



# Report

## 2021



The University of Manchester

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# **The British Press on Welsh: Perceptions of a minority language**

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## **1 Introduction**

This study has aimed to evaluate how the British Press constructs public opinion, specifically in respect to the Welsh Language in articles produced between 2016 and 2021. As Van Dijk concludes, “news is imbued with ideologies” (2009: 202), leading us to believe that news has the ability to inform public opinion on Welsh as a minority language. Data has been sourced from a range of news outlets, collecting articles which report on positive, negative and neutral affairs surrounding the Welsh language. Analysis of the data in conjunction with a public survey has allowed for an informed discussion of the relationship between the press, the public and Welsh. Public response remained crucial to the investigation in order to distinguish whether press-constructed ideologies are reflected in the general public via the recipients’ responses to the news headlines and excerpts in the questionnaire. This enabled us to centralise discussion on two lines of enquiry:

1. *‘How does the British press present Welsh?’*, involving a critical analysis of the articles concerning issues relative to Welsh.
2. *‘How does public reaction support British press-constructed ideologies?’*, involving presenting news headlines and excerpts in the questionnaire and analysing public reaction.

Our initial research aims were refined to narrow our scope on data selection and so, the focus of education was dismissed. Articles were limited in their coverage of the Welsh Language which meant that outlets often covered the same event, allowing us to assess how different outlets present the same subject matter. Our objectives focused on investigating articles presenting the Welsh language in the British media more generally, rather than specifying a particular area.

## **2 Findings**

### **2.1 Articles**

This section presents the findings of articles analysed in themes. Since outlets’ coverage of the Welsh language typically resulted in reporting the same occurrence, this section evaluates how the outlets align or differ in their presentation of the event. The compilation of newspaper articles involved investigating different outlets and compiling both broadsheet and tabloid journalism.

## Welsh language developments:



### Welsh language changed by coronavirus as council adds 'quarantine' and 'furlough' to vocabulary

*(Jessica Carpani, 2020) - The Telegraph*



*(Rhiannon Cosslett, 2019) - The Guardian*

An identifiable trend is that news stories attempt to positively influence the reader and bolster respect for the minority language. Whilst outlets differed in their political alignment, 'The Telegraph'<sup>1</sup>, typically considered right and 'The Guardian'<sup>2</sup> considered left, both share their positivity for Welsh and aim to convince the reader of its progression. 'The Telegraph' article reports on the Coronavirus pandemic resulting in a positive language development for Welsh, prompting new terms such as "furlough" and "quarantine" to be added to the Welsh vocabulary, with public servants keen to assert that this is evidence of Welsh being a "modern, active, living" language. The adjectives serve to convince the public that Welsh is thriving, despite external pressure and negative opinion. The progressive verbs "seeing" and "hearing" in reference to Welsh vocabulary additions being frequently used imply that Welsh dictionary expansion has served to ensure the continued presence of the language.

Furthermore, 'The Guardian' shares this positivity, the first indication being the Welsh title 'Cymru am byth!' ("Wales Forever!"). The article suggests that when Welsh makes the headlines, it usually takes the form of English visitors complaining about the use of the language, however, Cosslett focuses on the positive and informs the reader that Welsh rock bands, such as 'Alffa', have enjoyed fame on Spotify. Cosslett labels this popularity a "cultural shift"; the noun phrase

<sup>1</sup> Appendix 16 Number 1

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 16 Number 2

implying that, whilst Welsh has been considered insignificant in the past, such developments are causing a landslide in public opinion. Due to the band's recent recognition, Welsh is growing in public esteem. The author poses the rhetorical question "is Welsh finally becoming cool?", referencing the airing of Welsh television programmes and the increased popularity of Duolingo. The temporal adverb 'finally' further reinstates the Welsh language achieving long-awaited recognition as an actively existing language within society, furthering the attitudes expressed in 'The Telegraph'.

Whilst the politically opposed outlets report on different stories and are a year apart in publication, both attempt to present the stories as what Cosslett labels "cool": Welsh dictionary expansion, Duolingo popularity and Welsh band listeners are all "cool" developments for the Welsh Language and disregard the belief that Welsh is an unsuccessful and unpopular language.

### The rise of learning of Welsh (Duolingo):

**NEWS**

Home | Coronavirus | Brexit | **UK** | World | Business | Politics | Tech | Science | Health | Family & Education

Wales | Wales Election 2021 | Wales Politics | Wales Business | North West | North East | Mid | South West | S

## Welsh is fastest growing language in UK, says Duolingo

© 17 December 2020

*(Unnamed author, 2020) - BBC News*

## Welsh language centre partners with Duolingo in million speaker goal

*(Steven Morris, 2021) - The Guardian*

Another positive theme across outlets reported on the rise of Welsh language-learning. Both left-wing broadsheet 'The Guardian'<sup>3</sup> (2021), and neutral, online outlet, 'BBC News'<sup>4</sup> (2020), focused on the recent increase of Welsh learning on language-learning platform, 'Duolingo'. The app observed an increase in users interacting with the platform and learning Welsh (at the time of reporting), contributing to the increase in Welsh being learnt recreationally, as opposed to being enforced by the education sector. The articles dedicate discussion to explicitly state figures presenting the growing numbers engaging with Welsh language-based resources around the world. Statistics were employed in both, "risen by 44% in 2020" (BBC), "474,000 people actively being taught", "million speaker goal" (The Guardian), demonstrating initiative to learn Welsh, contributing to the language's overall development which both Duolingo and the media recognise as indicative of the outlets' choice of news content.

The 'BBC News' article acknowledges the Coronavirus pandemic as a contributing factor to the rise of Welsh learning, reinforcing the idea of people spending their time in lockdown learning the language, becoming the "ninth most popular language to learn on the app". Not only does the pandemic provide opportunity to encourage learning Welsh, but the platform itself provides opportunity for the public to use the language recreationally. In comparison, 'The Guardian' reports on the rise of Welsh speakers aiding the partnership between the 'National Centre for Learning Welsh' and the government in their "...target of a million Welsh speakers by 2050". This presents progress with government involvement advocating progression of the language. Although the articles project positive progression of Welsh, as seen by positive verb phrases such as, "fastest-growing", positivity seems restricted to correspondents providing quotations which constitute the article's narrative, hence the reported speech. With neither article being an opinion piece, content is neutral and solely functions as a "communication process" (Bird & Dardenne, 2009:206).

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix 16, Number 3

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 16, Number 4

## Controversial remarks in the public eye:



# Iceland director sacked after Welsh language jibes

© 17 February

*(Unnamed author, 2021) - BBC News*

 News ▶ UK News ▶ Supermarkets

# Iceland supermarket director sacked after 'branding Welsh language gibberish'

*(Ffion Lewis 2021) - The Mirror*

## FROZEN OUT, THE ICELAND BOSS WHO MADE FUN OF THE WELSH

DAILY MAIL (London)

February 18, 2021 Thursday

*(James Tozer, 2021) - The Daily Mail*

Multiple outlets (BBC<sup>5</sup>, the Mirror<sup>6</sup> and the Daily Mail<sup>7</sup>) reported Iceland supermarket director Keith Hann's dismissal from the Welsh company due to controversial remarks made regarding the language. All were linguistically similar in omission of first-person reporting, frequent use of reported speech and impersonal grammatical constructions such as "An Iceland supermarket director was sacked...", in which the passive construction draws attention to the noun phrase 'An Iceland supermarket director', highlighting the sanctioning of someone high on the professional hierarchy.

All three articles present the current comment as the lead focus and later add instalments (Van Dijk 2009:194) of other controversial comments about Welsh that Hann had previously made. This serves as further evidence for his dismissal. However, the articles ultimately draw attention

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<sup>5</sup> Appendix 16, Number 5

<sup>6</sup> Appendix 16, Number 6

<sup>7</sup> Appendix 16, Number 7

to the fact that Hann previously made discriminatory comments about the Welsh language and was permitted to hold the title of director for a Welsh company, suggesting a degree of tolerance of such comments within society.

'The BBC' and 'The Mirror' are quite similar in their limited use of the author's writing in addition to reported quotations, however 'The Daily Mail' displays perhaps more typical features of tabloid journalism, (Bignell 2002, Fowler 1991) where the style of writing, in addition to the reported speech, has markers of orality such as fronted conjunctions.

***THESE** days we are all having to be more careful not to give offence. **But...***

The atypical capitalisation of 'these' could also be a deliberate misspelling, which when considered with the use of metaphoric language such as '**The storm began** when the father-of-two...', is a reinforcement of orality markers. When used in Tabloid journalism, these are often used to create a sense of unity between the outlet and the reader as a community (Bignell 2002, Fowler 1991) and this suggests an alignment with the defence of Welsh and criticism of Hann.

## 2 Survey

Our results consist of 200 responses to a series of 17 questions on the Welsh language. The questionnaire was circulated on personal social media platforms, comprising various targeted questions, including article headlines and excerpts to elicit participant reaction. Responses were analysed using quantitative methods and represented visually.

Background information of participants:

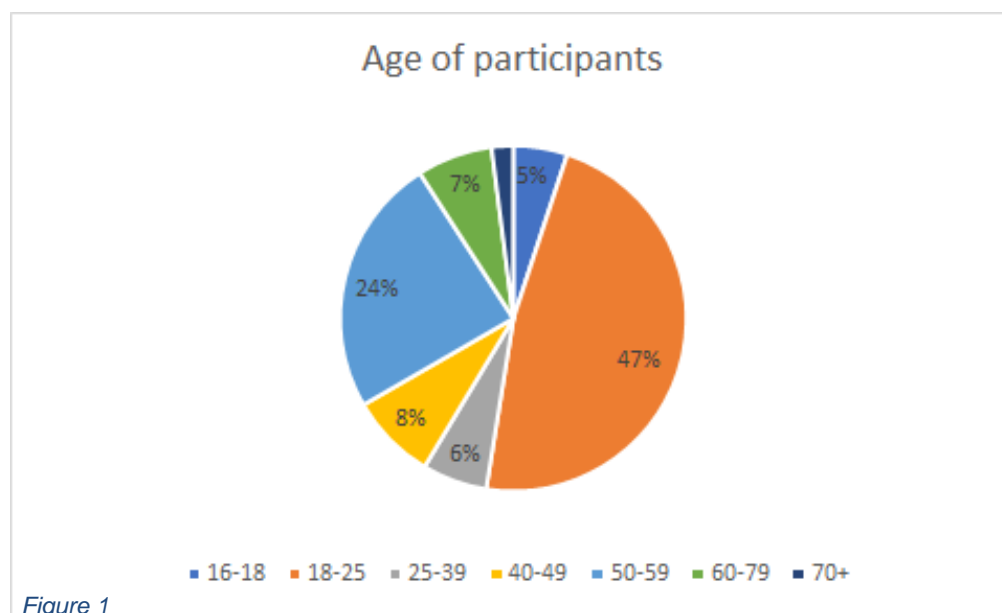


Figure 1



The largest contributing group was 18-25. Future studies could aim to target more age groups to improve representability.

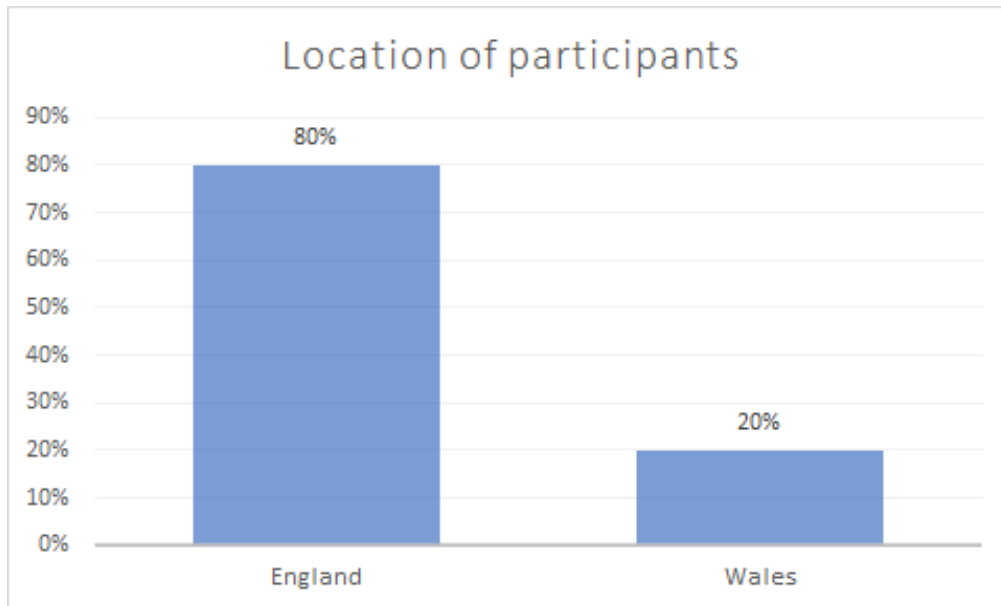


Figure 2

80% of participants were from England, however ambiguity in the wording of the question 'Where in the UK do you live?' could cause inaccuracy in results as non-British nationals living in England could have selected this option and been misclassified.

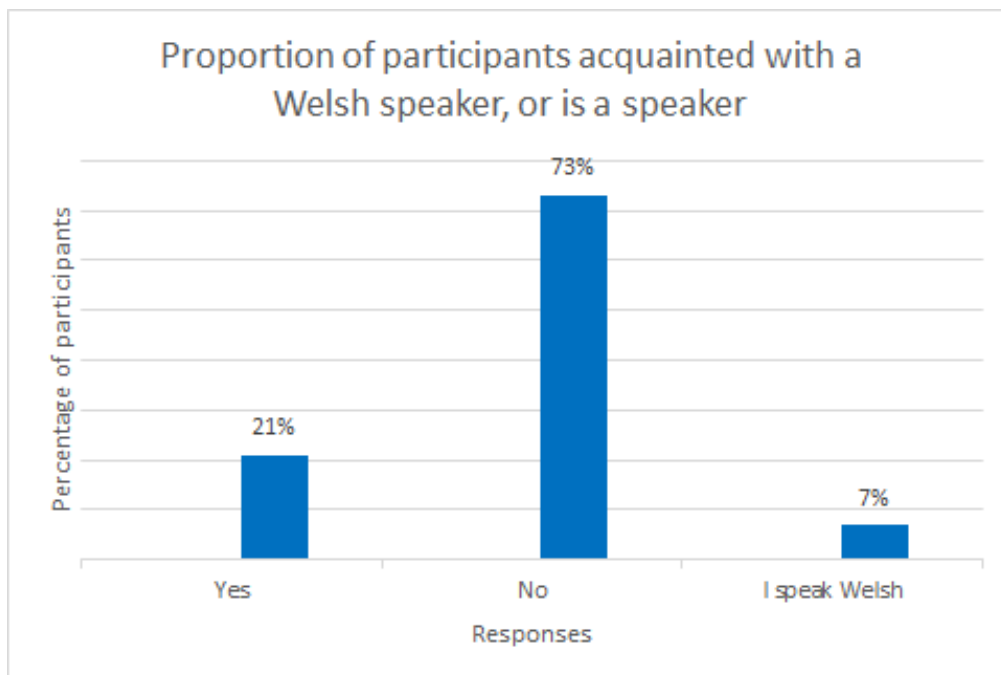


Figure 3

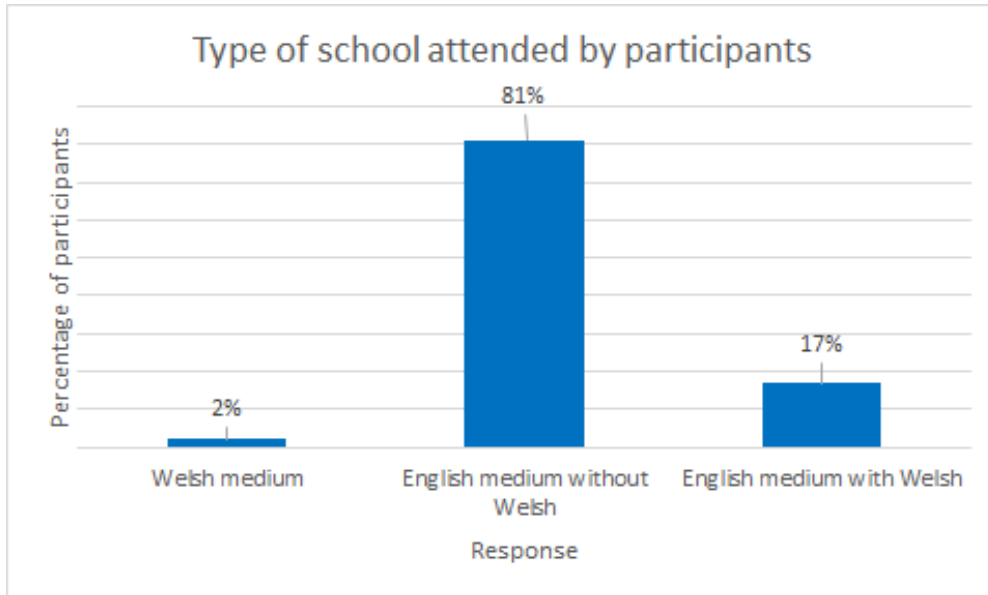


Figure 4

News outlets accessed by participants:

65% of participants access BBC News, a higher percentage than any other outlet. Another trend was the recurrence of social media as a source of news, particularly among the 18–25-year age group, of which 80% access news in this way.

Initial stance on Welsh:

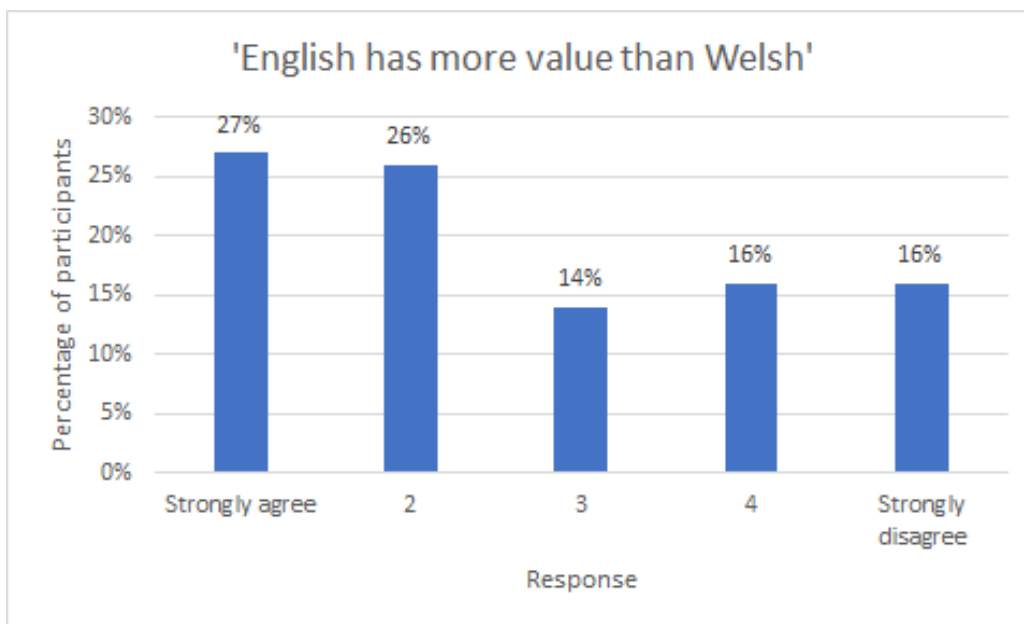


Figure 5

Reaction to these preliminary questions show that subjects felt indifference to Welsh and expressed their tendency to support the dominant language. 53% aligned themselves with 'strongly agree' and 'agree' in regard to the statement, "English has more value than Welsh"; a statistically significant proportion,  $p < 0.05$ . Prior to the presentation of headlines and excerpts from the British Press, subjects were unsentimental about Welsh.

Most participants opted to remain neutral and respond with a number in the middle of the continuum, expressing no clear positive or negative bias.

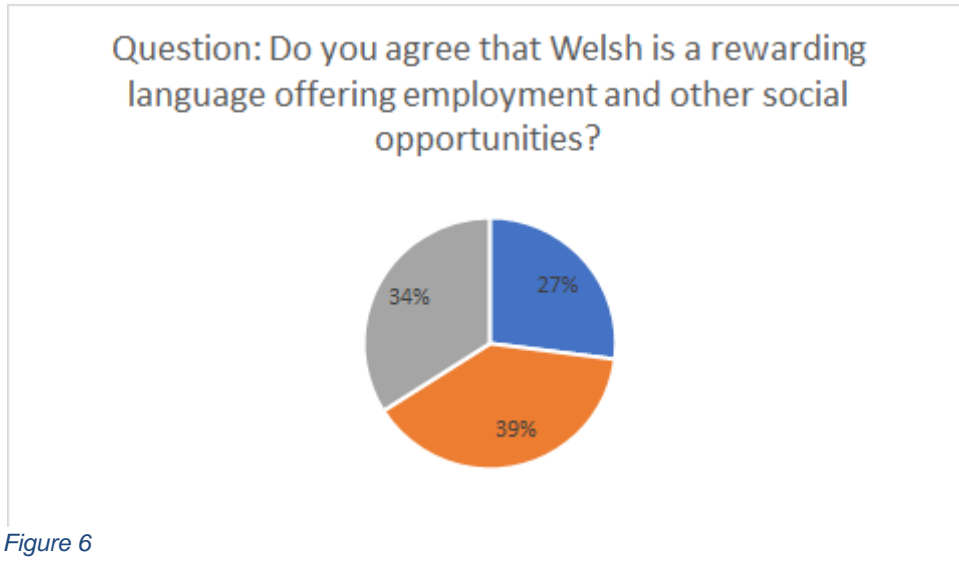


Figure 6

75% claimed to never see coverage of the Welsh language, which may correlate with the

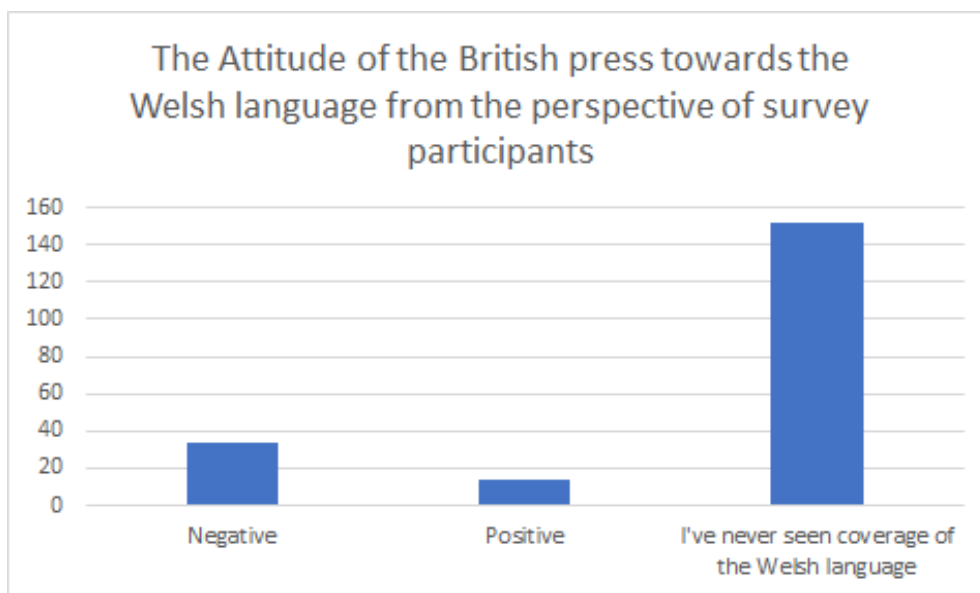


Figure 7

indifference participants felt towards the minority language prior to viewing excerpts from British Press articles.

### Responses to news content:

Participants reacted in a certain way depending on the nature of the article, supporting our hypothesis that the British Press constructs public ideologies. Participants reflected the positive or negative attitude presented to them in the headline and excerpt they read. One explanation for this is that most articles used in this study were neutral in manner and so participants aligned themselves with an uncontroversial and non-confrontational style. However, when presented with a negative story, participants appeared to be riled by the contentious issue and react in a similar way. One example of this is: *"Vine says sorry after Welsh language insult"* (The insult likening Welsh to a foreign language). Despite Welsh being one of the original Celtic languages of the United Kingdom, participants asserted that they believe Welsh is a foreign language. For example:

*"It is a foreign language!"*

Conversely, the headline: *'Cymru am byth!\*- How speaking Welsh became cool; (\*Wales forever!)* incited remarks contradictory of those made to the previous headline as participants responded with supportive remarks. For example:

*"Good- keeping their heritage"*

### **3 Discussion**

Our research suggests that participants were indifferent in their stance on Welsh prior to being presented with the newspaper headlines. Opinions can be influenced by "ideologies as well as personal experiences" (Van Dijk, 2009:193), implying that internal and external forces have the ability to shape the manner in which we choose to think about a concept; the news and press being an external force. Without the priming effect of the British Press, participant opinions were less positive about Welsh. As observed with the statement 'English has more value than Welsh', a significant proportion agreed with the sentiment,  $p > 0.05$ . However, participants were affected by the headlines presented to them in the latter half of the survey and were more positive about Welsh when articles expressed the same attitude, supporting Van Dijk's (2009) assertion. In response to the research question, 'How does the British Press present Welsh?', we note that coverage is limited, and the manner of reporting is generally neutral. This could explain why subjects in this survey were so keen to align themselves with the attitude being presented, precisely because it was not confrontational to Welsh speakers. Whilst the news may report on negative or positive storylines, the intention appears to be convincing readers to think positively about Welsh. Additionally, because participants were aware that their responses were part of an

investigation into the Welsh language, despite anonymity, responses may still have been reserved, warranting such reactions.

The articles considered in this analysis attempt to influence public ideology with a positive portrayal of the minority language. As Bird and Dardenne note, news is like myth which “reassures by telling tales that explain... and provide acceptable answers” (2009: 205), further relaying that myth does not reflect objective reality but builds a “world of its own” (2009: 205). When news, such as, ‘The Telegraph’ and ‘The Guardian’ report on positive developments involving the minority language, they reassure the public and deflect from the real contentious issues in society. This can be observed in the positive public response to the headline ‘*Cymru am byth!\*- How speaking Welsh became cool; (\*Wales forever!)*’ as detailed previously. However, when news fails to deflect from contentious issues and reports on political matters such as the effect of Brexit on the language, participants were riled. This topic garnered responses featuring expletives such as “f\*ck Brexit”. As Bird and Dardenne suggest, “the popular story wins out over the less popular one” (2009: 209) which could explain why outlets report on political affairs as there is an understanding of which storyline is likely to provoke a response. This implies that the public are likely to be influenced by the British Press and the differing ideologies presented to them, as replicated in our findings. Therefore, when Welsh is presented as the central theme of an article, the public assert that this is positive. However, when Welsh is a secondary subject in the article and the primary topic is contentious, the public expressed a mirrored response.

A further trend was that 18–25-year-old participants were more likely to express an open-minded attitude to all questions, whereas 50–59-year-olds were more rigid in their responses. The dichotomy between age groups suggests a further conceptualisation of Laugharne’s “power struggle” (2006: 208) between Welsh and English. The interpretation of this is that the struggle between these languages differs at intergenerational levels. Since 80% of 18–25-year-olds claimed they access news through social media, they are frequent users of the platforms where a diverse variety of content and opinions can be accessed. The ‘participatory culture’ that the youth is engaged in is suggested to have a strong influence on their attitude towards minority languages (Baker 1988: 124). As Roberts and Williams suggest, “attitudinal change is most evident during the early teens” as they experience “ideological influences” (1980: 228), therefore it could be implied that the youngest age group are more susceptible to the positivity of the Press and are more likely to engage with the progressive ideologies being expressed, helped by their involvement in participatory culture.

If Welsh was more prominent in the news, the likelihood is that participant engagement with the language would be stronger, whereas limited availability of articles suggests that participants were unlikely to have been sensitized to Welsh. Responses from our survey can account for this disinterest, “Not particularly concerned”, “Disinterested”. Perhaps because 80% of participants were English, this meant they were relatively unaffected, eliciting vacant responses. One result

showed that 31% of Welsh participants agreed with the statement, “English has more value than Welsh”, suggesting even Welsh speakers have grown reluctant to defend their language. As Roberts and Williams assert, when “attitudes towards the minority language” (1980: 228) are low, this is a result of low institutional support. Thus, when news outlets lack coverage of Welsh, they ostracise it.

The British Press’ coverage of Welsh was mostly found to cover ‘soft news’; topics of human interest (White 1997) such as language learning and Welsh in popular culture. However, instances of ‘hard news’ emerged with discussion of the dismissal of the Iceland executive due to his remarks about the language. White (1997), classifies ‘hard news’ as that which potentially rearranges the social order, particularly issues concerning people of importance like business leaders. As aforementioned, both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers adopted a critical stance of the subject and emphasised the unacceptability of the remarks. Similar comments to those made by Hann were provided as examples of discrimination witnessed in the survey, with participants providing examples: “people saying it’s *gibberish*” and “Welsh called *double dutch*”. The question is, are the Press attempting to rearrange the social order by providing Hann as an example of a disgraced professional? Ultimately, reporting on such stories should discourage the public from expressing similar ideologies. As a supporting remark, since participants were able to respond to the question, providing examples of discrimination, this suggests that they are able to recognise derogatory comments as ‘discrimination’ and that the media are encouraging the public to identify such behaviour and to respect minority languages. Once again, the media appears to be a positive influence on public evaluation of Welsh.

#### **4 Conclusion**

This study aimed to investigate how the British Press represented the Welsh language in the media between 2016 and 2021, and how public response reflects their ideologies. Notably, observing the difference in public opinion in the first component of the survey compared to the latter, suggests that the public are influenced by the British Press and appear to express mutual attitudes. Participant indifference to the minority language prior to presentation of news content and the lack of content from the media on the language, indicates that whilst the Press does attempt to boost positivity for the language, coverage remains infrequent and the neutral style of reporting removes attachment, possibly explaining why even Welsh participants are not overly defensive of the language.

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## Appendix

### Survey Questions:

1. Do you give consent for your responses to be included in this study?
  - Yes
  - No
  
2. What is your age range?
  - 11-16
  - 16-18
  - 18-25
  - 26-39
  - 40-49
  - 50-59
  - 60-69
  - 70+
  
3. Where in the United Kingdom do you live?
  - England
  - Northern Ireland
  - Scotland
  - Wales
  
4. What kind of high school did you attend?
  - Welsh-medium school
  - English-medium school, with Welsh as GCSE or A-level subject
  - English-medium school, without Welsh as GCSE or A-level subject



5. Do you know anybody who speaks Welsh as a first, second or other language?
- Yes
  - No
6. Have you ever considered learning Welsh as a second or other language?
- Yes
  - No
  - I speak Welsh
7. Do you agree that Welsh is a rewarding language offering employment and other social opportunities?
- Scale 1 (strongly agree) – 5 (strongly disagree)
8. To what extent do you agree with the statement 'English has more value than Welsh'?
- Scale 1 (strongly agree) – 5 (strongly disagree)
9. Have you ever witnessed discriminatory attitudes towards the Welsh Language?  
(Inclusive of a text box for elaboration)
- Yes
  - No
10. Through which medium do you access news? (Inclusive of a text box for elaboration)
- Printed newspapers
  - Online newspapers
  - TV news
  - Radio
  - Social media
11. Which newspapers or British newspaper outlets do you tend to read regularly, be this either online or as a physical copy?

- The Sunday Times
- The Telegraph
- The Sun
- BBC News
- The Independent
- Daily Mail
- The Guardian
- Daily Mirror
- The Observer
- Morning Star
- Daily Star
- None of these

12. Do you believe that the English Language British media has a positive or negative attitude towards the Welsh Language?

- Positive
- Negative
- I never see coverage of the Welsh language

13. What is your reaction to the headline: "Brexit: Farming 'vital as Welsh language stronghold'"?

14. Consider this extract from the previous article: "Census figures suggest 43% of agricultural workers speak Welsh, compared with 19% of Wales' population. The Welsh Government said it wanted to help the sector ensure a sustainable future for the language.". What is your reaction to this?

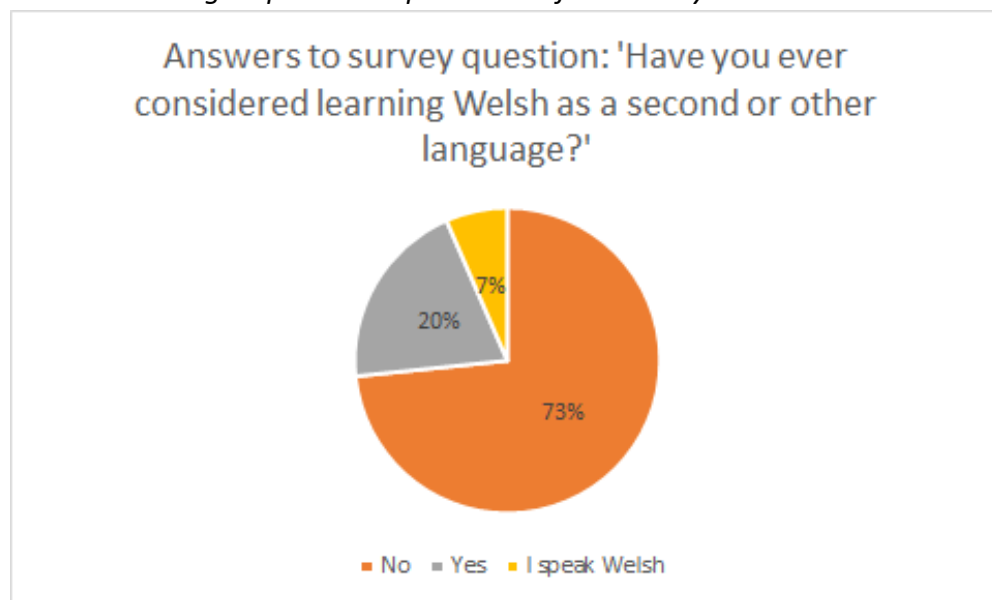
15. Consider this headline: 'Vine says sorry after Welsh language insult'. The insult was likening Welsh to a foreign language. What is your response to this?

16. Following on from the previous question, what is your response to the opinion expressed in this excerpt: a man from Pontypridd, in South Wales, who had declared about Welsh: "I don't want to speak it, it's a horrible language. If you go into any pub in west Wales, or north Wales, they're all there speaking English."
17. Consider this headline: 'Cymru am byth!\*- How speaking Welsh became cool; (\*Wales forever!) The number of speakers is growing fast, while bilingual TV thrillers and Welsh language rock songs are reaching a new audience. What's behind the resurgence?' What is your reaction to this?
18. Consider an excerpt from the article above: "People are proudly proclaiming their Welshness, finally taking the Welsh classes they had always meant to take and streaming bands such as Alffa and singers like Gweno. " What is your initial reaction to this?

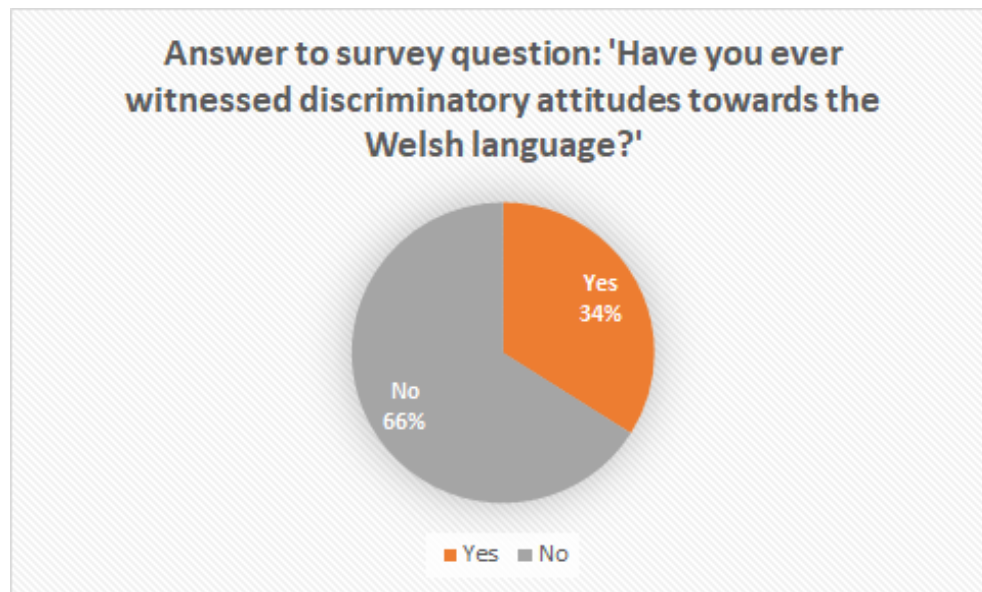
Survey response data not previously included in the report:

NB: Question 1 of the survey asking for participant's consent to participate in the study has been eliminated from all aspects of analysis and visual data representation.

*Appendix 1: Pie chart detailing responses to question 6 of the survey.*



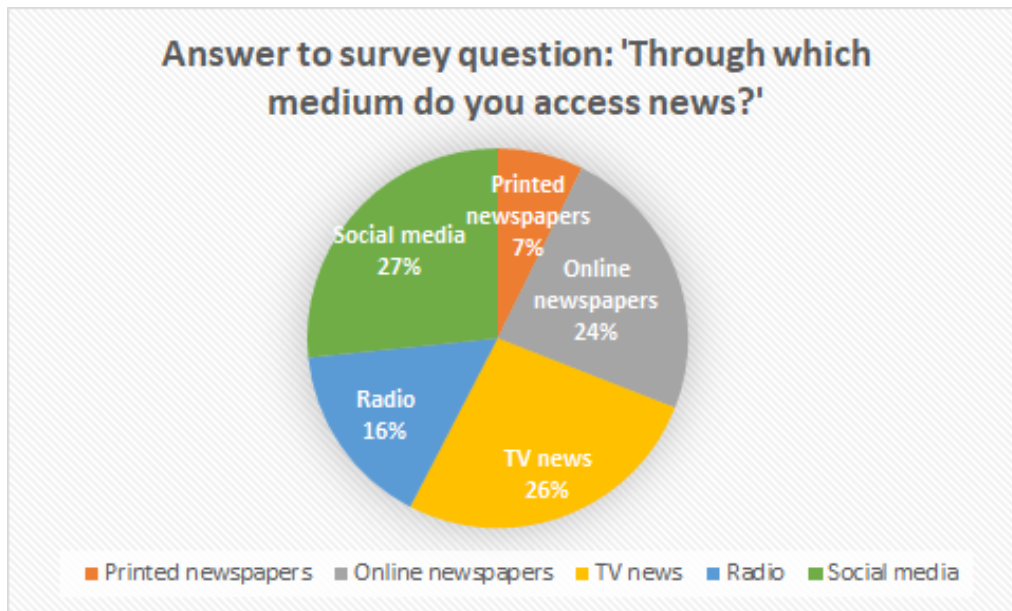
Appendix 8: Pie chart detailing responses to question 9 of the survey.



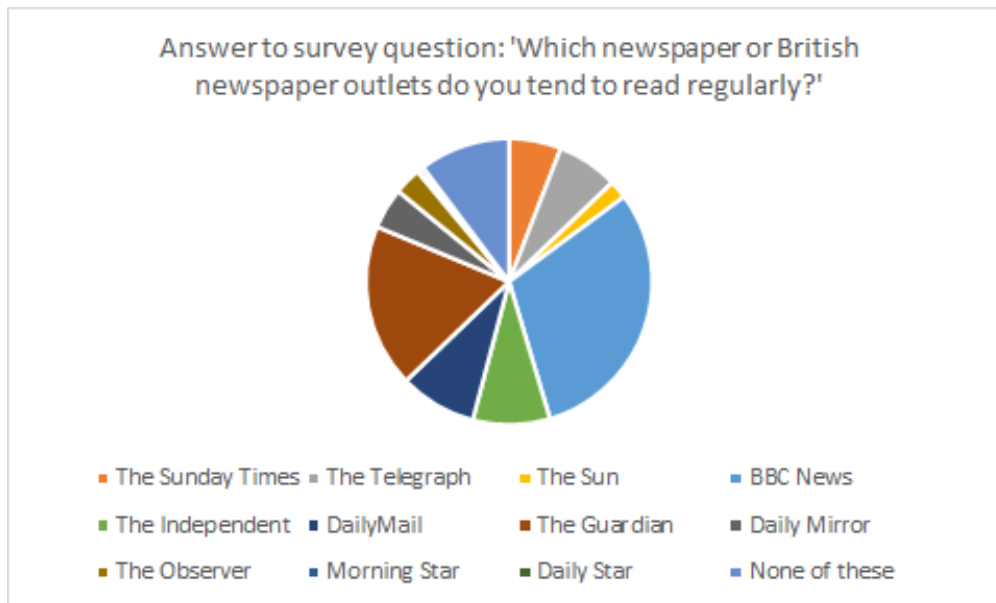
Participant elaboration to question 9:

- *"It's often considered "weird" and "useless"."*
- *"Welsh called 'a dead language' or 'double Dutch'."*
- *"Myself and my friends were speaking about a private matter in public so switched to Welsh to avoid people overhearing. We were in England at the time and were told to 'stop speaking foreign languages and go back to where we came from' - we clarified that we were speaking Welsh and he spat at us."*
- *"In my course reading list alone. It's all English authors."*
- *"People making fun of it and asking why road signs etc in Wales are in both languages"*
- *"I've heard people say that Welsh is a 'nonsense language', 'not a real language' as well as a 'pointless language'"*
- *"It happens more than i would expect. Speaking welsh in wales is frowned upon by many english speaking tourists. There's also a huge debate surrounding teaching children welsh in schools"*
- *"Ice land director calling Welsh Gobeldygook..."*
- *"steretoypes of welsh being impossible to speak"*
- *"TV comedy shows: panellists performing derogatory impressions of Welsh speakers"*

Appendix 9: Pie chart detailing answers to question 10 of the survey.



Appendix 10: Pie chart detailing answers to question 11 of the survey.



Appendix 12: Sample of participant responses/reactions elicited from a newspaper headline "Brexit: Farming 'vital as Welsh language stronghold'". (Question 13)

- "Farming is vital and the local language will be important for this to continue".
- "True, most first language Welsh speakers live in rural areas where agriculture is the main employment."

- *"I wouldn't be surprised if Welsh speakers were more concentrated in rural areas, so this headline doesn't induce much of a reaction."*
- *"Very stereotypical"*
- *"I've never heard Welsh language mentioned in media before so this feels quite empty and superficial to appeal to patriots"*
- *"Welsh has more value than that?"*
- *"Seems vague and untrue. When I visit Wales I hear Welsh spoken frequently in shops etc."*
- *"I doubt the English government would invest anymore into the welsh language - the EU is much more likely to invest in welsh language projects "*
- *"I think it's trying to be positive, but the truth is, farming is quite an isolated field"*
- *"Very confusing to the layperson. It provides the perception that the Welsh language is a threat of some kind."*

Appendix 13: Sample of participant responses/reactions to the newspaper extract **'Census figures suggest 43% of agricultural workers speak Welsh, compared with 19% of Wales' population. The Welsh Government said it wanted to help the sector ensure a sustainable future for the language.'** (Question 14)

*Participants' responses:*

- *"The government should make efforts to keep the language alive".*
- *"Least educated group of people speak Welsh."*
- *"It appears the Welsh language is almost a dying language, and is possibly suggestive of the agricultural sector largely only employing those who speak Welsh."*
- *"A good way to preserve the welsh language. I hope they manage to implement their plans. "*
- *"I think this is a good thing, sustaining the language can only be beneficial"*
- *"I encourage the preservation of any and all languages so I'm glad to see that the Welsh government are both concerned about its decline and making effort to preserve it..."*
- *"It would be a shame to lose the language"*
- *"Good so we should!"*
- *"Great, and all sectors, schools should be encouraged too."*
- *"It's vital that Welsh-speaking farming communities receive the support they need from the State in order to survive."*

Appendix 14: Sample of responses/participants' reactions to a newspaper headline **'Vine says sorry after Welsh language insult'**. (Question 15)

- *"I think any language that isn't native to that person is vaguely classified as a 'foreign language'. Also, having a 'foreign language' should not be classed as an insult."*
- *"Everyone has a right to speak their own language and as Wales is part of the UK this should not be seen as foreign".*

- *"It is a foreign language".*
- *"Welsh is a foreign language"*
- *"Welsh has been spoken in the British Isles for many hundreds of years longer than English. At best, accusations of 'foreignness' stem from ignorance; at worse, they stem from prejudice."*
- *"Deeply insulting, I believe a lot of these comments are made on ignorance."*
- *"It can seem that way as it's on the curriculum in schools."*
- *"It's probably a common perception"*
- *"I don't see anything wrong with it"*
- *"Unfortunately unless Welsh is more widely spoken people will see it as "foreign"'"*

Appendix 15: Sample of responses/ participants' reactions to a newspaper extract **'a man from Pontypridd, in South Wales, who had declared about Welsh: "I don't want to speak it, it's a horrible language. If you go into any pub in west Wales, or north Wales, they're all there speaking English."** (Question 16)

- *"Entitled to his opinion but it's a shame".*
- *"I think it's good to keep your heritage and learn about your culture, therefore if living in Wales the welsh language should be crucial to learn."*
- *"No language is a horrible language and that opinion sounds like pure conjecture to me."*
- *"He is free to have that opinion, but there must be a reason why he thinks it's horrible."*
- *"Disrespectful and very uncultured."*
- *"Can't argue with that"*
- *"He shouldn't have to learn it if he doesn't want to speak it"*
- *"Freedom of speech he can choose what language he speaks"*
- *"I understand that opinion"*
- *"English is one of the most common languages and as such should be the most used"*

Appendix 16: Sample of responses/ participants' reactions to a newspaper headline **'Cymru am byth!\*- How speaking Welsh became cool; (\*Wales forever!) The number of speakers is growing fast, while bilingual TV thrillers and Welsh language rock songs are reaching a new audience. What's behind the resurgence?'** (Question 17)

- *"Diversity and inclusion is allowing more people to express themselves and make their own choices, which are then being accepted".*
- *"Surprised because I haven't seen or heard anything in Welsh or any publicity about it."*
- *"This is a nice uplifting headline!"*
- *"Love it, I'd love to see every Welsh person in Wales be able to be bilingual and it's a hope for my future family for them to be able to do it."*

- *“Pride. Bilingualism is a treasure, especially when one of those languages is Welsh. It’s a language unlike any other I know and it makes me feel very connected to my home country.”*
- *“It’s lovely to see Welsh returning as a necessary and significant language. ...”*
- *“Pleased the number of Welsh speakers are growing.”*
- *“The revival in popularity of the Welsh language seems like a positive development.”*
- *“Could be social media? It’s nice that it’s becoming popular again as it’ll be more likely to be saved”*
- *“That Wales is getting recognition that it deserves.”*



Appendix 16: Articles analysed for discussion:

Number	Outlet	Headline	Link
1	The Telegraph	Welsh language changed by coronavirus as council adds 'quarantine' and 'furlough' to vocabulary	<a href="https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/07/23/welsh-language-changed-coronavirus-council-adds-quarantine/">https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/07/23/welsh-language-changed-coronavirus-council-adds-quarantine/</a>
2	The Guardian	Cymru am byth!* How Speaking Welsh Became Cool	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jun/13/welsh-speaking-bilingual-tv-thrillers-cool">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jun/13/welsh-speaking-bilingual-tv-thrillers-cool</a>
3	The Guardian	Welsh language centre partners with Duolingo in one million speaker goal	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jan/24/duolingo-app-partners-welsh-language-centre-help-reach-goal-1-million-speakers">https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jan/24/duolingo-app-partners-welsh-language-centre-help-reach-goal-1-million-speakers</a>
4	BBC news	Welsh is fastest growing language in UK, says Duolingo	<a href="https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-55348604">https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-55348604</a>
5	BBC news	Iceland Director Sacked after Welsh language jibes	<a href="#"><i>Iceland director sacked after Welsh language jibes - BBC News</i></a>
6	The Mirror	Iceland supermarket	<a href="https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/iceland-supermarket-director-sacked-after-23519616">https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/iceland-supermarket-director-sacked-after-23519616</a>

		director sacked after 'branding Welsh language gibberish':	
7	The Daily Mail	Frozen out, the Iceland Boss who made fun of the Welsh	<a href="https://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/legal/news/document/urn:contentItem:621J-SXX1-JCBD-D15H-00000-00?q=frozen%20out&amp;contentTypeId=news">https://www.lexisnexis.com/uk/legal/news/document/urn:contentItem:621J-SXX1-JCBD-D15H-00000-00?q=frozen%20out&amp;contentTypeId=news</a>