture.

#### 4.6.1. Descriptive Statistics

Question	<i>n</i>	Mean (2d.p.)	Std. Deviation (2d.p.)
Q8a Participation under-25s	340	3.60	1.87
Q8b Participation 25-45 year olds	327	3.75	1.61
Q8c Participation 45-65 year olds	330	4.39	1.62
Q8d Participation 65 years and older	339	4.98	1.73
Participation in Welsh cultural events (factor)	313	4.18	1.46

*Table 4.13: Mean Scores for items included in the 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor*



As seen in Table 4.13, the mean response to question 8a, the perception of participation in Welsh cultural events by people younger than 25 years old, was 3.60 ( $n=340$ ,  $s.d.=1.87$ ). The mean response to question 8b, the participation in Welsh cultural events by people aged between 25 and 45, was 3.75 ( $n=327$ ,  $s.d.=1.61$ ). This is slightly higher than the perception of cultural participation by the youngest age group, but still below the scalar mid-point. There was a perception of a greater participation in Welsh cultural events by people aged between 45 and 65 (Question 8c). The mean response to this question was 4.39 ( $n=330$ ,  $s.d.=1.62$ ). The mean response to the final question, Question 8d, regarding the participation in Welsh cultural events of people over the age of 65, was 4.98 ( $n=339$ ,  $s.d.=1.73$ ). This is clearly above the scalar mid-point, indicating a perception amongst informants that people over the age of 65 participate regularly in Welsh cultural events. As can be seen in Figure 4.18, the mean responses to the four sub-sections in question 8 show a linear trend associated with the age of the group being surveyed. This is in line with previous findings (see sections 4.2 and 4.4) regarding perceptions of age and engagement with Welsh activities and will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

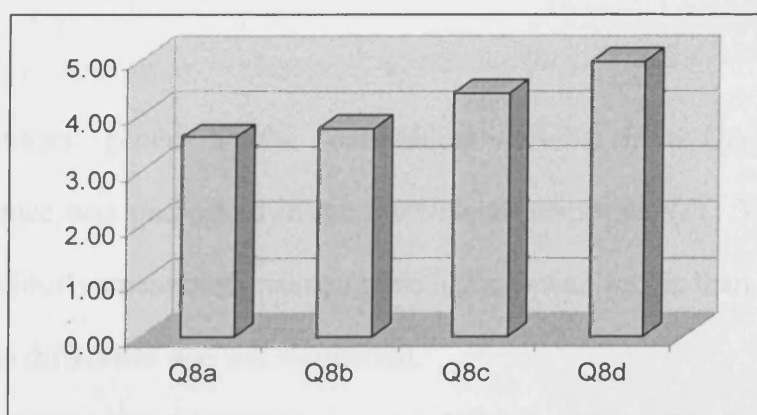


Figure 4.18: Mean scores for each item in the 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

#### 4.6.2. The composite variable, 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera'

A composite variable was created as before. Once again, it is possible to use the results of the composite variable to analyse trends according to the independent variables tested. This is perhaps most useful in this factor where all four items relate to the same question, answered four times about different age groups. The mean scores for this composite variable could, therefore, be used as a mean score for informants' perceptions of the amount of cultural participation in Welsh events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera according to sub-groups of independent variables. Results of tests conducted using this variable can be found in table 4.14.

Variable	Degrees of Frequency	<i>F</i>	Sig.
Gender	1,311	1.573	.211
Age	2,310	0.317	.729
Affiliation	6,295	9.171	.000
Fluency	6,306	3.434	.003
Location	6,306	10.143	.000

Table 4.14: Oneway ANOVA tests of independent variables using the 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' factor

##### Gender

Using the informants' gender as the independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, no significant difference was uncovered in the informants' responses ( $F(1,311)=1.573$ ,  $p>0.05$ ,  $p=0.279$ ). As previously uncovered, women gave higher mean scores than men in response to this factor, but this difference was not significant.

##### Age

When age was entered into a Oneway ANOVA as an independent variable, no significant main effects were uncovered ( $F(2,310)=0.317$ ,  $p>0.05$ ,  $p=0.729$ ). Using the three previously

defined age groups of 16-22, 23-42 and 43-88 years old, there was a linear trend from youngest to oldest age group, but the difference between all three age groups was so slight as to be non-significant. This non-significant finding is of interest as it shows a common perception of participation in Welsh cultural events that is shared across all age groups.

### **Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community**

Using the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community as an independent variable in a Oneway ANOVA, a significant difference in response was uncovered ( $F(6, 295)=9.171, p<0.001$ ). Responses to this factor follow a linear trend from those with no affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community (scale 1 of 7) to those with a strong affiliation (scale 6 of 7), with a slight drop in the mean response from those with very strong affiliation (scale 7 of 7). Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered a significant difference in responses between those with no affiliation (scale 1 of 7) and those with affiliations ranging from moderately strong (scale 5 of 7) to very strong (scale 7 of 7). There was also a significant difference between the responses of informants with very weak affiliation (scale 2 of 7) and those with strong affiliation (scale 6 of 7). These findings are in agreement with previously noted trends that suggest that those with least affiliation have the most negative perceptions about the practice of Welsh, both as a language and in a cultural capacity (see sections 4.2 and 4.4), whilst those with a strong affiliation have the most positive perceptions. It is predicted that those with a higher level of affiliation have more regular contact with Welsh cultural activities (chapel, choir, Eisteddfod etc.) and therefore perceive this as more frequent and having greater attendance and participation than informants with a low level of affiliation who know little about Welsh cultural activities except from the media.

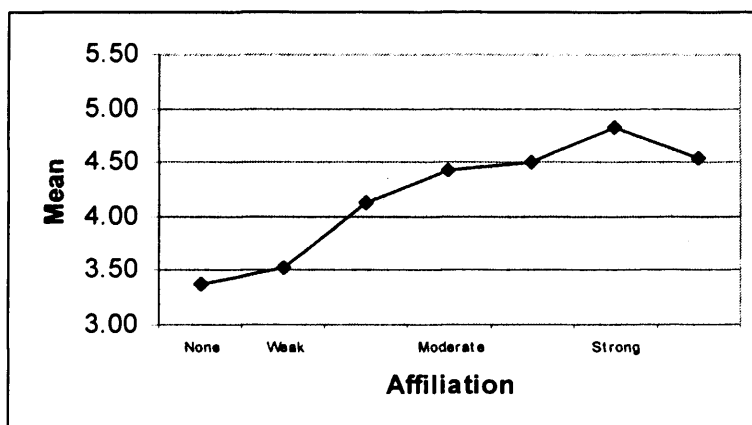


Figure 4.19: Mean scores for 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community

### Oral Fluency in Welsh

When the informants' self-assessed level of oral fluency in Welsh was entered into a Oneway ANOVA, a significant main effect was uncovered in relation to responses to the composite variable ( $F(6,306)=3.434, p<0.005$ ). There was no linear trend in responses to this factor, although some of the same trends can be seen as before. Informants who claim no level of oral fluency in Welsh gave the lowest mean responses. The highest mean responses were given by those informants who claimed either a moderately weak level of fluency in the language (scale 3 of 7) or those who claimed a strong level of fluency (scale 6 of 7). However, Scheffe post-hoc tests uncovered no significant differences in perceptions according to the informants' self-assessed level of oral fluency in Welsh. Even though fluency has a significant main effect in a Oneway ANOVA, no significant differences were uncovered according to the informants' level of fluency using a conservative post-hoc test such as Scheffe. This suggests that the role of oral fluency in perception of participation in Welsh cultural events is not as important as other independent variables, such as the aforementioned affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community.

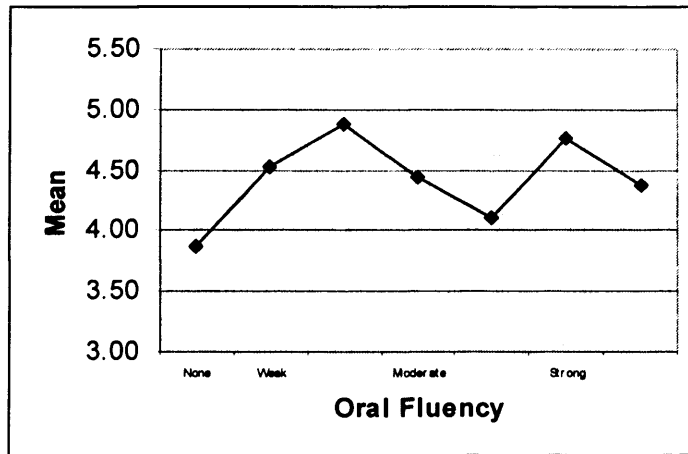


Figure 4.20: Mean Scores for 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to oral fluency in Welsh

### Location

The informants' location was entered into a Oneway ANOVA and a significant difference was uncovered in their responses to the composite factor ( $F(6,306)=10.143, p<0.001$ ). Mean scores to this factor followed previously noted trends with informants from Puerto Madryn giving the lowest mean response and informants from Gaiman giving the highest mean responses. Scheffé post-hoc tests revealed that informants from Gaiman gave a mean response that was significantly higher than all other locations, except for Trevelin. There was also a significant difference between the responses of informants from Trelew and Puerto Madryn, with informants from Trelew giving the higher mean response to questions in this factor. This suggests that informants from Gaiman have a far higher perception of the participation in Welsh cultural events than do informants from almost all other locations. This perception shall be discussed in greater detail later in this section. It is interesting to note the variation in responses in certain locations, such as Rawson, where the amount of perceived participation in Welsh cultural events amongst young people (under the age of 25) is very low, only 2.83 out of 7, but high for older people (older than 65 people), 5.35 out of 7. There is a similar response from informants from Esquel, where this grows from 2.71 out of 7 for

young people to 5.14 out of 7 for older people. The reasons for this will be discussed later in section 4.6.3.

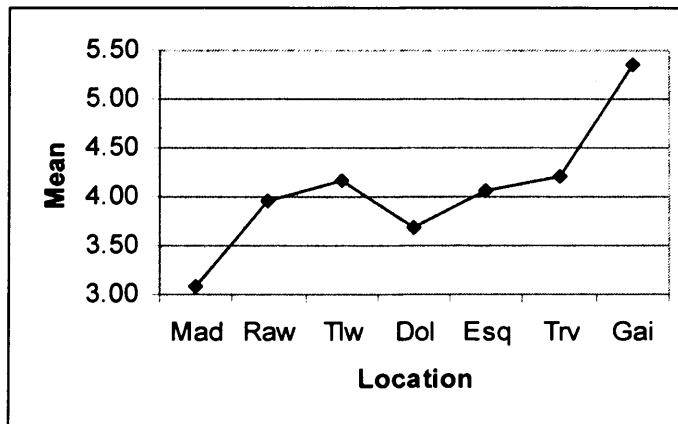


Figure 4.21: Mean scores for 'Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera' according to location

### 4.6.3. Interpretation/ Discussion

The differing results according to the informants' location suggest that perceptions of cultural participation in Welsh events is very much related to the level of cultural activity that takes place in their own locality. As previously noted (section 1.4.2 and 4.2), Gaiman is a town that heavily promotes itself as a 'Welsh' town, with a wide range of Welsh cultural activities, including choral singing, Welsh folk dancing and a Welsh language chapel amongst others. Importantly, though, Welsh cultural activity in Gaiman does not appear to be restricted in age or even ethnic background as it is promoted on a municipal level. This appears to be reflected in their high perceptions of Welsh cultural activity at all age ranges. In this way, it contrasts with the results from informants in Esquel and Rawson, where informants perceive that cultural activity amongst young people is weak, but that it grows in strength with the older generations. It appears that, in these locations, there is a perception of Welsh cultural events based on age – that older people participate in Welsh cultural events, but that there is less engagement by the younger generations, suggesting that the Welsh culture has lost its importance amongst the general public. This trend is repeated to some extent in all locations

except for Gaiman, although it is in Esquel and Rawson that it is most obviously seen in informants' responses to these items. A further interesting note to make regarding location is that informants from Gaiman, Dolavon and Trelew, the locations at the heart of the Chubut Valley, gave the highest mean scores in response to the question regarding the youngest age group's participation in Welsh cultural events. This could be reflective of their proximity to Gaiman, where the Eisteddfod de la Juventud takes place on an annual basis, and in which a very high number of local schoolchildren participate.

Once again, the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community and their oral fluency were found to reflect significant differences in their responses. In the case of the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community this followed previously identified trends that informants with a strong affiliation, from moderately high to very high, held far more positive perceptions about the participation in Welsh cultural events than those with no affiliation. As before, the causal link is not clear. It could be that informants with a high affiliation level perceive that there is greater participation in Welsh cultural events because they are more involved in these events or, alternatively, that they are involved in these events because they themselves have a high affiliation level to the Welsh ethnic group and community. The role of oral fluency is, again, more complicated. Although a Oneway ANOVA showed a significant main effect for oral fluency, no significant differences were uncovered between different levels of fluency, suggesting that the differences between informants' self-assessed oral fluency is not of such great importance. This also suggests that while informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community might presuppose a perception of higher vitality for Welsh culture, this is once again not necessarily true for informants' fluency in Welsh. Possible reasons for this have previously been identified (see sections 4.2 and 4.3), including the ability of those with high fluency levels to correctly

identify the relatively weak position of Welsh culture vis-à-vis the dominant Hispanic-Argentine national culture that predominates in the Chubut Province.

The questions in this factor (Questions 8a-d) ask for informants' perception of participation in Welsh cultural events according to different age groups. These responses can easily be compared with the informants' perceptions of the usage of the Welsh language (Question 5a-d, sections 4.2 and 4.4) to draw contrasts between perceptions of use of the Welsh language and perceptions of participation in Welsh cultural events. As with previous findings (sections 4.2 and 4.3), this comparison shows a higher perception of Welsh culture than the Welsh language. Informants have a higher perception of participation in Welsh cultural events at all four age ranges than they do for the usage of the Welsh language. Interestingly, though, at the younger age groups this difference is quite large, with a difference in the mean score of nearly 1 scalar point between the results for participation in Welsh cultural events and usage of the Welsh language for the age groups younger than 25 (Q8a and Q5a) and between 25 and 45 years old (Q8b and Q5b). This difference is less pronounced amongst the age group between 45 and 65 years old (Q8c and Q5c) and falls even more amongst perceptions of the oldest generation (Q8d and Q5d). This suggests that informants believe that there is a substantial difference between younger generations' use of the Welsh language and participation in Welsh cultural events, but that the older generations' use of the Welsh language is not so different from their participation in Welsh cultural events. This could be reflecting a perception that Welsh language events for older people, such as the Welsh language chapel or the Cylch Lenyddol, are held in Welsh, while clearly Welsh cultural events, such as folk dancing or even the Eisteddfod itself, do not necessarily require any linguistic knowledge of Welsh and are therefore more open to all members of society, irrespective of their linguistic abilities.



The informants' location and the strength of their Welsh community network has once again been found to have been of importance in determining perceptions of the vitality of Welsh, on this occasion referring to the participation in Welsh cultural events. Informants from the town of Gaiman gave consistently high mean scores regarding participation, marking the town out from other locations where there was a trend towards a perception of greater cultural participation amongst older people but a relatively weak level of participation amongst younger people. Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community once again had a relationship with perceptions of vitality, but the relationship between self-assessed oral fluency and perceptions of cultural participation was not clear. A contrast between responses regarding the usage of Welsh and participation in Welsh cultural events showed that informants believed that participation in Welsh cultural events was more prevalent at all age groups than use of the Welsh language, but that the difference between these narrowed over the generations, reflecting the perception that older people use the Welsh language more, as well as participating more in Welsh cultural events.

#### **4.7. Summary of key findings of quantitative results**

This summary of the key findings to the quantitative results will briefly note the main points related to the various sections of results in this chapter.

Analysis of the responses to the questionnaire through factor analysis uncovered seven orthogonal factors, explaining 58.51% of the variance associated with the Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings. The five most important factors, each of which individually explained more than 5% of the variance associated with the total questionnaire, were then analysed with

reference to five independent variables; gender, age, affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community, oral fluency in Welsh and location.

Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera was the most important of the factors, explaining nearly 14% of the total variance. Questions related to the present day strength of Welsh language and culture and to young people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. Oneway ANOVA analyses found that there were non-significant differences between groups according to gender and age, but that there were significant differences according to affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community, oral fluency in Welsh and location. Discussion focused on the importance of location, specifically the significant difference between informants from Gaiman and all other towns and cities in the study. Informants from outside Gaiman gave higher scores to questions relating to the region as a whole rather than their own hometown, reflecting an awareness that the Welsh language and culture do exist in this region, but they believed that it took place elsewhere. A consistent linear trend according to the informants' affiliation to the Welsh community was also noted.

The factor about Vitality shift trends and the importance of Welshness to the Chubut Valley and Cordillera explained more than 12% of the total variance associated with the questionnaire. There were two types of questions in this factor – those related to vitality shift trends and those about the importance of Welshness. The relationship between these questions was that informants held similarly positive perceptions of both, those who believed that Welshness was of importance to the wider community also believed that that the vitality shift trends for Welsh language and culture were positive. There were significant differences in responses in all five independent variables. Post-hoc tests revealed a significant difference

between informants with no ability in Welsh and those with any level of fluency in the language, suggesting that any exposure to the Welsh language was related to more positive perceptions of the importance of Welshness and vitality shift trends. Informants believe that there is a positive future for Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera.

The third factor related to older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. The existence of this factor, separate to younger people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, was surprising, pointing to the perception that there is a generational difference in use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. Responses to these items suggest that informants believe that older people (older than 45 years old) use the Welsh language and are more enthusiastic about it than younger people (younger than 45 years old). Interestingly, there was no significant difference according to the informants' age; older informants sharing this perception with younger informants. There were significant differences in perceptions according to the remaining four independent variables. The existence of this factor is related to the ending of intergenerational transmission of Welsh after the World War Two and the low numbers of native Welsh speakers younger than this age group. Again, the maintenance of Welsh in Gaiman is reflected in responses, with a more positive response in Gaiman than other locations regarding the use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst the 45-65 age range.

Items related to institutional support for the Welsh language and culture made up the fourth factor. This showed perceptions of the support given to Welsh by the mass media, education, government services, tourism and other cultural events. Informants perceived that tourism and other cultural events provided most support for Welsh. Two other institutional support items, religion and Eisteddfod, also scored highly, but were not statistically included in this

factor. Interestingly, there were non-significant differences not only for age and gender, but also for affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community and oral fluency in Welsh. This suggests a consensus opinion on the institutional support for Welsh amongst informants, whatever their affiliation or fluency. However, significant differences were found for location. The informants' location is therefore important for understanding their perceptions of institutional support for Welsh. The importance of this finding regarding institutional support will be discussed in greater detail in the final discussion (see chapter six).

The final factor discussed in this chapter was about the participation of different age groups in Welsh cultural events. Unlike the items related to language, informants perceived that participation in Welsh cultural events is statistically related. There was a clear age gradation in perceptions of cultural participation; that older people participated in Welsh cultural events more than younger people. There was no significant difference in responses according to gender and age. There was a significant difference according to oral fluency in Welsh, but post-hoc tests were unable to confirm this. Significant differences were found according to the informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community and location. Informants from Gaiman gave higher scores than informants from other locations.

In terms of defining attitudes to Welsh, location was consistently related to significant differences in informants' responses. This suggests that location is linked to perceptions regarding the strength of Welsh language and culture. Affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community was also important, with a linear trend linking positive perceptions and strength of affiliation. Informants' oral fluency in Welsh was not found to be important to the same extent, perhaps because informants with a strong level of fluency were aware of the weakness of Welsh language and culture. Surprisingly, age was not found to be particularly

important, and there were comparatively consensual opinions ranging across the age groups. It had been expected that there would be a significant difference between the older and younger age groups, reflective of the ending of inter-generational transmission of Welsh in the community, as perceived by the separation of younger and older people's use of and enthusiasm for the Welsh language, but this did not occur. Women gave higher scores than men to all items, but this was not always significant.

After answering the research questions, the conclusions to the thesis will draw together some of the issues raised in this quantitative research chapter. The most important of these relate to the importance of location and strength of Welsh community networks for positive perceptions of Welsh language and culture, and to the importance of institutional support for Welsh, specifically the empowerment of the Welsh community on a more local level. First, though, I will investigate the findings of the qualitative research that was carried out in an attempt to answer the research question regarding potential improvements in the theory of vitality.

## CHAPTER FIVE: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The questionnaire data was used in chapter four to uncover data relating to subjective perceptions of the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. In chapter five, I use the qualitative data collected from focus-group interviews to further develop our knowledge of vitality and the factors that interact with vitality. The purpose of using qualitative data in this study was to go further than either illuminating the findings of the quantitative survey through triangulation or simply to draw conclusions about the perceived vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut on the basis of qualitative data. Instead, the qualitative data will be used to shed more light on the broader concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. It is nearly thirty years since the initial ethnolinguistic vitality taxonomy was suggested by Giles et al. (1977: 309, see section 2.3), and it is possible that, due to changes in global society, their original suggested elements of vitality are no longer entirely relevant or comprehensive and that there are other factors that might influence perceptions of vitality. The qualitative data will therefore help to modernise, or, at least, make suggestions towards modernising, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. In essence, the aim of the qualitative data is to discover whether there is a broader set of factors that influence vitality than those already identified.

As previously noted (see section 3.6), ten semi-structured group interviews were carried out in the Chubut Province using thirty-one informants from six different locations, with ages ranging from 16 to 78. The majority of these informants had an intimate relationship with the Welsh community in the Chubut Province, either through a genealogical link or participation in group events, and therefore have rated themselves as having a strong or very strong affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community in the questionnaire. The aim of the

interviews was not to replicate the sample that completed the questionnaire but to establish a series of well-informed focus groups that would provide rich data about the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province. The interviews followed a standard format with a series of core questions that led to discussion amongst the interviewees. Interviews lasted between 30 and 50 minutes and were carried out in the chosen language of the interview group, five being carried out entirely in Spanish, one apiece conducted entirely in English and in Welsh, and three more conducted in a mixture of Spanish and Welsh. The transcripts of these interviews can be found in appendix C. Where necessary the transcripts have been translated into English.

All ten groups discussed similar issues relating to the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, including the importance of Welsh cultural events or institutions in their hometown, the locations they felt were most Welsh and their personal relationships with the Welsh language, culture and community in the Chubut Province. Due to the nature of qualitative data, an issue raised in only one focus group may be as important as an issue raised by every group, but the frequent discussion of specific issues suggest that they hold a widespread importance amongst the members of the Welsh community who participated in these interviews. Topics that were discussed in many of the focus groups were tourism, transnationality (see section 1.6) and the linguistic economy. While some of these discussions were prompted by the interviewer (myself), the focus group format allowed participants the opportunity to develop these themes in a unique manner. The comments made by informants stretch our usual understanding of the vitality concept with its linear 'positive/negative' axis as well as broadening our ideas of what factors influence vitality perceptions. Informants' discourse on these three concepts and their importance to the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province will be discussed in the following sections. Relevant extracts from the interviews

will be used to draw attention to specific elements of each factor or to illustrate opinions of the interviewees. The importance of these three concepts and their integration into the ethnolinguistic vitality taxonomy will be analysed at the end of this chapter.

### **5.1. Heritage Tourism**

J. Christopher Holloway (2002: 206) notes the rise in ‘cultural tourism’ that has led to the rise of alternative centres for tourist activities and to different means of promoting tourism. These methods trade upon the ‘heritage’ of the area as a reason for attempting to attract tourists to visit their region, focusing on a ‘unique selling point’, such as the relationship with an author or a specific industry. ‘Heritage’ encourages participation and interactivity rather than maintaining the barriers between the visitor and the experience which they wish to gain from the visit (Dicks, 2000). In the case of the Chubut Province, the history of the Welsh is the most immediate form of ‘heritage tourism’ due to the well preserved nature of the Welsh colonial environment, e.g. churches, buildings, being able to provide a distinct experience for the tourist.

This Welsh heritage tourism is of clear importance to the local economy, with ‘Welsh tea-houses’ located in almost all of the seven urban areas in the study, many shops selling home-made ‘Welsh’ goods from local farms, such as jam or cakes, and a series of museums featuring the Welsh and their achievements in founding a colony in the Chubut in the late nineteenth century (as discussed in sections 1.3 and 1.4.2; photographs can be found in appendix D). This had been noted prior to the evolution of the questionnaire and subsequently questions on the support given to Welsh language and culture were included as part of the institutional support section of the questionnaire (Q16) and the identity section (Q14). Tourism was not included as one of Giles et al.’s initial taxonomy of variables (1977:



309, see section 2.3). The importance of tourism to the perceptions of Welsh vitality in the Chubut Province needs to be determined, as does whether tourism is important (and to what extent) in other ethnolinguistic situations. Is tourism of wider importance to the ethnolinguistic vitality concept and requires recognition of this position, or could it be subsumed within certain categories – such as ‘economic status’ in the status variables or ‘industry’ in the institutional support categories?

In the interview data there were many references to the importance of tourism to the Welsh language and culture and to the importance of Welsh language and culture for the tourism industry in the Chubut Province. These include explanations of the exoticism that attracts tourists to these regions (not just tourists from Wales), the importance of Welsh culture as a draw for tourists, the economic benefits of tourism, the need to organise better to take advantage of tourism for the benefit of the community as a whole and the secondary importance of Welsh cultural tourism when compared with the ecological tourism also available. Although discussion of tourism was widespread across the ten interviews, informants from the older generation showed less interest in the effects of tourism than younger informants.

‘Welsh’ tourism can be found in many locations in the Chubut, with differing degrees of importance to the local economy. In Puerto Madryn, the main tourist attraction is the fauna of Peninsula Valdes, while in the Cordillera region, the main draw is outdoor sports, such as skiing. However, in Gaiman, the ‘Welsh’ tourist industry is very central to the local economy. When asked about the importance of the Welsh for tourism, informants from Esquel, for example, said:

Extract 5.1:

Int: Cual importancia tiene la lengua e cultura galesa por el turismo acá y la importancia del turismo de gales. Estas preguntas, ¿tiene algunos sobres?

E: Hay algo que pasa porque le turismo que viene de gales se parece más en Gaiman que la Cordillera. No sé porque...

X: La pregunta es que, cual importante, yo creo que, sí, es muy importante, a todo nivel. Más porque es en una ciudad turística y ahora porque hay una historia real, los galeses acá.

E: También se la muestra a las turistas no-galés también, con la visita del molino de Trevelin, la casa de té, un evento musical, todo ese turismo los muestran, si que, creo que, la cultura galesa hace la turista tiene, los muestran.... ¿cómo producto, no?  
(Group 1, 04.11.2004)

(‘Int: How important is the Welsh language and culture for tourism here and how important is the tourism from Wales. Do you know anything about this?’)

E: There is something but the tourism from Wales mainly goes to the Gaiman rather than the Cordillera, I don’t know why.

X: The question is what, how important? I think a lot, at every level. More because it is a tourist town. It’s a real story, the Welsh being here.

E: They show it to the non-Welsh tourists who visit here as well, with a visit to the museum in Trevelin, the tea-houses, a music show, all of this tourism they are shown, so the Welsh tourism is important...as a product.’)

These informants from the Cordillera agree that the Welsh culture is important for tourism in the Chubut Province. As Welsh learners, the informants are enthusiastic participants in Welsh cultural activities in the region and believe that their Welsh heritage should be promoted. Their comments suggest a positive link amongst informants between the maintenance of Welsh culture, if not language, in the Chubut Province and its exploitation for economic purposes through tourism. They highlight a number of critical elements for the Welsh tourist industry. Speaker X refers to the ‘story’ of the Welsh in Patagonia, suggesting that the history of the Welsh in Patagonia can be reproduced as ‘heritage’. Referring to this, speaker E

identifies the commercial value of heritage tourism, calling the Welsh tourism 'a product' that can be sold both to people from Wales and to what she refers to as the 'non-Welsh', tourists with no ethnic connection to the Welsh. She highlights the curious maintenance of a minority language and culture in the south of Argentina and a means of marketing this 'heritage' image of tea-houses and choral culture to the tourists. It shows that the Welsh community are aware of the need to sell themselves and their culture to gain access to the tourist market, recognising the economic advantages that this can bring to the community. This extract also highlights the relationship between the Welsh tourism industry in Gaiman and that of the Cordillera, with Gaiman perceived as taking the majority share of tourism from Wales, the importance of attracting tourists from Wales being that they can economically and culturally support the Welsh.

Gaiman is the centre of the Welsh tourist industry in the Chubut Province with seven tea-shops in its small town centre. Workers in one of these tea-houses who deal with tourists to the town on a daily basis explain the perceived motivations of tourists as follows:

Extract 5.2:

H: El turismo viene a Gaiman para tomar el famoso té gales, sí. Porque vinieron los galeses para tomar el té galés. Sabían mucho. Aparte porque Gaiman en general todo es movido para atraer gente desde esta hora con los nombres y jugo mucho el idioma gales para atraer la gente, con los nombres de los comercios, con los nombres de lugares geográficos...

O: Un nombre galés atrae, más en Gaiman. Si vos estas caminando en Gaiman miras que casi la mayoria de los nombres son de gales.

H: Aparte de la misma gráfica, el dragón, el narciso, ¿que más? La galesa, la vestimenta tradicional, es parte de toda la simbología que se maneje en Gaiman también para atraer la atención de la gente.

(Group 7, 14.11.2004)

(‘H: Tourism comes to Gaiman for the famous Welsh tea. Yes, because the Welsh come here to take Welsh tea. I knew lots. Different because Gaiman in general is motivated to attract people now with the names and they play a lot with the Welsh language to attract people, with the names of the shops and the names of the geographical places...

O: A Welsh name attracts, more so in Gaiman. If you walk around Gaiman, you’ll see that the majority of names are in Welsh...

H: Apart from that there’s the logos, the dragon, the daffodil, what else? The Welsh lady, the traditional dress, it’s all part of a thing in Gaiman to get people’s attention... Yes, the majority of people who are involved in business have studied a bit of the language or... Because that’s the way to get attention. Here the people who come for tourism, internally as well as internationally, the first thing they ask is if you have a Welsh surname. They don’t want to meet a Gonzalez, a Fernandez or a Garcia attending to them.’)

The informants draw attention here to the linguistic and cultural differences between Gaiman and other parts of Argentina. However, they are not highlighting genuine cultural and societal differences between Gaiman and other cities in Argentina, but the ceremonialism, iconisation and linguistic tokenism of Welsh in this location (Garrett et al., 2003). They suggest that the concept of the ‘Welsh tea’ is the most marketable part of Welshness that draws tourists, including tourists from Wales, into the area. They note that for the purposes of tourism, Gaiman’s tourism organisations further highlight these differences with the use of Welsh cultural icons, such as the dragon, the daffodil and the traditional dress, a list that is not dissimilar to the Welsh images and icons suggested by Dicks (2000: 93). They also note the benefit to the language provided by this, as people who work in the tourist industry learn at least a small amount of Welsh in order to engage interest in their customers, a form of linguistic tokenism and ceremonialism that provides the veneer of ‘difference’ between the tourist and the host. Finally, they highlight the interest of tourists in meeting people with a different background, and that tourists want to meet people with Welsh names rather than standard Hispanic-Argentines that can be found in the rest of the country. In the perceptions of informants from the town, Gaiman therefore consciously markets its own apparent

exoticism in being founded by the Welsh and having a different cultural heritage from the rest of Argentina in order to attract tourists to the town. This is perhaps an understandable perception from the owners and employees of a tea-house who make their living from exploiting these perceived differences between the Welsh community in Gaiman and the Argentine 'norm'.

Informants from all parts of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera perceive that Gaiman is the epicentre of the Welsh tourist trade in the Chubut Province, all showing an awareness of the town's tea-houses and accepting that Gaiman is the town that people visit in order to experience the Welsh culture of the Chubut. All age groups are aware of the benefits for the town as a centre for tourism. When asked about the importance of Welsh language and culture in their town, the students at the local school say that:

Extract 5.3:

K: Acá, principalmente lo que en Gaiman y más es turismo y cuando la gente viene de gales y más es muy importante en general por trabajo y más que beneficia a los de Gaiman.

R: Sí, es hecho que hay una gran turismo sobre la tema de los galeses también.

...

R: Acá es un pueblo chico y hay varias casas de té en el centro y hay grande grupos de turistas que vienen acá, entonces.

K: Que gustan no solo lo más típicos no lo mas comercial, entonces se generar como ... pero es que Gaiman es un pueblo, su economía es principal de turismo. De turismo, o sea, por los galeses que vienen y por otras culturas por la cultura galesa, las casas de té.

(Group 9, 15.11.2004)

('K: Here, mainly in Gaiman it's tourism and when people who come from Wales and other places it's very important for jobs, more that benefits those from Gaiman.

R: The fact is there is a lot of tourism with a Welsh theme as well.

...

R: Here it's a small town and there are lots of tea houses in the centre and there are large groups of tourists which come now, so...

K: They don't like the most typical or commercial, so therefore they like...but in Gaiman it's a town whose economy is based principally on tourism. The tourism, or rather for the Welsh who come, and for others who come for the Welsh tourism, the tea-houses.')

Here, the informants highlight the importance of tourism for Gaiman economically, citing the importance of tourism to create jobs in the town. These are all schoolchildren who have learned some level of Welsh, in school, and perhaps at home as well. Having grown up in Gaiman and regularly coming into contact with tourists from Wales and other locations, they are aware of Gaiman's relatively unique situation. They note that Gaiman's economy is based around the tourism industry and that it is consumption, both literal and otherwise, of Welsh-themed tourism that is most popular. The benefits from being a 'Welsh' town are recognised that it attracts large groups of tourists and therefore creates employment for people in Gaiman. They say that there has been an increase in tourists and that they are searching for something unusual or unique to stimulate their interest, not the 'typical or commercial', again referring back to Gaiman's unique selling point as being culturally and linguistically distinct from the traditional Argentinean town.

Although tourism is largely welcomed as a positive means of supporting the Welsh community and promoting Welsh culture, some informants believe that these benefits can be maximised further for the benefit of the community.

Most evidently, this can be seen in Gaiman, where an informant is angry about the Welsh community being exploited while tour operators profit.

Extract 5.4:

I: Dyn ni'n hapus i gael y bobl o Gymru ond, jyst enghraifft fach...y Bwthyn bach o'n ni'n son am yn gynnar yn cael asados ar nos Wener. Un dyn oedd yn trefnu trip o Gymru i dod fan hyn a wedi neud... pobl Cymru yn cyrraedd a wel dewch i gael asado gyda ni nos Wener, pobl o Gymru croeso i chi'n ddod. Beth rydyn ni'n gwenud rhywbeth efo'r Bwythyn Bach yw'r noson gyntaf ti ddim yn talu, cael bwyd a diod a popeth, yn iawn? A wedyn, un noson, fy mam yn cadw siop hefyd, siop bwyd, a nes i weld y rhaglen gan un o'r Cymru sy'n dod a mae'n deud 'Nos Wener: Swper Bois y Bwythyn Bach', ie, felly mae nhw wedi *talw* yng Nghymru am y trip yna a ni yma ddim yn gwybod dim byd, felly rhai o bobl yn defnyddio ni heb deud dim byd wrthyn ni. Mae hwn yn ych a fi, mae rhaid i fi deud. Felly, hwn yn rhybweth ni'n gwybod nawr. Felly ar ol hynny, wel, iawn, os dych chi'n dod efo criw, trefnwch asado neu rhywbeth, da iawn, dyn ni'n rhoi caniatad i ddod ac yn penderfynu pwy sy'n dod a pwy sy ddim. Neu dalwch chi am y cig a dewch. Wel, a mae rhai o bethau, er enghraifft, pobl y capel, 'oh mae trip yn dod...' dur dur dur, ond ti wedi talu am y trip a mae capel yn rhan ac efallai dydy'r capel ddim yn cael...tua 200 o bobl yn dod, siwr mae'n nhw'n gallu cael lot o arian...Er enghraifft, os dwi'n mynd i Saint Ffagan, dwi'n talu. Os ti'n dod i Batagonia, ti'n talu, mae rhaid i ti talu, felly os ti'n dod i'r capel, talwch chi am y capel, peso, dyn ni, ond paid a neud fod yn casgliad, na, dalwch, dylai pawb yn neud.

(Group 8, 15.11.2004)

('I: We're happy to have people from Wales, but one example...the Bwthyn [a local social group] that we were talking about earlier had an asado [an Argentinean barbeque] on a Friday. One of the people was organising a trip from Wales to here and had done it... People from Wales arrive, and, well, come and have an asado with us on Friday night, people from Wales, welcome to come, so we did the same as we do with the Bwthyn so on the first night, you don't pay, have food, drink, everything, yes? And afterwards, one night, my Mum has a shop as well, a food shop, and I saw the programme of one of the Welsh who had come and it said 'Friday night: Swper Bois y Bwthyn Bach' yeh, so they had *paid* in Wales for that trip and we knew nothing about it here. Some people are using us and saying nothing to us. That's sickening, I must say. That's something we know now. After that, I just thought, fine, well, if you want to come, well, we'll give permission and decide who comes and who doesn't. Or pay for the meat and come. Well, there are a couple of things...the same thing with the chapel, people are coming...fuss, fuss, [makes hand movements to suggesting tidying and being busy] but people have paid for the trip and the chapel is part of it and perhaps the chapel doesn't...with 200 or more people coming, I'm sure they can make a lot of money out of it all.... For example, if I go to Saint Fagans [Welsh heritage tourist centre in Wales], I pay. If you come to Patagonia, you pay. You must pay, so if you go to a chapel, pay one peso, that's all, don't make it a collection, everyone should do it.')

This informant feels that while tourism is beneficial to the Welsh community, if they were better organised then more money raised through tourist activities would be channelled back into the community rather than into the hands of tour operators. As an organiser of a local Welsh-language social group, and a central figure in the Welsh community in Gaiman, he explains that they offer free entry to people attending their first asado with the group, not requiring them to pay for the meat or the drinks they consume during the evening. As courtesy, this was extended to a group of tourists from Wales before discovering later that the organisers of the tourist group had advertised this activity in advance to the tourists as part of their itinerary and therefore had taken money for the asado, but not passed on the financial benefits to the organisation who had paid for the event. A comparison is drawn between Welsh heritage tourism in Wales, where tourists would be expected to pay for entry to the museum in order to enjoy it, and the Chubut Province, where despite a significant amount of effort going into events, there is no compulsory charge and only a collection is taken, rather than ensuring that everyone who takes advantage of the event or chapel pays a fair price. Whilst evidently feeling exploited, the informant believes that if the Welsh community were better organised, then it might be able to raise more money for the maintenance of the Welsh language and culture on a local level. It is not clear if this is a widespread practice of exploiting local groups or if this was a single occasion that has angered this informant. However, the fact that this frustration exists suggests that tourism does not necessarily lead to a mutually positive position means that the relationship between tourism and vitality is not the simple equation that is suggested, that greater tourism equals greater vitality.

Although tourism is clearly important for the Welsh community, some informants were keen to contextualise the importance of Welsh tourism to the tourism industry as a whole. They appear to place the importance of the Welsh to tourism as generally second to the fauna in the



region's tourism industry. When asked about the importance of Welsh language and culture for tourism, an informant from Dolavon said that:

Extract 5.5:

U: No sé, para mí el turismo es muy importante pero es un complemento de lo que hay. Porque por ejemplo nosotros tenemos los lugares principales que son lugares naturales que los explotar turísticamente. Hay lugares donde gente va a esperarse – a Madryn, a Trelew, se van a Esquel, a Trevelin, pero para una alternativa quedarse un día más tiene la posibilidad de venir a Gaiman, Dolavon para conocer la cultura galesa. Si vienen todos los circuitos turísticos se hace mención a la cultura galesa. Si no se vienen a Gaiman, Dolavon, Trevelin, no se centra, o sea, para mí no se centra el turismo en la cultura galesa, es un complemento a la actividad económica que conforme al turismo y para ese poder ser que Dolavon es turísticamente del circuito de la colonia galesa.

(Group 2, 08.11.2004)

(‘U: I don’t know. For me, it’s very important but it’s a complement to what is already there. Because, for example, we have in this region, mainly natural tourism. Areas which are exploited for tourism. There are places where people stay – Trelew, Esquel, Trevelin. But they have the option that if they have one day extra then they have the opportunity to come to Gaiman and Dolavon and get to know about the Welsh culture. If they go on all of the tourist routes they mention the Welsh culture. If they don’t come to Gaiman, Dolavon, Trevelin the Welsh culture isn’t central, or, rather, for me the Welsh culture isn’t central, it’s a complement to the other economic tourism activities and it could be to me Dolavon is part of the tourist circuit of the Welsh colony.’)

This informant explains that, although important, Welsh culture is actually not the most important aspect of tourism in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera areas. She places Welshness into the same evaluative frame as wildlife and eco-tourism. Although genealogically a member of the Welsh community, she downplays the importance of Welshness, compared to other factors. From her studies in tourism, she knows that the major tourist attractions in the region are the natural wildlife; the whales near Puerto Madryn, the penguins near Trelew and the dolphins near Rawson, or in the Cordillera, the opportunity to go ski-ing or rafting. Welsh cultural tourism, although the most important heritage tourism in the region, is, for many

people, a curiosity that is only of secondary importance. The majority of tourists come to the Chubut to see the wildlife and then, as suggested by the informant, if they have sufficient extra time then they visit Gaiman and Dolavon, her own village. She says that the Welsh culture is not central to tourism in the region, but is a complement to the other activities that are available. Subsequently tourism in Dolavon is part of the Welsh tourist circuit, but still only of secondary importance when compared to the natural tourism that is available for visitors to the region.

It was surprising to note that older informants made little response regarding the importance of tourism to the Welsh culture or vice-versa, even when it was asked as a direct question, as in the case of the group in Rawson. It may be that having retired from active work and no longer being involved in economic transactions in the same way, the importance of tourism to the local economy is of less interest to older informants, as opposed to younger informants who might be seeking to gain employment in the tourism industry. It might also be that their personal experiences and interests in the Welsh language and culture date from a time when tourism was less well established than it now appears to be in the Chubut Province.

An informal analysis of the content of the ten interviews showed that tourism was discussed in eight of the ten interviews, reflecting upon the importance of tourism rather than being initiated by the participants, although on several occasions this was prompted by me as interviewer. There were a number of discourses regarding the effects of tourism upon the Welsh community in the Chubut Province and the wider tourism industry in the region. These were regarding the general perception of positive benefits for the Welsh community as a result of tourism, the exoticism which is presumed to create interest in the Welsh for tourists, the positioning of Gaiman at the centre of the Welsh tourist market, discussions of methods

that could better assist the Welsh community through tourism, the relative position of Welsh tourism when compared to other tourist activities in the Chubut Province. Finally, it was noted that there was a general lack of discussion about tourism amongst older informants. Respectively, these illustrate whether informants believe that tourism is important for the Welsh, why informants believe people are attracted to the area as tourists, where informants believe they find most attractive as tourist destinations, where informants believe that they can gain further advantages from the tourist industry and whether inter-generational factors might change opinions on the importance on tourism.

## **5.2. Transnational Contact**

The concept of transnationality was first introduced in section 1.6, where I attempted to contextualise the relationship between Wales and the Chubut Province through the Welsh 'ingroup' transnational links. Of course, the concept of transnationality is far more than simply the links between Wales and the Chubut Province – it is the weakening of traditional bonds between people and place, national boundaries and identity, heightened by Giddens' 'late modernity' (1991) and a sense of the world 'shrinking' through ease of contact, either physically, through travel, or through communication. The growth in this process implies a weakening of traditional geographical boundaries and the decline of the nation-state in a world whose networks now link ever closer through international travel, the telephone and the internet (Hannerz, 1996: 6). Ethnolinguistic vitality has always presumed that communities are 'bounded'. However, the growth of transnational links makes this suggestion of the bounded community ever more redundant as freedom of movement and contact grows.

The flows of transnational contact can have a clear impact on the vitality of a community. In some cross-cultural exchanges this could lead to the destruction of the weaker community by the stronger. However, there are potentially positive outcomes of transnational contact, such as cultural exchange between communities, increasing the experience of each other's cultures and therefore vitality, or through the support of a weaker community by a stronger community who can channel resources to increase the community's vitality. This can take the form of exporting speakers of the language to the weaker community, material financial support and cultural support, providing means of maintaining and strengthening the weaker community.

The existence of a Welsh colony in the Chubut Province is itself the result of transnational contact, established in the nineteenth century and supported by an emigration that lasted until the early twentieth century. As explained in section 1.3, there was virtually no contact between Wales and the Chubut colony from the end of the First World War until the centenary celebrations in 1965 due to the end of migration to Patagonia from Wales. Since these Centenary celebrations in the Chubut, at which a number of visiting Welsh dignitaries were present, the number of Welsh visitors to the Chubut Province has increased rapidly (Brooks, 2005), with the growth of inter-continental tourism seeing the Chubut develop into a desirable tourist location for Welsh tourists (Plwm, 1992).

This transnational contact has not only taken the form of tourist interaction with the local population but has seen the introduction of a Welsh language teaching scheme whereby trained Welsh teachers live in the region for a year, or sometimes longer, as well as religious ministers from Wales moving to the Chubut Province to look after their congregations in Welsh. Similarly, in the past, tourists from the Chubut Province have visited Wales for

extended periods, gaining work experience and studying Welsh amongst other activities. In the interviews, informants drew attention to some of the positive aspects of this transnational contact between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province, such as economic support for the Welsh culture, as well as to some of the negative aspects, such as re-enforcing local stereotypes about the Welsh. Of course, transnationality is not only about the movement of people, but of the cultural backgrounds which move with them, with people from Wales taking Welsh cultural practices to Argentina, cross-pollinating with culture there, and the same process taking place in reverse between Argentina and Wales.

Informants felt that the Welsh language in the Chubut Province received significant support from different groups in Wales, both in the present and in the past. A Welsh teacher from Gaiman said that:

Extract 5.6:

I: Y Cyngor Prydeinig, y prosiect yma, y cynllun yn anfon athrawon i ni. Mae hwn wedi bod yn help mawr. Hefyd yn cael yr athrawon gwirfoddol yn dod hefyd wedi agor ffordd arbennig o dda, 'dwi'n meddwl. 'Dyn ni ddim yn cael lot o help gan y llywodraeth lleol, er enghraifft, dwi'n rhoi y dosbarth Cymraeg fan hyn i'w blant yr ysgol fel rhan o'r cwricwlwm ond dydy'r llywodraeth ddim yn talu'r arian. Mae Coleg Camwy sy'n talu. Dyn ni'n cael fwy o help o allan o'r gwlad ni sy 'dan ni'n cael help o talaith ni. Ti'n rhywddo bob dydd i cael rhywbeth a ti ddim yn cael y help ond mae'n ooo mae Coleg Camwy 'ma yn dysgu Cymraeg. Wel, ie, beth arall? 'Dyn ni eisiau fwy o help. Ond dyn ni wedi cael lot o help o'r llywodraeth, y Swyddfa Gymreig hefyd, wedi rhoi lot o help. Y Gymdeithas Cymru-Ariannin yn helpu pobl ni mynd ar gwrs Llanbed achos dwi'n meddwl cwrs Llanbed yw'r cwrs gorau maen nhw'n gallu cael i anfon pobl sy'n dysgu Cymraeg i ddysgu'r iaith yn y lle a maen nhw'n mynd yn well, pawb yn wella.

(Group 8, 15.11.2004)

I: The British Council, this project, the sending teachers to us scheme. It has been a big help to us. Also very good having the voluntary teachers coming as well, that was a good way of opening doors I think. We don't have a lot of help from the local government, for example, I give the classes here to schoolchildren as part of the curriculum, but the government doesn't pay the money. Coleg Camwy pays. We get more help from outside of our country than from

the [Chubut] Province. You strive every day to have something and you don't get the help but then it's ooh Coleg Camwy, what else? We need more help. But we've had a lot of help from the government, Welsh Office, have given a lot of help. The Wales-Argentina Association help us to go on the Lampeter course because I think the Lampeter course is the best course that they could have to send people who are learning Welsh to learn the language in the place and they get better, everyone benefits.

Here, the informant specifically draws attention to the role of the Welsh language teaching project where Welsh teachers are sent to work in the Chubut for a year, teaching the language and playing a central role in Welsh cultural events. When referring to 'us', the informant is talking about the efforts of some of the Welsh community in maintaining the language.

As a central figure in the Welsh community in Gaiman, he is well-informed regarding Welsh activities and the support that they receive from different institutions. The informant also notes the past practice of volunteer Welsh teachers, usually retired and in receipt of a pension in the United Kingdom, visiting the Chubut for a period of time, a practice that took place in the early 1990s and has been replaced by paid teachers in the Welsh Language Teaching Project (see section 1.5). The informant pays tribute to the role of the voluntary teachers in laying foundations amongst the community in the Chubut for a revival of the Welsh language and back in Wales for suggesting the Welsh Language Teaching Project. However, this support from official funding bodies in Wales is not matched by similar bodies in the Chubut Province, and the only institutional support received is from Coleg Camwy, the secondary school in Gaiman.

The teacher points out that although Welsh is taught in schools in Gaiman as part of the official curriculum, the local education authorities in the Chubut Province do not pay Welsh teaching staff, with the money coming from the school's own account. The informant goes on to note support from the Welsh Assembly Government (based in Cardiff), the Welsh Office

(based in London as part of the United Kingdom government), and the *Cymdeithas Cymru-Ariannin* ('Welsh-Argentina Association' - a voluntary organisation that promotes links between Wales and Argentina and whose members' subscriptions and fund-raising activities help to sponsor Welsh language students from Argentina to go to Wales on an intensive language learning scheme). These students then return to the Chubut Province with a certain level of fluency in Welsh and many often take up Welsh teaching or assistant roles in their community. This quote suggests that the economic support for the Welsh language largely originates in Wales itself rather than in official bodies in the Chubut Province, where Welsh cultural organisations exist on the basis of donations from Wales and finances that they can raise on a local level, with only limited access to government grants. The relationship between Wales and the Chubut Province is therefore of great importance because it appears that without the economic support from Wales, there would be little financial support for maintaining the Welsh language in the Chubut Province. The position of the Chubut Province with regards to the Welsh language appears ambiguous and it is not clear whether the political and financial will to support Welsh would be replaced in the Chubut if this support from Wales were to fail for whatever reason.

Most of the transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province has been tourists or teachers from Wales visiting the Chubut Province. However, there has been significant movement in the opposite direction over the years, with Welsh tourists from Argentina visiting Wales on holiday and others from the Chubut Province moving to Wales for family reasons. One young informant drew attention to the previously explained Lampeter bursary that allows Welsh language learners from the Chubut to visit Wales and attend an intensive Welsh language learning course. He says that:

Extract 5.7:

R: Por tanto gente es tan difícil conseguir una beca para perfeccionar su usuario de las cosas, y también conseguir acá si, digamos bastante, digamos, accesible para persona que acá se radicaba, por ejemplo, la beca de Llambed, van cinco personas de allá, para cinco personas de mantener, los cinco personas que se van es incluyendo de viajando que se pueden hacer un tipo de intercambio.

(Group 9, 15.11.2004)

(‘R: For many people it’s quite difficult to get a scholarship to improve their use of things and at the same time here it’s, we could say quite, say, accessible for people who live here, for example, the Lampeter scholarship is for five people from here, for five people to keep, the five people who go includes travel, it’s like they can go on a sort of exchange.’)

The informant describes the opportunities that are available to youngsters in the Chubut to travel abroad on exchanges that are not available to many people of a similar age in other areas of Argentina. As a pupil in Gaiman, he will have seen many of his friends go on scholarships of one sort or another to Wales. He believes that this type of support is relatively easily available for students of Welsh, including travel, one of the larger expenses of an exchange trip. Learning Welsh therefore gives learners the possibility of being able to visit Wales and perhaps other foreign countries, something that has become increasingly difficult under other circumstances since Argentina’s economic slump in 2001.

Although transnational contact appears to be generally perceived as having positive effects upon the Welsh community in the Chubut Province, it is not a relationship that is without difficulties. One informant noted that the Welsh courses that he had attended had taught him a different variant of the Welsh language than that which was the traditional standard Welsh in the Chubut Province.



Extract 5.8:

B: En la casa de mi mamá hay galés pero el gales antigua que estuve hablando acá en el Chubut, *Y Wladfa*, y muchas veces cuando hable con ellos empiezo en el gales y decir una palabra y ellos me pregunta 'que significa esta palabra?', y significa otra cosa y me dijo 'ah, dice este en un otro manera' muy moderno, en el galés de gales....Lo que ahora es interesante es como estoy estudiando el *cwrs Wlpan* en el Chubut, en Trelew por lo menos, porque no se en las otras ciudades porque con un gales con el dialecto chico del Chubut y una mezcla del galés de *Cymru*, de gales con el galés del Chubut que puede ser una mezcla del norte y del sur, lo modismo que hay acá. Entonces yo aprendí en *Llambod* en gales y aprendía allá y resultan con muchas palabras raras que producen palabras raras. Entonces cuando hablan con mi tía o mis abuelos que hay muchas palabras que son diferentes y tiene un diferente sentido pero me entienden porque escucho siempre pero cuando empiezo estudiando gales me encuesté a qué estuve escuchando.

(Group 6, 13.11.2004)

(‘B: In my mum’s house they speak Welsh, but old Welsh in Chubut, Y Wladfa. Often, when I speak to them, I start in Welsh and say a word and they ask me, ‘oh, what does that word mean?’ So I say it, and they say, ‘ahhh, there’s another way of saying that’ because we are learning modern Welsh from Wales....What is interesting is that the Wlpan Course [a type of Welsh course developed in Wales from Hebrew language courses in Israel] in Chubut, in Trelew, rather, I don’t know about the other cities in the Welsh Chubut, the dialect of Welsh as spoken in Chubut, a mixture of Welsh from Wales and from the Chubut, a mixture of the north and the south here. So I learnt the language in Lampeter in Wales, I learnt there and came back here with many words which sound very strange, they are words that people don’t say here and these words when I speak with my grandfather a lot they use different words and I always understand because I’ve always been listening to them but when I started learning Welsh I had to ask what they were that I had been listening to.’)

The informant explains his family’s relationship with the Welsh language, that on his mother’s side they still use the language in the home. He is relatively young, having been raised in an ethnically Welsh family. He explains that, despite having been taught Welsh in Trelew and Lampeter, he has had to learn a different set of lexical items because of the difference between the variety of Welsh that is taught by visiting Welsh teachers in the Chubut and on the Welsh language courses in Lampeter and the form of Welsh that is spoken by the older generation of native Welsh speakers who were raised in the language in the Chubut Province.

Here, the informant has problematised the concept of the 'Welsh language', by noting that it is not one standard language. The Welsh dialect spoken in the Chubut, although predominantly based around standard Welsh and North West Wales dialects (R.O. Jones, 1974) as a result of the socialisation of Welsh in chapel and education under the control of North Walian, nevertheless includes significant influence, especially at a familial level, of South Walian dialect Welsh. The proximity of different Welsh dialects in the Chubut Province as a result of the emigration have led to a general dialect levelling, including the introduction of borrowed vocabulary from local aboriginal tribes and from Spanish (R.O. Jones, 1974). Linguistic change took place in a different manner in Wales, where borrowings and calques from English have become the norm in the 20<sup>th</sup> century after the emigration link with the Chubut Province was broken. As a result, people in the Chubut Province who are learning Welsh are now learning a different form of Welsh that allows them to communicate easily with Welsh speakers from Wales, especially other learners, but not necessarily as easily with members of their own family who speak traditional Chubut Welsh as their first language. As one of the informant's motivations for learning Welsh was to interact with older family members and gain their approval by learning their language, learning a distinct form of Welsh has not significantly advanced these aims, leading to a mild sense of frustration. Again, this makes it clear that the effect upon vitality is not as simple an equation as perceived, and that more teaching of Welsh means more vitality for the language. This also suggests that transnational contact is a multi-faceted concept that is not always necessarily positive for the contact cultures, with Wales exporting their version of the language, rather than reviving Welsh as spoken in the Chubut Province.

A further concern of informants was the age of the travellers from Wales, something which leads to a lack of opportunities for young Welsh learners to practice their language. One informant described the situation by saying that:

Extract 5.9:

D: Dwi'n credu y pobl ifanc yn angen cael lot o cyfle i siarad y Cymraeg. Achos 'dyn ni'n siarad Cymraeg pan mae rhaid i ni siarad Cymraeg, efallai 'dyn ni'n cael cyfle pan mae pobl o Gymru fel ti yn dod, mae rhaid i ni siarad Cymraeg, ond beth am y pobl ifanc? Dyna pam dyn ni'n neud wersyll Cymraeg, dyn ni'n trio siarad yn y wersyll yn Nghymraeg. Yn yr Eisteddfod blwyddyn yma mae lot o bobl o Gymru sy'n dod, ond pobl hen. Gobeithio fe fyddan nhw ddim yn clywed fi, ond pobl hen a pan wyt ti'n cwrdd a'r pobl, mae pob amser mae pobl hen yn troi at pobl hen i siarad gyda pobl hen o'r ardal, ddim efo pobl ifanc. Does dim cyfle gyda pobl ifanc i siarad.. Dwi'n credu mae mwy o gyfle os pobl ifanc yn dod i ymweld a'r Gwladfa.

I: Fel Ysgol Gwynlliw wedi bod yma a wel, wedi rhoi effaith ar y pobl ifanc achos, eh, wedi trefnu parti ar nos Wener ac ar dydd Llun roedd pawb eisiau dweud eu hanes.

D: Dwi'n cofio pan dyn ni'n siarad Cymraeg mae cor o merched a dynion ifanc yn dod a dyn ni eisiau siarad efo'r merched, ie, a mae rhaid i ni siarad Cymraeg, ie, a mae cyfle da iawn i ymarfer Cymraeg.

(Group 8, 15.11.2004)

('D: I think that young people need to have lots of opportunities to speak Welsh because we speak Welsh when we have to speak Welsh, maybe we have opportunities when people from Wales such as you come, we have to speak Welsh. But it's a different thing for young people, that's why we are organising the Welsh camp [a weekend get-together including children of different towns to promote use of the Welsh language], trying to get people to speak in Welsh. In the Eisteddfod this year, lots of people from Wales came, but old people, hopefully they won't hear me! Old people and when you meet these people, they're always old people who speak to old people from the area, not with young people and there aren't chances for young people to speak. I think it needs more opportunities for young people to come and see Y Wladfa.

I: Such as Ysgol Gwynlliw being here and, well, had an impact on young people here because they organised a party on the Friday and on the Monday everyone was talking about it.

D: I remember when we were learning Welsh there was a choir of women and men, young, came and we wanted to talk with the girls so we had to speak Welsh and practise our Welsh.')

The main focus of this quote is that visitors from Wales are often of retirement age and that on their visit to the Chubut Province they interact most often with people of a similar age to themselves. These two informants are Welsh teachers and are concerned that their pupils are not being given access to Welsh to improve their standards. The underlying concern is that the continuing visit of only older Welsh speakers from Wales will reinforce stereotypes of Welsh as being the language of older people and therefore not relevant to young learners in the Chubut Province. An increase in the number of young people visiting the Chubut Province may lead to an increase in the uptake and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst young learners through being able to appreciate a need for language learning to communicate. It appears that young learners do not take it upon themselves to speak Welsh amongst each other, because, as the informant notes, 'We speak Welsh when we have to speak Welsh' rather than out of personal choice, meaning that Welsh is spoken predominantly with visitors from Wales. They are attempting to change this perception by the introduction of a 'Welsh camp' to try and associate speaking Welsh with fun activities. These informants therefore want more young people from Wales to visit the Chubut Province to interact with young people and give the language more social relevance. Again this suggests that greater transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province does not necessarily mean an increase in the vitality of Welsh.

Transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province has already been seen to be of importance to the development and maintenance of Welsh in the Chubut Province, according to different informants. One informant frames the future of the Chubut Province as being linked to the future of Welsh in Wales. When asked about the future of Welsh in the Chubut Valley, the informant answered that it was:

Extract 5.10:

N: Mae'n dibynnu faint o gysylltiad fydd rhwng Cymru a'r Wladfa mae hwn yn cael effaith ofnadwy. Os mae'r cysylltiad yn cynyddu gwella fydd yr iaith yn naturiol ond os mae'r cysylltiad yn torri fel digwyddodd yn 1950 fydd e'n marw. Mae'r cysylltiad yn gyson, yn gysondeb, fel chi yn dod 'ma i helpu chi dysgu Spanish ac yn siarad Cymraeg a Spanish. Mae'n dibynnu ar gystylliad rhwng Cymru a'r Wladfa...a mae'n dibynnu ar beth fyddech chi'n gwneud efo'r iaith yng Nghymru. Os dych chi'n cadw'r iaith yn fanwl a sy ddim yn marw, mae'n dibynnu ar sut fyddech chi'n ddefnyddio'r iaith, os dych chi'n ddefnyddio'r iaith Gymraeg mewn busnes, os na fyddech chi'n ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg mewn busnes, wel, bydd e'n colli ym mhobman, ond yr unig peth dw i'n gallu dweud yn gadarn yw mae e wedi bod yn fyw am fwy na chant mlynedd a mae'r statws yn dal yna.

(Group 6, 13.11.2004)

(‘N: It depends how much contact there is between Wales and Y Wladfa, this will have a tremendous effect. If the contact grows then the language will grow naturally but if the contact is cut off as in 1950 then it will die. The contact is a comfort, like you coming here to learn Spanish and speaking Welsh and Spanish. It depends on contact between Wales and Y Wladfa....It also depends on what happens to the language in Wales. If you keep the language and it doesn't die in Wales, it will keep in the culture in business for a time, if the Welsh language doesn't stay in business it will be lost everywhere, but it's been kept alive for more than a hundred years and the status is still there.’)

The informant said initially that the position of Welsh was being strengthened, but then qualified this by saying that it was dependent upon the continuing contact between Wales and the Chubut Province. An elderly member of society, the informant was raised in Welsh and continues to use the language on a daily basis. He draws upon history to warn about the fragile position of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province, noting that if contact wanes as it had in the past, 1950 being chosen as a date when he recalls no contact between Wales and the Chubut Province, then the language will not survive in the Chubut Province. The informant also pays attention to my own role as researcher, suggesting that the contact is a two-way process, about sharing cultures. Unlike comments by other informants, there is awareness that the linguistic situation in Wales is not necessarily positive for the Welsh language. Therefore, although currently perceived as being positive, the survival of Welsh in

Wales is not necessarily assured. With regards to the Chubut Province, he says that it has been maintained for more than a century and still holds a certain status in society. The attempt to draw a link between survival of the Welsh language in Wales and in the Chubut Province has to be treated with caution, as this is quite tenuous. There is no reason to suggest that maintenance of Welsh in Wales will automatically lead to the maintenance of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province. However, given the previously explained amount of support provided from Wales for the maintenance of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province, a failure of the Welsh language in Wales would, in all probability, lead to the weakening of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province.

The importance and effects of transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province were noted in several of the interviews. While this contact was generally construed as being positive for Welsh, there were also minor negative elements associated with this contact. Most importantly, Wales was seen as the source of support for Welsh language maintenance in the Chubut Province, providing Welsh language teachers and financial support for the language. The existence of organisations in Wales that seek to promote the language in the Chubut Province was clearly welcomed and contrasted with the lack of support perceived to be provided by the local authorities in the Chubut Province.

Transnational contact should not necessarily be construed as one-directional from Wales to the Chubut Province, with young people from the Chubut Province visiting Wales on sponsored exchanges and language courses. This ability to visit Wales was perceived as being one of the advantages of learning Welsh. However, the transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province is not unproblematic, even though it is relatively minor when compared to the benefits of transnational contact that have already been noted. One informant

who had learnt Welsh in courses in the Chubut and taken advantage of these exchanges with Wales found that he had learnt a language that was not wholly the traditional language of Welsh in the Chubut and that there were communicative barriers with elder members of the community, forcing him to learn additional lexical items to speak with family members.

Another concern about transnational contact that was expressed was that the travellers from Wales who were visiting the Chubut Province were of a relatively high age range. The informants felt that the lack of regular visits by younger Welsh speakers was inhibiting development of young Welsh learners who faced a dearth of opportunities. In effect, these informants were calling for greater transnational contact, but specifically of younger people visiting the Chubut Province.

Finally, the future of Welsh in the Chubut Province was linked with the continuation of transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province, with the historical comparison and near loss of the Welsh language in the Chubut Province being foregrounded to explain the importance of this transnational contact. It is of interest to note that the importance of this transnational contact has been consistently linked with language maintenance in the Chubut Province and not with the cultural aspects of Welsh. This could be linked to the perceived relatively weaker position of the Welsh language when compared with the Welsh culture, as shown in section 4.2, and that it is possible to maintain Welsh culture without the transnational contact from Wales, but that maintaining the language would be a far more difficult task without Wales. The relationship between transnational contact and vitality is far from clear, with the increase of tourists or in language teaching not necessarily leading to an increase in vitality.

### **5.3. The wider linguistic economy**

Apart from the developments in tourism and transnational contact between Wales and the Chubut Province whose effects have already been illustrated in sections 5.1 and 5.2, the perception of 'linguistic economy' has made an impact upon the linguistic situation in the Chubut Province. This refers to the capital, usually the economic capital, associated with a language (Landry and Allard, 1986, Heller 2003, 2005, Bourdieu, 1986, Frow, 1995). The concept of 'capital' was first introduced by Bourdieu (1986) in regard to cultural indices of class structures in France, and was quickly adapted into the ethnolinguistic vitality framework on the basis of Prujiner et al. (1984) (in Allard and Landry, 1986, see section 2.3). This conception of 'capital' was integrated into the inter-group framework, with the belief that minority group members might integrate into the majority group (as suggested by Giles et al., 1977). The use of language in the Chubut Province does not necessarily reflect the aim of integration into a majority group, as for many languages this group does not exist in the Chubut, and is, instead, an additive language learning process (Landry and Allard, 1994, Baker, 2006) based around the 'utility' of a language, usually for communicative or economic reasons. There are few native English speakers in the Chubut Province and no aim to 'pass' (Piller, 2002) as an English speaker, yet the utility of the language is very strong and provides an economic motivation for language learning. This is close to the 'sociolinguistic vitality' suggested by Mann (2000), a utility for language abstracted from the intergroup situation, although Mann did not effectively theorise it as such. By utility for a language, I mean the benefits of communicative competence in a language for purposes other than ethnic identification, for example, learning English because it might improve employment prospects in the tourism sector. The wider linguistic economy in this context is therefore the learning and use of a second language for reasons of utility rather than identity.



This wider linguistic economy in the Chubut Province was first noted by Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler in their 1981 qualitative study of Spanish-Welsh bilingualism in the Lower Chubut Valley where, in addition to Welsh and Spanish, they found informants referring to the importance of English as being a world language. These attitudes towards English have again been found in my interview data. In addition to this, the interviews have uncovered attitudes towards language choice amongst residents of the Chubut Province, including language learning to become tour guides, the relative choices between Welsh and other languages amongst young people and the learning of Welsh as a third language by migrants into the Chubut Valley. The comparative position of Welsh as opposed to four languages of international importance was examined in the questionnaire that was distributed as part of this research. The mean scores of Q15 (see appendix B) showed that informants believed Spanish and English to be of very high importance, but were ambivalent towards Portuguese and French. The mean score for Welsh suggested that informants perceived Welsh as being of moderately high importance, but a high standard deviation suggests a wide difference in perceptions by different people. This suggests that both Spanish and English have a high capital, that Portuguese and French are perceived as only having moderate capital while the capital associated with Welsh varies significantly according to the informants' association with the Welsh ethnic group and community and location (see section 4.3).

In many parts of the world, the increase of international contacts has led to the increasing importance of knowledge of the English language. This trend was also uncovered in the Chubut Province, with young informants explaining the importance of English and contextualising this with the importance of Welsh. They say that:

Extract 5.11:

U: Para mí, muy importante que el idioma y la cultura galesa porque es una de mis raíces pero también soy consciente que el inglés es mucho más comercial con respecto al relaciones exteriores y progreso. Porque hacer el idioma comercial, el idioma mundial y por eso tiene mucho más fuerza que el galés solamente porque del uso en el mundo, digamos. Es que creo que la cultura galés es muy importante personalmente, pero comercial y profesionalmente el inglés es más de un tire.

(laughs, muffled)

J: Es muy importante para mí, el galés, porque me gustaría aprender la hablar bien pero es como yo, personalmente, no? El inglés es como una obligación.

(Group 2, 08.11.2004)

(‘U: For me, the Welsh language and culture is also very important, because it’s one of my races, but at the same time I’m conscious that English is so much more commercial with respect to foreign relations and progress. Because it’s the commercial language, the world language and for that it has so much more strength than Welsh only because of its use in the world. I think that Welsh culture is important personally, but commercially and professionally English is more of a pull. (laughs)

J: For me, Welsh is more important, because I would like to learn to speak it well but that’s personal. English is more like an obligation.’)

Both informants explain that the motivation to learn English comes ‘from outside’, from a need to master English as a way of participating in the wider world, for commercial reasons, for dealing with people from other countries, and that is why it is more important. For these two teenagers the relevance of Welsh is related to their family identity. For one, Welsh is ‘one of [her] races’, one part of an identity, while the other’s ethnicity is Welsh and, for her, Welsh is more ‘personal’; an issue of identity rather than utility. They contrast English, which is perceived as being representative of the non-Spanish speaking wider world, with Welsh, which is framed as the traditional language of the family. For the first informant, English is clearly of great importance, having more of a pull as a means of professional advancement. The second informant is clearly more reticent about the importance of English, claiming it an ‘obligation’, a language that has to be learnt, rather than something that she would learn out

of choice. This is in contrast to Welsh, which she finds more important and would like to speak it well for personal reasons.

The ability to speak Welsh is seen as being part of maintaining roots and family culture. The informant with the stronger Welsh identity, speaker J, has a greater interest in learning Welsh than English, while the informant with the weaker Welsh identity, speaker U who says that being Welsh is 'one of my races', finds English more important. This attitude towards English and a similar contrast to Welsh can be found in varying degrees amongst members of the Welsh community in different interviews, where they make reference to the rise in English teaching institutes and the importance of knowledge of English for international trade and relations. The perception of the importance of the utility of English appears to militate against the vitality of Welsh in a competitive linguistic environment, but the personal relationship with the Welsh language also gives Welsh a distinct level of vitality in these circumstances.

International tourism in the Chubut Province has led to a need for tour guides who are fluent in the native language of the tourists, or at least can share a common language with tour groups. One informant explains the linguistic make-up of these tour guides:

Extract 5.12:

C: Al hecho por ejemplo de turismo, en toda la zona, por ejemplo, guías en galés, no hay, no hay ninguna guía en galés. En inglés hay, la mayoría, en francés hay tres o cuatro y en italiano no hay más.

H: Italiano es más porque es más fácil hablar italiano que francés.

(Group 7, 14.11.2004)

('C: The fact is, for example, of tourism, in the whole area, for example, there aren't any Welsh guides, not a single guide in Welsh. There are in English, the majority. In French there are three or four and Italians there aren't anymore.

H: Italian there are more because it's very easy to speak Italian from French.')

The informant explains that English is the default foreign language for tour guides, and that there are also a number of French language guides, but that there are no guides in either Welsh or Italian. The lack of Italian-speaking guides in Italian is explained away by the similarity in Romance-languages and that the difference between French and Italian is not so great as to be incomprehensible. However, there is no need for professional Welsh speaking tour guides. It is presumed that this is because, as speaker C comments, 'those who come from Wales speak English as well'. As a result of this, Welsh speaking tourists either attach themselves to English-speaking tour guides or because as part of an organised group they are given guided tours by members of the Welsh community. If there is no market for Welsh speaking tour guides then this clearly reduces the financial advantages of learning Welsh as a tour guide in comparison with other foreign languages, most obviously English, which is described by C as being spoken by 'whatever tourist comes here, whether they're Chinese or Japanese' or, as H adds, 'Italian or French'. This clearly works against the vitality of Welsh in competition with English as a 'second language' as Welsh lacks the utility of English in this situation.

At secondary school level, students are required to choose which foreign languages they will choose to study, or continue to study. English is compulsory, but in Gaiman the choice for a second foreign language is between Welsh and French. One informant recounts the choice:

Extract 5.13:

I: Ond fel yn y blwyddyn cyntaf yn Coleg Camwy roedd rhaid i nhw dewis Cymraeg neu Ffrangeg, ond mae gen i 22 sy wedi dewis Cymraeg a 9 wedi dewis Ffrangeg. Dw i ddim yn gwybod pam, y cymuned sy'n neud fe, dwi'n credu, achos maen nhw'n sylwi fod mae gymaint o bethau sy'n o gwmpas gyda'r iaith, ddim eisiau cael eu cadw allan o'r peth.

(Group 8, 15.11.2004)

(‘I: But like in the first year at Coleg Camwy they had to choose Welsh or French but I had 22 who chose Welsh and 9 who chose French. I don't know why, the community does it, I think, because they realise that there are so many things around with the language, they don't want to be kept out of the thing.’)

The informant says that despite the lack of international status attached to Welsh, the majority of students opted to study Welsh rather than French. This shows that local factors can still be more important than international factors. The informant suggests that the high number of events in the area which require some knowledge of Welsh, the ‘many things in the language’, may have led children to choose in favour of Welsh rather French because they want to be able to integrate into community events, even if they are not of a Welsh ethnic or linguistic background themselves. This is in favour of Welsh in the language competition sphere, with a potential positive effect being the introduction of young people into the Welsh community. In these circumstances, Welsh is believed to have a local utility, greater than French.

In-migration into the Chubut Province has traditionally been seen as weakening the Welsh language and community in the region because it increases the numbers of the ‘out-group’ in the wider community. However, informants suggest that the increase in Welsh lessons may have led to a positive effect amongst certain migrant groups in the region. They explain that:

Extract 5.14:

Q: ..gyda dosbarthiadau Gymraeg mae hwn wedi newid achos mae llawer o bobl heb dras Cymreig yn wrth eu bod yn dysgu Gymraeg, felly mae hwn wedi newid.

I: Yn Bryn Gwyn, er enghraifft, yn y cymuned mae llawer iawn o blant yn Ysgol Bryn Gwyn, ysgol y fferm, lle mae Q yn weithio, yn dod o Bolivia ac maen nhw'n ddysgu Cymraeg. Ar y ddechrau, tua mlynedd nol, iaith gyntaf nhw oedd Quechua a doedd eu Sbaeneg ddim yn dda iawn. Ond maen nhw'n gweld bod dysgu Cymraeg yn rhoi rhyw math o safon iddyn nhw.

(Group 8, 15.11.2004)

(‘Q: ...with the lessons things have changed because people who don’t have any [Welsh] roots are learning Welsh, so that has changed.

I: In Bryn Gwyn, for example, in the community, lots of children at Bryn Gwyn School, a rural school, come from Bolivia and are learning Welsh. At the start, about eight years ago, their first language was Quechua and they didn’t speak Spanish very well. But they see that learning Welsh gives them some sort of status.’)

The Bryn Gwyn area is the farmland to the south of Gaiman where Welsh is taught at primary school level. The informant notes that there has been a significant level of immigration to the region from Bolivians who speak Quechua as their first language and Spanish as their second. Despite already being bilingual, the informant says that because of the local status of Welsh, the children are keen to learn the language in order to integrate into local activities. This quote suggests that the increase in Welsh lessons have in general opened up the Welsh community to people who might otherwise have little opportunity to learn or use the language, people to whom it would otherwise have been closed because of their lack of Welsh genealogy. I have chosen to use this quote to explain the different factors that make up the linguistic economy in the Chubut Province as it shows a perception of utility for these children, but, equally, this could be used to discuss transnationality from a wider perspective than I have so far chosen to do so, by noting immigration patterns and non-Welsh international contacts.

The effects of the linguistic economy upon Welsh in the Chubut Province have been seen to act in two different directions, one showing the importance of the macro, global world and one showing the importance of the micro, local level. As in Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler's (1981) study of Spanish-Welsh bilingualism, the English language was seen to have significant prestige as being an international language, an important access to the global economy and cultures. Knowledge of English is therefore crucial in professional development, although informants from the Welsh community have cited the personal importance of Welsh, contrasting the extrinsic advantages and motivations of learning English with the supposedly intrinsic motivations of learning Welsh. Welsh is perceived as the 'heritage' language of the family and that being able to speak Welsh is part of tapping into the traditions of the community. However, as seen earlier, Welsh also receives significant support from institutions in Wales itself that play a role in promoting Welsh in the Chubut Province.

The languages spoken by tour guides in the region are a rough guide to the languages spoken by international tourists. It appears that the majority of tour guides speak English, meeting a need from tourists who speak English as a first language and, more importantly in terms of globalisation, from tourists from other locations, such as China and Japan, who speak English as a second language. There are also a number of French speaking tour guides, possibly reflecting a refusal of French speakers to conform to the English speaking 'norms' of globalisation. There appears to be only a small market for Welsh speaking tour-guides.

However, while this pattern of linguistic economy would appear to militate against Welsh in the Chubut Province, the push and pull of 'glocalisation' (Bauman, 1998) also works in the

favour of Welsh on a more local level. When children in Gaiman were asked which third language they wanted to be taught after Spanish and English, the informant reports that the majority chose to study Welsh rather than French as a result of local factors. Similarly, the local status of Welsh appears to make learning the language an attractive proposition to Bolivian children who are already bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. These two examples show that despite the pull of globalisation, the Welsh language appears able to compete on a more local level. The testimony of these informants agrees with the results to Question 15 of the questionnaire that Spanish and English are of great importance, but that the local importance of Welsh gives it a greater linguistic economy and, therefore, a greater vitality than other international languages in the Chubut Province.

#### **5.4. Discussion**

The aim of the qualitative data was to uncover possible issues that relate to vitality, either in the case of Welsh in the Chubut Province, or to vitality as a wider concept, that were not included in the existing ethnolinguistic vitality literature (see section 2.3). Amongst the many different issues that were discussed by informants during the course of the ten interviews, issues relating to tourism, transnationality and the linguistic economy were raised by different groups of informants. These are issues that have been a part of sociolinguistic literature for some time, but have not previously been adapted or integrated into the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. This discussion will examine how these issues affect the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. It will discuss whether or not these items should be included in the taxonomy of variables relating to the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, or to a reconstructed version of vitality that can be used in all situations, and their importance to the whole concept of Vitality.



The traditional concept of vitality has been based around bounded communities that exist in one space where in-migration and out-migration take place as a positive/negative for the community in question and where the community can be dispersed in a territory or divided between territorial borders. The testimony of interviewees in this qualitative data suggests that this perception of a bounded community may no longer be valid in many locations, and certainly not with regards to the Welsh in the Chubut Province. The impact of tourism, transnationality and the wider linguistic economy all point to a more closely linked world into which communities seam together, rather than are separated as suggested by the original vitality paradigm (see section 2.3). The integration of these items into the concept of vitality needs to take this into account.

Tourism was shown through the qualitative data to be of great importance to perceptions of the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province. This had been predicted prior to the research being undertaken in the Chubut Province and had been included in the questionnaire instrument as well as in sample questions for the interviews. It appears from responses in the interviews that, most obviously, Gaiman trades from its image as a 'Welsh town', rather like Solvang, the Danish-American town in Kristiansen, Harwood and Giles (1991) trades from its image as a 'Danish town'. Informants from Gaiman were the most forthcoming in discussing issues arising from tourism, something that is reflected in the choices of quotes to illustrate the importance of tourism for the Welsh culture. Specifically, informants perceive that Welshness is a means of attracting tourist attention and that there are economic benefits for the town through having such a strong Welsh culture.

Informants from other regions also perceived the importance of Gaiman as a Welsh tourist centre. Although the intention was not necessarily to triangulate the data, it is of interest that

Gaiman was the location whose residents believe holds the most present vitality of Welsh, especially culture (see sections 4.2 - 4.7). The causal link here is not clear. It could be that the prior vitality of Welsh led to the growth of tourism in the town, but also that a conscious effort to market Gaiman as a 'Welsh' town has led to the increase in the visibility of Welshness. Being consistently surrounded by recognisable Welsh icons, such as the dragon, the daffodil, traditional Welsh costume and Welsh events, may play a role in recognising and noting Welsh culture, showing the importance of marketing and consumption, for both language and culture, even though the language is often relegated to tokenistic, ceremonial usage.

The needs of the tourist trade have also led local business-people to ensure that they are able to speak some Welsh to impress their customers, at least therefore moderately increasing the number of people with a level of competence in Welsh. It would appear that in this context, tourism may provide a spur to the maintenance of Welsh language and culture and therefore the existence of a significant tourist trade could be evidence of vitality of language and culture in the modern age.

The relationship between vitality and tourism is not as simple as saying that more tourism means greater vitality for Welsh. In some respects, a successful tourist trade is a means of maintaining the relatively weak position through highlighting its exoticism and therefore lack of common usage more than suggesting that the language and culture have high vitality. A culture with high vitality is perhaps unlikely to be an exoticism, whereas a marginal culture may, if successfully marketed, attract a tourist audience, especially when marketed as an additional attraction alongside the other tourist activities already available in the Chubut Province. A heritage culture may appear to have a strong vitality through its tourism, being

strongly imaged and imagined, both within the community and by outsiders/tourists, but shallow because it is developed for tourism rather than being rooted in practice. The use of ceremonialism, icons and linguistic tokenism may reflect the maintenance of certain linguistic and cultural practices, but not necessarily in a positive way that ensures the societal use of language and culture. It is therefore again worth noting that this does not easily meet the criterion of vitality that institutional support can be placed upon a scale, and, in this case, could very easily be a double-edged sword by promoting a non-authentic version of language and culture and further dividing minority categories.

Taking the above into account, does tourism have a positive impact on the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province? It is clear that it provides 'economic status' as it allows minority cultures to be able to provide employment for themselves and, by raising their profile, it gives them added status amongst non-members of the Welsh community. It also validates the community's language and culture amongst weaker identifying members of the community who might otherwise adopt the norms of the wider society. In the case of the Chubut Province, it appears then that tourism is of importance in promoting the vitality of Welsh and therefore should be included in the vitality taxonomy as one of those items that Giles et al. (1977) consider to be of local importance. Similarly, in other minority cultures, tourism might be considered an important part of vitality for the minority culture, continuing to raise the profile of the language and culture. However, the impact of tourism upon language communities that already hold a greater vitality is not so clear and should be the subject of further research before conclusions can be drawn as to whether this should be included in a re-constructed vitality paradigm.

Transnationality has always been an important concept for the Welsh in the Chubut Province, as it is through the legacy of transnationality, not just from the Welsh but other ethnic groups in the community that the Chubut Province exists in its current form. In recent decades, though, the numbers of visitors from Wales have increased significantly, bringing with them different concepts of the Welsh language and Welsh culture. Nor has this been a one-way situation, with many Welsh from the Chubut Province also visiting Wales during this period, both groups having the opportunity to experience 'Welshness' in a very different context to the one in which they had been raised.

In these circumstances, it seems that transnationality can be a very powerful force in shaping vitality. On both an official and voluntary level, organisations in Wales provide support for maintaining the Welsh language in the Chubut Province, sponsoring teachers to give instruction in the language and students to visit Wales to improve their language skills. This is a means of providing economic support to the Welsh group. Significantly, as already noted in section 5.3, when informants talk of the support provided to the Welsh in the Chubut Province by the Welsh in Wales, they talk in terms of the language and not in terms of the culture. This suggests that the Welsh culture in the Chubut Province already possesses sufficient vitality to survive, but that the language requires this transnational assistance that originates from Wales. In addition, transnationality has its own drawbacks as evidenced by the language learner who needed to re-learn his Welsh vocabulary in order to communicate with members of his own family and the impression that only specific groups of people make the crossing from Wales to the Chubut Province. Most intriguingly, as shown in Extract 10, transnationality draws into question the inter-linking of vitality in the 'other' locations from which the community can draw its strength. Is it that transnational contact alone can be shown as evidence of vitality because of the links that are drawn between the two (or more)

locations, with each contact strengthening the bonds and therefore vitality, or is a secure 'homeland' (in this case, Wales) required that can provide a base for the maintenance and strength of the language and culture in the other location?

Transnationality is greater than the simple in-migration/out-migration factors in vitality suggested by Giles et al. (1977). Where a migrant community exists outside of the 'homeland', there exists the opportunity for that community to be strengthened and supported by continued migration, by contact from elsewhere or supported in economic terms. This relevance is widespread amongst migrant communities around the world as people and communities are able to access the benefits of the homeland to strengthen their own culture on a more local level. More so than tourism, whose appearance and success could appear in some ways to be shallow and a poor indicator of the level of vitality, a high level of transnational contact could perhaps show a growing level of vitality for the smaller minority culture, migrant group. Cultures inside their own homeland may be enriched culturally and financially through transnational contact with migrant groups from that culture that have been successful elsewhere, leading to a more positive vitality and economic success. These processes have become very important in the modern world and cannot be ignored in re-defining vitality. Certainly, in the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, transnationality is of significant importance in the maintenance of the Welsh language, if not necessarily the Welsh culture. This suggests an increase in the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province through the strengthening of links with Wales. Without a means of integrating transnationality into the vitality concept, vitality will remain locked in the past, unable to accurately assess modern societies.

The final potential new variable uncovered by the qualitative data is that of linguistic economy, the amount of 'linguistic capital' attached to languages that are not necessarily traditionally linked to the community. The data uncovered in the interviews shows the importance of 'glocalisation', the push and pull process that emphasises the macro, international context, and the micro, local context. The data shows that young people feel a requirement to learn English as the international language of business and that English, more than any other language, is spoken by tourists when they visit the Chubut Province, not only by native speakers of English, but also by second language speakers who use English as a lingua franca when away from their own language space. Alternatively, the data also shows that, according to informants in Gaiman, students were more likely to choose to learn Welsh rather than French as a third language, as also seen in response to Question 15 that asks informants to rate languages according to importance in the questionnaire. Informants also spoke of children who learn Welsh as a third language from a young age, having moved to the Chubut Province from a different country and having Quechua and Spanish as their first two languages. The data uncovered in these quotes neatly encapsulates the different movements that can be viewed – the growth of 'one-world' working to the same rhythm and a growing feeling of integration yet at the same time a growth in the 'local' and an accentuation of smaller differences and identities. As noted in sections 3.3, 5.3 and above, there was a question about the importance of different languages in the questionnaire. Recognising the role of other languages, either coming from a global level or other community languages, is a challenge for ethnolinguistic vitality that might be important in all vitality situations, not least in urban areas where language contact is likely to be a more constant factor of daily life and where these competing influences may help to explain language learning motivations.

Clearly, in the Chubut Province situation, the international position of English has an impact upon the vitality of Welsh as learners have to make a decision between the international economic advantages of English and the local community benefits of Welsh. However, although clearly an issue of wider importance than simply regarding the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, it might be difficult to determine which languages should be used in any quantitative question, therefore requiring the researcher to hold previous knowledge of the situation. Further testing of the importance of the linguistic economy appears necessary to determine how this impacts upon the majority of language contact and vitality situations, whether it impacts in the same manner and if the same processes are in use. That might also make it more apparent into which of the three factors 'linguistic economy' might fall, if it falls into any. The linguistic economy and language capital are very important for gauging the vitality of a community, by defining the in-group language against a series of other language and whether the linguistic economy promotes maintenance and use of the in-group language.

The qualitative data from ten interviews has uncovered three 'variables', as they might be called in a quantitative design, tourism, transnationality and linguistic economy that are linked to the vitality of a language and culture, and that require a re-definition of the vitality concept to ensure that it reflects the modern world. It appears that tourism can perhaps be subsumed under either 'economic status' or 'industry' in the Institutional Support variable, but that in other cases, such as the Chubut Province, it might deserve recognition as a specific element of vitality, one of those which Giles et al. (1977) define as being of local importance. The importance of tourism to cultures which already possess a strong vitality needs to be further assessed. Transnationality may be an element of vitality in many different situations, either those where a migrant community is based and receives support in varying forms from

the home country, or the opposite situation, where the homeland receives support from migrants in one form or another. It has been suggested here that, like tourism, transnationality is not always positive for the vitality of a community, perhaps creating diversity and divisions where none previously existed, or destroying diversity in language use. More investigation is required to uncover exactly how transnationality can be integrated into the vitality framework in a quantitative manner. The linguistic economy appears to be a factor that is of importance all over the world, through the growth of business and the greater and easier movements of people. Again, though, there is no simple method of integrating the linguistic economy into questionnaires and further research needs to be done to confirm how questions of this nature can be incorporated into quantitative data. The qualitative data has shown its usefulness by uncovering or confirming the existence of these three markers of vitality in the Chubut Province, and therefore proving that qualitative data can be a useful way of accessing additional data in a mixed-method study of this type. Equally importantly, the qualitative data has shown in all three contexts that issues cannot be easily positioned as 'positive' or 'negative' on a scale as they include a number of influences that may be weighted differently, and therefore lead to different judgements. This will be discussed in greater detail in the conclusions in chapter six.



## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS**

This final chapter will draw together strands from throughout the thesis to discuss the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province, Argentina and related issues. Here I will revisit the criticisms of ethnolinguistic vitality and reversing language shift as explained in previous literature in chapter two. I will also answer the research questions posed in chapter three, using both the quantitative and qualitative data which has been interrogated in chapters four and five respectively. These answers will be used to inform a wider discussion on the position of the vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut Province and the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. Difficulties that were encountered in the process of the research will be commented upon and future directions for research suggested.

### **6.1 Answering the research questions**

Four overarching research questions were established in section 3.2. These were:

1. What is the perception of the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, Argentina amongst residents of the region?
2. Is there a difference in the perception of the vitality of Welsh language and Welsh culture amongst the informants?
3. Are there statistical differences between groups of informants according to different independent variables?
4. What can research about the Welsh in the Chubut Province tell us of the usefulness of ethnolinguistic vitality theory and does it shed any light on whether this theory can be improved?

In answer to research question one, regarding the subjective vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, Argentina, informants suggested that Welsh generally has a moderate strength vitality, with responses to questions about status, demographic and institutional support factors close to the scalar mid-point (see chapter four and appendix B for more detail of results). This was a surprising finding as it had been expected that Welsh would be perceived as having a relatively weak vitality, based primarily upon on the small demographic support for the language and relatively weak status and institutional support for Welsh when compared with Spanish, the national language. However, in this survey, informants were not comparing Welsh with Spanish, and, if they were drawing comparisons between Welsh and other language or cultures, then it is more likely that they would be comparing with the vitality of other ethnic languages, such as French or Italian, against which Welsh performs favourably in vitality terms, than with Spanish, the unmarked linguistic norm. Nevertheless, it is clear from this finding that Welsh is perceived as having moderate strength vitality, and, in terms of linguistic and cultural maintenance, this is a positive finding.

More detail on informants' perceptions of the subjective vitality of Welsh was found by answering research question two, about differences in perception between the Welsh language and Welsh culture in the Chubut Province. Where a different question was asked about the vitality of Welsh language and Welsh culture, there was a higher mean response to the question about the vitality of Welsh culture than language in each case. There is a clear distinction made by informants that it is possible to practise Welsh culture without the need for the Welsh language. It is clear from the factor solution (see section 4.1) that, in some cases, the language and culture questions were factored separately, with participation in Welsh cultural events being factored separately from older people's usage and enthusiasm for the Welsh language. On the other hand, the first two factors, regarding the present vitality of

Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera and vitality trends, did include language and culture items together. It appears that Fishman's 'X-man through Y-ish' (1990, 1991) process has taken place amongst the Welsh in the Chubut Province, that they are capable of expressing their ethnic identity as being Welsh through cultural actions and the linguistic medium of Spanish. Welsh cultural practices are now carried out through the medium of Spanish with a maintenance of specific ceremonial events, such as Welsh tea and choirs, while many of the Welsh community could be described as monolingual, but bicultural, carrying out Argentinean and Welsh cultural practices through Spanish. It is clear that, although there are claims that you can be 'more Welsh' through speaking the language, membership of the Welsh community is more closely related with the practice of cultural Welshness, rather than speaking the language.

The statistical tests that were undertaken in chapter four were in response to research question three. Informants were grouped according to age, gender, location, self-reported oral fluency in Welsh and their self-reported affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community. Location was found to be most frequently important in identifying significant differences between informants' responses to the five factors that were analysed. This suggests that the different circumstances in each location can help to explain differences in perceptions of the vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera. It would be a clear mistake to discuss the 'Welshness' of all seven locations as consisting of the same quantity and quality of cultural and linguistic practice, and, instead that there is a gradation of Welshness (discussed in greater detail later in this section). This is a similar finding to research conducted in Canada about the vitality of French in different communities (Landry et al., 1996) and the importance of local situations in vitality perceptions (Sachdev and Bourhis, 1984).

The informants' affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community was also found to correlate closely with perceptions of vitality, and that informants with a greater affiliation gave higher scores to the vitality of Welsh. Although it could be expected that informants with the greatest attachment to the Welsh ethnic group and community would hold the most positive perceptions of vitality, this is not necessarily true in all circumstances, for example, in the case of the Danish in Solvang (Kristiansen et al., 1991), where the Danish ethnic group perceived that they held less vitality than was perceived by the Anglo-American outgroup. It was not found that fluency in oral Welsh was related to perceptions of the vitality of Welsh, although those with least proficiency regularly gave the lowest vitality scores. This is unlike in previous Canadian research (Landry and Allard, 1994c) and Australian research (Gibbons and Ashcroft, 1995), where there was a connection between perceptions of vitality and linguistic ability. However, similar results were found in the Welsh-English bilingual situation in Carmarthenshire by Giles and Johnson (1987), where the informants with high affiliation and fluency in Welsh perceived that the vitality for Welsh was not as high as it was for English, and also that Welsh vitality was not as high as they would like it to be. In contrast, those with a weaker ability in the Welsh language were more likely to perceive a higher vitality in this Welsh setting. The same processes seem to be in operation in the Chubut Province with weaker language learners, or semi-speakers, being more enthusiastic than informants who claim full oral fluency in the language. Generally, though, there is a difference between non-speakers of Welsh and those who claim any level of fluency in the language.

An equally surprise finding was that age was of little importance in perceptions of vitality. It had been expected from previous research in the Chubut Province (R.O. Jones 1976, Glanzmann and Virkel de Sandler, 1981) that a generational difference would exist in

perceptions because of the failure of inter-generational transmission, but this was not found in the data. Instead, it appears that subjective perceptions of the vitality of Welsh are the same throughout the different age groups. Although women consistently gave higher scores than men, this was not found to be statistically significant.

The final research question relates to the usefulness of ethnolinguistic vitality theory in the case of the Chubut Province and the ability to further develop this concept. The quantitative data has shown that it is possible to discover informants' perceptions of the vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut Province. This has provided substantial amounts of data relating to informants' beliefs regarding the Welsh language and culture in this region and a means of analysing this material. However, as previously noted, quantitative data is reliant upon the input of the researcher while qualitative data allows greater freedom of expression for the informants and, by using group interviews, it is clear that there are important elements for vitality that have not previously been identified. Three elements that were raised in the interviews were the impact of tourism, the importance of transnationality and the rise of the linguistic economy. This research has therefore found that while the traditional vitality concept has proved to be adequate for collection of data on vitality, by allowing informants to speak about other aspects that impact upon vitality perceptions, further elements have come to light and must now be integrated into the vitality concept so that they can be tested and utilised in future research.

One of the criticisms of ethnolinguistic vitality is that, after substantial amounts of research, the final result is quite bland or vague, and therefore requires greater contextualisation of the situation to discover the real meaning of the finding. Therefore, the finding that Welsh in the Chubut Province have moderate strength vitality requires far greater contextualisation. By

separating the results according to the three strands of vitality identified by Giles et al. (1977: 309), and again separated according to language and culture, it becomes possible to gain a better understanding of the situation. The Welsh language has a moderate status while the status of Welsh culture is strong. The demography factor for the Welsh language is weak but of moderate strength for Welsh culture, with a far greater number of participants, both in and out of the community. Finally, the institutional support for Welsh language and culture was moderate. Questions relating to status and demography show the difference in perceptions between Welsh culture, which can be accessed by all people, inside and outside the community, in contrast with the Welsh language, for which a knowledge of the language is required, and therefore requires a greater deal of commitment from learners to integrate with the community.

Statistically significant differences according to different independent variables show that there are differences in perceptions of the vitality of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province. These have shown that there is a difference in perception of the Vitality of Welsh according to where informants live, as well as their affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community and their fluency in oral Welsh.

The differences in perceptions of vitality are most evident with regard to respondents' locations. This can be seen through both the quantitative and qualitative data that was collected. The quantitative data included respondents from all seven locations with different levels of affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community, whilst the qualitative data comprised information from informants with a strong level of affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community from six different locations. Both types of data illustrated similar differences between the perceptions of the vitality of Welsh language and culture in the

Chubut Province. Perceptions of the vitality of Welsh can be mapped with Gaiman as a 'heartland' of Welsh at the centre in the Chubut Valley, with slightly weaker perceptions in Dolavon and Trelew and then, further away, Rawson and Puerto Madryn. This can be seen in the map on page viii. Gaiman is perceived as being the centre of Welsh life in the Chubut Valley, reflecting the higher percentage of Welsh ethnic population compared to other locations. Marketing of Gaiman as a Welsh stronghold for tourism purposes has strengthened this perception. In terms of perception, therefore, Gaiman acts as a 'vitality support' for the surrounding area because of the large community practice of Welshness. To the east of Gaiman, there is a growing institutional support for practising Welsh culture in Trelew, but this is unable to take advantage of the wider community interaction available in Gaiman. With only two locations in the Cordillera it is not possible to draw such a perceptual map of the relationship between Trevelin and Esquel. However, this raises a further issue, which is whether the informants in the Cordillera region perceive the Vitality of Welsh differently to informants in the Chubut Valley. This study has attempted to merge the experiences of these two regions together, but, in such different surroundings, further research must determine whether this is an accurate representation of the situation or whether the two sets of informants are actually identifying different issues. It is difficult to gain that understanding from the data collected on this occasion because of the small amount of qualitative data collected in the Cordillera, just one interview of the ten being recorded with informants from that region. However, the qualitative data collected in this region seems distinct from the data collected in the Chubut Valley, due to the different types of tourism associated with the region, comments on different elements of transnationality and different vitality levels of institutional support.

Both the quantitative and qualitative data made reference to the institutional support for Welsh. In the case of the quantitative data, this was through a question asking informants for their perceptions of the support given by eight different institutions for the Welsh language and culture. As found in the analysis of the institutional support factor (see section 4.5), the institutional support items whose control was more local or provincial, such as education, tourism and other cultural events, were the items that were perceived as being most in favour of the Welsh language and culture, while the elements that were more national or international, such as the mass media and governmental services, were perceived as being relatively negative towards the Welsh language and culture. This same relationship was uncovered in the qualitative data about the linguistic economy, where, when the Welsh community were able to take control or influence affairs, the vitality of Welsh is increased, such as the children in Gaiman who opt to study Welsh rather than French or the Bolivian children on the farms in Bryn Gwyn who apparently learn Welsh because they perceive the language to have a local status. This contrasts with the linguistic capital of English as a world language that is effectively compulsory in education. Both sets of data point to the importance of the Welsh community taking local control over affairs where possible in order to improve the Vitality of Welsh. From a position of strength in these fields, such as education and culture, where they can influence decisions made on a local or provincial level, the Welsh community may be able to maintain and increase the vitality of the language and culture. If reversing language shift policies are to have any effect in the Chubut Province (see section 6.5) then this is of great importance for language maintenance.

## **6.2 Methodological difficulties**

One of the greatest difficulties in this research was in finding a definition of ‘the Welsh in the Chubut Province’. In advance of my research period, I was unsure as to how informants from



the region might characterise and define 'Welshness'. Indeed, although a number of stereotypes exist regarding the symbolic content of Welshness in Wales (Dicks, 2000: 93), it would be difficult to ascribe one single all-encompassing description. I was aware of the potential differences between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province and, because of this, I allowed the description of being 'Welsh' and 'Welshness' to be completed by informants through the course of the research, rather than trying to impose a prescriptive view of Welshness. In defining their Welshness, participants in the qualitative data primarily referred to family connections with Welshness (membership of the ethnic group) and participation in Welsh cultural events (engagement with the Welsh community), usually through speaking or learning the Welsh language or being member of a choir or folk-dancing group.

In measuring affiliation to the Welsh ethnic and community group in the Chubut Province, this descriptive method appears to have produced positive results. I asked informants to self-define their position vis-à-vis the Welsh ethnic group (i.e. to what extent they felt membership of the ethnic group) and to what extent they felt themselves members of the Welsh community (i.e. to what extent they felt part of the Welsh community), questions that revealed different forms of responses, even though for ease of interpretation these were collapsed into one independent variable for the purposes of statistical description. By asking informants to self-define the gradation of their affiliation to the Welsh group, it was possible to separate different shades of affiliation and, as seen in chapter five, there was a relationship between the informants' self-reported affiliation and their perceptions of Welsh linguistic and cultural vitality. However, this occurred in a questionnaire that was interested primarily in the informants' relationship with the Welsh ethnic group and community. Attempting to measure informants' affiliations with a variety of ethnic groups is, by necessity, more complicated,

and does not lend itself easily to quantitative analysis. Although it might be possible to follow the same procedure, perhaps with informants writing-in their personal affiliations, this is likely to lead to practical difficulties in terms of sampling numbers. The best alternative appears to be recourse to qualitative data, which, like the interviews used in this survey, will provide far richer data regarding individuals' perceptions of their 'insider/outsider' status and their relationships with the ethnic groups being studied in that situation. At least as pre-research, qualitative data of this sort could inform the choices made of which ethnic groups to study in these cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic settings.

A further criticism of the vitality concept is its implicit acceptance that ethnic group membership is discrete and that people can therefore, objectively, be easily separated into an 'in-group' and 'out-group'. It may be that, in some examples of bounded communities, this is the case. However, in other examples, such as the Welsh in the Chubut Province, there has been integration between different communities that has blurred the boundaries. Landry (2005) writes about the effect of exogamy on Francophone community membership in Acadian Canada, and it is this type of multi-ethnic identity, subsumed within a national loyalty to Argentina, that is in evidence in the Chubut Province. In this context, the multi-ethnic identity is complementary rather than competitive (as shown in section 5.3), with individuals reflecting the cultural input from differing parental ethnic and family groups.

Undoubtedly, my position as a researcher from Wales had an influence on the data generated in carrying out the research. This was most obviously clear in the course of the focus group interviews. While I had hoped that the participants would discuss issues amongst themselves, it became clear that they positioned me as an interested third-party who was not familiar with the situation of the Welsh language and therefore needed to be 'informed' factually about

events. This might have been a response to questions that asked for clarification of events rather than specifically asking about emotional feelings towards the Welsh language and Welsh culture. There were occasions on which I felt that some informants were attempting to speak through me to a wider Welsh audience, being aware that the interview was a means of having their opinions reported back to people in Wales who might influence future decisions regarding the development of Welsh in the Chubut Province. The interviews may have accessed different data if an Argentinean researcher had been carrying out the interviews, but my presence, and ability to code-switch in accordance with the needs of the informants, also helped to gain access to valuable data regarding transnationality and globalisation that might not have been accessed by an Argentinean researcher. In the questionnaire, the concentration on Welsh issues and the knowledge that the survey would be analysed in Wales means that informants may have responded more positively, due to social desirability factors.

It was of great importance in carrying out the research that I held a level of communicative competence in Spanish, Welsh and English, with my ability in Spanish being central to my acceptance amongst the community. Many people were surprised by my (relatively good) ability in Spanish compared to other visitors from Wales. This allowed me to reach beyond the small Welsh-speaking community in the Chubut Province and interact with the wider community and was, of course, integral to my hosting of the focus groups, eight of which involved some level of Spanish. The ability to speak Welsh was naturally of great importance in integrating with the Welsh community, although, as a second language speaker with a non-Welsh ethnic heritage, there were some in the community who, implicitly, challenged my 'authenticity' as being Welsh, compared to their own native speaker ability. My ability in English was also considered an advantage, especially amongst younger informants, in terms of its strong position in the linguistic economy, with knowledge of international culture

aiding my integration into non-Welsh networks. Any researcher from Wales carrying out future research of this kind in the Chubut Province needs to have a robust knowledge of Argentinean Spanish, as well as Welsh, prior to attempting any fieldwork in this region.

On a similar topic, as commented earlier (see section 3.6), the requirement for translating long focus group conversations provided no significant difficulties in understanding. However, in transcription of any data, there are inevitably errors, 'mis-hearings' or misunderstandings of the conversation and the chances of this occurring are increased substantially when this is taking place in a foreign language. In the case of this study, the research carried out was intended to be at a discourse level for which my language ability was suitable. This may have led to some simplification of nuances in the translation, although none of any significant importance.

A further survey should have better sampling so that tests for interactions between independent variables could be carried out. This was not possible in this study, not due to a lack of informants, but because there were a number of cells with a small number of participants ( $n < 20$ ). Although there were some cases in which this is unlikely to be avoided (e.g. the predicted link discovered between affiliation and fluency), more selective sampling methods, identified in advance, might avoid this problem in the future. This would also be helped by the ability to input data as the sample was being collected, rather than not having computer access until returning to the office.

As noted earlier in this chapter, it would be of interest to discover whether there are differences in the perception of Welsh language and culture between informants from the Chubut Valley and those from the Cordillera. Although informants from both are responding

to the same questionnaires, are they, in fact, discussing very different issues? Only one of the ten focus groups was conducted in the Cordillera region and it was interesting to note that religion and tourism had distinct discussion points that were different to those provided by informants from the Chubut Valley. Any future surveys of this type should consider whether these two regions should be considered separately from the beginning. Similarly, it might be of interest to include Comodoro Rivadavia, an area outside the original Welsh colonial area and the Welsh Language Teaching Plan but with a considerable and active Welsh community, in any future research.

In addition to the above, more detail on social class and occupation might be helpful in discovering whether these are related to differences in the perception of Welsh language and culture.

### **6.3 Suggestions for further research**

This research on perceptions of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province has analysed current perceptions according to a wide variety of independent variables, inside and outside of the Welsh community. This is the first time that such a survey of the non-Welsh population has been undertaken, and, in geographical terms, the widest spread of participants. This is also the first time that the linguistic situation in the Chubut Province has been discussed in the context of transnational links with Wales. However, having completed this survey, I can see the need for a range of further studies, either advancing the findings explained in this thesis or taking the topic in different directions.

The most important possible piece of research that needs to be undertaken is, of course, a survey of the actual usage of Welsh in the Chubut Province in everyday contexts. It is clear

from my experiences that this sort of research could only be uncovered through an ethnographic study conducted by members of the community. This is necessary because informants would attempt to use Welsh with a researcher from Wales, or Spanish with an Argentine who is not a locally recognisable figure. This could, perhaps, be built into the ongoing research being conducted at Universidad de San Juan Bosco, Trelew (V. Jones and Gutierrez, 2006), which includes a number of semi-fluent Welsh speakers. The aim of this study would be to uncover whether Welsh remains in a diglossic situation used in different domains to Spanish and whether there are generational differences in use of the language in different contexts. My research on language perceptions showed no difference between older and younger age groups, but I would predict that a study of language use would show that older people in the Chubut Province use Welsh more often *amongst themselves* outside institutional contexts, while the use by younger people is largely institutional and ceremonial, with Welsh used as a means of communicating with Welsh-speaking tourists rather than replacing Spanish as a language of communication with others in the Chubut Province.

Although there has been a slight increase in inter-generational transmission of Welsh amongst children, Welsh in the Chubut Province is usually learnt as a second language. It is therefore important to integrate second language learning strategies into the teaching of Welsh. Studies need to be conducted upon the motivational factors that impact upon the students learning Welsh, whether they are learning as youngsters in the school setting as part of their regular curriculum, or as adults in the classroom in special language classes. Research has not yet been carried out on second language acquisition in the Chubut Province. In terms of judging the performance of the Welsh Language Teaching Project, which has now been in operation for nearly a decade, this research would be crucial in determining the positive benefits that it has provided for Welsh language learners and the Welsh community in

general. In terms of potential language attitudes surveys, this would meet the criteria suggested by Baker (1992: 29) relating to attitudes to learning a new language, language lessons and parental attitudes to language learning.

Another possible piece of research connected with increasing the use of Welsh in the Chubut Province would be to connect the findings of this research with the theories of Landry et al. (2005) regarding language, identity and linguistic motivations and, finally, language use. This social-psychological model is very difficult to integrate, but, in both Wales and the Chubut Province, could provide the focus for language development programmes. Landry et al. believe that by understanding the different sets of motivations that come into play in an encounter, it is possible to predict, or even to manipulate, the language used in communication. In terms of achieving reversing language shift, the aims of the Landry et al. (2005) model takes into account far more variables than, for example, the model of Fishman (1990, 1991). Part of the difficulty of understanding and using this model, though, is the need for large amounts of statistical data – the reason that it was rejected for use in my survey (see section 2.3). However, with a growing amount of data collected on the Welsh in the Chubut Province, it is possible that, in the future, it might be possible to integrate this data into Landry et al.'s model.

Taking an alternative perspective on attitudes in the Chubut Province, research concentrating on attitudes of Welsh people (from Wales) towards the region might shed light on actions to save the Welsh language. Attitudinal studies could, for example, be conducted on tourists visiting the region, perhaps asking for their perceptions before and after the trip. Studies could also be made of perceptions of the region by those with no personal experience of the

Chubut Province, which could provide an interesting comparison of perceptions of the Chubut Province according to linguistic knowledge or behaviour in Wales.

Away from the largely attitudinal based studies suggested above, there is a need for economic surveys on the importance of Welsh tourism to the local economy, in terms of jobs created, tourists attracted to the region, etc. This would assist in drawing observations of the linguistic economy in the Chubut Province, including increasing the economic status of the Welsh language and culture amongst the wider community.

#### **6.4 Ethnolinguistic vitality: a critical assessment**

The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality has been a very useful conceptual tool in gaining an understanding of perceptions of the strength of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province. However, while the results of the survey confirm the usefulness of ethnolinguistic vitality, there are clearly a number of criticisms of the concept that must be made. Many of these have previously been noted in the review of the literature (see section 2.3). Here I shall focus on two specific criticisms of the concept that are relevant to the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province: the conception of the variables that make up the factors of vitality and the implicit suggestion in ethnolinguistic vitality that communities are relatively static and bounded. Effectively, these criticisms suggest that while ethnolinguistic vitality is an important and useful method for measuring the comparative strength of ethnolinguistic groups, there is a need to take societal changes more into account.

Of the two different conceptualisations of vitality that are in use, I chose to use the original version that includes the 'status, demography and institutional support' factors identified by Giles et al. (1977), rather than the four 'capitals' suggested by Prujiner et al. (1984, in Allard



and Landry, 1986). Similarly, the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al., 1981) was used as a questionnaire instrument, rather than the Beliefs of Evaluative Vitality Questionnaire (Allard and Landry, 1986, 2002). Early criticism (Husband and Khan, 1982) suggested that the variables used in defining vitality according to Giles et al. (1977) are inter-related rather than independent, and therefore it is difficult to assess their impact upon the group's ethnolinguistic vitality from an orthogonal perspective. The difficulty, then, is in developing a list of variables that are relevant to the same extent in every situation. The response is simple: all ethnolinguistic situations are different and the variables that need to be measured because of their importance to that community or location must be assessed prior to the development of the questionnaire instrument. This includes not only the variables already included in the taxonomy, but, as Giles et al. point out (1977: 311), any other institutional support variables that may be of importance in that particular situation.

How relevant, then, is the original ethnolinguistic vitality paradigm in the case of the Welsh in the Chubut Province? The factors relating to economic, social and socio-historical status of the ethnolinguistic group are very much inter-dependent variables, with socio-historical status of the group feeding into their present economic and social positions (Husband and Khan, 1982). As founders of the region, the Welsh ethnic group have a high socio-historical status. As the original landowners, the Welsh have profited from land sales over the years and with a strong emphasis on education and social responsibility, the Welsh have maintained a high economic and social status, generally being considered as the educated middle class. Perceptions of language status inside and outside the community are not necessarily linked as the in-group may seek to promote or highlight their perceived strengths, such as a different language from the out-group (Giles et al., 1977; Giles and Johnson, 1987; Harwood et al., 1994). Inside the Welsh community, the Welsh language is viewed favourably as a positive

in-group marker that shows people maintaining their traditions, either at a personal or group level. Outside of the Welsh community, there is no consistent attitude to the Welsh language, something with which the out-group has little contact, but nevertheless positive attitudes towards Welsh culture.

The distribution of the Welsh community in the Chubut Province is important in the demographic factor of ethnolinguistic vitality. In terms of national territory, the Welsh are divided between Wales, Argentina and many other emigrant territories, of which only a very small proportion can be found in the Chubut Province. However, and here national territory merges with socio-historical status, the Welsh have a legitimacy in the Chubut Province as the first people to colonise the territory. This is not the original ancestral homeland of the Welsh, but they nevertheless hold a certain sense of territorial legitimacy as the first colonists. National territory, as described by Giles et al. (1977: 312-13) is difficult to characterise in this situation as it seems more related to claims of political legitimacy than a demographic variable, making it difficult to quantify on a scaled questionnaire. In contrast, the concentration and proportion of an ethnolinguistic population is of importance as this represents the diffusion of population and the context in which they find themselves. An ethnolinguistic group with weak networks, one with low concentration of members, may quickly integrate into the wider society, but one with strong networks is likely to maintain a vibrant social and cultural life. Having largely remained in the same locations, the Welsh in the Chubut Province have a high concentration, enabling the development of a sophisticated community structure with regular contact between group members. Meanwhile, the proportion of a population determines the context of ethnolinguistic maintenance. Atkinson (2000) shows that Catalans act as a minority group because their position is compared with the Spanish out-group. The Welsh in the Chubut Province are only a small proportion of the

total population, reflected in self-perception as a minority group compared to the wider population, but holding a high level of self-belief because of their status.

The second part of the demographic factor is what Giles et al. (1977: 313) called the group numbers factors. The first of these is the absolute numbers of a community. However, as noted above, it is the context which is important. While Catalans might feel themselves a minority group, they have far more speakers than other languages that represent nation-states (Icelandic and Danish to name just two). With small language groups, such as the Welsh in the Chubut Province, the absolute number of speakers is important psychologically to provide contact through the in-group language. This may also take into account in-group language speakers from elsewhere, in this case Wales, who can provide support for the in-group language in another location. However, in terms of perception of the vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, it is likely that in-group members would only note the (comparatively few) Welsh speakers around them. The remaining variables in this section might no longer be considered as important as they once were. The birth-rate amongst the Welsh ethnic group (or the out-group) was not mentioned during my research while the importance of mixed marriages has been shown by Landry (2004) to be related not to the concept of mixed marriages itself but the linguistic choices made by parents and society. The final two variables in this section, immigration and emigration, appear simple, as by placing them in the demographic factor they become a simple increase or decrease in the population of the in-group and out-group. However, this fails to take into account the quality and motivation of the population movements. Although traditionally, members of the Welsh community may have left the region to study, and perhaps never returned to the Chubut Province, in-migration from Wales, even on the temporary level of the Welsh Language Teaching Project, provides the Welsh in the Chubut Province with highly skilled and ethnolinguistically motivated group

members. These people are placed at the centre of the community and use their skills to develop the awareness of the in-group. The most obvious fruits of this in-migration for Welsh vitality in the Chubut is the foundation of the Welsh language school in Trelew by a committee headed by a recent immigrant from Wales. Emigration and immigration are therefore not simply about the number of speakers of a language who move into and out of the region, but, in the case of small ethnic groups, it is about the quality of the in- and out-migrations.

The final factor is that of institutional support. In their initial discussion on this, Giles et al. note (1977: 315-318) that their examples may not cover all relevant factors and that other items may be of importance in each individual situation. The findings of this study point to the importance of local institutional control where the Welsh community can act on their own behalf rather than require outside assistance. While pressure can be applied at a provincial level for institutional support for the Welsh language, this is highly unlikely to ever be achieved at a national, Argentinean level. In some cases, such as religion, institutional support needs to be considered in terms of the ethnic institutions available, instead of a global consideration. Religion in general is not supportive of Welsh language and culture, but the Welsh churches are highly important for the language and culture.

In concluding about the vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut Province, their economic, social and socio-historical status is of particular importance in their vitality, more so than their very low objective and relatively low subjective demographic vitality, which is mediated by their geographical concentration in the Chubut Province. The institutional support for Welsh culture in the Chubut Province, specifically the existence of organised institutions based around ethnic grounds, such as the Asociación San David, was also important. This can be

seen in the way that a number of informants noted the very general nature of institutional support questions as part of the SVQ, for example noting that support for Welsh language and culture was very strong in Welsh churches, but not in religion in general, or that support for Welsh language and culture was very strong in 'other cultural events' that were organised by Welsh groups, but not 'other cultural events' in general.

Ethnolinguistic vitality, as it presently stands, does not take the international element to many ethnolinguistic contact situations into account. Instead it takes an ahistorical position that communities of this type are 'bounded' and relatively constant in their make-up. The qualitative data discussed in chapter five clearly shows the importance of transnationality for ethnolinguistic vitality of Welsh in the Chubut Province, with strong economic and cultural support from Wales providing the backdrop to an increasing perception of vitality for Welsh language and culture in this region. Although the situation of the Welsh in the Chubut Province is unusual in terms of the substantial amount of support per head of population received from members of the ethnic community located elsewhere, it is hard to imagine communities which are not affected by the processes of globalisation in the modern world. Elements of culture, such as music or cinema, have an international reach and the growth of international travel, the internet and the tourist market have led to greater networks of international contact and therefore more diverse interactions between members of ethnolinguistic groups and the development of hybrid communities along different lines. This means that variables such as 'immigration' and 'emigration', which are included in the taxonomy of variables, are far from simply 'positive' or 'negative' effects on vitality. Does interference from outside constitute a positive or negative effect on the ethnolinguistic community? What about the effect that it has upon the society in general? These are very important questions to consider in the Chubut Province where many of the ethnolinguistic

developments are driven by considerations in Wales regarding maintenance of the Welsh language rather than by the ethnolinguistic community in the Chubut Province.

### **6.5 Diaspora, transnationality and reversing language shift**

In contextualising the Welsh in the Chubut Province in chapter one, I briefly explained theories regarding diaspora (Cohen 1997) and transnationality (Hannerz 1996, 1997), with some suggestions of how these related to the Welsh in the Chubut Province. In chapter five, the importance of transnationality became clear as it was a subject often discussed by informants. In discussing Cohen's 'Common Features of Diaspora' (Table 1.7), it was clear that several of these features were highly relevant to the Welsh in the Chubut Province, specifically those relating to the maintenance of a 'strong ethnic consciousness' amongst the Welsh, that, at one point, they had 'a troubled relationship with host society/ies', but that now there is 'the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host country/ies with a tolerance for pluralism'. However, a crucial distinction is made when discussing the 'homeland', one of the central concepts of diaspora. Three of Cohen's nine common features refer to the homeland, to 'a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its localization, history and achievements', about 'an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation' and, finally, 'the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation'. It is here that the Welsh in the Chubut Province fail to meet the criterion, strictly speaking, of a diasporic group, but this legitimacy as the first colonists provides them with status and ethnolinguistic vitality.

My experience in collecting data in the Chubut Province uncovered a strong ethnic identity, but not so strong a connection with Wales itself. The older generation, often native Welsh

speakers, held a collective memory and myth about *yr hen Wlad* ('the old country'), and often decorated family rooms with photographs of Wales. This connection was not so strong amongst younger members of the community. There appeared little evidence of a group aim of repatriation to Wales. The reasons for this can be found by comparing the Welsh experience in the Chubut Province with other diasporic or immigrant groups, an experience which feeds directly into discussions of 'status' of the Welsh. Unlike other diasporic or immigrant groups (such as the Jews, Irish or Chinese - Cohen, 1997), the Welsh in the Chubut Province have a legitimacy and historicity that raises their status above other groups. As the first successful immigrants to Patagonia, they have a legitimate status in the region as the 'original' settlers, as taught in history classes and celebrated annually on 28<sup>th</sup> July (the prior residence of indigenous groups such as the Tehuelche or Mapuche is comparatively understated). The Welsh then have historicity, through a detailed and often mythologised history in Patagonia, through the irrigation of the previously arid Chubut Valley, the trek of the Rifleros to discover the Cordillera de los Andes or the 1902 plebiscite that supposedly decided the border between Argentina and Chile. The Welsh in the Chubut Province draw their strength from a group memory of their history in Argentina rather than from a historic affiliation to Wales. Although Wales is an important icon, the Chubut Province is their homeland, so, rather like the Acadians in Canada (Landry and Allard, 1994a), the legitimacy of being the first European settlers, the common way of life and a series of historic events that have forged and sustained a strong group mentality mean that the Welsh in the Chubut Province draw their strength from a history that took place there, rather than a history that took place on the other side of the Atlantic.

If the Welsh in the Chubut Province are not a traditional 'diasporic' group, then the challenge here is to characterise the relationship between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the

Chubut Province. Much of this relationship has become clear through the context provided in chapter one about the Welsh Language Teaching Project and through the comments of informants that were analysed in chapter five. Three different types of interactions can be seen between the Welsh ethnic groups in Wales and the Chubut Province. The first of these is the cultural tourist interaction, where tourists from either group visit the other location. The tourist interaction is quite superficial, usually including visits to specifically Welsh events, such as the Eisteddfod, or places of historical interest. Tourist interactions do not allow a great deal of interaction with local people. Residence in the other location allows a greater level of understanding of the culture of the other ethnic group. This usually includes Welsh teachers from Wales going to the Chubut Province and learning to contextualise the relative importance of Welsh and Spanish in the region. In the other direction, students from Argentina frequently come to Wales on Welsh speaking courses and can gain a better understanding of the relationship between the Welsh and English linguistic situations in Wales. The final type of interaction does not involve spatial movement but the growing use of electronic communication to gain an understanding of the other location where previously books, photographs and oral history had had to suffice. A growing number of websites (such as <http://www.glaniad.com> or <http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/patagonia>) makes uncovering information about Wales and the Chubut Province far easier to find, wherever one's location in the world. This sharing and exchange of information is positive for the vitality of Welsh in both countries as it creates a growth in 'Welshness' amongst both sets of populations.

The problem with these interactions, though, is the economic and cultural imbalance that exists between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province. As a result of this, the Welsh in Wales provide economic and cultural support for Welsh activities in the Chubut Province, of which the Welsh Language Teaching Project is the most obvious and influential



element. I believe that the influence of the Welsh Language Teaching Project is beneficial. Learning Welsh allows members of the Chubut Welsh ethnic group and community to engage in heritage activities, maintaining family traditions as well as showing their cultural distinctiveness and benefiting from the status of the Welsh as the modern-day founders of the region, and to integrate better into the family and community. The Welsh language in the Chubut Province has a largely ceremonial and symbolic importance.

In theoretical terms, the position of Welsh in the Chubut Province, according to Fishman's reversing language shift theories (1990, 1991) shows that Welsh partly fulfils criteria in all stages from Stage Five to Stage Eight (Table 2.4), relating to adult acquisition, use by older members of the community, some intergenerational transmission and the teaching of literary skills. However, as suggested in chapter five, Welsh is a language learned primarily for heritage and tourist interactions as part of the linguistic economy. In these circumstances, Birt (2005) claims that these needs cannot be integrated into the reversing language shift characterised by Fishman (1990, 1991) and utilised by the Director of the Welsh Language Teaching Scheme, Professor R.O. Jones (2004b). Aside from challenging the notion that reversing language shift is always a positive aim (it may provoke differences between groups on an ethnic level, remove legitimacy of group membership from members of the ethnic community who cannot speak the language, be a use of resources that might be more profitably used elsewhere), I cannot agree that a monolingual Welsh ethnic community in the Chubut Province is either a positive, realistic or desirable aim. In my opinion, the best possible aim would be a society that allows the individual and societal transmission of both languages amongst the ethnic group and promotes a positive attitude towards the active use, not just passive knowledge, of the Welsh language, amongst a wider cultural relationship with Welshness in the Chubut Province. The return towards a diglossic situation in which

Welsh is used amongst the Welsh community in-group would appear to be the natural limit of Fishman's reversing language shift theories in this context, and perhaps an achievable long-term goal relative to the level of vitality of the Welsh in the Chubut Province.

I similarly challenge the notion that language intervention in this way, directed by outside bodies, is the best way of reversing language shift and maintaining that development. It appears that very few of the Welsh tourists or even Welsh language teachers who visit the Chubut Province have a good knowledge of the province's daily language, Spanish, and are therefore unable to participate and interact in affairs outside of the Welsh community. The aims of language maintenance of people in Wales can best be achieved, as Edwards points out (2001: 337), by living in the Chubut Province as part of the community, investing their time and energy to make developments. Few people have made this move, but where this has taken place, it has led to a significant increase in activity in the Welsh language community, the founding of a new bilingual school Trelew in 2006 being the most obvious example. If reversing language shift aims are to hold any currency in the future, then they must be developed according to the needs of the community, as defined by the community. If the community rejects the responsibility for the further development of the language and shows little interest in maintaining Welsh, and having lived in the community for several months I believe it is very capable of taking control of both should they wish to, then this is neither the fault nor responsibility of the Welsh in Wales.

## **6.6 The future of Welsh in the Chubut Province**

In terms of the future of Welsh in the Chubut Province, there are a number of options which may be played out over time. Firstly, as discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a difference in the objective and subjective vitality of language and culture, in favour of culture. Welsh

culture in the Chubut Province has what appears to be an assured position, recognised in importance on a provincial level through subsidies for travel to the Eisteddfod and location hire. There is a wide range of people of all ages who participate in Welsh cultural events, with Eisteddfodau now held in four different locations, all well-publicised, well attended and an integral part of the cultural life of their respective locations. Apart from the Eisteddfodau, Welsh cultural events take place on a regular basis on a public level with choir meetings and Welsh teas, as well as more privately and/or socially, and, of course, the practice sessions for the cultural arts groups. There are no signs that this cultural life is under threat, and, in fact, with continued nurturing, will probably continue to grow in the future.

The position of the Welsh language is considerably more difficult to predict. Although subjectively, informants suggested that it would continue to grow in strength, it is not clear how this will take place in the future. In terms of a language of the home, the majority of native Welsh speakers are ageing, with very few aged below 80 years, born in the Chubut Province and socialised into a Welsh language home environment, and, certainly, even fewer younger than 65 years of age. This means that within the next two decades, this older age group that supports Welsh language activities such as the chapel and the Cylch Lenyddol will no longer be able to meaningfully participate. It is difficult to see how this enthusiasm and native language proficiency can be replaced.

The future for the Welsh language therefore appears to be as a second language learnt through institutional contexts, such as the nursery or the classroom (Virkel, 1999: 295), but a language whose importance is greater than mere utility for economic purposes. This option of language learning is pushed strongly by groups of parents who wish their children to be in touch with their family past and as an addition to their native Spanish language skills. The

introduction of Welsh language education from a young age will, if developed effectively over time, lead to fully bilingual Spanish-Welsh speakers who can play a full role in the wider society whilst also maintaining the ethnic language as a language of status, with historicity and a role to play in Argentina.

Although this seems the most positive future for Welsh in the Chubut Province, it is fraught with difficulties and potential setbacks. The first is recognition of Welsh on a municipal and provincial level as a language of importance that should be taught to children and financially supported by the state at whatever level. This institutional support, and recognition on a local level, would be a great assistance to the maintenance of Welsh. The second potential obstacle is perhaps more of a concern. The association with Welsh amongst young learners is their family relationships, and, specifically, relationships with grandparents or great-grandparents (as with Portuguese in St. Helier - Beswick, 2006). As these elder relatives pass on, will this association and motivation to learn Welsh remain strong or will it wane with time, and how will this be transmitted to the next generation, one which will have had no native Welsh speaking family?

Despite this, it seems unlikely that Welsh will disappear from the Chubut Province in the short term. The impact of tourism has shown that there is a place for the Welsh language for iconic and ceremonial usage and this, allied with the continued strong support for Welsh culture, means that the Welsh language will continue to be used in this iconic fashion, even if no longer used as a language of daily conversation. It seems unlikely that Welsh will be revived as the daily language of the Chubut Province, even if Mici Plwm (1992) were to 're-colonise' the region, or that Welsh would disappear entirely from the streets of the Chubut, as once prophesied by R.B. Williams (1962) and R.O. Jones (1979).

In addition to Welsh culture and Welsh language, there is also the question of Welsh ethnic identity in the Chubut Province. Despite exogamy over several generations as well as pressure from central government to integrate into the wider society, there remains a strong Welsh ethnic group in this region that has re-grouped and places itself at the heart of the community, as explained by Glyn Williams (1991: 253). The Chubut Province is somewhere that Welsh ethnic identity is celebrated and is not endangered by affiliation to other ethnic groups or by a national affiliation to Argentina. A Welsh ethnic identity has survived and adapted to a Hispanic country. With Welshness in Wales so often described in relationship to either Britain or Britishness, or as a contrast to England and Englishness, I wonder whether in the future there will be a transnational Welsh identity that exploits both the similarities and differences between the Welsh in Wales and the Welsh in the Chubut Province.

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# **APPENDIX A**

## **Questionnaire**

**Spanish language version**  
**Welsh language version**  
**English language translation**

# **Percepciones sobre la Lengua y la Cultura Galesa en el Valle del Chubut y la Cordillera**

**Mediante este cuestionario deseamos saber su opinión sobre la lengua y la cultura galesa en el Valle del Chubut y la Cordillera.**

**Le agradecemos su interés en este proyecto. La información que nos brinda es muy importante.**

**Todas las preguntas requieren su opinión personal. Por favor respóndalas con honestidad. La información es estrictamente confidencial; no pedimos su nombre ni su dirección.**

**Por favor complete *todas* las preguntas del cuestionario. No le llevará más que cinco minutos. Luego devuelva el documento a quien se lo entregó.**

**Le agradecemos su cooperación. Los resultados serán usados para una tesis de doctorado.**

**Ian Johnson  
Centro de Investigación del Lenguaje y la Comunicación  
Universidad de Cardiff  
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**Hay otros modelos en Galés  
y con letras más grande en Castellano por los que prefieren**











## Información personal

Recuerde que la información que nos brinda es anónima. No le pedimos su nombre ni su dirección, pero es importante que sepamos algunos datos generales sobre usted.

25. Edad \_\_\_ años

26. Género MASCULINO / FEMENINO

27. Lugar de residencia en su niñez/juventud (ciudad, pueblo) \_\_\_\_\_

28. Lugar de residencia actual (ciudad, pueblo) \_\_\_\_\_

29. Ocupación (actual, o su trabajo anterior) \_\_\_\_\_

### Manejo de la lengua galesa

30. Defina su capacidad oral y de comprensión del galés

No hablo galés      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Hablo galés con soltura  
                 

31. Defina su capacidad para leer y escribir en galés.

No sé leer ni      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Leo y escribo galés con  
escribir en galés                        soltura

Gracias por completar este cuestionario.

Su opinión es muy importante y será de gran ayuda para este proyecto.

La información se empleará sólo para este estudio y su identidad permanecerá en el anonimato.

Si necesita más información sobre este estudio, contáctese con Ian Johnson.

# **Credoau ynghylch yr Iaith a'r Diwylliant Cymraeg/Cymreig yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera**

**Mae'r holiadur hwn at bwrpas cael eich barn chi ar yr iaith a'r diwylliant yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera.**

**Yr ydym yn ddiolchgar iawn i chi am eich diddordeb yn y prosiect hwn. Bydd yr wybodaeth y gellwch rhannu gyda ni yn bwysig iawn.**

**Mae pob cwestiwn yma yn gofyn am eich barn a'ch teimladau personol. A fyddwch gystal â bod yn onest yn eich atebion, a fydd yn gwbl gyfrinachol – nid oes angen rhoi eich enw na'ch cyfeiriad.**

**Os gwelwch yn dda atebwch *bob* rhan o'r holiadur. Bydd yn cymryd oddeutu 5 munud. A wnewch chi ddychwelyd y ddogfen i'r person a'i rhoddoch i chi os gwelwch yn dda.**

**Yr ydym yn ddiolchgar iawn am eich cymorth a'ch cydweithrediad. Bydd canlyniadau'r arolwg yn cael eu cyhoeddi mewn thesis doethuriaeth.**

**Ian Johnson  
Canolfan Iaith a Chyfathrebiad  
Prifysgol Caerdydd  
Cymru  
Y Deyrnas Unedig  
CF10 3XB**

**Hay otros modelos en Castellano  
y con letras más grande en Galés por los que prefieren**









14. Pa mor bwysig, yn eich tyb chi, yw *diwylliant* Cymreig i dwristiaeth yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera?

Ddim yn bwysig o gwbl    1   2   3   4   5   6   7    Pwysig iawn

15. Pa mor *bwysig* yw bob un o'r ieithoedd canlynol i chwi'n bersonol?

	Ddim yn bwysig o gwbl				Pwysig iawn		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Saesneg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ffrangeg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Portiwges	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sbaeneg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cymraeg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Cefnogaeth i'r Iaith a'r Diwylliant Cymraeg/Cymreig yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera

16. I ba raddau yn eich tyb chi y caiff yr iaith a Diwylliant Cymraeg/Cymreig eu *cefnogi* gan y canlynol?

	Dim cefnogaeth				Llawer o gefnogaeth		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Y Cyfryngau Torfol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Addysg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gwasanaethau Llywodraethol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Diwydiant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Twristiaeth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Crefydd	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eisteddfodau	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gweithgareddau Diwylliannol	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eraill	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### 'Cymreictod' yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera

17. Pa mor 'Gymreig' ydych chi'n *teimlo*?

Ddim yn Gymreig o gwbl    1   2   3   4   5   6   7    Yn Gymreig iawn

18. Pa mor bwysig a gredwch yw gwybod am *ddiwylliant* Cymreig?

Ddim yn bwysig o gwbl    1   2   3   4   5   6   7    Pwysig iawn

19. Pa mor bwysig yw gwybod am *ddiwylliant* Cymreig i'r mwyafrif o bobl yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera?

Ddim yn bwysig o gwbl      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Pwysig iawn

20. I ba raddau y welwch chi eich hun fel *aelod* o'r gymuned Gymreig yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera?

Ddim o gwbl      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Aelod llawn a gweithgar

21. I ba raddau, yn eich tŷ chi, y mae'r *iaith* Gymraeg yn fwy neu'n llai pwysig nag oedd ddeng mlynedd yn ôl yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera?

Llawer llai pwysig nawr      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Llawer yn fwy pwysig nawr

22. I ba raddau, yn eich tŷ chi, y mae'r *diwylliant* Cymraeg/Cymreig yn fwy neu'n llai pwysig nag oedd ddeng mlynedd yn ôl yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera?

Llawer llai pwysig nawr      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Llawer yn fwy pwysig nawr

23. I ba raddau, yn eich tŷ chi, bydd yr *iaith* Gymraeg yn fwy neu'n llai pwysig mewn deg mlynedd yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera nag ydyw yn y presennol?

Llawer llai pwysig mewn 10 mlynedd      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Llawer mwy pwysig mewn 10 mlynedd

24. I ba raddau, yn eich tŷ chi, bydd y *diwylliant* Gymraeg/Cymreig yn fwy neu'n llai pwysig mewn deg mlynedd yn Nyffryn Camwy a'r Cordillera nag ydyw yn y presennol?

Llawer llai pwysig mewn 10 mlynedd      1   2   3   4   5   6   7      Llawer mwy pwysig mewn 10 mlynedd

## Gwybodaeth Bersonol

Noder bod yr wybodaeth a rhowch yn gwbl gyfrinachol. Nid yw'n ofynnol i chi rhoi enw na'ch cyfeiriad. Ond mae'n bwysig cael rhywfaint o wybodaeth amdanoch chi.

25. Oed \_\_\_ blynyddoedd

26. Rhyw **GWRYWAIDD / BENYWAIDD**

27. Lleoliad yn ystod blynyddoedd cynnar (dinas, tref) \_\_\_\_\_

28. Lleoliad presennol (dinas, tref) \_\_\_\_\_

29. Gyrfa (presennol, neu gwaith mwyaf diweddar) \_\_\_\_\_

Gallu yn y Gymraeg:

30. Pa mor dda yw eich sgiliau siarad a gwrando yn y Gymraeg?

Ni fedraf siarad  
unrhyw Gymraeg

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Yr wyf yn rhugl yn y  
Gymraeg

31. Pa mor dda yw eich sgiliau darllen ac ysgrifennu yn y Gymraeg?

Ni fedraf ddarllen  
nac ysgrifennu yn  
y Gymraeg

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Yr wyf yn darllen ac  
ysgrifennu Cymraeg yn  
rhugl

Diolch yn fawr iawn am rhoi amser i gyflawni'r holiadur hwn. Mae eich barn chi yn bwysig iawn a bydd yn fuddiol iawn i'r prosiect dan sylw. Ni ddefnyddir unrhyw wybodaeth bersonol a rhoir yn yr astudiaeth hon at unrhyw bwrpas arall a bydd eich enw yn aros yn gyfrinachol.

Cysylltwch ag Ian Johnson am unrhyw wybodaeth bellach yn ymwneud â'r astudiaeth hon.

# **Beliefs about the Welsh Language and Culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera**

**The purpose of this questionnaire is to know your opinion about the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and the Cordillera.**

**We are very grateful to you for your interest in this project. The information that you can provide for us is very important.**

**All of the questions ask for your personal opinion. Please answer honestly. The information is strictly confidential – you do not have to give your name or address.**

**Please answer *all* parts of the questionnaire. It should take you around 5 minutes. Then please return the document to the person who gave it to you.**

**We thank you for your co-operation. The results will be published in a doctoral thesis.**

**Ian Johnson  
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United Kingdom  
CF10 3XB**













## Some information about yourself

Please remember that all information you give us is anonymous. We do not ask for your name or address. But it is important for us to know some general information about you.

25. Age \_\_\_ years

26. Gender MALE / FEMALE

27. Place of Residence During Early Years (city, town, village) \_\_\_\_\_

28. Current Place of Residence (city, town, village) \_\_\_\_\_

29. Occupation (now, or your most recent work) \_\_\_\_\_

Ability in Welsh:

30. How good are your speaking and listening skills in Welsh?

I can't speak any  
Welsh

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I am fluent in speaking  
Welsh

31. How good are your reading and writing skills in Welsh?

I can't read or  
write in Welsh

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I am fluent in reading and  
writing in Welsh

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Your views are very important and will be of great assistance in this project.

Personal information given in this study will not be used for any other purpose and your identity will remain anonymous.

If you would like more information on the study, then please contact Ian Johnson.

# APPENDIX B

## Results of the Questionnaire

These are explained on a factor-by-factor basis, including mean results for each question and each sub-group. The relevant  $p$  scores show whether or not there are significant differences according to the five independent variables of affiliation to the Welsh ethnic group and community, age, gender, location and fluency in oral Welsh.

## Vitality of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Vitality of Welsh in Ch Valley & Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Dol=3.0000 Esq=3.2519 Gai=4.8114 Mad=2.3663 Raw=2.7667 Trel=3.1729 Trev=3.1778 Avg=3.2977	0.000 **	No=2.5036 Low=3.1470 MLow=3.1310 Med=3.4489 MHi=3.6540 High=3.8840 VHi=3.9219 Avg=3.2806	0.000 **	No=2.9346 Low=3.9327 MLow=3.5845 Med=3.6825 MHi=3.7196 High=3.9150 VHi=3.2099 Avg=3.2977
1. Strength of Welsh Lang in the Ch Valley & Cordillera	0.000 **	Dol=4.0769 Esq=3.9167 Gai=5.2143 Mad=2.8235 Raw=3.2813 Trel=3.7963 Trev=3.9545 Avg=3.9185	0.000 **	No=2.9294 Low=3.7027 MLow=3.7895 Med=4.1741 MHi=4.4000 High=4.5397 VHi=4.4182 Avg=3.9091	0.000 **	No=3.5635 Low=4.6809 MLow=4.1538 Med=4.5556 MHi=3.8519 High=4.5833 VHi=3.7500 Avg=3.9185
2b Strength of Welsh Lang in your hometown	0.000 **	Dol=3.3462 Esq=3.1944 Gai=5.9455 Mad=1.7714 Raw=2.0000 Trel=3.0377 Trev=3.4091 Avg=3.3233	0.000 **	No=2.2588 Low=3.0000 MLow=3.2973 Med=3.6364 MHi=3.6250 High=4.3016 VHi=3.6981 Avg=3.3247	0.000 **	No=2.8571 Low=4.2766 MLow=3.8462 Med=3.8148 MHi=3.7037 High=4.0000 VHi=3.0000 Avg=3.3233
3 Strength of Welsh Culture in the Ch Valley & Cordillera	0.137	Dol=4.7600 Esq=5.1389 Gai=5.5179 Mad=4.6857 Raw=5.1563 Trel=4.9308 Trev=5.0000 Avg=5.0301	0.001 *	No=4.5000 Low=4.5946 MLow=5.1389 Med=5.0882 MHi=5.1500 High=5.4355 VHi=5.3818 Avg=5.0144	0.107	No=4.8769 Low=5.3830 MLow=5.3077 Med=5.2593 MHi=5.5000 High=4.6667 VHi=4.8500 Avg=5.0301
4 Strength of Welsh Culture in your hometown	0.000 **	Dol=3.3846 Esq=4.1389 Gai=6.3393 Mad=3.2941 Raw=2.6875 Trel=4.1242 Trev=4.4545 Avg=4.2289	0.000 **	No=3.3294 Low=4.1351 MLow=4.3947 Med=4.3529 MHi=4.1750 High=4.9032 VHi=4.7455 Avg=4.2251	0.003 *	No=3.8782 Low=4.9787 MLow=4.7308 Med=4.5385 MHi=4.5185 High=4.3333 VHi=4.3500 Avg=4.2289

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
5a. Use of Welsh Language by people younger than 25	0.000 **	Dol=1.6957 Esq=2.0625 Gai=3.9231 Mad=1.3636 Raw=1.7188 Trel=2.0135 Trev=2.0588 Avg=2.2018	0.000 **	No=1.4430 Low=1.8649 MLow=1.8125 Med=2.3214 MHi=2.6842 High=2.7414 VHi=2.6981 Avg=2.1846	0.004 *	No=1.9016 Low=2.7209 MLow=2.2500 Med=2.4783 MHi=2.5417 High=2.5455 VHi=2.7222 Avg=2.2018
5b. Use of Welsh Language by people between 25 and 45	0.000 **	Dol=2.1818 Esq=2.8125 Gai=4.3621 Mad=1.7419 Raw=2.6452 Trel=2.5809 Trev=2.7778 Avg=2.7658	0.000 **	No=2.0641 Low=2.5806 MLow=2.8125 Med=3.0000 MHi=3.0270 High=3.3585 VHi=2.9302 Avg=2.7541	0.020 *	No=2.4821 Low=3.2195 MLow=3.0400 Med=3.2000 MHi=3.2174 High=2.7500 VHi=2.8571 Avg=2.7658
6a. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people younger than 25	0.000 **	Dol=2.8636 Esq=2.3429 Gai=4.2407 Mad=1.7097 Raw=2.1875 Trel=2.5705 Trev=2.8000 Avg=2.7289	0.000 **	No=1.5696 Low=2.0270 MLow=2.3056 Med=2.5517 MHi=3.1842 High=3.6102 VHi=4.0000 Avg=2.7173	0.000 **	No=2.0714 Low=3.4000 MLow=3.0400 Med=3.3077 MHi=3.6800 High=4.1364 VHi=3.3889 Avg=2.7289
6b. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people between 25 and 45	0.000 **	Dol=2.2609 Esq=3.3939 Gai=4.2800 Mad=2.1935 Raw=2.7742 Trel=3.0290 Trev=2.7619 Avg=3.0826	0.001 *	No=2.1169 Low=2.7576 MLow=3.0333 Med=3.3438 MHi=3.4474 High=3.6207 VHi=3.7747 Avg=3.0762	0.107	No=2.6047 Low=3.5714 MLow=3.4400 Med=3.8889 MHi=3.5769 High=3.9091 VHi=3.0769 Avg=3.0826
7. Number of Welsh second language learners	0.000 **	Dol=2.7600 Esq=2.6389 Gai=4.1607 Mad=2.1944 Raw=2.4688 Trel=2.7707 Trev=3.4545 Avg=2.9286	0.000 **	No=2.1786 Low=2.7838 MLow=2.6757 Med=3.3529 MHi=3.1282 High=3.1905 VHi=3.3962 Avg=2.8876	0.003 *	No=2.6599 Low=3.2979 MLow=3.0000 Med=3.2692 MHi=2.9630 High=3.5417 VHi=3.4444 Avg=2.9286

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Vitality of Welsh in Ch Valley & Cordillera (factor)	0.999	Yng=3.3983 Med=3.2934 Old=3.3029 Avg=3.2977	0.240	M=3.2002 F=3.3639 Avg=3.2977
1. Strength of Welsh Lang in the Ch Valley & Cordillera	0.506	Yng=3.8175 Med=3.8843 Old=4.0579 Avg=3.9185	0.111	M=3.7500 F=4.0318 Avg=3.9185
2b Strength of Welsh Lang in your hometown	0.870	Yng=3.2560 Med=3.3388 Old=3.3782 Avg=3.3233	0.358	M=3.2138 F=3.3955 Avg=3.3233
3 Strength of Welsh Culture in the Ch Valley & Cordillera	0.088	Yng=4.8065 Med=5.2250 Old=5.0651 Avg=5.0301	0.167	M=4.8793 F=5.1187 Avg=5.0301
4 Strength of Welsh Culture in your hometown	0.464	Yng=4.1111 Med=4.3384 Old=4.1917 Avg=4.2289	0.162	M=4.0680 F=4.3364 Avg=4.2289
5a. Use of Welsh Language by people younger than 25	0.526	Yng=2.3220 Med=2.1150 Old=2.1604 Avg=2.2018	0.502	M=2.1377 F=2.2462 Avg=2.2018
5b. Use of Welsh Language by people between 25 and 45	0.075	Yng=3.0174 Med=2.5982 Old=2.6517 Avg=2.7658	0.338	M=2.6667 F=2.8316 Avg=2.7658
6a. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people younger than 25	0.025 *	Yng=2.4370 Med=2.7586 Old=3.0185 Avg=2.7289	0.142	M=2.5725 F=2.8341 Avg=2.7289
6b. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people between 25 and 45	0.486	Yng=2.9826 Med=3.0614 Old=3.2245 Avg=3.0826	0.049 *	M=2.8864 F=3.2154 Avg=3.0826
7. Number of Welsh second language learners	0.554	Yng=2.9113 Med=2.8417 Old=3.0333 Avg=2.9286	0.007 *	M=2.6897 F=3.0868 Avg=2.9286

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Vitality shift and importance of Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Vitality Shift and Importance of Welshness in Ch Valley & Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Mad=4.1314 Raw=4.6810 Tlw=4.7493 Dol=5.2686 Esq=5.3403 Trv=5.7619 Gai=5.4505 Avg=4.9688	0.000 **	No=3.5642 Low=3.9102 MLow=4.7696 Med=5.0446 MHi=5.4000 High=5.9177 VHi=6.3061 Avg=4.9578	0.000 **	No=4.2882 Low=5.3397 MLow=5.4343 Med=5.6400 MHi=6.2804 High=5.8137 VHi=5.8810 Avg=4.9688
9. How important is speaking Welsh to you?	0.000 **	Mad=3.5294 Raw=4.1250 Tlw=4.2337 Dol=4.9231 Esq=4.3333 Trv=6.0000 Gai=5.0179 Avg=4.4481	0.000 **	No=2.1325 Low=3.1351 MLow=4.4595 Med=4.1471 MHi=5.1500 High=5.8889 VHi=6.7143 Avg=4.4343	0.000 **	No=3.3436 Low=4.8511 MLow=5.1538 Med=5.8148 MHi=6.6667 High=6.1250 VHi=6.5000 Avg=4.4481
15e. How important is the Welsh language to you personally?	0.000 **	Mad=4.1250 Raw=4.5806 Tlw=4.8718 Dol=5.5200 Esq=5.3235 Trv=6.1304 Gai=5.8679 Avg=5.0989	0.000 **	No=3.3373 Low=3.8056 MLow=5.2424 Med=5.1563 MHi=5.6750 High=6.2381 VHi=6.6071 Avg=5.0787	0.000 **	No=4.2065 Low=5.6957 MLow=5.6538 Med=5.8519 MHi=6.7778 High=6.2083 VHi=6.6000 Avg=5.0989
18. How important is Welsh Culture to you personally?	0.064	Mad=5.1176 Raw=5.6129 Tlw=5.6730 Dol=5.8077 Esq=6.0000 Trv=6.3636 Gai=5.9636 Avg=5.7431	0.000 **	No=4.3571 Low=4.7297 MLow=5.7368 Med=6.0000 MHi=6.2000 High=6.7302 VHi=6.8214 Avg=5.7301	0.000 **	No=5.2188 Low=6.0000 MLow=6.1154 Med=6.2222 MHi=6.8148 High=6.5000 VHi=6.7368 Avg=5.7431
21. To what extent do you think that the Welsh language is stronger now than it was 10 years ago?	0.000 **	Mad=4.0000 Raw=3.9032 Tlw=4.4000 Dol=5.2308 Esq=5.3429 Trv=5.4545 Gai=5.3818 Avg=4.6949	0.000 **	No=3.2840 Low=3.7222 MLow=4.3243 Med=5.2059 MHi=5.0500 High=5.6393 VHi=6.0357 Avg=4.6986	0.000 **	No=4.0374 Low=5.1522 MLow=5.3200 Med=5.3462 MHi=6.0741 High=5.6087 VHi=5.2500 Avg=4.6949

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$



	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
22. To what extent do you think that Welsh culture is stronger now than it was 10 years ago?	0.000 **	Mad=4.3030 Raw=4.5625 Tlw=4.6711 Dol=5.3846 Esq=5.5143 Trv=5.2174 Gai=5.5273 Avg=4.9298	0.000 **	No=3.9390 Low=4.0833 MLow=4.7500 Med=4.9706 MHi=4.9250 High=5.6885 VHi=6.1607 Avg=4.9246	0.000 **	No=4.4286 Low=5.2174 MLow=5.1538 Med=5.5385 MHi=6.1111 High=5.6957 VHi=5.4737 Avg=4.9298
23. To what extent do you think that the Welsh language will be stronger in 10 years than it is now?	0.001 *	Mad=3.8788 Raw=4.6875 Tlw=4.5226 Dol=4.8077 Esq=5.5143 Trv=5.3478 Gai=5.3091 Avg=4.7688	0.000 **	No=3.7073 Low=3.8649 MLow=4.6842 Med=5.0294 MHi=5.2750 High=5.4754 VHi=5.7679 Avg=4.7816	0.000 **	No=4.3177 Low=5.3043 MLow=5.3077 Med=5.3600 MHi=5.6667 High=5.1739 VHi=4.7500 Avg=4.7688
24. To what extent do you think that Welsh culture will be stronger in 10 years than it is now?	0.002 *	Mad=4.1515 Raw=5.1250 Tlw=4.8258 Dol=5.0385 Esq=5.6286 Trv=5.5455 Gai=5.3636 Avg=5.0112	0.000 **	No=4.2195 Low=3.9459 MLow=4.7895 Med=5.0588 MHi=5.5250 High=5.6066 VHi=6.0357 Avg=5.0201	0.000 **	No=4.6146 Low=5.3913 MLow=5.3077 Med=5.6000 MHi=5.8519 High=5.4348 VHi=5.2105 Avg=5.0112

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Vitality Shift and Importance of Welshness in Ch Valley & Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Yng=4.3350 Med=4.9962 Old=5.6395 Avg=4.9688	0.008 *	M=4.7132 F=5.1400 Avg=4.9688
9. How important is speaking Welsh to you?	0.000 **	Yng=3.7984 Med=4.1818 Old=5.3802 Avg=4.4481	0.011 *	M=4.0952 F=4.8849 Avg=4.4481
15e. How important is the Welsh language to you personally?	0.000 **	Yng=4.5537 Med=4.9407 Old=5.8348 Avg=5.0989	0.054	M=4.8671 F=5.2559 Avg=5.0989
18. How important is Welsh Culture to you personally?	0.000 **	Yng=5.0984 Med=5.7750 Old=6.3667 Avg=5.7431	0.005 *	M=5.4563 F=5.9266 Avg=5.7431
21. To what extent do you think that the Welsh language is stronger now than it was 10 years ago?	0.000 **	Yng=3.9587 Med=4.8205 Old=5.3362 Avg=4.6949	0.070	M=4.4825 F=4.8389 Avg=4.6949
22. To what extent do you think that Welsh culture is stronger now than it was 10 years ago?	0.000 **	Yng=4.3471 Med=4.9224 Old=5.5294 Avg=4.9298	0.004 *	M=4.6197 F=5.1355 Avg=4.9298
23. To what extent do you think that the Welsh language will be stronger in 10 years than it is now?	0.000 **	Yng=4.2049 Med=4.8983 Old=5.2185 Avg=4.7688	0.459	M=4.6806 F=4.8279 Avg=4.7688
24. To what extent do you think that Welsh culture will be stronger in 10 years than it is now?	0.000 **	Yng=4.4508 Med=5.1102 Old=5.4915 Avg=5.0112	0.087	M=4.8252 F=5.1349 Avg=5.0112

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Use and enthusiasm for the Welsh language amongst older people in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Use and Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language amongst Older People in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Mad=3.0250 Raw=4.0446 Tlw=3.9669 Dol=4.6000 Esq=4.5000 Trv=4.2031 Gai=5.0714 Avg=4.1637	0.000 **	No=3.4188 Low=3.9242 MLow=4.2661 Med=4.1442 MHi=4.7059 High=4.8349 VHi=4.3667 Avg=4.1656	0.000 **	No=3.8042 Low=4.7134 MLow=4.4500 Med=5.0000 MHi=4.2500 High=4.4250 VHi=4.4038 Avg=4.1637
5c. Use of Welsh Language by people between 45 and 65	0.000 **	Mad=2.4375 Raw=3.5667 Tlw=3.5034 Dol=3.8636 Esq=3.9063 Trv=3.8889 Gai=4.8627 Avg=3.7000	0.000 **	No=2.9494 Low=3.4857 MLow=3.6563 Med=3.6000 MHi=4.0833 High=4.4912 VHi=3.9362 Avg=3.6962	0.002 *	No=3.3523 Low=4.2500 MLow=4.0385 Med=4.4167 MHi=3.7083 High=3.9048 VHi=4.1333 Avg=3.7000
5d. Use of Welsh Language by people older than 65	0.000 **	Mad=3.2813 Raw=4.5333 Tlw=4.3793 Dol=5.0000 Esq=4.6000 Trv=5.0556 Gai=5.6863 Avg=4.5935	0.000 **	No=3.7750 Low=4.2647 MLow=4.5882 Med=4.5714 MHi=5.1316 High=5.4333 VHi=4.8431 Avg=4.6123	0.000 **	No=4.1356 Low=5.1111 MLow=5.0400 Med=5.3791 MHi=4.7600 High=4.7083 VHi=5.3333 Avg=4.5935
6c. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people between 45 and 65	0.000 **	Mad=2.7097 Raw=3.5484 Tlw=3.6944 Dol=3.8696 Esq=4.0558 Trv=3.6000 Gai=4.6981 Avg=3.7917	0.000 **	No=3.1013 Low=3.4000 MLow=3.9032 Med=3.9667 MHi=4.1622 High=4.3667 VHi=4.0784 Avg=3.8019	0.003 *	No=3.4663 Low=4.3721 MLow=4.0000 Med=4.2400 MHi=3.9630 High=4.2727 VHi=3.8750 Avg=3.7917
6d. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people older than 65	0.001 *	Mad=3.4688 Raw=4.4516 Tlw=4.4028 Dol=4.7917 Esq=5.0857 Trv=4.2778 Gai=5.1731 Avg=4.5298	0.001 *	No=3.7875 Low=4.4118 MLow=4.7879 Med=4.6786 MHi=5.1538 High=4.9153 VHi=4.7059 Avg=4.5463	0.008 *	No=4.1695 Low=5.0909 MLow=4.9200 Med=5.2083 MHi=4.6154 High=4.6667 VHi=5.0000 Avg=4.5298

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Use and Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language amongst Older People in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.125	Yng=4.3549 Med=3.9455 Old=4.1932 Avg=4.1637	0.029 *	M=3.9324 F=4.3138 Avg=4.1637
5c. Use of Welsh Language by people between 45 and 65	0.090	Yng=3.9138 Med=3.4513 Old=3.7327 Avg=3.7000	0.017 *	M=3.4385 F=3.8700 Avg=3.7000
5d. Use of Welsh Language by people older than 65	0.367	Yng=4.7672 Med=4.4211 Old=4.5888 Avg=4.5935	0.022 *	M=4.3083 F=4.7794 Avg=4.5935
6c. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people between 45 and 65	0.394	Yng=3.8814 Med=3.6348 Old=3.8641 Avg=3.7917	0.051	M=3.5956 F=3.9250 Avg=3.7917
6d. Enthusiasm for the Welsh Language from people older than 65	0.269	Yng=4.7009 Med=4.3186 Old=4.5660 Avg=4.5298	0.124	M=4.3433 F=4.6535 Avg=4.5298

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Mad=3.2222 Raw=3.7929 Tlw=3.8698 Dol=3.0769 Esq=3.8087 Trv=3.7733 Gai=4.5900 Avg=3.8551	0.338	No=3.5538 Low=4.0133 MLow=3.8688 Med=4.1478 MHi=3.8909 High=3.8578 VHi=4.0919 Avg=3.8642	0.434	No=3.7865 Low=4.0000 MLow=4.0783 Med=3.5455 MHi=4.2105 High=4.0941 VHi=3.4800 Avg=3.8551
16a. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from the mass media?	0.004 *	Mad=2.9032 Raw=2.9677 Tlw=3.7755 Dol=3.6154 Esq=3.7941 Trv=3.8636 Gai=4.3800 Avg=3.7067	0.021 *	No=3.3462 Low=3.2778 MLow=3.3243 Med=3.8750 MHi=3.8000 High=3.9836 VHi=4.3404 Avg=3.7009	0.565	No=3.5489 Low=3.7609 MLow=3.9615 Med=3.8000 MHi=4.2308 High=4.0000 VHi=3.5714 Avg=3.7067
16b. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from education?	0.000 **	Mad=2.5806 Raw=3.0645 Tlw=3.0270 Dol=2.5417 Esq=3.0303 Trv=3.1818 Gai=4.5577 Avg=3.1994	0.111	No=2.7375 Low=3.1143 MLow=3.2571 Med=3.4242 MHi=3.1026 High=3.5500 VHi=3.4792 Avg=3.2000	0.150	No=2.9730 Low=3.3636 MLow=3.8462 Med=3.2500 MHi=3.3077 High=3.7273 VHi=3.3571 Avg=3.1994
16c. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from government services?	0.020 *	Mad=2.5172 Raw=2.9375 Tlw=3.0347 Dol=2.0455 Esq=2.8333 Trv=2.4500 Gai=3.3800 Avg=2.9113	0.478	No=2.5949 Low=3.2059 MLow=2.8571 Med=3.1034 MHi=3.0263 High=2.9123 VHi=3.1042 Avg=2.9188	0.932	No=2.8914 Low=2.9524 MLow=2.7200 Med=2.7917 MHi=3.2692 High=2.8571 VHi=3.0000 Avg=2.9113
16e. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from tourism?	0.002 *	Mad=4.4839 Raw=5.1935 Tlw=5.1192 Dol=4.1667 Esq=4.7353 Trv=4.3810 Gai=5.5200 Avg=4.9766	0.023 *	No=5.1139 Low=5.3429 MLow=5.6316 Med=4.8710 MHi=4.9744 High=4.5333 VHi=4.7400 Avg=4.9970	0.007 *	No=5.2174 Low=5.1190 MLow=4.9615 Med=4.1250 MHi=4.4615 High=4.8182 VHi=4.2778 Avg=4.9766
16h. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from other cultural events?	0.001 *	Mad=3.6552 Raw=4.5357 Tlw=4.4924 Dol=3.3571 Esq=4.6923 Trv=4.7778 Gai=5.2766 Avg=4.5204	0.082 *	No=4.0735 Low=4.6875 MLow=4.5758 Med=4.6538 MHi=4.2424 High=4.6471 VHi=5.1429 Avg=4.5333	0.123	No=4.2981 Low=5.1944 MLow=4.7826 Med=4.2500 MHi=2.5789 High=4.8333 VHi=4.9231 Avg=4.5204

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Institutional support for Welsh in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.843	Yng=3.8849 Med=3.8787 Old=3.7806 Avg=3.8551	0.104	M=3.7088 F=3.9608 Avg=3.8551
16a. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from the mass media?	0.020 *	Yng=3.3866 Med=3.7179 Old=4.0571 Avg=3.7067	0.005 *	M=3.3786 F=3.9353 Avg=3.7067
16b. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from education?	0.793	Yng=3.1157 Med=3.2261 Old=3.2667 Avg=3.1994	0.572	M=3.1357 F=3.2438 Avg=3.1994
16c. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from government services?	0.946	Yng=2.8898 Med=2.8947 Old=2.9579 Avg=2.9113	0.956	M=2.9173 F=2.9072 Avg=2.9113
16e. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from tourism?	0.000 **	Yng=5.4167 Med=4.9211 Old=4.5463 Avg=4.9766	0.469	M=4.9021 F=5.0302 Avg=4.9766
16h. To what extent does Welsh language and culture receive support from other cultural events?	0.365	Yng=4.5229 Med=4.6939 Old=4.3218 Avg=4.5204	0.273	M=4.3852 F=4.6163 Avg=4.5204

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Participation in Welsh cultural events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Participation in Welsh Cultural Events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.000 **	Mad=3.0833 Raw=3.9483 Tlw=4.1598 Dol=3.6818 Esq=4.0625 Trv=4.2105 Gai=5.3646 Avg=4.1813	0.000 **	No=3.3716 Low=3.5156 MLow=4.1339 Med=4.4327 MHi=4.5068 High=4.8318 VHi=4.5400 Avg=4.1474	0.003 *	No=3.8673 Low=4.5250 MLow=4.8800 Med=4.4500 MHi=4.1042 High=4.7625 VHi=4.3676 Avg=4.1813
8a. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people younger than 25	0.000 **	Mad=2.2500 Raw=2.8276 Tlw=3.5563 Dol=3.3077 Esq=2.7143 Trv=3.7143 Gai=5.5636 Avg=3.6000	0.000 **	No=2.4667 Low=2.9429 MLow=3.1563 Med=3.7097 MHi=3.7949 High=4.4333 VHi=4.5636 Avg=3.5749	0.000 **	No=3.0852 Low=4.1277 MLow=4.2692 Med=3.6667 MHi=3.8800 High=4.6190 VHi=4.6111 Avg=3.6000
8b. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people aged between 25 and 45	0.000 **	Mad=2.9355 Raw=3.3548 Tlw=3.6957 Dol=2.6957 Esq=3.5152 Trv=3.9524 Gai=5.2200 Avg=3.7523	0.000 **	No=2.8684 Low=3.2121 MLow=3.7097 Med=4.1724 MHi=3.8378 High=4.4576 VHi=4.0000 Avg=3.6984	0.009 *	No=3.4593 Low=4.0976 MLow=4.6000 Med=3.8846 MHi=3.8800 High=4.2381 VHi=3.6471 Avg=3.7523
8c. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people aged between 45 and 65	0.000 **	Mad=3.3548 Raw=4.3667 Tlw=4.3403 Dol=4.0455 Esq=4.4706 Trv=4.5000 Gai=5.2653 Avg=4.3909	0.000 **	No=3.6753 Low=3.6216 MLow=4.483 Med=4.6667 MHi=4.8158 High=5.0517 VHi=4.5686 Avg=4.3565	0.067	No=4.1618 Low=4.7073 MLow=5.0385 Med=4.7407 MHi=4.2400 High=4.7143 VHi=4.2353 Avg=4.3909
8d. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people older than 65	0.001 *	Mad=3.8387 Raw=5.3548 Tlw=4.9660 Dol=4.6000 Esq=5.1429 Trv=5.0500 Gai=5.5600 Avg=4.9823	0.002 *	No=4.3974 Low=4.4167 MLow=5.1563 Med=5.2903 MHi=5.4359 High=5.4068 VHi=5.0189 Avg=4.9634	0.054	No=4.7865 Low=5.2955 MLow=5.6400 Med=5.3846 MHi=4.4000 High=5.2500 VHi=5.1176 Avg=4.9823

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Participation in Welsh Cultural Events in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera (factor)	0.729	Yng=4.0951 Med=4.2150 Old=4.2473 Avg=4.1813	0.211	M=4.0566 F=4.2676 Avg=4.1813
8a. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people younger than 25	0.045	Yng=3.2712 Med=3.6786 Old=3.8727 Avg=3.6000	0.057	M=3.3650 F=3.7586 Avg=3.6000
8b. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people aged between 25 and 45	0.857	Yng=3.6870 Med=3.8018 Old=3.7723 Avg=3.7523	0.119	M=3.5833 F=3.8667 Avg=3.7523
8c. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people aged between 45 and 65	0.600	Yng=4.3248 Med=4.5182 Old=4.3301 Avg=4.3909	0.391	M=4.2985 F=4.4541 Avg=4.3909
8d. Participation in Welsh Cultural Events by people older than 65	0.696	Yng=5.0750 Med=4.9820 Old=4.8796 Avg=4.9823	0.818	M=4.9559 F=5.0000 Avg=4.9823

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$



## Cultural importance of Welshness

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Cultural importance of Welshness (factor)	0.030 *	Mad=5.000 Raw=5.0833 Tlw=5.3291 Dol=5.2821 Esq=5.7172 Trv=5.7576 Gai=5.6235 Avg=5.3823	0.000 **	No=4.8233 Low=5.1111 MLow=5.4595 Med=5.3039 MHi=5.4500 High=5.7957 VHi=5.8869 Avg=5.3841	0.115	No=5.2335 Low=5.6809 MLow=5.6795 Med=5.4231 MHi=5.6173 High=5.5000 VHi=5.1754 Avg=5.3823
13. How important is Welsh identity for the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.618	Mad=5.4118 Raw=5.4063 Tlw=5.5723 Dol=5.8077 Esq=5.8611 Trv=5.9565 Gai=5.6786 Avg=5.6284	0.000 **	No=4.9639 Low=5.2432 MLow=5.5526 Med=5.8235 MHi=5.8250 High=6.0484 VHi=6.1607 Avg=5.6229	0.144	No=5.4847 Low=5.9574 MLow=6.0385 Med=5.5556 MHi=5.9259 High=5.7826 VHi=5.2500 Avg=5.6284
14. How important is tourism for Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.000 **	Mad=5.2059 Raw=5.8125 Tlw=5.9875 Dol=5.5769 Esq=6.3529 Trv=6.3913 Gai=6.4364 Avg=5.9973	0.001 *	No=5.6905 Low=5.6389 MLow=6.0811 Med=5.6176 MHi=6.0500 High=6.3333 VHi=6.4643 Avg=6.0000	0.086	No=5.8756 Low=6.3617 MLow=6.3077 Med=6.0370 MHi=6.3333 High=5.7917 VHi=5.6500 Avg=5.9973
19. How important is Welsh culture for the majority of residents of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.136	Mad=4.6471 Raw=4.0313 Tlw=4.4395 Dol=4.4615 Esq=5.0000 Trv=4.8636 Gai=4.8000 Avg=4.5596	0.000 **	No=3.8095 Low=4.4865 MLow=4.8158 Med=4.4706 MHi=4.4750 High=5.0159 VHi=5.0357 Avg=4.5398	0.687	No=4.4197 Low=4.7234 MLow=4.6923 Med=4.7692 MHi=4.5926 High=4.9130 VHi=4.6316 Avg=4.5596

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Cultural importance of Welshness (factor)	0.063	Yng=5.1995 Med=5.4153 Old=5.5439 Avg=5.3823	0.258	M=5.2979 F=5.4382 Avg=5.3823
13. How important is Welsh identity for the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.184	Yng=5.4960 Med=5.5750 Old=5.8182 Avg=5.6284	0.356	M=5.5442 F=5.6849 Avg=5.6284
14. How important is tourism for Welshness in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.383	Yng=5.9032 Med=6.1250 Old=5.9667 Avg=5.9973	0.714	M=6.0276 F=5.9772 Avg=5.9973
19. How important is Welsh culture for the majority of residents of the Chubut Valley and Cordillera?	0.003 *	Yng=4.2276 Med=4.5583 Old=4.9068 Avg=4.5596	0.023 *	M=4.3310 F=4.7130 Avg=4.5596

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Out-group perceptions

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
Out-group perceptions (factor)	0.156	Mad=4.1563 Raw=4.2581 Tlw=4.6731 Dol=4.4375 Esq=4.1389 Trv=4.1364 Gai=4.4722 Avg=4.4563	0.000 **	No=4.1329 Low=3.6714 MLow=4.6486 Med=4.5147 MHi=4.5641 High=4.5806 VHi=5.0000 Avg=4.4501	0.489	No=4.4392 Low=4.1809 MLow=4.3269 Med=4.4808 MHi=4.6852 High=4.8864 VHi=4.6389 Avg=4.4563
11. What do non-Welsh speakers think of those who can speak Welsh?	0.379	Mad=4.0938 Raw=4.0968 Tlw=4.5570 Dol=4.3750 Esq=4.0556 Trv=4.1739 Gai=4.5091 Avg=4.3816	0.000 **	No=4.0375 Low=3.6000 MLow=4.5263 Med=4.2941 MHi=4.4359 High=4.5000 VHi=5.0893 Avg=4.3721	0.501	No=4.3351 Low=4.1064 MLow=4.4231 Med=4.3077 MHi=4.5556 High=4.9091 VHi=4.7000 Avg=4.3816
12. What do non-members of the Welsh community think of Welsh community members?	0.186	Mad=4.2188 Raw=4.4194 Tlw=4.7771 Dol=4.4400 Esq=4.2222 Trv=4.0909 Gai=4.5273 Avg=4.5363	0.002 *	No=4.1875 Low=3.7222 MLow=4.8378 Med=4.7353 MHi=4.6923 High=4.6613 VHi=4.9455 Avg=4.5277	0.540	No=4.5288 Low=4.2553 MLow=4.2308 Med=4.7407 MHi=4.8148 High=4.8636 VHi=4.6667 Avg=4.5363

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
Out-group perceptions (factor)	0.003 *	Yng=4.1653 Med=4.4534 Old=4.7629 Avg=4.4563	0.289	M=4.3617 F=4.5187 Avg=4.4563
11. What do non-Welsh speakers think of those who can speak Welsh?	0.075	Yng=4.1405 Med=4.4118 Old=4.5966 Avg=4.3816	0.976	M=4.3846 F=4.3796 Avg=4.3816
12. What do non-members of the Welsh community think of Welsh community members?	0.000 **	Yng=4.1707 Med=4.4746 Old=4.9829 Avg=4.5363	0.045 *	M=4.3357 F=4.6698 Avg=4.5363

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

## Questions not included in the factor analysis

Oneway ANOVA results with location, affiliation and fluency as independent variables

	Location		Affiliation		Fluency	
15a. How important is English to you?	0.000 **	Mad=6.6765 Raw=6.5000 Tlw=6.2980 Dol=5.1923 Esq=6.2571 Trv=6.4091 Gai=6.5000 Avg=6.3040	0.041 *	No=6.4762 Low=6.6486 MLow=6.6000 Med=6.3125 MHi=6.0000 High=6.1333 VHi=5.9412 Avg=6.2950	0.001 *	No=6.4709 Low=6.5957 MLow=6.3200 Med=6.0000 MHi=5.6923 High=5.9091 VHi=5.5000 Avg=6.3040
15b. How important is French to you?	0.000 **	Mad=5.1290 Raw=4.7742 Tlw=3.9549 Dol=2.8571 Esq=3.5938 Trv=2.7222 Gai=3.7609 Avg=3.9423	0.000 **	No=4.4051 Low=4.7059 MLow=4.3125 Med=4.0667 MHi=3.2500 High=3.3077 VHi=3.4048 Avg=3.9344	0.000 **	No=4.3276 Low=3.8000 MLow=3.7917 Med=2.8095 MHi=3.6818 High=3.5000 VHi=2.3846 Avg=3.9423
15c. How important is Portuguese to you?	0.000 **	Mad=4.5000 Raw=4.4333 Tlw=3.4627 Dol=2.2381 Esq=3.0938 Trv=3.0556 Gai=3.4348 Avg=3.5080	0.001 *	No=4.0247 Low=3.9091 MLow=3.4516 Med=3.6071 MHi=2.6286 High=3.0962 VHi=3.2558 Avg=3.4851	0.002 *	No=3.8324 Low=3.3333 MLow=3.2917 Med=2.5909 MHi=3.4545 High=3.2778 VHi=2.0769 Avg=3.5080
15d. How important is Spanish to you?	0.298	Mad=6.6061 Raw=6.9000 Tlw=6.7059 Dol=6.2500 Esq=6.7941 Trv=6.4091 Gai=6.5600 Avg=6.6503	0.948	No=6.7654 Low=6.5135 MLow=6.5758 Med=6.6176 MHi=6.6154 High=6.6290 VHi=6.6400 Avg=6.6429	0.569	No=6.6522 Low=6.7907 MLow=6.2800 Med=6.8519 MHi=6.6923 High=6.5652 VHi=6.5556 Avg=6.6503
16d. To what extent do you consider that Welsh language and culture receives support from Industry?	0.074	Mad=2.2333 Raw=1.7692 Tlw=2.3819 Dol=1.4286 Esq=2.0000 Trv=2.3000 Gai=2.4000 Avg=2.2174	0.705	No=2.0000 Low=2.4688 MLow=2.4857 Med=2.1563 MHi=2.1667 High=2.2373 VHi=2.2000 Avg=2.2102	0.781	No=2.3295 Low=2.0732 MLow=2.1600 Med=2.0417 MHi=2.0000 High=2.3500 VHi=1.8462 Avg=2.2174

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

Oneway ANOVA results with age and gender as independent variables

	Age		Gender	
15a. How important is English to you?	0.001 *	Yng=6.6016 Med=6.3051 Old=5.9730 Avg=6.3040	0.924	M=6.3121 F=6.2986 Avg=6.3040
15b. How important is French to you?	0.032 *	Yng=4.2719 Med=3.8496 Old=3.6235 Avg=3.9423	0.526	M=3.8629 F=3.9947 Avg=3.9423
15c. How important is Portuguese to you?	0.021 *	Yng=3.8462 Med=3.4091 Old=3.1667 Avg=3.5080	0.674	M=3.5600 F=3.4731 Avg=3.5080
15d. How important is Spanish to you?	0.034 *	Yng=6.4628 Med=6.6724 Old=6.8349 Avg=6.6503	0.997	M=6.6500 F=6.6505 Avg=6.6503
16d. To what extent do you consider that Welsh language and culture receives support from Industry?	0.963	Yng=2.1949 Med=2.2478 Old=2.2088 Avg=2.2174	0.472	M=2.1450 F=2.2670 Avg=2.2174

\* - significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* - significant at  $p < 0.001$

# APPENDIX C

Interview Transcripts translated into English

More information on these groups can be found in  
section 3.6 and chapter five.

GROUP 1

THURSDAY, 4<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

WELSH LEARNERS, CANOLFAN GYMRAEG YR ANDES, ESQUEL

Translated from Spanish

.....

Int: My name is Ian Johnson, I am a student from Cardiff University. I would like to do an interview with you regarding your perceptions of the Welsh language and culture in the Chubut. This is my ID. This is only for my research. I won't be using it for other purposes. I won't be using your names only a letter to represent you (1:00') or a quote representing a member of the group from Esquel. If you are in agreement then could you please state your name and your agreement.

E: My name is E and I agree.

X: My name is X and I agree.

T: I'm T and I agree.

Int: Great. First, I would like to ask. What is your relationship with the Welsh language and culture here.? (2'00)

X: My grandparents spoke Welsh. My mum speaks it, but not in the house. I have very nice memories of the language and my grandparents...

T: In the house of course, I'm from a Welsh family. My great-great grandparents came from Wales. My mum studies Welsh. I studies Welsh. My children study Welsh as well. We all feel very Welsh, yes.

E: I am also a descendant of the Welsh, from the colonists and I[m interested in maintaining (3'00) the Welsh culture because its interesting. I would like to speak it well, but I'm studying because in my house they didn't speak Welsh.

Int: You all live here in Esquel?

All: yes.

Int: How strong is the Welsh language here in Esquel in your opinion?

T: Very little

Int: There aren't many who speak Welsh here or families that speak Welsh?

T: The language has been lost a lot in the families. The classes in the welsh school has given the language a boost in the last few years and there was a period in which very few people spoke Welsh, but its re-gaining now. Especially around the church (4'00).

Nowhere else and in intimate family conversations. They use the Welsh so that other people can't understand them because they were speaking it.

X: But they didn't teach it. Whereas now the pastures are greener.

E: My mother spoke to my grandmother in perfect Welsh but we didn't understand any of it because we were ....

T: Me too.

E: I couldn't respond in Welsh which embarrassed me a lot.

Int: So there are fewer now than thirty years ago. How do you find it now with the work of the Welsh school. Are there more who learn Welsh now (5'00)

E: There's a lot more interest including people who aren't Welsh, who aren't descendants of the Welsh. They show a lot of interest, so I think there is. Because those who are descendants from the Welsh are very few.

T: There is more now. It is an old language. Not as a language of communication, but out of interest.

Int: Is there a lot of interest in the Welsh culture? Is there more than in the language? For example in the folk dancing here?

T: Music, singing

X: A little bit more. It's easier

Int: Why is that?

X: It brings in more people (6'00), Less time. Enjoy Music.

T: Choirs. Choirs especially. Because Argentina doesn't have a choir culture. They either sing folklore or solo. Choirs are more European. This is how they maintain Welsh culture

Int: Are you members of the choir here?

E: I was a member of a choir, but not a Welsh choir.

T: I sang in Choir Seion, for 13 years and sang in Welsh since I was young. Always singing, in the chapel, I didn't know what I was singing because I didn't understand it, but I like Welsh a lot.

Int: (7'00) Your choir (E) is a Spanish one. Is there a difference? Are there no songs in Welsh?

E: It's very new. It's good, but there aren't many songs in Welsh.



Int: X?

X: I used to be in the choir, but not any more. I don't have the time.

Int: Are there other welsh culture here - for example choirs, folk dancing

T: There are two. A welsh tea house, run by my daughter. That is known as one of the typical Welsh things, taking tea, the cakes, torta negra. (8'00). In Chubut, the Welsh culture has a lot of prestige.

Int: This might be a bit strange as a question, but in your opinions, how do others see the welsh community, the culture. People who aren't members of the Welsh community, how do they see them?

X: Here there are lots of different communities. Not just the Welsh. The Welsh is just one of many. The Italians. There are lots of groups. The Welsh are just seen as another group.

E: The choirs, the tea houses, but nothing more.

T: It may seem that there is a lot more interest, because the Welsh are a little bit more organised than others (trk 3. 1'00). We are a community the Welsh colony, but in Argentina. We are Argentinean. Not a colony. They always say the Welsh colony of Chubut, but for me the phrase colony has a different connotation. (agreement) We are a community, and like other communities we maintain our traditions, but fundamentally, we are Argentinean, you see?

Int: What is the relation between the Welsh community and the others?

All: Very good, very good.

Int: Is there a difference between the activities of the Italians and say the Welsh? (trk 3 2'00)

T: In what way?

Int: Their celebrations, their associations, the Syrio/Lebanese association

T: We take part in everything, we're members of all of them! (laughs) That's the truth!

Int: So if there's a party, you all turn up

T: Yes, yes.

Int: ok

T: There are members of the Welsh community who take part in Spanish folk dancing....

X: ...Italian folkdancing...

E: (muffled)

Int: What is the opinion of the Welsh community regarding their activities, are there lots of people who....

T:... participate

Int : participate, who are interested in Welshness, the language (trk 3 3'00) and the culture.

X: A group, not everybody

T: No, not everybody, but when people come from Wales they are interested in getting to know them, in conversation, and, well, there are different age groups, lots of old people who take part and in the middle are those who are a bit more distant . We are trying to get the children to take part, but its not easy

E: We congregate in the chapel...

T: One of the things that is difficult is that the children mix a lot. My father is Jewish so my children aren't very Welsh and I don't know if they have a great urge to participate a lot or not. I think so. My brother doesn't take part, for example.

E: My children don't participate either. (trk 3 4'00)

T: They're very Welsh. Until this generation, the blood is pure Welsh. But them, no.

X: No. It's difficult

T: But it's interesting. It's a fundamental part of life. The Welsh culture, the language. We take part in all of it, socially.

Int: It's something social then?

T: Yeees, its something social, its something nice to do, we enjoy the lessons, take part in the choir, but it's not the most important thing in life.

Int: Are there different ages, groups of families who are outside the community who take part (trk 3 5'00) or is it the great-grandparents, grandparents, mum, dad.

X: In reality few outsiders. My mum comes here to the school, I come here, my children, my boyfriend. It's pretty much a family thing.

T: Traditionally, it's always been very closed, the Welsh community. (agreement). By its language, by its maintenance.

T: In reality, everything was closed. There was a certain amount of discrimination because of religion and I felt it in school. They were different because they were

protestant, the majority were Catholic. They felt the difference. In our chapel they (unsure) and it was closed and those who participated were always the high status (trk 3 6'00).

E: But in the schools felt the... (muffled)...

T: Definitely, strongly.

X: Me too

T: Because I didn't got to communion or to Mass or make the sign of the cross

X: I never felt like that.

T: I wanted to be Catholic!

X: Me too! (laughs)

T: Be baptized, like because we were different. I didn't want to be different from my friends. I wasn't baptized, didn't do communion, the sign of the cross, no. In my house I didn't understand why.

E: and all of this was in the school?

T: Yes, Catholicism. Because the services in the church were in Welsh and we didn't understand it (trk 3 7'00). So in Sunday school we didn't get the message of God.

X: Singing?

T: Singing, yes, but we couldn't participate in the religion!

Int: You went to the Welsh chapel and everything was in Welsh, and you didn't understand? You didn't get any Welsh from your...

T: Parents? No because my parents also didn't participate in the services. In reality, we are a Welsh family, but more or less agnostic. Non believers. They took part in the chapel through singing or through ceremonies but in my house we didn't have any religious sentiment in the house.

E: But in the...

T: For tradition, but not in a religious way. (trk 3 8'00). There was no religious devotion in my house. My father in reality was agnostic, so they took part to enjoy themselves (laughs). We went together to enjoy ourselves, for example if they were hungry (more laughs). For this reason I had a strange view of the Testament, the New testament. The story is this. My children are baptized and we participate in religion. (trk 3 8'45)

Int: Can I ask you about the tourism industry. Because I went to a tea house in Trevelin, to the Malacara Tomb, the Industry Museum and there were lots of

messages in the guestbooks from people from Wales in Welsh - diolch yn fawr iawn, mucho gusto etc. How important is the Welsh language and culture for tourism here and how important is the tourism from Wales? (trk 4 1'00)

E: There is something but the tourism from Wales mainly goes to the Gaiman rather than the Cordillera, I don't know why.

X: The question is what, how important the Welsh culture is for tourism. I think a lot, at every level. Because it is something which is important for tourism. It's a real story, the Welsh being here.

E: There are also lots of non-Welsh who visit here as well, go to the museum in Trevelin, the tea-houses etc. The choral culture, all of this is part of the tourism which they are shown, so the Welsh tourism is important....as a product.

T: The people who come from Wales to visit go to Gaiman (trk 4 2'00), a few come here, but others, there aren't many.

Int: To me, Trevelin is very professional with its tourism, their designs but there is no Welsh anywhere (agreement). I find it strange because the dragon is everywhere on their designs, but ...

T: There aren't any Welsh translators.

X: There isn't anything, in the museum.

Int: Here in Esquel, is it that important. Because of the differences with the horse-riding and the skiing (trk 4 3'00).

T: The Trochita, ski/ing, but this is cultural. This is a way to represent the Welsh culture. There still isn't a tourist circuit in Esquel which includes the tea-houses you wont meet, but symbolically that's more Trevelin than Esquel. They (muffled).... obviously

X: I think that there isn't much, and there should be more, but its changing slowly. I think ... The chapel for example is a way of showing people...

T: ...but this is closed...

X: ..At least if you come you can see it...

T: The Tourism Department doesn't include it in their tour of the city. I don't know. (trk 4 4'00) but when Welsh people come they can participate in this.

X: This is one of the few things that can be offered

T: They ..... (muffled) Difficult here.

Int: How does the Welsh language and culture compare with the others? For example English here.

T: It doesn't exist. English doesn't exist here. But there are loads of English institutes where people study English but not the culture in general

X: ...but not culture...

T: they have no special knowledge of culture. The institutes give English language but not culture (trk 4 5'00) and what they do give is North American English. But there are lots of people who study it.

X: Yes, but its only for speaking. You need it for working, for computers, it's the language to study for travelling, but not for the culture only for the language. Yes, for the United States.

Int: And do they learn English well or not?

T: Not me

X: More or less

T: I'm getting on a bit, so I've not practiced for a long time.

E: I have a little bit, but not a lot. When I went to Wales, I know English, because, for example, in Cardiff they almost all speak English. If you go to a shop, a business or a hotel, it's all in English.

Int: The world language? (trk 4 6'00)

T: Yes.

Int: How much help does the Welsh language and culture receive in Esquel from the government, the...

X: Argentine? The Argentine government?

Int...from Argentina, the Chubut, the city...

X: the province? Well, in general, nothing. I don't want to be specific about anything with help, but in general no.

T: The language, no. For the language, the help comes from Wales. Argentina, no.

Int: Does the city or the province have an interest in welsh language and culture?

X: No (agreement)

(muffled)

X: I don't think they have any in any culture! (trk 4 7'00)

T: A little bit for the Mapuche perhaps, but for others, no.

Int: With the press, the television, the magazines, the days.

E: Not a lot, no

T: A bit about the choir's activities, but no. ... about the Eisteddfod maybe

Int: What do you think, should the Welsh language get more support...or less?

X: It depends. From the city council? It depends. For tourism or for culture (trk 4 8'00). Touristically, maybe. Because it's a part of the place, nothing more, like us. They should be interested in having bilingual tourist guides, at least they should have a second language. But I don't think they go for Welsh as a second language, they go for English, but, no,

T: They aren't interested in any type of culture or support.

X: no, no, no, no (agreement)

Int: What should...do you think is the future (trk 4 9'00) of the Welsh language and culture here in Esquel?

X: Difficult, very difficult to answer.

Int: But what are your thoughts?

X: I'd like to say that it will grow, there will be more interest in the community for participation, but we can't force people to take part.

T: At the moment at least there is definitely interest in participation, but the groups are too small to talk about a successful future

X: There are few children, the hope is with the youth, we need more youth

T: There is a phenomenon in the community where once the children reach 18, 19 years of age (trk 4 10'00) they go to other cities to study. So there isn't an age group which has an interest in learning the language because they aren't there. They are studying in Buenos Aires, in Cordoba, in Rosario. And when they come back older, they aren't interested because of that, they are studying for a profession.

X: I don't see it as a problem, simply it's something that will lead to the loss of the language, because the last of those who spoke the language maternally were our grandparents, the rest of us learn it as a second language, not as first language. That was when they lost the language ..(muffled)

Int: (trk 4 11'00) Do you have enough opportunities to practice the language. Are there many people who are learning Welsh?

T: Forty, fifty

E: I think there are about fifty students in the school here. But outside the school, no. Most of us are descendants of Spanish descent so cant speak it at home.

X: In the home, we don't speak it. My mother speaks Welsh, but doesn't speak with us very often.

E: I have an aunt, it's a bit of a game for us to speak Welsh, but she won't come to the classes, the *dosbarth*.

(muffled excuses to leave)

Int: Thank you very much for your time.

All: Good luck (trk 4 12'00).

Int: And to you too with your learning of Welsh!

GROUP 2

MONDAY, 8<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

STUDENTS, WILLIAM C MORRIS INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL, DOLAVON.

Translated from Spanish

.....

Int: Good afternoon. Dolavon, 8<sup>th</sup> November. 5:10. I am here with two girls. First I have to say that this is an interview for my thesis research. I won't be using the information for other purposes, (trk 1 1'00) so everything is anonymous. I use a letter or say that this is a quote from someone from Dolavon and not use your names. If you are in agreement with this, could you say your name and give your agreement.

U: Well, I'm U from Dolavon.

Int: And do you agree?

U: Yes, I agree.

J: I am J from Dolavon (trk 1 2'00)

Int: And you agree?

J: Yes, I agree.

Int: This interview is about your perceptions of the Welsh language and culture in Dolavon and in the Chubut. Firstly, could you introduce yourselves with a little bit of your relationship with the language or Welsh culture in the Chubut.

U: My relationship with the Welsh culture. I have Welsh blood because my grandparents are Welsh and I have a feeling because they are constantly in contact with people from Wales and take part in the Eisteddfod and so they say, "ahh, that girl, she's Welsh" (trk 1 3'00). And so I have a comparatively strong relationship with being Welsh.

J: Well, I'm also a descendant of the Welsh, I'm totally Welsh. All of my blood is Welsh. All of my grandparents were Welsh. I study Welsh, but I don't speak much Welsh with my grandfather because he doesn't remember much, but with my father and grandmother, I do. Yes, I participate every year in the Eisteddfod and I am applying for a grant to go to Lampeter.

Int: How much, in your opinion, how much strength (trk 1 4'00) does Welsh language and culture have here in Dolavon? Are there lots of people, few people who speak Welsh?

U: I think that there are people, but the majority of these are elderly

J: Yes, elder people



U: older people, there are very few young people who can speak, although there are kids who are studying Welsh. But I feel that the population of Dolavon isn't interested in Welsh.

J: I agree

Int: And Welsh culture?

J: I don't know if there's as much here as there is in Gaiman, for example, but it is more important than the other cultures. ... (??) (trk 1 5'00)

U: Yes, they conserve their traditions, as well in the family, but not all of the town is like them.

Int: So, in the Chubut which is the city which is most Welsh?

J: Gaiman, definitely

U: Which or which ones?

Int: Whichever.

U: I think that the most Welsh are Gaiman, and after that the Cordilleranos, for example Trevelin and Esquel have a lot of Welsh, it seems to me and Dolavon nearly nothing, I don't know about the others, but Madryn is starting to do something about their relationship with the Welsh (trk 1 6'00)

J: Trelew as well

U: Yes, but it has an importance which is cultural and can't be compared to the economic importance. It's important to the Welsh. It's not central to the culture.

Int: What types of activities are there in Welsh here in Dolavon. Is there Welsh culture here or not?

J: The church

U: The church

J: Classes in Welsh and every now and again there is a tea or a meet for the elderly. Nothing more.

U: No, can't think of anything more (trk 1 7'00)

Int: How many people go to the chapel?

U: Depends which chapel, I think. There are forty people, sixty people sometimes, sometimes less.

Int: What activities are there in Welsh across the Chubut?

U: don't understand

Int: What types of Welsh culture are there in all the Chubut?

U: Don't get it, What do you mean by type?

Int: What type of culture are there in the province. Which bring in more people?

U: Im not sure I know what you mean. (trk 1 8'00) Do you mean religious or cultural?  
But "type", I don't get.

Int: Are there differences between the ages?

U: Yes

J: Yes, those who are youngest know a lot, then nothing in the middle and then those who are older. Its as if its all got a little lost. The generation from about forty to fifty because the grandparents pass it on to the children now. How this will work I don't know, but at least...

U: Yes, its become very fashionable at the moment, Welsh in Dolavon. The older people were always interested in these things (trk 1 9'00) in contact with Welsh things. Then these older people ...passed on the culture to their children., but between 15 and 25-30 years ago, its as if they practically lost the culture. Those who are youngest, the children are learning Welsh, or those who are older and have time to study Welsh. (trk 1 end 9'40).

Int: Is there a difference in time? Is Dolavon different to how it was ten years ago?

U: I think so, but its not a huge difference.

Int: In which direction.

U: I think that at the moment it has a little bit more importance than it used to.

J: Yes, but in fifteen years time it will all be lost because when the older people go then there will be very few people who can speak Welsh and continue the language here.

Int: So, in which direction will the Welsh language and culture be heading in the next ten years then?

U: If that's true, then they could lose everything, or no?

J: No, I don't know.(trk 2 1'00) For me, it will continue as it is now.

U: If there isn't... I don't think that there is a great involvement in trying to save the culture then it will be lost. Or it comes to an end. If it isn't taught more then it wont be saved. I think that this is it.

Int: People who are outside the Welsh community. What is their opinion of the Welsh community and their activities?

J: They're not very interested in it

U: I think that they're indifferent to the culture and the language, but there are other people who think its important, great that people still speak the language and keep in contact with people from outside, but in general, no (trk 2 2'00). They don't have a great attraction to learning the language.

J: Me too (laughs and mimicking of answer)

Int: For the Welsh community is the continuation of the Welsh language and culture important?

J: Yes, because of their origins.. I don't know for the Welsh Its... different, because they can desarollar the culture and they can find it as an attraction

Int: But the majority of the Welsh here don't speak Welsh? (trk 2 3'00)

U: Yes, the majority, no.

Int: Why?

U: No idea. Me, I don't know because I dont speak Welsh!

Int: And why don't you speak Welsh?

U: For me, it's a very specific case. I got tired of it, I got tired of hearing it, as a little girl all the time, "why don't you speak Welsh? You should be able to speak Welsh, you can't be Welsh if..." and the Welsh were so nationalist and so at one point I got tired of it and sort of rebelled. At the time now I am interested more, kind of returning, becoming more interested in welsh culture and the language, but, for the Welsh culture, the Welsh community, adults are fundamental (trk 2 4'00) for keeping it. Because they were born knowing Welsh, grew up knowing Welsh with the traditions of being Welsh and so for them it's more important for the race because if they lose it, well, no-one likes losing their race. But for the general society they aren't interested much, interested more in the world at large. They don't have a personal interest.

J: I think for most people English is more important now.

U: Its more commercial, yes.

Int: And you, do you speak English?

U: Yes, a bit. Not a lot (laugh), I don't if it comes across well, but a bit.

Int: So, (trk 2 5'00) how much importance does the English language have for you personally?

U: For me, its very important.

J: For me

Int: More important than the Welsh language and culture?

U: For me, the Welsh language and culture is also very important because its one of my races, but at the same time Im conscious that English is so much more commercial with respect to foreign relations (external relations) and progress. Because it's the international language, the commercial language and for that it has so much more strength than Welsh, only because its window to the world . I think that Welsh culture is important personally, but commercially and professionally English is more of a pull.(trk 2 6'00)

(laughs, muffled conv)

J: For me, Welsh is more important, because I would like to learn to speak it well but that's personal. English is more like an obligation.

Int: What are your reasons for learning Welsh then?

J: Because I like it. I want to learn it ...

Int: And would you like to go to Wales?

J: Yes (laughs)

Int: Something different. What importance does Welsh language and culture (trk 2 7'00) have for the tourism industry here in Dolavon, in the Chubut?

J: Some importance! For example, Gaiman, all the houses and the majority of visitors to Gaiman are there for the Welsh culture, for the tea, but, here, more developing the tourism. It has one of the biggest potentials to increase development, the motivation more to attract more.

U: I don't know. For me, it's very important but it's a complement to what is already there. Because, for example, we have in this region, mainly natural tourism (trk 2 8'00). Areas which are exploited for tourism. There are places where people stay - Trelew, Esquel, Trevelin But they have the option that if they have one day extra then they the opportunity to come to Gaiman and Dolavon and get to know about the Welsh culture. If they go on the all of the tourist routes they mention the Welsh culture . If they don't come to Gaiman, Dolavon, Trevelin the Welsh culture isn't central, for me the Welsh culture isn't central, it's a complement to the other economic tourism activities and it could be to me Dolavon is part of the tourist circuit of the Welsh culture.(trk 2 9'00). To me, Gaiman is the tea, the Gorsedd, the

Eisteddfod, but people look at the architecture or the chapels, where they have less than Dolavon and so if you complement the two locations you have something which is much more important for the region. And here it is the thing which is strongest – Welsh cultural tourism.

Int: Is the language important for tourism or no?

U: No, its not fundamental. If there are a group from outside or a group from Wales who come here then they meet people who aren't tourist guides who speak Welsh(trk 2 10'00) only English . An attraction for the Welsh is that they can speak Welsh here so that's one extra satisfaction for the tourist. That's also what interests them for tourism. I don't know. Anything else? (trk 2 10'20).

Int: What support does the Welsh language and culture receive here in Dolavon and the Chubut? Is there support?

U: From the council or from Wales?

Intl: Both.

J: From the council here? Nothing.

U: The council no. Its an activity which is done like going to classes of ?, singing, choirs. Its an activity more like that. From Wales there is financing of teachers and that sort of thing.

J: At least Dolavon still has a Welsh teacher giving lessons. (trk 3 1'00). For example, in the past there were lots of little children but adults there are virtually none.

U: Yes

J: There used to be loads coming to the city, but now I'm the only one who comes to the young class.

U: Yes, its like theres a whole group of youth who have been half lost. We are half lost! (laughs)

Int: There isn't support from the government, money for other events?

U: No. Its seems that its not political affairs but fundamental for the maintenance of culture in Dolavon (trk 3 2'00) on the part of the council, but theres nothing.

Int: Should the language here receive more support?

U: I think so yes

J: Yes

Int: Why? What sort of help?

U: All sorts of support, it seems, because the financing should have, well, the school works with the college but for this those who are interested there should be a special institute where there should be Welsh classes or classes in whatever language people want to learning and the council should pay for the students who want to learn Welsh and keep better contact with Welsh people (trk 3 3'00). It should have more support in the sense of learning and seeing a practical use of the Welsh language and knowing the Welsh culture because we are more philosophical, cultural, but there are many people who know nothing about it and for this the council should make it different.

J: Apart from the support, who aren't involved in the Welsh community and so they don't participate, so they develop it first and then invite the participation of those who aren't so interested (trk 3 4'00). They can develop a lot.

Int: How can you involve those from other groups who don't have an interest in Welsh culture?

U: Good question! In reality, I don't know, because still there are fighting and differences in the council and they say if we are going to progress in the town we have to do this and help our people like this and its still like a group who start to organise to do things for us. It's like I don't see it like this. (trk 3 5'00) There is still a mentality very far from developing a healthy state of society and until there personal problems are solved they can't develop the Welsh culture or any other activity here. (trk 3 5'20) and to see the real problems of the youth. I think that the major problems of the youth is that they have a lot of free time and they don't have anything to do except be bad. Nor are their fathers responsible that don't help ..... with their life.

J: Yes, they don't have any organisation, any interest, its difficult

Int: Is there (trk 3 6'00) the possibility of interesting them in Welsh culture or language? Is there a possibility of interesting the youth of Dolavon in the Welsh language or culture in the future or do they have no interest whatsoever in the language or culture?

J: It's a bit like this, no interest at all. If it should change a little bit, it could have a significant importance. But for the moment whats happening is that youre having young mothers, who are smoking, they are still children who are having children ten, fifteen, seventeen years younger than they are and so you have mothers who are fifteen or seventeen years old so a Welsh culture (trk 3 7'00) or whatever culture they are coming into a good society, they aren't prepared to be mothers .....

Int: There are more important issues here than the Welsh culture, yes?

J: I think so, yes. In some respects, yes. But...

Int: What do you think of the support from Wales here? (trk 3 8'00)

J: The tea ?

Int: The people who come here...the tourists, the government. Is there an effect on Dolavon or not?

J: It's a bit, there's very little in Dolavon. It's not included, help, yes a little bit in general.

Int: What effect does that have?

U: I think that there are four to six people who are continually looking for people to get them interested. I think that these people are missing a significant strength for the culture. (trk 3 9'00) The support which the teachers from Wales what it is is that although they ask things outside the norm.

J: Its very important the support from the teachers (agreement) because of the connection

U: between the culture and the language

J: Yes.

Int: What future does the culture or the language, no, language first. What future does the Welsh language have in Chubut, in your opinion?

U: The language. I think that the language may well be lost, in Dolavon at least. In the Province, I don't know. Because I don't know how it is in the Cordillera. I don't have much contact with the Welsh in the Cordillera. I went there once on a school trip and (trk 3 10'00) and no more in contact with the people from the Welsh culture . I think that in Dolavon it may well be lost. Not talking about the culture.

J: The culture no

U: Because there are traditions and a way of life which is

J: An imagined way

U: Exactly, in the town in the people of the town

Int: We are talking about the welsh culture, you are young (younger than me!). What is Welsh culture?! (trk 3 11'00)

U: Meaning what?

Int: Meaning what is Welsh culture?

U: The Welsh culture?

Int: Is what?

U: I don't know!

Int: Five things that are Welsh culture

U: The five things that are important to me in Welsh culture? For me, tea.

J: The Eisteddfod

U: The Gorsedd

J: Education

U: The language

Int: What else?

J: Religion (trk 3 12'00)

U: Permanent contact with people Welsh. Or rather my family are always Welsh and we are always in contact with the other Welsh and feel more Welsh.

J: Family, having reunions

U: The family occasions when lots of people come to the house, but the culture has lots of things. In the traditional Welsh family, what we have learned is that the Welsh always keep the eating times. Family meetings are very important for the Welsh. (trk 3 13'00).

Int: So Welsh culture is continued through the family relations and not through the community but through specific families who maintain the traditions?

U: Yes. There are some specific families who more Welsh who pass on Welsh traditions from generation to generation, and then there are people who aren't Welsh but who are interested but the majority of people aren't interested. These include people who are anti-Welsh.

Int: Anti-Welsh? (trk 3 14'00) They don't like the culture?

U: Because they refer to the Welsh as, well, I cant say it

Int: Go on, why not?

U: Los galensos ... (laughs) They are not fans of the Welsh. There are people who don't like it at all. Me, I feel half and half because there are parts of the welsh that I don't like, the nationalist attitude (trk 3 15'00), I don't like

Int: In what way nationalist?

U: You have to do this, you have to know about this, you're supposed to do this. You're supposed to go to Wales, this sort of thing I don't like this sort of thing much because my blood isn't pure Welsh. I'm [other race]. And so in my life, I hear a lot about being Welsh and I know a lot about Wales but I know nothing of the [other side]. That's my challenge! Learning something about my father's side. Because I want to. (trk 3 16'00).



J: I think that there are people who conform to the community and the colectividad and there are others who say that they have differences, but me me I like all of the Welsh cultural things, keep them going, and not lose them.

U: Then, after that, it's the origin of the town. (trk 3 16'35) We're here thanks to the Welsh arriving at Madryn and developing the river and, its not totally populated by the Welsh but thanks to the Welsh community. That's another reason to maintain it because it's the origin of my town. I don't know, J.

J: Yes, that's it.

Int: What is the relationship between the Welsh and the other groups here? Are there differences between the welsh and the others (trk 4 1'00)

U: Depends on the person. For example, amongst the children, no, because children are children and so they have a relationship. After twenty thirty years I think that people see a difference. There are groups which, well, they've known each other all their lives and they take part in the same customs and so they do things in different ways.

J: that's the difference, they mark the differences between themselves

Int: (trk 4 2'00) And the same in the future? Will those who are children today have the same differences or in fifty years will it be different? In ten twenty years will there be different groups or not just a community of Dolavon?

J: It'll be like that.

U: It'll be like those who are from a family or studying Welsh will have another relation than those who don't know the culture. I think that in Dolavon now (trk 4 3'00). The same children say, why. Me I like Welsh, but I have the same age, the same education . I think that the situation is going to change. I can't be sure how its going to end up or be different.

Int: The Welsh culture here is different to Dolavon or the same thing?

U: No, it forms part of it

Int: Large part? Small part?

J: A small part, but all of the traditions from all the people play a part in it. Its not like, but here the generations.... (trk 4 4'00)

Int: Is the Welsh community above, below or in the middle in the community?

U: For me its in the middle, I think so. It's not above, not below, intermediate.

J: To me, its varying

U: Not quite high?

J: No, for me there are different situations which have different priorities. For example, 28<sup>th</sup> July is important for the Welsh culture because everyone goes and takes tea. What's important about 28 July is that everyone has tea (trk 4 5'00) It's a question which is presented differently in different situations.

U: On 28 July everyone's Welsh!

Int: That leads to my next question. Are there days or events in which you feel more or less Welsh?

U: No. I feel equally Welsh every day

J: Yes me too. What changes is the perception of those others, those who don't feel part of it.

Int: Apart from 28 July are there other days or events in which people feel Welsh?

J: No. 28 July

Int: In Dolavon, yes? (trk 4 6'00)

U: Well there are teas the same church has a queue for tea because everyone takes tea for the Welsh who don't have an event. I think that 28 July is when the community feels most Welsh

J: There in Gaiman, the Eisteddfod is a movement which we don't share much but in Gaiman its like 28 July.

Int: In my research, I'm including Dolavon and 28 de Julio together (trk 4 7'00). Is there a difference between Dolavon and 28 de Julio, between the chacras of Dolavon and Tir Halen? Are there differences between the zones and regions?

J: I don't think so. Here they have the same customs in the town and the country but they don't include any differences in the culture.

U: No, no. I think that in 28 de Julio has more activities for youths than Dolavon, but not necessarily different for Welsh culture. They have more to do in contrast to Dolavon. There is a gym, football, (trk 4 8'00) Welsh classes and nothing else.

Int: How many go to Welsh classes?

U: In the city, yes. Then children between five and ten years

J: Between three and then ten years

Int: (sneezes)

J: After ten years they start in school.

U: Then together they can together to practise. They don't have

J: (muffled)

U: For example my grandfather. (trk 4 9'00) comes and talks on the telephone with my aunt from Wales and keeps in contact with friends in Wales. For those who come because they like it.

Int: And your mother?

U: My mother speaks Welsh

Int: Does she speak Welsh with people?

U: My mum? I think so.

Int: Is there a difference between those who know the language and those who use it?

U: Yes, the same thing happens with my English. I've learned it since I was six but I don't have many opportunities to use it. (trk 4 10'00)

Int: Do you have opportunities to practise your Welsh?

J: No, outside of welsh classes not really or in meetings or with older people.

Int: Are there people roughly your age with whom you can talk in Welsh?

J: in Dolavon, no.

U: In Gaiman?

J: In Gaiman, yes,

Int: How many?

J: I don't know how many, but more than here definitely!

U: Definitely in the Camwy, I don't know this properly, in the secondary, but there you can choose to study Welsh or you can choose to study French. Most of the children choose to study Welsh. So therefore in secondary school they already have classes in Welsh.

Int: Why do they have the choice? Why do they choose Welsh above French do you think? (trk 4 11'00)

U: Don't know, but Welsh. Welsh in Gaiman is positioned more strongly. The people from Gaiman, for children from Gaiman, Welsh is much more important than French.

J: Definitely

U: I think that it is more important for all of us to know Welsh than French. French is lovely, but my origins are Welsh so for me if I had a choice, I would choose Welsh.

J: Yes

Int: And here at William C Morris. What choice do you have?

J: French

U: Here in William Morris we don't have much of a choice. We have a choice of language when we choose economics or humanities. In economics, you only have English. In humanities, we have English and French. (trk 4 12'00)

J: I think that there should be Welsh

U: Yes

J: To me, Welsh is more important but for me in reality

U: What happens, is that the French, same as English, French is more commercial here in Chubut. For example there are more French here during the whole year than there are Welsh here for the Eisteddfod.

J: For me, in the zone, there are more Welsh than French, but outside

U: We are starting class. No more questions?

Int: Are we finished?! Thanks for your time, your interesting answers (trk 4 13'00). As you know I'm writing my thesis about perceptions of Welsh in Chubut and will be finished in 2006. Many thanks.

U&J: Good luck!

Int: Dolavon, 8 November. 6 in the afternoon. William C Morris. (trk 4 13'45)

GROUP 3

THURSDAY, 11<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

MEMBERS OF CAPEL TABERNACL CONGREGATION, TRELEW.

Translation from Welsh and Spanish

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Int: [w] I am here in Trelew doing an interview on Thursday, 11<sup>th</sup> November with members of the Welsh community in the city. First, here is my university card to show who I am. My name is Ian Johnson and I am a student in the Language and Communication Dept.(trk 1 1'00) I am doing research on the impressions of people in the Chubut Province about the Welsh language and culture here. I am recording this conversation but it will only have its use for research in the university. I shan't use your names. If I want to use anything from the conversation, I will give you a letter, for example, H or E and the quote, or just give the quote and explain that it is from someone from Trelew's Welsh community. So I won't be using your names in any form at all so feel free to answer as fully as possible (trk 1 2'00) to the following. First, I am asking you to give your name on the tape and that you give your permission to use the material.

DD: [w] Yes, I am happy with that. If I can answer it, then I will.

Int: [w] Would you like me to explain in Spanish as well, for clarity?

LL: [w] I can speak a bit of Welsh.

Int:[sp] Well, this conversation is anonymous, I won't be using your name, only a letter to represent you, for example, H or E and say that this comes from the conversation in Trelew (trk 1 3'00) so I shan't be using your name. My name is Ian Johnson, I am a student at Cardiff University in Wales doing research on perceptions of the Welsh language and culture here in the Chubut and thank you very much for your participation in this conversation. I would be grateful if you could give your name and your agreement with these conditions.

DD: [sp] Me? Why not? My name is DD.

Int: [sp] And you agree?

DD: [sp] Yes, yes, I agree

LL: [sp] LL and I agree.

CH: [sp] CH, and I agree.

Int: [sp] Thank you very much (trk 1 4'00)

Int: [w] I will ask the question in Welsh first and then in Spanish to ensure that we understand everything

DD: [w] Good idea

Int: [w] and that I understand everything as well! First, I would like to ask for your relationship, your background with the Welsh language and the culture in your life.  
[Repeated in Spanish]

DD: [w] Well, I have done a lot with the Welsh community. I learnt Welsh as my first language and I'm very proud of the language and of maintaining it. (trk 1 5'00).

Int: [w] Would you like to carry on?

LL: [s] In Spanish?

Int: [s] In whichever language you want

LL: [s] In Spanish then. As a girl I spoke Welsh. I wanted to but there were five year olds. The family spoke Spanish a... so it wasn't easy to use Welsh. I remember the Welsh language, but I haven't used it for many years. I am trying to recover it. That's it.

CH: [w] Well, I'm CH. I am very proud of being able to speak Welsh, because it was my first language, learnt before school and I want to carry on the language because it was the language of my mother and father (trk 1 6'00).

Int: [w] Right. Ok. How much Welsh is there in Trelew today? How many people who speak Welsh here? How many activities, which activities take place in Welsh here in Trelew? [repeated in Spanish]

DD: [w] We don't know how many people speak Welsh. There are a lot more people than we know, because they don't take part in the Community, but that's them. We don't have any contact with people who don't come to Community (trk 1 7'00)

Int: In which places do people speak Welsh?

DD: [w] In the home. Of course, there are more people who can speak Welsh now because the teachers come from Wales to help us, to help those of us who are old and also the young to take an interest in Welsh and enthuse us. We have become fashionable. The Welsh language has become fashionable. Young people like, want to learn Welsh. As the woman from Comodoro said, she doesn't speak Welsh, but her grandchildren have a great interest in learning Welsh. [trk 1 8'00).

Int: [w] Outside of the home, where do people speak Welsh? [rpt in Spanish] Where do you use Welsh?

DD: [w] Well, I use it in the church, having conversations on the phone with people whom I know speak Welsh. I speak Welsh and I enjoy speaking Welsh.

Int: [w] CH? Where do you use Welsh?

H: [w] Well, I use it on the phone as well, because I'm talking to my sister, Elena and we mix a lot, but Welsh is our language. In the chapel, there is a Welsh class and then (trk 1 9'00) we take the opportunity as often as possible to speak with people who come over. I speak to Celia frequently on the phone to give her some practice and she understands everything, just too lazy to speak (laughs)

LL: [s] Good, well, that's true. I speak very quickly in Spanish especially on the phone. I am very interested in recovering it, including logically being able to understand it because I come from a Welsh family and I think there are people who aren't from the Chubut, who come from the south, from Santa Cruz, with a surname like Fernandez who are obviously of Spanish descent, who want to learn Welsh because it gives them an advantage to learn Welsh.

Int: [w] So you use Welsh in the chapel, on the phone and on the street when you already know that they speak Welsh. Do you use Welsh with your family at all or with people who are younger than you, people on the street?

DD: [w] Well, if I know that they speak some Welsh then I try and speak Welsh to them. If they are learning then we are the ones who can speak Welsh so we have to work in order to keep the Welsh.

LL: [s] When I met someone from Wales, I try to show people that I know a little bit, but I don't know enough of the words....(trk 2 1'00) but for tourism. The Welsh classes are extraordinary, coming all the way to Trelew to teach Welsh. Great.

CH: [w] Who's the teacher you have at the moment?

LL: [name]

CH: [w] [name], she's not Welsh is she?

LL: [w] On her mother's side. (laughs)

[laughs...]

Int: [w] Right, [name]....

CH: [w] [name], well, she's teaching lessons here. She speaks better than the Minister, better than him, it was embarrassing for him.

Int: [w] Right, how much Welsh culture is there in Trelew? [repeat in sp] (trk 2 3'00)

DD: [w] There's quite a bit, a lot of it isn't in the language.

Int: [w] Yes, I'm not just talking about the language.

DD: [w] Well, culture is very important and we've kept it. We're very proud of keeping things like the Eisteddfod going, Gymanfa Ganu.

CH: [w] Noson Lawen, Gwyl y Glaniad

DD: [w] Gwyl y Glaniad. There's a strong community here, and getting stronger. There is more interest from people who aren't Welsh about what we do here. And of course there's more Spanish because people don't understand it, but they are Welsh traditions (trk 2 4'00).

LL: [s] The Welsh culture I think is very strong. Everyone participates including the outsiders, the Eisteddfod is very good. When there is an event, the provincial governor always comes along. The Welsh always have their tea, a big fiesta, so the Welsh culture is very strong.

Int: [w] How do people outside the Welsh community think about the Welsh?

CH: [w] Well, they think, they're surprised at the way which we keep our [s] culture [w] going. (trk 2 5'00) People think that we're all Indians down here. They admire. They go to a Gymanfa Ganu and they hear the singing and more than one have left crying because they're not used to something like that. And we feel very happy for keeping it going.

LL: [s] There are choirs which come from Buenos Aires to sing in Welsh because Welsh is a very good language for singing especially in the Eisteddfod.

Int: [w] People from Trelew who aren't part of the Welsh society, what do they think of the Welsh?

DD: [w] Now that, well, we have grown in status (trk 2 6'00). We have been here for generations now, us Cymru bach, but now they admire us. Our status has risen.

CH: [w] You know what as well? A lot have married – Welsh girl with a Spaniard or a German and they have mixed a lot, but our language, as Welsh, there are more of Welsh because his mam wasn't, Dominguez, not at all Welsh, but the Welsh language and nation has been strong, very strong (trk 2 7'00) because our culture. People dance in Welsh, recite in Welsh. The Welsh flag is in their flat in Buenos Aires and they love talking to their grandmother.

DD: [w] They are very proud of being...

CH: [w] They are very proud of being Welsh and that makes me happy

Int: [w] And since when has this changed?

DD: [w] Since the hundredth anniversary. First in the anniversary, the government helped to celebrate the year, because it was an important year. And from then on, we have risen, yes, more interest in young people to know about where they came from and what they did there. More interest, yes.

LL: [s] Yes, yes, yes. (trk 2 8'00)

Int: [w] And do you think this will continue in the future – the language and culture?



DD: [w] I think it will, yes. We don't know about the future, of course, but the way things are going. With the help from Wales, with the teachers, I would think that it would improve and grow, and as CH was saying, there are people who aren't Welsh or as LL said about people who move in, people who don't have any Welsh blood and they have a great interest in learning as if they were Welsh.

CH: [muffled]

LL: [s] There is a family from La Plata who are Italian and they adore it. Their sister lives in Gaiman and they know as much Welsh as I do, sings in the choir. (trk 2 9'00)

DD: [w] I only speak Welsh with [name], with [name]'s sister. Only speaks Welsh, you wouldn't have thought that she wasn't Welsh.

LL: [s] From La Plata,

DD: [w] Of course, they didn't know anything about the Welsh. They had finished their education

Int: [w] How much importance, how important is the language and culture to the region in comparison to other languages and cultures, for example Spanish, Italian, German, those from the middle east. How does Welsh compare with other languages and cultures? (trk 2 10'00) In this area, in Trelew. (trk 2 10'20)

DD: [w] It's personal. I think that the Welsh culture is a lot stronger and we're more interested in these things at maintaining our culture than the [s] Spaniards or the Italians or the French. [w] There are more of them, there are lots of them but they don't have meetings in the way that we do in Welsh. I don't think.

LL: [s] No, I disagree. There are classes in Italian same as there are in Welsh, but very few. They aren't very interested in their language. But the Welsh I don't know, think that it's superior to the others

CH: [w] That's because we started it, the leaders, (trk 3 1'00) the expectations with us rather than the Italians or the French.

Interruption leading to early end of conversation.

GROUP 4

FRIDAY, 12<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

STUDENTS, IPPI ENGLISH TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE, TRELEW.

English language interview

.....  
Int: Okay. [laughs] Friday, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2004. 10 o'clock, IPPI, Trelew, Argentina.  
Good morning

All: Good morning!

Int: Good morning, my name is Ian Johnson and I am a student from the University of Cardiff in Wales. This is my identification card

[brief conversation about my identity card]

(trk 1 1'00)

Int: My research is into perceptions of Welsh language and culture from people who live in the Chubut, specifically in the Chubut Valley and Cordillera regions. I am asking for your participation in a research interview which will take between 30 and 45 minutes and this material, material from this interview will only be used for academic purposes and your name will not be used in any available document, instead you will be represented by a letter for example G or F, L.

L: I want to be A! (trk 1 3'00) [laughs]

Int: Or the quote will simply be attributed to a member of the student teacher group in Trelew, therefore feel free to say whatever you want to on any topic as it won't be traceable to you yourself. First of all, I would like you to give your name and say whether you agree with these conditions or not. Just to go round the table.

O: My whole name?

Int: You can give whatever name you want to! The reason for the name is so that I can identify you later on when transcribing, so that I have something at the start which is definitely you and so that I can have your agreement to(trk 1 4'00) the session

O: So I say my name or O or, like

A: I do!

Int: Say, my name is... um, O. I agree with the conditions outlined.

O: Ok. My name is O and I agree with the conditions

P: My name is P and I agree with the conditions

V: I am V and I agree with the conditions

L: I am L and I am, urgh, agree with the conditions

A: My name is A and I agree with the conditions

Int: Cool. Right. Okay. Now we can start. Yay. (trk 1 2') What I'm going to do, briefly is explain your relationship with Welsh language or culture here in your lifetime for example whether you have learnt any Welsh, if you have participated in any events which have a Welsh background or what you know about Welsh language and culture. Very briefly, just a couple of sentences.

A: Ok

V: Each at a time?

O: Well, we studied Welsh. We had one year of Welsh last year and well we finished it with a final exam. We have other exams this year and that's it. ( trk 2 1'00)

A: That's our whole relationship

O: Yes, we started last year and we finished it this year, so...

Int: You personally have you ever seen or....

O: If I would like to continue Welsh?

Int: Well, I was thinking about whether there is anything in your past that has anything to do with Welsh or Welsh culture.

O: No. no.

P: In my case, apart from the course, I used to participate in the Eisteddfod and also my younger brother, he plays guitar. He used to win, not me, yes, but when we were young, Now we don't participate anymore. (trk 2 2'00)

V: I have no relationship with Wales because I'm not Welsh. We are not from Patagonia. I am from the north of Argentina and as her, I've studied Welsh here. Well, we attended a *Foro* [Conference] in Madryn the other day and that's all the relationship that we have with the Welsh language.

L: Well, my situation is different because I am a Welsh descendant so I have a different point of view, point of view regarding Welsh culture. I learnt Welsh here, I studied Welsh with them at the Institute for one year, but I knew about Welsh culture before through my grandmother who is a descendant and so I knew that, well, that on (trk 2 3'00) the 28<sup>th</sup> of July the anniversary of the Welsh arrival in Chubut and Patagonia we celebrate it as something more, kind of something more within the family. We used to go to the Valley to have tea, prepare tea amongst the family and drink tea as a kind of symbol. It doesn't make it Welsh culture, I know, I have known

a lot of things by my grandmother. How the Welsh people used to live and how they and how they came here and I knew that by my grandmother.

A: Me? My relationship is different to all of them. I date a Welsh girl [laughs]. No, I only attended the course (trk 2 4'00) and the Forum and nothing else apart from going to some tea-houses.

L: Now the relationship with A and I are attending the university course which we are studying more about how the Welsh people came here so we are learning about it.

A: For tourism.

L: Yes.

V: That's how I know some things about the Welsh colony here in Patagonia because when I was in secondary school in fifth year I had regional history so it was everything about Chubut and well the Welsh colony here, when they came so there are many things I know because of that but not because I am a descendant or something like that.

Int: How much emphasis is (trk 2 5'00) placed on Welsh in regional history in school?

V: Not much

O: Only history.

A: History of Chubut?

L: Yes

V: But it depends on the school you attend. Because I was in one school and we didn't have any....

O: Yes, it depends on the school. But when you are in primary school in your fourth year you have all year about the Chubut

L: It's a part of the programme, of the content of the programme.

A: It's not focussed on the Welsh, though

O: Yes, they study the Aborigines and that, not specifically the Welsh colony

L: And then you don't see it in secondary schooling

V: No, that's why it depends on the school.

A: In secondary school, on Argentina, the whole world, the relationship with other countries. (trk 2 6'00)

Int: Ok, in your experiences how much Welsh language or culture is there in Trelew?  
And what?

P: In Trelew?

A: Not much

L: Language? Nothing. There's no signposts written in Welsh. There's nothing. I don't know, maybe if you go to the museum, but there's nothing in written in Welsh.

A: The name

L: Maybe the name of a tea house or the name of the city. Chapels

P: Some people teach English in San David Building

A: Welsh!

P: Yes, Welsh, sorry, but we don't speak Welsh as a second language for example

A: But we have the buildings, the churches.

O: We have other things, but not the language (trk 2 7'00)

Int: Sorry, what did you say?

L: about chapels, I said the names of chapels are related to Welsh

A: And some old people maybe

L: Yes

A: They speak Welsh, the old people.

L: But they are dying, because they are like eighty years old

A: Your two aunts speak Welsh

L: Yes, but they are 81 and 82, so they are like the last monuments of Welsh culture which exist

P: My friends more or less have 50 years and they both speak Welsh. Not only old people

V: It's more common in Gaiman

P: And in Gaiman there are lots of children that are learning Welsh

L: And another thing that is related to Welsh culture is the Eisteddfod which is done here in Trelew (trk 2 8'00) but the rest of the year...

Int: Is there no other elements of Welsh culture that you see around you?

[pause]

A: I'm thinking about it.

[pause]

Int: Ok. How do you think this compares with ten years ago? Is there now less Welsh culture or more?

All: More. Yes

Int: In what way?

A: For example, the course which we attended that's one and we know of some experiences I think that they are trying to maintain the language to teach people and ten years ago it wasn't like that

L: No

V: Now there is more emphasis on the idea

O: It's one to make the whole language and culture survive and also for tourism.

L: Yes, tourism has a lot of influence in that. (trk 2 9'00)

Int: How important is tourism in that? How important is Welsh-ness for tourism here.

A: Very important

L: Very important, I would say, it grabs peoples attention and they want to know how people used to live here, the first immigrants.

O: The history of the Welsh colony is very interesting, so maybe people want to know about that, but the language is not that interesting.

A: For example, people do not normally visit Trelew. They normally go to Madryn or to Gaiman, they don't come here. They stay here because they have to. Otherwise they would ...

V: Yes, but they find accommodation here and then they travel around

P: But here is nothing interesting here (trk 2 10'00)

A: No, that's the problem

L: Trelew has nothing

P: No, but that's right

A: It's true

Int: So there's more Welsh culture now than ten years ago. Do you think that's going to continue or not?

All: Yes

P: I think so, it is increasing year after year so, because it works. Mainly as Maru said, it works for tourism to revive, make a revival, is that how say it in English, to make a revival of the Welsh culture in general. They are trying to preserve museums and museums are trying to get as much things from Welsh culture as possible (trk 2 11'00).

A: Yes

Int: Sorry, what it is, is that that's called a track marker, it's a button that I press every ten minutes otherwise it just acts like a tape recorder and you have like 45 minutes of um that's not it. So we're not stopping.

P: It is also said that in Gaiman the Welsh community has opened their mind and they have tried to do good other members of the community, such as the Italians and the Spaniards.

A: It was a very closed community, so

P: A very closed community, yes. (trk 3 1'00)

A: The language started dying because they practised it only amongst themselves

L: Yes

P: In the past, they didn't allow other people to participate.

L: Yes, that's true.

O: Something that is very important is that the culture that we have here is not the one that people have in Wales. It's like a mixture of the things that they brought from there and the things that they learned here. So it's like another branch of the Welsh culture. It's different. We have things that you don't have there, like you said, the example of the tea. For us, it's something important, the tea houses and all that, but in Wales (trk 3 2'00) it's

L: irrelevant

P: well, it's just tea. So the museums and all the things that we have, maybe for the people in Wales it is not that important.

Int: I'm talking about welsh culture, but I was just wondering what is welsh culture. Just give me some examples of what is welsh culture to you, both the things that you think of when people go, welsh culture, and anything which seems closer to it.

A: Music for one, singing

L: For me, Welsh culture has to do with anything that they have done here in Patagonia. That's my idea of Welsh culture, which includes how they lived, music and study. (trk 3 3'00), houses, built houses, the way they used to dress and behave, which has a continuation generation after generation especially amongst welsh descendants.

P: And also the surnames

L: Yes

P: You identify people by the surnames

A: Because of the surnames, it's true [laughs]

Int: V, as someone from outside what you do think of as Welsh culture

V: Very exciting! Yes, because I'm nothing to do with Wales but yes, the buildings you can see the structures of the houses, the churches, the idea of tea in Gaiman, tea houses.(trk 3 4'00) I felt out of place the other day at the Forum because I have no relationship to Welsh at all, but I felt that maybe if they kept on working like this then maybe it would change this idea of having more Welsh on signs on the streets, but they are trying to work with that, it's correct, because it's their history, their identity.

Int: Their identity? So, the identity of the people who are descendants of the Welsh or of the region?

L: All things

V: I think of the people, (trk 3 5'00) because not all people who live here are Welsh descendants, like I have a mixture of everything, but not Welsh, so I am out of place. They talk about the Hughes, about the Rhys and I have no connection with that. That is a community that lives, or that lived, here, not about the whole people here.

A: We have some relationship because this town and other places were developed by the Welsh community.

L: Otherwise we wouldn't exist right now

A: That's right, that's why it reflects on the identity of the people here, in general.

P: For me, Welsh I mean the relationship is with the culture (trk 3 6'00) is with language and keeping their identity through for example the Eisteddfod because they are used to that, that kind of event to maintain their identity, their language and culture.



O: Well, I have said all the things that I have to say before!

Int: Ok, how important is Welsh, where is Welsh culture here compared to other groups in the region? First of all in other groups here (trk 3 7'00) and then with the big supra-national culture that we talk about a lot, English. How does Welsh compare with...

A: Italian?

Int: Italian, Spanish, indigenous, German, French, Basque, Portuguese.

P: It has a lot of press. It also has uses for tourism so I think it has more importance than the others now.

V: It depends because English is more important in the whole country. English is more important than other languages.

P: Oh, I mean in Trelew, with the Spanish or Italian Association.

A: I don't know because I know more (trk 3 8'00)..

O: It's in same rank because here you have French, here you have Italian, places where you can go and learn Italian, French, Welsh, but it's not like one is more important than the others, they are of the same rank.

A: But if you notice, I think, for example, there are more people who are descendants from Italian than Welsh. There is less people, there is O and me.

O: I have a bit of everything!

L: But even though we are descended from different cultures, we don't pay attention to them. I don't know anything about Italian culture or French culture. (trk 3 9'00)

O: That's the thing, we know about the Welsh culture because we live HERE

P: Because the community of the Welsh descendants are working towards that.

L: People want to emphasise that people in the community

V: and not the Spanish and not the Italian

L: As P said, it's publicity that makes it more relevant.

A: Not the amount

Int: So...what elements of, for example, it would be ridiculous to say that Welsh was on the level which was comparable with Spanish but where does it stand as opposed to French or German, Italian, Portuguese?

L: You mean where does Welsh stand?

Int: Well, where is it in status, do people think that it's a good thing to be able to speak a bit of Welsh or to know a bit of Welsh? (trk 3 10'00) and of course the numbers as well.

A: Generally, if you speak more than one language it's okay. If you speak Italian or Spanish

O: Yes, but we speak more than one language. For poor people, it doesn't matter, they don't speak English so imagine Welsh, French, Italian, it's all the same for them. They don't care about that.

A: But I think that it has more importance than French or German for example

O: Here, here in Patagonia, because they settled here, but in Buenos Aires for example

L: I mean from an international point of view it doesn't open many doors for you, knowing Welsh.

A: except in Wales

L: but it does if you know English. A lot, I mean a lot. You have a lot of opportunities if you have a good level in English. (trk 3 11'00)

O: That's why the most important one here in Argentina is English

A: But it used to be French, remember?

L: Yes, It used to be French, years ago

O: People prefer Italian or French to Welsh

A: Maybe because they think it's easier

Int: How does the Welsh community view itself, do you think. Some of you are part of it and some of you aren't. How do you think the Welsh see themselves, do they see themselves as being important and relevant to cultural life. Do they see themselves as 'up there'?

V: I would say that, as L said a moment ago. If it wasn't for the Welsh people who came here, then we wouldn't be here. I think that's the idea (trk 4 1'00). We are here and Trelew exists because of the Welsh people being here. That's the general idea.

A: I don't really know how Welsh people see themselves.

:: They don't, from my point of view, they don't see themselves as superior because they were the founders. They tried to keep their bond amongst themselves and their family.

P: and they know each other

L: Yes, they know all the members of the Welsh community. They know who died and why and...

O: They know all these facts

Int: Is that not the same in other communities?

All: No.

Int: How do they differ then between the Welsh community (trk4 2'00)?

A: They are closer to one another

V: Maybe we know more because they are more present, their families

O: A bigger amount, because here we have some Spanish and some Italian people and some Germans also but it's like the Welsh are the majority. They are the majority here.

A: You go to Gaiman and they are all Welsh, or the majority are, so....

O: Here we have a mixture

Int: Right, we've talked about the bits in the press, but what sort of support does the Welsh language and culture receive here. Who helps it and in what way? Just to go back to your experiences, how did you end up being taught Welsh in an institute for English teachers? Do you want to answer that first

O: Well, we need to have another language. We speak Spanish at school so as a second language you have English. But in this institute we have English as a first language so we needed a second one and they tried with Portuguese so Lorena decided to

A: The Welsh were coming here to do research, like you, and apart from that they could give something to the community, like classes and in this case

O: And it was important because they were native speakers (trk 4 4'00)

L: But going back to your question, did they receive what kind of support

Int: What kind of ... who publicises Welshness here? Who gives money? Who actually does things.

L: The government, but the provincial government has most to do.

Int: What do they do?

V: Culture

L: Yes, for example they organise the Eisteddfod. I think they do that, they provide money for that and the organisation.

P: No, that's the families, not the government.

L: But who brought Lady Di to Gaiman and why was that...

A: She came on her own (trk 4 5'00).

L: I mean, that made a lot of publicity for Gaiman and for tea-houses also, but I don't know how that came up. Who came up with that.

A: I think by supporting tourism is the main part. Because, if you're related in some way to tourism the most important theme is Gaiman and the Welsh community apart from Madryn and the whales and penguins, but regarding culture, Welsh community.

Int: So the provincial government offers support, family groups offer support, tourism offers support, anything else? (trk 4 6'00)

A: Not really

L: What do you mean, anything?

Int: I don't know, I'm hoping that you turn up with something that I don't have, kind of thing

L: I don't know, does the Welsh government participate in anything? I have no idea.

P: I don't think so.

Int: Welsh government, seeing as you asked the question, there has been a project going since 1997 under Robert Owen Jones and others where they send and three teachers a year to Argentina to teach Welsh classes in Dolavon, Esquel ...

A: And that's why we had classes?

Int: That's why you had classes. What were your experiences of classes (trk 4 7'00). I'm not offering one, but do you have the interest to learn more? Well, yes or no, first

All: Yes.

L: It was fun

Int: It's okay, you can say no if you want

[laughs]

Int: Why?

A: It's an interesting language. We had three different teachers that was the problem.

V: Four

L: Well, yes, I didn't count. I didn't know her. (trk 4 8'00)

A: I liked the classes with [name], our first classes, they were very interesting

Int: So, you would learn out of interest, would there be a practical purpose to learn Welsh

A: Well, in our case, as we are studying tourism, apart from English if we know Welsh then it would be better

L: But we have a long way to go before we get a good level of Welsh language to be able to.

A: We are already forgetting what we learnt a few months ago

[general agreement]

Int: But out of interest then would it be important to be able to speak Welsh well or enough to show that you have shown an interest. (trk 4 9'00)

A: No, it's important to learn it well.

Int: Do you lot have any comments about Welsh culture, it's relevance or lack of relevance to your life. I mean, some of you are part of the Welsh community, and you have learnt a bit about it, had classes here, but is it important and relevant to you as people, or just a subject at university. Something that goes on, something that other people do. (trk 4 10'00)

A: I think it's important because it's part of our culture, but if you compare with the amount of people who really came. They were not many, and it has that influence with the Italians who were a lot. There were what 300 and the culture, the culture survived.

O: It's important to know about the culture and the history, because it's the place that you are living now. It's important. Well, I was born in Buenos Aires.

P: I would like to learn Welsh because my two friends speak Welsh together and I get jealous (trk 4 11'00). I would like to be able to speak to them.

V: It's kind of as O said, it's not that you want to learn the Welsh language, but you want to learn a bit more about the culture of the place in which you are living

O: Yes, it's a general thing

V: Enough to say that, I am studying here and this is what it is about

L: About knowing about the place in which you live, that's why it is important

O: I have to learn about the cultures of all the place where I've lived

P: But the story of the Welsh is really interesting because they did many things in order to survive here.

A: I think it's important to maintain our roots as our culture, but besides, imagine (trk 4 12'00) the other day they were trying to take, I don't know if you heard, the railway line, the old ones

L: But they were built by many immigrants, not just the Welsh people.

A: And they are part of how this city was formed, so they are very important and that idea that we dismiss everything that's old

V: and we replace it with something

A: yes and we can't maintain anything

L: It's kind of replacing our identity as people

A: If you go to other places you have all the buildings everything and here you don't have that

V: Respect

A: That respect for everything.

Int: Thank you very much for your time this morning, I hope that you have enjoyed it as much as I have.

L: Bye!

Int: So long, Farewell. IPPI. 10:40 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2004.

GROUP 5

FRIDAY, 12<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

YOUNG RESIDENTS OF PUERTO MADRYN (AGED 20-25).

Translation from Spanish

.....

Int: Madryn, 12<sup>th</sup> November at 9:09. I am here with some girls from Madryn. My name is Ian Johnson, I am a student from Cardiff University in Wales. I am here for my research which is about the perceptions of people here regarding Welsh language and culture. This is my student card for authentication. I have more photos as well [laughs]. This is me when I was younger (trk 1 1'00). Thank you for your collaboration with my project. This interview will take around 30 minutes to 45 minutes and your comments are anonymous. They are only for use in my research as are your names for which I will use a letter, for example, N, or a quote saying that it is from the group in Madryn (trk 1 2'00). If you are in agreement with these conditions, then could you give your name for the tape and say that you are in agreement.

S: S and I agree

FF: FF and I agree

M: M and I agree

[laughs]

Int: Good. Now we can start. Could you say a little bit about your relationship with Welsh language and culture, your experiences of the language or culture in your life

M: Me? Well, I have Welsh ancestry. My mother is a descendant of the Welsh and so I have a bit of Welsh blood but mixed with [other group], but well, that's it (trk 1 3'00). Beyond that, I have family in Wales.

Int: Good

FF: The only relationship I have is with friends. One of my padrinos is descended from the Welsh. I have a number of friends who are descended from the Welsh. In the church where I help the majority of the people are Welsh, Protestantism is my religion. I don't have any more.

S: With me, it's a bit shorter. I don't have any. No, the only things that I know about are the tourism and the things in Gaiman. After that, well, I don't know much about the Welsh in Madryn. Nothing more. (trk 1 4'00).

Int: How much Welsh culture and language is there here in Madryn? A lot? A little?

FF: I think that there is less than in Trelew, Gaiman and Dolavon. In my life, the population of Madryn is made up of people from all parts of Argentina, not only

Welsh and the descendants of the Welsh. I think that in Trelew, Gaiman, Dolavon there is more strength there in the culture. At the same time, here there is a historical centre, the day of Madryn is 28<sup>th</sup> July (trk 1 5'00), lots of things with reference to the Welsh population here.

S: No, I don't have an idea. In reality, I don't know a lot about the subject. In my opinion, living here is that I don't know any way in which the Welsh are here. More than anything else, it seems about tourism, commentary about the cultural life. It seems more than anything else to me here in Madryn to be just about the tourism, but in Gaiman it's different with regards to (trk 1 6'00) the people. I don't know more.

M: Gaiman is more the centre of Welsh culture. Here there doesn't seem to be so much, as FF said there isn't a great deal of influence from Welsh culture in Madryn. You see many people who come from the north or from other parts of Argentina who are a bigger mixture, but in the Valley the descendants are more concentrated in the culture.

Int: The churches. Is there Welsh culture here in the churches?

FF: I think that in reality I don't know the church societies. I am speaking about mine in particular where the majority are above 65 years of age, (trk 1 7'00) They are strong with the culture but others that I know.

Int: And the Welsh language here?

M: To be honest, I don't know, I've only heard one couple walking along the street speaking in Welsh. Since then, no

FF: For here, they have it for the tourists, to sell things, for example the tea houses with Welsh names, the names of [muffled], Welsh names, but to me it's a way of selling things. I agree, eight or ten years ago they formed here in Madryn (trk 1 8'00) the Welsh Cultural Association and they give classes in Welsh, but I don't know anything more.

S: Next question! I'm sorry, I think that in Gaiman they do use the language to be learnt as second language, from what I understand. That is how they try and keep it going.

M: If you go to Colegio Camwy then it is taught as a lesson, but it's like this. In Gaiman they are trying to keep the traditions are going but there are loads of Welsh there (trk 1 9'00). They are able to keep this form.

S: More than that, it is part of the genealogical make up, the grandchildren, little children know about it. They have the security, in the family, they maintain it.

FF: I think that people here, those who are Welsh who marry those who aren't. In these cases, it is lost by the time of the grandchildren and the grandchildren don't speak it. I know people who are descended from the Welsh and they don't know a word of it. (trk 1 10'00). For them, they have a bit but nothing more. When they mixed with descendants of Italians or Spaniards then they lost it.



Int: Are there differences between the Welsh culture to compare with ten years ago? Is there more Welsh here now, less, in the culture? Is there not a difference?

FF: I don't think that there is a difference, no

DS I don't know. I don't think that there is a difference in this population. People don't come and people don't go. (trk 2 1'00).

FF: I think that the Welsh, well, the descendants of the Welsh are maintaining in Madryn. They were all living here. What happens is that the people who come mainly from the north mix a lot

S: What it seems is that they mix and then they lose it, but it depends on the mother. There are people who are 40 years old who are Welsh descendants who have it

FF: Agreed

Int: What is the importance here of festivals such as 28 July? Is it a city wide festival or is it only for the Welsh or...?

FF: I think that something like that is decided by the authorities, by the government (trk 2 2'00). At the same time, the Welsh Cultural Association, for their part, organise. In relation to Welsh culture, the government takes the lead.

Int: Do many people participate in these fiestas for the city's founding?

FF: Yes, yes, many participate. They participate in acts, memorials, for example, recreations of the landing so the Welsh go in the boat, and the descendants of the Welsh they meet (trk 2 3'00) with the descendants of the Mapuche and Tehuelches and they remember the moment and they have the race where they recreate the carrying of the barrel for water. There are teams and they both have a barrel and they have to roll the barrel from one point in Madryn to the other [laughs]. The teams are the Welsh and the aborigines, usually it's mixed in some way. What else? The famous tea, of course, the famous tea on 28<sup>th</sup> July. (trk 2 4'00) The majority of people in Madryn don't have this tea because they don't know how to prepare it. The cooking is very rich! [laughs]

Int: Okay. How important is Welsh culture for the tourism industry here, in Madryn first and then in the Chubut?

FF: I think that the product, well, the main product is the whales and the fauna here. Whales, Elephant seals, penguins. After these the Welsh product. (trk 2 5'00) Always the first day they go to Peninsula Valdes, then on the second day they go to Punta Tombo and after that they go to Gaiman and have tea. Take a photo of the stuff [laughs] and so it's secondary.

M: For tourism, people come to Patagonia for the whales, they come to Chubut for the whales, for the fauna and after that they come for the Welsh. Here they don't find a lot, but in the Valley they do. I live there. In Gaiman, they have the tea.

Int: Have you been to the Welsh Interpretation Centre at Punta Cuevas or not? (trk 2 6'00) The museum

FF: No, I know the caves and the area and that they were the first refuge of the colonists, but that's about it, but no, I've not had the opportunity to go there.

Int: To the stone as well? The stone with names of the first immigrants?

S: Which stone?

Int: It's near to Punta Cuevas

FF: On the beach?

Int: No, on the street, near to the...

FF: Close to the Indian. Yes. I've been there.

Int: Because I'm interested, as you live here, but you've not been to the museum(trk 2 7'00) So for what people is a museum about the Welsh, tourists or people who live here?

FF: Well, I think that more than anything it's for the tourists. When you go to the Oceanographic Museum, you see that they have a room all about the Welsh culture and history, I know that. The same in school, in the primary and secondary as well.

S: Yes, but for example it's for tourists, it's not in places which are constructed and they ...(trk 2 8'00). It's for tourism.. [muffled]

FF: It's in the curriculum, in the primary and secondary school. We went on a trip to Gaiman and to the museums here. It was in the curriculum.

Int: The history of the region?

S: Yes

Int: This is a question with which you had problems in the questionnaire. What idea do others have of the Welsh community here? If (trk 2 9'00) you were to ask the question to someone else, how do people think of the Welsh – are they interesting people, do they have status in society, are they important for their language, for their work in the region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

FF: I think that those here in Madryn those that I know the people who are descended from the Welsh have a comparatively high importance as they were the first who populated here and (trk 2 10'00) have a level and were ? I think that they are. The idea of someone who is typically Welsh is someone who "The Welsh are nice like bread" [laughs] or for it's a friend. This is a Welsh descendant, and they go "aaahhh" because they think that for me people have this idea of them being good people. I think that's the belief that people have. Religious

M: Lots of religion, chapels

FF: Yes

S: No, I still don't get it.

Int: No?

FF: What do you think of the Welsh people here in Madryn? (trk 3 1'00)

S: Me? But I don't know any Welsh people! It's a closed community so I don't have much contact with them. I don't have an opinion about them. I have opinions about individual people that I know, so that's how I think about them. I just don't see them like that. They are a mixture. For whatever person, I think about them

FF: Her family aren't from Madryn originally. In my case, yes, my mum came from [location], from the Rio Negro when I was six months old (trk 3 2'00), so I'm a native. Because of that we see things differently [laughs]

Int: Do the Welsh have an importance greater than their numbers in the city?

FF: Yes, they do [laughs]

Int: And how do the Welsh compare with other groups?

FF: I think that (trk 3 3'00) they have kept their unity, they have an association, they celebrate 28<sup>th</sup> July. Other communities, the Italians, the Spaniards

M: The Welsh are together all year round with their culture, while other cultures they have their communities and their dress, but the Welsh keep it every day, their culture. (trk 3 4'00)

Int: You are English teaching students in Trelew?

FF: Me, yes

S: Me, no

Int: But you speak good English?

S: Yes

Int: Ok, how important is English culture to you as opposed to other cultures which are here, because there aren't any English descendants here?

FF: At this moment, English is fundamental. The importance is, it's so important, English is for tourism, also for businesses here which (trk 3 5'00) in places which if you don't have English, then you're outside

M: For work everyday for communication in the world, if you don't have English then you cant do a whole load of things. So it has a huge importance.

S: It depends on your career,

FF: But it's learnt for necessity rather than devotion!

M: If you get a group together they will tell you it's about needing it, it's not about liking the language. (trk 3 6'00)

Int: Another difficult question. What type of support does Welsh language and culture receive from the press, from the government?

FF: Yes, I think that in Madryn it's mainly from tourism, for the touristic product, culture, people who visit chapels, drink tea, buy the lovespoons, but I think that's more here than in the Valley (trk 3 7'00), I think there are students from Wales, I don't know where they are from. Support from the provincial government.

M: I... for the Eisteddfod, I don't know about the government. The media for example in October you can hear about the Welsh things. The press help a lot, but as far as how much money, I don't know.

S: Sorry, don't know about this!

Int: In your opinion, should it receive more or less support.

M: More

Int: More?

M: Yes (trk 3 8'00)

S: I think that everything it's unique and should have help. I think that all communities should have some help to maintain their culture, because we are all from different races and add to the character of the city in some form. It's a different thing, but everyone, the aboriginals, should have money for building a town. At least for...

FF: Yes, not just express it through giving them the name of a street

S: It should be utilised for and through tourism, to get more support

Int: Why are there so many streets with Welsh names here? (trk 3 9'00)

FF: Normally in Argentina they give streets names after well known important people so for that reason

Int: It was very interesting to go to the new estate and see streets with Welsh names like A Jenkins, Abraham Matthews, E Morgan, Maria Humphreys. Is this the government's choice, who chooses the names for a new estate?

FF: I think that it's political. I don't know what the steps are for choosing the names of streets in a new estate, but (trk 3 10'00) a name is chosen probably by the Mayor's office. So it's political.

Int: Ok. Do you have any further comments that you'd like to make about Welsh culture here or in the Chubut?

FF: No, I think that the most important is the relationship between the Welsh and the Aborigines. I don't know about the whole world but it's one of the few cases where the immigrants, in this case the Welsh, had a good relationship with the Aborigines, who respected them in a spirit of co-operation (trk 3 11'00). I think that, it has an importance because it's not like the Spaniards or the English in North America. They respected them and for me that's very important.

S: Nope

Int: Nothing else? Ok, thank you very much for your participation in this recording. Madryn. 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. 9:41.[laughs]

FF: Very precise [laughs]

GROUP 6

SATURDAY, 13<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

FAMILY MEMBERS IN TRELEW

Translated from Welsh and Spanish

.....

Int: [w] [location] Trelew, [location], 13<sup>th</sup> November, 2004. Twenty to five in the afternoon.

All: [w] Good afternoon

Int: [w] My name is Ian Johnson. I am student in Cardiff University, Department of Language and Communication. I am here in Argentina to study the impressions of people here of Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province. This is my student card if you would like to have a look at it and see that I am who I say I am. I would like to have a small conversation on the tape of about half an hour to forty five minutes (trk 1 1'00) asking for your thoughts on the Welsh language and culture here. What I would like to do first is that the contents of this conversation won't be used outside the field of academia. It will be used for my work, which is writing a phd, a thesis, in the department. I won't use your names in anything that will be published, in its place will be a letter such as A or O followed by the quote, or I will say that someone from the group at [location] said, so I won't use anything which gives away your name.

B: [w] Ok.

N: [w] Ok (trk 1 2'00), so it'll be anonymous.

Int: [w] Yes, anonymous. First I would like you to give your name on the tape to help me identify who is speaking and when and if you could show agreement with the conditions which I have given to you.

B: [w] Why not?

Int: [w] Who wants to start?

N: [w] My name is N. My son Y and ...

Int: [w] I'd like them to introduce themselves for the voice. If you could just introduce yourself first and say that you agree.

N: [w] Ok, would you like me to do that. Would you like to contribute? [to fourth person] We've got to help Ian!

Female: [w] No, I'll just listen.

Int: [w] She doesn't have to take part if she doesn't want to. N? (trk 1 3'00)

N: N

Int: [w] Do you agree?

N: [w] Yes, yes, I do. No problem at all

Y: [w] My name is Y and I agree. I'll contribute in Welsh or Spanish if you want.

B: [w] My name is B and I agree to contribute in Welsh or Spanish.

Int: [w] Very good. First, can you explain your relationship with Welsh language and culture here in the Chubut. Just a little bit about your history.

N: [w] Well, from my part, I learnt Welsh and Spanish at the same time. I don't remember when I learnt Welsh and when I learnt Spanish but I have a memory of before I was four years old going out to the bridge there (trk 1 4'00) when I was about three and we were speaking Welsh and Spanish at the same time, so Welsh was the language of home and until I went to school, so that was the norm at that point, there were loads of people who spoke Welsh and Spanish, bilingual people, lots of bilingual people. Taken part in the church, in the Sunday schools, taken part in the 'literary circle' ... bilingual in Welsh and Spanish is a great advantage, the Welsh way and the Spanish way have enriched the society, the culture and the language. Even the Eisteddfod (trk 1 5'00) has been affected. it's half and half. Half Welsh, half Spanish. They're bringing other languages in as well. So I had my upbringing in the language but things have changed now since I was small. It's difficult to get people to speak Welsh, people who speak fluently, but there are lots of people who are able in Welsh, papers, magazines, lots of things. An interesting thing that's happening now is that people are becoming more interested in the language. There are people writing in Spanish, but they write in the Welsh way, that's never happened before and the choral singing, the 'pedwar llais', is strong, (trk 1 6'00) that's become part of the culture, the Welsh culture. Thing is, there's lots of Spanish through the Welsh way, the poetry, in music and lots of things. During the time that I have lived, things have been different. There were times when ... in the centre. Alan might have a different view of what's been happening, things have changed a lot. He won't see things how I see them.

Y: [w] Let me explain. What sort of experience...?

Int: [w] What sort of experience you have of the Welsh language you've had. Where you've seen it in use (trk 1 7'00).

Y: [w] First I'd like to explain a little bit in Spanish. [sp] In my generation, Welsh wasn't very important. It was something that the elders spoke, parents, grandparents. The language was being lost. More than that, we're Argentinian. Spanish(Castellano) is our language and our culture, our geography, our rivers, our parks, everything is in Spanish. It's a very beautiful language. [w] We spoke it every day in the house, with our uncles, with our neighbours, our grandparents. For this, it gave us some chance to speak Welsh or learn or sing in Welsh, in the chapel, in the choir, listen to tapes. (trk 1 8'00) Nothing more. Why? Less contact between Wales and Argentina after the second World War [sp] after the Second World War

N: [w] After the first World War

Y: [s] No, the second

N: [w] the contact was cut after the first

Y: [s]very little communication between Wales and here in the 1940s and 1950s, [w] in 1950. So, there was less chance because no-one spoke it in school, no-one spoke it in the shops, no-one spoke it in the streets, no-one. Beginning, after the Eisteddfod 1965, the welsh language started to live (trk 1 9'00) in the Valley again. Very slowly, [sp]slowly, a little bit and the connections between Wales and Argentina were much stronger since 1965. Maybe it has to be understood. Why did they come here. Maybe it has to be understood, certain things about the country Wales, we decide to learn the Welsh language, it's always the second language, second place [w] second place [sp] well, we can understand, read, but the first thing that we do is in Spanish. (trk 1 10'00)

B: [w] I think that I have learnt the welsh language because I wanted to know how it felt to speak Welsh, how it felt to know another language, but a special language because it's the language of my forefathers, of people who came from Wales. Learning the language has been hard because I started the language in 1997 and only once a week and after classes I spoke Spanish and it was hard because (trk 1 11'00) I had only a little bit of vocabulary for an hour and then afterwards I spoke Spanish but after I had 18 years, I went to Wales after many years I have learned to speak Welsh I went to Wales and learnt on the Wlpn Course and now when people come from Wales I can explain things to them in Welsh, I can speak to my grandfather, my mum and dad and people, like you, who speak Welsh and I feel like people who have learnt Welsh in Wales and now I know how people who speak Welsh as a first language in Wales feel because they (trk 2 1'00) find it difficult to keep the language alive and we can help them keep the language alive, I think, for everyone, because if we decide to do something in the Chubut and if we decide to do something in Wales then we can do well.

Y: [w] I'd like to have a short word about how I came to learn as an adult in 1997 at [age] years old and I learnt to speak in 1998 as an adult

N: [w] We brought Y up when the state of the language was fragile (trk 2 2'00). I was born when there was a bit of Welsh, the contact between Wales and the Colony had been recently lost in 1911 before the first world war and it stayed the same until the year that Y was born in 1950 where we succeeded in keeping the Eisteddfod and everything going but between 1950 and 1965 there was nothing. There was a rise afterwards and there was more contact in one day with Wales than the previous year. There was contact through mail, telephone and letters but between 1950 and 1965 there was little contact. (trk 2 3'00) I went to Wales in 1965 and people have come regularly since then, coming and going, I don't know how many Welsh were here this year, 200, people from Wales, this sort of thing didn't happen, there would be one here and one there and now there are people who are born here who go to Wales to visit relatives, but between 1950 and 1965 there was a very weak relationship between here and there, very weak. The last ship to arrive was in 1911 was the Orita. There



were lots of people on that ship, very full, people who were born in 1890 who were 20 years old, 25 years old, they had Welsh and they learnt Spanish here. (trk 2 4'00). I have a little bit of knowledge of that. I learnt cynghanedd [a type of Welsh poetry] very well, things like that have in a generation in 25 years things have changed a lot, if you could see things as I've seen them. So, things change.

B: [s] For us, the youngsters who are studying or learning Welsh, I think it's a part of a new language, because as my father said the language was being lost and we had to take lessons in Welsh, but they took Welsh lessons with us so for us it's the same as them. In my mum's house (trk 2 5'00) they speak Welsh, but old Welsh in Chubut. Many times, when I say that I'm learning Welsh, people start to talk to me and we say, oh, what does that word mean? So I say it, and then they say, ahh, there's another way of saying that because we are learning modern Welsh, from Wales.

Y: Llambod. (trk 2 5'26).

B: [w] Cardiff [s] What is interesting is that the Wlpan Course in Chubut, in Trelew, rather, I don't know about the other cities is the Welsh Chubut, the dialect of Welsh as spoken in Chubut, a mixture of Welsh from Wales and from the Chubut, a mixture of the north and the south (trk 2 6'00) here. So I learnt in Lampeter in Wales, I learnt there and came back here with many words which sound very strange, they are words that people don't say here and these words when I speak with my grandfather a lot of the time they use different words and I understand because I've always listening to them but when I started learning Welsh I had to ask what they were that I had been listening to.

Y: [w] I want to talk about one other experience in Esquel when B and me started in the Welsh school. Well, only one day, one year, only B was in the class as a young boy. With him were old people, adults. (trk 2 7'00) but I wanted, [my wife] and I wanted B not to lose contact and to go to school every week, so we chose to go to school with B in B's class, B and him in another class [s] to go to the lesson [w] to go to school.

B: [w] Go to school! (correction of Y's Welsh)

N: [w] [person] has told me that in Wales many English words have been Welshified, well here they turn Spanish words into Welsh. There are lots of them.

Int: [w] Any examples? Examples? [s] Examples?

N: [w] Examples? (trk 2 8'00)

Int: [w] Of Spanish words which have been Welshified

N: [w] Yeh, In Welsh, you use English words with -io at the end like jumpio, lots of things like that with -io at the end. And in Spanish which are verbs which are turned into Welsh, lots of things. Can't remember any now but there are lots of examples suddenly if you listen and they mix Welsh words and speak Welsh one minute and Spanish the next. I don't know why [s] either! (Dwi ddim yn gwybod pam, tampoco!)

[laughs] (trk 2 9'00)

[w] In the middle of things. ....? Lots of bad things if the old people are talking

Y: 'Make a noise'

N: 'Dar me sw'n' ? 'Dar me' from Spanish and 'sw'n' from Welsh.

Y: 'Que win queres?' (What wine would you like?) [w] what sort of wine would you like? What colour?

N: [s] There are lots of things. I don't remember. The same thing happens in Wales when I speak to people things that have been turned somehow. English words that I don't understand or dialect words from the south. Our friends or children of our friends who use dialect words from the south that they've learned at home.

Y: [w] Okay? (trk 2 10'00)

N: [w] Is that enough?

Int: [w] I haven't even started asking my questions yet!

[laughs]

Y: [s] He's got a whole load of questions there. There's a whole lot of things!

Int: [s] Okay.

Y: [s] Yes.

Int: [w] How much Welsh culture or language is there here in Trelew, do you think?

Y: [s] The percentage?

Int: [s] Not the percentage, I'm interested more in what type of Welsh, what people are interested in Welsh, what people use it, people...

N: [w] It's very difficult to say, there's not many from what I've seen, the Spanish people with no Welsh blood are learning Spanish. I know loads of them.

Y: [s] I think that...

N: [w] there's Fernando Coronato. There's loads of them (trk 3 1'00) There is a relationship between...

Y: [w] Good, but I need to speak. What I think Ian is asking is what percentage of people or what cultural importance does Welsh have? The Welsh things have an importance but in Spanish. The origins of the farms, the work, the songs are genealogical, but now every generation puts a great deal of importance on where they come from. Where is your family from? From the United States, from Brazil, they

went to Santa Fe, they went to Rio Negro, they returned to Wales. These are the things that preoccupy people culturally. Well, cultural things, it's important, the Eisteddfod, but far more important is the Argentinian folklorica. Much more important. Rugby is important in Wales, football is much more important here [laughs] It's important. (trk 3 2'00) The Welsh use the chacras a lot for conversation but not so much in the city, no., no. There are things in Welsh, but very little. Gaiman a little more, but that's for sport, for the tourism. Once inside everything is in Spanish, take mate, yes...

N: [w] One of things that happened is Dolavon in Welsh, Dol Plu, Las Plumas, Dyffryn y Merthyron, Valles los Martires

B: Tir Halen

B: Tir Halen. Then Dyffryn y (muffled), San David, Pampa (muffled), Paith yr Anial, Rhyd yr Indiad, Pasos los Indios, Dol Plu, las Plumas (trk 3 3'00) All Welsh names to start with. And the same thing with Nant y Pysgod, Arroy de Pescado. Welsh names which later on were translated into Spanish afterwards. Originally they were all Welsh.

Y: Plants. (muffled) comes from (muffled) Owensee comes from Owen C Jones, or in Spanish, wansee.

B: The only one which is still here is Dolavon, in the Chubut.

Y: and Trelew

Int: [w] The question was where is Welsh culture taking place in Trelew? Are there events in Welsh?

B: [w] For example, the Eisteddfod, San David, the chapels, we have a supper [trk 3 4'00) or dinner for people who come from Wales or people with family with whom we have to speak in Welsh, talk with people in San David in the same way but not on the street, not in the supermarket, only with people whom you know speak Welsh. You don't say, "hello how are you?" to people who you don't know, you say 'hola, que tal?'

Y: [s] If people come from Wales we all speak Welsh...with the Welsh, but Spanish with each other [w] straight away.

B: [w] We have to decide to and organise to speak Welsh.

N: [w] The marketing business. This comes from Wales. (trk 4 5'00) The Welsh market themselves in English, they don't use the Welsh language, they say that they use two languages. I don't know. If there isn't a market then the language loses out, like in Wales. The Eisteddfod is there, but the marketing is in English.

Int: [w] We were talking about Welsh culture through the medium of Spanish. What sort of, we've talked about things which happen in Welsh, but what things are there which are Welsh which are in Spanish.

B: [s] That are Welsh that we talk about in Spanish? The people, they know that the Welsh have a lot of influence (trk 3 6'00) they know about the food, they know about the influence the Welsh had on the plebiscite, about the Eisteddfod festival since three or four years back because before that they didn't know about it.

Y: [w] They know about the Mimosa as well

B: [s] Many people from, for example, other provinces, when they arrive start to investigate on their own and have an interest in the Welsh.

Y: [s] One of the most important things is that what happens in Chubut in school in the fourth grade. All the colleges, it's taught everywhere. History of the region. Everyone knows something. There are many books in the libraries.

B: [s] In the third year as well (trk 3 7'00), history of Argentina as well. I remember when I was in the secondary school, we did research with my friend about the information about the Welsh. So we went to a tea house in Esquel for information from people about the farms and the people. The people that are more interested in the Welsh because they can understand learn and understand Welsh.

Y: [w] There is a university here and the people from the university started to study things in Welsh. (trk 3 8'00)

N: [w] Another thing which has changed a lot is singing hymns. They sing in Spanish, but they sing in a Welsh form. Lots of hymns have been turned into Spanish but in a Welsh way. People know things.

Y: [w] Osian, singing in general. In Methodist hymns, there are 80-86 hymns which are Welsh. They are translated into Spanish but the music and sometimes the words come from Welsh. 80 out of 475, you know? (trk 3 9'00)

Int: [w] You've lived in the Cordillera in Esquel and you've lived in Trelew as well. How do you compare the two?

Y: [w] There's more Welsh culture in the Valley than in the Andes. Because there are more people living here of Welsh blood than in the Andes. There are more connections with Wales, Eisteddfod, San David, chapels. There are only two chapels in the Andes, and they're both always closed. They're open in the Valley. There are two in Trelew, two in Gaiman.

B: [w] They arrange lots of Noson Lawen, Hwyl a Hwyl, have suppers, you can decide to keep in contact with people from Porth Madryn, Gaiman, Rawson because Dolavon, Gaiman, Tir Halen, (trk 3 10'00) Trelew, Rawson, Puerto Madryn, because it's only one hour here or one hour there not like the Andes where there are only two to meet people, Trevelin and Esquel. (trk 4 0'22).

Int: There aren't many things in Welsh language or culture?

Y: [w] It was a chance for our family, and [my wife], to learn something about the Andes, about the Chubut, and work as well. Tea house, Welsh tea-house. It was an excellent opportunity to study what was happening to the Welsh language and to speak to people who speak Welsh (trk 4 1'00) and to offer food to people from all over the world who were interested in Welsh tea. This was an interesting experience to us as a family to learn more about the Welsh culture in the Chubut Valley and the Chubut Province.

N: [w] You should take more advantage of Welsh culture. It's a blessing. The Chubut Province is different to anywhere else because of the Welsh culture. It's changed.

Y: [w] Next question!

Int: [w] How do people see the Welsh community? People who aren't members of the...

Y: [w] Sometimes, closed! (trk 4 2'00)

(laughs)

Int: [w] How do people see it? Does it have a high status? Those who are of Welsh descent, those who speak Welsh?

Y: [w] Respectful, at first. Some people see it, they don't have any interest. [s] It isn't Argentinian, it's something from outside. We are closed. It's a community, a special culture and in general the Welsh are advancing or maintaining, but much of the time it's seen as a closed culture. The boy...

B: [w] I agree. (trk 4 3'00)

Int: [w] What do your friends think about the Welsh culture, people your age?

B: [w] Difficult to explain because they think the same thing. They think the Welsh language is difficult. But they didn't decide to learn the language. It is difficult, but they didn't think, yes, I can learn the language and they think, I don't know how to explain [s] they think that it is something for the Welsh, only the Welsh can take part in these things (trk 4 4'00) and that if you aren't Welsh then you can't participate in the Eisteddfod and you can't go to the chapel, all you can do is go to the tea-house if you aren't Welsh, because the only people who do Welsh are Welsh.

Y: [s] It's right what Alan says, because it's language which is difficult for integration. Because if you can't understand the language, you can't understand the culture. Well, imagine,....

B: [s] But it's not just the integration of the people with the Welsh and of Welsh with the people. Because there are many people who are Welsh who speak Spanish (trk 4 5'00) and they are outside because they speak Spanish and they don't understand.

N: [w] It's very difficult to people who can't speak a word of Welsh except for bread or sugar or mum or dad but at Eisteddfod time from start to finish, they like the

culture in Welsh and Spanish, English, they enjoy, so they support Welsh things even though they don't speak it. There are hundreds of people who support Welsh things and can't speak the language. I think that the language, the Welsh, is better, in a different way, if people keep in contact with Wales regularly.

Int: [w] Ok, talking about the tea-houses, (trk 4 6'00) what is the importance of Welsh to the tourism industry here?

Y: [w] The experience was how could Welsh people live on the paith? How could people live with the Indians and people from Wales? And what sort of things could they sell in the Chubut Province?, Plants, things to sell, music, choirs, and so on. It asks loads of questions, how was it in the old days on the paith? Very interesting to show to the world.

N: [w] The connection between the Welsh and the Indians was important. My grandmother, mother of my father, spoke Teheulche (trk 4 7'00). Why? Why speak Teheulche? Because when she arrived on the Mimosa earlier they became friends with the children of the Indians and they played with them when they were small and they didn't realise...I listened to her speak Teheulche with a woman the same age as her, but what happened when they were little was that they played together and when they were older they spoke the Indian language and the girl could speak a little bit of Welsh. Now the Indian language has been lost.

Int: Quickly, one or two more. What do you think is the future of the Welsh language and culture here in the Valley?

Y: [w] On the up

B: [w] On the up

N: [w] The culture definitely is used every day but the language is being lost and isn't growing (trk 4 8'00). It depends on the people. I don't know what sort of people will come here in the future, but the children of the Welsh are very strong here now even though they don't speak the language. People support the culture.

Int:[w] Do you agree?

B: [w] Yes. People...the language is on the rise because there are 600 learners in Chubut, in the Chubut Province and there is a feeling there are 300 who speak Welsh fluently, not just 600 learners because there are lots of people who are taking Wlpn Courses or Improvers courses or Advanced courses a certainly there will be more learners (trk 4 9'00), but the difference is Welsh learners don't speak Welsh fluently and people who speak Welsh fluently teach learners here. That's what people from Wales want, people who speak Welsh fluently teaching students Welsh.

Y: [s] I think that there are lots of students of Welsh and lots of professionals from Wales who would like to learn Spanish to understand our culture and what happens in the Chubut. Us, on our premises, first one to know. In our house, we are going to have students from Wales who want to learn Spanish in the house. (trk 4 10'00) [w] You understand?

N: [w] It depends how much contact there is between Wales and the Colony, this will have a tremendous effect. If the contact grows then the language will grow naturally but if the contact is cut as in 1950 then it will die. The contact is a comfort, like you coming here to learn Spanish and speaking Welsh and Spanish. It depends on contact without it there will be no Welsh in the Colony.

Int: [w] Thank you for your time

Y: [w] One more thing, after learning Welsh [s] after learning Welsh, [w] my Welsh language is my second language, not English. They're fighting!

N: [w] It also depends on what happens to the language in Wales (trk 4 11'00) If you keep the language and it doesn't die in Wales, it will keep the culture in business for a time, if the Welsh doesn't stay in business it will be lost everywhere, but it's been kept alive for more than a hundred years and the status is still there.

Int: Thank you very much. What time is it? 5:15?

Y: [w] 5:20.

Int: 5:20. 13 November 2004 Chacra 76

Y: [w] A warm welcome to everyone in Wales!

Int: Thanks very much

B: [w] Bye!

GROUP 7

SUNDAY, 14<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

TEA HOUSE STAFF, GAIMAN

Translated from Spanish

.....

Int: Breuddwyd tea house, Gaiman, Sunday, 14 November, 2004. Seven o'clock. My name is Ian Johnson. I am a student at Cardiff University in Wales. I am here for my research which is regarding perceptions of people in the Chubut about the Welsh language and culture here. This is an interview for my research lasting between half an hour and three quarters. This is my university card for authentication. (trk 1 1'00) This is an anonymous interview, I won't use your names. I use a quote with a letter or say that it is someone from the café and not your names. If you are in agreement with this, could I ask you to say your name for the tape for my transcription and say that you are in agreement.

H: Yes, so we say our name and that's it. Perfect.

Int: I need your name for the tape. (trk 1 2'00)

H: Ok, no problems. H.

Int: Are you in agreement?

H: Yes, I agree.

O: O

H: And do you agree?

O: Yes, I agree

C: C and I agree.

Int: Good. Thank you for the tea!

All: You're welcome.

Int: First, could you explain your relationship with the Welsh language and culture in your experiences in your life? What are your experiences with the language or culture in your life?

C: Start? Well, when I was young I heard my grandmother speaking Welsh, lots of Welsh. They created Welsh and understood Spanish, so when I was young I heard lots of Welsh in the house and (trk 1 3'00) and taken part in lots of things, I have lived in Gaiman for twenty years and took part in lots of different cultural things through the years – the Eisteddfod, the chapels, when I was little I went to the chapel in Treorci



and everything in Welsh, it was quite, I listened, the songs in Welsh, playing the [unclear] in Welsh, that's my experiences with Welsh – with my grandmother.

H: In my house, we weren't brought up in Gaiman, we were brought up in [location] a bit further away from all of the Welsh things, (trk 1 4'00) we discovered everything about Welsh – the language, the music, the poetry when we came to Gaiman. So that was when we started in reality the close contact with Welshness, with the language with the elderly. My father is descended from the Welsh, he doesn't speak it much, but he understands, but he didn't pass the language on to us and now for example, my daughter can speak Welsh, started studying Welsh. It's a different relationship because we aren't living with the language. Because of that it's difficult at times for us to understand it, it's not the same case as C because she has experience of the Welsh language because she heard it when she was young. For us, it's new (trk 1 5'00).

O: Yes, my relationship with the Welsh started when I moved to Gaiman, because it's so close, the tea houses, people with Welsh names, the school where the choirs which sing in Welsh, the Eisteddfod, the Welsh culture is important in Gaiman. So, that's the relationship.

C: And you went to Colegio Camwy?

O: In Colegio Camwy they speak lots of Welsh, many people come who speak Welsh, more than anything else the relationship in Gaiman is with Welsh.

Int: Here in Gaiman, how much strength does the Welsh language and culture have?

H: Lots

O: A great deal

Int: What type? In what places can you hear people speaking Welsh?

H: In the shops, in the street, in the chapels.

C: The schools

H: In the schools (trk 1 6'00)

O: The majority of people in Gaiman....

C: In the house

H: They speak it in all places and ages. In Trelew, it's only in groups of those who are elderly but in Gaiman it's amongst the youngest right up to the oldest and in the supermarket there are people speaking Welsh.

O: In the street they speak Welsh.

H: There are more youngsters.

O: The young have more contact with Welsh in Gaiman

Int: Are there differences between levels and ages?

C: Yes

H: No, I don't think there is in Gaiman because the schools. We're speaking about...I'm thirty years old (trk 1 7'00) The twenty years here I have seen the schools increase in strength at all levels with the Welsh. There has been a resurgence in the Welsh language since then here with the greatest force in the last fifteen years.

O: With the Welsh language for many things

H: The connections with Wales and the schools here.

C: More than that, here in Gaiman, there's the grants to go to Wales. That motivates people more than in Trelew

O: In the secondary school, there is a scholarship. I don't know but they talk a lot about it. (trk 1 8'00)

H: We studied in Colegio Camwy, they are always receiving people from Wales, who are exchanging culturally and talk with the people and know the children.

O: It's a continuing relationship

H: So they talk about the interest.

Int: So, in the last fifteen years it's improved. What is the future for the Welsh language and culture?

O: More growth, yes

H: Yes

O: The last year has been a lot (trk 1 9'00). The Bardic Circle there were old people, young people and not just people who had a relationship with the Welsh culture, it's a different thing.

C: And it's attracting the youngsters

H: Yes, the youngsters

C: If you can attract the youngsters.

H: In the last five or six years, the young Welsh participate, those who are Welsh and those who aren't descended from the Welsh. They don't have a direct contact with the Welsh culture, ....

C: But that's not the youth everywhere, but the youth in Gaiman.

H: They recite in Welsh from very young, and take part...(trk 1 10'00) children who aren't Welsh descendants who, it seems that it's become more linguistic since it's been popularised.

O: They learn more about more things, the food, the traditions, they learn about everything

C: It used to be a very closed circle

O: No, now it's Spanish. What is happening in Gaiman is it's expanding a lot.

C: There aren't many people who aren't, because the Welsh blood is mixed so if you open it up you are talking about most of the people

O: The continuity, they stay whereas the other groups give up

H: When I arrived here fifteen years ago, the descendants of the Welsh maintained the purity of the blood so they looked down on me and my friends. (trk 2 1'00) but now when my daughter goes to the Welsh nursery there are children from all races. This is a new thing, from the last five years. It has a promising future.

O: I think so. It has strength.

Int: So the Welsh community have integrated...

H: There are groups of the population which are descended from Spaniards and Italians, yes. (trk 2 2'00)

Int: So, could you say that the Welsh community in Gaiman is the culture of the town or are there other cultures here as well?

H: No, you could say that Welsh community is the culture of Gaiman because the Welshness is part of Trevelin, Esquel, Trelew. These are the four foci of Welshness. Gaiman, Esquel and Trevelin where Welshness is strongest.

C: I live in Trelew and I think it's must stronger than here. What happens is that Trelew is much bigger, it doesn't seem it. I meet a whole load of people (trk 2 3'00) who live in Trelew and are Welsh from Trelew and I come to Gaiman and there are lots. It's much bigger in Trelew, but by comparison, no, but, in percentage, no, but in terms of numbers it's much more, including people who are also not part of the community who are studying Welsh

H: There is also an interest in everything Celtic in the past few years, the cakes. People like the language and so they're interested it. But in Gaiman, Gaiman is a very small city. (trk 2 4'00).

Int: What events are in the Welsh language here and what Welsh cultural events are there, Welsh cultural events which are in Spanish?

H: I don't understand.

O: What events?

Int: What events take place in Welsh here in Gaiman?

O: Are you referring to the Eisteddfod?

H: The Eisteddfod. Chapel service, Sunday school, Music school singing and Welsh folk dancing, classes for infants and adults in Welsh. These are all taught in Welsh, all part of the language, the literature, the music with the Welsh dancing school, and after that the theme of exchange with people which is continually happening (trk 2 5'00).

C: To me, something else is the harp, that is something which is very Welsh.

H: There's the church, the service, the Sunday school, the religion,

Int: Welsh culture, but in Spanish?

H: In Spanish...

Int: Are there things?

H: Things which are of Welsh origin which are...in Spanish

C: The Eisteddfod

H: that's part Welsh

C: and part Spanish (trk 2 6'00)

H: The religious services again

C: part Welsh and part Spanish

Int: What idea does the Welsh community have of...

H: of other communities?

Int: No, of the Welsh community?

O: What we think of the Welsh community? Or what the Welsh community thinks of us?

Int: The Welsh community on the Welsh community

H: Us on us. Yes.

C: I think that here in Gaiman, I'm not sure, but I come from Gaiman and they are from away and less part of the circle in Gaiman (trk 2 7'00). I think that the Welsh community think they are the most important. I don't mean that badly. Other communities aren't as good as the Welsh

H: Yes

O: Superior

C: Other communities are the same, of course, every one is very...

H: The first foreign community which established themselves in this zone is the Welsh. They founded the communities here, the Welsh community, so there is an importance better with regards to the other communities who are grateful to the Welsh for founding these communities, so the Welsh, yes (trk 2 8'00) as descendents of the Welsh they have an importance so the Welsh community has an importance.

C: Those who speak yes then those who don't speak Welsh, it's like a discrimination. They mark out.

O: By surname as well, in Colegio Camwy it's like, "They're Welsh, They're Welsh". You could do it differently

H: Definitely.

Int: And what do the other communities think of the Welsh?

C: Here in Gaiman a lot, impressively a lot, everyone. (trk 2 9'00), but they aren't the same they don't...

O: They don't notice it.

H: There are Spaniards and Italians but they are integrated. There is an Spanish club and an Italian club and a Spanish theatre which are, they say that the Welsh. The Italian and Spanish communities are more fortalized, they are more... ????. So, they're not groups. They don't have the notoriety of the Welsh who are more interested in their tradition, yes.

O: Nor do the other communities don't have events like the Welsh do

H: Exactly. Because of this, the Welsh community are more Celtic

O: There aren't events like the Welsh, I never...

H: Because of this, the Welsh community is more Celtic. (trk 2 10'00)

O: ...in the Italian community there are no parties, but in Gaiman I never saw

H: Nor in Trelew either

C: in the theatre

O: That's what puts the Welsh above the others

H: And the others obviously, the other communities obviously see...

O: It could change...

C: No (trk 2 10'30).

H: No, carry on. Does that answer your question?

Int: Yes, yes

O: Is this what you want?

Int: There aren't any wrong answers!

H: Yes, but what it is is that we don't know what you want

Int: What it is is that these are general questions, so it's whatever you want.

H: Ok.

Int: But this is for you especially, what is the importance of the Welsh language or culture for the tourism industry.

C: Very, very important, especially in Gaiman. Gaiman, I think is reliant on tourism. (trk 3 1'00). There's the cheese factory and then the algae factory and...tourism

O: Gaiman's economic strength is the Welsh culture,

C: As Graciela said, the Welsh culture is Gaiman. All of the stuff about tea here,.. But Gaiman exists for tourism.

H: Tourism comes to Gaiman for the famous Welsh tea. Yes, the Welsh come here to take Welsh tea from Wales. It's beautiful. (muffled comments) Apart from that, Gaiman is a different area with people geographically,(trk 3 2'00) the names, the Welsh language amongst the people, the names of shops and the names of the geographical places.

Int: You have a Welsh name for your tea-house, café. Why?

C: Because it couldn't be another name. It couldn't have another.

H: Because we wanted one word for the café. We searched in Welsh for one word, because we wanted to use the language.

C: We couldn't use another name.

O: If you look around Gaiman you'll see that the majority of names are in Welsh. (trk 3 3'00).

H: Apart from that there's the design, the dragon, the daffodil, what else? The Welsh lady, the traditional dress, it's all part of the thing in Gaiman to get people's attention.

Int: Is there a relation between the tourism, the economy and the growth in the Welsh culture here.

C: Yes

H: Yes, here the majority of people who are involved in business have studied a bit of the language or ...

C: ..Or something which is from the Welsh part

H: Because that's the way to get attention. Here the people who come here for tourism, internally as well as internationally (trk 3 4'00) the first thing they ask is if you have a Welsh surname. They don't want to meet a Gonzalez, a Fernandez or a Garcia attending to them. It's not important, because the families are all mixtures but we are Welsh. They come for a stereotype, they are looking for a stereotype, obviously, the people want a full tea for their visit, and that has an economic growth. One famous tea house in Gaiman is the tea house visited by Lady Diana, owned by a Spanish family, but they...all of their employees are descendants of the Welsh. What they have is that everyone is a Welsh descendant. (trk 3 5'00) They are learning Welsh. Does that answer your question?

Int: Well, so is the growth ...

H: The economy is dependant on the Welsh culture.

Int: Does the growth come from economy or are there reasons more from the heart?

C: As well, for me, yes. For me, yes, they are interested in the business and in making money through a café with pizza, because it's not normal in this place. There aren't other things for work. More than anything else they say, my great grandmother, my grandmother (trk 3 6'00)

O: Continuing the tradition

C: Continuing the tradition

Int: You don't speak Welsh, no?

C: No

H: Very little.

O: Very little

Int: How much is very little?

H: Very little is...15% I can understand

O: Almost nothing

H: Almost nothing. But we came to Gaiman when we were grown up, we have a Welsh descendance but we lived a long way from the other Welsh, so the interest came more or less during our adolescence here. We weren't part of everything, of the church, we didn't have friends who were part of the Welsh culture.

Int: Do you have motivation to learn the language? (trk 3 7'00)

All: Yes,

O: I'd certainly be interested in learning more.

H: Me more than anything for my daughter because she likes it, goes to the Welsh nursery school, and the only thing I know is the songs that I know from my father and it's very frustrating because I don't understand what she says in Welsh, so I'm interested but not for tourism or business because for that English is better. Better to have Italian than Welsh. In tourism it's the same, a tourist will ask for a few words rather than anything else. It's like that, it's more subtle in English than Welsh.

Int: How many Welsh tourists do you get here in comparison to English, French, Portuguese, Italian? (trk 3 8'00)

H: Well, the importance of the language or rather the preponderance is that everyone speaks English in secondary school. In addition, there are lots of institutes which teach English and with globalisation and all that people have a conscious need for English for everything.

O: It's practically indispensable.

H: So the majority of children speak English. After that, languages like French or Italian are important again for the family if you come from an Italian family. If you live in Trelew there is a French teacher and an important group of students who learn French, after that English and then Welsh. In terms of percentages who speak foreign languages, there's English, Welsh and then the rest.(trk 3 9'00).

C: In terms of tourism, in the zone, there aren't any Welsh guides, not a single guide in Welsh. In English, there are lots the majority. In French there are three or four. Italian there aren't anymore.

H: Italian is more because it's easy to speak Italian from French.

C: The differences between Italian and French are very little.

H: Yes.



C: Practically the same, and also because some of them are descendants of French and Italians and so...

H: I've got a French grandmother so as a child I was used to short stories in French in my grandmother's house, so when I had the chance in secondary school to choose between French and English, I chose French. (trk 3 10'00) Yes, but the majority chose English.

Int: Could I ask about the relationship between English and Welsh here because there are names of businesses in Welsh, there aren't in English, but if I go to the tourism office there are no brochures in Welsh, but there are in English. So what is the relationship between Welsh and English here and what are the thoughts of people here. English is useful and Welsh is for the heart?

C: Yes, because English is ..whatever tourist comes here, whether they're Chinese or Japanese,

H: Italian, French

C: They all understand it

H: All of the foreigners speak English

C: There are very few who speak Welsh, and those who come from Wales speak English as well. All of the tourism, from wherever they come, the only lingua franca is English. Unfortunately.

H: English is a window of access to all of the touristic things, for this (trk 4 1'00) if you go to the tourist office all of the brochures are in English and Spanish, but nothing in Welsh. Last year they started to translate into other languages but they don't need it. But last year they started to translate into other languages. But Welsh is more a question of the heart for the importance of Welsh culture not because people who come here necessarily know about Welsh.

C: No, the people who come here pay a lot of attention to the language. "How do you write this in Welsh?" "How do you say this in Welsh?" because it seems that above all the Argentines, foreigners, no, because they know more about Wales. There are lots of Spaniards, a few English as well, but the Argentines pay a lot of attention (trk 4 2'00) to the idea that there's a small village in Argentina which speaks another language. Since it's nothing like English.

H: The majority of Argentine tourism that visit us think that Welsh is a bit like English and that they are written more or less the same and then they discover in the town all of the names and all of the things that are so different and the same with the café and all of the letters which are different in Welsh, so there's a lot of attention.

Int: For the people who live here what is, apart from tourism and business, what is the most important and why? (trk 4 3'00)

C: Which language?

Int: Yes

H: The question is this. There exist children who participate in the Welsh classes and go to the Welsh school for parochial interest.

C: For the culture, yes, to support the culture.

H: For the culture, while they go and learn English while they are young because they have to. English is a necessity to get access to work. If you are going to go to university you have to speak it before because of the internet for all of the globalization, exactly. But Welsh is taught to the children, it's a family thing, from the heart, it's like that. You don't learn Welsh for six years because it's important for tourism, that would be silly, while English is serious because it's necessary. (trk 4 4'00).

O: It's continuing a tradition

H: Welsh?

O: As a child, yes, because it's important to keep it.

Int: Good, thank you very much. I have to go and get a bus.

C: You're going to Trelew? Do you want to wait a while?

Int: Oh, in that case, have you got five minutes more?

All: Yes

Int: Ok, what support does Welsh culture and language receive?

C: Support?

Int: From the press, the government, from Wales?

C: The press? More or less, or rather the community (trk 4 5'00) ...a review??? Or at the Eisteddfod time when there's so much on or when there's some programme or other on the radio. What there is there are programmes, not the majority...

H: Yes, apart there are media which broadcast in Welsh, but I think that it's the same community who listen to these programmes, because as well there is a growth of the knowledge of Welsh culture and go "oh, Welsh, good".

C: It's like in something regional or monthly like Gazzetta or El Regional.

H: Apart from that, there was something from Irma Jones in Welsh, and after that...(trk 4 6'00)

C: Her daughter does it now

H: Irma's daughter?

C: Yes, but I can't remember what it was called

O: Irma's paper? Y Drafod

C: Yes, Y Drafod. There is more, but it's not a daily.

H: The provincial government as well gives support at the time of the Eisteddfod.

O: More than anything with the organisation

H: Some support for reparations of the chapels

O: More than anything else it's for obligation, they go and see it

C: They always, for the community, the government for convenience or (trk 4 7'00) they help with the schools, of course, it's in another language but it's more flexible...

H: And from Wales, as well there's important support

O: From Wales, yes.

C: For the last ten-fifteen years, there have been teachers

H: For the last fifteen years, since the growth started, not just with money but with growing awareness of the language and culture.

C: People come here and there are grants for people to go and learn the language. It's very important.

H: But here the government aren't (trk 4 8'00) so punctual, it's not a continuous support. If you look at the community, then there's little.

Int: What is Gaiman's advantage with the Welsh language and culture?

H: The advantages? ..It's a very small community with a cultural space. It's a quiet way and I don't know how to explain it. In Trelew, there aren't activities for the young, and it's all more dispersed (trk 4 9'00) while here the children are kept active with groups of activities that are related to the dancing or literature classes, the language, the Sunday school. It's as if there are a lot more options for the children and for the adults as well. It's a space to meet people with the same interests. It's a small community which isn't like they're losing something.

Int: Any more comments? No, nothing more? (trk 4 10'00)

O: No, I think that's everything.

Int: In that case, thanks very much for your 40 minutes and...[location], Sunday, 14<sup>th</sup> November, 7:45. Thanks very much!

All: Thank you

GROUP 8

MONDAY, 15<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

STAFF, COLEGIO CAMWY, GAIMAN.

Translated from Welsh

.....

Int: Colegio Camwy staff, 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2004, 10:45, no 10:40, everyone looking at their watches! My name is Ian Johnson, a student in Cardiff University. Here's my ID card if you'd like to laugh at the photo. I am doing research regarding the image of people in the Chubut Valley and Cwm Hyfryd, the Cordillera regarding Welsh language and culture in the Chubut Province. This conversation is part of a project, I will be writing part of this conversation with are suitable, in my PhD but I won't be using your names, I'll use a letter, such as 'I' in place of your name, or a teacher from the Chubut said and quote in place of your name. The conversation will take around half an hour – three quarters and if there are any problems, if you have to leave for whatever reason, then tell me and I'll stop the tape as I'm sure there are far more important things to do than talk to me! I have a list of questions, I won't be asking them in the order on the paper, just as they come up because this is a conversation rather than an interview, so it's not question-answer, question-answer(trk 1 2'00). What I'm going to ask first is that if you agree with the terms, i.e. not using your name, taping the conversation, is to give your name on the tape to make it easier for me when I write it up later and to say that you agree with the conditions.

I: No problem at all if you want my name. I'm I from Gaiman, [age] years old.

Int: [age]? You look like 25!

D: D [age] years old from Coleg Camwy as well.

Int: And do you agree with..?

D: Yes, I agree.

Q: Q, [age] (laughs), and I agree as well.

Int: Right

I: I'll have to shave!

Int: I think everyone's looking good today! Ok (trk 1 3'00) First can I ask to explain a little about your relationship with Welsh language and culture here in "the Colony". What do you think about the use of the phrase "Y Wladfa".

I: No problem with how it sounds in Welsh. "Y Wladfa", but it's difficult to translate because when you say "la Colonia" or in English "Colony", people go hmmm, it's a bad thing. It's difficult, but no problem with "Y Wladfa", it sounds very poetic!

Int: Before, I saw a badge in a shop yesterday with “la Colonia Galesa del Chubut” and I thought, oooh, “la colonia” “the colony” doesn’t sound nice, there’s something in it.(trk 1 4’00) What do you think about the word?

Q: I agree with I, “Y Wladfa” sounds ok. People don’t like saying “la colonia”.

I: People have put stress on the thing, so...

Int: D?

D: The same thing. For as long as I can remember it’s been the colony, “Y Wladfa”.

Int: It’s something that sounds ok to you in Welsh? But once you translate it into Spanish or English, it’s ooohhh.. The question was could you explain your relationship with the Welsh language and culture here in Y Wladfa, the Chubut? Rebecca?

Q: I used to live in [other location], so I spoke a lot of Welsh with my Dad and with my Mum as well, so a little bit different to the majority of people (trk 1 5’00). I was living in [other location] until I was eight and I had lots of relatives in Wales.

Q: I went to a Welsh school and after coming back tried to keep up my Welsh by speaking to my grandmother and my mum, of course. That’s it, more or less.

Int: What do you do these days with the Welsh language and culture? Anything?

Q: Well, I have re-started Y Drafod, the regional paper, but that’s only just started, so. I used to go to classes, but there’s not enough time, well I speak to get a bit of practice, going to try and do a bit more this year, but it’s difficult. (trk 1 6’00)

Int: It is difficult. D?

D: Well, I’m a quarter Welsh on my mum’s side, Grandmother “Nain” Evans. I have learnt Welsh, I started learning Welsh in 1992. Before that, I’d heard Welsh and used Welsh words but couldn’t speak fluently. I started in 1992 and in 1995 I went to do a course in Lampeter, I got a scholarship to go to Lampeter, and I went to Wales in 1999 to do a tutor’s course. I taught until last year, I taught Welsh in primary school out of the school timetable (trk 1 7’00) and this year I have left the class, but I’m chair of the Welsh lessons in Gaiman. Every year we try and help Welsh.

Int: Very good.

I: With me, my dad’s family come from Italy. My name is I, but Evans is my grandmother on my dad’s side. Jones is my grandfather so I am of Welsh stock there. I started learning Welsh in 1992 in night classes, then in 1993 I went to college in Lampeter and did a two month course there and then started teaching as a teacher in 1994 and took my first course and still teaching after ten years now (trk 1 8’00). I have been very lucky and been to Wales several times to in 1996 I went to Coleg Harlech to do a Welsh literature course and then the tutor’s course a little bit of everything, excuse to go to Wales. As D said, I started the Ysgol Gymraeg Y Wladfa

and there is a committee and I do the secretarial work for that. We try and help anything which is an activity, a Welsh activity, I introduce the Eisteddfod in Welsh and Spanish, introduce anything if people ask me to do it, I try and help everything and now I'm organising the Welsh camp with D, if you can help then a welcome to everyone.

Int: Very interesting. Lots of activities. (trk 1 9'00)

I: Are you coming?

Q: When are you leaving?

Int: I'm leaving on the 30<sup>th</sup>.

Q: When's the camp?

I: It's the 20<sup>th</sup>, this weekend.

Int: I'll try and be there. How much of the language and culture is there here in Gaiman?

I: Well, there's enough, I think, but what you have to know is which people can speak Welsh, for example, on this street, Michael D Jones, you could knock on every door in the street, and you'll find that the majority of people will speak or understand Welsh but if you walk and say something to someone then maybe people won't speak to you and I think of children who have learnt Welsh with me since 94 or 95, lots of people have been through the Welsh classes and I'm sure that they can understand a little (trk 1 10'00) but I don't know if they can speak.

D: Spanish is the first language

I: Well, of course.

D: But if you speak Welsh then people will turn to Welsh straight away almost everyone.

I: There are lots of people on the farm who speak Welsh

Q: Yes

I: But if you ask them they say they don't speak a word of Welsh. Then if they realise that someone first language from Wales has come then they answer in Welsh, they're very interesting.

D: Lots of people on the farms were raised in Welsh, raised in Welsh and heard Welsh until they went to primary school. (trk 1 10'45). Had heard Welsh perhaps more than Spanish, and raised through Welsh.

Int: So lots of people understand the language but they use Spanish if they choose?

I: Well, my grandmother and grandfather spoke Welsh but not in the house, and that's why mum doesn't speak a word of Welsh. Now, my mum comes to my night classes to learn Welsh and complains to my grandma, "hey why didn't you teach me Welsh?". Something happened in the fifties, sixties, people didn't want to teach Welsh to children, because people would make jokes and laugh at them for using the language, but a lot understand, (trk 2 1'00) understand rather than speak.

Int: Right, what are the Welsh activities in the Welsh language or in Spanish as well which are "Welsh" in Gaiman? To someone who comes from outside the area, the country, like me, what are the Welsh activities amongst the Welsh community?

[interruption – D leaves]

I: Would you like to say something about the question?

Q: Well, there's the Eisteddfod, Noson Lawen, I don't know how many Noson Lawen there are in the year? (trk 2 2'00)

I: Well, we do one from one year to the next there at the end of the Welsh classes and now there's the Welsh camp for the children at the end of the year and we are doing a camp for the children who are learning Welsh through the year and it's a sort of prize for the, well, if you come to the Welsh lessons then you get a camp at the end of it. The plant in Camwy do a micro-eisteddfod

Q: Micro-Eisteddfod Bethel.

I: Something like..

Q: That's very Welsh

I: Young people's Eisteddfod, lots this year, competing in the Welsh competitions, and of course celebrating St Davids Day and celebrating Gwyl y Glaniad, when the Welsh arrived here in 1865 on 28<sup>th</sup> July, so...(trk 2 3'00)

Q: Gorsedd

I: Gorsedd, dinner for one reason or another, people do recitals or dance, maybe you've seen some of these things.

Int: There are lots of special events, but is there anything which happens regularly? Things that take place every week or every month or people, something that happens in the background, when you're walking down the street, "Hi, how are you?" things like that?

Q: Bois y Bwthyn Bach, they do...?

I: Yes, every Friday night a group of guys

Q: Men, that's why I can't tell you much about it! (trk 2 4'00)



I: Since 1992, we started Bois Y Bwthyn Bach, we used to meet on Tuesday night after the night class in the Bwthyn and have supper. So, it became difficult to do it on Tuesday because we changed a little bit and it became difficult to get up the following day so we moved it to Friday night, so what do we do? We have asados, conversations, Welsh, Spanish, we mix the two languages, lots of singing Welsh songs, that's natural, people who don't understand a word of Welsh can sing in Welsh and Carlos over there sits in a corner and talks in Welsh and invites people who are around and free to come to the bwthyn and have an asado so that's something more natural and if you meet with anyone of the bwthyn on the street (trk 2 5'00) or in the video shop then it's hello, "shwmae?" or talk on the phone in Welsh.

Int: Is there something similar for women as well or are they just in the house cooking?

Q: Oh...women of the night

I: Women of the night (laughs) Sounds very good.

Q: No, there's nothing similar.

Int: What about the choir? How much welsh is in the choir? Is it just the songs that are in Welsh?

Q: Oh, yes, I think, I don't sing, do you?

I: No, I've got three children, so I don't have the time

Q: There's a bit of Welsh singing

I: They try to keep the, the choirs sing, Gaiman Music School tries to keep it as tradition. The Gaiman choir sing songs from Wales, they try to keep it, it's important.(trk 2 6'00)

Int: Right, how do you compare...no, another question first. Is there a difference between the ages here? Do old people speak more Welsh than young people? Do middle-aged people speak Welsh? How does the structure work? Could you say it like that?

Q: Well, old people, they speak Welsh differently, they speak old Welsh because the Welsh that young people learn is more modern Welsh and they....(trk 2 7'00)

Int: Can I ask if that is that because they're learning Welsh from Wales rather than what's been passed down the generations?

Q: Well, the Welsh that the children are learning has definitely come from Wales.

I: From Wales, well, we are adapting things such as the past, such as the gorffennol cryno for example such as "nes i fynd" that's the way we're trying to teach with "gyda" or "gen i" something which have been adapted for Y Wladfa but many of the activities and books that the children have come from Wales so that's the Welsh that

they have but I have found it a bit difficult to learn Welsh at first because the old people who speak Welsh as first language (trk 2 8'00) who have been brought up, as Carlos said, through Welsh think that they are the only people who can speak Welsh and the idea that other people could say a word in Welsh

Int: ....D has returned...

I: Now, we are doing a Welsh-Spanish dictionary, which will be ready in a month, but the Welsh, some of the old people who speak Welsh, have been saying, "you're doing a dictionary? But I know more Welsh than you!" and I'm like well, make a dictionary then, I don't have a problem. It's some people, not everyone, but there's a bit of jealousy somewhere that, because there's a lot of different Welsh that they have. Language of the Bible, perhaps? (trk 2 9'00). The church here, they've kept the Welsh here, the pure language, but a language isn't pure....

Q: It changes.

Int: Just to let D know, I was asking about the differences between ages, between old people and young people speaking Welsh, in a different way. Old people speak Welsh differently.

D: I remember when I arrived back from Lampeter and I wanted to speak Welsh to my mum and she didn't understand. Because my mum's family came from the north and so she was, "I don't understand, you're not speaking Welsh, what are you speaking?" because they use a different vocabulary, not every word, but....(trk 2 10'00)

I: After you spend two months with everyone talking to you and communicating and then

D: "nawr, rwan", what else?!

I: I'm sure you know.

Int: Yes, sometimes I have to speak in Spanish because they don't understand me in Welsh. I've travelled all this way to speak Welsh and when I get here I speak Spanish! Right, what about middle-aged, young people, how much Welsh do they use? Do they understand Welsh? Do they speak...Are they enthusiastic about the language?

I: Do you think my mum's middle-aged? (trk 2 11'00)

Q: I'm very lucky because I know my grandfather so I've learnt a lot with him, but my aunt doesn't speak Welsh. She's younger than my mum, and my mum doesn't speak Welsh in the house which is why the situation is a bit different with my mum. I think that there isn't a lot of Welsh amongst the middle-aged, they've started to learn as we said recently.

I: You can see this at the Eisteddfod, because lots of the old people come up to you and speak Welsh to you, but the middle-aged some of the understand, a few can

speak as first language, lots have come back to classes to re-start so they're learning Welsh in the school now.

D: I think that young people need to have lots (trk 3 1'00) of opportunities to speak Welsh because we speak Welsh when we have to speak Welsh, maybe we have opportunities when people from Wales such as you come, when we have to speak Welsh. But it's a different thing for young people, that's why we are organising the Welsh camp, trying to get people to speak in Welsh. In the Eisteddfod this year, lots of people from Wales came, but old people, hopefully they won't be listening to this! Old people and when you meet these people, they're always old people who speak to old people from the area, not with young people and there aren't chances for young people to speak. I think it needs more opportunities for young people to come and see Y Wladfa.

I: Such as Ysgol Gwynlliw this year had an impact on young people here because they organised a party on the Friday and on the Monday everyone was talking about it.

D: I remember when we were learning Welsh there was a choir of women and men young came and we wanted to talk with the girls so we had to speak Welsh and practise our Welsh.

Int: What are people's motivations for learning and studying Welsh here? I'm just thinking, Q you speak Welsh as first language? (trk 3 3'00)

Q: Well.....

Int: Ok, as a group of learners, as we're all learners, what are your motivations for learning the language?

I: Well, for me, my ex girlfriend spoke Welsh and seeing so many things coming through Welsh. I went to the choir and sang in Welsh but didn't understand a word. Sometimes in Coleg Camwy a group would come, books would come, presents for me. I would say "thank you". Eisteddfodau, choirs, dancing, everything and then teachers started coming from Wales to teach night classes and I thought, oh, here's my chance. I must have been 20 years old when I started learning welsh (trk 3 4'00) so that. My ex-girlfriend was the reason though.

D: Well, I'm not sure yet why I started learning Welsh. Maybe because I'd heard Welsh in my house, because my grandmother spoke Welsh to my mum and in that time, Welsh was for gossip, well, I don't know, to be honest, why, but I've learnt Welsh and I'm happy to teach Welsh and I'm trying to help the language and trying to help everyone who wants to learn it.

Q: Well, Welsh was my first language but when I came to Argentina when I was eight I didn't speak a word of Spanish (trk 3 5'00) so I had to learn Spanish and well I lost a lot in that time and well, when I started going to classes, when did Gwilym come here, 91?

I: Yes, 91

Q: because I had lost a lot and I wanted to practice because I had a lot of contacts in Wales who were very important.

Int: What are other people's motivations for learning Welsh do you think, in general?

Q: Why they want to learn Welsh?

I: I don't know. One of the reasons as we said is that they want to know what's going on, what's the meaning behind the words they hear or (trk 3 6'00) after the Eisteddfod, people who come, maybe they think, well, of course they have to do Welsh now. In the first year at Coleg Camwy they had to choose Welsh or French but we had 22 who chose Welsh and 9 who chose French. I don't know why, because they think that there are so many things in the language and they don't want to be kept out of the thing.

Int: In the time that's left to us, I'd like to ask a couple of questions. How do the Welsh community see themselves? Important? Interesting? Uninteresting?

Q: Different, maybe. That's what I would say (trk 3 7'00). Not everyone, but we speak Welsh so we're different.

Int: Exotic?

I: Yeh.

Q: I think that's the idea

I: And this had a bad impact years ago on the language. Because we were the little Welsh who kept hold of the language as a symbol, as we were saying, if you try and do something, they go, "why you? I can do it better than you" Well, do it then if you want! Everyone, for example with the choice who should go to Wales to do the course at Lampeter, for example, everyone wants to give an opinion. Why? Why? Come to the Welsh classes, help out in the Welsh classes and then you can give an opinion if you want to. (trk 3 8'00) But those are the people who have kept it as a precious precious jewel but they have kept it, fair play, but we want space as well.

Int: How do people outside the Welsh community see the Welsh community?

I: [s] Los Galensos, Los Galensos

Int: Do they see them as someone good or..?

Q: It depends.

Int: It's hard to answer, I know.

I: It's an economic situation. For example, if you come from outside of Trelew where the economy isn't very good and you know about the scholarships from Wales with the blonde hair and blue eyes with money, they've got lots of money, los Galensos,

better off than us, break in and steal things because they've got enough money (trk 3 9'00) They think that we're a group...

Int: ..economically well off?

I: Yes, but it isn't true, we work through the night. Some don't realise that we exist. Because I was in university, studying literature and there were people studying with me, language of the area, didn't know what the Eisteddfod was!

Q: Yeh,

I: You're doing literature, I think at once of the Eisteddfod. Where have they been living? How can you not know what's happening? There are some who are like Galensos and some who live in the area.

Q: A lot of things have changed over the years as well because maybe ten years ago, people might have thought (trk 3 10'00) [s] closed Welsh [w] and that they couldn't be part of the group but with the lessons things have changed because people who don't have Welsh roots are learning Welsh, so that has changed.

I: In Bryn Gwyn, for example, lots of the children are from the farm and they come from Bolivia and they are learning Welsh at the start, about eight years ago, (trk 3 10'30) their first language was Quechua and then Spanish but they're doing very well learning Welsh. But they see that learning Welsh gives them some sort of status.

Int: Five minutes more, is that okay or do you have to leave?

I: Ok.

Int: Ok, what is the importance of the Welsh language and culture to tourism here?

Q: It's a good business.

I: They get help from the town's Mayor. What happens is that tourists arrives through Madryn and comes down to the Valley, to us, to Gaiman, tea and then goes again. People come with groups from Wales who organise everything because it provides work for the restaurants and the shops. (trk 4 1'00) We need to organise things from here, I think.

Int: Like what?

I: Tourism, such as organising trips from here, because people who come from Wales with groups, they take the money and they're very good, 25 people come and eat and then go, thank you very much, while they're making thousands of pounds. They should pay something to the town, those who are organising trips should give money back to the community because there are lots of people here like me who go, ooh, people from Wales what can we organise for them (trk 4 2'00) and year after year, you can see them making money and get a "thanks for your help, I". That's it. Something should stay in the College or the...

Int: Community responsibility?

I: Yes, we're happy to have people from Wales but, just one example, this is my Italian coming through occasionally, the Bwthyn that we were talking about earlier had an asado on a Friday and one of the people who was organising a trip from Wales came in and said people from Wales have arriving so we said come and have an asado with us on Friday, people from Wales, welcome to come, (trk 4 3'00), so we did the same as we do with the Bwthyn so on the first night, you don't pay, have food, drink, everything and afterwards one night my mum owns a food shop and I saw the programme of one of the people who had come and it said "Friday: Supper with Bois y Bwthyn". So they had paid in Wales for the trip and here we knew nothing about it. Some people are using us and saying nothing to us. That's sickening, I must say. That's something and we know now. After that, I just thought, fine, well, if you want to come well, we'll give permission and decide who comes and who doesn't. (trk 4 4'00) Pay for the meat and come. The same thing for example with the chapel, people are coming....fuss fuss fuss, but people have paid for the trip, the chapel is part of it and perhaps the chapel doesn't ...with 200 or more people coming, I'm sure they made a lot of money out of it all.

Int: Sorry....

I: No, it's our fault, because we should organise things better

Q: Yes.

I: For example, if I go to Saint Fagans, I pay. If you come to Patagonia, you pay. You must pay. If you go to a chapel, pay, one peso that's all, don't make it a collection, make them pay! (trk 4 5'00).

(laughs)

I: No, don't put that next to my name. Well said, D!!!

(laughs)

Q: People who come from other places, from other countries, find it very interesting to see places with Welsh names so there's a good business in that like the tea-houses, museums, but there's a lot more to be done.

I: Oh, yes, we are starting to realise how important it is the area sometimes.

Int: We were talking earlier about how people were choosing to do Welsh rather than French here in Coleg Camwy. How does Welsh compare with other, big languages in the world to people who live here? (trk 4 6'00) How does it compare with French, German, Italian, English?

I: Everyone here, all the children, knows that English is very very important. They choose Welsh to use their knowledge, to take part in things that come through the school, so if they don't choose Welsh then they keep out of some of the interesting

things that the school organises, I think. The English is very important, not French, but English.

Q: There's no choice, they have to have the English. They can't choose

I: They do English every year until the end. They know how important the English is (trk 4 7'00). The choice of Welsh is..maybe it's fashionable.

Int: I'm asking a question about how you compare Welsh language and culture with the Spanish language and culture which is around all day, every day. The reason I'm asking is that I've had this conversation with people from Wales, travelling through the area, through Y Wladfa in the past few months, we have English as first language, often it's our parents first language, but we speak Welsh together, English is just a language that we can speak which is useful in the world but we have no feelings about English. Is there the same sort of feelings between Welsh and Spanish here, or do people not think much about issues like this? (trk 4 8'00). Or is this just because Welsh is very political in Wales?

Q: It depends on who you're talking to, I am used to speaking Welsh with my grandmother because it's natural. With friends of people who are learning Welsh, it's more natural to speak Spanish, I think.

I: Yes, it's very difficult to change people's patterns. With Q I speak Spanish and I speak Welsh, no problem. My wife has learnt Welsh like me and we speak in Spanish because it's our first language in which we got to know each other. [Person] speaks in Spanish to me, afterwards, if she wants to say something important to me, she switches to Welsh. That's the pattern! It's like you Welsh, him Spanish (trk 4 9'00) and that's why sometimes when I'm speaking to friend on the phone, I talk to them in Welsh but when we meet on the street we speak in Spanish. With the phone I can't see his face which makes the conversation, why I speak on the phone in Welsh and Spanish on the street...pphhh

Int: Interesting

I: It depends on with whom you're speaking. If I'm speaking to a committee meeting of the Welsh school, where everyone speaks Welsh, some as first language, starts in Spanish and we read the minutes of the previous meeting, and we turn to Welsh afterwards but start in Spanish.

Int: Ok, well as you know, I've been here for a few months and I've seen these patterns (trk 4 10'00) people who can speak Welsh but choose to speak Spanish, so what is the purpose. We've spoken about the motivations, but what is the purpose learning the language. What do you do with the language once you've learnt it? Is it just another language in your repertoire like Italian or something else, or does it have a purpose to the community to use it and, well, is there...? You've spent ten years learning something, now what?

I: No, I know what you .. in a pub in [location], a small village in Wales. We went there in 1993, we were the three first to go to Lampeter to do the Lampeter course in 1993 (trk 4 11'00). At the end of the course we had an excellent night and someone in

the pub asked us what we would do when we went back, with our Welsh, he said and I said that I was going to teach it as a teacher and a friend said, who had taught Welsh to me, and I started complaining and hey, why, you speak Welsh to me, that's enough, he said, but I knew at the start what to do with the language. He taught it to me and I'm still going, teaching it to children. My children understand Welsh well, they're 3, 2 and 1 but can understand commands in Welsh and some things in Welsh and they're learning the language naturally (trk 5 1'00) and they'll have the choice if they want to use the language if they want to or if they don't. What I don't want to do is them to complain hey, why didn't you teach it to me. But I already after learning I knew what I was going to do with the language. Lots of people in the community and since 93, well, more than 100 people have been to Lampeter so my ex-girlfriend and a few others whereas now I'm sure that 200 can speak Welsh fluently after going to Lampeter, so I know that they can use it.

Q: Well, I don't teach Welsh, I like speaking Welsh, and I taught myself as well. I like reading, I like reading the news on the internet (trk 5 2'00) BBC and things like that and keeping contact with people in Wales of course. I like understanding things that I read, music, so it's very important.

Int: Last one, thank you very much for your time (laughs) What do you think of the support that Welsh receives here, when I'm talking about support, I'm thinking about what the schools do, what the government does, what the media does, who is supporting the Welsh language and culture well, who is bad, and how can we, should we improve the ...sorry, this isn't one question at all is it, should we improve the support, and how and why?

I: Well, (trk 5 3'00), the project, the Welsh project, the sending of teachers has been a big help to us. It was very good as well having the voluntary teachers, that was a good way of opening doors, I think. I don't think that we've had a lot of help from the local government, for example, we give the classes here to children in the school, it's part of the curriculum, but the government don't pay. Coleg Camwy pays. We get more help from outside of our country than from the Province. You strive every day to achieve something, don't know why you don't get the help but then it's ooh, Coleg Camwy, what else? We've had a lot of help from the Welsh government, Welsh Office, (trk 5 4'00) the Wales-Argentina Association who fund people to go on courses because I think the Lampeter course is the best course that they could have. Send people who are learning Welsh to Wales where they can learn the language in the place. Then people come back fluent, everyone improves. But the local government, if they were to help us, then we could keep Welsh in the school without worrying about the money that's coming out, from Wales, from England, from wherever it's coming from. Lack of money. It helps at the end of the month, it pays some of the things. I don't want to give more Welsh lessons, I've got three children at home and they need a dad at home. (trk 5 5'00) You can't give the job to someone else, because it's not a job. It's money for a class and you can earn well. If the local government said, we'll pay, you have the insurance and the medical, then those are the biggest problems that we have, I think.

Int: The province don't appreciate...?



I: The college pays and the Camwy Association helps and the St Davids help to work in Bryn Gwyn and St Davids Association helps to pay me every month, why? A raffle or something to get a bit of money for me and then the government say, “good work, carry on!”

Q: It’s the same thing with Y Drafod, it comes out four times a year and the St David pays for that and we get a little bit of help from local shops and you can’t make money with Welsh (trk 5 6’00). You have to do something else there’s not a lot of time with people to do the things that they would like to do.

I: Because people say, how many classes do you give, and go, oh, very good, but I would like to live in teaching Welsh, in the morning, in the afternoon, but you can’t live like that. For example, we’re paid 10 pesos per hour and if you don’t do the hour you don’t get paid. If you’re ill, you don’t get paid, the money comes from Wales and then in December, there aren’t any lessons so you don’t earn any money until March. I have another wage, ok, but what about the people, for whom this is their only wage and with a partner in the house, you don’t make money from the Welsh. (trk 5 7’00) People don’t want to get rich from Welsh, just work and get a fair wage for your work, that’s the problem.

Q: People from Wales say things like, why not put Y Drafod on the internet, but there’s no money for things like that.

Int: I was going to ask something, but I’ve forgotten. Thank you very much for your time, it’s been a pleasure to speak to you about the situation here in Gaiman. Thanks for giving up so much time for the conversation. Hopefully, I can pay you back for it! Right. 11:30. 15<sup>th</sup> November 2004, Coleg Camwy teachers, Gaiman. Thank you very much once again!

GROUP 9

MONDAY, 15<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER 2004

STUDENTS, COLEGIO CAMWY, GAIMAN.

Translated from Spanish

.....

Int: Colegio Camwy Students, Monday, 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2004. 12:20. In the Aola Magna. My name is Ian Johnson, I am a student at Cardiff University where my research is about your perceptions of the Welsh language and culture here in the area. This is a recorded conversation which I would like to use your views and opinions for my thesis. It is anonymous, so I won't use your names, you will be represented by a letter, for example, 'S', (trk 1 1'00) or it will say that it is from the group of students at Colegio Camwy. This is my ID card from Cardiff University, bad photo, I have more bad photos as well, if you want to see them! What I would like first, well, I would like to say that you have a choice of languages, English, Welsh, Spanish, not important to me, but if you can speak clearly, then I would be grateful. (trk 1 2'00). First could I ask your name and if you are in agreement with the conditions for the conversation.

K: Me, my name is K and I agree to take part in the research.

R: My name is R and I also agree with the work being organised.

Z: My name is Z and I am also in agreement.

F: My name is Estefania Comparere and I also agree.

Int: Excellent. First can I ask you about...for an explanation of your relationship with the Welsh language and culture here in Gaiman, in the Chubut, just a short...

K: Well, I was born here and I've always lived here (trk 1 3'00). My great-grandparents came from Wales and I have Welsh descandancy which comes from my mother, she doesn't speak Welsh but understands it and me as well but through the music school, singing in the choir, including us going to Wales in 2001.

R: I was also born here and have always lived here. The grandparents of my mother , well, my grandparents, the two, my maternal grandparents, my mother speaks Welsh, my grandmother as well, well, it's been taught to me and my brothers. I went with the choir, with K, in 2001. I went this year alone on a scholarship to a school in Wales. My mother works in the Welsh nursery here in Gaiman and, well, I have always sung in the choir (trk 1 4'00) and participated in the Eisteddfod.

Z: I have no connection with the Welsh, none whatsoever, I'm from here as a child since 2000. I like to know a little bit, but nearly nothing, but I like it

Int: You don't take part in the Eisteddfod, in the choir?

Z: No, no

K: Tavarn Las pub? (laughs)

Z: For other reasons!

R: You play in the rugby team, Y Ddraig Goch

Z: I play for the rugby team, Y Draig Goch, I play.

F: I have Welsh descendance on the part of my mother and father and I am studying Welsh, I don't know much but I understand, speaking is difficult and it's a bit more complicated. (trk 1 5'00) For the last two years, I have worked as an assistant in a Welsh ... (muffled) and well, I am interested in learning about the language and culture. I like it.

Int: Well, thanks very much. Which things are Welsh here in Gaiman?

Z: Welsh things?

K: Welsh things, like what for example? There are lots of buildings which are similar, for example the houses by here, for example, the houses which are down by the shops, Bethel, which have two floors, which have wooden windows, the college as well, the architecture, the first houses, the big windows, after that, the culture, loads, the language, well, there are people (trk 1 6'00) who speak it, the religion, the Protestantism, Bethel Chapel which is protestant, there is also there is a relation. There are lots of foods as well, for example my mother and the Welsh cake which came here, not with them, but when they came here, the Welsh who came, they used the things which they had.

R: More than anything else there is the Eisteddfod which they have, the chapels, such as Bethel by here and that they have in the Valley.

Z: The choir!

R: The choirs, the culture of Welsh singing, the hymns as well

F: It has a lot of importance amongst older people, preserving the culture, the tea houses, singing in the choir, I think. They want to preserve the Welsh things. (trk 1 7'00).

Int: Which events are in Welsh here?

K: The Gorsedd. The Chubut Eisteddfod? Exclusively in Welsh? The Gorsedd.

R: Yes, but the others mix between Welsh and Spanish because the rest of the people can't... there are lots of cultures here that are a mixture and people are interested in lots of cultures, and the Welsh as well. They are comparable for popularity and in the Eisteddfod it's not only the Welsh who take part, there is an invitation which is open to people from all the cultures here and there is no differentiation, but in the same

way, they speak in Welsh for those who understand in order not to lose the tradition translate into Spanish, and after in the Congregacional Canto as well, many preach in Welsh and then there is a translation and in some concerts which are exclusively in Welsh and there isn't a translation and then there is.

K: And the services in Bethel Chapel, there is a lot of Welsh (trk 1 8'00)

SR In Trelew on Sundays as well there is a service, which from time to time is in Spanish and other times in Welsh.

Int: Are there more? So what are the events which are Welsh but are in Spanish then? Which are more Spanish but have a Welsh origin?

Z: They're a mix.

R: Yes, more than anything else, the Eisteddfod...

F: They're mixed. They speak in one language but they aren't about...about the

R: It's not possible..

F: The percentage of Welsh who live here. Also, those who speak Welsh is more like, they listen.

R: In the Eisteddfod the presenters are always (trk 1 9'00), one part in Welsh, one part in Spanish and they translate like that. Equally, when there is a verdict from someone from Wales, then it is always like that, with translator.

Int: Are there many people here who speak Welsh well?

F: Yes

R: In Gaiman

Z: I think so.

R: In Gaiman and in the Cordillera, in Trevelin there are lots who, but....

Z: On the chacras, the old folk

F: Yes, the old people, more than anyone else

K: Yes, because it's like the races are closer, for example there are lots of old people, for example my grandfather, I'm not saying that this is the normal case, when he went to school he had to learn Spanish because his first language was Welsh, this went, was lost with the newer generations (trk 1 10'00), but anyway it was very strong.

F: The older generations wanted to carry it on with their children, and with their grandchildren with the music school, with Colegio Camwy or (muffled) as a way of preserving the Welsh culture. (trk 1 10'25).

K: The same with the scholarships, for example, because many students at the college or other people want to study in Lampeter or go on exchange, like [person].

R: More than anything the elderly are the most understanding for this too whenever because they know Welsh and the second generation which are here, our parents, they didn't want to learn. They always return to the elders who speak Welsh and for this, the elders understand new things, such as new vocabulary which they use in Wales and more modern terms.

Z: The Welsh lessons too

R: The classes. Every year a teacher comes from Wales. There is always a group of students who go to the teacher, and at the end of the coming week there is the Welsh Camp every year which gets together every one who is studying Welsh in the region (trk 2 1'00) in Dolavon, Trelew and here

F: There are young people interested in learning Welsh.

Int: How much enthusiasm do young people have in Gaiman for the language and for the culture as well?

K: Yes

Z: It depends, no?

K: At times, there is a lot of interest and there are people who aren't interested but they can see it for the growth of the town for a different culture, as R said. The town which has the Welsh race but there are lots of other cultures, for example, such as Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Arabs, (trk 2 2'00) which take part, but it's not constant, but there are lots of, there are lots of young people. The Welsh dancing in the music school is very attractive, and it's more accessible than coming to study the language. There is a lot of participation and acceptance in the town as well.

R: It's clear that the interest is there, more than anything else in the singing or in the Welsh dancing and participation more than anything grows for the Eisteddfod, there are other things which are different and smaller, but in the school as well we have an Eisteddfod and good there amongst those on the committee there are lots who have a different ancestry and it's like if you have a business for the culture (trk 2 3'00), but there is a question about those who have a Welsh ancestry who come across as 'closed' and maintain a more direct contact than other cultures and are more conservative in a certain way, but the majority are more integrated.

K: Yes, but there are some, there are some youngsters who are negative, it's like they don't like it, aren't in agreement with the idea of a group of Welsh who are 'exclusive'

Z: An elite group.

K :Yes.

Int: Yes, that's actually one of my questions, what is the perception of the Welsh by the others here? Good or...? (trk 2 4'00).

F: Good, there is a relationship here between...there are people who have a resistance or don't want to know anything about the Welsh, but have to live with the personal experience of this, and goes for the others as well.

Z: No-one here is pure Welsh. It's a mix. Welsh, Spanish, Italian.

R: Still, there are those who are less and those who are more mixed. Still, above all, they respect those who do take part, because not everyone has to take part in the circle, not everyone has to go to Wales to do a course, not everyone has to come to Welsh classes, yes? There are other events which have relationships with other cultures, (trk 2 5'00) but mostly the perception of other cultures, of people in other cultures. There are lots of people who aren't of Welsh descandancy who are learning the language go to Welsh classes. At the moment there are Welsh classes and there are members...

K: As well, I think that there are different perceptions of the Welsh. It's like the culture and the language, there are lots of people who find it quite strange the idea that in Wales, they know about Patagonia about Gaiman and Trevelin and in reality maybe when someone comes here, it's like they think that, that the culture and the language mainly are very strong here and maybe what they meet isn't here .. the majority speak Welsh and the idea (trk 2 6'00) that they have preserved the language and they arrive in the house and it's not quite like that.

R: What they meet here is more than anything else the language, but after that the people who come here they want to speak Welsh and so they tend to meet old people who are conserving the chapels, the teas, the youngsters are starting to travel, but the people from there meet the people they get to know here and meet up with them, but more than anything else, in general people who come here, from time to time, they ask us to be in a photo from a ceremonial event at which there are many people, very few of whom can speak the language. (trk 2 7'00)

K: Yes, you have to know that many people take part in the culture but the language, in general, there aren't so many. Me, I don't speak Welsh, for example, a couple of welcoming words, but really I don't speak it.

R: Me neither, but I have had more contact with the culture, with the Eisteddfod, because the language I can understand and I can't really write it, a little bit, yes, but in general more contact with culture.

Int: About the Welsh from Wales who come here. What importance does the Welsh language and culture have for tourism here?

K: It's very important.

Z: It's very important

K: Here, mainly in Gaiman it's tourism. People who come from Wales and other places (trk 2 8'00) it's very important for jobs, more than anything. The benefits for Gaiman are large.

R: There is a lot of tourism with a Welsh theme as well.

Z: The tea-houses

R: The tea-houses for example. There are some that aren't Welsh.

K: It's business. It's for ....

R: Here it's a small town and there are various tea-houses, there are large groups of tourists which come now, so...

K: They don't like the most typical or the most commercial, like...but in Gaiman it's a town whose economy is based principally on tourism. The tourism, or rather for the Welsh who come, and for others who come for the Welsh tourism, the tea houses (trk 2 9'00)

R: The guest houses

K: Guest-houses

Z: Businesses

Int: What effect do the Welsh industries have on the culture and language? Is there a relationship between the businesses, the tea-houses, the guest houses, effect on the language and culture? Is there a relationship between the people here and the normal culture, the every day culture, thorough tourism?

All: No

Int: For example, there are lots of tourists here who want to see the Welsh in their houses (trk 2 10'00), so is there a relation between your interest in Welsh language and culture for business or because there are tourists here? Is there a growing relationship between tourism and the interest of people who live here about Welsh language and culture?

K: No, it's not purely commercial, it's like, the Welsh folk dancing goes on all year. It's not that you have to do Welsh folk dancing to show to the tourists. It's done but it's not like it's not promoted for the tourists.

R: Yes, the Eisteddfod exists, and it's not purely Welsh. (trk 2 10'45) The people who come to the tea houses are tourists who come from all over the world. The commercial question, more than anything else, is displaying to those who come, for example, a group which sing in Welsh, this, a bit, people, above all, pay for work, so

for those who sing or in a tea-house they pay for the entrance, and whatever people come, it's a commercial business, whether it's the tourism or the culture

K: Yes, the tea houses are the most commercial, but the others are interested in the culture with the language

r: The Eisteddfod isn't commercial.

K: with the Eisteddfod isn't so commercial, that's something...

Z: Not so much with the Gorsedd

R: None of the members of the Eisteddfod committee, nor the President, are paid for their work for being members of the Commission. (trk 3 1'00)

F: The business, yes, more than anything else, the tea houses, the guest houses, they benefit in the most direct way with tourism.

K: Yes, or rather, apart from all of this with the Eisteddfod with the language, it was all about the tourism, they were looking for something to attract tourism and this is the results.

R: Yes, they felt, that the Welsh here, they already knew more about the culture here, and the people from other places, from other provinces, know above all about Gaiman, had heard of Gaiman as a centre of Welsh culture more than anything else.

Int: What importance does the Welsh language and culture (trk 3 2'00) have for you in comparison with other languages and cultures? For example, you study English. What importance does it have compared to English?

F: English is the most commercial language, we would say. In respect of you have to learn English at an institute or take mate, with respect to grants and those who study it, you can take part and communicate in a global world. In contrast, there is a lot of incentive to preserve the Welsh culture (trk 3 3'00), there are scholarships, the classes are free, more to preserve the language not in the commercial way of English.

Z: English is all over the world. In contrast, Welsh is in Wales and here.

K: For me, Welsh as a language is something for us that we study for...

Z: (muffled)

K: Yes, something cultural, that's ours, from our origins. English is more essential for everything now – work, whatever person for work, whatever position they get they must know minimum English, for example a computer a program, work can be in English.

Z: It's bigger.



R: Of the languages, I like them both a lot (trk 3 4'00), but above all this, I learn English because it's something that's necessary, at first I learned it because I enjoyed it and then I while it bored me, but now I still like it again, while the Welsh I learned in the house with my mum as a boy. When we were given the option to learn a bit more and sing in Welsh, but I also like singing in English, so above all this the difference that as a child the Welsh is, well, when I went to Wales I felt a lot closer to people when speaking Welsh than English, because English is global in all parts of the world, where you can speak anywhere all the time, Welsh is more relevant, it more closer to... (trk 3 5'00)

F: I would say that it's something particular, or rather there are fewer people who speak it, whereas English is universal.

R: Yes, people ask why do you learn Welsh when it's only spoken in Wales, while learning English, it's the same for someone from French ancestry certainly has parallels in learning French, and you say where do they speak French? France and nowhere else, but, so that's more part of the question. I am from Italian stock as well but I'm not learning Italian because now my family aren't so Italian. They came here, and have maintained thing, but only a little.

K: Yes, in the difference between the Welsh culture, the descendants of the Welsh here in Gaiman and the descendants of other cultures, of which there are a lot, is that what happens, it's like, it was lost, (trk 3 6'00) and they won't revive it, the typical things.

R: They say that there is a thing here, that forms the descendency, more with the place.

Z: There are lots of other descendants, other languages, here. Lots of other groups. They had to speak Spanish to understand each other. The Welsh held on to their language and had the two.

F: There was a constant reason to promote the language in the town,

R: But above all they came from a small town and many of the descendants, for example the students because the majority...

K: The place was exclusively Welsh before the others came

Z: They held on to it strongly

R: It's like the first descendants of the Welsh, their parents spoke Welsh or English (trk 3 7'00) in the house and they wanted to play with people from other cultures, for example the Arabs, they talked the same as them so the cultures mixed.

Int: Is there something unique about Gaiman in the Chubut because of the Welsh here? Something for you, "oh, I am from a town where they speak Welsh".

R: Well, yes, no, above all, it's for this, the subject is that many people speak Welsh, but we are from a small town and there are many small towns, but we are from a

small town which has a strong culture, activities, other cultural movements which are strong such as choir singing as well (trk 3 8'00) also there are lots which are Welsh in essence but there are lots of mixtures as well.

F: Gaiman is plural.

R: Heritage as well, there's lots of that here. It's like it's a mixture of all of this, more than anything else, the Welsh part has lots of ...hmm

Int: Another question: is the rugby Welsh culture, Argentinean culture or the two?

Z: The rugby? It's more about method, football or rugby?

Int: For you?

R: A Welsh name

Z: It's a bit of the two.

Int: Why does the club have a Welsh name? (trk 3 9'00)

Z: Because we're from Gaiman. The Red Dragon is from Wales, isn't it? Well, the newspapers, Y Ddraig Goch.

K: Because it's something new. Before it was, because it's a name that refers to something old, been around for a long time, the name originally..

R: The new generation they wanted to preserve the name, returning to their roots

F: It comes from the origins of the identity of Gaiman. There are people who say, it's part of our identity (trk 3 10'00).

Z: It's very important.

K: It has a strong link because the shirt is red.

D: There is a link....

Int: The training is in Spanish, yes?

Z: Yes, in Wales, the most popular sport is rugby, in England, they have sponsorships, so when they come to Gaiman, a town which has lots of Welsh descendants, they think of rugby. That's why.

Int: Ok, I have one more. It's a big question. What kind of support (trk 4 1'00) does the Welsh language and culture receive. Support from money, what type of people are interested in the language and culture, what support?

K: More than anything, in most cases, the support comes direct from Wales. For example, at the school the exchange scholarships, the Welsh classes, or rather they are direct from Wales, from links with Wales with here.

F: It's like the movement with the maintenance of Welsh culture in Gaiman.

R: That's why they send a teacher here every year and as well why there is a scholarship for those who are learning the language and a teacher who takes classes here and a committee who organises all this. (trk 4 2'00)

F: They organise things like the Eisteddfod...

Z: The Gorsedd, which is here

R: And the music school they receive support as well, they send money to buy instruments

F: Materials

Z: and rugby gets help.

F: There's lots of support from the Welsh government, from the people in Wales, more than anything else, because the country for a better...

K: The government here, here, well, they pay a subsidy for the staging of the Eisteddfod, that, and support the town economically, but nothing more. (trk 4 3'00)  
After that, there's people who are Argentinian who have gone to live there or maintain the links with the Eisteddfod and groups who keep the language

Int: Are there links between the, well, is the Welsh culture good for Gaiman? Is Gaiman a better place or is it good for Gaiman to know another culture or would they like to be like other boys and girls in Argentina?

F: It's about the identity. Or rather, it has lots of culture, the Eisteddfod, the choir singing. Outside of the Welsh culture, it wouldn't carry so much weight. (trk 4 4'00)  
and there are people who organise so much who... the town

K: It's different, it's not like other places. Me, I've visited other small towns and they don't have anything to see, no identity. In reality, young people don't have much to occupy their time, or occupy their time badly, doing bad things. We have, or we can leave and go to Tavar Las and all that, or we have another option as well which is cultural, it has more strength, more...

R: For many people it's difficult to get a scholarship to improve their use of things and at the same time it's quite, we could say, accessible for anyone who (trk 4 5'00), for example the Lampeter scholarship is for five people from here, and they are five people including travel, it's like they can go on exchanges.

F: And they have opportunities, which they can't have here.

R: It's a village which that we all know there is the music school or the rugby club which has been founded. They generate lots of organisations for a small town, it's like all the time there are exchanges, people going, the choir the same, they have one choir and then another and thanks once again to people from Wales, help economically from people there and hospitality. (trk 4 6'00). So, it's like there are lots of opportunities, lots of (muffled) which can be, not just inside our world.

Int: In the future...Another question, in the future, what will happen here in Gaiman? Will more people speak Welsh? More Welsh events?

Z: Definitely.

F: Yes

K: I don't know about speaking, the language, the culture, yes, the growth it's like something which, if you think about it, the Eisteddfod, the Gorsedd, lots of new things. The language, in reality I don't know, more people are studying but what's happening (trk 4 7'00) is that it's not an easy language .. for me, yes, it's so different, it's so different than those like Spanish, which is easier.

F: The culture, yes, the Eisteddfod is growing in terms of participation, for many years now there have been lots of people coming from Wales, and there are many with the intention of participating in arts, singing, recitation, they have opportunities to come and... it has more importance every year, the participation in the Eisteddfod and better, so they have to have preliminaries, and so this it's growing the culture. (trk 4 8'00).

R: Yes, despite it's a generation, ours that, the committee, with people that are interested. On the question of the language, it'll be as it is now, more than anything else, there aren't many who are learning Welsh, but lots who are interested, they can be close to...go to the ceremonies, or speak the language well close to the fluency apart from a few words and can be understood...

Z: The culture will be here forever. It's part of the town. It can't be separated.

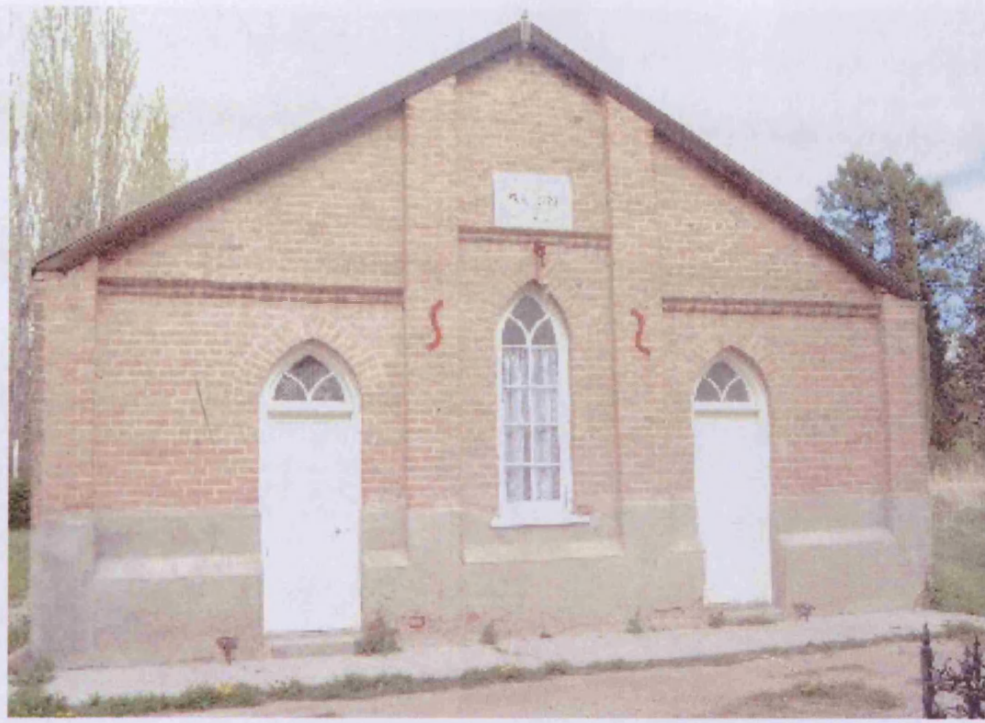
(muffled, three talking at once).

Int: Many thanks to you all for your participation. (trk 4 9'00) Thank you for your help with the tape. [w] Thank you for your help. [s] Colegio Camwy Students, 1 on the dot. 15<sup>th</sup> November 2004. In the Aola Magna, Video Room. Thank you very much!.

# APPENDIX D

## Photographs of the Welsh in the Chubut Province

These photographs reflect the range of Welsh influences upon the region, including historical sites, modern commercial settings and the importance of celebrating heritage and heritage-style activities for members of the Welsh community.



**Capel Seion, Bryn Gwyn, hosted the Gŵyl y Glaniad ('Landing Festival') commemoration service (July, 2004)**

The recently held Gŵyl y Glaniad commemoration of Gŵyl y Glaniad ('Landing Festival') on 24<sup>th</sup> July, which is also the official date of the founding of the city.





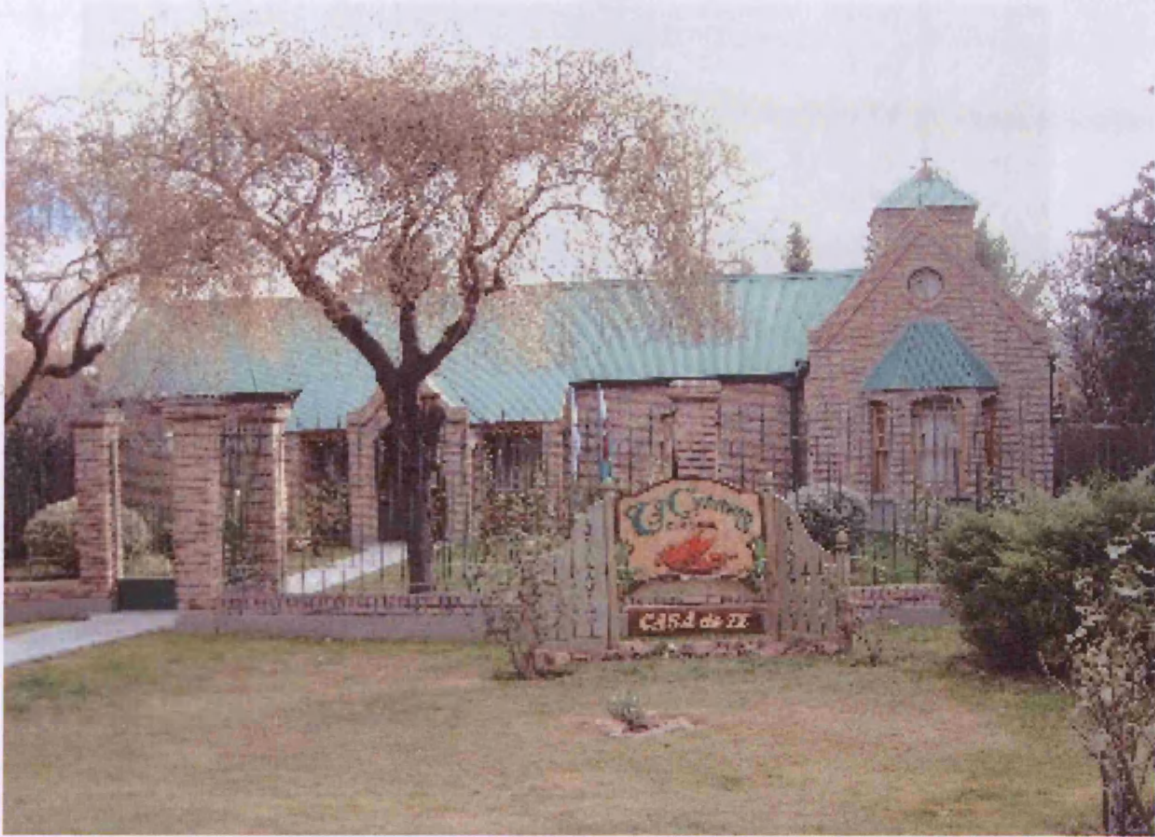
**Puerto Madryn promenade features a series of plaques in tribute to the Welsh who arrived there in Winter, 1865.**

**The recently laid flowers were in celebration of Gŵyl y Glaniad ('Landing Festival') on 28<sup>th</sup> July, which is also the official date of the founding of the city. (July, 2004)**



Melys ('Sweet') newsagents on Avenida Fontana, Trelew





**Tý Té Cymraeg, a Welsh tea-house located in Gaiman along the banks of the River Chubut**

*Children of Gaiman went to Porthmadog, Wales, to participate in the Gorsedd Cerbydau held in the town to mark the centenary of the first Ffestiaf Cer Chubut (October 1901).*





**Children of Gaiman dress in traditional Welsh clothing to participate in the Gorsedd Ceremony held in the town to mark the beginning of the 2004 Eisteddfod del Chubut (October, 2004)**



**Members of Trelew's folk dancing group, Gwanwyn ('Spring'), celebrate winning first prize in the Eisteddfod del Chubut (October 2004)**

# APPENDIX E

## Press Coverage of the Welsh in the Chubut Province

Relevant extracts that relate to the Welsh community from *El Regional* (August 2004 edition), a monthly newspaper published in Gaiman, Dolavon and 28 de Julio. These extracts show the importance of the Welsh community to the Lower Chubut Valley area.

Extracts from *Diario el Chubut*, a daily province-wide newspaper with regional editions printed in Trelew and Puerto Madryn (amongst other locations) illustrate press coverage of a series of events related to the Welsh over a longer period of time (September – November 2004)



**ACTO CENTRAL Y DESFILE CIVICO MILITAR**

## Aniversario de Gaiman

Toda la comunidad de Gaiman salió a la calle el domingo 15 de agosto pasado para participar del colorido acto de desfile cívico militar llevado a cabo sobre la Avenida Eugenio Tello, el que contó con la presencia del gobernador Mario Das Neves. Un nutrido cronograma de actividades se seguirá desarrollando durante todo el mes de agosto.



PAGINAS 6 y 7

**ENTREVISTA AL DIRECTOR DE LA ESCUELA DE ADULTOS 781 JOSE LUIS PUNTA**

## Nuevo Polimodal en Dolavon

La comunidad del valle celebra el cumplimiento de un viejo anhelo de la Localidad de Las Norias, tener un "secundario" público.

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**ENTREVISTA A DANIEL GUTIERREZ, GERENTE DE LA COOPERATIVA DE EXEMPLEADOS**

## La textil gaimense aguarda su verdadera reapertura

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**EXPECTATIVAS RESPECTO A SU EFECTO SOBRE LA NAPA**

## Está próximo el comienzo de la obra del drenaje en 28 de Julio

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## La crisis en el Gaiman Fóbal

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**RICARDO MAC BURNEY SE FUE A LAS MANOS CONTRA EL CONCEJAL CARLOS ALBERTO REY PUGH**

## "Eléctrica reacción" del gerente de la Cooperativa de Gaiman

Entrevistamos al concejal agredido, quien aguarda una sanción por parte del Consejo de Administración de la Cooperativa Eléctrica a su gerente. Todo surgió luego de un pedido de informes del Concejo hacia la Cooperativa. Mac Burney habría presentado una nota al Concejo Deliberante esgrimiendo la existencia de problemas familiares con Rey Pugh como justificativo. PAGINA 9

**MAS DE 1.500 PERSONAS PRESENCIARON EL POPULAR JUEGO QUE LLEGO POR PRIMERA VEZ AL PUEBLO**

## Especial del Telebingo en Gaiman



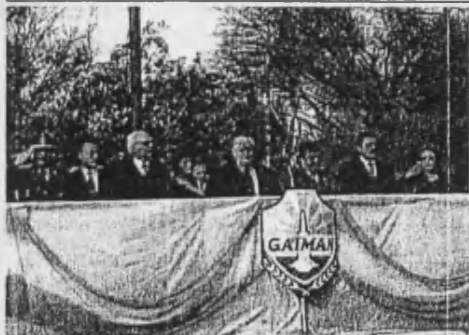
PAGINA 8

## Fiesta del Desembarco

Gran cantidad de actividades se desarrollaron con motivo de cumplirse un nuevo aniversario del "Gwyl y Ganiad" (Fiesta del Desembarco). Estuvimos presentes en distintas capillas del valle, en la Cena de la Comisión del Eisteddfod y en la inauguración de las remodelaciones de la capilla Moriah en Trelew. PAGINAS 10, 11 y 12.

130 AÑOS DESDE SU FUNDACION Y  
119 DESDE LA CONFORMACION DE SU CONCEJO MUNICIPAL

# Un nuevo aniversario del Primer Municipio del Chubut



Palco de autoridades durante el desarrollo del acto central y desfile el pasado domingo 15 de agosto.

Como todos los años, en la localidad de Gaiman se desarrolla una nutrida agenda de eventos con motivo de su aniversario. Desde el lunes 2 de agosto se comenzó con la misma, y en ella encontramos la realización del tradicional baile con elección de reina en el Gimnasio Municipal, la Posta Atlética desde Punta Cuevas en Puerto Madryn, diversas actividades deportivas, artísticas, culturales y religiosas. No faltó el tradicional desfile cívico militar, el acto recordatorio de la conformación del Primer Concejo Municipal y por supuesto el homenaje al General San Martín el martes 17.

Las actividades aún continúan hasta el día 29 de agosto, día en que se realiza un torneo de fútbol infantil en el Gimnasio Municipal. El domingo 22 se realiza la IV Copa Aniversario de Gaiman, organizada por la Escuela de Equitación Villa Inés. También el sábado 28, la Srta. Tegai Roberts, brindará una charla sobre los antecedentes del municipio en el recinto del Honorable Concejo Deliberante.

## POBLADORES DISTINGUIDOS

Luego del acto recordatorio por el Aniversario de Gaiman, el sábado 14, en el recinto del Concejo Deliberante se llevó a cabo el tradicional reconocimiento a distinguidos pobladores de Gaiman.

**BEATRIZ CHLUDILL VDA. DE MIRANTES:** Nació un 2 de enero de 1921 en Checovihz, Checoslovaquia. Arribó a nuestro país con solo tres años. Después de unos años de residencia en Comodoro Rivadavia se trasladó a nuestra localidad cuando tenía diez años de edad.

Comenta que aquí ha sido muy feliz. Recuerda a sus padres con sus mensajes de dignidad, esfuerzo y trabajo, a su hermana, a las clases de corte y confección, que luego le permitieron aportar económicamente en su familia enseñando a muchas jóvenes. Recuerda la vagoneta, al caballo, a su juventud de chacarera y a su madre y ama de casa en su querido Bryn Gwyn.

Se casó con Don Mirantes y de esa unión nacieron sus hijos: Carlos, Beatriz, Salvador, Pedro y Eduardo. "Todos muy trabajadores..." afirma orgullosa.

Con énfasis, Beatriz recuerda el valle de entonces. "Todos trabajábamos de sol a sol, cultivábamos la tierra, criábamos animales, hacíamos los chorizos, la manteca y hasta la ropa. Ni se nos ocurría la posibilidad de pedir algo al Estado..."

"...Para hacer grande al valle y al país hay que volver a creer en el trabajo y el esfuerzo...", "...yo aún sigo trabajando en el jardín, en el terrenito de atrás y con los tejidos..."

Concluyendo con sus propias palabras: "no puedo pensar la vida sin trabajar...". Le agradecemos por su aporte a esta comunidad.

**LEWIS MORGAN JAMES:** Un 6 de agosto de 1920, Hanna Elizabeth Morgan de James dio a luz a su cuarto hijo. Las bardas de La Angostura fueron testigos de aquello. Este varón creció y luego por causas de la vida decidió elegir una profesión que luego lo llevaría a ser un ídolo del Valle y aclamado cada vez que subía al cuadrilátero.

Fueron pasando los años y comenzó a trabajar en el Correo de Gaiman, allí dejó 32 años de servicio para luego jubilarse.

Hoy vive en Eugenio Tello 999 con su

compañera de hace más de 50 años, Lottie Jones, y disfruta de sus tres nietos.

**VIRGLIO GONZALEZ:** Virgilio González nació en Buenos Aires en 1930 y allí cursó sus estudios primarios, escuela normal y profesorado en el prestigioso Colegio Mariano Acosta, donde se recibió, primero de maestro y luego de Profesor Normal en Letras (1950).

Ejerció la docencia en Buenos Aires pero pronto se trasladó a Trelew, donde fue profesor del Colegio Nacional, la Escuela Normal y la Escuela de Comercio.

En 1960 se radicó en Gaiman donde formó su familia. Colaboró en la reapertura del Colegio Camwy en 1963, donde trabajó ininterrumpidamente hasta su retiro, a la vez que ejercía la docencia en diversos establecimientos secundarios y terciarios en Trelew.

De profundo sentimientos cívicos, fue diputado provincial por el Partido Demócrata Progresista en el período 1963-1966. Amante de las letras y la historia, fue jurado del Eisteddfod y otros certámenes repetidas veces. Ha dictado numerosas conferencias sobre nuestra historia y es consultado frecuentemente por estos temas.

Sus exalumnos recuerdan con añoranza sus clases amenas e informativas.

Es autor de textos escolares, colecciones de



Centros tradicionalistas y representantes de distintas colectividades también dijeron presente en el aniversario de Gaiman.



Toda la comunidad educativa de Gaiman estuvo presente en el acto central, también participaron delegaciones de localidades vecinas.

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**EN SEPTIEMBRE HABRÁ UNA CASA DENTRO DE LA LISTA DE PREMIOS**

## Edición especial del Telebingo en Gaiman

Más de 1.500 personas presenciaron el sorteo del Telebingo Chubutense el pasado 8 de agosto en el Gimnasio Municipal de Gaiman. Esta fue la primera vez que el IAS realizó una transmisión desde Gaiman, con el claro objetivo de continuar con una modalidad implementada por quienes están al frente de la Lotería provincial desde el pasado mes de diciembre, que es incorporar a los sorteos especiales más localidades con el propósito de hacer realidad la "provincialización" verdadera del juego que acerca a todos los chubutenses domingo a domingo.

Durante el sorteo el presidente del Instituto de Asistencia Social, Marcos Sánchez, realizó entrega de aportes a diferentes organizaciones dedicadas a la actividad social, en el marco de la "acción social" que se realiza en cada uno de los sorteos especiales para con el Municipio anfitrión o entidades locales de características similares. El primero de los aportes estuvo destinado al Centro de Atención Familiar (CAF), quien recibió de manos de Sánchez un lava-secarropas industrial para las actividades de la institución.

Otra de las beneficiadas con el accionar de la Lotería fue la Asociación Civil Aliwen, a quien se le entregó una computadora para ser utilizada en la coordinación de proyectos socioeducativos.

El «especial» de agosto, que contó con la actuación de Facundo Carrasco, joven cantante nacido en la localidad de Gaiman. Todo comenzó a primeras horas de la tarde del domingo con actividades para los más pequeños, en virtud de haberse conmemorado el Día del Niño.

### EL TELEBINGO SIGUE CRECIENDO

Culminado el sorteo «especial» de agosto las autoridades del organismo oficial comenzaron a pensar en lo que será el próximo sorteo similar, que se realizará el próximo 12 de septiembre. Para septiembre, el sorteo "especial" se llevará adelante desde Esquel, ya se ha avanzado en los trabajos para poner como premio una casa en cualquier punto de la provincia. Esta intención si bien está por definirse aún -por parte de las autoridades

del organismo provincial- ya estaría firme dentro del abanico de premios que pretende implementarse para los apostadores del Telebingo Chubutense, puesto que la idea es buscar nuevas alternativas en cuanto a los premios para los apostadores, a fin de que el juego provincial no decaiga. Muestra de ello es la incorporación de sorteos en localidades que nunca habían sido visitadas, la aparición de cuatriciclos en la nómina de premios, automóviles de última generación y ahora el sorteo de una vivienda.



Izquierda: Durante la jornada, se hizo la presentación de un globo aerostático que será utilizado con fines publicitarios en eventos de similares características por diferentes áreas del Gobierno. Arriba: momentos de la entrega de la ya tradicional "Ayuda Social" del Telebingo.



Más que nunca fue aplaudida en la apertura de la transmisión, Diana Owen, quien desde sus comienzos, es la cara visible del Telebingo y en esta oportunidad lo presentó por primer vez desde su localidad natal.

Luego del Telebingo, entre los presentes se realizaron distintos sorteos. El premio más importante fue un cuatriciclo, el que fue ganado por la Sra. Olga de Jones.



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**I.A.S. LOTERIA DEL CHUBUT**



LOS FIELES DE MORIAH TIENEN "SU CASA" REFACCIONADA

# Inauguración de remodelaciones en la capilla Moriah

Alunando con la semana de fiestas por la Fiesta del embarco, el domingo 1 de agosto se celebró un acto y culto en la Capilla Moriah en la ciudad de Trelew. Participaron el Gobernador Mario Das Neves, el Vicegobernador Juan Carlos Vargas, el Ministro Coordinador de Gabinete Norberto Yauhar, el Secretario de Turismo Juan Carlos Salvo, los Subsecretarios de Turismo Francisco Salto, de Cultura Juan Daciuk y de Patrimonio Público Daniel Taito, los señores de Trelew Horacio Gómez, Juan Raul Mac Burney y de Gaiman Martin Bortagaray, así como otros miembros de la Asociación Cultural Solar Histórico Moriah, sus descendientes de galeses y en general.



## EL ACTO

El gobernador evocó la gesta al señalar que "mancomunados proyecto en común los galeses con en la Argentina la Patria que se añelaron", y destacó que "sin gón la vida de aquellos colonos no ungun sentido, y tal es el grado de ancia que tenía y tiene la religión, elemento central y aglutinante da cotidiana de los colonos y los dientes fue el establecimiento de as como las que hoy nos reúne

uestra idea es recuperar ante el el valor de aquello que estos nos nos representan: La fuerza al de sólo 153 colonos cuya na permanece viva en 18 capillas a nuestra provincia del Chubut", para aclarar que "el gobierno no uere colaborar en el aspecto o sino también en la interpretación esta en valor de la historia que a esta cultura como formadora

de nuestra actual identidad".

Para finalizar el gobernador anunció que "en conjunto, Cultura y Turismo se encargarán de atender edificios en deterioro sobre lo cual la provincia pretende intervenir bajo un presupuesto determinado realizando las restauraciones más importantes. De esta manera se busca poner en marcha un ambicioso y esperado Plan de Rescate de las Capillas Galesas de territorio chubutense".

Tras afirmar que la cultura galesa "ha tenido y sigue teniendo un protagonismo muy importante en nuestra provincia", Das Neves recordó que el programa de restauración "se venía realizando y nosotros lo hemos acentuado y vamos a seguir trabajando".

El Gobernador destacó además que la capilla Moriah alberga en sus terrenos los restos de pioneros galeses como "Abraham Mathews y Lewis Jones, por lo que esto tiene que ver con nuestra historia y poner dinero en esto es una buena inversión".

Durante la ceremonia hizo uso de la palabra Doreen Humphreys de Williams, descendiente de galeses.

"Algunos momentos históricos logran ocupar, con el pasar del tiempo, un lugar único en la historia de una comunidad o de un pueblo. La capilla Moriah es uno de ellos.

Este lugar de oración y de alabanza nos pertenece, es de todos; le pertenece hasta al último habitante de los confines de nuestra provincia, sin importar cual es su credo o raza. Esto es así porque este sitio guarda en su memoria los rezos y cantos más antiguos que fueran elevados por aquellos primeros colonos y que todavía hoy nos inspiran; porque los fieles que por este lugar han pasado han sabido guardar y custodiar respetuosamente las cenizas de aquellos niños, mujeres y hombres que fueron cayendo mientras que, con la inocencia de los primeros, el esfuerzo abnegado de las mujeres y el trabajo de los últimos, se iba configurando este hermoso valle donde vivimos.

Cuando venimos a Moriah tenemos que venir con lo mejor que alberga nuestro corazón, porque todas estas lápidas, algunas con nombres conocidos y otras, ya sin nombre, nos preguntan si sus vidas no fueron en vano, si su

trabajo no fue en balde, si el padecimiento de los niños no se toma con indiferencia; nos piden que cada risa vuelva a ser reída, que cada melodía vuelva a ser tocada, que cada verso vuelva a ser recitado; estas lápidas deben conmover a cada ciudadano de esta provincia, para que podamos redoblar esfuerzos y lograr así una comunidad digna para todos y cada uno, como fuera el objetivo que ellos tuvieron.

Es nuestro deber también recordar a todos los miembros que han pasado por esta capilla, no solo con un interés histórico, sino buscando inspiración para que nuestras vidas tengan la fuerza, la integridad y el compromiso con nuestro tiempo, como lo tuvieron quienes nos precedieron.

Hoy presentamos una ofrenda floral en el monumento que recuerda a Edwin Roberts y en su persona ofrecemos tributo a cada uno de los que desembarcaron del Mimosa el 28 de julio de 1865.

Damos gracias por estar nuevamente en esta capilla. Damos gracias por todo lo que podemos hacer aquí de hoy en más. Y rogamos para

que la palabra del Señor vuelva a ser predicada en esta Capilla Moriah".

La Presidente de la Asociación Cultural Solar Histórico Moriah Lucía Humphreys rememoró la gesta galesa y la importancia que ésta tiene para la comunidad. También agradeció a las autoridades por la restauración del templo.

Tras la entonación de los Himnos Nacional Argentino y del país de Gales, el gobernador Mario Das Neves junto a los miembros de la Asociación Cultural Solar Histórico Moriah y el intendente de Trelew Horacio Gómez colocaron una ofrenda floral al pie del monumento de Edwin Roberts, ubicado en el acceso al templo.

Luego el Gobernador junto a las autoridades y público presente fue invitado al interior de la capilla donde descubrieron una placa recordatoria referida a las obras de restauración y posteriormente se dio inicio al Culto de Acción de Gracias, en el cual el Coro de la Escuela de Música de Gaiman interpretó varias canciones religiosas.

Para finalizar, los presentes firmaron el libro de visitas de la Capilla y recorrieron el cementerio aludado a la Capilla en donde descansan los restos de los pioneros galeses.

## LA RESTAURACION

Las obras de restauración en la Capilla Moriah consistieron en un amplio y exhaustivo trabajo de impermeabilización, refacción de muros, reparación de techos y grietas, pintura, arreglo completo del sistema de electricidad, reemplazo de pisos y construcción de veredas perimetrales.

Los trabajos se realizaron de manera conjunta entre la Secretaría de Turismo, que aportó los fondos, la Secretaría de Cultura que fue la encargada en lo referido a la preservación y la municipalidad de Trelew que aportó la mano de obra.



Se muestran estas imágenes de los momentos vividos el pasado 1 de agosto en la capilla Moriah de Trelew. A la izquierda vemos a Doreen Humphreys de Williams en momentos de pronunciar su discurso. A la derecha la presentación del Coro de la escuela de Música de Gaiman, acompañado en el órgano por Arceles Hughes.

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## Gwyl y Glaniad en el Valle

El 28 de julio es feriado en el valle y muchos jóvenes no quieren que ocurra esto. Sería un desafío comenzar a trabajar desde el inicio con nuestra historia regional para saber qué lugares son los más importantes y qué podemos decirle al mundo de nosotros mismo. De otro modo, la globalización será un desafío, un nuevo orden de cosas para los más fuertes y débiles. Pero otros jóvenes se unen a la cultura que viven esta fecha con entusiasmo. La dirección de la provincia y de los canales, cines, pequeños centros referidos al desembarco de los colonos en la Patagonia. Pero lo que atrae a los visitantes es el té que año tras año atrapa a personas. Los días previos

al té una fuerte lluvia insinuó suspender el servicio pero el fuerte sol del 28 vino asomando y los lugares con acceso de asfalto colmaron sus expectativas. Lamentablemente lugares como Bethesda, Angostura y Bryn Crwn debieron postergar el té programado para ese día y realizarlo días después. La gente no fue mucha pero dejó conformes a todos los presentes que comieron exquisitas tortas y panes preparados en casas de mágicas recetas.

Luego de los servicios de té en las capillas se concretaron conciertos en Bryn Gwyn y Bethel con muy buena cantidad de público. En Bethel se contó con la presencia de catorce jóvenes y tres mayores del país de Gales (Ysgol Gwynllyw) que participaron del concierto.

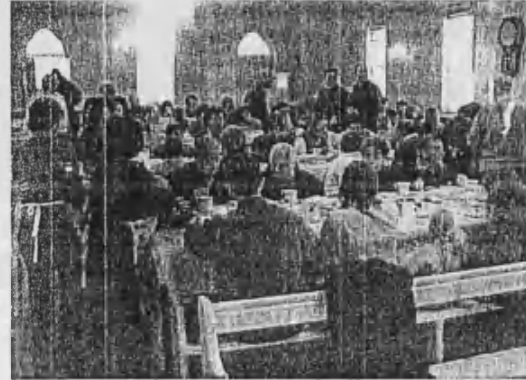
Además a la semana siguiente Bethesda sorprendió con una carpa para los presentes y los sketch fueron muy aplaudidos por todos. Bryn Crwn aportó la gran variedad de tortas que los caracteriza y todos salieron respirando hondo. El Regional visitó las distintas capillas y lugares donde se servía el té y pudo comprobar que el espíritu está intacto pero corresponde a todos mantenerlo vivo. Nuestra historia no es menos importante que la de otros, es nuestra y vale.

Una pequeña reflexión sobre lo que representa el Gwyl y Glaniad:

Aquellos que vivimos en el Chubut, en la lejana Patagonia debemos dar gracias por la amplitud de paisaje que tenemos, por la cercanía de afectos que estrechamos más allá de las infinitas distancias que nos separan en el vasto territorio. En el año 1865 un grupo de aventureros galeses dejaron todo apostando por la nada. A veces hoy la desolación del lugar nos roba un toque de melancolía y tristeza ¿Qué habrá sido aquel 28 de julio de 1865? Quizás en su apuesta estaba la idea de construir el espacio elegido en un lugar para dar gracias permanentemente. Y hoy la fiesta debe ser completa, sin retaceos de emoción y orgullosos de aquellos que apostaron y confiaron en la palabra de los que les prometieron una vida mejor, en su fe cristiana, en su canto, su poesía y su amor por los valores humanos. El gales tiene la característica de minimizar los hechos importantes, cree tímidamente que lo del otro siempre es más digno de contar. Las gestas heroicas pasan a ser simples relatos al punto de olvidar que son los grandes momentos los que marcan el paso del hombre por la tierra. Hoy hay mucho para contar y demasiado para festejar. La llegada de los pioneros galeses: hombres, mujeres y niños como cualquiera de nosotros hace 139 años atrás debe recordarse en plenitud, sin egoísmos y con mucha emoción y orgullo. Para que el Gwyl y Glaniad, la fiesta del desembarco, sea recordada siempre es necesaria la memoria de todos porque hay mucho para recordar, y demasiado para decir.



Ilustran esta nota imágenes tomadas en distintas capillas del valle el día 28 de Julio pasado.



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**El Regional**



**GRAN CENA DE LA COMISION DEL EISTEIDDFOD:** Los festejos del 28 de Julio comenzaron con una cena organizada el día 27 de julio en el Salón San David por la Comisión del Eisteddfod del Chubut. Fue una hermosa velada que contó con un concierto previo de altísimo nivel, y una comida galesa tradicional. Será recordada esta cena como la del "mantel" porque debajo de cada plato un individual de papel tenía escrito canciones tradicionales en idioma castellano y gales que sirvieron para que todos entonaran durante el postre.

## ¿Quién era y cómo pensaba Celestina Currumil...?

Había nacido en Languineo, el dos de junio de 1917, hija de mapuches y orgullosa de su raza. Tenaz preservadora de su identidad cultural, desempeñó su oficio pedagógico en los "Talleres de Artesanía" de la Municipalidad de Trelew, transmitiendo sus conocimientos en didácticas clases de telar, desde la hechura del hilo. Su madre le había enseñado que en primer lugar debía pulir la piedra, que ajustada al palo conforman el huso. Y que en su redondez y peso encontraría la perfección de la hebra y por ende, la textura deseada en la prenda terminada. Las secciones eran amenas, sazonadas con sabrosos cuentos, costumbres y dichos en su lengua aborígena.

Su juventud había transcurrido en el mediterráneo norte del Chubut, donde su mundo se limitaba a las zonas de Gastre, Gan Gan, Lagunita Salada y por donde su montura la paseaba, principalmente por el encanto soleado de las riberas del río, en El Sauzal.

La humildad del desierto patagónico daba lugar al galope largo, al trote cansino y al tranco meditabundo con escarceos de distancia, por caminos y atajos esquivando pequeñas serranías y cañadas, donde el coirón, la zampa, y el tomillo, saciaban el hambre del ganado. El silencio de las horas sólo interrumpido por el susto imprevisto de una mara, la distracción de una manada de guanacos que se pierde en el horizonte o el soplo de los alerones abiertos de un avestruz con sus charitos, permitían a Celestina indagar en el futuro de su gente. Y en doloroso reproche a los jóvenes de las tolderías pensaba en voz alta: "*acá los paisanos no quieren ser paisanos. Dicen que les da vergüenza y por eso no hablan mapuche. Yo no sé por qué si es la lengua de uno*". Ella tenía una visión distinta de la cultura de su pueblo, era abierta al progreso, consideraba que toda aquella sabiduría que llevaba incorporada, "*herencia de su mama*" debía ser compartida. De allí que tuvo mucho que ver, junto a Josefa Lienqueo<sup>\*)</sup>, en la formación lingüística mapuche de los aborígenes de la zona y también en la implementación de la Escuela Mapuche-Tehuelche "*Tatá Ancamil*", dependiente del Consejo Provincial de Educación y que funcionaba en el edificio de la Escuela Provincial N° 182 "Edwyn Cynrig Roberts" de la ciudad de Trelew.

Desechaba todo lo cruel y lo agresivo. De su pluma, hemos rescatado esta reflexión: "*Hace mucho que la violencia existe, siempre ha dejado destrucción y miedo. Siempre fue antinatural y estúpida la visión de un ejército marchando a través de un prado verde, en una mañana de sol*".

Celestina Currumil levó su alma a "Nechen"<sup>\*)</sup>, el cuatro de octubre de 1994. En su memoria, el "Salón de Artesanos de la Provincia del Chubut" lleva su nombre.

<sup>\*)</sup> Nechen: Dios, en lengua mapuche.

<sup>\*)</sup> Josefa Lienqueo: madre de Tatá Ancamil, ambos fallecidos.



Owen Tydur Jones

## ESPACIO CRIOLLO

por Germán Terrén Estrada

## Términos utilizados entre el "criollaje"

Para los que no lo saben, pero especialmente para jóvenes y niños, quiero en esta nota aclarar algunas cosas comunes entre el criollaje.

Hablando de yeguarizos: Le decimos "padrillo" al animal sin castrar (entero). "Potrillo" si es macho y "potranca" si es hembra, desde su nacimiento hasta los 3 años más o menos. "Redomón" le decimos cuando está en amanse, al principio con hocada es "de andas" y luego de entrenado "redomón de seno". Cuando lo castramos y está manso, lo llamamos caballo "de pecho" o "de silla".

Cuando lo castramos y no está amansado es "potro". Lo llamamos "macaco" o "bellaco" si es rebelde y corcovea fuerte. "Bagual" le decimos a los ariscos (sin amanse). "Manso de bajo" es el animal manoseado, se deja levantar patas y manos y llevar con el cabresto, pero todavía es potro de lomo, pues no ha sido montado. "Embramar" decimos cuando atamos

al poste a un arisco.

"Sancochado" es un animal amansado rápido y mal. "Ensillar" es cuando colocamos el recado. Si el animal tiene la maña de hinchar la barriga, hay que hacerlo "abrir" entre manos y patas, de lo contrario al montarlo quedará la cincha floja. Cuando desensillamos decimos "hajar los cueros".

El yeguarizo normalmente al caminar o tener otra marcha lo hace moviendo, por ejemplo, mano derecha y pata izquierda, o sea cruzado. El llamado "pazuco" lo hace moviendo los extremos del mismo lado, o sea mano y pata derechos o izquierdos.

Si hablamos de las sogas más comunes diremos que el "mancador" es una soga (de cuero de vaca) larga y fuerte, con cuatro o más metros. Se utiliza para atar largo, sacar cosquillas o voltear al animal.

"Collera": dos anillos que envuelven el cogote de dos animales y se unen por un travesaño corto

(se dice acollarar un arisco a un manso o a la madrina). "Arriador": tipo de látigo de cabo corto y azotera larga de trenza.

"Pegual": soga que envuelve todo el recado y lo ajusta. "Cinchón": similar que el anterior pero lleva dos vueltas al recado. (también le decimos sobrecincha).

Algunas pilchas gauchas: "Bota de potro", se saca entero el forro del garrón (puede ser también de vacuno). "rastra" de soga o de plata con botones para prender el "tirador" que es la parte posterior de la cintura (especie de cinturón anexo).

"Espuelas nazarenas": grandes espuelas que se llaman de esta manera por ser similares sus puntas a la corona de Cristo (el Nazareno). "Serenero": pañuelo que se utiliza debajo del sombrero para protegerse de la humedad.

Bueno por hoy hasta aquí llegué, queda mucho para más adelante, si Dios lo permite.



## REUNIÓN FAMILIAR EN TY

GWYN: el día 2 de agosto, en la tradicional casa de té gaimense se reunieron hijos y demás descendientes de Estela Jones de Pugh, conocida vecina de la zona de Bryn Crwn, para festejar su cumpleaños número ochenta.

La homenajeadada posó en diversas fotografías con todos los presentes. En las publicadas junto al presente texto vemos a Estela junto a dos generaciones distintas de la familia. Cofion cynnes atoch a phob bendith, Estela.



CAMPAMENTO DE INVIERNO EN EL MULTIUSO DE LA ESCUELA 101: semanas atrás durante dos días y una noche se reunieron gran cantidad de jóvenes de Gaiman, Puerto Madryn, Trelew y Dolavon, pertenecientes a la IEMA, para realizar en conjunto diferentes actividades.

Hubo talleres de teatro, música, literatura y plástica. Además hubo momentos para los estudios bíblicos y devocionales, para diferentes actividades de recreación y para un fogón desbordante de alegría. También se realizó una caminata que llegó hasta el Observatorio Arqueoastronómico de la localidad, donde fue tomada la presente fotografía. Según supimos durante el encuentro hubo cocineras de lujo. Los organizadores agradecen al municipio por facilitarles los colchones, a la Escuela 101 por el espacio físico y la cocina y a toda la comunidad por colaborar con muchas cosas ricas.



La naturaleza nos trasmite tranquilidad

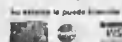
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# Cornel Gymraeg

"Rincón galés" - Espacio destinado a los estudiantes del idioma celta - Gan Gabriel Restucha

## DYSGWCH GWNEUD

El pasado perfecto en galés es fácil de realizar si memorizo el correspondiente al verbo 'Gwneud' (Hacer).

Gwnes i	(hice)
Gwnest ti	(hiciste)
Gwnaeth o	(hizo él)
Gwnaeth hi	(hizo ella)
Gwnaethon ni	(hicimos)
Gwnaethoch chi	(hicieron ustedes)
Gwnaethon nhw	(hicieron ellos)

Si memorizo este verbo en toda su conjugación estoy preparado para usar el pasado perfecto de cualquier verbo (jugué, canté, trabajó, etc).

Ejemplo:  
Gwnes i ddawnsio neithiwr. (Bailé anoche)

El verbo 'dawnsio' se convierte en pasado por la presencia de 'Gwnes i...'

Beth am weithio? (¿Trabajamos?)

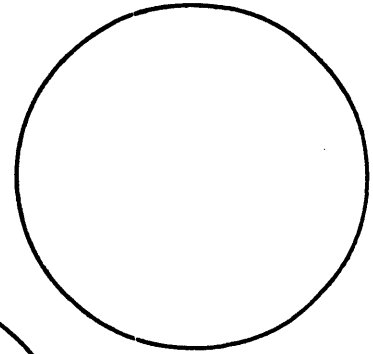
• Gwnes i ganu	Canté
• Gwnes i siarad	.....
• Gwnest ti edrych	.....
• Gwnaeth o stopio	.....
• Gwnaethon ni fynd	.....
• Gwnaeth hi olchi	.....
• Gwnaeth Elen ysgrifennu	.....
• Gwnest ti ddringo	.....
• Gwnes i gusanu	.....

Cofiwch!!! Treiglad Meddal efo'r amser gorffennol. Recuerde, siempre hay mutación suave con el tiempo pasado.

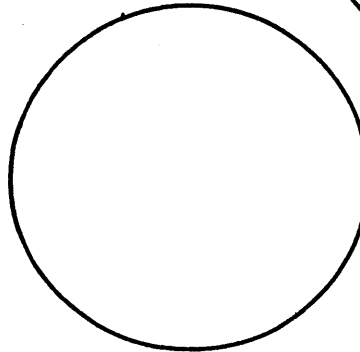
## Ansoddeiriau (Adjetivos)

Tynnwch lun o rywbeth sy'n addas i bob cylch.  
Dibuje algo que corresponda a cada círculo.

OER  
(FRIO)



POETH  
(CALIENTE)



## SIARADWYR

Y lluosog yn yr iaith Cymraeg yn anodd iawn!  
Ydych chi'n gallu gwneud y lluosog o bob gair isod?  
(El plural en idioma galés es difícil. ¿Puede encontrar el plural de cada palabra que está abajo?)

- Capel: capeli
- Llong:
- Ysgol:
- Afon:
- Llestr:
- Ardal:
- Mab:
- Llygad:
- Awr:
- Dant:



**Auspicia este espacio:  
Comisión de Fomento de 28 de Julio**



# Clecs

## NOTICIAS BREVES

### EISTEDDFOD DE LA JUVENTUD

Se invita a los niños y jóvenes de la zona a participar en el Eisteddfod de la Juventud en el lugar en Gaiman los días 17 y 18 de septiembre en el Gimnasio Municipal y el día domingo 19 por la mañana en el lugar el tradicional Santa Ganu en la capilla de la zona.

Estas son las fechas para la entrega de trabajos e inscripciones: Para los trabajos de literatura en el idioma galés y las inscripciones ya se encuentran cerradas. Hasta el 1 de agosto se reciben los trabajos de Artes Plásticas, Escultura, C y Fotografía. El 3 de septiembre se reciben las inscripciones para competencias de música, danza y canto.

La admisión de coros, bandas y conjuntos extracomunitarios se reciben durante los formularios A y B el 23 de agosto.

La oficina del Eisteddfod se encuentra en San Martín 90 de Trelew y atiende los días de 17 a 20 horas. El teléfono es el 430156 y el correo electrónico es eisteddfod@infovia.com.ar.

### VISITA DE JOVEN GALESA

La Galesa Gaiman por algunos días de su juventud Elin Aaron. Días atrás realizó una charla sobre su experiencia en la ciudad de Trelew.

El grupo de teatro "El Corazón de la Tierra" pondrá en escena la obra "El Corazón de la Tierra" de Wil Sam. Damos una bienvenida a Elin y le deseamos toda felicidad en su vida por la Argentina antes de regresar a su país natal. Elin, a través de su correo electrónico ead@adref.com.ar.

### EISTEDDFOD ANUAL DE GALES

El 31 de julio y por una vez más se llevó a cabo el Eisteddfod Nacional de Gales, en la ciudad de Cardiff, sur de Gales. La oficina del Eisteddfod de Chubut estuvo representada allí por su presidente el arquitecto John P. Pys. El Círculo Cultural de Chubut, el

Gorsedd, estuvo representado por el Dr. Carlos Dante Ferrari. La Asociación Galea 16 de octubre estuvo representada por la señora Rini Griffiths y el Cylch Cynraeg Trelew por la señora Catrin Morris.

### FESTEJOS DEL GWYLY GLANIAD ENGALES

En el país de Gales también se festejó el día del desembarco. El festejo tuvo lugar en Nêuadd y Cyfnod en Bala, norte de Gales el sábado 24 de julio y estuvieron presentes allí los becarios que se encuentran asistiendo al curso intensivo de idioma galés en Llanbed. Ellos son Margarita Jones, Bibiana Portugués, Dolly Miguens, Patricia Perrozz, Milton Junyent y Santiago Fariña. Los festejos son organizados por la Asociación Gales Argentina y reúnen a más de un centenar de amigos del Wladfa en Gales.

### GWYLY GLANIAD EN BUENOS AIRES

La Asociación de Residentes Chubutenses en Buenos Aires también preparó un programa de festejos para recordar la gesta galesa. Se sirvió un té galés en el salón social de la Iglesia Escocesa en Perú y Belgrano de la Capital el día sábado 31 de julio y al finalizar hubo un concierto alusivo.

### GIRA DEL CORO MUNICIPAL DE TRELEW

El Coro Municipal de Trelew, que dirige la profesora Gladys Williams, actuó el día jueves 29 de julio en el Salón Dorado de la Municipalidad de La Plata, el viernes 30 de julio en la Casa del Chubut en Buenos Aires y el sábado 31 de julio, participó del té concierto que organizó la Asociación de Residentes Chubutenses.

### ANTOLOGIA

Está en circulación una

El Regional agradece a la Asociación Camwy quien con su aporte permite ofrecer el presente material a nuestros lectores.

interesantísima antología de los poemas ganadores del sillón bárdico en el Eisteddfod del Chubut desde 1965 hasta la fecha. Este libro puede adquirirse en la oficina de informes del San David con el señor Mario Jones y cuesta veinte pesos.

### SALUDO

Desde el país de Gales el señor Milton Junyent, su esposa Catrin Morris e hijas Elen y Maite envían un muy cordial saludo a familiares y amistades a quienes extrañan

mucho a pesar de las hermosas experiencias que están viviendo allá.

### VISITA PASTORAL

Días atrás el pastor Carlos Ruiz dictó conferencias bíblicas en el salón multiuso

de la capilla Tabernacl de Trelew. El tema general fue la sanidad espiritual y se enfocaron seis aspectos en sendos mensajes: cómo tratar con la culpa, cómo tratar con el rencor, cómo tratar con la depresión, cómo tratar con la autoestima deficiente.

## Ecos de una grata visita

Con mucha emoción vivió el señor William Adair de Glasgow, Escocia, su primera visita a nuestro valle y encuentro con sus numerosos familiares, quienes le tributaron una inolvidable bienvenida. William Adair es hijo de Amy Jones de Adair, oriunda del Valle Superior, quien al contraer enlace se radicó en Escocia. Allí nació su hijo William quien viajó a nuestro valle a conocer a sus familiares Pugli, Owen, Lloyd, Jones, Ferrero, Evans y otros. A su regreso es una gran satisfacción para su madre, Amy Jones de Adair, escuchar el relato de su visita con noticias de todos sus parientes y amigos de esta zona. Doña Amy, quien cuenta con 91 años y reside en Glasgow, mantiene vivos los recuerdos de su terruño valletano a pesar de haber emigrado a Escocia hace más de medio siglo.



William Adair junto con su tía Megan Llwyd Jones de Pugh y su prima Lita Irma Pugh de Lloyd frente a la capilla de Bryn Crwn donde hubo un culto familiar de acción de gracias por el feliz re-encuentro

## Fallecimientos

### Francisca Ketura Mangini de Bracco

El día viernes 2 de julio falleció en Trelew a los 66 años de edad la señora Francisca Ketura Mangini de Bracco perteneciente a una antigua familia de Treoriky y relacionada con conocidas familias de Trelew y Gaiman. Sus restos recibieron sepultura en el cementerio de Trelew el día sábado 3 de julio por la tarde.

### Estefanía Kitajgrodzky viuda de Sumelj

El día de 12 julio falleció en Trelew a los 91 años de edad la señora Estefanía Kitajgrodzky viuda de Sumelj apreciada vecina de la zona de Puente Hendre. Sus restos recibieron sepultura en el cementerio de Trelew el día martes 13 de julio por la tarde. Nacida en Polonia se radicó en nuestro país en su juventud y aquí formó su familia.

### Pablo Justin Eeckman

El día 13 de julio falleció el vecino de Gaiman don Pablo Justin Eeckman a los 74 años de edad. Sus restos recibieron sepultura en el cementerio local el día 14 de julio por la mañana. Don Pablo Eeckman era de nacionalidad belga y emigró a nuestro país a los 21 años.

Tanto Doña Estefanía como el señor Eeckman pertenecían a la multitud de inmigrantes que con su trabajo y tesón contribuyeron al bienestar y progreso de nuestro país.

### Myfanwy Rees de O'Connor

El día domingo 18 de julio recibieron sepultura en el cementerio de Gaiman los restos mortales de la señora Myfanwy Rees de O'Connor, Nefed para sus amigos, quien falleciera en Trelew a los 85 años de edad. Nefed era nieta de primeros colonos que se distinguieron por su espíritu progresista y por ser amantes de la cultura. Nefed fue siempre una entusiasta participante de los eisteddfod, tanto en la parte musical como la parte literaria. Vivía en la zona rural cercana a Gaiman hasta que en estos últimos años se radicó en Trelew.

### Juan Federico Underwood Thomas

El día 22 de julio, falleció en Trelew a los 83 años de edad el señor Juan Federico Underwood Thomas. Sus restos recibieron sepultura esta mañana en el cementerio parque Jardín del cielo de Trelew. El señor Thomas era nieto de don John Murray Thomas y fue un gran colaborador del Museo Pueblo de Luis en la vieja estación de Trelew, lugar donde se había desempeñado como empleado ferroviario.

### Juan Carlos Peral

El día 21 de julio falleció en Trelew a los 76 años de edad

el señor Juan Carlos Peral relacionado con antiguas familias del valle. Sus restos recibieron sepultura en el cementerio municipal de Trelew.

### Enid Halley Davies de Evans

El día 26 de julio falleció en Trelew la señora Enid Halley Davies de Evans a los 94 años de edad. Enid nació cuando el cometa Halley era visible en 1910 y ese fue su segundo nombre. Enid era fiel miembro de la capilla Tabernacl de Trelew y gran colaboradora de la Asociación San David. Sus restos mortales recibieron sepultura el día martes por la mañana en el cementerio de Gaiman tras un culto de acción de gracias por su vida, en la capilla Tabernacl de Trelew.

### Jorge Omar Awstin

En Esquel tras sufrir con entereza los embates de una cruel enfermedad falleció a los 59 años de edad el día 27 de julio el apreciado vecino Jorge Omar Awstin. Era descendiente de familias pioneras en la cordillera. De fuertes convicciones ciudadanas fue con gran entusiasmo y empuje colaborador de la Asociación Galea 16 de Octubre, de la cual era vicepresidente (participó especialmente en la concreción del proyecto de construcción de la sede propia en el predio de la capilla). Pese a su enfermedad pudo estar presente, hace algunos meses, en los festejos del centenario de la Capilla Seion de Esquel. Sus restos mortales recibieron sepultura el día 28 de julio por la mañana en el cementerio de Esquel.

### Deborah Thomas

El día 3 de agosto falleció en Gaiman la antigua y apreciada vecina de Bryn Gwyn doña Deborah Thomas. Pertenecía a una familia de honda raigambre en nuestro valle. Sus restos mortales recibieron sepultura en el cementerio de Gaiman el miércoles 4 de agosto por la tarde, previo oficio religioso en la Capilla Seion de Bryn Gwyn, iglesia de la cual fue fiel miembro.

### Marcela Williams de Jones

Noticias procedentes de la provincia de Buenos Aires dan cuenta del fallecimiento de la señora Marcela Williams de Jones ocurrido el 18 de mayo a los 88 años de edad. Sus restos recibieron sepultura en el cementerio británico de Buenos Aires. La señora Marcela de Jones era oriunda de la zona de Gaiman y hace muchos años se radicó en Buenos Aires, allí contrajo enlace con Eduardo Jones y ambos fueron misiioneros del Ejército de Salvación en distintos lugares. El deceso de la señora Jones enluta a caracterizadas familias de nuestra zona.



**FERIA DEL AGRICULTOR**

Se está organizando una nueva feria de productos para celebrar que el 8 de Septiembre se recuerda el día del agricultor y de la enseñanza agropecuaria. Por eso la sección de horticultura está preparando los plantines de hortalizas, flores y aromáticas para vender en la tarde del domingo 12 de Septiembre.

Si se le suma las plantas del vivero forestal, el lombricompost de la sección de cunicultura y los animales de granjas como pollitos BB, patitos BB, pavitas BB y conejos, creemos que puede ser un buen día para visitar la escuela y adquirir los elementos necesarios para empezar una huerta o una granja familiar.

**VISITA**

Los alumnos de tercer año viajaron hasta Rawson para realizar una interesante visita guiada a la Casa de Gobierno y la Legislatura. La organización fue del profesor Martín Medina, acompañado por el veterinario "Tito" Defosé, a los que los directivos agradecen esta enriquecedora iniciativa.

**BANDERA**

La escuela agradece la donación de una hermosa bandera realizada por sus ex alumnos, los mellizos Moraga de Gaiman, que hoy, residen uno en la ciudad de Córdoba y otro en Tandil. Nos alegra el saber con que cariño recuerdan su paso por nuestra Escuela.

**ENSAYO**

Se tiene el acuse de recepción por parte de la Facultad de Agronomía de Buenos Aires del ensayo "Cosecharás tu siembra", realizado por María Itatí Jones y Débora Iglesias. Se está a la espera del veredicto del jurado del concurso por el centenario de esta casa de estudio.

**Noticias breves desde la Agrotécnica de Bryn Gwyn**

**CREDITO FISCAL**

Se presentó ante el INET un proyecto de ampliación de la sección de cunicultura, para ser financiado a través del Régimen de Crédito Fiscal. Ya en cuatro ocasiones anteriores se logró financiamiento para la concreción de proyectos a través del apoyo del Citibank, del Banco del Chubut y de ALUAR. Hasta ahora no se cuenta con empresa patrocinante y se tiene plazo para lograrlo hasta el 30 de Agosto.

**EDUCACION EN MEDIOS**

Se envió a la coordinación del programa "la educación en medios" el trabajo de fotografía y narración realizado por María Sol Iturbide, Dana Andrea Garibaldi, Noelia Gamietea Carugatti y María Luz Montesino. La finalidad es participar en el Primer Festival Nacional "Haciendo Foco" que organiza el Ministerio de Educación de la Nación y se felicita a estas alumnas de 1º2º por el sensible enfoque del tema que presentaron.

**FORO LANERO**

Tres alumnos de tercer año polimodal designados por la cátedra de Producción de Ovinos fueron becados para participar en el Foro Lanero realizado en el Museo Egidio Feruglio de la ciudad de Trelew. Es de esperar que les sea de mucha utilidad esta experiencia.

**DPA**

Cumplida la primera fase del II Desafío Problemático Argentino organizado por la Fundación Evolución, los alumnos que pasaron a la segunda fase son Sofía Soler, Brian Jones Fernández, Mercedes Soler, Daiana Williams, Débora Iglesias, Noelia Gamietea Carugatti y María Sol Iturbide. Se recuerda que son cuatro las fases virtuales y eliminatorias para llegar a la presencial. Les hacemos llegar las felicitaciones por su desempeño y a no aflojar.

**MICROMENSAJES**

Continúan emitiéndose a las 11:05 Hs por LU20 los micromensajes con consejos para el productor agropecuario que realizan todos los alumnos del tercer año, y que se realizan desde la cátedra de Organización de la Explotación Agropecuaria. También se reproducen por FM Arte de Gaiman y FM Trelew, sirviendo nos solo de consejo sino que es una gran difusión sobre lo que hacemos todos los días en la Escuela Agrotécnica.

**FUNDACION YPF**

Se presentó a la Fundación YPF y en el marco de su programa "Innovación en Educación", un proyecto realizado con la Escuela Politécnica 703 de Puerto Madryn y del CENPAT, también de Puerto Madryn. Este concurso de subsidios a escuelas de todo el país pretende financiar propuestas educativas innovadoras en la enseñanza de la ciencia y de la tecnología, y el proyecto presentado es sobre un aviso al productor de heladas en tiempo real para todo el valle. Los directivos de la Agrotécnica agradecen muy especialmente al profesor Carlos Alberto Hellriegel de la Escuela 703.

quién fue el gran impulsor y creador de esta iniciativa.

**TELEFONO**

Serios problemas de funcionamiento tiene el sistema de comunicación telefónica de la Agrotécnica y que continuarán hasta tanto Telefónica instale una línea hasta la Escuela.

**ESCUELA 207**

Continúa desarrollándose el proyecto solidario entre los alumnos de 7º1ª y los chicos de 4º año de la Escuela 207 de Trelew, que lleva adelante la profesora Susana Velasco de la asignatura Formación Ética y Ciudadana. Se intenta lograr que sea una experiencia fructífera para todos los jóvenes participantes.

**COMITE OLIMPICO**

La regencia de la escuela cuenta con las bases de las competencias de dibujo, pintura y literatura organizadas por el Comité Olímpico Argentino, teniendo como tema central los Juegos Olímpicos 2004. Con el antecedente de la medalla de oro lograda el año pasado por la alumna Lucia Pulley, se espera que sean muchos los trabajos que enviemos antes del 24 de Septiembre.

**Feria de Ciencias**

La Escuela Agrotécnica 733 de Bryn Gwyn realizó en su gimnasio la instancia escolar de Feria de Ciencias y Tecnología, que organiza la Dirección General de Educación Científica y Técnica del Ministerio de Educación del Chubut, donde la institución educativa chacarera se presenta en el nivel D, que corresponde a los alumnos del séptimo año de EGB.

Dando cumplimiento al cronograma del reglamento provincial se presentaron a la competencia catorce equipos con una variedad de trabajos de investigación sobre animales en extinción, tránsito, volcanes, energía

nuclear, desnutrición, sistemas de riego, drogas, SIDA, tabaquismo, autos modernas y la guerra de Estados Unidos contra Irak. Todo con la coordinación de la docente de Ciencias Naturales, prof. Mariela Vera.

El jurado integrado por docentes y técnicos determinó los tres equipos que representarán a Bryn Gwyn en la instancia regional a desarrollarse en el Padre Juan de Trelew. Un equipo estará integrado por los alumnos Hernán Olmos, Aylén Calfunao, María Isabel Rodríguez y Alvaro Grozo con el tema de alimentación. Otro equipo integrado por Mariana Lagos, Marcela Cuminao Díaz, Macarena Reartes y Yanina Nadine Trigo con la investigación sobre animales en extinción. El tercer equipo que analizó el tema del tránsito estará integrado por Ramiro Centeno, Lucia Bría, Rocio Zucas, Joaquín Oro y María Luz Huriñanco.

Todos los chicos "chacareros" concurrirán a la instancia regional con el deseo de sumar una enriquecedora oportunidad de intercambio con otros jóvenes de la región.

**MAPFRE ARGENTINA S.A. VIVIENDAS**

presenta  
PARA LA PROTECCIÓN DE SU FAMILIA  
**COMBINADO FAMILIAR:**  
**PÓLIZAS MÁS Y EXTRA**



**TATIANA ROGERS 1567 6188**

Porque proteger su hogar es proteger a su familia.

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**¡EL MEJOR PRECIO ESTÁ EN GRINGOS!!**

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**Olimpiada Geográfica Argentina**

El viernes 6 de agosto se rindió en el colegio, la instancia provincial de Olimpiada Geográfica Argentina 2004.

Los alumnos participantes fueron:

- EEGB: Guillermo Thomas - 7º año
- Octavio Del Real - 8º año
- Cinthia Zamarréno - Jonathan González y David Osorio - 2º

De Nivel Polimodal: Jessica Zamarréno y Nicolás Barbosa - 2º año. Por los resultados obtenidos, promovieron a la instancia provincial de la Zamarreño y David Osorio por el Nivel EGB y los dos representantes de Nivel Polimodal.

Felicitaciones a todos por su afán de estudio y rendimiento en la ocasión. Los alentamos a seguir participando en los próximos años y a mantener la actitud de los más chicos que se prepararon con entusiasmo para enfrentar una difícil prueba.

**Disfrutando del arte**

Como parte de los festejos por el día de Gaiman, se exhibieron en el Consejo Deliberante las obras premiadas en el Salón Provincial de Artes Plásticas 2003.

Los alumnos de 7º y 9º de EGB así como también los de 2º y 3º Polimodal tuvieron la oportunidad de visitarlo y ser guiados por el profesor Juan José Segura quien, a pesar de estar jubilado, sigue colaborando con el colegio para que nuestros jóvenes aprendan de su experiencia y desarrollen su sentido estético.

**Eisteddfod "Mimosa 2004"**



Se celebró en Puerto Madryn el Eisteddfod "Mimosa 2004". Es la primera vez que Puerto Madryn celebra un Eisteddfod propio. Delia Segura fue la presidente de la comisión organizadora. El señor Juan José Davies de Gaiman y Nancy Jones de Rawson dirigieron la acción en idioma galés. Los jurados en las distintas disciplinas fueron: - En Música Silvia Baldor para adultos y Sonia Baliente en la categoría de los chicos. - Eyllt Roberts en recitación en galés y danza escocesa.

La ganadora de la "Ballena Dorada" (poesía en idioma castellano) fue la señora Lidia Romero.

El joven Alejandro Jones de Trevelin ganó la competencia himno a Gaiman y el coro municipal de Puerto Madryn la competencia principal de coro.

Felicitaciones a la comisión organizadora y sigan adelante. ¡Mucha suerte!!!

**Visita estudiantil**



El día 28 de julio llegaron a Gaiman catorce alumnos de la escuela Secundaria Gwynllyw del Condado de Gwent en Gales. Venían acompañados de tres docentes: Claire Humphrys, Gwyndaf Jenkins y Richard White. La delegación llegó a Buenos Aires a comienzos de julio y viajaron en ómnibus a la provincia de Formosa donde, durante cinco días, viajaron en canoa por el río Paraguay. Luego, también en ómnibus, se trasladaron a las sierras de Córdoba donde acamparon realizaron caminatas por las sierras durante siete días. Finalmente viajaron, nuevamente en ómnibus, a nuestra provincia donde visitaron Puerto Madryn y la Península Valdés y arribaron a Gaiman el día 28 de julio por la tarde. Fueron invitados al té galés que la Cooperadora y la Promoción 2005 del Colegio Camwy ofrecía en la Capilla Bethel y al caer la tarde participaron en el concierto conmemorativo con canciones, recitado y danza. Los días subsiguientes pintaron un hermoso friso en el paredón del patio de la Escuela 513 y un simpático mural en el patio del Centro de Atención Familiar. También asistieron y colaboraron en las clases de galés que se dictan en el Jardín Galés, Escuela 61 de Bryn Gwyn, Escuela Aliwen y Colegio Camwy. Amablemente donaron la pintura sobrante y los elementos para pintar al colegio Camwy, cuyos alumnos pintan, todos los años, las aulas del colegio antes de comenzar las clases. El día domingo participaron en la carrera del barril en Puerto Madryn y emprendieron el día lunes 2 de agosto el regreso a su país. Quieren por este medio agradecer todas las atenciones y la hospitalidad recibidas en nuestra zona durante esta visita que ha sido inolvidable y dejan como mensaje el lema de su colegio: "Sigamos adelante".

**Gwyl y Glaniad**



Como ya es tradicional, el 28 de julio se sirvió el té en la Capilla Vieja para festejar un nuevo aniversario de la llegada del primer contingente galés a la Patagonia. La organización estuvo a cargo de la entusiasta Asociación Cooperadora del Colegio Camwy que contó con la colaboración de alumnos y madres de la promoción 2005.

El servicio, en general, fue de muy buena calidad y los asistentes elogiaron tanto el té, preparado como siempre por la Sra. Lidia Pensado como la riquísima repostería. A las 19 horas se inició un concierto en el que se lucieron artistas locales y el grupo de jóvenes del país de Gales.

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## SOCIALES

El día lunes 2 de agosto nació en Trelew el pequeño Kevin David, hijo primogénito de Liliana Lloyd y Pritchard, apreciados vecinos de Bethesda. Felicitamos especialmente a toda la familia en especial a las bisabuela Elsie Humphreys de Pritchard y a los tíos Doreen Roberts y Darwyn Jones. También el día 2 de agosto, en Gaiman, Sofía Pugh cumplió 20 años y Paula Velazquez (disculpas

por poner la edad pero fue a solicitud de quienes les envían un cariñoso saludo). El de 8 agosto Franco Posse brindó con amigos por sus 23 años. El 11 fue el cumpleaños de "Kitty" Owen. El día 21 las mellizas Camila y Tamara Jones festejaron sus 16 años. Veinte años cumplió el 27 de agosto María Celeste Díaz Pugh.

Para alegría de toda la familia el día 5 de julio nació la pequeña Alen,

hija primogénita de Valeria Jones y Carlos Escobar, vecinos de Gaiman y egresados del colegio Camwy. Alen o Alen según se prefiera es la primera nieta de Arnold y Vivian Jones, apreciados vecinos de Gaiman y biznieta de don Oscar Arnold. También es nieta de don Fernando Enrique Escobar Pacheco y señora. Nuestras cariñosas felicitaciones a toda la familia.

Tenemos saludos para Freddy Jarne, quien el 14 de julio festejó por un año más. Su familia lo saluda con mucho cariño esperando alguna nueva celebración. El 23 de julio, en Gaiman, festejó su cumpleaños Marly Pugh de Villoria, un cariñoso saludo.

El día sábado 24 de julio tuvo lugar la bendición matrimonial de María Cristina Giménez y Julio César Tromador en la capilla Bethel de Gaiman. Felicitaciones.

El día 27 de julio cumplió 94 años el apreciado vecino de Bryn Crwn don Bryn Griffiths. Recibió el saludo de familiares y amistades. Nosotros le enviamos un saludo cordial.

El día 29 de julio celebró su cumpleaños la apreciada vecina de Gaiman doña Marta Roberts de Rees quien fuera distinguida días atrás por la Biblioteca Berwyn de Gaiman.

La señora Elsie Humphreys de Pritchard cumplió 85 años el día 31 de julio. Ese día estuvo presente en los festejos del día del desembarco y centenario de la capilla de Bethesda y fue felicitada por toda la concurrencia. La vida de Elsie Pritchard ha transcurrido en la zona de Bethesda y ella es fiel miembro dicha capilla. La felicitamos cariñosamente. Cofion cynnes atoch, Elsie, a phob bendith.

El día 4 de julio cumplió 84 años en Trelew la señora Arel Hughes de Sarda. La señora Arel es oriunda de Treoriky aunque ahora se halla radicada en Trelew y allí recibió el saludo de familiares y amistades. Arel es una distinguida poetisa que escribe en idioma galés y ha ganado el sillón bárdico en el Eisteddfod del Chubut en varias oportunidades y también en el Eisteddfod de Trevelin. Le hacemos llegar nuestro cariñoso saludo. Cofion cynnes atoch a phob bendith, Arel Hughes. También el día 4 de julio cumplió 82 años la señora Irma Williams de Thomas, actualmente radicada en Trelew. De recién casados, ella y su esposo Meilir Thomas vivieron en Gaiman donde Meilir atendía un taller de arreglo de radios. Luego se trasladaron a Trelew y abrieron el tradicional taller "Radio Thomas" en la calle 25 de mayo. Hacemos llegar a Irma nuestro muy cordial saludo. Cofion cynnes atoch a phob bendith Irma.

Melanie Humphreys Nichols es el nombre de la nueva biznieta de la poetisa Arel Hughes. Melanie nació el día 15 de julio en Trelew. Felicitaciones a toda la familia. Longyfarchiadau Arel, ar teulu oll.

El pasado 18 de julio, cumplió años en Trelew la señora Eunice Humphreys de Hughes. Le enviamos un muy cordial saludo y nuestra felicitación. Cofion cynnes



Griselda Cañete festejó sus 33 años el día 3 de agosto pasado. "Por tantas alegrías y dolores que compartimos, por brindarte a tu manera, íntegra y sincera. Por eso y mucho más, te quiero. ¡Feliz cumple! (Tu amiga Cristian).



"Hijo: A las 17,30 hs. de un día de agosto, hace 16 años, te tuve por primera vez en mis brazos. Con infinita ternura de una madre que acuna a su bebé y sueña ser futuro. Hoy quiero llegar a vos con esa misma ternura y con la alegría de saber que mis sueños se hicieron realidad, porque sos un buen chico y por sobre todo un buen hijo. ¡Muy feliz cumpleaños! (Con amor: Mamá)".

"Jonny" Diez (cumplió 16 años el día 4 de agosto pasado).



Doble alegría se vivió en la redacción de El Regional el día 12 de agosto pasado por el nacimiento de Karen y Owen. Karen Elin Williams (arriba), quien nació en Trelew con un peso de 3,800 Kg., es hija de Carina Medina y David Williams, autor de numerosas colaboraciones que permanentemente disfrutamos nuestros lectores. Owen Thomas (abajo), quien nació en la ciudad de Rawson con un peso de 3,150 Kg., es hijo de Laura Fugallie y Boris Thomas, nuestro director. ¡Bienvenidos y felicitaciones para ambas familias!

atoch a phob bendith, Mrs Hughes. El día 28 de julio nació en Trelew el pequeño Ezequiel, hermanito de Agustina e hijo de Diego Rodríguez y Silvana Ventura. Felicitamos cariñosamente a toda la familia incluyendo a los felices abuelos y bisabuelos. El día 4 agosto en Bahía Blanca cumplió años Nancy Lloyd Jones de Boonstra, le enviamos saludos de su mamá desde Dolavon.

Desde la localidad de 28 de Julio tenemos saludos para Macarena Sucunza, quien cumplió 12 años el 10 de agosto pasado. El día 3 de julio fue el aniversario de casados número 28 de Carlos y "Mimi" Vicente. Su hijo Federico los agasajó con una cena en un local del pueblo. Estuvieron acompañados de vecinos de la localidad. "¡Son 28 años de amor!". El 4 de julio se cumplió un nuevo año, desde su natalicio, de la amabilísima agente sanitaria Amelia Roberts. Sus pequeños nietos soplaron las velitas junto a ella.

¡Felicitaciones! Tenemos también un saludo para Cynthia Roberts, quien cumplió 13 años el 26 de julio.

Como todos los meses llegan saludos desde Dolavon y son para el Sr. Omar Jones, encargado de la bomba de agua del municipio, quien cumplió 50 años el día 1 de agosto y para la Sra. Esther Williams de Griffiths, Micaela Bowen y "Estefi" Sponer quienes cumplieron años el 8 de agosto. El 9 del mismo mes hizo lo propio Eleri Morgan de James.

Llegaron hasta nuestra redacción, también para Dolavon, saludos para Valeria Lloyd, quien cumplió años el 13 de julio y para Janet Roberts quien hizo lo propio el 20 de julio. El mismo día se festejó un nuevo aniversario de Irma Roberts y Ileana Williams. ¡felicitaciones! El 21 del mismo mes fue el cumpleaños de Lena W Brunt y de Delia W de Sosa. El 30 fue el cumple de Jessica Jazmin James y el 31 el de Leila MacDonald de Evans. Hasta nuestra próxima edición.







## Popurrí

Los vestigios agonizantes de la lluvia de la mañana:  
el olor a mojado, que anida en la nariz roja  
las nubes moribundas, en jirones sombríos,  
los charquitos en los desniveles de las veredas  
las pisadas que se alejan de ellos,  
y que se mezclan, doblando en las esquinas,  
a la izquierda, a la derecha,  
conociéndose, enamorándose,  
caminando juntas, o solitarias  
otras, cobardes, suicidándose en felpudos,  
algunas en un intento fugaz de no caer en el hechizo  
-de la mirada rubia del sol que reaparece-  
se unen, se persiguen, se penetran,  
se transparentan como moléculas vencidas  
imprimen silenciosos estertores con cada paso,  
asesinando un acuoso popurrí  
de viernes por la tarde

Nentúfar

### CULMINO EISTEDDFOD DE LA JUVENTUD EN GAIMAN

# La joven Mariana García Álvarez se quedó con la Medalla al Poeta

Mariana García Álvarez, una joven de 15 años de Trelew, ganó la medalla de oro en el Eisteddfod de la Juventud, que culminó ayer en la localidad de Gaiman. El Gimnasio Municipal de esa localidad se vio colmado, y todos aplaudieron de pie a esta adolescente que con su poema «Pouporri» se adjudicó el premio mayor de las competencias. Con el seudónimo «Nentúfar», Mariana respondió al llamado de Gladys Thomas, la responsable de dirigir la ceremonia de premiación.

Para esta instancia se hicieron presentes el presidente de la Comisión del Eisteddfod, John Humphreys; el intendente de Gaiman, Raúl Mac Burney; el pianista Héctor Mac Donalds; la solista que entonó en homenaje a la joven poetisa el «Himno a la Alegría», Erika Moraga; y las niñas que bailaron en su homenaje la «Danza de las Flores».

García Álvarez fue escoltada por Analía Ortega; Augusto Pautasio e Iara Hurtado, y jóvenes de la localidad portaron velas encendidas alrededor de la nueva poetisa.

La corona de flores fue colocada por Humphreys como símbolo de «bienvenida perpetua» al mundo de la poesía. En tanto, el intendente colocó la medalla de oro.

En el transcurso de la ceremonia se invitó a los ganadores del segundo y tercer premio. Matías Herrera se adjudicó el segundo premio con su poema «1114» y la joven María Eugenia Encinas no se hizo presente y ganó el tercer premio con «Profecía».



Las niñas bailaron la «Danza de las Flores» en la ceremonia de la medalla, que puso el broche de oro al exitoso Eisteddfod.

### MASIVA PARTICIPACION

Unos 600 niños y jóvenes participaron en las diferentes competencias. Es de destacar la notable receptividad que tuvieron las competencias de «canto» y «recitación» que nucleó a numerosos jovencitos en las preliminares que se llevaron a cabo el jueves último en el transcurso de 12 horas de presentación.

Participaron niños y jóvenes hasta 25 años provenientes de Trevelin, Esquel, Comodoro Rivadavia, Rawson, Trelew, 28 de Julio, Dolavon y una delegación de Buenos Aires.

En la jornada de ayer las competencias comenzaron a las 14 horas. La danza, la poesía y la música tuvieron su apogeo en la víspera.

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Mario Pugh, conductor del programa «Un rincón de Gales en Chubut», con el premio «Negrito Manuel 2004».

## Programa sobre galeses ganó premio nacional

El programa «Un rincón de Gales en Chubut» que conduce Mario Pugh, alternando el idioma galés y el castellano, y difundiendo la música de aquel país, obtuvo el Premio «Negrito Manuel 2004» en el rubro «Programa Cultural».

«Un rincón de Gales en Chubut» se emite todos los sábados

de 21 a 22 horas por Radio 3 y este premio nacional lo entrega, desde hace 14 años, la entidad Aprenem que efectúa este reconocimiento a las mejores producciones radiales y televisivas del país.

Mario Pugh recordó que la ceremonia de entrega de estos premios se realizó en la ciudad de Luján, provincia de Buenos Aires, el pasado 11 de septiembre. Dijo que este premio «es dueño de reconocida transparencia y credibilidad, que sigue llegando a quienes forman, informan y entretienen con mayor idoneidad».

El programa de Pugh compitió con otro en el rubro «Colectividades», un programa llamado «La Hora Italiana» de FM Alvarez, provincia de Buenos Aires.

Pugh contó que en la ceremonia se hicieron presentes productores, conductores y representantes de diferentes medios radiales y televisivos de 14 provincias.

El premiado conductor agradeció a todos quienes hacen posible este programa, a su audiencia y consideró que el mismo «brinda un amplio panorama de la cultura galesa y su influencia en todo el Valle, y está centrado en difundir la cultura, así como también la historia de la provincia».

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# Das Neves entregó subsidios por \$ 29.000 para el Eisteddfod

Con el objeto de apoyar y preservar las tradiciones galesas, el gobernador del Chubut Mario Das Neves entregó ayer subsidios por un total de \$29.000 a la Asociación del Eisteddfod del Chubut que se encuentra ultimando los detalles para la realización del Eisteddfod del Chubut 2004 a rea-

lizarse en octubre.

El gobierno de la provincia efectuó la entrega de los subsidios ayer en las instalaciones de la Asociación San David de Trelew, aportes que fueron realizados a través de la Secretaría de Cultura, con financiamiento del Instituto de Asistencia Social.

En la ocasión Das Neves,

entregó un aporte de \$12.000 para la organización del Eisteddfod del Chubut que se desarrollará los días 23 y 24 de octubre, como así también otro subsidio por \$12.000 más para abonar el alquiler por tres años del Gimnasio del Club Racing de Trelew, sede habitual del evento galés. Además hizo entrega de \$5000 para solventar los gastos del Eisteddfod de la Juventud que tuvo lugar días atrás. Y finalmente, el gobierno provincial donó un pasaje internacional para un jurado de Gales y otro tramo nacional para la presencia de jurados de nuestro país, así como también el apoyo y traslados a coros de las ciudades de Esquel y Trevelin que participen del evento.

El presidente de la Asociación Eisteddfod, Franklin John Humphreys, agradeció el apoyo «espontáneo del gobierno provincial, que ha colmado nuestras expectativas», y resaltó el apoyo

recibido desde la Secretaría de Cultura, y destacó el rol integrador que posee el Eisteddfod del Chubut.

Por su parte, el gobernador Mario Das Neves recordó que durante la campaña «definimos que había que jerarquizar el área de cultura y de deportes llevándolas a nivel de Secretarías para que sean protagonistas de la gestión». «La primera sorpresa con la que me encontré viendo los números -reveló el gobernador- fue que en el año 2003 se destinaron para la cultura en Chubut \$98.000, lo cual me parecía una cifra irrisoria por eso nosotros destinamos un presupuesto de más de \$3.500.000, dándole prioridad a los eventos culturales que se realizan en la provincia». Tras destacar la importancia de la participación de chicos del interior, el gobernador hizo hincapié en «la integración» que este tipo de eventos genera.



El gobernador Das Neves hizo entrega de subsidios a la Asociación del Eisteddfod del Chubut.

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SE ESPERA QUE PARTICIPEN HISTORIADORES DE OTROS LUGARES DEL MUNDO

# El lunes comienza el Segundo Foro sobre Galeses en la Patagonia

Se realizará en Madryn el Segundo Foro sobre Galeses en la Patagonia el lunes 25 y martes 26 de octubre en la delegación local de la Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia San Juan Bosco. Este encuentro está organizado por la Asociación Punta Cuevas, el Centro de Estudios Históricos Puerto Madryn y la Fundación Ameghino.

Se espera además que participen investigadores de Inglaterra, Gales, Canadá.

Marcelo Gavirati, uno de los organizadores, explicó que en ambas jornadas se tratará sobre la historia y la cultura de los galeses en nuestra región. «Todo aquello vinculado al idioma, las costumbres, la religión, es decir, abarcar desde distintos puntos de vista cómo fue la colonización galesa en Patagonia».

Por otra parte Gavirati admitió en este sentido que no existe actualmente datos bibliográficos que contengan esta parte de la historia. «Este justamente es uno de los objetivos del foro, el de tratar de promover las investigaciones sobre galeses».

Sin embargo, existen muchos trabajos particulares, «relativamente nuevos de gente que

investiga sobre el tema, algunos descendientes y otros no».

## PARTICIPACION

El próximo lunes, a las 9 horas se realizará la apertura de este foro que culminará el martes, por la tarde.

Además de los expositores hay tres categorías de participantes: plenos, con una inscripción de \$20 y accede a todo el material sobre el que se trabaje en esa oportunidad; participación por un día, \$10; y participación para una charla específica, \$5.

Los interesados en participar pueden comunicarse a través del e mail a [gavirati@cenpat.edu.ar](mailto:gavirati@cenpat.edu.ar) o bien dirigirse el día de la apertura.

En este Segundo Foro además se presentarán los trabajos realizados en la primera edición, que ya han sido editados en forma de libros. «Han sido publicados y la idea es lograr obtener mayor información y bibliografía».

Finalmente, Gavirati destacó que se espera que este Foro tenga gran convocatoria de historiadores de diversos lugares del mundo.



Marcelo Gavirati, organizador del Foro.

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## Das Neves inaugura en Trelew barrio de 50 viviendas

Gobernador Mario Das Neves presidirá hoy el acto de entrega de 50 viviendas en Trelew, construidas por la empresa Chubut Construcciones S.A. También participará de la presentación del PROMEBA para el barrio Abel y por otra parte ofrecerá una recepción al ministro de Cultura de Gales, Pugh, que llega a la zona. (Pág. 6).



### EL GOBERNADOR COMPARTIO ALMUERZO CON ALUMNOS EN ESCUELA DE CHACRAS

Las escuelas 733 de Bryn Gwyn y 64 de Loma Grande, ubicadas en la zona de chacras, fueron visitadas ayer por el gobernador Das Neves, quien entregó equipamiento. En el último establecimiento compartió un almuerzo con alumnos y docentes. (Pág. 8).

## COMIENZA EL EISTEDDFOD



La inauguración oficial del Eisteddfod del Chubut tendrá lugar hoy en el gimnasio del Club Racing Trelew. El tradicional encuentro cultural tendrá sus momentos culminantes mañana. Ayer, con la presencia del gobernador Das Neves y más de 250 turistas galeses, se llevó a cabo en Gaiman la ceremonia del Gorsedd, de incorporación de nuevos miembros al Círculo Bárdico del Chubut. (Pág. 8).

## Diputados del PJ dejaron otra vez sin quorum a la Legislatura

La UCR presentó un nuevo pedido de interpelación a la ministro de Gobierno, Mariana Ripa. Pero los justicialistas bloquearon su tratamiento. (Pág. 2).



### LAURA MARCOS ES REINA DE TRELEW

La bella joven Laura Gabriela Marcos, de 17 años, fue coronada como nueva reina de Trelew en el marco de los festejos por los 118 años de la ciudad. Sus princesas son Noelia Van Haaster y Jimena Maldonado. (Pág. 10).

## DEPRAVADO VIOLÓ A ANCIANA DE 80 AÑOS

Fue detenido un sujeto con antecedentes policiales y que tendría alteradas sus facultades mentales, tras ser sorprendido cuando violaba a una anciana de 80 años que en ese momento se encontraba sola en su domicilio de la calle Urquiza de Trelew. (Pág. 14).



# Sergio Pravaz y Nía Môn fueron los



El gimnasio del Club Racing estuvo totalmente colmado durante los dos días de la tradicional fiesta de la cultura galesa.

En el marco de una emotiva ceremonia y ante la presencia de un millar de espectadores, el poeta rawsense Sergio Pravaz fue honrado con la Corona de Plata al mejor poema en castellano, instancia máxima del Eisteddfod del Chubut 2004.

En un colmado salón Pravaz se puso de pie al sonar de las trompetas, para iniciar el recorrido que lo llevaría hasta el centro del escenario, mientras el público de pie agiaba sus manos brindándole toda la admiración al momento en que el veredicto del jurado declaraba como ganador al poema titulado «saltar a ninguna parte», convirtiéndose en el momento más emotivo del Eisteddfod del Chubut.

En tanto que por la tarde, la joven Nía Môn, oriunda de Llanberis, Norte de Gales, resultó la ganadora del Sillon del Bardo (mejor poema en gales), premio que fue recibido por su madre, quien se encuentra presente en la zona entre el importante contingente de turistas galeses que visitan la ciudad. La joven Nía fue ganadora anteriormente del Eisteddfod de la Juventud en Islwyn, en 1997. La Ceremonia de Coronación al poeta contó con la presencia del



Das Neves junto al ministro británico Alyn Pugli durante la jornada de cierre del Eisteddfod.

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GASEOSA BARLEY x 2.25 LTS.	0,699	CHICLES BUBBALOO x 60 UN.	3,099
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# Ganadores del Eisteddfod del Chubut



El máximo ganador de la noche, Sergio Pravaz descendiendo del escenario siendo escollado presidente del Círculo Bárdico, Dewi Melfin Jones y los poetas ganadores de sillones y coronas en ediciones anteriores.

ador Mario Das Neves y el ministro de Cultura, María Gales y Deportes de Gran Bretaña, Pugh; el secretario de Cultura, Jorge Arcuri; el director de Patrimonio Cultural de la

## Salta a ninguna parte

El viento no tiene cielo  
y no tiene fondo ni altura para  
salta a ninguna parte

¿cómo si soporta el peso del mundo  
para saber como

El corriente  
de las novedades  
pero los que valen  
son puros  
galaxia equivocada

El firme en un tráfico de palabras  
serán absueltas

El capaz de hurgar  
el corazón de la  
cabeza de trótsky  
a hallar esa flor de tamarisco  
¿cómo respira

El despreciar la rapidez  
de la apuesta fuerte  
del viento se agota  
y se retira

El poema no tiene cielo  
y sus mandíbulas  
de la morosidad en esta comarca

El hacia la muerte y la vida  
de la misma mano

El me en ese umbral con los ojos abiertos

Seud.: Juan  
Sergio Pravaz

provincia, Fernando Lopez, la senadora nacional, Silvia Giusti; el intendente de Trelew, Aldo Marconetto y su par de Gaiman, Raul Mac Burney; el director de Cultura Municipal, Juan Arcuri; además de los representantes de la colectividad galesa y público en general.

## EMOTIVA CORONACION

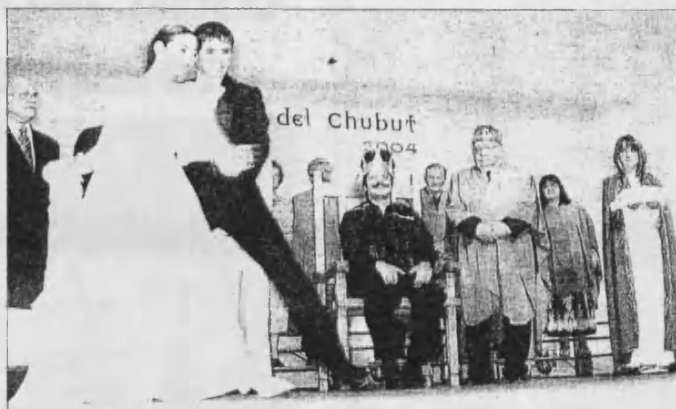
Según la ceremonia bárdica, el poeta ganador debe ponerse de pie al tercer sonar de las trompetas que invocan su nombre, sin embargo Pravaz en su alán, al segundo sonar se identificó ante el público, quienes con una suave música de fondo se ponían de pie a su paso cuando las jóvenes escollas lo guiaban hacia el escenario principal. Allí lo esperaban el presidente de la Comisión del Eisteddfod, John Humphreys; el presidente del Círculo Bárdico, Dewi Melfin Jones y el intendente Aldo Marconetto, junto a los miembros del círculo y poetas que rodeaban al Sillon Bárdico.

El anfitrión de la ceremonia, Carlos Dante Ferrari, realizó una breve reseña de las culturas y tradiciones de los primeros colonos gauleses, tradiciones que hoy se mantienen más latentes que nunca. Tras la lectura del veredicto del jurado, John Humphreys hizo entrega de la corona al máximo ganador de la noche, Sergio Pravaz, quien se mostró emocionado. Luego de leerse las estrofas del poema, se procedió a agasajar al poeta con presentes que consistieron en una ofrenda floral, el premio Senado de la Nación otorgado por la senadora Silvia Giusti, además de cantos y danzas folklóricas argentinas.

## CORONA DEL POETA

El tradicional premio instituido por la Municipalidad de Trelew correspondió a Pravaz, gracias al veredicto unánime del jurado, presidido por el doctor Federico Peltzer, que sobre un total de cerca de 90 trabajos presentados seleccionaron al poema "saltar a ninguna parte", bajo el seudónimo Juan. "por el valor literario, ajustes estéticos y formales", se explicó.

Si bien Pravaz había participado en dos edi-



El Ballet Pilmayquen procede a homenajear al poeta ganador con una zamba.

ciones anteriores, esta es la primera vez que obtiene la máxima instancia del Eisteddfod. "La corona representa el talento de alguien que sabe enhebrar palabras y convertirlas en poesías; con la cual se corona la cabeza de un poeta como máxima expresión de paz y de sabiduría". Asimismo, Sergio Pravaz recibió la primera mención especial realizada por los organizadores, siendo escollado por la escritora trelewense Cecilia Glanzmann y por Edith Esther Albami, de Puerto Madryn, en

el segundo y tercer lugar respectivamente. La culminación de la ceremonia se produjo cuando el presidente del Círculo Bárdico escoltó al poeta descendiendo del escenario central, siendo aplaudido por todos los presentes. Bajo el lema "La verdad ante el mundo" (Y Gwir yu Erbyn y Byd), culminó una nueva edición del Eisteddfod que contó una vez más con las máximas expresiones del arte (canto, danzas, recitación entre otras), con el compromiso de honrar y promover la cultura galesa y su idioma.

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El canto coral es uno de los componentes esenciales que dan forma al Eisteddfod del Chubut.



## Gran presentación del libro «Y Gaucho o'r Ffos Halen»



Con la participación de un notable público, se presentó la traducción al galés de «El rifleiro de Ffos Halen» de Carlos Ferrari.

Ante la presencia de un nutrido número de público, se llevó a cabo ayer la presentación de la traducción al galés del libro «El Rifleiro de Ffos Halen» de Carlos Dante Ferrari, mediante un singular acto realizado en los Altos del Alon San David.

El encuentro, que marcó la finalización de la exitosa «Semana del Eisteddfod», contó con la participación, además del autor de la obra, del

traductor al galés, Gareth Miles y la licenciada Ana María Jones, quienes fueron los principales oradores de la noche. La novela traducida como «Y Gaucho o'r Ffos Halen», narra una particular mirada de la historia de los pioneros galeses, que llegaron a nuestras costas en 1865, recreando en sus páginas las experiencias de los rifleiros ubicados cerca de Trevelin, a través del personaje de su principal persona Randall Thomas.



La licenciada Ana María Jones junto a Gareth Miles y Carlos Ferrari en la presentación del libro «Y gaucho o'r Ffos Halen».



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