"If we don't study the language, the history will be lost": Motivation to learn Welsh in Argentine Patagonia

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Abstract

This study examines the motivations of learners studying Welsh in the city of Esquel, Argentine Patagonia. Welsh is considered a heritage immigrant language in this region, given the fact that a group of Welsh settlers arrived in 1865 and established successful settlements. After a flourishing period, the process of acculturation reduced the number of Welsh speakers. However, through different projects, Welsh has started to grow in the community by attracting Argentines with and without Welsh roots to learn the language. Framed as a qualitative study, this article presents the findings that emerged from in-depth interviews with ten adult and young learners at a local Welsh learning centre in Esquel. Based on the qualitative data collected and on complementary theories of language learning motivation, it may be concluded that for the participants motivation is driven by family and community-driven interests in language maintenance and revitalisation. Also, integrative orientation, influenced by the official narrative of overrepresenting the Welsh in Patagonia (Berg 2018), was identified as influential.

Introduction

Interest in the study of language learning motivation is at the core of educational research. Ushioda and Dörnyei (2017) assert that English has been predominant in L2 motivation research (but see Busse and Walter 2013); therefore they encourage researchers to engage in motivation studies on languages other than English.

One of those other languages is Welsh as a heritage language, a term which includes indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages, and which should be part of national language planning for socio-political and pedagogical reasons (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003). Seals and Shah (2018) define heritage language speakers as

> people who have a recent or ancestral connection to a language that is not the dominant societal language in their current region of residence. Furthermore, heritage language speakers use their agency to identify with heritage language(s). Heritage language speakers may be at any level of proficiency. (3)

In this study our focus is on Welsh (Cymraeg), a Celtic language mostly spoken in Wales. Although English was imposed in the 1536 Act of Union with Wales (Jenkins 2007), Welsh was spoken by the majority of the population in Wales until the mid-

1800s. However, the Welsh-speaking population has decreased due to English-speakers' immigration to rural Wales (Edwards 2017), industrialisation, mass communication, tourism, and 'the dominance of English in most domains of language life' (Baker 2004, 74). As a reaction to this trend, Romaine (2013) mentions two acts: (1) the Welsh Language Act of 1993 allowing Welsh speakers to use Welsh in court in Wales, and (2) the Government of Wales Act of 1998, which granted Welsh official status together with English. Also, the Welsh Language Society (a voluntary movement and pressure group), Welsh-medium education, and the creation of Welsh-medium services brought about a process of language revitalisation (Aitchison and Carter 2004). According to the Welsh Language Use Survey 2013-15, 24% of people in Wales were able to speak Welsh with some limitations in 2015, but only 11% could speak Welsh fluently.

Welsh can be traced in the literature as a minority language spoken in Wales or as a heritage language spoken outside Wales. Welsh has attracted attention since the growth of its language revitalisation in Wales (Pritchard Newcombe 2007; Williams 2000). For example, recent studies have examined adults' Welsh language practices (Davies and Deuchar 2014) and adults' use of Welsh on Twitter (Jones, Cunliffe, and Honeycutt 2013). Notwithstanding, there is a paucity of studies which investigate motivation to learn Welsh as a heritage immigrant language outside Wales. To our knowledge, this is the first paper of its kind to examine motivation to learn Welsh as a heritage language outside Wales. Furthermore, this paper offers a broad contribution on L2 motivation research as it operationalises four complementary theories of motivation: (1) a socio-educational model (Gardner 2010), (2) the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015), (3) a person-in-context relational view (Ushioda 2009), and (4) the rooted L2 self (MacIntyre et al. 2017).

Thus, in this article, we respond to this research area by investigating the motivations of ten people to learn Welsh in the city of Esquel in Argentine Patagonia, a city with historical connections to Wales. To this end, we first summarise the history of the Welsh diaspora in Argentine Patagonia. Secondly, we conceptualise motivation in learning heritage languages. Last, we present and discuss the findings obtained through in-depth interviews.

Welsh in Argentine Patagonia

Among other heritage languages in Argentina (Banfi 2018), Welsh is considered a heritage immigrant language in the Chubut Province, located in a geographical region known as Argentine Patagonia. According to Johnson, (2010), the Welsh community in Chubut 'has a moderate level of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality' (555). Due to poverty and persecution, a group of Welsh citizens fled Wales aboard the Mimosa and, in 1865, arrived in what is now the province of Chubut and established small settlements until this migratory flow ended in 1912 (Lublin 2017).

In his comprehensive study of the Welsh diaspora in Patagonia, Williams (1991) describes how the Welsh settlers established harmonious relations with the indigenous peoples (Mapuches and Tehuelches). Nevertheless, in the foundational narrative of Chubut the Welsh are 'primarily credited for settling the provincial territory, constituting the Chubut Province as a Welsh first-place' (Berg 2008, 155) over the indigenous population and Spanish less successful settlements (Birt 2005; Johnson 2010; Williams 2012). However, the Ministry of Education in Chubut has made recent attempts to contest this Welsh first-place discourse by developing educational materials and an bilingual (Spanish-Mapudungun) intercultural education programme which

acknowledge the sociocultural, linguistic, and political contributions of the indigenous populations (Caviglia and Álvarez 2016).

The Welsh immigrants helped to consolidate the expansion of the Argentinian Nation-State in Patagonia as part of the immigration policies which favoured European immigrants while delegitimising (and exterminating) the indigenous population (Duarte 2019; Williams 2012). According to Virkel and Iun (2012), initially, the Welsh established autonomous communities as a result of little support from the Argentinian State, and therefore Welsh became the dominant language. In the 1880s, the Argentinian State imposed the exclusive use of Spanish as the language of administration and education in a move to integrate Patagonia as part of the Argentinian territory. In so doing, the State strengthened the nation's organisation through Spanish in detriment of Welsh (Brooks 2017) and the indigenous languages. However, since the 1990s, the Welsh Patagonian community has increased their visibility through tea houses, and has supported language revitalisation through language learning initiatives (Birt 2005; Brooks 2017; Johnson 2010; Lublin 2007).

One of such initiatives is the Welsh Language Project (WLP), which started in 1997 with the aim of revitalising the Welsh language in Chubut (Arwel 2016). The project includes language tutors and coordinators, some of them from Wales and others from Chubut, who work at the three Spanish-Welsh bilingual schools in the province and the language courses offered in the Welsh chapels and centres. The Welsh centres are not official agencies; they are community centres established by the Welsh descendants. Clare Vaughan (2018, personal communication), WLP learning coordinator estimates there were 1,270 learners of Welsh in Chubut in 2015.

In this article, we examine the role of motivation in learning Welsh as a heritage immigrant language in the city of Esquel located in northwest Chubut, Argentina. We selected this location as Author 2 was born in Esquel and her Welsh ancestors established the Esquel settlement. We also include participants' references to Trevelin, a town close to Esquel with longstanding links to the Welsh in Patagonia.

Similar to other Welsh centres in Chubut, the Esquel Centre is located in the premises of the Seion Chapel, and it only offers Welsh lessons. The lessons are organised in five levels (entry, elementary, intermediate, advanced, proficiency) which mirror, to a certain extent, the levels proposed in the Common European Framework of Reference for languages. Each level comprises 96 hours of tuition (three hours per week). On average, there are five students per class. Lessons follow a communicative approach with a focus on oral skills; however, written skills are also developed. Lessons are taught using an in-house series of textbooks centrally produced by WLP coordinators. Assessment includes final writing and speaking tests and at the end of each level, students obtain a WLP certificate.

Motivation and heritage language learning

MacIntyre, Baker and Sparling's (2017, 502) define motivation as

> the force that gives behavior its energy and direction and is relevant to almost
> every human endeavor (Reeve, 2015), and understanding motivation is
> particularly relevant for second language (L2) teaching (Gardner, 2010).

We have combined four motivation research models in order to offer an in-depth analysis of the data collected and understand motivation in relationship to identity. The motivation research perspectives combined in this study are: (1) a socio-educational model (Gardner 2010), (2) the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015), (3) a person-in-context relational view (Ushioda 2009, 2016), and (4) the rooted L2 self (MacIntyre et al. 2017). By applying this multi-model framework we may capture complementary motivational dimensions and therefore develop in-depth understanding of learners' interest in Welsh as a heritage language.

Gardner's socio-educational model focuses on learners' integrative orientation, i.e. 'a positive predisposition toward the L2 group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community' (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011, 41), and instrumental motivation, .i.e., the utilitarian gain learners may perceive in the L2. Ushioda (2017) is critical of instrumental motivation as it has helped maintain the hegemony of English in L2 motivation research over other languages socially perceived as having a lower status in the world economy. Nevertheless, this perspective has been used in the study of Welsh language learning motivation among adults in Wales (Pritchard Newcombe 2007). For example, Baker, Andrews, Gruffydd, and Lewis's (2011) longitudinal study on Welsh language learning motivation with adults in Wales. Drawing a questionnaire survey completed by 1,061 adults, the authors conclude that integrative orientation was stronger than instrumental motivation as adults wished to learn Welsh for language reproduction in the family and to support their children with school homework.

Following Dörnyei (2009), the L2 motivational self-system is rooted in psychological theories of possible selves which includes three components: (1) the ideal L2 self (the L2 speaker we would like to be), (2) the ought-to L2 self (the L2 speaker

we are expected to become to avoid negative outcomes), and (3) the L2 learning experience, which focuses 'on the learner's present experience, covering a range of situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment (e.g. the impact of the L2 teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, and the experience of success)' (Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie 2017, 457).

Building on the notion of possible selves in language learning compatible with socio-dynamic views, Ushioda (2009) has developed a person-in-context relational view of motivation to capture the self, motivation, and context as three key concepts that enter an organic, dynamic, and holistic relationship in constant evolution. In a recent study, MacIntyre et al. (2017) employed the L2 self-system and Ushioda's relational perspective to explore the intersection of heritage languages and motivation. The authors investigated the use of the Gaelic language in the Cape Breton Islands (Canada) through a qualitative study with a group of ten musicians. It was concluded that while the musicians' motivation to learn Gaelic responded to integrative orientation and the L2 self-system, aspects related to the speakers' histories remained hard to capture. Therefore, the authors have developed the concept of the rooted L2 self to account for motivational drives underlying heritage language learning. The rooted L2 self is defined as

> a heritage-oriented concept defined by strong feelings of connection to speakers of the language, which can be tied to specific individuals (such as one's grandmother) but more generally a defined community (Gaelic speakers, in our case). The sense of connection appears to emerge from factors closely associated with the language—such as place, shared history, and cultural practices including music and dance (see Moore, 1999). The rooted L2 self encompasses affective and cognitive processes. (MacIntyre et al. 2017, 512).

MacIntyre et al. (2017) add the notions of heritage passion and heritage convictions to emphasise people's ties to their histories, legacy and ancestry as part of a larger community. Thus, the rooted L2 self concept explains language learning from a sociolinguistic lens through which we can incorporate conceptualisations of bilingualism as a problem and as a right, and language revitalisation, maintenance, and death to understand this particular interest in language learning (Baker 2011; Holmes 2013). This complex conceptual landscape captures the historical dimension of heritage languages and the need of a community to honour their past and strive for ethnolinguistic vitality in the present but also the future, understood through the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self. The latter is not interpreted through fear or as a response to unwanted external pressure, but as a 'welcome […] obligation to continue […] traditions in which [heritage language learners] are born' (Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie 2017, 460).

The four complementary perspectives on motivation condensed above help explore different dimensions of motivation. Also, they all have identity as a powerful construct to understand the dynamics of motivation. In the broad field of language learning, Norton (2011) suggests that language learning identity can be approached as a complex construct which is

> fluid, context-dependent, and context-producing, in particular historical and cultural circumstances. From this perspective, personalities, learning styles, motivations, and so on are not fixed, unitary, or decontextualized, and while context 'pushes back' on individuals' claims to identity, individuals also struggle to assume identities that they wish to claim. (419-420).

The author defines identity as 'the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (Norton 2013, 4), and adopts a relational view of identity in which investment plays a key role to understand people's actions to achieve something (Norton, 2016). In this study, we are interested in understanding what students have invested in their effort to learn Welsh as a heritage language.

While there are publications on heritage languages in general (e.g. Montrul 2015) and studies on aspects of heritage languages such as identity and bilingual education (e.g. Gubitosi 2012; Leeman, Rabin, and Roman-Mendoza 2011) and motivation to learn heritage languages such as Chinese (Wen 2011), Italian (Berardi-Wiltshire 2017), or Māori (Te Huia 2017), there are no studies of Welsh learning motivation and identity in heritage language settings outside Wales. Thus, our study focuses on Welsh learning motivation outside Wales through this research question: what drives people in Esquel (Argentina) to study Welsh?

Methodology

This investigation is framed within a qualitative research paradigm (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). The focus of our qualitative study is the exploration of the activity of studying Welsh in a specific context, Esquel city, by considering the perspectives of multiple participants and the use of qualitative in-depth interviews (Mann 2011). Through such a qualitative lens, we seek to understand the motivations of those who study Welsh in a

region of Patagonia through the analysis of motivation, identity, and learner's in-context trajectories. Below we describe the participants, interviews and procedures.

Participants

In November 2018, we approached all the 33 learners of Welsh in the Esquel Centre and asked them to complete a short form to find out their age, level of Welsh proficiency, and whether they had Welsh descent. There were 29 females and 4 males, 7 under the age of 18, and 26 adults. In regard to Welsh ancestry, 18 learners indicated they came from Welsh families and they had been born and raised in Argentine Patagonia.

Of the 33 learners, ten were interviewed (Table 1). The participants were selected on the basis that their profiles represented the 33 learners' backgrounds (purposeful sampling).

Participant	Profile				
	Role	**Age**	**Gender**	**Level of Welsh**	**Welsh descent**
Evans	learner	82	Male	Intermediate	Yes, both parents and grandparents
Osvaldo		80	Male	Intermediate	Yes, both parents and grandparents
Mariela		50	Female	Intermediate	Yes, on father's side
Noelia		24	Female	Advanced	Yes, on mother's side
Sandra		45	Female	Intermediate	No, but friends of Welsh descent
Luis		50	Male	Elementary	No, but married to a woman of Welsh descent
Mónica		40	Female	Elementary	No
Jeremías		12	Male	Elementary	No
Claudia		25	Female	Elementary	No
Liliana	teacher & learner	55	Female	Proficiency	No

Table 1. Interviewees' profiles.

Instrument and procedures

In-depth interviews were used to probe the participants' motivation to learn Welsh. They were individually interviewed twice by AUTHOR 1 at the Esquel Centre. Each interview was conducted in Spanish and lasted around 60-80 minutes. They were audio-recorded and the questions were adapted (Appendix) to two subgroups: participants with or without Welsh ancestry. The initial questions were decided upon the conceptual framework outlined in the previous section. During the interviews, probing questions were added as a response to the participants' insights. The participants granted us written permission to use the interviews for analysis and include their real first names in this paper.

Thematic analysis (Clarke and Braun 2015) was adopted following the stages outlined by Terry (2015): (1) familiarising ourselves with the data set not for immediate analysis but for carefully listening to the participants' stories; (2) generating initial codes inductively; (3) grouping codes into themes; (4) revising themes. The data were analysed by the two authors separately and stage 4 was completed together. While some themes, e.g., romanticised expectations, were named inductively from reading the interview transcripts, other themes, e.g. rooted L2 self, were identified using terms drawing from our conceptual framework.

Findings

The interview questions and responses gravitated around the issue of the ten participants' motivational dimensions to learn Welsh. Figure 1 illustrates the key themes organised in a network. Below, we discuss these key themes and illustrate them with interview extracts. Such key themes and extracts allowed us to document the

participants' motivation to learn Welsh in Argentina with reference to the four

motivation models combined in this study. In particular, notions of possible selves,

rooted L2-self, and a person-in-context view of motivation emerged with clarity.

Figure 1. Thematic network and unifying themes.
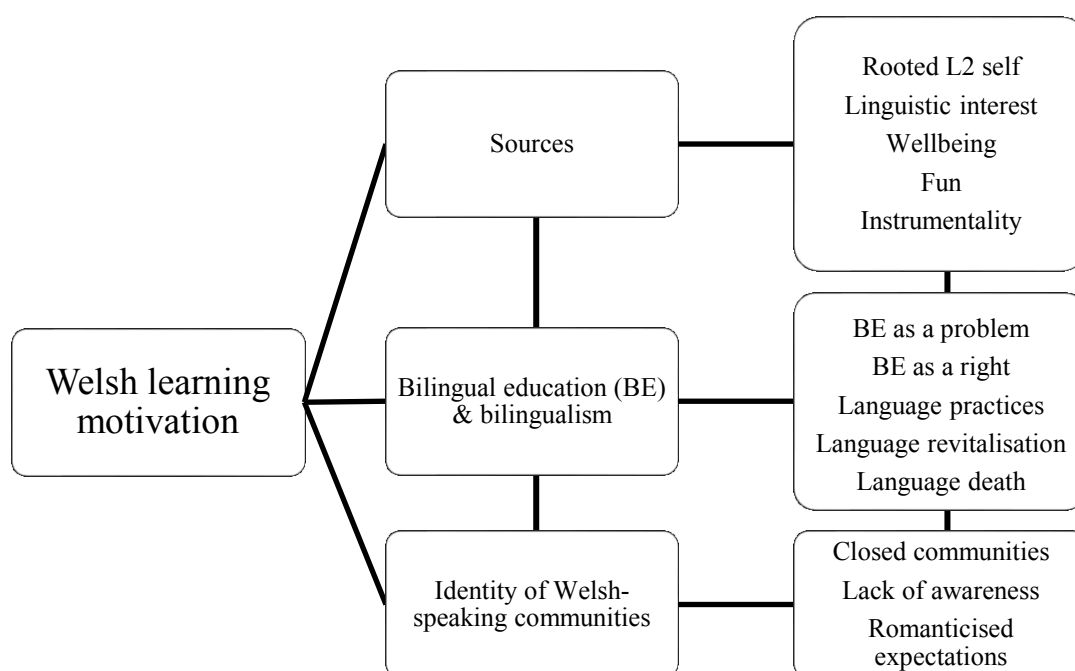
The participants' sources of motivation were connected to their personal stories

and perceptions on bilingual education and bilingualism involving Welsh and Spanish,

as well as how they viewed the Welsh-speaking community in the Esquel-Trevelin area

and Wales. Below we report on each unifying theme: sources, bilingual education and

bilingualism, and identity of Welsh-speaking communities.

Sources

One of the most prevalent sources of motivation among the four Welsh descendants as well as the six non-Welsh descendants was the rooted L2 self. However, a distinction was found within this dimension. While the former group of participants' drives related to family factors (e.g. parents, grandparents who spoke Welsh as their L1), the latter linked their motivation to become Spanish-Welsh bilingual to cultural practices (e.g. music, dancing, and literature), history (local and in Wales), and place, both physical and metaphorical, of the Welsh in Patagonia. During the interviews we realised that participants' sources of motivation responded to extensions of the rooted L2 self manifested in sociohistorical and cultural processes and artifacts. The participants' notion of integrativeness was rather "wanting to be part of the Welsh culture in Patagonia," which strengthened heritage views of their dual Argentinian-Welsh identity.

For example, Osvaldo, of Welsh descent, expressed that only at the age of 80 did he recognise that he wished to study Welsh.

> I started this year (2017) because the language of my parents and grandparents always got stuck in my mind, it was burning here [touched his head]. It is my humble way of honouring the memory of the first settlers, their hardships when all this land was barren, and their wish that this land be part of Argentina. (Extract 1)

Mariela, whose father has Welsh origin shared,

> The whole family made a trip to Wales last year (2016) and it was there that my sister and I realised that we had to return and learn Welsh. I remember my *taid* [grandfather] singing to us in Welsh when we were little. Now I want to have a conversation with my dad in Welsh. I am also studying Welsh because I am

interested in their history, and because if we don't study the language, the history will be lost, and I need to contribute to its maintenance. (Extract 2)

On the other hand, Sandra, not of Welsh descent, explained that listening to the Calon Lân, a traditional Welsh hymn, drove her to start learning Welsh.

I read the lyrics 'I don't ask for a luxurious life, the world's gold or its fine pearls, I ask for a happy heart, an honest heart, a pure heart,' and I said what an interesting culture! While other countries' hymns are about war, this is about peace and values and simplicity. Then I became interested in their history here, but also in how they were destroyed and subjugated by the English, and what they have done to preserve their language. So I came and signed up for a course. In the lessons we help each other a lot. It's a nice place to study. (Extract 3)

Two other participants of non-Welsh descent expressed:

I decided to study Welsh back in 2000, when I moved, because it's the language of the region, of Welsh Patagonia. (Liliana, Extract 4)

It's been three years since I started with Welsh lessons. First, I started with Welsh dance lessons. There was a Welsh guy teaching here in the chapel, and I found the music, the dance, and the language very happy, like joyful. (Mónica, Extract 5)

Regardless of their ancestry, the participants showed a linguistic interest in Welsh, particularly in its phonology.

> I love the words, not the meaning, but their pronunciation. For example, I like *llyfrgell* [library] and *ysbyty* [hospital]. (Jeremías, Extract 6)

Furthermore, linguistic interest was also manifested in learning languages as *Weltanschauung*, i.e. the cosmovisions ethnic groups develop as realised in their language features (e.g. verbs of movement, lexical choices for time, tenses, deictic expressions):

> I like it because a language is a way of thinking, a way of understanding the world. I've also learnt Russian, English, and French. I like languages. (Liliana, Extract 7)

Wellbeing, both social and mental, was confirmed as another source of motivation. The participants in their forties and fifties valued the learning atmosphere that the group of learners created, and how they would encourage each other not to miss lessons. Participants whose comments pointed towards wellbeing also expressed that learning Welsh was an opportunity for cognitive development and brain exercise together with the possibility of meeting others with similar interests within the same age range. Four adult participants confirmed the cognitive benefits of learning another language.

> Learning a language is good for the brain, and with Welsh I need to think a lot! (Mónica, Extract 8)

I never miss a lesson! I love it because I get to see my friends and other people I enjoy seeing week after week outside my home. (Evans, Extract 9).

It was only Jeremías, the youngest participant, who related his interest in learning Welsh to fun. In his view, the process of learning Welsh was fun as projected in his elder brother's attitude to Welsh learning:

This is my fourth year studying. My brother was studying it and I started because I saw that he was enjoying it, he was having fun, and I also wanted to have fun. (Extract 10)

Another source, albeit restricted to one participant, was instrumentality, i.e. instrumental motivation. The tourism industry around the presence of the Welsh in Patagonia described Luis' reason to learn Welsh. In his case, it was interesting to notice that even though he was married to a Welsh descendent with whom he had children, language transmission within his family never surfaced as a motivating factor. Luis said:

I'm a tour guide in the region so I wanted to give my customers a plus, say a word or two in Welsh, or greet Susy at her tea house in Welsh. I'm also interested in the culture so I can add more information in my tours. (Extract 11)

Bilingual education and bilingualism

Bilingual education and bilingualism emerged from the interviews with the four participants with Welsh ancestry. Following Ruiz's (1984) concept of language as a problem (see also Baker, 2011), the extracts below attest to this attitude in the past in the region and how some Welsh speakers felt stigmatised because of their linguistic background:

> My grandpa could only say a handful of words in Welsh, because when he started primary school the other kids would make fun of him because he didn't speak Spanish or he would speak it with a strange accent, and out of fear he stopped using Welsh, and started losing it. It's like he crossed it out in his mind. (Noelia, Extract 12)

> My father opted for not speaking Welsh to us so that we didn't have to go through the hardships he had at school. He would tell us that he used to be punished by the primary school teacher for not speaking Spanish properly. That he had to learn Spanish because he was in Argentina. (Osvaldo, Extract 13)

Extracts 12 and 13 illustrate the language planning policy exercised by the Argentinian government in the 1900s and their wish to reinforce the notion of the Argentine Nation-State by creating a monolingual society through the educational system. The policy of one nation-one language (Argentina-Spanish) put pressure on the Welsh families and undermined intergenerational language transmission and maintenance in Patagonia.

In contrast to the vision described above, bilingualism and bilingual education as a right, and also as a resource, was a recurring theme among the ten participants, when asked who should learn Welsh. They all coincided that Welsh learning should be available to anyone in the province of Chubut, regardless of heritage ties:

Welsh is just another language, so anyone, no matter what, should be able to study it. There are no restrictions here. (Claudia, Extract 14)

In connection to bilingualism, participants were asked in what situations they would use Welsh. Welsh use ranged – depending on their Welsh proficiency – from naming objects and brief dialogues within their families, friends and classmates to more extensive conversations with tourists and friends from and in Wales. The extracts below illustrate these findings:

And now, sometimes, I try to start a conversation with him [father] in Welsh. (Mariela, Extract 15)

I use Welsh all the time with my friends living in Wales. I use it here in the school, and also when Welsh tourists come to visit the chapel and I tell them a bit of our history. (Noelia, Extract 16)

I only use Welsh here [the language school], and I use it sometimes with my brother at home. When I meet my mates from the Welsh group we greet in Welsh, whatever the place. (Jeremías, Extract 17)

Associated with the participants' bilingual practices and perceptions of bilingualism, the five participants over 50 years of age expressed hopes of language revitalisation and transmission to the younger generations. Notwithstanding, they also feared language death in Chubut.

I think the language will grow strong. There are many kids learning Welsh in the centre but also doing optional workshops at schools, or the primary school in Trevelin. Their parents have nothing to do with Wales and still send their little ones to that school. (Mariela, Extract 18)

If the younger generations in the area, no matter their blood, don't see that the language is dying out, it will die out, and then it'll be late. (Claudia, Extract 19)

Identity

Welsh learning motivation and identity are fused in complex directions: (1) Welsh descendants' perceptions of their own community and the wider community (Esquel); (2) non-Welsh participants' perceptions of the wider community and the Welsh community; (3) perceptions of the status and vitality of Welsh in Wales, and (4) Welsh people in Wales's perceptions and expectations of Welsh in Patagonia. Such a matrix of views allowed us to identify three unifying themes: local community as closed, lack of awareness, and romanticised expectations. The themes show the power of understanding motivation and heritage languages through a theoretical framework that encourages synergy between a socio-educational model, the L2 motivational self-system, a person-in-context view of motivation, and the L2 rooted self since we now understand how identity is context-bound and how individuals shape their identity through interaction with social, historical and cultural circumstances (Norton 2011, 2016).

Regardless of descent, five adult participants perceived that the Welsh community in the region had been isolated since the Welsh Centre opened given their interest in

preserving Welshness, and was only now going through a process of openness to the city and region.

> When I grew up, the Welsh were very closed. They wouldn't open up with the language, or their traditions. That is changing now, so for example, now people who aren't part of the community come to the chapel to celebrate on the 28th of July (first Welsh settler's disembarkment in Chubut). (Luis, Extract 20)

Potentially the product of that perceived isolationist attitude, four adult participants also noted that although the Welsh presence was acknowledged in a general sense in the region, people had little awareness of Wales, the Welsh language, and Welsh culture. As an explanation for this lack of awareness, the participants noted that the Argentinian government did not always support the Welsh community in Patagonia in their projects for language maintenance. This complaint, nevertheless, was also extensive to the Welsh community itself for their limited involvement in the region and limited advertising of their activities. Engaging with the wider society through more inclusive and wide-reaching policies was needed. The extracts below exemplify these perceptions:

> Outside the association [the Esquel Centre and Seion Chapel], people don't know the language, or that there's a country called Wales, or they think it's a British city and don't know that Esquel is town-twinned to a city in Wales (Aberystwyth). (Noelia, Extract 21)

I first thought that only the descendents came to learn, that it wasn't open to the general public, but it's open to anyone. But you don't see ads saying come to learn Welsh. There should be more advertising I guess. (Mónica, Extract 22)

Lastly, romanticised views and false expectations travelled in both directions between Esquel-Trevelin and Wales. On the one hand, those participants who had travelled to Wales observed that Welsh was not as widely-spoken as they had expected. In a similar vein, the participants said that tourists from Wales visiting Patagonia shared such expectations over the local Welsh community. Extracts 23 and 24 show how people expected to hear more Welsh in Wales and Patagonia.

I went to Wales and I was hoping that everybody would speak Welsh. In the capital everyone speaks English. It's only in the small town or the nationalist part, the north, where Welsh is spoken all the time. (Noelia, Extract 23)

Once, cousins from southern Wales came to visit us and they felt disappointed because they thought that Welsh would be spoken everywhere. (Evans, Extract 24).

The interview findings offered rich insights into the participants' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours towards learning Welsh in Esquel. In the following section we problematise our findings in light of the key concepts included above.

Discussion

While studies of Welsh in Wales have only examined language learning motivation through a socio-educational model (Baker et al. 2011; Pritchard Newcombe 2007), our present study has investigated Welsh learning motivation in Argentine Patagonia through four complementary motivation theories. In this section we discuss Welsh language learning motivation taking Ushioda's (2009, 2016) person-in-context, relational perspective as our point of departure. The participants' views on becoming Spanish-Welsh bilingual are firmly shaped by their biographies and personal and communal histories in Patagonia. The L2 motivational self-system and the rooted L2 self also act as potent and useful concepts in this discussion.

In line with Seals and Shah (2018), the participants in this study identified themselves with Wales, Welsh and the history of the first Welsh settlers in Patagonia, irrespective of their ancestry and language proficiency. At the same time, it should be stressed that this identification did not erase their Argentinian allegiance. As suggested in Norton (2009, 2011, 2016), the participants' identity as Welsh language learners could be understood from their social view of self, i.e., individuals immersed in a region deeply penetrated by historical and cultural circumstances in which the Welsh have exerted a strong influence beyond ethnicities and Welsh background. We could advance that it is this self-perceived identity that operated as a motivation force to initiate and support the participants' interest in studying Welsh. Projected into the future of the community and its dynamic context, such an interest in language maintenance and revitalisation (Baker et al. 2011) lies in the hands of adult and young learners, where the former outnumbered the latter, but where the hopes of language revitalisation lie with the younger generations (see Extracts 2, 10, 16, 17). Nevertheless, adults play a key role in this process, as in Baker et al.'s (2011) study, since they wish to study Welsh to ensure its vitality in the family, for those with Welsh roots (E1, 2, 15), and the region

(E4). In this regard, the participants and, to a certain extent, the wider community are both promoters and supporters of bilingualism as a right (Baker 2011; Ruiz 1984) with varying degrees of engagement, which include parents sending their children to a Spanish-Welsh school (E18), and people's beliefs in open access to learning Welsh (E14) for heritage, cultural, or linguistic reasons (E4, 5, 6). The participants' perceptions indicate that the Welsh descendants should assume a more central role in the promotion and studying of Welsh (E21, 22). This insight can also be corroborated by the limited number of learners in the Esquel centre or the little family and community encouragement perceived by the participants to study Welsh.

Drawing on these findings, we suggest that the sociolinguistic position that the Welsh language has or is expected to have in Argentine Patagonia exerts a significant influence on learners' attitudes towards learning Welsh and selves and how they envision themselves in relation to their context. To a certain extent, the official narrative of constructing the Welsh as the first settlers in a 'barren land' (Extract 1) or Chubut as a Welsh first-place (Berg 2018) may contribute to seeing the Welsh as a prestigious community, which has an impact on Welsh learning motivation. The overrepresentation of the Welsh and their influence in the region permeates the participants' attitudes towards Welsh.

If we analyse the findings with regards to Dörnyei's (2009) L2 motivational self-system, three assertions can be made: (1) in relation to the ideal self, the Welsh language learners not only saw themselves as capable learners, but also saw others in the region as capable learners (E14, 17, and 18); (2) the L2 learning experiences acted as motivation because the participants mentioned the positive atmosphere in the classroom, success in learning, and collaboration among learners (E3, 10); and (3) the ought-to self not as unwanted obligation but as an accepted task (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie,

2017) became evident in the interviews; the participants, regardless of Welsh ancestry, felt the drive to contribute to Welsh maintenance and revitalisation (E1-4). Thus, the ought-to self is carved by the identity of heritage language learners and the rooted L2 self. We now turn to this aspect.

Drawing on MacIntyre et al.'s (2017) concept of the rooted L2 self to understand heritage language-learning motivation, we noted subtle differences between learners with and without Welsh descent. Welsh as a heritage immigrant language was envisaged in two senses: (1) a family sense (E1, 2) and (2) a wider community sense (E4, 19, 20). Thus, the rooted L2 self could be divided into what we shall call *family rooted L2 self* on the one hand, and *community rooted L2 self* on the other. The family rooted L2 self is distinctively characterised by the learners' Welsh ancestry. Their motivation to learn Welsh has transformed bilingualism as a problem to bilingualism as a right (E1, 2, 12, 13).

Last, the community rooted L2 self may serve to understand the wider reasons and implications of learning Welsh among those who are not of Welsh descent, but were born in Patagonia or chose to live in the region. Interest in music, dance and poetry (E3, 5) indicate that integrative orientation, i.e., interest in becoming part of the Welsh community, derives from learners' interest in the immigration footprint left by the first Welsh settlers, their ancestors, and the integration of the Welsh in Argentine Patagonia. However, it should be noted that the participants' integrative orientation may be influenced by the official narrative of overrepresenting the Welsh in Patagonia (Williams 2012). Even though they underscored bilingualism as a right, the indigenous peoples and their languages (e.g. Mapudungun) were never mentioned. They remained invisibilised.

Conclusion

Studies on Welsh learning motivation in Wales have investigated heritage and sociolinguistic practices from a restrictive framework driven by socio-educational views (e.g. Baker et al. 2011). In contrast, the present study has extended our understanding of motivation through complex and complementary conceptualisations which emphasise the social self, heritage, identity, and context, and has taken place in Argentine Patagonia, a setting under-represented in the literature. The dimensions reflected in these findings lend support to the necessity of constructing a theoretical framework to study motivation which draws on complementary theoretical views from psychology, linguistics, and education. The framework employed in our study has allowed us to capture different motivational dimensions that can explain people's drives to study Welsh as a heritage language. For example, the framework has helped us understand the instrumental and heritage value of learning Welsh in Patagonia.

The diversity of emerging themes could be better understood through careful examination of the participants as learners in their sociohistorical context to understand the self, motivation, and language learning. Ushioda's (2009, 2006) contribution for researching language learning motivation is useful in explaining the participants' reasons for choosing to learn Welsh in Patagonia. Participants' voices show the power that the community, the official narrative, and historical context had on their decision to learn Welsh as a heritage language. The role played out by heritage in the context of this study can be understood with reference to MacIntyre et al.'s (2017) concept of the rooted L2 self and heritage passion and convictions. In the interviews, emerging themes to do with the participants' reasons for studying Welsh surfaced with clarity. We may

thus conclude that in the context of this study, participants' main drive to study Welsh was understood as family rooted L2 self, particularly those with Welsh ancestry in their families, and as community rooted L2 self to capture their connections with the wider landscape and Argentine-Welsh identities, history, and cultural manifestations. Other less influential motivations were connected to wellbeing, instrumentality, and linguistic interest.

The study has limitations. The small number of participants may be considered a weakness. Nevertheless, we believe that even this small number represents the incipient interest in learning Welsh as a heritage language in a setting where Welsh heritage is present in surnames, everyday words, street names, and festivals. Another limitation is connected to issues which were not probed such as parents' perception of bilingual education over state monolingual education as suggested in Extract 18.

Our study shows that people's motivations to learn a language are conditioned by time, place, and lived experiences in relation to sociohistorical encounters in a specific geographical location. Therefore, studies on L2 motivation need to embrace complementary motivational theories to examine motivation in a multiplicity of contexts. Further research on bilingualism and motivation is needed to compare Welsh in Wales and elsewhere, and Welsh with other heritage languages drawing on notions of identity, motivation, plurilingualism and interculturality. Conducting such studies will contribute to enhancing heritage language learning and bilingual education programmes.

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APPENDIX

Sample questions for participants of Welsh descent:

- When did you start to learn Welsh? Why?

- Who in your family speaks/spoke Welsh?

- What do you like about the Welsh language? And about learning Welsh?

- Do you use Welsh?

- Who should learn Welsh?

- What do you think will happen with Welsh in the region?

Sample questions for participants of non-Welsh descent:

- When did you start to learn Welsh?

- What drove you to take up Welsh?

- What do you like about Welsh and learning Welsh?

- Who should learn Welsh?

- Do people in the region know about Wales and Welsh?

- Do you use Welsh?

- How do you feel about learning Welsh with people who have Welsh descent?

Participant	Profile				
	Role	**Age**	**Gender**	**Level of Welsh**	**Welsh descent**
Evans	learner	82	Male	Intermediate	Yes, both parents and grandparents
Osvaldo		80	Male	Intermediate	Yes, both parents and grandparents
Mariela		50	Female	Intermediate	Yes, on father's side
Noelia		24	Female	Advanced	Yes, on mother's side
Sandra		45	Female	Intermediate	No, but friends of Welsh descent
Luis		50	Male	Elementary	No, but married to a woman of Welsh descent
Mónica		40	Female	Elementary	No
Jeremías		12	Male	Elementary	No
Claudia		25	Female	Elementary	No
Liliana	teacher & learner	55	Female	Proficiency	No

Table 1. Interviewees' profiles.