

Culture Committee - CC-8-01(p.4)

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Time: 9.00am - 12.30pm

Venue: Committee Room 1, National Assembly Building

THE THREAT OF IN-MIGRATION TO THE FUTURE OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE – PAPER FROM DR DYLAN PHILLIPS

1. BACKGROUND

The aim of this paper is to submit evidence which shows that the in-migration of non-Welsh-speaking outsiders to rural Wales leads to a process of language loss.

This statement is based on the findings of a recent research project which studied the relationship between tourism, in-migration and language decline.

The main objective of this research was to consider the current linguistic situation in three communities in Gwynedd and Anglesey (namely Llanberis, Llanengan and Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf), all of which are popular tourist destinations located within the traditional Welsh-speaking heartland. The results of this research, which was funded by the European Union, have been published by the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic

Studies in a report entitled *The Effects of Tourism on the Welsh Language in North-West Wales*.

The report includes recommendations regarding the measures which should be taken to protect Welsh as a living community language. The points raised below are discussed in more detail in the full report.

Although the main aim of this research project was to evaluate the effects of tourism on the Welsh language, it was found that one of the most harmful effects of tourism in a linguistic context is the way it operates as a catalyst to encourage the permanent in-migration of non-Welsh-speaking outsiders to the Welsh-speaking heartlands. As a result, this document concentrates on the threat posed by in-migration to the Welsh language. The information is presented as follows:

- the decline in the percentage of Welsh speakers 1901–1991;
- the in-migration of non-Welsh speakers to the Welsh heartlands;
- the effects of in-migration on language-use patterns;
- the response of local residents to in-migration and their concern for the

future of the Welsh language.

The research findings are further illustrated in the graphs (**figure 1–9**) included at the end of this document.

1. ***The decline in the percentage of Welsh speakers 1901–1991***

In the 1901 census 929,824 people, i.e. nearly half the country's population,

were recorded as being able to speak Welsh. By the 1991 census – during a period when the country's total population (over the age of 3 years) had risen from 1.9 million to 2.7 million – the number of Welsh speakers had fallen to 508,098, just 18.6% of the entire population. As for the counties of the traditional Welsh-speaking heartland, '*Y Fro Gymraeg*' (namely Caernarfonshire, Anglesey, Meirionnydd, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire), 92% of the population at the beginning of the century spoke Welsh, and almost half of these were monoglots.

However, since 1901 the Welsh-speaking heartland has shrunk considerably. The percentages of Welsh speakers in north-west Wales (the districts of Arfon, Dwyfor and Anglesey) indicate that the position of the Welsh language deteriorated gradually but consistently in its strongholds as the century progressed (**fig.1**). Although the region's population has remained relatively constant throughout the period (undergoing a slight increase of only 7% between 1901 and 1991), the percentage of those able to speak Welsh fell by 38% (from 192,000 to 138,000) while an increase of 79% occurred in the percentage of those speaking English only (from 19,000 to 88,000).

By the 1991 census only 75% of the inhabitants of Arfon and Dwyfor could speak Welsh while the percentage of Welsh speakers in Anglesey had fallen to 62%. The same gradual but consistent decline was also experienced in

other parts of the Welsh-speaking heartland, such as Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire – decreasing from 92% at the beginning of the twentieth century to just 56% at the end of the century (**fig.2**).

Between 1961 and 1991, a period which witnessed the most significant decline, the traditional Welsh-speaking strongholds suffered serious language losses (**fig.3–4**). In 1961, 279 communities throughout Wales (out of a total of 993 communities) recorded that at least 80% of their inhabitants could speak Welsh, covering an area of 37% of the whole of Wales. However, by 1991 only 32 of those communities remained (out of a total of 908), representing less than 8% of the country. According to John Aitchison and Harold Carter, the main authorities on geolinguistics in Wales, the percentage of 80% is extremely important to the future prospects of Welsh since it denotes the threshold required by any language to survive as a thriving community language. However, when the percentage of speakers falls below this key 'tipping point' the language no longer has the necessary 'critical mass' to sustain the language community. Communities that fall below this point are in danger of losing Welsh as their natural community language.¹ It is significant that not one county in Wales returned over 80% of its population as being able to speak Welsh in the 1991 Census. As Aitchison and Carter stated in their analysis of the 1991 results, 'It can now be said that *Y Fro Gymraeg* has all

but gone - the traditional heartland, the reservoir of the language, has been very considerably weakened'.²

2. ***The in-migration of non-Welsh speakers to the Welsh heartlands***

Several factors have contributed to the decline of the language, including depopulation, the two World Wars, economic depression, developments in transport, the popularity of radio and television, state education, and the language's lack of official public status. However, it is incontestable that two of the most influential factors which have hastened the decline in the percentage of people able to speak Welsh in its heartland during the twentieth century is the out-migration of local people and the in-migration of non-Welsh-speaking outsiders.

Rural Wales witnessed profound in-migration during the second half of the twentieth century. Between 1981 and 1987 alone, nearly 420,000 people moved to Wales – 50,000 to Gwynedd and 65,000 to Dyfed. At the beginning of the 1980s nearly 66,000 people were moving to Wales every year, increasing to nearly 79,000 a year by the end of the 1980s. As a result, the 1991 census figures indicate that 33% of the whole population of Gwynedd and 25% of the population of Dyfed had been born outside Wales.

The effects of this in-migration on the Welsh-speaking communities was immense, prompting Harold Carter to declare 'that immigrant populations from outside Wales are associated with language loss'.³ This was abundantly clear

in the experiences of Anglesey and Ceredigion. Census figures for Anglesey in 1991 showed that a clear correlation existed between the percentage of the resident population being able to speak Welsh and their birthplace (**fig.5**). In 1991 30% of the population of Anglesey had been born outside Wales while 38% of the population were monoglot English speakers. In some of communities, such as Trearddur, Moelfre, Llanfair-yn-neubwll, Brynteg and Llanbedr-goch, over 40% of the population had been born outside Wales and over 40% were monoglot English speakers. In Ceredigion between 1961 and 1991 the percentage of Welsh speakers fell by 16%, whilst the percentage born outside Wales rose by 18%. By 1991 nearly fifteen communities in Ceredigion (out of a total of 36 communities) recorded that at least 40% of their inhabitants had been born outside Wales – including coastal communities such as Borth and Llangrannog where over half the population had been born in England (**fig.6**). A total of 36% of the population of Ceredigion had been born outside Wales by 1991. It would be fair to conclude, therefore, that the in-migration of non-Welsh speakers, in conjunction with the out-migration of young local Welsh-speakers, was the main cause of the weakening of the Welsh language in its traditional strongholds.

3. ***The effects of in-migration on language-use patterns***

Unfortunately, due to the sensitive nature of this issue, very little research has been undertaken into the effects of in-migration on Welsh. In other countries, however, the effects of in-migration on language has been widely investigated and academics are in complete agreement that the in-migration of outsiders unacquainted with the native language is one of the main threats faced by contemporary 'minority' language communities. In 1996 the European Union published a report entitled *Euromosaic*, which sought to evaluate the prosperity of the various minority language communities of Europe and identify the various factors that helped sustain or militate against their survival. Common to each one of Europe's minority languages was the threat caused by the in-migration of people from outside language communities. According to the report:

Where migration into a minority language community is pronounced, and the propensity to produce the language is limited, there will be increasing pressure to conduct community affairs through the medium of the dominant language spoken by the in-migrants.⁴

Central to the Celtic Centre's study of the effects of tourism on Welsh was the evaluation of the relationship between tourism and in-migration, and the effect of in-migration on the language-use patterns of the local residents. The research revealed that tourism acted as a catalyst to encourage in-migration to Welsh rural and coastal areas, and that 72% of the non-Welsh-speaking in-migrants questioned had previously been on holiday in the area. The research

also showed that the in-migration of non-Welsh speakers led to language shift and language loss.

According to the replies of the inhabitants of the three communities, considerable use was made of the Welsh language in a wide variety of daily activities – such as watching television, listening to the radio, attending local events, taking part in local activities, and through membership of local groups and societies. However, the majority of Welsh respondents were obliged to use some English every day because of the presence of non-Welsh-speaking residents within their community. This occurred, for example, in sporting and keep fit activities and at events or activities organized by certain community groups such as the Round Table and the Rotary Club, the church and the Women's Institute. Obviously, the greater the number of non-Welsh speakers living within the community, the greater the pressure on the Welsh speakers to use English. The increasing use of English within the bilingual community leads to language shift, whereby the dominant language (i.e. the language available to both language communities) takes over the domains of the minority native language. As Uriel Weinreich observed, 'the burden of bilingualism is borne entirely by one of the mother-tongue groups, while the other group expects to be addressed in its own language in all cases of intergroup communication'.⁵ The final outcome of language shift is the complete displacement of the minority language by the majority language.

The contribution of in-migration to the process of language shift is central to the decline of Welsh in the three communities studied. The increasing in-migration of monoglot English speakers to the area has limited the number of situations in which the local inhabitants can freely use Welsh. That is to say, Welsh speakers are forced to use English because of the inability of in-migrants to speak the native language, thereby precipitating language shift and the gradual displacement of Welsh by English.

For instance, the study findings showed that due to the greater number of non-Welsh-speaking inhabitants, less use was made of the Welsh language in Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf than in Llanberis, and native inhabitants were under growing pressure to speak English. In Llanberis the majority of Welsh speakers were able to speak their native language freely in the vast majority of everyday situations, although they were obliged to speak English in certain situations, especially in local public houses or restaurants (**fig.7**). In social situations of this kind Welsh speakers often came into contact with a higher percentage of non-Welsh speakers and had to switch to English in order to communicate with them. In Llanfair Mathafarn, however, the opportunities for Welsh speakers to use their native language were severely constrained and many were obliged to speak more English because of the increase in monoglot English-speaking inhabitants (**fig.8**). The study proves, therefore,

that the process of language shift is far more evident in communities which have witnessed considerable in-migration.

4. The response of local residents to in-migration and their concern for the future of Welsh

The inhabitants of the three communities studied are also keenly aware of the fact that in-migration of outsiders is the main cause of language decline in their communities. Of all the various factors which have affected the prosperity of Welsh, including education, television and radio, depopulation, economic policies, tourism, and so forth, it is evident that the native inhabitants had strong feelings about the effects of the out-migration of young people and the in-migration of outsiders (**fig.9**). Indeed, 63% of the Welsh-speakers and native inhabitants questioned believed that in-migration was the main threat to the future of their language. Concerns were voiced about in-migration at several junctures during the research, and it was evident that local inhabitants strongly believed that house prices were too expensive and beyond the reach of local people, and that there was too much competition for local houses from outside the area. 73% of the native inhabitants and the Welsh speakers recorded their support for measures to control second homes thus indicating their wish for positive political action to protect their communities from the effects of in-migration.

The Assembly should also give careful consideration to the fact that many of

the inhabitants of the Welsh-speaking heartland are concerned about the future of the native language. Over 69% of the Welsh speakers held the view there had been a decline in the use of Welsh in all three communities. In Llanengan, 80% of the Welsh speakers were of this opinion – a statistic which reflects the fact that the percentage of monoglot English speakers has increased by 40% between 1961 and 1991. As a result, it is not surprising that many Welsh speakers are concerned that the language is in decline in its traditional heartland. Over the whole sample 41% of the respondents felt that Welsh was under threat. However, in Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, the community that has witnessed the greatest in-migration of non-Welsh speakers, the percentage concerned about the future of the language rose to 66% (a small percentage of whom feared that the language was about to die in their community).

This objective scientific research reveals that the future of Welsh as a living community language is under threat and that the Welsh-speaking heartland is under siege as a result of in-migration. This is not a provocative statement: it is a fact that should not be ignored nor distorted for political gain. It is the Assembly's responsibility to give the problem of in-migration to rural Wales serious consideration, and to discuss the subject in an intelligent and sensible manner. In order to preserve the all-important tie between language and

territory and ensure that the foundations of the Welsh language community are not undermined, communities where a large percentage of the population is able to speak Welsh must exist. The Welsh language cannot survive in a vacuum and it will not survive without a distinct geographical sanctuary where it is the main daily language of the vast majority of the inhabitants. Unless Welsh is sustained as a living community language, it could disappear within three generations.

Recommendations:

1 In-migration:

1.1 The report on *The Effects of Tourism on the Welsh Language in North-West Wales* shows that the in-migration of non-Welsh speakers to the Welsh-speaking heartland poses an extremely serious threat to the future and survival of the Welsh language. It is the responsibility of central and local government to tackle this problem. The experience of European countries and regions with minority languages reveals that the in-migration of people unable to speak the local tongue poses a serious threat to native languages and cultures, and in several instances attempts have been made to control in-migration by means of planning and housing policies. Indeed, the Local Plan of the Lake District National Park Authority, a region whose local character has been threatened by an in-migration with no linguistic, national or ethnic element, enforces stringent planning conditions in order to safeguard the interests and rights of the local population within the housing market.

There is a pressing need for intelligent and sensible discussion regarding ways of controlling the processes of both the out-migration of native inhabitants, especially young families, from rural Wales, and the in-migration of outsiders, one of which frequently leads to the other. Due to lack of employment within a community, young families are forced to leave their locality, vacating their homes for incomers from more affluent parts of Britain who can afford to pay higher house prices. As a result, the local Welsh-speaking community is displaced by an in-migrant non-Welsh-speaking population. Because of the fragile linguistic situation in rural Wales, therefore, this dual process of out-migration and in-migration can cause language shift, and eventually undermine the ability of the native tongue to exist as a living language even within its traditional strongholds.

It is recommended:

- that local authorities co-operate with the National Assembly for Wales and the Welsh Development Agency to formulate a strategy relating to the creation and preservation of employment which is adequate to meet the

needs of rural Wales and the wishes of the local workforce;

- that local authorities revise their Unitary Development Plans in order to give priority to local inhabitants within the housing market. The Lake District National Park Authority Local Plan could be used as the basis for such a policy. One of the main objectives of this Local Plan is:

[To] provide a policy framework for development control decisions which

will restrain further housing development unrelated to the identified needs

of local people.⁶

In the meantime local authorities should make use of Section 106

Agreements in order to set aside houses for the local population.

- that the National Assembly for Wales commends these suggestions and urges local authorities to use their planning powers constructively in order to safeguard Welsh-speaking communities. The housing policy of the Lake District National Park Authority was accepted without question by the Department of the Environment;
- that local authorities undertake detailed and continuous research into local housing requirements and formulate a strategy to meet these requirements within the existing housing stock if possible, whether the houses are for purchase or for rent;
- that local authorities, Housing Societies and the National Assembly for Wales create a combined scheme offering part-ownership to local first-time

buyers, and establish a 'Housing Investment Bank' which would offer low-interest mortgages or grants to local inhabitants;

- that the National Assembly for Wales undertakes a detailed review of

planning practices and housing policies in other European countries in order to discover how populations and communities with minority languages are protected against the effects of in-migration of people unable to speak the native tongue. The Assembly should also consider ways of ensuring that local people are given priority within the housing market and give serious consideration to the need for a property act in Wales.⁷

1.2 The experience of several areas in Wales indicates that lack of control over housing developments has led to over-provision of houses in rural communities. In future, the effect of any potential development not only on the environment and the local society but also on the native language and culture should be taken into account.

It is recommended:

- that local authorities undertake regular detailed and comprehensive reviews in order to assess the situation of the Welsh language within each community;
- that local authorities develop a language strategy outlining specific policies and strategies for the protection and development of the Welsh language within their boundaries, and that these strategies are used as a basis for formulating land-use policies in local authority Unitary Development Plans.

These language strategies should consider all kinds of factors relating to land-use planning, such as housing, the economy, agriculture, tourism, transport, etc. It should be ensured that all such policies would be beneficial to the Welsh language;

- (bearing in mind that the majority of local planning authorities have not

previously been obliged to consider the Welsh language, and that they are

inexperienced in this field) that the National Assembly for Wales (in

collaboration with the Welsh Language Board) prepares guidelines for local authorities on the formulation of language strategies, including examples of the kind of policies which should be adopted for the protection and promotion of the Welsh language, e.g:

- the protection of small Welsh communities against the effects of over-development;
 - the restoration of the language in communities where it is in decline;
 - the creation of policies which would meet the needs of the Welsh language – by providing bilingual services, bilingual education, etc.
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- that the Technical Advice Note (Wales) 20, 'The Welsh Language – Unitary Development Plans and Planning Control' is revised to include guidelines instructing local authorities to commission a Language Impact Assessment in relation to every planning application for a substantial development, similar to the assessments already carried out regarding effects on the environment;
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- that steps are taken to control the holiday and second home market and to reduce the percentage of holiday homes to no more than 5 per cent of the total housing stock in any community. All local authorities in Wales should levy the full council tax on holiday and second home owners and not the reduced rate of 50 per cent. The National Assembly for Wales should consider ways of controlling the holiday home market, such as by revising the existing planning procedures and stipulating that house owners seek permission for 'change of use' of their property from permanent abode to holiday home, as is already the case in Denmark.⁸ The National Assembly should also allow local authorities to levy a 'penalty tax' on holiday homes and second homes, i.e. 200 per cent of the normal council tax. This is

currently under consideration in the Highlands of Scotland.

2. Language:

2.1 In accordance with the progressive education policies of the County Councils of Gwynedd and the Isle of Anglesey, all children are introduced to the Welsh language as soon as they reach school age. The aim of these education policies is 'to develop the ability of pupils and students to be confidently bilingual in order that they can be full members of the bilingual society of which they are a part'.⁹ In an attempt to set firm linguistic foundations, it has been stipulated that Welsh be the only medium of nursery education in both counties, and that English is introduced in the junior school, where increasing emphasis is placed on bilingualism and the development of fluency in both languages. In order to build on the bilingual foundations set in the primary school, the secondary schools are categorized according to the range of the children's linguistic ability and the location and size of the school. Welsh is used as a medium and also taught as a subject to all children up to 16 years of age. This education policy is extremely successful not only in the case of children from Welsh-speaking homes, but also in introducing the Welsh language to children from English-speaking homes.¹⁰

However, a considerable proportion of children of non-Welsh-speaking in-migrants to north-west Wales fail to attain fluency and to become fully

assimilated into the local Welsh-speaking community. In some communities,

schools are unable to cope with the large influx of non-Welsh-speaking children, especially older children, who move into the area with their parents and enter the local education system. This problem is aggravated by the inability of non-Welsh-speaking parents to assist their children, especially when the parents concerned do not appreciate the advantages of bilingual education and underestimate the value of learning Welsh.

It is recommended:

- that increased resources and funding are made available to develop centres for latecomers in order to improve the present process of assimilation of the children of non-Welsh-speaking in-migrants into the local community;
- that a leaflet containing information about the Welsh language, the advantages of bilingualism, the local education policy and details about language-learning courses is prepared and distributed among in-migrants to rural

Wales. A leaflet of this kind has already been produced by Mentrau Iaith Dinbych-Conwy a Gwynedd, and is distributed to incomers by estate agents;¹¹

- that a marketing campaign emphasizing the value of bilingualism and bilingual education and promoting the use of the Welsh language among learners is conducted. The National Assembly for Wales and the various language initiatives would have a key role in a scheme of this kind.

2.2 It is also evident that the provision of adult language-learning courses is inadequate and that attempts to introduce the language to the increasing numbers of non-Welsh speakers settling in north-west Wales are largely unsuccessful. Despite the conscientious and praiseworthy efforts of language teachers and course organizers, very few in-migrants become fluent Welsh speakers, or even manage to learn enough Welsh to be able to communicate with local people. But it must be acknowledged that the acquisition of a language is an extremely complex and difficult process, especially for mature learners, and a universal problem for second-language learners. The adult Welsh-language education system is less successful than that of the schools, and research reveals that many non-Welsh-speaking in-migrants abandon the attempt before reaching any standard of fluency.

It is recommended:

- that ambitious schemes are prepared in an attempt to attract more adults to learn Welsh as a second language by means of intensive language courses;
- that employers are urged to release staff on full pay for extended periods in order to attend Welsh classes;

- that scientific research is undertaken into second-language teaching

techniques and ways of reducing the current high failure rate. The National

Assembly for Wales should establish a national centre for the promotion and development of the teaching of Welsh as a second language, similar to the Central Co-ordinating Unit for Welsh for Adults recommended by the Welsh Language Board;¹²

- that the Welsh Language Board investigates schemes such as the

'landeskunde' in Germany and Sweden, where in-migrants are paid to learn the native language, on a full-time basis for six months or on a part-time basis for twelve months. The aim is to assist incomers to find employment and educate them about the language and culture of their adopted country.

2.3 In-migration instigates language shift. High percentages of non-Welsh speakers within any community limits the opportunities of local inhabitants to speak their language. Although this problem also affects adults, its effect on the language and attitude of children is critical. In addition to problems such as the influence of the English language on the vocabulary and syntax of Welsh-speaking children, the presence of non-Welsh-speaking children can lead to language shift among Welsh speakers. This occurs because the opportunities for Welsh-speaking children to speak their own language naturally among friends and during various activities are increasingly restricted and children are forced to speak more and more English. This can also lead to an inferiority complex among Welsh-speaking children, who renounce their mother tongue in the belief that it is inferior to the language of the dominant group and of the ubiquitous Anglo-American culture.

It is recommended:

- that an efficient marketing campaign is organized emphasizing the value of

bilingualism and bilingual education, and also a campaign to promote the

use of the Welsh language among its native speakers, and to convince them of the value of transmitting the language to the next generation;

- that more language initiatives are established and additional funding

secured for existing initiatives in order to promote and develop community

efforts to safeguard the language and extend its use within the community.

4. It is also necessary to increase the confidence of Welsh speakers in the value of their language and its future prospects. Research reveals that a minority of Welsh speakers consider their language to be inferior. This lack of confidence within the native population in the ability of their language to survive as a community language is a threat to its future. If Welsh is not considered to be a valuable and thriving language by its native speakers, it will not be transmitted to the next generation. It must be acknowledged, however, that reversing language shift is no mean task, and that careful holistic planning is required to restore and promote the Welsh language. After all, the interests of the language are inexorably linked to the economic, political and institutional structure of the wider community. As a result, in addition to the above recommendations which refer to in-migration, out-migration and education, Wales urgently requires a national strategy which would give direction and co-ordination to the existing ad hoc attempts in the field of language planning.

It is recommended:

- that the Welsh Language Board gives more encouragement and practical

assistance to the language initiatives in Wales. The role of these initiatives is

crucial to the future of Welsh as a community language and the Language

Board should immediately implement the recommendations of the recent

report by Cwmni Iaith Cyf. regarding language initiatives;¹³

- that the National Assembly for Wales, by means of its Culture Committee's

current policy review, prepares a practical and attainable strategy with the

aim of 'creating a bilingual Wales'. Following the example of the Government

of the Basque Country, the Assembly must substantiate its declared

statement to safeguard the future of the Welsh language by adopting and

operating an ambitious and constructive policy and by investing sufficient

resources and funding to achieve this aim. The Assembly should immediately increase the funding available to the Welsh language, establish a national Language Planning Centre, and give serious consideration to the call for a Language Authority for Wales.¹⁴

Footnotes

1 Harold Carter, *Immigration and the Welsh Language* (Cardiff, 1988).

2 John Aitchison and Harold Carter, 'The Welsh Language in 1991 – A Broken Heartland and a New Beginning?', *Planet*, 97 (1993), 3–10.

3. Carter, *Immigration and the Welsh Language*, p. 8.

4 Peter Nelde, Miquel Strubell and Glyn Williams, *Euromosaic: The Production and Reproduction of the Minority Language Groups of the EU* (Brussels, 1996), p. 7.

5 Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague, 1963), p. 89.

6 Lake District National Park Authority, *Lake District National Park Local Plan* (Kendal, 1998), Section 5: 'Housing', pp. 55–66.

7 See Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, *Property Act Handbook: Housing and Planning in Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru* (Aberystwyth, 1999).

8 See Nick Gallent and Mark Tewdwr-Jones, *Rural Second Homes in Europe* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 65–93.

9 Cyngor Sir Gwynedd, *Welsh Language Plan* (Caernarfon, 1995), Chapter 3: Education.

10 Cen Williams, Gwyn Lewis and Colin Baker, *The Language Policy: Taking Stock: Interpreting and Appraising Gwynedd's Language Policy in Education* (Caernarfon, 1996).

11 Mentrau Iaith Dinbych-Conwy a Gwynedd, *Croeso: Welcome to Welsh-speaking Wales* (Dinbych, 1999).

12 Welsh Language Board, *Welsh for Adults Strategy* (Cardiff, 1999).

13 See Cwmni Iaith Cyf., *Venturing Onwards: Review of the Mentrau Iaith 2000* (Cardiff, 2001).

14 Heini Gruffudd, *Awdurdod Iaith i Gymru* (Talybont, 1999).