You say *potato*, I say *tatws*:
The terrain of linguistic coexistence in Wales

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Abstract

This study examines the linguistic coexistence in Wales of Welsh and English in public signage and other public spheres and the ongoing normalization of Welsh through a reorientation of the linguistic landscape. Concerted efforts by the now defunct Welsh Language Board, the Welsh language commissioner, the Welsh National Assembly, and other governmental entities have aimed at preserving and promoting the Welsh language. While Welsh is spoken by just a fifth of the population, it is increasingly woven into the sociocultural fabric of contemporary Wales. Given this revitalization, the language is considered by linguists to be a success story in language preservation. This study, which was carried out in Cardiff, the Welsh capital; Conwy, a town in North Wales; and Betws-y-Coed, a village in North Wales, documents the visual contexts in which Welsh appears on the streets and sidewalks, in retail establishments, and in museums and other places of cultural importance. Such symbolic use of a minority language amounts to what one scholar has called "a reorientation of normative space." One notable finding is that when Welsh appears in the linguistic landscape, in the vast majority of cases, it reflects a top-down process driven by public institutions. Another key finding is that when Welsh and English appear together, typically the lettering is the same size in both languages and the amount of text is about the same. However, in a majority of cases, Welsh is featured more prominently by being displayed above or to the left of the English, although that is much more likely in Conwy or Betws-y-Coed than in Cardiff.

*Keywords:* linguistic landscape, minority languages, Welsh

1 Introduction

The world’s languages are steadily, inexorably, being pared down through attrition, as smaller, susceptible minority languages disappear one by one when their last remaining speakers die. The gravitational pull of larger, more dominant languages draws speakers of minority languages into their orbit for sociocultural and economic reasons, causing many minority languages to wither over time. One minority language that seemingly was poised for eventual extinction was Welsh, but social activism and governmental legislation in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries helped reverse the decline of Welsh. Today the Welsh language remains an intrinsic part of Welsh identity and is an increasingly vital facet of Welsh life. As a writer for *New Statesman* observed: “Welsh identity has always been bound up with the language. In fact, for some, the two cannot be differentiated” (Griffiths 2007: 32).

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This renaissance of Welsh is all the more surprising, given that the dominant language of the region is English, that steamroller of a language that over time not only obliterated numerous other languages of the British Isles, including Cornish and Manx, but also has become the de facto global language. Despite the long, slow decline of Welsh in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the language managed to defy the odds and make a turn-around. One dimension of this comeback is the widespread use of Welsh in the public sphere in signage. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25), there is symbolic value as well as informational value in the use of language in shop signs, road signs, billboards and other public signage. Landry and Bourhis said the aggregate language use in such signage forms the “linguistic landscape” of a place.

A key dimension of the rejuvenation of Welsh has been a strategy of coexistence with English. This paper explores the visible coexistence of Welsh and English in the public arena in Wales today, examining such aspects as the use of bilingual exterior and interior signage and other apparent textual artifacts.

2 Background

The Anglicization of Wales, already much in evidence in the nineteenth century, gained momentum in the twentieth century. The decline of Welsh was marked: the 1911 census found that 43.5% of the populace spoke Welsh, but with each successive census, that percentage fell, declining to 18.5% in 1991 (Aitchison and Carter 1999: 168). After analyzing the human geography of Welsh speakers, Aitchison and Carter found evidence of language revival amid the bleak numbers from recent censuses through an increase in the percentage of young people learning Welsh and through the emergence in southeast Wales of middle-class enclaves where people spoke Welsh (174). The authors concluded, “As the millennium approaches the prospects for the Welsh language are brighter than they have been at any time in the past 100 years” (182).

That observation proved prophetic. The 2001 census offered further evidence of a reversal in the decline of Welsh, with 20.8% of the population speaking the language (Jones 2008: 542). Jones, who analyzed data from multiple censuses and surveys, including the 2004 Welsh Language Use Survey, found that the educational system, rather than the home environment, had become the primary conduit for learning Welsh. Jones asserted that the shift of language learning from homes to schools makes language maintenance an even more critical issue because the language is typically not as deeply-rooted when acquired at school (551). He argued that it is not adequate to ensure that people have Welsh-language skills, but rather that it is necessary to make sure that people have opportunities to use those skills and that they are encouraged to do so. While his analysis of the data showed that the percentage of people who reported that they can speak Welsh was rising, Jones pointed out that the new Welsh speakers were not necessarily fluent. Among people who claimed to speak Welsh, 57% of those in the 2004 survey said they were fluent, down from 61% in a 1991 survey (552). After examining demographic trends relating to Welsh, Jones concluded that the use people make of a language, as opposed to merely the ability to speak it, is the best measure of the vitality of a language. He said that efforts to revitalize Welsh should focus on promoting daily use and strengthening the sense of a community of speakers.

The 2011 census, however, showed a decline in the percentage of people who reported they could speak Welsh compared to the results of the 2001 census. In 2011, 19% of Welsh residents

After the release of the 2011 census data, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society), a grassroots group, issued a manifesto calling for the government to do more to safeguard the language. The chair of the Welsh Language Society, Robin Farrar, said, “There’s no point sitting back and accepting the census results...What’s needed now is the political will to realise the ambition of people around the country” (BBC News 2012). The Welsh Language Society later presented their recommendations to the first minister of Wales, Carwyn Jones, who afterward called for a national dialogue on language policy. Jones spoke of the “serious challenges” facing the language and the need to ensure that Welsh remained a living language, rather than one spoken at school (Morris 2013).


• stipulated that the public sector must treat Welsh and English on an equal basis when providing services to the public in Wales
• affirmed that Welsh speakers have the right to speak Welsh in court, and
• established the Welsh Language Board to ensure that those two guarantees were carried out and to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language (Welsh Language Board, http://www.byig-wlb.org.uk/English/welshlanguage/Pages/WelshandtheLaw.aspx).

The Welsh Language Board played a pivotal role in the resurgence of the language. Blackledge, who studied the debate regarding the Welsh language and Welsh nationality, asserted that the Welsh Language Board aggressively hyped the merits of knowing Welsh in various ways, including promoting bilingualism as both an economic commodity and as a symbol of national unity (2002: 202).

Williams, who analyzed language agencies of Wales and Ireland, observed that as the lone government agency that was charged with promoting and safeguarding Welsh, the Welsh Language Board acted from a monopoly position and played a pivotal leadership role (2009: 77).

Another piece of landmark legislation that further bolsters the status of Welsh is the Welsh Language Measure 2011, which was approved by the National Assembly of Wales in December 2010 and became law in February 2011. This law further safeguards the rights of Welsh speakers. Its provisions include the creation of a Welsh language commissioner (Welsh Assembly Government, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/mwa/2011/1/pdfs/mwa_20110001_en.pdf). As a consequence of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, the Welsh Language Board was abolished April 1, 2012, with the board’s responsibilities being split between the new Welsh language commissioner and the Welsh government. The Welsh language commissioner has two principal aims:

• ensuring that Welsh is not treated less favorably than English in Wales
• guaranteeing that people in Wales can live their lives through the Welsh language if they desire (Welsh Language Commissioner, http://www.comisiynyddgymrhaeg.org/English/Commissioner/Pages/Aim.aspx).
The new Welsh language commissioner, Meri Huws, took office on April 1, 2012, and outlined her priorities in a speech in Cardiff: "My vision is a Wales where Welsh speakers have the confidence to use the language and trust in the law to rectify any wrong experienced by them" (Morris 2012).

Policy-making on the local level also supports Welsh, with some aspects of bilingualism in public life being mandated by local Welsh language schemes. This is true for all three municipalities in which this study was carried out. Cardiff is subject to the Cardiff Council Welsh Language Scheme and both Conwy and Betws-y-Coed fall under the Conwy County Borough Council Welsh Language Scheme. For example, Cardiff Council’s 2009-12 language scheme stipulates that new and replacement public-information signs, highway and road traffic signs, and car park signs will be bilingual. Similarly, advertising and promotional campaigns carried out by Cardiff Council are bilingual (Cardiff Council, http://www.cardiff.gov.uk/content.asp?nav=2872,6044,6430&parent_directory_id=2865&id=2477).

Gradually, businesses in Wales are embracing bilingualism in the workplace. For example, the bank HSBC has a bilingual policy for Wales that states: “Our aim is to treat the Welsh and English languages with parity throughout all our branches in Wales...” (HSBC, http://www.hsbc.co.uk/1/2/hsbc-in-wales/bilingual-policy). The policy stipulates that external and internal signage should be bilingual, or, if provided separately, the Welsh and English should be equivalent in format, size, quality and prominence. Similarly, HSBC strives to make all marketing displays, brochures, and other such materials bilingual, and the bilingual policy encourages the use of spoken Welsh in HSBC branches in Wales. Other prominent businesses with bilingual policies are Barclays Bank, BT, and Radisson SAS (Welsh Language Board, http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20111206014030/http://www.byig-wlb.org.uk/English/using/Pages/PolisiauIaith-Rhestr-PIG-EN.aspx).

Aside from governmental and business efforts, a critical factor in the revival of Welsh has been that the language has achieved a cultural cachet. Niall Griffiths (2007: 32) of New Statesman observed that Welsh has become “cool” and “once that imprimatur is awarded, it is very difficult to lose, and a survival of some form is almost guaranteed”. Griffiths said the revitalization of Welsh has given the Welsh people self-confidence and a sense of identity. This emerging sense of cultural identity is celebrated during the National Eisteddfod of Wales, an annual cultural festival that attracts about 160,000 people. The Eisteddfod has Welsh as its official language but over the years has moved toward linguistic co-existence with English.

The rejuvenation of Welsh benefits greatly from an economic incentive to learn the language. Jones (2012), who analyzed census data and multiple surveys in compiling a statistical portrait of Welsh, found that Welsh speakers tended to fare well in the work force. For example, the 2001 census showed that higher percentages of people in professional occupations could speak Welsh, compared to the percentages of Welsh speakers in the general populace. That was especially true for women, with 29% of women in professional occupations being able to speak Welsh, compared to 18% for all working women aged 16 to 74 (86). Jones also cited the 2010 annual population survey, which showed that 11% of Welsh speakers were managers or senior officials, while 18% were in professional occupations. Although a higher percentage of non-Welsh speakers (14%) had risen to the level of manager or senior official, the percentage of non-Welsh speakers in professional occupations was much lower (12%). In another analysis of Welsh and the labor market, Blackaby et al. concluded that people proficient in Welsh have a clear labor-market advantage (2006: 78). The economists found that this advantage was true for both genders but was more pronounced for women. They also found that people proficient in
Welsh are more likely than non-speakers to be employed and also tend to have higher salaries (84). Similarly, Henley and Jones looked at whether there is an economic return for Welsh bilinguals and found that bilinguals earn 8% to 10% more (2005: 317). Even after controlling for human capital and demographic considerations and local-area effects, Henley and Jones found that a positive earnings differential of 6% to 8% remained. For people with higher levels of proficiency in Welsh, the pay advantage was even greater. They concluded that employers coveted workers with higher-level Welsh-language skills and were willing to pay those workers more (318).

3 Literature Review

As noted, Landry and Bourhis (1997) asserted that the use of a language in public signage has both informational and symbolic significance in what they termed the linguistic landscape (LL). Informationally, it indicates that the language can be used in communicating and for obtaining services in the governmental or private establishments with such signage (25). Symbolically, in a bilingual or multilingual setting, the use of a particular language in signage indicates that the language has value and status in the sociolinguistic landscape and thus can contribute to members of that ethnolinguistic group having a positive social identity (27).

Building on the work of Landry and Bourhis (1997), Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, and Barni (2010: xiv) said the LL refers to all linguistic objects that mark public spaces, a concept that embraces streets, parks, billboards, shops, stores and offices. According to Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, and Barni, the LL conveys emblematic significance to passersby: “...the languages of LL items and the symbols they display landmark this space and represent its symbolic construction” (xv).

The informational and symbolic significance of public signage helps explain why Welsh language activists campaigned aggressively in the 1960s and 1970s for bilingual road signs. According to Merriman and Jones, these activists viewed English-only signs not as simply functional and banal but rather as symbols of English oppression (2009: 353). Beyond that, in the eyes of the Welsh populace, the English-only signage provided a constant reminder that the Welsh language was inferior in status. The campaigns by the Welsh Language Society and others gradually helped reshape the LL of Wales. By the mid-1980s, most English-only road signs had been replaced by bilingual signs (373). The Welsh Language Society now aggressively lobbies private-sector firms to provide bilingual signage (374).

Another European locale where a minority language has achieved a successful coexistence with a dominant national language is the Spanish province of Catalonia. Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng (2008) looked at language attitudes in Catalonia a generation after the introduction of official language policies favoring Catalan over Spanish in that part of Spain. They found evidence supporting the normalization of bilingualism in the growth of what they call linguistically cosmopolitan people who are oriented toward a linguistically plural community. These linguistic cosmopolitans traverse ethnolinguistic boundaries by accommodating the linguistic preference of other groups, or at least being willing to do so (328). Newman, Trenchs-Parera, and Ng concluded that the language attitudes in Catalonia showed that a survival-of-the-fittest language competition is not inevitable (330). They credited the government’s normalization policy for promoting social cohesion by encouraging linguistic cosmopolitanism rather than linguistic polarization. The authors suggested that in other places that are ethnolinguistically divided policy-makers should take a cue from Catalonia’s
Hornsby argued that globalization actually affords opportunities for minorities, including linguistic minorities, to define themselves and express themselves (2008: 127). Hornsby said the expanded use of minority languages in public signs is an aspect of what he called the resulting “reorientation of normative space” (127). However, Hornsby, who surveyed young Breton speakers to assess the impact on them of the growing visibility of the Breton language in public signage in the French region of Brittany, concluded that such symbolic use of the language is little more than “tokenism” that has not had a significant impact on reviving Breton. Although Breton, the only Celtic language still spoken outside of the British isles, is much more visible in public life now, Hornsby saw this as reflecting what he calls “the McDonaldisation of Breton culture” because the language is equated as a product representing authentic Breton culture in a “homogenized, pre-packaged form” (130). Hornsby argued that the Breton language has been commodified and concluded that while the language is more visible in the LL than ever before, it remains compartmentalized.

In the Welsh context, however, the presence of the language seems far less compartmentalized, as evidenced in part by a reorientation of virtual space. Honeycutt and Cunliffe examined the use of Welsh on the social-networking site Facebook and concluded that the language had an active presence in Facebook groups and profiles and had been normalized in the context of the social-networking site (2010: 226). Honeycutt and Cunliffe also said most of the Welsh use in Facebook seemed to represent natural language behavior by individuals and concluded that the normalization of Welsh in Facebook reflected a “bottom-up” process driven by individuals, as opposed to a “top-down” process driven by the government (244).

However, with signage, some evidence suggests that the presence of minority languages tends to be a top-down phenomenon in which bilingual signs can be attributed to national, regional or local government or other public entities, rather than a bottom-up phenomenon attributable to private-sector efforts. Blackwood (in Shohamy, Ben Rafael, & Barni, 2010: 298) examined the presence of regional languages on signage in two provincial French cities—Breton in Rennes and Catalan in Perpignan—and concluded that the vast majority of bilingual signs in both cities were top-down. Blackwood found that 97% of bilingual signs in Perpignan were top-down signs, while 76% of bilingual signs in Rennes were top-down. While acknowledging that the overwhelming majority of people in both Rennes and Perpignan were French speakers, Blackwood observed that one would be about twice as likely to encounter Catalan in the LL of Perpignan than to find Breton in Rennes (303). He attributed that to the language practices and language beliefs of the people who manage public space, including shop owners, graffiti artists, local and national authorities, banks, large industries, and residents.

Coupland (2012) examined bilingual displays in Welsh public spaces, asserting that they are organized within five sets of frames or framing premises, each of which reflects a different concept of bilingual Wales and the status of Welsh and English within it (2). Coupland argued that a LL perspective provides an index to ethnolinguistic vitality, but he took a language-display perspective because he wanted to be able to interpret visible bilingual displays as a stylization of ethnolinguistic vitality (4). Coupland identified five frames for bilingual Welsh displays: the frame of nonautonomous Welsh, the frame of parallel-text bilingualism, the frame of nationalist resistance, the frame of Welsh exoticism, and the frame of laconic metacultural celebration (7). Textual displays that fit the frame of nonautonomous Welsh, in which Welsh is embedded in an English context, such as when a Welsh place name is used with an English
word such as road, can still be found in Wales and underscore the historical hegemony, according to Coupland. In the frame of parallel-text bilingualism, Welsh and English are projected as equivalent autonomous codes. Coupland said the current language policy of Wales has been a catalyst for the rise of such parallel-text displays, which assert the equality of Welsh and English and, thus, symbolically certify Welsh as a viable national code alongside English. He said that most textual displays in Wales fit one of the first two frames, while the other three frames are far less common but nonetheless important, projecting their own metacultural values. Displays in the frame of national resistance, such as a trailer painted with the words “Speak our language,” continue a tradition of language activism in Wales (13). Such displays tend to be threatening and impositional, according to Coupland, and project moral authority. In the frame of Welsh exoticism, the language appears as an “ephemeral and consumable cultural curiosity” (15). Coupland cites as an example the frequent use in tourism campaigns and for postcards an image of a railway station sign at a village in Anglesey in North Wales with the place name of Llanfairpwllgwyngyrchwyrndrobwllllantysiliogogogoch. For Coupland, the highlighting of an image of this place name in materials aimed at tourists is intended to amuse and puzzle them while underscoring the exotic nature of Welsh. Coupland’s fifth frame, laconic metacultural celebration, embraces idiosyncratic language texts such as T-shirts with veiled Welsh references (17-20). Coupland offered as examples some of the T-shirt texts from cowbois, a small north Wales company. One contained the word bardd, an allusion to a poet, or bard, who has achieved success at the National Eisteddfod. After studying language displays in Wales, Coupland concluded that, even in a successful bilingual community, there are competing ways of visualizing bilingualism.

4 Method

In this study, conducted in June 2010, bilingualism in Welsh signage was explored in three locations – the capital city of Cardiff, which is located in South Wales; the medieval walled town of Conwy, which lies along the coast in North Wales, and the resort village of Betws-y-Coed, which is located in Snowdonia National Park in North Wales. The concept of LL, as articulated by Landry and Bourhis, by Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, and Barni, and by other researchers, is central to this study. However, this study expands the concept of LL beyond streets and roads to other places in the public arena, such as the interiors of museums, historical attractions, event venues, governmental buildings, shops, and restaurants. These types of inside spaces are also part of the public experience for both locals and visitors. Public life is not confined to roads and streets, sidewalks, and parks. One goes in and out of various buildings that are geared toward some sort of public activity—shopping, dining, enjoying a beverage, sightseeing, museum-going, attending a church service, etc. To limit the concept of the LL to what one would see as a passerby seems overly narrow if one is trying to assess in a more holistic way the way one visually encounters language in a place. The language items of these public interiors also have both informational and symbolic significance, just as do language items in outdoor spaces.

Like most LL studies, this one centers on a quantitative assessment of LL artifacts. LL studies are often geographically narrow, focusing on just one city, typically revolving around one section of a city, usually the center. LL studies frequently have been limited further by only assessing the LL items on one or two main streets. The approach taken here was more expansive, covering three municipalities and including LL items from various parts of those
municipalities. The three geographical places chosen were purposefully selected to provide a north-south contrast, a capital-non-capital contrast and a contrast between municipalities of starkly different sizes. This is important because northern and more rural areas have been the traditional strongholds of Welsh. Furthermore, Cardiff is increasingly cosmopolitan, having absorbed large numbers of immigrants as well as people from other parts of the UK and elsewhere in Wales, which underscores the need to look at other municipalities as well. Beyond that, the approach was to photograph Welsh LL items wherever they appeared. No attempt was made to be exhaustive, but rather to document Welsh LL artifacts whenever they were perceived. The question of validity looms large; however, this approach arguably is more meaningful than some common approaches to assessing the LL, such as methodically and exhaustively photographing every bit of text on one particular street in a city or even several streets. While the universality of that approach is defensible, there are key problems with that tactic. For one thing, the assumption that one or more streets are typical or representative is potentially flawed. Furthermore, no one passing along a particular street ordinarily ever observes every item in the LL, even if they pass along that street frequently. Vision is personal and selective. Whether someone is passing through a place in transit or has halted there to rest or engage in an activity, that person does not discern all the details in their field of vision, but rather they selectively focus on some aspects of the environment. Given that fundamental reality, the idiosyncratic approach used in this study is more reflective of how people actually navigate a LL, albeit with two caveats. The author and his companion were actively looking for Welsh in the LL. That sense of visual purpose is an obvious distortion of the randomness that ordinarily characterizes passing along any street or through any public space. Another issue is that the author and his companion are neither Welsh nor from elsewhere in Britain, so the processing of the LL is potentially altered, perhaps even reflecting a heightened sensitization to bilingual items. One could speculate that an outsider might find Welsh wording to be exotic and, consequently, might be more inclined to notice it. While this possibility may be worth exploring in a future study, there is no current evidentiary basis suggesting that such a factor would compromise the research.

Items in the LL were photographed and analyzed. The key variables include location (Cardiff, Conwy or Betws-y-Coed), whether the item reflects a top-down process driven by public institutions or a bottom-up process driven by commercial entities, and the sector and category of the item. For top-down items, sectors are cultural, social, and religious. Categories within the cultural sector are tourism (museum or historical attraction), event (performing arts venue, sporting venue or event promotion), public art (monument, statue or memorial), and other. Categories within the social sector are public transportation (trains, buses or stations), geographical demarcation and traffic indicators (place-name signage or logistical and road-rules signage for drivers and pedestrians), municipal services (police, fire, water, sewer or waste), government entity (any governmental office, agency, bureau or body), public health (hospital or medical centre or public-health advisory), public education (public school), parks and recreation (public park or recreational facility or service), and other. Categories in the religious sector are church and other.

For bottom-up items, sectors are commercial, services, and professional. In the commercial sector, categories are general retail (department stores, bookstores, clothing or shoe stores, souvenir shops, home-décor and supply stores, furniture stores, florists or general retail products), food and drink (restaurant, bar, café, nightclub, grocery store, food or drink street vendor, or food or drink product), pharmaceutical (pharmacies or prescription or over-the-counter medication or nutritional supplements), auto (vehicles or vehicle sales), cinema
(movie theatre or film), and other. Categories in the services sector are financial (banking or currency exchange), travel (travel agencies, hotels and other accommodations, tour providers, airlines, taxis or limousines), health and beauty (beauty or barber shops, nail salons, massage parlors, acupuncture services, or fitness centre), self-improvement (private studio for dance, martial arts, etc., or commercial language study), real estate, photo or photocopying, auto repair or rental, property service (plumber, electrician, carpenter, insulation installer, landscaping, or pest control), and other service. Categories in the professional sector are medical (medical practice or private clinic), legal (legal practice), consulting (financial planning or tax preparation), and other professional.

The factors for evaluating language prominence in the linguistic-landscape items were the relative size of fonts used for each language, the order of appearance of the languages, and the amount of text in each language. Each of these variables assesses a critical aspect of how the languages appear in a LL item and what that says about the relative importance of the languages. Backhaus, who studied the LL of Tokyo, asserted that the order of appearance of languages constitutes a visual hierarchy (in Gorter, 2006: 60). In addition, Backhaus said that the order of appearance suggests that the language in the more prominent position is the original, while the other languages displayed are mere translations.

5 Findings

The sample consisted of 94 items in the LL. Of those, 66% (n=62) were located in Cardiff, while 13.8% (n=13) were in Conwy, and 20.2% (n=19) were in Betws-y-Coed (see Table 1). The lion’s share of the linguistic-landscape items fell into the top-down category, which accounted for 80.9% (n=76) (see Table 2). Bottom-up items in the LL made up 19.1% (n=18). Figure 1, which shows a signpost outside Cardiff City Hall, is an example of a top-down LL item encountered, while Figure 2, which depicts a sign outside the entry to a Boots pharmacy in Cardiff, is an example of a bottom-up LL item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conwy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betws-y-Coed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1**: Frequency Distribution of LL Items by Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top-down</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom-up</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2**: Frequency Distribution of LL Items by Whether Top-Down or Bottom-Up
Figure 1: Sign for Cardiff City Hall. Example of a top-down LL item.

Figure 2: Sign outside Boots Pharmacy in Cardiff. Example of a bottom-up LL item.
Of the top-down LL items, 47.4% (n=36) were in the cultural sector, 47.4% (n=36) were in the social sector, and 5.3% (n=4) were in the religious sector (see Table 3). An example of a top-down LL item in the cultural sector is shown in Figure 3, which depicts a sign outside of National Museum Cardiff, which is a branch of the National Museum of Wales. Of the bottom-up LL items, 72.2% (n=13) were in the commercial sector, 27.8% (n=5) were in the services sector, and 0% (n=0) were in the professional sector. Figure 4, which shows a sign in the window of a NatWest bank in Cardiff, exemplifies a bottom-up LL item in the commercial sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top-down</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Bottom-Up</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>Services</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Top-Down and Bottom-Up LL Items by Sector

The most common categories were the top-down categories of tourism, which accounted for 22.3% (n=21) of all items, and public transportation, which accounted for 18.1% (n=17) of all items (see Table 4). Other prominent categories were the top-down category of public art and the top-down category of geographical demarcation and public navigation, each of which accounted for 10.6% (n=10) of all LL items. Figure 5 offers an example of a top-down LL item in the tourism category. It shows a sign encountered in Betws-y-Coed for the Conway Valley Railway Museum. The most common bottom-up category was general retail, representing 5.3% (n=5) of the items. The general retail bottom-up category is illustrated in Figure 6, which shows the New Choice clothing shop in Conwy. On the right side of the shop name in a sign above the door is the phrase “unisex fashion,” with the equivalent Welsh wording underneath.
Figure 4: Sign in the window of NatWest bank in Cardiff. Example of a bottom-up LL item in the commercial sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourism (top-down cultural)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event (top-down cultural)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Art (top-down cultural)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Cultural (top-down cultural)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transportation (top-down social)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Demarcation and Public Navigation (top-down social)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Services (top-down social)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Entity (top-down social)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and Recreation (top-down social)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Social (top-down social)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church (top-down religious)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Retail (bottom-up commercial)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Drink (bottom-up commercial)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical (bottom-up commercial)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Commercial (bottom-up commercial)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial (bottom-up services)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel (bottom-up services)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of LL Items by Category
Figure 5: Sign for Conway Valley Railway Museum in Betws-y-Coed. Example of a top-down LL item in the tourism category.

Figure 6: New Choice clothing shop in Conwy. Example of a bottom-up LL item in the general retail category.
In the overwhelming majority of bilingual items in the LL, 94.7% (n=89), Welsh and English were the same size (see Table 5). In 3.2% (n=3) of cases, the Welsh was smaller than English, while in 2.1% (n=2), the Welsh was bigger than English. The order of appearance of the languages was more divided. In 56.4% (n=53) of cases, the Welsh was above the English or to the left of the English, while in 42.6% (n=40) of cases, the Welsh was either below or to the right of the English (see Table 6). The order was not apparent for one item for which only the Welsh text was included in the photograph (1.1%). In the vast majority of cases, 87.2% (n=82), the amount of text in each language was roughly the same (see Table 7). For 8.5% (n=8) of cases, there was more English, while for 4.3% (n=4), there was more Welsh. Figure 7, which depicts the sign for the police station in the center of Conwy, reflects equivalency in the size of lettering and the amount of text. However, as in a majority of the LL items encountered, the Welsh is in the more prominent position of being above or to the left.

Cross tabulation was utilized to see if some variables significantly influenced others. Location did not significantly influence whether items were more likely to be top-down or bottom-up. Nor was location a significant factor in the relative size of fonts or the amount of text in each language. However, location was a significant factor ($\chi^2=16.094$, df=4, p=.003) in the order of appearance of the languages. Welsh was far more likely to be above or to the left of English in Conwy (92.3%, n=12) and Betws-y-Coed (78.9%, n=15) than in Cardiff (41.9%, n=26).

Whether the item was top-down or bottom-up did not influence the relative size of fonts, the order of appearance of the languages or the amount of text in each language.
6 Conclusions

Ben-Rafael asserts that linguistic-landscape items serve as society’s markers and emblems and, as such, convey socio-symbolic importance (2009: 42). Furthermore, Ben-Rafael remarks that the LL, along with the architecture and passersby, is perceptually salient for both residents and visitors, and, as such, the LL imparts personality to a locale and helps people distinguish it from other places. The personalities of the three Welsh locales investigated in this study all reflect a shared linguistic space where English remains dominant and yet, increasingly, English and Welsh coexist. This study shows that where Welsh and English share space, the two languages are presented equitably in terms of font size and amount of text. The direction of language – left to right or top to bottom – has to favor one over the other, and we find that in nearly three out of five cases Welsh is accorded a more prominent position. Locale does make a big difference: in the town of Conwy and village of Betws-y-Coed, both in North Wales, a traditional stronghold of the Welsh language, Welsh tends to be strongly favored directionally over English in LL items, i.e., when the languages are arrayed side by side, Welsh tends to be on the left, and when the languages are arrayed one atop the other, Welsh tends to be on the top. However, in Cardiff, where the Welsh language declined strongly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, English is more prominently positioned more often than not.

It is important to acknowledge that despite the increasing use of bilingual signage and other bilingual text in Welsh cities and towns, English still dominates the landscape. For every case of bilingual text documented, it would have been possible to document dozens of examples of English-only usage, particularly in the private sphere. Hornsby’s notion of a “reorientation in normative space” applies clearly to the Welsh reality (127). Reimagining Welsh communities, reorienting them so that the Welsh language is functionally available and symbolically underscored, takes time. Though limited in scope, this study adds to the growing body of knowledge about how linguistic items help define an environment and contribute to people’s sense of place and cultural identity. In Wales, where the National Assembly and Welsh language commissioner aggressively promote Welsh, the reorientation of normative space seems certain to proceed.
References


