

Papers on Cornwall

and the Cornish language

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Second edition (2021)

Papers on Cornwall and the Cornish language

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Second edition with typographical improvements

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Chapter One

Cornish at its millennium: an independent academic study of the language undertaken in 2000

Published 2002 in Cornish studies: Ten, ed. by P. Payton. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 266–282.

Introduction

An important aspect of the “Good Friday Agreement” in 1999 was the recognition of the Irish and Ulster Scots languages in Northern Ireland, and the promise to sign and ratify the European Charter of Minority or Regional Languages (ECRML). This very swiftly led to demands for inclusion of Welsh, Gaelic and Scots, which were rapidly accepted. As the result of prompt parliamentary action

by Andrew George, MP for St Ives (on an adjournment motion on the 23rd February 1999), the government commissioned an independent academic study on Cornish. Its purpose was to provide a factual and officially accessible basis of knowledge about the Cornish language on which government policy could be based, and in particular, consideration of inclusion of Cornish within the United Kingdom's signature and ratification of the Charter. Accordingly, on 22nd December 1999 the Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions commissioned EKOS Limited (economic consultants, Inverness), and *SGRÙD Research* (language-planning and research service in the Black Isle) to undertake an independent study of Cornish, reporting to Government Office of the South West.

The remit was to establish the position on the use and currency of the Cornish language historically and contemporarily, and provide a sound factual basis for informing consideration of policy issues by various government departments. The study objectives were to report factually and impartially on: the historical position of Cornish to the present day; the ways in which Cornish is "traditionally used" in Cornwall and elsewhere, including numbers, fluency and use in everyday life; learning, study, teaching and qualifications in the language; the body of litera-

ture; organisations promoting the language; and sources of funding and support.

The research was undertaken during January and February 2000 principally by the present author, involving desk research at research centres and archives in Cornwall and London, face-to-face and telephone interviews of 50 organisations and individuals associated with the promotion of Cornish. Discussions with three focus groups of Cornish speakers (representative of the three main revived language varieties) provided contact with a further 48 persons. The principal researcher also attended and participated in Cornish-language events and meetings during (and subsequent) to this survey period.

The full text of the report is available from Government Office for the South West, and can be read and downloaded from their website.¹ The following summary of the report indicates the scope of its principal contents. The report was not remitted to contain recommendations. Its purpose was to provide an independent reference document as a basis for government policy. However, as its principal author, I do have views upon the current state of the Cornish language, issues relating to the language, and pro-

¹[Government Office of the South West website](#) [link broken as of 2019].

visions which could be made for its further development. I conclude with a commentary upon these.

Summary of main findings

Historical trends in the development of Cornish

The Cornish language was the speech of Cornwall from Dark Age times through to the late Middle Ages. In late medieval times it was weakening in eastern Cornwall but its substantial reverses came with the closer incorporation of Cornwall into the Tudor state. At its maximum size the speech community has been estimated at 38,000 (George 1986).

During early modern times Cornish initially held its ground as the majority speech of the Cornish people but the further dislocations of the 17th Century (Civil War) and other rebellions destabilised the language considerably. By 1700, the year in which Edward Lhuyd visited Cornwall, he reported the language to be in substantial decline and limited only to the western extremities of the County. This process of decline was considerably hastened by Cornwall's early industrialisation and the inter-penetration of a previously autonomous speech commu-

nity by adventitious economic enterprises reinforcing a new language.

Nevertheless, knowledge of Cornish and some extent of speaking ability continued to be transmitted through family networks and individuals. These were the sources whereby scholars in the 19th Century compiled the first dictionaries and learners' lessons in the language. A landmark for the language revival was Jenner's "Handbook" of 1904.

The beginnings of the revival pre-1914 produced a number of persons able to use the language – especially in writing. The inter-war years witnessed the formation of key institutions for the revival (Gorseth Kernow, the Old Cornwall Societies) and the establishment of classes both in Cornwall and in London.

After the dislocations of the Second World War the language revival made initially slow but steady progress which gathered impetus as new journals were established. At this period the revival continued with Nance's revision of Jenner's original Cornish, which came to be called Unified (Ünys). The developing needs of the language grew beyond its patronage by the Gorseth and a Language Board was established in 1967 whose constitution was later reformulated to make it representative of the body of speakers and users.

Disquiet with Nance's system was being voiced by the early 1980s. This was addressed linguistically by Dr. Ken George with regard to spelling, pronunciation and lexical problems. Also at this time, Richard Gendall was developing his ideas of basing the revived language upon its later vernacular and written forms. These were the seeds of the "tri-partite split" between: Unified Cornish, which was based upon the late mediaeval classic texts; Gendall's Late/Modern Cornish; and those who adopted Ken George's version of Common Cornish (Kemmyn). The debate over the revival versions was addressed by public meetings, and the Language Board adopted Kemmyn in 1987.

The language controversies appear to have had a stimulating effect upon public awareness of the language and have attracted a new generation of learners. Linguistic research has been greatly stimulated in all three varieties, as has output of language resource publications and general reading material. The bulk of this publication has been in Kemmyn, the language variety which has produced most language activity and supporting institutions in terms of volume.

Mode of use

Traditionally, historically spoken Cornish extended across the whole range of uses when it was the majority speech of the Cornish people. In late mediaeval times it produced a literature which was chiefly religious drama and verse. Cornwall had significant trading links with Brittany, and Cornish was thus used in the tin trade, and in commercial and economic life. The events of the 16th century resulted in the anglicisation of upper orders of society especially as members of this class were replaced by English speakers, with English becoming general in Cornwall's ruling classes. In its last phase when the language was obviously fast retreating, efforts were made to secure its prospects by the production of a written literature in its Late/Modern form, largely by professional class people.

New industries implied the strengthening of English, but Cornish evidently remained strong amongst fishing communities in western Cornwall, which comprised its last body of speakers. There are reports of the language being used at sea into the 19th century, and for specific purposes even into the 20th century.

In the revival, its early use was chiefly written and from the beginning a conscious effort to produce a quality literature is evident. This has continued to strengthen from

the pre-1939 period – as has the resolve to ensure Cornish as a spoken language.

Today, the language is spoken in a wide variety of situations: the conduct of business in Cornish organisations; in cultural events; in a wide variety of social settings when speakers congregate; and most importantly in the homes and families of what is still a small number of cases. A reasonable estimate of the number of speakers able to use the language effectively for everyday purposes is approaching 300 in Cornwall itself, with a further 50 reported for the London area. The survey found 10 families using the language in the home. It is also used increasingly in signage, public worship, ceremonies and ritual.

Availability and take-up or learning and study of Cornish

The 1984 report *Kernewek Hedhyu* on the State of the Language (Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek 1984) had noted that by 1983/84 the number of adult classes in Cornish had increased to eighteen: in Bodmin, Camborne, Falmouth, Hayle, Helston, Launceston, Lostwithiel, Liskeard, Newlyn East, Newquay, Padstow, Penzance, Perranporth, Saltash, St Austell, St Just, Torpoint, and Truro, with

further classes reported outwith Cornwall.

The 2000 survey identified 36 formal classes in Cornish at adult education level. The figure was revised to 38 after the survey when further information was forthcoming. Eighteen classes were conducted in Kemmyn, at Callington, Four Lanes, Grampound Road, Helston, Jacobstowe, Launceston, Liskeard (two classes), The Lizard, Looe, Lostwithiel, Mullion, Newlyn East, Penzance, Pool, Saltash, St Austell, and Truro. Nine classes were conducted in Unified, at Bodmin, Bude, Camborne, Newlyn, Penryn, Penzance (two classes), St Austell, and St. Just. There were eleven classes in Late/Modern Cornish, at Falmouth, Menheniot, Pendeen (two classes), Redruth, St Agnes, St Austell, St Ives, Troon, and Truro (two classes). Enrolments for 16 Kemmyn classes totalled 143, suggesting around 161 in total. Enrolments in 4 Unified classes totalled 46, suggesting around 103 in total. Enrolments in 9 Late/Modern classes totalled 93, suggesting around 114 overall. On this basis there was an estimated total of 378 students in the 38 classes (Ninnis 1999). Other informal and self-help groups were reported, which would almost certainly suggest over 400 active learners. Most classes were held in and organised by further education colleges. Otherwise, they were locally organised by language activists and held in a

variety of venues, such as village halls and pubs. There are also classes in Australia and London, as well as a correspondence course for Kemmyn learners, organised outwith Cornwall. In 1999/2000 some 297 corresponding students were registered for this distance learning service, *Kernewek dre Lyther*. There were similar correspondence schemes for Unified and Late/Modern learners (*Kernewek Sowyn* and *Kernuak Es*), which brought total numbers of distance learners to 375. The numbers enrolled in adult classes and correspondence schemes thus totalled around 750 – but allowance must be made for overlaps, and for numbers in nine classes having to be estimated.

At school level, Cornish was being taught as early as the pre-1939 period in local authority schools. After the war it featured in a private school at Camborne and subsequently developed in the local authority sector. A GCSE examination incentivised Cornish at primary and secondary level. The 1984 Report noted five primary schools (Camborne, Saltash, St Stephen's, and Troon), and two secondary schools (Camborne and Liskeard) where Cornish was taught.

Although the number of schools reporting the teaching of Cornish at some level has increased in recent years, the cessation of the GSCE scheme (due to low numbers), the introduction of the National Curriculum and local

management of schools were often seen as set-backs. At primary level, four schools reported the teaching of Cornish within the school day, at Helston (St Michael's), Roskear, St Mawes, and Wendron. Extra-mural Cornish clubs were organised at eight schools: Coad's Green, Heamoor, Ludgvan, Godolphin, Saltash (Brunel), St Neot, and Weeth. Four secondary schools taught Cornish: Liskeard Community College, Newquay Tretherras, Pool, and Truro. Although numbers learning Cornish at these 16 schools was not available, school pupils might bring the total of active learners to approach 1,000.

A body of Cornish literature

Old Cornish is represented solely by a vocabulary and glosses in the Bodmin Gospels. A late mediaeval literature of religious verse, a charter, a mystery play cycle and two other dramas represent this period. Since the completion of the survey two further Middle Cornish manuscripts have come to light. Late/Modern Cornish is said to commence with a collection of mid-16th century homilies. It continued in the subsequent two centuries with an extension of genres into secular verse, letters, and essays on various subjects including the language itself.

Revived Cornish literature has increasingly developed in quantity and quality. There have been a number of literary publications which have developed the essay, the short story and poetry in Cornish. More recently novels have been produced, along with an increasing amount of children's publications. In terms of output and publications per head of language users this may constitute a record even higher than Icelandic. The medieval drama has been revived in modern performance.

Organisations which promote Cornish

The survey contacted a wide range of organisations involved in or connected with the language. Our research has identified a total of over 40 such bodies, and contacted 42 of them. These can be broadly categorised as follows:

- Language organisations: Agan Tavas, Cornish Language Board, Cornish Language Council, Dalleth, Gorseth Kernow, Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek, Teere ha Tavaz. Total: 7. These represent the three main forms of the language and all are represented on the Cornish Sub-committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used languages (EBLUL).

- Cultural organisations: Celtic Congress, Cornish Eisteddfod, Cornish Literary Guild, Cornish Music Guild, Cornish Music Projects, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, Lowender Peran, Ros Keltek, Verbal Arts Cornwall. Total: 9.
- Educational institutions: Cornwall Education Authority, London Association for Celtic Education, University of Dublin: Celtic Studies, University of Exeter Institute of Cornish Studies, University of Plymouth: Modern Languages. Total: 5.
- Political and public life. The majority of local authorities had adopted a policy framework supportive of the language at the time of the survey. All have subsequently done so. Organisation interviews comprised Carrick District Council, Celtic League, EBLUL (Cornish Sub-Committee), Cornish Bureau for European Relations (CoBER), Cornish National Committee, Cornwall County Council, Cuntelles Kysgwlasék Keltek, Kerskerdh Kernewek, Mebyon Kernow, North Cornwall District Council. Total: 10.
- Media (journals/magazines, radio and television): Agan Yeth, An Gannas, An Garrack, Celtic Film

and Television Festival, Pirate FM, Wildwest Films.
Total: 6.

- Private sector: Gwynn ha Du, Just Cornish, An Lyverji Kernewek. Total: 3.
- Religious life: The Bishop's Advisory Committee on Cornish Services, Bredereth Sen Jago. Total: 2.

The first two of these groups of organisations are in the main, quite longstanding; have cross-membership; and exist on slight or very slight financial resources. Very active inter-Celtic links have been developed by the Gorseth, the Eisteddfod; the Celtic Congress; the Celtic League; and the Cornish Sub-Committee of EBLUL.

Funding and support

It appears that organisations and individuals involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish language have received little in the way of funding over the last 20 years. The survey identified third party funding of approximately £50,000. This probably reflects the generally small scale nature of these organisations over this time. However, there has been some funding activity during the 1990s, albeit for relatively small amounts. One of the main

sources of funding has been local authorities. There have also been a small number of successful applications to the European Commission DG XXII, under the Minority Languages programme. Some organisations have depended on raising private funds to undertake their activities.

Whilst there has been a range of cultural funding programmes available through the European Commission during the 1990s, our consultations suggest that Cornish language organisations would have been able to access very little funding over the period, particularly as projects assisted tend to require partnerships between organisations from two or three Member States. Our research indicates that over the last 20 years, Cornish language activity has not really been at the stage of critical mass where it could link up and exchange information with organisations in other Member States. Further, these initiatives generally have relatively small budgets, with the bidding process being very competitive.

In addition, funding programmes delivered under Objective 5(b) and LEADER II during the 1990s generally required assisted projects to demonstrate an economic benefit for the area. Applications for specifically language-oriented would unlikely be successful. The Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) was also consulted. It advised that two funds could potentially be

sourced for Cornish language related activities: the Study Support Programme, and the Standards Fund. The first of these is managed by the DfEE, and administered by local education authorities and provides funding for school activities such as learning Cornish out of school hours, including staffing costs.

A number of institutional and funding changes were currently taking place. Regional Development Authorities had recently been established in England, and the Cornwall and Scilly Objective 1 Programme was due to commence in 2000. Again, it seemed unlikely that specifically Cornish language and cultural related activities could be funded.

A further programme had been developed called Culture 2000, which has been designed to replace some of the cultural programmes operated by the European Commission during the 1990s. It was due to operate from 2002 to 2004, and had a total budget of 167m ECUs over its five years of operation. However, the eligibility for funding from this programme includes partnership activities involving cultural operators from at least three eligible countries, and it may be difficult for Cornish language organisations to secure such funds, given the current level of critical mass. However, in 2000 Cornwall County Council was considering organising training seminars for groups

to advise them on fund application, form completion, etc. This could greatly benefit language organisations.

Subsequent to the 2000 survey, the National Lottery Heritage Fund has initiated a Language Heritage Fund (commencing in 2002), with a remit for linguistic heritage starting with the indigenous non-English languages of the UK. This should be particularly relevant for Cornish-language applications.

Commentary and recommendations

In undertaking this survey early in 2000, I was very conscious of “following in the footsteps” of Edward Lhuyd, who had undertaken his survey of Cornish three hundred years earlier in 1700. Celtic Studies owes a great deal to Lhuyd, including its very name and identity (James 1999:44–50). In particular, Lhuyd’s recording of Cornish language when it was last a spoken vernacular, and collecting what was available of Cornish writings, have enabled subsequent scholars to attempt the revival of the language as a spoken medium once again (Williams 1993). Little specific attention was drawn to this tercentenary in Cornwall in 2000, although I prefaced my address to

the second New Directions in Celtic Studies Conference² with this matter, as an acknowledgement of what we owe to Lhuyd. This article takes up the themes of that address, one of which was that we shall have a further opportunity to do justice to his memory on the tercentenary of his *Archaelogica Britannica*, which was published in 1707 (Lhuyd [1707] 1971). We shall also have a further commemorative opportunity to celebrate the centenary of the Cornish Revival in 2004, one hundred years on from Jenner's Handbook (1904) and his "Caernarfon Telegram". The efforts of Lhuyd, and of Jenner, enabled the traditional transmission of Cornish in each of their generations to become available as a general resource for the language revival, and to ensure for it what Thomas (1963:199) has termed "apostolic succession".

The overall impression stemming from this survey is how much has been achieved with so little by so few. Most of the organizations were reported as subsisting on the slenderest of budgets, but actively maintained by quite remarkable personal efforts. The survey team conveyed this verbally to the commissioning agency at the reporting meeting of representatives of English regions and administrations of other UK countries on

²At Boscastle Village Hall, Saturday 4th November 2000, 7–9pm.

24th March 2000 at Eland House, Victoria, headquarters of the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DEFR). By this time the UK Government had signed the European Charter without inclusion of Cornish on 2nd March 2000, and a year later on 27th March 2001 ratified the Charter, again without inclusion of Cornish. Additions to the Charter can be made at any time, but the round of consultations of other departments by Government Office for the South West have considerably exceeded the time taken for consultations on the other languages included. Subsequent to the 2000 survey, a study by Wella Brown³ found that thirty-eight of the Charter's paragraphs for language use can be attested. Thirty-five need to be in place to enable signature. A first priority and recommendation would be to sign and ratify the European Charter on behalf of Cornish. As this article goes to press, the UK Government has given assurances that it will sign and ratify Part II of the charter for Cornish (as it has done for Scots and Ulster Scots). Priority thus focuses signature and ratification in Part III (as for Welsh, Gaelic in Scotland, and Irish in Northern Ireland).⁴

³Personal communication from Wella Brown to Tony Steele, GOSW, dated 24th October 2000.

⁴Western Morning News (Cornwall edition) Monday 22nd July 2003,

The survey, in reviewing the historical development of Cornish, could have noted the needs not only for status planning, but of corpus and acquisition planning also, linked to appropriate research. Languages in contact decline when their speakers experience the lack of presence in the social environment – especially linked to political and economic pressures to shift to another. The languages under pressure then experience a shift in community and family usage. The survey has outlined these processes at work over the course of time. Cornish might have been buttressed by religious institutions – but unlike Welsh was accorded no translation of scripture or prayer book – and Methodism came a century too late (Hambly 1933, quoted in Tregidga 1997:137; 149). The language might have been buttressed by education, but it had ceased as a vernacular before the introduction of modern universal education. In reviving Cornish there are three centuries of leeway to make up.

Corpus planning for Cornish is complicated by the three revived forms currently extant. The survey reported on the history and reasons for the three present language-varieties. It made no value judgment concerning them, except to say that they had arisen to serve the needs

and preferences of learners. The survey accepted these on the same basis as the presence of language-varieties and dialects in other languages, such as the other Celtic languages and English. Revived Cornish is based on its literature at various historic periods. What is very much needed is the collation, editing and academic review of the whole corpus of the literature. A strongly worded plea for this – and for full diplomatic editions of all the mystery plays and historic Cornish literature – was made by Thomas (1963). Forty years later this work still remains to be done. I echo his views for the necessity of this as an inescapable basis for further corpus planning. This corpus has however recently been augmented by two newly-discovered Middle Cornish texts. Initiatives to edit and prepare these for publication should kick-start the process of scholarly editing and publication of the whole corpus. This should be capable of funding from academic sources and the newly initiated Language Heritage policy line of the Heritage Lottery Fund.

Language authorities for Cornish are essentially non-official and non-academic, although they are assisted by scholars and specialists. There is a quantum leap from this level of development compared with the provisions established for Welsh, e.g. the Welsh Language Board, and the University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies. The “Good

Friday Agreement” set up quite generously-funded cross-border language authorities for Irish and Ulster Scots – the latter virtually *ab initio*. Even in the case of Gaelic, government funding supports the language development agency Comunn na Gàidhlig – and a language development authority on the Welsh model is currently in course of being established. Yet Cornish subsists within the same political state as these other languages, and there is an argument for comparability of treatment all round – which may well be being met in the case of Gaelic.

The existence of three language varieties might complicate the establishment of language-planning and development arrangements. These must obviously grow from acceptable principles within the language-movement itself. There were indications during the research of some coming together after the “tripartite split”. Keskerdh Kernow produced a three-variety “Prayers for Cornwall” in 1999. The following year Gorseth Kernow accepted entries for its literary competitions in any of the varieties. Each of the varieties is represented on the Cornish Sub-committee of EBLUL. Amongst the three language movements there are various mutual recognitions, albeit partial at present but with every hope that they might become complete and all-round. The principal problem at the moment is in public signage – especially over the spellings of Cornish place-

names. If Cornish is to have a public face, some form of consensus would need to develop. In the case of English place-names they have not necessarily been revised as the language has changed – and they preserve a variety of older forms. It might be that some form of agreement on such lines for Cornish place-names may be possible. It is an especially sensitive area, since name forms have been mostly what has survived of Cornish in current everyday speech and writing. The text of public signage presents a further problem, which perhaps only time can solve.

Together with corpus research, another research priority is in the sociology of the language. There has been no general survey of speakers, learners and users of Cornish in terms of numbers, abilities, usage and attitudes. Neither has there been any substantial assessment of general public attitudes towards the language. The three decennial CLAR surveys of Irish and the Welsh Housing Survey are good models of practice in this regard. I have myself undertaken similar – albeit smaller-scale – surveys of Gaelic speakers, and a recent survey of Manx (Gawn 1999) has provided an example for a language-group of similar size to Cornish. These surveys have been conducted on similar methodologies and contain many similar questions. Comparisons of the case of Cornish with its neighbouring lesser-used languages would be feasible. Such a study

would provide a foundation for language-planning initiatives, and would in itself be a consciousness-raising initiative.

The problem of consciousness-raising is crucial for the future development of Cornish. Its present body of speakers, learners and users is tiny. In the early twentieth century Nance was able to say of his and Jenner's efforts that his generation had put Cornish back in its feet but it would take another generation to get it to walk (quoted in Pool [1965] 1967). In the later twentieth century Cornish was step-by-step making that transition. Considering that every development was practically a pulling of itself up by its own bootstraps, the achievements have been considerable. The next steps are not really feasible without a greater critical mass involving considerably more people, thus justifying a claim upon their own share of public funds for the development of language and cultural infrastructure. The problem is in creating greater public awareness of the language, securing a greater place for it in the social environment of Cornwall, and attracting a greater number of people effectively to learn it. The following suggestions are in no way prescriptive. As an outsider – however sympathetic – I may not be in the best position to assess how practical or successful they might be. But the Cornish language movement at the outset of a new millennium, and

the Cornish Revival coming up to its centenary in 2004, needs to assess its position and discuss its options and possibilities. The following suggestions may serve then as a preliminary agenda – or indeed as points of departure.

One possibility might be a thorough look at the educational system and to look at the ways in which the National Curriculum can and should carry a distinctive Cornish component in history, culture and language. There has been a Cornish Studies document – but I failed to come by one. It is time perhaps for a new look at this and a fresh initiative. Language acquisition planning deserves to be taken seriously. Increasing numbers seeking to acquire Cornish can also be the basis for encouraging the media to provide for their needs. The other Celtic languages can all provide good examples of popular language-learning series.

A second possibility might be in a renewed effort for critical mass to establish an effective form of Cornish-language pre-school education as a first stage, no matter how small and limited this might initially be. If it were well done, it would comprise a basis upon which school level Cornish-medium education could be developed. Successful models for this can be found in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. In the last case, parents came together in West Belfast, established their own

community, founded and ran their own school in the teeth of active opposition from the then regime. The story is well documented by Maguire (1991). The Isle of Man presents a similar language-situation to Cornwall's – and both Manx-medium preschool and school-level education have recently been successfully established.

Maguire's account is a challenge to other language communities in revival. Attempts had been made in the Republic to establish urban neo-Gaeltacht communities but the efforts had not succeeded. In the North, however, Gabrielle Maguire's group of young couples and parents created an Irish-speaking area with its own school, and from that beginning other community initiatives grew: a cultural centre, a secondary school, shops using Irish on facades and at the till, and a daily Irish-language newspaper. In Scotland, we are asking ourselves could something similar be done in urban Gaeldom? Could such a thing be done in the Isle of Man – or in Cornwall?

One way in which the language could effectively enter the social environment would be through cultural tourism. Its benefits would be shared with the home population. Tokenistic Cornish is to be seen sporadically in all sorts of places. Were this to be systematized into an itinerary of Cornish language heritage, featuring all situations of significance to the language historically and contemporarily,

it would enlighten both the visitor and the resident. Promotional literature, itineraries and guides, interpretation and information on site, “blue plaques”, etc. would greatly increase the visibility of the language and its place in the social environment. Lerg an Yeth – the Cornish Language Trail – is just the sort of initiative to get funding from the Language Heritage Fund.

There has been a great deal of “new thinking” for Cornish at the recent turn of the century. Initiatives such as Keskerdh Kernow – Cornwall Marches On!, millennium events, the petition for a Cornish Assembly – Senedh Kernow, EU Objective 1 status, and the Eden Project have all bred a spirit of turning a new page. The South Crofty closure in 1999 was the end of a traditional industry, and the foot and mouth crisis in the countryside in 2001 was the threat to another, and to the more recent Cornish staple of tourism. These crises remind us that Cornwall is at the bottom of the UK league table for all economic indicators. Cornwall can demand special treatment.

In the preface to his Handbook, Jenner (1904:xi) asked, “Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish?” His answer was that although “There is no money in it, it serves no practical purpose, and the literature is scanty... the answer is simple: Because they are Cornishmen.” Jenner went on to note that the Cornwall of his day despite “the few sur-

vivals of Duchy jurisdictions” was “legally and practically a county of England ... as if it were no better than a mere Essex or Herts.”

Conventional wisdom has changed since his day, and now the Cornish might assert the right to their own assembly, over and above the assertions of English counties such as Kent, simply because the elements of a distinctive local culture and identity can be demonstrated. The possession of a language is the key to status as one of the United Kingdom’s distinctive and continuing nations. There is no doubt about it, there is now practical value – and there is money in it. The Cornish National Committee and the meetings for a Cornish Assembly have an agenda, and the role of the language and its enhancement in everyday life, in the Cornish economy, and in its politics deserves to be on that agenda. New ideas are called for on how this language can now not only walk, in Morton Nance’s phrase of 1955 (quoted in Pool [1965] 1967) – but live.

At the core of Jenner’s ideas on reasons for learning Cornish was the kernel of identity, “the outward and audible sign of his separate nationality”. He saw this as “sentimental, and not in the last practical” (Jenner 1904:xii). In revising his ideas to be inclusive by modern standards, we would also see real social and economic benefits in

language revival. Identity also strengthens the case for greater autonomy. The County Council's Framework Policy for Cornish has been adopted by all Cornwall's district councils. This provides a groundwork for greater recognition: Cornish is at least officially recognized by all Cornish local authorities. Its place fully within the European Charter at both Part II and Part III levels should be the next stage. Status can be important in strengthening the place of language within the social environment. Without it, attempts to advance the presence of the language in commercial life, public services, civic life and local civil society can always be countered with the objection that Cornish is not an "official language".

The struggle to reverse the process of language-shift for Cornish is important not only within Cornwall but internationally. Recent studies of world language (e.g. Crystal 2000; Dalby 2002; Nettle and Romaine 2000) have drawn to popular attention the precarious state of the 6,000 or so remaining spoken languages of the world. Every fortnight or so the last speaker of one of them dies and takes with him or her the history, traditions and cultural memory embedded in the language. Those working with endangered languages may well see this as the utter end for the languages in question. However, there may be real prospects of revival in some cases at least. Today great

efforts are being made for Manx and for Cornish, whose last native speakers left behind spoken and written records from which the language can be learned.

We live in a globalising, anglicising world in which the prospects for the littlest languages are not accorded much by way of prospects. Today even the smaller nation-state languages in Europe, such as Danish and Dutch regard themselves as under threat. The French have always seen theirs as threatened – so now do the Germans. These peoples are not prepared to see their languages in contact with English go the way of earlier contacts: Irish, Welsh, Gaelic, Manx and Cornish. They will all certainly develop increasing demand for English – but this will not mean that their own must be sacrificed.

In the 19th century there was no place for non-English languages in the education systems of the United Kingdom. The other languages were seen as impediments to effective English acquisition. Bilingualism was not seen as a “natural” state – and ordinary people were not thought to be fully capable of using two languages effectively. The average mind did not have sufficient space for two. Such notions still underlie much popular and press thinking about language in the modern world. In actual fact we are not proceeding into an altogether anglicized world so much as into a bilingual one. Humanity sees the

need for at least two languages: one as a means of wider communication, and their own language as the medium of identity, expression and shared fellow-feeling. In this process the monoglot-English societies may end up without a language of their own, in the sense of Maguire (1991).

Without Cornish, Cornwall is just another English county, in Jenner's sense – part of just another typical English-speaking society. With a language of its own which truly lives within its social and cultural life, Cornwall can be an effective example to the world of being able to take everything that knowledge and use of English can impart – but that it can retain and develop everything that a language of its own can do as well.

Chapter Two

“As Cornish as possible” – “Not an outcast anymore” – Speakers’ and learners’ opinions on Cornish

*Annual Caroline M. Kemp Lecture, Institute of
Cornish Studies, Truro, 1st December 2003*

An independent academic study on Cornish

The Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions remitted me to undertake an Independent Academic Study on Cornish in January and February 2000. Andrew George, MP for St Ives, had secured an undertaking (by adjournment debate on 23rd February 1999) from the Government to consider signing the European Charter for Minority or Regional Languages for Cornish. Factual information on Cornish was to

guide the Government in its decision. Government Office for the South West managed the study, and reported to the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) on 24th March 2000.¹ By this time the Government had signed the Charter – but without including Cornish – and ratified it on 27th March 2001, again without Cornish. Guided by the Academic Study, and with Scottish pressure through the Council of Europe Committee of Experts, the Government announced on 11th March 2003 that it would include Cornish in Part II of the Charter.² This was registered by CoE on 18th March 2003.³

¹A summary of the report is published as MacKinnon 2002 [and as Chapter 1 of this collection].

²*Western Morning News* 22nd July 2002.

³Rob Dunbar, then Senior Lecturer in Law at University of Glasgow, and an international specialist in the law of language and civil rights, observed in a personal communication of 27th October 2003: “The UK made a declaration by letter from the Permanent Representative of the UK to the Council of Europe, dated 11 March 2003, and registered at the Secretariat General on 18 March 2003 that the UK recognises that Cornish meets the Charter’s definition of a regional or minority language for the purposes of Part II. The declaration is effective as of 18 March 2003. This would not constitute either a further act of signature or ratification. Strictly speaking, I am of the view that this declaration has no real legal effect. While the Charter requires States to designate which regional or minority languages

In February 2000 three focus groups were held for supporters, speakers, and learners of:

- Common Cornish – Kernewek Kemmyn – on Saturday 19th February 2000;
- Unified and Unified Revised Cornish – Kernewek Ünys – on Saturday 19th February 2000;
- Late/Modern Cornish (“Nowedga”) on Tuesday 22nd February 2000.

These meetings followed a common structure, prompted by a questionnaire exploring:

are to benefit from Part III, it does not require States to indicate their views on which languages are ‘regional or minority languages’ for the purposes of the treaty. I have taken the view that on ratification, the Part II provisions of the Charter – the general commitments in Article 7 which apply to all ‘regional or minority languages’ as well as ‘non-territorial languages’ – automatically applied to all of the UK’s regional or minority languages, as that term is defined under Article 1 of the Charter itself. As the Charter does not require States to take any views on what are its regional or minority languages, and as it defines how these languages are based on objective principles, I am of the view that the Charter applied in respect of Cornish from the date that the UK’s original ratification became effective. The subsequent declaration of 11 March 2003 by the UK government is helpful in that it indicates that the UK accepts this obligation, but I am of the view that the obligation pre-existed and, indeed, existed independently of the UK’s declaration, which has unclear legal value in any case.”

- the language revival and its significance;
- resources and financial support for the language movement;
- problems arising out of the language varieties;
- Cornish in social life;
- Cornish in public life;
- Cornish in economic life;
- Cornish and its future.

Issues and implications

The announcement of the Government's intent to sign the Charter for Cornish was popularly taken as an indication that Cornish was now to enjoy "official status" – probably the first time the Government had officially recognized Cornish. Whether that constitutes actual recognition of Cornish as an official language is a moot point, as Rob Dunbar makes clear (see note ³). In contrast, Gaelic had been mentioned in crofting, land court, education, broadcasting and nationality legislation going back to the nineteenth century. It was regarded as of equal validity with

English by the then Secretary of State, and Scottish Home and Health Department, in 1970.⁴ Nevertheless, without specific language legislation, its official status continued to be challenged until UK parliamentary statements were made earlier this year,⁵ and draft bill measures were announced in the Scottish Parliament in the 2003–2004 session.⁶ As a next step, Cornish needs to advance to Part III recognition under the European Charter.

⁴Communications from T. D. Ewing, Scottish Home and Health Department, dated 22nd April 1970; and Gordon Campbell, Secretary of State for Scotland, dated 10th July 1970.

⁵Informal statement by Mike Watson, Minister for Gaelic, 2002, and official statement in the House of Lords, 12th June 2003. On question whether HM Government has any plans to give the Gaelic language legal or official status within the United Kingdom [HL3159], Lord Evans of Temple Guiting replied: “The United Kingdom Government ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in March 2001. As a signatory to the Charter, the Government have signalled their clear commitment to maintain and promote the use of indigenous minority languages across the United Kingdom, including Gaelic. The Gaelic language has, therefore, official status within the United Kingdom, although the Scottish Executive has devolved responsibility for the development of the language within Scotland.” *Ipsa facto* it follows that Cornish has similar official status in the eyes of the UK Government. Much more could be made of this newfound status, and much more could flow from it.

⁶Announced by Peter Peacock MSP, 10th October 2003. The Gaelic Language Bill – Consultation Paper, Scottish Executive.

Discussion in the three focus groups threw up a number of salient issues arising from the questionnaire. Further consideration is given below.

Revival and identity

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the heyday for the British Empire. Yet this was seen as the point when the Cornish Revivalists initiated a centrifugal, as opposed to a centripetal, movement. The language became symbolised as the most salient feature of a local identity. It is no surprise that this led a half-century later to the emergence of a political nationalism and the sense of Cornwall as a nation in cultural as well as political terms. Jenner's "simply because we are Cornish" was taking other dimensions. I have taken one respondent's reason for learning Cornish, to be "as Cornish as possible", as a headline for this paper. It epitomises much of what several others said.

The respondents who identified today as a period of opportunity for language revival tied this in with an awareness of decline of Empire and sense of identity crisis about being English. As with Ireland, England's adversity is Cornwall's opportunity.

However, other issues were tied in with language: community, individual self-worth, recovery of pride, and emergence from second-class status. Interest in things Cornish, and the language in particular, were seen as being weird and peculiar not so very long ago. Not only language but also accent and dialect were seen as stigmas, and as the badge of country bumpkinhood. Not so now. Quite the converse, in fact: there was a demand for Cornish in public life and education, and a thirst for knowledge. The lady who reported that things were being concealed in her earlier life felt she had been “made an outcast. Whereas now you are not an outcast anymore.” This echoed the case of a house-keeping lady without formal qualifications or any marvellous job, who had learned Cornish and got to a good standard. She said, “now I can speak Cornish, I really think I am a somebody. I’m not a nobody anymore.”

A very sophisticated view was put by the lady who said that in an ideal world everyone would have their own language and a world language as well. My view that this might be quite normal for most of the world’s inhabitants was rejoindered that it is only the English who can’t. There may be several insights here. Anglophone societies – the Anglosphere – are notorious in resisting other languages and insisting everyone speaks theirs.

Without Cornish, Cornwall is just one other amongst many English-speaking societies. With its own language it is distinctive, and (like “Galway Bay”) has its own ethnolinguistic culture and a metalinguistic awareness that the monolinguals do not know. Bilingualism is perhaps not so much an ideal as normal in the wider world. Cornish-English bilingualism was seen as a much more likely scenario than bilingualism involving our immediate continental neighbours.

Language, community and power

Cornish was seen to possess a “colossal reservoir of goodwill”. It functioned too as the language of community – and not only in the past. However, there were still some inimical attitudes to be encountered – in some cases in positions of power and influence. Cornish signage might be resisted, Cornish welcomes cut out from tourist publicity, and Cornish in public places removed. One respondent identified three distinct issues relating to the inhibiting of Cornish in public life. These were:

1. the elite dominance effect: a few exerting influence by their positions;

2. the state education system, which is not structured to engage with Cornish; and
3. the fear of being seen as a second-class citizen.

Language was the key for one lady: "If we lost our language, then we'd be powerless."

The Celtic dimension was identified as a source of strength. Assistance for Cornish enterprise had come from an Irishman in the case of a small one-person business, and from Breton MEPs in the case of Objective One. It is tempting to think of Edward Lhuyd three hundred years earlier, on his peregrinations through Cornwall formulating the concept of a common Celtic identity shared by the very disparate non-English peoples of our archipelago. In 1707 his *Archeologica Britannica* gave these peoples a means of resisting assimilation as the Act of Union inaugurated the British state – and stole their ethnonym. Cornwall played its part in forming that Celtic identity (James 1999:47; Williams 1993).

The tripartite split

The three current varieties of revived Cornish pose continuing problems. This study was conducted when the very

intense differences arising from this matter were certainly in abeyance. Some saw the protagonists as having lost a certain amount of sway, as people met across language-variety boundaries, and shared one another's events. Such institutions as the church services – especially the Carol Service – were uniting factors. So was the Gorseth – the one institution where pre-eminently Cornish took pride of place.

How the situation might resolve itself in the future was explored by some. One man thought that regional dialects would emerge, with a West Cornwall dialect that would sound a bit like Late Cornish crossed with Unified, and in the east something that sounded like a cross between Unified and Kemmyn, and probably written like it. Another lady thought that a more “natural” process would occur, whereby in time people would come to find it easier to use one version, and that is what would prevail.

But the lack of a common written standard is a real problem if the issues of increasing public use of Cornish is to be addressed. This was to some extent skated around by views such as the idea that English Heritage might approach a Cornish scholar in one movement or another, and that is the form that would get used. Some people thought the real issue was to get any sort of Cornish into public view, irrespectively. But when it does, the reali-

ties of the issue will arise, and maybe spark off controversies once again. The issue of name-signs in Cornish is already arising. In some cases the forms being used have no traditional spelling basis. Maybe a start could be made by trying to get an agreed policy on place-signs. In this regard the use of the place-name archive would be valuable. The publication of Gover's study for the English Place Names Society is long overdue and is one of those that EPNS have never yet published. It is a scandal – for without it we are very much in the dark. Oliver Padel is shortly to retire and commence further research and publication in this field. There are substantial bases in scholarship here which could be the foundation for advance in this area.

One voice expressed reservations with regard to academics and Cornish. Yet the linguistic issues of corpus planning have not yet been addressed in scholarly debate. So far this too has been quietly muted in view of past controversies. As a basis to this, the scholarly editing of the corpus of written Cornish of all periods needs to be advanced. It is putting the cart before the horse to attempt status planning before the spade-work of corpus planning has been thoroughly accomplished.

Education

Discussion focused on the loss for Cornish in education of the Mode Three GCSE scheme some years ago. School students are presently undertaking Language Board examinations, which are of course essentially adult-level in character. Recent developments, as at Hayle, are to be watched with great interest. But the present tripartite nature of Cornish presents its difficulties. The County Council may accept Cornish as a “plural language” – but will all three varieties get a place in any school level provisions?

The National Curriculum was seen as a major cause for the marginalisation of Cornish in the schools. The present law of education in England regarding languages which may be taught greatly vitiates against Cornish. In the hierarchy of English, other European member-state languages (which includes Letzebürgisch), and other world and classical languages, Cornish simply has no place. This needs attention if Cornish is even to have the toe-hold of being taught as a second language, leading somewhere in terms of recognized qualifications. Cornishmen had once helped England to retain its language. Now was the opportunity for the favour to be returned.

Further problems result from lack of resources and infrastructure, discontinuities as teachers (many voluntary)

withdraw for all sorts of good reasons, and lack of good-quality teaching schemes, language packs, audiovisual resources and books. There should be ways of getting round the National Curriculum, such as in minority time, local studies and the like. But if Cornish is to have some real advance in these areas in the short-to-medium term, planning, in-service training and production of teaching materials is essential. Modern technologies, inter-site video, internet and new advances in distance learning techniques could all play their part here.

One of the big problems for Cornish in the schools is critical mass. Demand is growing – but is widely spread out. That is why so far preschool initiatives have been hindered: not enough takers in any one area.

The numbers game

The methodology of the study was insufficient to make up for the lack of a census question, or in its absence a properly-funded research study of speakers, learners, users of the language and of public attitudes towards it. The lack of a census was specifically identified in one group. Subsequent to the study, a Cornish question on the 2001 Census was refused through “lack of space” on

the form. It may be recalled however that there was in fact a blank space where the Welsh question was printed in Wales. Much of the discussion on language problems both by respondents in this study and in wider forums is uninformed without a census or a properly-resourced study on these lines. The Independent Academic Study was a useful initial inquiry. It now needs to be followed up by a use and attitudes study.

Public life and media

Since the Independent Academic Study, several initiatives it identified have ceased. One was the biggest slice of the funding cake. I do not know whether anything else in its field has replaced it. This type of adhockery – turning taps on, turning taps off – is no way to develop cultural infrastructure. The identification of much talent being exercised in the media, arts, and cultural life sphere calls for a study and a policy for the Cornish Language Arts. It is a resource that Cornwall needs to nurture, and is of considerable economic significance. Unfortunately without its own institutions this is difficult.

The language has enabled Cornwall to punch above its weight internationally. The Inter-Celtic Film and TV Festi-

val, the Inter-Celtic Song Contest, and securing Objective One status are good examples. The language means that Cornwall is not just another English county. Today Cornwall faces another set of problems. We now turn to that challenge.

The institutional abolition of Cornwall

The land that is “Cornwall, as an entire state, hath at divers time enjoyed sundry titles, of a kingdom, principality, duchy and earldom,” in Carew’s words from 1602, quoted in Payton (2000), has subsequently enjoyed, and still does, the status of a shire county – but now faces the prospect of becoming a mere district whose council will exercise few indigenous powers.

There are language dimensions to this from both perspectives. The loss of police, breakdown, public utilities and emergency services from Cornwall to remote centres of power elsewhere has resulted in delays as people try to identify locations and spell names – all utterly unfamiliar to their remote hearers. If these services are to take responsibility for local services they will need local familiarization. They do not get it. There is a language dimension

to this. Earlier this year the anticipated fatality eventually occurred.

Likewise cultural infrastructure is controlled by institutions outwith Cornwall over which Cornwall has no say or sway. Cornwall does not even have its own dedicated MEP; Luxembourg, of similar size, has six. Names are being taken off maps because they are un-English, and difficult for English speakers to spell or pronounce. We had that too in Scotland before devolution. If there is a case for enhanced rather than downgraded status for Cornwall, the language dimension may be one of the trump cards to play.

For the future

The language could increase tourism. Prospects for cultural tourism have widened with the European Union. The language and culture could save and enhance the character of Cornwall. But above all other issues, each group saw the prospects of the language as lying crucially within the schools. They all concluded on that note. “Children learning *Kernewek*,” education seen as the only institution which could effectively deliver revival, “teaching kids at school,” “it’s the children thing.”

For my own part, I would finally echo those who said that we have done very well as a language movement in making provisions, but we have come to the end of what we can do from our own resources. The language movement has over the past century, raised itself by its own bootstraps, and has performed small miracles on a shoestring – often self-financed. The movement is progressing and it has reached the stage where it can legitimately claim a share in the provisions which modern society makes for its cultural infrastructure. Languages and cultures are today supported by massive investment in the media, mass communications, education and the means of public administration. That this may be done for a majority language and culture is very much taken for granted, and maybe not seen as such – but it occurs nevertheless anyway, and everybody pays for it. Cornish speakers, learners and supporters also pay taxes, both local and national. They too are entitled in an open and participating democracy for their share of contributions be spent on their fair share of the cake. One respondent said that, “we contribute mightily to the Treasury. Now it is the time for the Treasury to contribute mightily to us.” Another spoke of English returning the favour whereby Cornish had helped secure its place and future in the society of a past time. The Cornish language movement

can justifiably expect its own fair share to be returned to it. Such measures, if forthcoming, will need some form of co-ordination and planning. This calls very clearly for the creation of a language development agency, and that implies too a language planning body. These are questions not for a far-distant future. They are already upon us, as Cornish is being increasingly assisted from public funds.

I return in the end to the issue of self-value and self-worth, and recall the lady who was reported to me as nothing out of the ordinary, but having learned the language to a good standard, she felt “not a nobody anymore!”

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Chapter Three

Cornish and the future of the Celtic languages

Paper presented at 21st Century Celts conference, County Hall, Truro, 8th–10th September 2006

A century of revival: a language learning to walk

Henry Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish language* (1904) initiated a century of revival for Cornish, which has been commemorated by Derek Williams in *Henry and Katharine Jenner: A celebration of Cornwall's culture, language and identity* (Williams 2004). This has brought together critical studies and Jenner's own writings, and provides an overview of Jenner's developing thoughts

on Cornish, from initial opposition towards reviving Cornish, to more positive attitudes and later ambivalence.

In 1877 he

“... actually congratulated the Cornish people that they no longer had a second tongue ... and was initially not keen to commence any kind of large-scale revival of the language; his investigations were either antiquarian, historical, or for fun.”

Williams 2004:88; Williams 2004:120

Yet from such a negative position, by 1904 Jenner began timidly to make out a cautious case for Cornish as “hobby” or patriotic bilingualism:

“The Cornish are again beginning to show their interest in their old language. I do not say that they are likely to introduce it as a spoken language to the exclusion of English, but I think a good many of those who do not know it will repair that defect, and will certainly learn to read it, probably to write, and possibly to speak it.”

Jenner in Williams 2004:68; ibid.:97

“The reason why a Cornishman should learn Cornish, the outward and audible sign of his separate nationality, is sentimental, and not in the least practical, and if everything sentimental were banished from it, the world would not be as pleasant a place as it is.”
Jenner in *ibid.*:51

The publication of the *Handbook* in 1904 gave further impetus to revival and further emboldened Jenner in the task of basing a revival on the last attested forms that the language had amongst its last traditional speakers:

“Jenner clearly favours using ‘Late’ Cornish, adding much weight to Jenner’s original view that the language ought to be picked up from its last speakers.”
Kent in *ibid.*:128

Yet Jenner’s advocacy of the language was later retracted, following a newspaper report in 1912:

“I did not say a single word in any way referring to ‘the revival of Cornish as a spoken language’. I cannot imagine what I can have said to lead your reporter to think that

I was referring to anything so fantastic and impossible. Most of my remarks were about its survival in the form of place-names and I recommended the study of the language from that point of view as an interesting and perhaps a patriotic object for Cornish people.”

Jenner, quoted in Williams 2004:100–101

Cornish might have some value in straightening out the spelling of place-names:

“In ‘Cornish place names’ (1910) Jenner wrote: ‘Our old language is gone and we cannot revive it as a spoken language, but its ghost still haunts its old dwelling and we cannot talk much about the county or its inhabitants without using plenty of Cornish words, so that in a sense we do talk some of it still.’” *ibid.*:100

In his paper of 1876 to the British Archaeological Association, Jenner had earlier proposed

“that a committee be formed to decide all questions relating to Cornish spelling and

that the form which the names should take
be settled by them on principles consistent
with the current sound, the derivation and
the meaning ...”

ibid.:84

Today, 130 years later, these questions are still urgent. Jenner seems to have developed greater confidence in the possibility of revival with the events of the Caernarfon Congress (Löffler 2002), its famous telegram sent by Hambley Rowe (Miners and Crago 2002:16), foundation of the *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak* whose aims included the revival of spoken Cornish, publication of learning materials, and re-establishing the Cornish Gorsedd.

Despite the optimism of 1904, Jenner’s address to the 1917 Celtic Congress at Birkenhead

“showed considerable pessimism about any possible new use of the Cornish language and any literature in it. ‘[T]hey have no position,’ he wrote, ‘except in the grave, and no prospects of any joyful resurrection.’ Instead his survey of Cornish scholarship was largely concerned with place-names and antiquities. Interestingly he expressed the view that that he was not at all sure that a society that

would confine its attention wholly to the Celtic aspect of Cornwall would be either desirable or useful. ‘I really think we can get on very well with the societies that we have got.’” Coombes in Williams 2004:164

However, Jenner’s final views were that the language might even gain some recognition in the school curriculum:

“At the 1932 Celtic Congress at Truro ... In his presidential address, entitled ‘The awakening of Celtic Cornwall’, Jenner put forward the view that the Cornish language should be an optional subject in the schools of Cornwall.” Coombes in *ibid.*:174

Yet Jenner is remembered for his famous dictum:

“Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish? There is no money in it, it serves no practical purpose, and the literature is scanty and of no great originality or value. The question is a fair one, the answer is simple. Because they are Cornishmen.” Jenner 1904:xi

Cornish “men” themselves had enabled the language to survive its last native speakers and be capable of revival as a spoken language:

“[Cornish] has been continuously preserved, for there has never been a time when there were not some Cornishmen who knew some Cornish; and ... the preservation has mainly been the work of the Cornish themselves.”

Jenner in Williams 2004:63; Williams 2004:69

In Jenner’s day ideas of societal bilingualism were poorly understood – so for him perhaps revival seemed to imply restoration of a vernacular monolingualism to Cornwall as a whole. We today would hardly advocate jettisoning English in favour of this either. So there may have been more consistency to Jenner’s ideas than was at first apparent.

Yet even before Jenner’s death Nance was actively reviving the language – but not as it was last spoken and written by its last users. If there was an active rift between them it bypassed contemporary witnesses such as Pawley White who knew them both. Perhaps ultimately Jenner’s ideals were antiquarian and patriotic, for in the

“April 1925 article by Robert Morton Nance ‘What we stand for’ ... fragments were to be gathered ‘not as dead stuff to be learnedly discussed nor as merely amusing trifles’ but in order that those building a ‘New Cornwall’ would be equipped with the right tools, namely ‘the Living Tradition of the Cornish People’. ... In contrast the essay by Jenner, which followed Nance’s wake-up call, was entitled ‘The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in Cornwall’.”

Coombes in Williams 2004:166

Nance’s language-ideology was clearly to get the language up and on its feet again:

“One generation has got the language on its feet. It will be for another to make it walk.” Berresford Ellis 1974:212;
Pool [1965] 1967:2 quoting Nance 1955

Today the language is very much up on its feet – and the task is to make it walk. Those who managed this miracle in the earlier twentieth century were very much people of their times – although Nance had the more forward view. We may regret Jenner’s ambivalence, but he

was circumscribed by the thinking of his time. Contemporary philosophy and common-sense were under-pinned by utilitarianism. Contemporary science was positivistic – and social science followed suit. The dominant world-view was a Whig interpretation of history. Classical economics ruled the roost. To step outside of these categories was to be a romantic, a socialist or a Marxist, or worse. Maybe Jenner's sympathies lay with the romantics. In politics he was an avowed Jacobite. In religion a High Anglican – and he died a Catholic (Lowenna 2004). Maybe he did not want to go out on quite so much of a limb with regard to his position on language – and with Cornish in particular. He clearly situated his feelings about Cornish in a very commonsense matrix, where no-one could accuse him of being a fanatic, a wild enthusiast, or an extremist of any sort.

The models of language in society available to him at the time were limited. Structural linguistics had only just begun with Saussure. A sociology of language was only barely envisaged in Durkheim's later work, *Primitive classification* (Durkheim and Mauss [1918] 1963). Language might be vernacular, official, classical, sacred, spoken, written, cultivated or otherwise – and that was about it. Cornish was clearly no longer spoken when Jenner got to work on it, so it was no longer a vernacular. Its only

possibility lay in being some sort of classical language. But its written remains were insufficiently distinguished: “scanty ... and of no great originality or value.” Yet Jenner wrote poetry in it, and developed it as a literary language. He was keen to revive the Gorsedd of Cornwall (or more properly of Dyfnwal! – Jenner in Williams 2004:183) – and here might be an enclave or domain where Cornish could live as a ritual language – almost as a hagiolect or religious language, as had Hebrew and Latin although defunct as vernaculars for many centuries. And by 1928,

“Jenner’s hope that Cornwall would have a Gorsedd of its own had been realised and at last the nationality of Cornwall had been established. (Mayor of Penzance Ald Howell Mabbott.)” Coombes in *ibid.*:172–173

Jenner had established an institution within which Cornish would live again, and he stood back to enjoy it – much as everyone had enjoyed the fun at Caernarfon twenty-four years earlier (Löffler 2002).

In making sense of Jenner’s seeming vacillations, the roles of language which we now recognise really came in well after Jenner’s day – and we cannot criticise him for neglecting them. He would need to have spelled out

what we now take for granted about heritage languages, identity languages, ethnic minority languages, community languages, diglossia and societal bilingualism. These models were just not available to him. They only became available later in the twentieth century for Celtic revivalists. If we cannot have our languages as official we shall have these other models meanwhile, until we can restore them as vernacular and as official once again.

Today we can discuss language as discourse (Deacon 2004a), as a site of struggle (Fairclough [1989] 2001; Fairclough 1995), as power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman [1960] 1972), in diglossia (Ferguson 1959), in reversing language-shift (Fishman 1991), and in societal bilingualism (Weinreich 1966). English is now the dominant world language and powerful socioeconomic forces of economic and cultural globalisation affect the Celtic languages even more radically. They will not function in their traditional ways for very much longer. So how can we see new ways ahead, step outside of our own time and place, and re-assess the place of Cornish and the other Celtic languages in society?

A language-audit: the Celtic languages at the threshold of a new age

It may be useful to compare the ideas on Cornish in Jenner's day, Cornish today and the present-day situation of the other Celtic languages in the UK and Isle of Man. I shall look briefly at measures of viability, and implications for the languages in their respective societies.

Welsh in Wales

The increase of Welsh speakers between 1901 and 1911 encouraged a wildly optimistic forecast of three million Welsh speakers by 1984/5 (Stephens [1973] 1979:98; Stephens [1973] 1979:293). Although this was never realised, Welsh did stage a successful comeback at the end of the 20th century. By 1991 increases amongst young people were beginning to produce an increase overall. Between 1991 and 2001 speakers substantially increased by 14.6% from 508,098 to 582,368. See Table 3.1 and Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1: Ability to speak Welsh in Wales, 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991 ¹		2001 ²	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
0–4	12160	6.512	18975	11.301
5–9	45078	24.814	69252	37.368
10–14	47470	27.226	85675	43.717
15–19	38468	20.773	56789	30.746
20–24	29599	14.967	29512	17.412
25–29	28126	13.872	28250	16.982
30–34	27389	14.402	29627	14.940
35–39	27032	14.894	30512	14.381
40–44	30718	14.976	28250	14.490
45–49	28764	16.409	27408	14.856
50–54	26076	16.549	31098	14.926
55–59	26859	17.745	28754	16.260
60–64	29466	19.011	25482	16.663
65–69	31051	19.757	24379	17.607
70–74	27867	22.031	23313	18.542
75–79	23374	23.593	21543	19.615
80–84	16643	25.800	15463	21.366
85+	11958	27.298	13746	23.545
Total	508098	17.922	588104	20.258

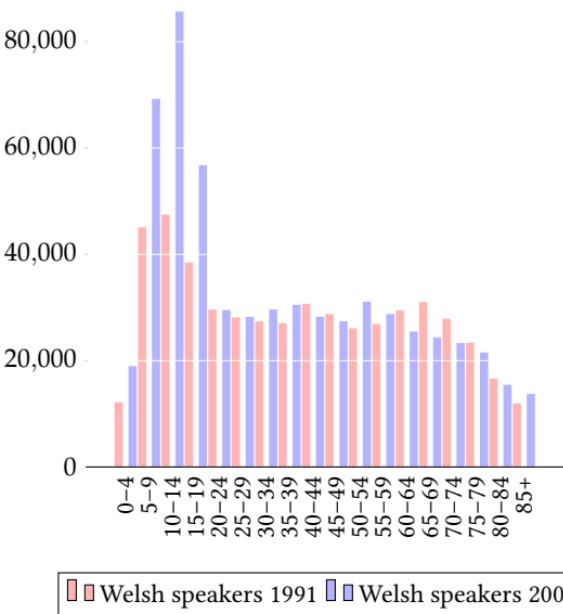
It did not happen by accident. For decades a joined-up all-through Welsh medium education system from pre-school through primary and into secondary stages had enabled mixed language households throughout Wales to support their own efforts with effective language maintenance outwith the home. Today migration means that non-Welsh speakers are present in every part of Wales, diluting the Welsh-speaking community everywhere. In 2001 only 32.7% of families with Welsh-speaking adults were families where both parents spoke Welsh.

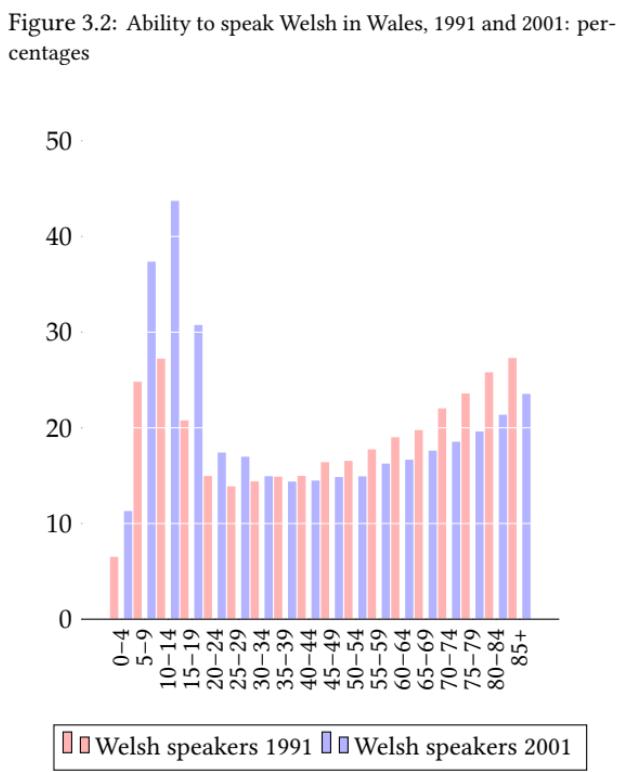
Welsh-medium education has enabled the language-group to maintain and to increase its numbers everywhere, even in highly anglicised south-eastern Wales. Young Welsh speakers have become quite numerous and have produced ratios of up to eight times the numbers of Welsh-speaking parent-aged adults. See Figures 3.3 and 3.4. At national level the Welsh-speaking parental age-group has reproduced itself over two-and-a-half times amongst pre-school and school-aged children in terms of 2001 census figures. This is an impressive achievement.

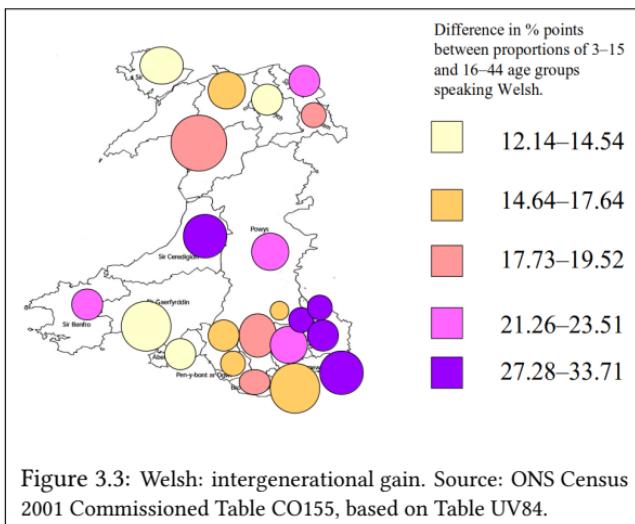
¹Source: ONS Census 1991 LBS Table 67, Census 1991 Table 1 (residents under 16).

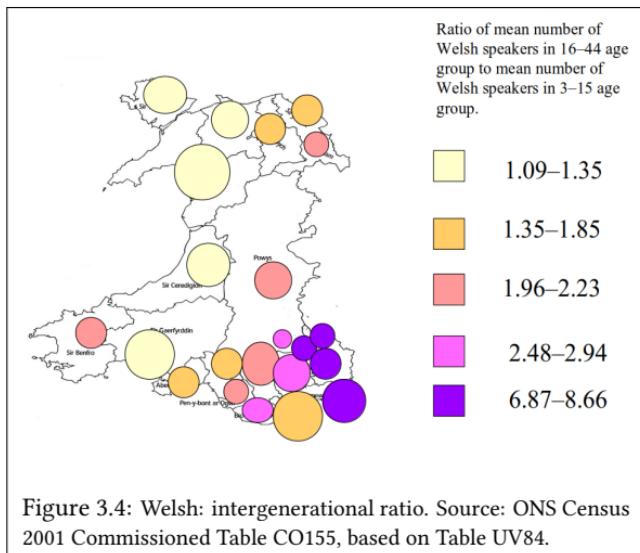
²Source: ONS Census 2001 Commissioned Table COI 55 based on Table UV84.

Figure 3.1: Ability to speak Welsh in Wales, 1991 and 2001: numbers









Manx in the Isle of Man

Another success story on a smaller scale has been the recent resurgence of Manx in the Isle of Man. This is the result of successful Manx-medium pre-school groups leading on to Manx-medium units in primary education, in liaison with Gaelic models in Scotland. See Table 3.2 and Figure 3.5.

If this revival is to be effective, the model to be followed will be Wales, where there is a smooth transition to Welsh-medium secondary schooling, rather than Scotland where such progress is discontinuous, and where there are substantial losses of pupils between primary and secondary Gaelic streams.

Irish in Northern Ireland

Despite overall decline, there is one small success story for the language, in the 14–17 age-group. The 1991 Census produced a model Irish language report in which age and sex data by single years of age up to 24 years, and 5-year cohorts thereafter.

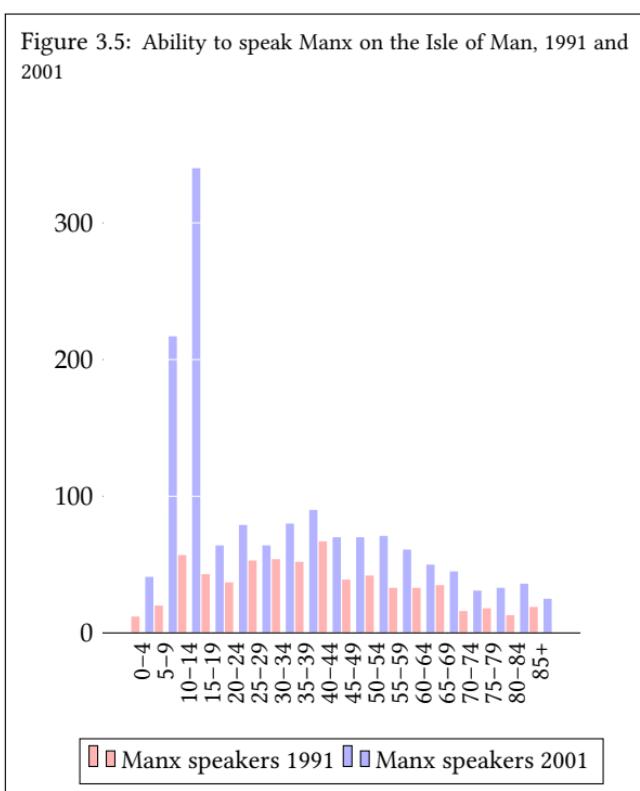
³Source: IOM Census 1991 Vol. 1 Table 3; Special tabulations 19.05.98.

⁴Source: IOM Census 2001 11.08.03.

Table 3.2: Ability to speak Manx on the Isle of Man, 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991 ³		2001 ⁴	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
0–4	12	0.30	41	0.97
5–9	20	0.51	217	4.69
10–14	57	1.39	340	7.10
15–19	43	0.93	64	3.33
20–24	37	0.74	79	1.51
25–29	53	1.10	64	1.66
30–34	54	1.18	80	1.14
35–39	52	1.18	90	1.32
40–44	67	1.27	70	1.62
45–49	39	0.88	70	1.39
50–54	42	1.08	71	1.24
55–59	33	0.94	61	1.32
60–64	33	0.90	50	1.27
65–69	35	0.93	45	1.34
70–74	16	0.50	31	1.01
75–79	18	0.61	33	1.21
80–84	13	0.63	36	1.95
85+	19	1.35	25	1.43
Total	643	0.92	1527	2.00

Figure 3.5: Ability to speak Manx on the Isle of Man, 1991 and 2001



Similar data for 2001 has recently become available. See Tables 3.3 and 3.4, and Figures 3.6 and 3.7. Although total speakers have declined from 131,974 in 1991 to 115,731 in 2001, speakers did increase in the 14–17 age-groups, which suggests some success of Irish-medium education. Without a secure territorial base however, Irish in Northern Ireland is not doing very well. Speakers under 14 are down, and it is thus worse off even than Gaelic in Scotland.

Gaelic in Scotland

In contrast to Welsh and Manx, Gaelic continues rapidly to decline in numbers (although this decline had almost halved in 2001). Some gains amongst young people can be identified. Between 1991 and 2001 Gaelic speakers in the 3–15 age-group did increase from 7,092 to 7,436 (a 4.9% increase). As can be seen from the illustration, it is a “blip on the chart”. See Tables 3.5 and 3.6, and Figures 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10.

⁵Source: NISRA Census Customer Services 2006 Census 2001 Table UV099.

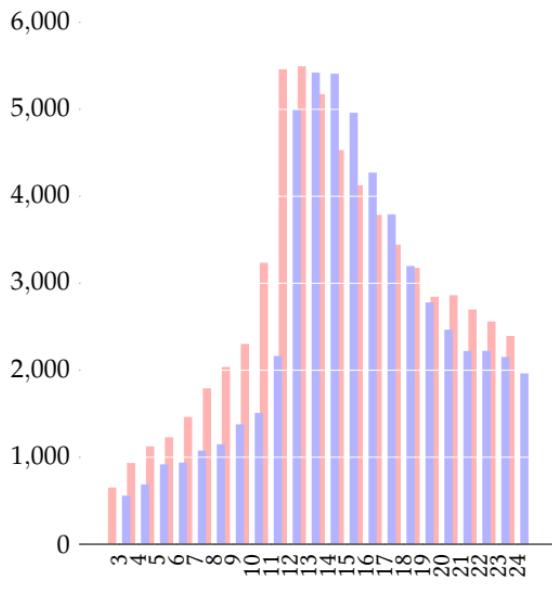
⁶Source: NISRA Census Customer Services 2006 Census 2001 Table UV099.

⁷Source: GRO(S) Scotland's Census 2001, Gaelic Report Table 6.

Table 3.3: Ability to speak Irish in Northern Ireland (3–24 years), 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991		2001 ^b	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
3	652	2.499	558	2.366
4	934	3.496	687	2.822
5	1125	4.281	918	3.844
6	1230	4.757	938	3.898
7	1463	5.611	1076	4.410
8	1792	7.029	1149	4.613
9	2038	8.008	1378	5.342
10	2303	8.626	1510	5.766
11	3236	12.110	2164	8.334
12	5460	21.555	4995	18.918
13	5495	22.237	5422	20.084
14	5175	21.246	5409	19.951
15	4532	18.406	4960	18.300
16	4127	16.459	4272	15.716
17	3787	14.769	3792	14.431
18	3444	13431	3198	12.595
19	3177	12.571	2780	11.959
20	2845	10.783	2466	10.820
21	2862	11.339	2221	9.894
22	2698	11.029	2223	10.236
23	2560	10.353	2153	10.172
24	2394	9.849	1963	9.232

Figure 3.6: Ability to speak Irish in Northern Ireland (3–24 years), 1991 and 2001



■ Irish speakers 1991 ■ Irish speakers 2001

Table 3.4: Ability to speak Irish in Northern Ireland, 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991		2001 ^b	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
3–4	1586	3.004	1245	2.597
5–9	7648	5.922	5459	4.436
10–14	21669	16.946	19401	14.699
15–19	19067	14.945	19002	14.707
20–24	13359	10.592	11026	10.080
25–29	11744	9.568	8980	7.829
30–34	11082	9.767	8451	6.627
35–39	9239	9.303	8657	6.678
40–44	7719	7.844	7785	6.634
45–49	6192	6.886	6391	6.237
50–54	5050	6.595	5020	5.100
55–59	4524	6.366	3885	4.378
60–64	4095	5.907	3092	4.202
65–69	3477	5.353	2484	3.802
70–74	2526	4.846	1969	3.404
75–79	1584	3.932	1419	3.049
80–84	887	3.539	823	2.717
85–89	380	3.170	391	2.426
90–94	111	2.970	123	2.144
95+	35	3.884	29	2.001
Total	131974	8.784	115731	7.153
Total 3–24	63329	11.238	56232	10.370

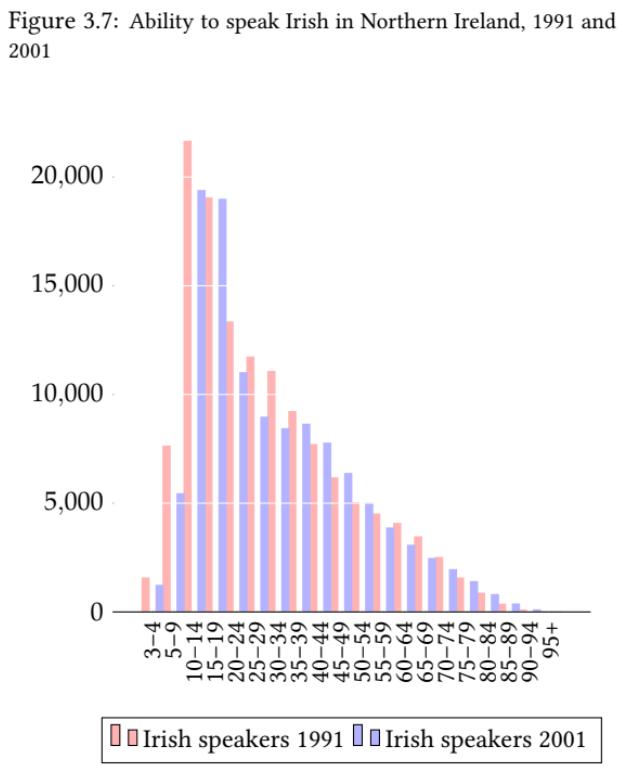


Table 3.5: Ability to speak Gaelic in Scotland (0–24 years), 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991		2001 [/]	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
0			36	0.069
1			93	0.173
2			188	0.337
3	350	0.539	269	0.472
4	366	0.577	344	0.589
5	397	0.617	509	0.866
6	422	0.665	515	0.872
7	434	0.700	538	0.880
8	497	0.793	590	0.937
9	563	0.864	592	0.907
10	638	0.960	582	0.893
11	654	1.002	647	1.023
12	752	1.212	739	1.158
13	693	1.169	809	1.230
14	680	1.154	897	1.075
15	646	1.017	681	1.045
16	652	1.013	613	0.943
17	599	0.919	497	0.804
18	660	0.978	600	0.985
19	737	1.029	619	0.961
20	679	0.918	709	1.030
21	764	1.045	686	1.013
22	753	1.003	603	0.954
23	790	1.039	527	0.906
24	821	1.076	575	1.019
Total	13547	(0.819)	13258	0.862
Total 3–24	13547	0.925	12941	0.984

Figure 3.8: Ability to speak Gaelic in Scotland (0–24 years), 1991 and 2001

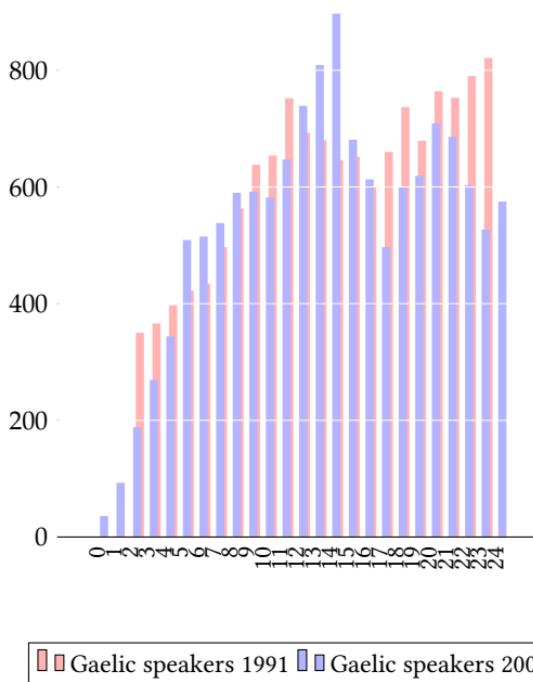


Table 3.6: Ability to speak Gaelic in Scotland, 1991 and 2001

Age (years)	1991 ^x		2001 ^y	
	Number of speakers	% of total age group	Number of speakers	% of total age group
0–2			317	0.196
3–4	716	0.558	613	0.531
5–9	2313	0.728	2744	0.893
10–14	3417	1.095	3474	1.076
15–19	3294	0.992	3010	0.949
20–24	3807	1.017	3100	0.986
25–29	4215	1.074	3078	0.970
30–34	4381	1.168	3567	0.934
35–39	4328	1.281	3967	0.984
40–44	4905	1.374	3887	1.029
45–49	4333	1.457	4065	1.204
50–54	4609	1.641	4612	1.314
55–59	4517	1.660	4106	1.426
60–64	4536	1.711	4072	1.556
65–69	4632	1.876	3769	1.576
70–74	3756	1.941	3456	1.663
75–79	3389	2.172	3020	1.824
80–84	2780	2.706	2038	1.941
85+/85–89	2050	3.014	1292	2.171
90+			782	2.672
Total			58969	1.164
Total 3+	65978	1.372	58652	1.197

These developments owe whatever success they have to Gaelic-medium education. In the older age-groups numbers decline, and the earlier gains are quite insufficient to overcome losses of speakers through death, migration and abandonment of the language in later life.

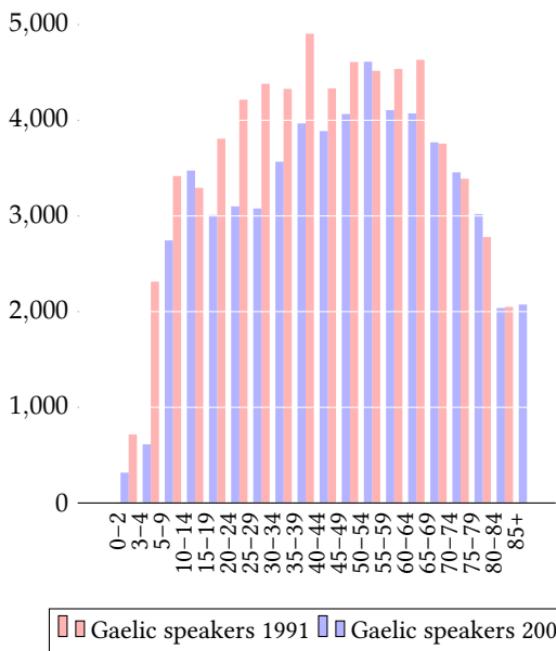
Migration within Scotland means that the traditional strongholds of the language are rapidly losing their Gaelic speakers, and non-Gaelic incomers are moving in. By 2001 three-quarters of Gaelic speakers were located outwith such remaining Gaelic community areas as the Western Isles and the Isle of Skye. Within these areas only 23.1% and 32.5% respectively of their primary pupils were in Gaelic-medium education in 2005/6. This is quite insufficient to maintain the language group and its viability as it is in Wales (where migration and other such problems are even higher).

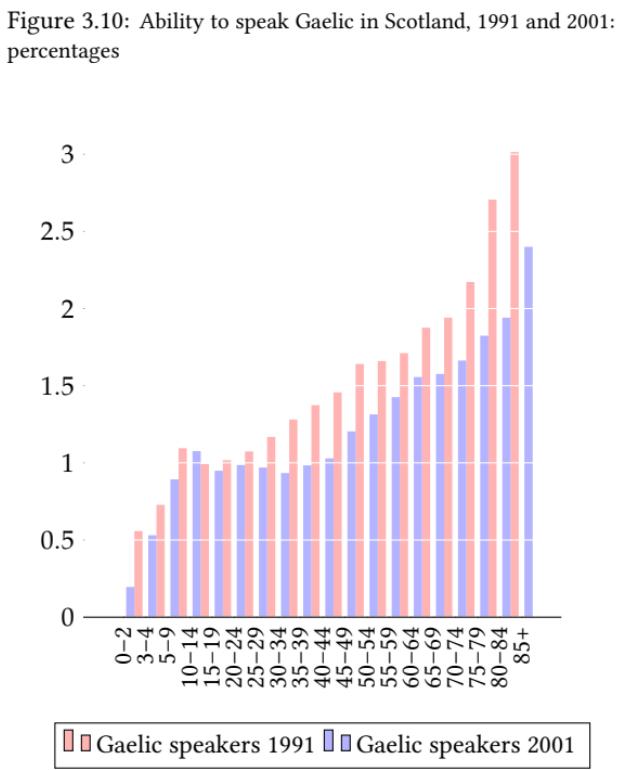
Can current provisions *by themselves alone* maintain Gaelic as a living language in Scotland for very much longer (MacKinnon 2006)? The current paradigm (McLeod 2006) comprises a language act, a statutory language development agency, a national plan, and a

⁸Source: GRO(S) Census 1991 LBS Table L67S.

⁹Source: Source: GRO(S) Census 2001 Table S206, Gaelic Report Tables 4, 6.

Figure 3.9: Ability to speak Gaelic in Scotland, 1991 and 2001: numbers



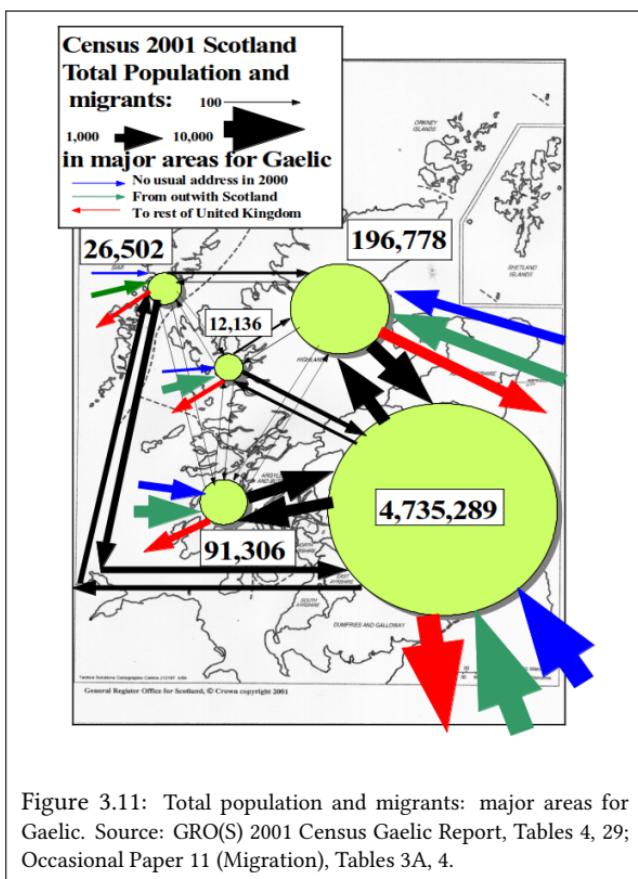


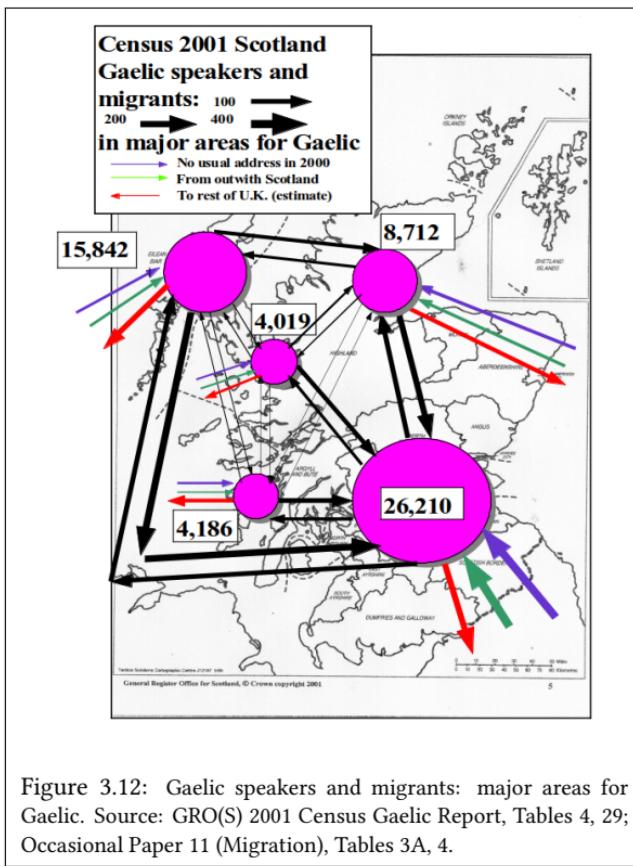
move from units to all-Gaelic schools – all taking effect in 2006 – and a dedicated television channel due for 2007. The 2011 Census will provide a crude measure of success or failure of these provisions. More sophisticated performance-indicators will be necessary to demonstrate any success amongst young people – but policymakers show little interest. On current forecasts “Plan A” seems highly unlikely to succeed. Is there a “Plan B” against such an eventuality?

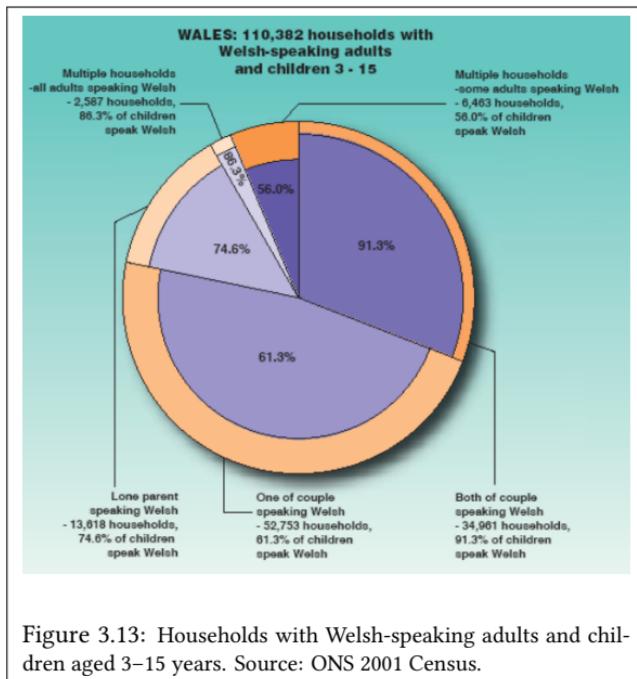
Celtic languages in a migration society

The old models of language-communities rooted in a *Gaeltacht* or a *Bro Gymraeg* are unlikely to be viable for much longer. Migration is breaking up the “heartland” areas. See Figures 3.11 and 3.12. “Mixed” marriages are making family transmission difficult – but it is being successfully addressed in Wales. See Figures 3.13 and 3.14. Both factors are affecting prospects for successfully reversing language shift (RLS). See Figures 3.15, 3.16, and 3.17.

The realities of Celtophone areas no longer exist in Northern Ireland or the Isle of Man. They will not exist for much longer in Scotland. They did not exist for Cornish in







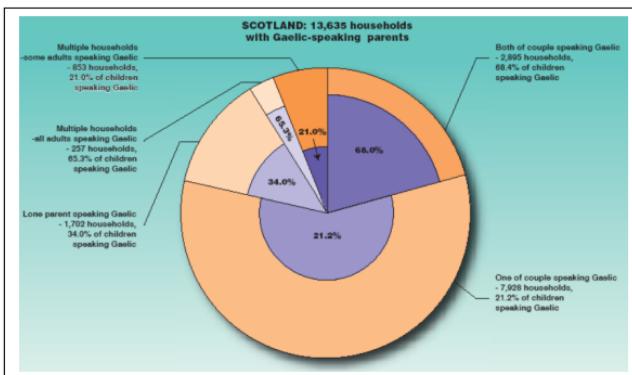
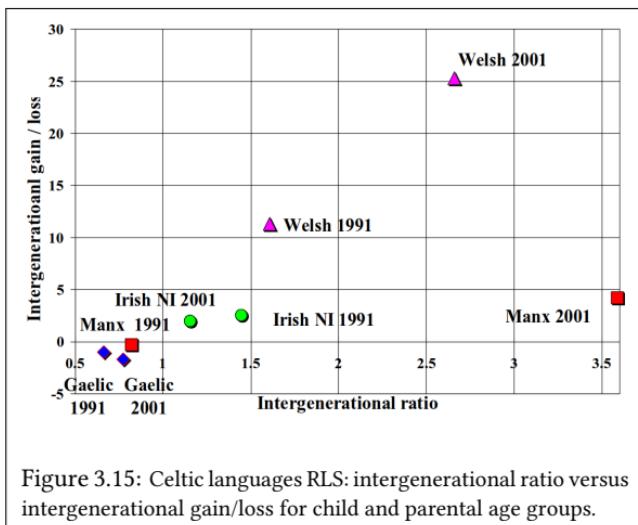
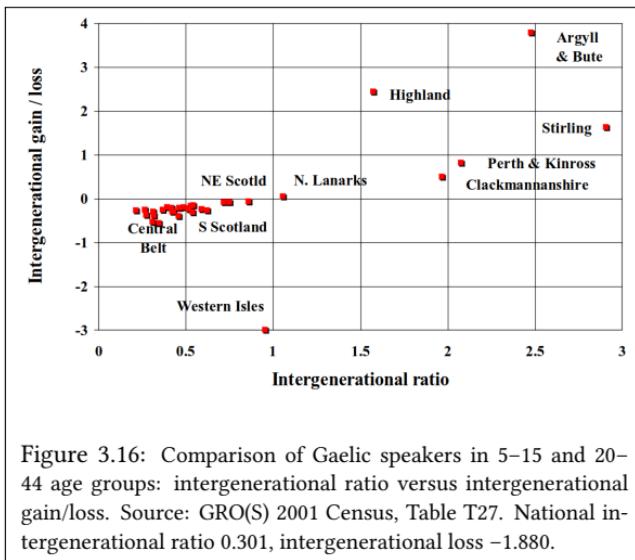
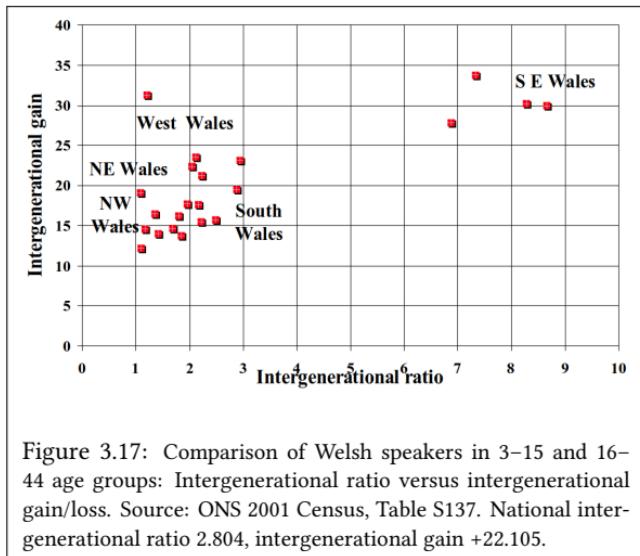


Figure 3.14: Households with Gaelic-speaking adults and children aged 3–15 years. Source: GRO(S) 2001 Census, Table S143.

Jenner's day – neither do they now. Welsh is maintaining itself successfully within a “heartland” increasingly like a lace doiley – full of holes (to paraphrase Aitchison and Carter 2004:52; 94). Welsh speakers are increasing more rapidly in anglicised southern and south-eastern







Wales than in the “heartlands” of the north and west. Welsh is becoming successfully institutionalised in Welsh society in new ways. So too on a much smaller scale is language in Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man. Distinctive language is the leaven in the lump within an encompassing Anglophone society. On its own much smaller scale, this has been the situation for Revived Cornish throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

Cornish is relevant to Cornish society in a distinctive way, but is spread non-territorially throughout its society. There is no Celtic-speaking pocket situated somewhere in the sunset where language policies are seen as “relevant” – but where in practice they may be successfully buried. However, can sufficient speakers form effective networks that enabling Cornish to become socially and economically relevant, as is happening with Welsh in Wales? Could it even be the model for Celtic languages in the new millennium? Could it even suggest to Gaeldom what its “Plan B” might comprise?

“Plan B” in a Cornish context

The present paradigm for Gaelic may soon be quite inadequate. Any alternative strategy needs to recognise differ-

ent kinds of people who relate to Gaelic in quite different ways. The following categories have been developed from Jentsch and Herd (2006):

1. native Gaelic speakers (and “semi-speakers”);
2. integrated Gaelic learners who may or may not have “Highland connections” (New Gaels);
3. indigenous / native non-Gaelic speakers (who may have a recent Gaelic background);
4. integrated non-Gaelic incomers (New Highlanders); and
5. non-integrated, non-Gaelic speakers (White Settlers, recent immigrants).

These identities relate to the language in different ways:

1. everyday participation in linguistic culture through networks of family, relations and friends;
2. active but intermittent participation in linguistic culture through neighbourhood, networks and friends;

3. passive participation in linguistic culture through networks of family, relations and friends;
4. non-participation in linguistic culture of neighbourhood, associations, or friends;
5. no affinities, involvements, attachments or commitments.

Any competent strategy for Cornish, as for Gaelic, must take into account that the situation it works in will be socially diverse, and will need to appeal to different kinds of people in different terms.

If current strategies for Gaelic are shown to be ineffective by 2011, what is the default position? Jentsch and Herd (*ibid.*) suggest it amounts at present to “dignified burial”. But there may be viable alternatives. I have felt there should be a “Plan B” which might incorporate the following 12 elements:

1. Action research programme, basing strategies and policies on outcomes.
2. A pro-active involvement in community.
3. Community competition (best community for the furtherance of the language).

4. A family outreach and policy unit.
5. A campaign to give confidence to semi-speakers, especially at school level.
6. Networks and energy centres across the country.
7. Education as access to both language and culture – enabling effective incomer integration.
8. Rethinking education on a multi-model basis.
9. Exploit electronic communication and IT, networking in cyberspace.
10. Embed the language in new ways of life (as it has been in traditional occupations).
11. New learner initiatives – network, units, welcomes, recognition. (Cornish has something to teach the other language-groups here.)
12. Multifunctional social centres/one-stop enterprise and resource centres.

For the Cornish revival there is no “dignified burial”. Neither should there be for Gaelic. Perhaps versions of the above ideas may also be appropriate in a Cornish context.

A prospect for Cornish in the 21st century

Neil Kennedy has observed that it makes quite a difference whether the last speaker of Cornish was an unlettered fish-jowster of Mousehole or a highly literate schoolmaster who taught mathematics to mining engineers. In terms of the revival from 1904 onwards, it makes a difference whether the foundation document was an antiquarian study, or an electronically transmitted message – a product of modern technology: Hambley Rowe's “Caernarfon Telegram”.

In the mid-twentieth century Caradar (A. S. D. Smith) wrote:

“the decline of Cornish need not be regretted ... Had the language survived it would inevitably have lost much of its own idiom ... and ... would have become more English than Cornish. As it is we have a compact medieval language, whose idiom is Celtic and...little likely to undergo any further change.”

Smith 1947:20

Few here might agree. But we should take the situation as we find it, and work with its opportunities rather than

bewail what has been lost. In its second century of revival Cornish has the prospects of significant advances in the post-modern world of the 21st century.

The ideas of the times shaped the earlier Cornish revival. Cornwall is now part of a global society, lying at the heart of the anglosphere. Like all the Celtic lands it is being permanently settled by new kinds of incomers, while powerful political, economic and social forces still diasporise its own people. Restoration needs to recognise these realities – and work with them. There are now new ways of thinking and relating to language in society and of building new language realities. These provide the present generation of speakers, supporters and learners with new ways to think about and use their language, and new hope in building an effective place for Cornish in society. As a first sally at a new strategy I suggest:

A ten-point agenda and challenge

1. A single written form (SWF) is essential for the wider public use of Cornish. Ensure it gets used everywhere. Really exploit it. Insist on equal respect with English – and not symbolically subordinated by inferior typefaces or position in signage. SWF is essential for educational progress. Apart from

the handful of households which currently use the language in the home, the next generation of speakers will come from nowhere else.

2. Assertion and promotion of Cornish as a central element of Cornish identity. Cornish means that Cornwall is not just “a mere Essex or Herts” (Jenner 1904:xi) but the sometime “kingdom, principality, duchy and earldom” (Carew 1602, quoted in Payton 2000:117) with a unique and distinctive constitutional relationship to the rest of the United Kingdom. People today need to know that – especially our rulers. Cornish makes this credible – and enables Cornwall to punch above its weight.
3. You urgently need more speakers, learners and users, and an outreach programme to enlarge the language-group.
4. Provide Cornish for all Cornish children through the schools. Use the opportunities for languages and local studies in the National Curriculum. Make it your friend not your enemy.
5. Identity and language questions on the 2011 Census will be a big step forward. Ensure they are

proper questions and not just “write-ins”. They will provide the necessary facts for policymaking and progress. Start negotiations with the Office for National Statistics now. Do not be fobbed off with bureaucratic evasions and half-truths. Our establishment is a past master in this.

6. You will need a survey on language usage, ability, attitudes and characteristics of speakers, users and learners. Ute Hirner has made a good start for you (Hirner 2006). Use her work, involve her – and extend it. Effective policies need appropriate data. You have made an excellent beginning by basing your present initiatives on research and corpus planning. These need to precede all other stages. You will need not only focus groups and public opinion polling to counter detractions and baseless assertions.
7. The Institute of Cornish Studies should develop further its role as a centre and leader of research in Cornish language studies.
8. A Cornish Language Trail: *Lergħ an Yeth*. Remember the “Tiger Trails” in Cornwall 30 years ago? We need one for language to raise awareness of heritage, and to promote cultural tourism. Put up

plaques on significant sites (SWF will be essential), print leaflets and booklets. Promote publicity. The project could start now.

9. A Cornish-speaking community needs to be brought into being to enable the language to live and to normalise. Ideas here could include a Cornish housing association, as in Belfast (Maguire 1991). Meanwhile develop a *kernewegva* through networks, “fun days”, *Yeth an Werin*, camps, holidays and residential activity courses.
10. An annual Community Language Competition – *Lef an Gernowyon* – for the best community to progress Cornish in everyday life.

Success in these next stages will enable a credible and successful case to take Cornish to Part III of the European Treaty for Regional or Minority Languages – and maybe even a Cornish Language Act.

Cornish, as a language – not of a compact medieval past – but of the present-day and a post-modern future, is essential and central to Cornish identity – part of what makes Cornwall distinctively Cornish. Moreover, it gives Cornish people everywhere a sense of distinctiveness and a symbol of their identity. For an increasing number it

will become more than a symbol. It will be their means of actual communication regarding things Cornish – and maybe a lot more.

Chons da – ha sowena!

Chapter Four

A single written form for Cornish: accommodating contemporary varieties

*A memorandum from Kenneth MacKinnon to
the Cornish Language Commission, 31st March
2007*

I was the main researcher and principal author of the Independent Academic Study on Cornish commissioned by Government Office of the South West in 2000. Its principal purpose was to advise the present government on the historical development and contemporary state of the Cornish language at the time of public demands for Cornish to be included in the government's ratification of the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Study was remitted to be produced without

recommendations. However, on accepting this research commission, I did point out that I would have ideas arising out of this study and that I did feel myself free to make recommendations independently of it. I also pointed this out to representatives of GOSW and other English regions and UK nations at the Study debriefing at Eland House, Victoria, SW1 on Friday 24th March 2000.

I have in fact made my views upon the Study known to the interested public on various occasions since. I provided a public debriefing on the Study in Boscastle Village Hall on Saturday 4th November 2000, and an account of the address was published in *Cornish Studies: Ten* (MacKinnon 2002). I have further analysed materials of the Study, which formed the basis of the Caroline Kemp Memorial Lecture, and which I gave to the University of Exeter Institute of Cornish Studies on 1st December 2003 at the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro. This comprised an analysis of the three focus groups I conducted in 2000 with the principal language organisations. I produced a verbatim account of the dialogue at these events, together with commentary, and made this available to the three groups and to major academic institutions and libraries in Cornwall. The address was published in *Cornish Studies: Twelve* (MacKinnon 2004).

I have participated in and given papers at other

conferences held in Cornwall, such as the Cornish Language Conference (*Towards a Single Written Form*) held at Tremough on Saturday 17th September 2005, and *Twenty-First Century Celts* (Institute of Cornish Studies, County Hall, Truro), 8th–10th September 2006, at which I gave a keynote paper (MacKinnon 2006).

The Independent Academic Study led to the signature of HM Government for Cornish in Part II of the European Charter by an official declaration on 11th March 2003, which was registered by the Council of Europe on 18th March 2003. This has been popularly interpreted in Cornwall as “official recognition” of the language, and it has also been the spur to further developments of provisions for the language. The interests of the language had previously been “cared for” by the Cornish sub-committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL), and from this has developed the Forum and Partnership. Following a series of public consultations A Strategy for Cornish was produced (Advisory and Steering Groups for Cornish 2004) and adopted by Cornwall County Council in 2005, which led in turn to the appointment of a Strategy Manager and a Development Administrator in 2006. The appointment of eminent international linguistic and language planning specialists to the Commission for the Single Written Form followed in 2007, together with

an advisory linguistic group of specialists and experts in the various contemporary varieties of Cornish, provides the point of reference for the present observations.

The Cornish Language has thus been provided with the elements of an infrastructure which did not exist before 2000. The language has now entered a new phase a century after the beginnings of the revival with Henry Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language* of 1904, and the institutions which stemmed from it: the Gorseth (1928), the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies (1920–24), the "Nancean Synthesis" (1929), the Language Board and examination system (1967), and the Cornish Language Fellowship (1979). If there is to be a further phase of progress for the language towards a fully fulfilled and realistic place in modern Cornish society, what has already been achieved in the second century of its revival gives considerable promise and hope. If a century of measured progress (Nance's "generation setting the language on its feet") is fully to reap the benefit of the recent strides forward ("another generation making it walk again"), then the lessons of the "Tripartite Split" of the 80s need to be learned well and constantly borne in mind. Without a widely accepted Single Written Form there will be no further progress for the language, the respect it has earned will be dissipated, and Cornwall will

have lost the opportunity for an authentic and unique social institution and voice which enables it to “punch above its weight”, gain further attention to its problems, and assert its distinctiveness in constitution and culture. This is the last chance for the language to be taken seriously by people who matter.

I have had a lifelong interest in the Cornish language stemming from war evacuation from the London blitz in 1940 to Summercourt and St Ives. I was most fortunate to have a Cornishwoman as one of my London teachers, and a local teacher a Cornishman, both of whom brought to my attention the language, the traditions, the stories and songs of Cornwall. On return from evacuation, these caused me to realise that I had a similar tradition in my own family, stemming from Gaelic Scotland. So I made it my business to acquire the language of my own forebears. I have subsequently contributed to Gaelic adult education development, speech-community research, and language development (with membership of official advisory body, and board). But I never lost an awareness and interest in Cornwall. I have returned many times, and in recent years strengthened my interest in the language.

I have maintained the objective of familiarising myself with all contemporary varieties of Cornish and have supported efforts in all of them. I have attended events in

Common Cornish such as the Penn-seythen, contributed monetarily to publications in Unified Revised (such as the New Testament), encouraged efforts in both Late/Modern and Unified varieties, and taken the effort to learn the language more seriously and take the exams. For a very pragmatic reason I have chosen to take these in Unified: it was the form I was most familiar with when I started the process.

The Commission and its associated Linguistic Group provides a tremendous opportunity for all within the language movement to bring its different branches together. I feel that there are a number of guiding principles which are important in this process:

- Above all, a Single Written Form needs to be based upon *thorough scholarship and rigorous scientific method*, and thus to be able to demonstrate that it has the respect of disinterested, independent, expert linguistic science in Cornwall and internationally.
- It needs to be based upon *fully attested and traditional Cornish orthography*. This was originally devised to indicate pronunciation in the first place, is a valuable witness, and now requires update for the needs of modern Cornish.

- It needs to enable all contemporary forms of Cornish readily to accommodate to it.
- It needs to pick up from where the language last left off as a vernacular.
- It needs to use the witness of all traditional forms of the language to enable the written system effectively to represent the sound system.
- It needs to be able to demonstrate continuity with historic Cornish, and with place-names which the language has produced.

This is an exacting specification. It may be a bit like map projections. No projection can fully represent the true shape of a land area on a spherical surface upon a flat plane. There always has to be some accommodation. Projections may feature equal area or true bearing but will have to sacrifice other requirements. However, map projections may not be too exact an analogy. I feel that many more of the above requirements may in practice be accommodated in language development if there is some degree of give and take on all sides.

The process which has brought the present initiatives into being has been soundly based. It has started with a

research initiative and has addressed the priorities of corpus planning before status planning and media planning. It has thus proceeded:

Research → Corpus Planning → Status/Media Planning – *in that order*.

The process needs to continue:

Further Research → Strategy → Application in Action – again *in that order*.

Order is important. So is research. I feel both have been sorely neglected in the current development of provisions for the Gaelic language in Scotland – but that is another story. I only mention it in order to commend the developments which have led to the current initiatives for Cornish, and to urge that the impetus is maintained in the manner outlined above.

I have given personal encouragement and support to the initiative for **Kernowak Standard (KS)**, as I feel that it is developing its proposals very much in the manner and on the principles outlined above, which is why I have been a signatory to it. I would maintain however that my support is not exclusive or doctrinaire. There may be other proposals which merit as much – or more – consideration, and I remain open to them. But in signing up to **KS**, I feel that it definitely epitomises the principles detailed above. In particular, it deals with Cornish in its most re-

cent and still widely used form. It thus conforms to Jenner's principle of picking up the language where it last left off, from its last speakers (Alan M. Kent, in Williams 2004:128). I have always felt that it would have been better to have developed Jennerian Cornish rather than gone off at a tangent or gone back to the later Middle Ages with Nance. Richard Gendall has drawn attention to the larger corpus of later writings in Cornish than those of the "classical" period. These provide a most useful witness to pronunciation, idiom and usage when Cornish was last a community language and vernacular and therefore deserve closest attention, which Nance and Smith somewhat neglected. Had the earlier written system continued to develop to take account of this, continuity with the earlier historic varieties would have been maintained. No doubt this would have been the case had some centralised intellectual, literary or cultural institution such as Glasney continued in existence. I suppose that Nance attempted to remedy this deficiency with his proposals for spelling and orthography. Likewise, I suppose Ken George's proposals for phonemic/phonic Cornish were a similar proposal. *It is fundamentally important that the subsequent scholarly and scientific debate upon them gets a considered hearing based upon linguistic, scientific and scholarly criteria and not left to be settled merely on a numbers game.*

Having followed the arguments and studied the evidence presented, I feel that the Commission should consider the KS proposals carefully in the light of scientific linguistics. The proposals represent a debate between all the current extant forms of Cornish, a real measure of accommodation, and the give-and-take between them. They are principally a coming together and a move forward from three principal varieties: Unified, Unified Revised, and Late/Modern. At the same time they are informed by an input from Common Cornish (Kemmyn) specialists, and thus also comprise an accommodation with that system. I would sum up its merits as:

- Normalisation upon a period and point in time when Cornish had developed into its Late or Modern form, was still widely spoken as a vernacular, and was capable of producing a written literature.
- Informed by professional, linguistic science, and by practitioners who are leading academics in their fields, and who bring to bear thorough and rigorous scholarship.
- Use of all periods of Cornish as a means of attestation of authentic forms, and evidence of the devel-

opment of pronunciation: the principle of *tota Cornicitas*.

- Traditional orthographic conventions which were based on Cornish as it actually was, and as it was spoken for real.
- Use of the Late/Modern corpus as a witness to how Cornish was pronounced and used in its final vernacular phase.
- A phonetic approach which enables phonetic/phonemic Cornish such as Kemmyn to be accommodated.
- Conventions which enable users of Unified and Unified Revised forms to adapt to a historically continuous system.
- Conventions which enable place-names in their present-day form to be rendered in an authentic Cornish spelling system, and thus assist the general public with bilingual place signage.

All of these criteria are important considerations for language acquisition, language development and language planning. This brings me to the final point which I wish

to make about the use and promotion of the SWF. The present priority is for a Single Written Form to be determined and accepted. However, it is not too early to begin to consider how it will be used and promoted, and in this connection what are the anticipated further research needs of the Cornish language. This may be beyond the present remit of the Commission – but it is not too early to begin think about it. I am therefore putting down a marker, and forward it as an indication of context.

I therefore take the opportunity to reproduce the conclusion of my keynote address to the Twenty-First Century Celts Conference at Truro on 10th September 2006,¹ and I shall conclude this memorandum by following it with some ideas on the research needs of the Cornish Language. I append these as annexures to this memorandum.

I would be very happy to participate in helping to bring an agenda for further research and development for provisions for Cornish into being. I would be very happy to come to Cornwall and assist in any way with a session on the research needs of the Cornish Language, its users, speakers and its general public, for starters. I did something similar some years ago for the Ulster Scots language-

¹[Instead, see Chapter 3.]

group (they acted upon on it!), and for the Scots language-group in Scotland (they did not!).

**Annexure 1: Conclusion of keynote address
to *Twenty-First Century Celts* conference,
Truro: Cornish and the future of the Celtic
languages, 10th September 2006.**

[See instead Chapter 3.]

**Annexure 2: The present research needs of
the Cornish language**

The following represents a recent communication to Craig Weatherhill of the linguistic group, and copied to Vanessa Beeman, Grand Bard (e-mail 24.03.07: some of it overlaps with the foregoing – but I reproduce it much as it stands, with a few corrections).

I am very happy to signal my continued interest in Cornish language matters – in particular, interest in undertaking relevant research. I have no wish to put myself forward before others who may be interested. In fact, I think

it would be very good for the interested parties (Commission, Linguistic Group, Partnership, etc.) to decide what they see as most immediate and relevant on the research front. Then to draw up proposals for research projects and put them out to tender. There are a number of outfits in Wales for example who are used to doing this sort of thing – and who might be very interested.

As I see it, the needs are to identify a research programme and strategy as a first step. Then to formulate the projects which would be necessary in order to achieve it. You would need to get a research budget funded. Then to go out to tender or identify the entities which could carry it out (it could be research units, academic departments, specific individuals, or consultants).

For my own part, I would see my role as contributing to the pool of ideas at this stage by:

1. Identifying the needs of the language and its speakers, and
2. identifying the relationships and roles for the language in Cornish society which Cornish language interests seek to achieve.

With the agreement on a SWF, the language strategy will need to be taken a step further. There is no reason

why the thinking for this should not at least commence now.

As the further development of the strategy takes place, there will no doubt be seen to be a need for:

1. Outreach survey of language learners, users, speakers. (Ute Hirner has made a start on this – make sure she is brought in and full use made of her research findings on her learners' survey.)
2. Public opinion survey of the general population concerning how they see the Cornish language, attitudes towards it and its use, opinions on policies and its place in Cornish life and society. (I did such a survey for Gaelic in 1981 – and it was extremely useful in moving things on.)
3. Develop relationships with ONS *now* for what you want in the 2011 Census. They are currently engaged in consultations with official bodies and general public following their census tests last year. Census data can be extremely useful for further research and for drawing attention through that to what is needed for the language. I have done scads of this for Gaelic. The only tragedy is that no-one is at all interested, and nothing is done with it. Gaelic

policymakers just ignore what could be one of the most powerful weapons in their armoury. Make sure you get the census questions you want. Make sure you effectively analyse them and apply the results.

4. Develop projects which bring Cornish to the attention of the wider public. My Cornish language trail *Lergh an Yeth* could be one such – and could attract heritage funding to get it going. Another could be to get signage policy going and to ensure that all places with place-signs in Cornwall get equal-validity bilingual signage boards with their authentic place-name forms properly displayed. (That means with a language etiquette: the senior language first, and both in equally-impactful and easily-distinguished typefaces.) Other priority signage projects could then follow. This would mean you would probably have to constitute a Place-name Commission.
5. Motivational, attitudinal and psycholinguistic research to find out what turns people on to the Cornish language and what turns them off.
6. Decide on your rationale, then outline the elements

of the status planning path you wish to develop and promote.

I would be very happy to function as research consultant for all of this. In any event, I hope that the present “language establishment” develops a research culture and directs it effectively. I think that the language movement has heeded advice which has been given in the past, e.g. the need for a corpus planning job to be done before status planning can be effectively operationalised. The immediate step is:

1. Define the developmental and research needs of the language.
2. Plan what research you need.
3. Get the research carried out by competent, professional entities.
4. Study the results and think about them.
5. Base your policies and projects upon them – *in that order.*

If you proceed on these lines, I feel sure that your efforts will be substantially based, your money will be well

spent, and what you do will have a chance of demonstrating actual successes. At the present time Gaelic has a language act, a development body, resources for language development and media – things which I have actively campaigned for all my life – but does no research and ignores what research on language issues is actually being done by others. It is in denial of what is actually going on, puts up projects and funds publicity campaigns without prior market research, and has no idea apart from anecdotal impressions of the characteristics of its speakers or potential learners. I have done everything I can to address this situation – but have become frustrated and disillusioned with it. In contrast, my activities re Cornish have always been listened to attentively and have resulted in action being taken as a result. I would much rather devote what potential I can still muster for something which is likely to be productive.

Chapter Five

Bys Kernewek: A Cornish-language world, in which we live and move and have our being¹

Opening paper presented at 3rd Cornish Studies Conference, A Cornish World, Institute of Cornish Studies, Tremough, 24th October 2014

Landscape, people, language

Place-names furnish a unique perspective on landscape,² its people and their language. In the case of Cornwall,

¹Epimenides (c. 600 BC)

²Although the subject-matter of this paper is Cornish place-names, I am not giving this as any sort of expert in this field. My background is sociology of language/sociolinguistics, and recent specialism has been in language policy and planning. In my earlier career I taught physical and

the continuity of its historic language from the dawn of history until a couple of centuries ago has left an abiding heritage of the way in which its speakers named the features of the landscape, the manner in which they used it, and the character of the landmarks and settlements which they established.

As a rough estimate, three-quarters of Cornish place-names derive from the Cornish language. Although the language ceased in community use two centuries ago, it continues in use for place-naming. The language persists on the landscape and its maps. We still inhabit a Cornish language-world, realised or not. Cornish place-names have a distinctive style and character which distinguishes them from English Language place-naming, east of the Tamar. Although Cornish place-naming may function as a marker of identity for many folk in Cornwall, comparatively few have very much idea of the origin, significance, and meaning of even the most familiar of these names to them. Yet the names potentially interpret the landscape and environment which present-day Cornish society inhabits.

Recent commentators, such as Tresidder (2014), have

human geography, and these are all the various perspectives I am bringing to this study.

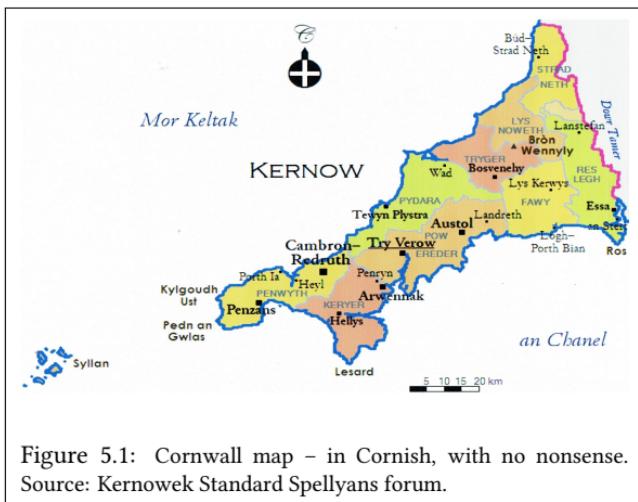
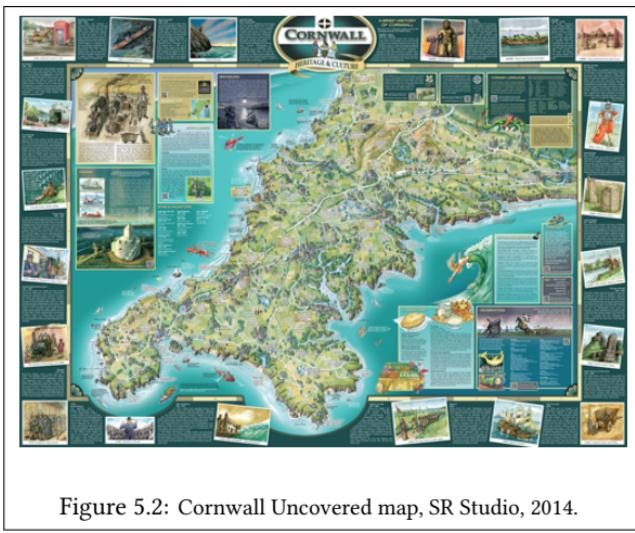


Figure 5.1: Cornwall map – in Cornish, with no nonsense.
Source: Kernowek Standard Spellyans forum.

seen Cornish as a “ghost language” in a “haunted landscape”. He proposes a “social and linguistic understanding of Kernewek to help access ... a sense of place” and “a more mercurial world”. Others such as Murray (2014) have demonstrated how place-naming in a minoritised



language shows processes of economic and social change, internal colonisation/linguistic hegemonisation, and mapping as a political instrument of power.

Meto Vroom, the eminent Dutch landscape architect, has shown how the landscape is “layered”, and a more recent commentator, John Murray, in applying his ideas has demonstrated how place-naming is the key to understanding its categories, processes, and evolution (Murray 2014:36–38). Landscapes, as we recognise them today, result from a process of interaction between the abiotic, biotic and occupational factors. The abiotic “layer” comprises the geological structure upon which all else is founded. The biotic “layer” comprises the vegetational cover, natural habitats, and their flora and fauna. The occupational “layer” represents the utilisation and modification of all these by human agency, and produces from the layered structure the landscape as we know it (*ibid.*:38).

Earlier, in the mid-twentieth century, Hoskins ([1955] 2013:18–19) observed that “everything in the landscape is older than we think.” The process of landscape-formation has gone on for very much longer than we often realise. Others in this paradigm include Rackham (1986), who has written extensively on English landscape and woodland, and in Cornwall Balchin (1954) has analysed the evolu-

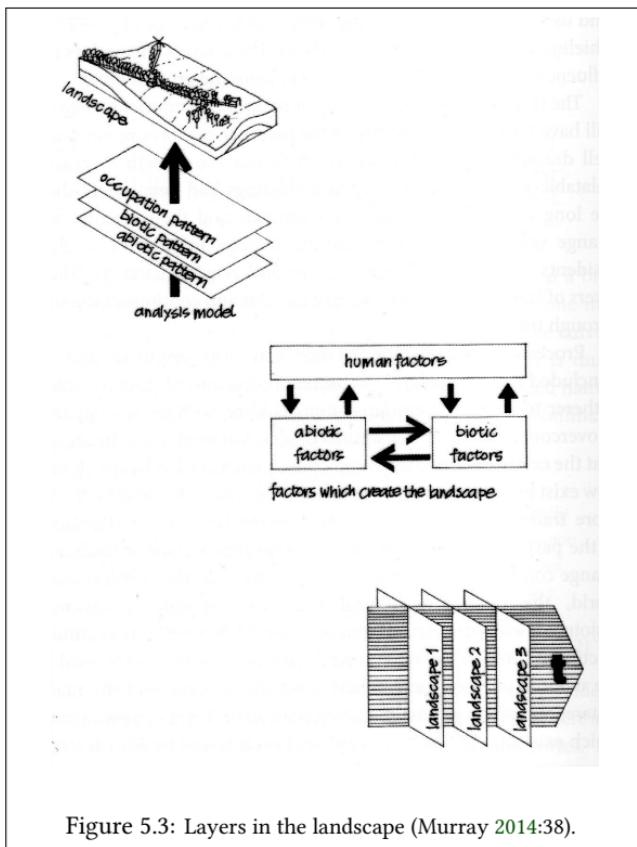


Figure 5.3: Layers in the landscape (Murray 2014:38).

Table 5.1: Layers in the landscape: expanded and developed from Murray 2014:36–38 (based on Meto Vroom)

Epitomisation	Features
Ideological	
Toponymy, psychogeography	Maps (physical and mental), records, written texts, oral lore
Sociological	
Society/community: landscape, seascape	Human environment
Cultural	
Occupance, settlement	Cities, towns, villages, settlement patterns, transhumance, nomadism
Economic	
Husbandry, agriculture, extractive and manufacturing industries	Farms, ranches, horticulture, managed land (downland, arable, pasture), mines, quarries, fisheries
Biological	
Biotic patterns: climatic climax vegetation, fauna/flora, habitat	Forests, grassland, heathland, moorland, savannah, deserts, tundra
Geological	
Abiotic patterns: bedrock, landforms, geomorphology	Geological strata, rocks, surface features (Davision cycle: structure, process, stage)

tion of the landscape. More recently Pryor (2013:15) has observed how Hoskins saw the landscape as needing to be “read” as a palimpsest, successively layered over time, and in order fully to understand it, needing the “layers” to be successively “peeled back”. Also, Pryor (*ibid.*:67) argues

that through “landscape phenomenology” we can understand how its features and monuments relate together “... in the way in which people experience the world they create and inhabit” (quoting Darvill 2002).

Place-name evidence can assist in all these ways. In Cornwall it can also supply missing Cornish lexicon, illuminate Cornish-speaking culture at historic periods, and assist naming processes today. These approaches can not only help interpret Cornish place-names, but also enable those place-names to illuminate the development of Cornwall’s landscape, and assist the Cornish people meaningfully to regain their “world”.

Today’s place-names have come down to us from a non-literate oral culture in early times, and with the development of written records have left their subsequent forms in such documents as pipe-rolls, parish records and estate documents. As a literate society developed they came to be recorded on maps and in the documents of local and national administration. More recently still, they have appeared on signposting and other public signage. In this process linguistic change has taken place, and continues to do so. Not only does the language in vernacular use undergo change, but changes of suzerainty and overlordship change the language in which the names are recorded: Cornish names came to be recorded in Latin,

French, and English-language contexts. Language shift renders the names unintelligible to new generations of speakers and adaptations are made *hobson-jobson*-wise to substitute similar sounding but understandable names in the new language, or adaptations are made to accommodate to new norms of pronunciation (commonly and derogatively castigated as “corruption”). Sometimes a completely different name in the new language is seemingly arbitrarily substituted: for example, Church Cove for Landewednack. Or a minor name is regarded as just “too difficult” to deal with, and left off the map or the record altogether, as has Tol-pedn-Penwith on some recent maps. This is *symbolic subordination* with a vengeance!

All these processes are readily demonstrable in Cornwall’s place-names. They are evidence of the exercise of power, the imposition of hegemonic new languages and cultures, and the pervasiveness of new ideologies. That a corpus of Cornish language place-names still persists in everyday usage, and upon maps, signage and other records, as well as in conservative pronunciations in everyday speech (Lander 2003), constitutes a substantial indication of strong loyalties to traditional culture and language.

Occupance, landscape, and place-naming

Table 5.2: Landscape layers: siviculture

Succession	Place-name features	Produce
Modern/industrial	langwyth enclosed wood, plantation	
Traditional/agricultural	callwyth nuttury kelly grove cos woodland	cnow nuts troch cutwood pren timber
Ancient/natural	enyal wilderness dyfylthesos wildwood (Nance) dywyscos burnt wood (Padel) cuidoc, cosek wooded	cunys fuelwood

When people arrive to occupy a new landscape for the first time, they encounter a land whose surface has been shaped by natural forces, such as the “Davisian cycle” of structure, process, and stage. The surface of the land is covered by climatic climax habitats, vegetation and wildlife. As it makes its home in the new environment, a new people names the features it encounters, and thus makes them its own. It is akin to an explorer encountering a new land and planting his own flag upon it to claim it for his own. The landscape of Cornwall, named in Cornish, is thus distinctively the land of the Cornish, and in very large measure still is. The face of

the land, uplands and lowlands, bears through its names, a continuing acknowledgement of its original occupancy and ownership by its naming people. In Cornwall, the face of the land and its maps still bear evidence of this in contemporary place-names, and the elements with which the earlier people made them up can still be readily discerned in them. Oliver Padel's *Cornish place-name elements* (1985) presents an exhaustive (or near-exhaustive) listing of the elements with which Cornish place-names are compounded. This article is greatly dependent upon it, and this paper in large measure adopts his spelling system, based upon the attested spellings in Middle Cornish records (*ibid.*:xi–xii). Upland features are named **amal** (edge, escarpment), **bre**, **bren** (hill), **bron** (breast, hill), **drum** (ridge), **goon** (downland, unenclosed pasture), **keyn** (ridge), **meneth** (hill, mountain), etc. Upland may feature **lether**, **leddra** (precipices or steep slopes) with **radgel** (scree) below, and **tal** (brow) above. Such elements are still recognisable in the present-day names which these features bear.

Early settlers encountered the climax vegetation, some of which still remains today: **hal** (wet upland, moor), **ros** (dry heathland), **cuidoc**, **coesek** (natural wild woodland), **huel-gos** (high-wood), **guel** (open field, grassland). As they were brought into human occupancy, woodland

might be reclaimed or **leskys**, **dywys** (burnt – whether deliberately, accidentally, or naturally) and **lanherch** (clearings) established. Residual woodland surviving as **cos** (wood), **kelli**, **lon** (grove), **caswyth**, **perth** (thicket), and **prysk** (copse). Boundaries were established, and fields were enclosed as **park** (small field, enclosure) and **kee** (hedge) delimiting a **kew** (hollow, enclosure), and **cor-lann** (enclosure). These historic processes are still readable and understandable in Cornwall's place-names.

As landscape and countryside developed, the story is still traceable and discernible in the place-names we still use today. This article further considers these processes operating in three aspects of human endeavour, in particular: agriculture and husbandry, extractive and manufacturing industries, and the sacred landscape.

Agriculture and husbandry

As people occupied the land, they utilised and developed the natural environment. Early societies hunted their food, a practice which survives as a sport, and as **helgh**, **helgy** in place-names. Upland and moor were developed as pasture. **Meneth** and **hal** became **goon**. Pasturing moved seasonally, and humans with them

(transhumance): seasonal settlements can still be read as **havos**, **kyniaf-vod**, **gwavos**, and (**Tre-**)**guaintoin**. Older and main settlements are very common as **hendra**.

Mes (open country) became utilised as **gweal** (cultivated open field), **pras** (meadow-land), **peur** (pasture), **clun** (meadow), or **gwels**, **glasen**, **glasneth** (grassland, verdure). Husbandry developed initially as **kevar** (joint tillage) and **ton** (lea-land).

Place-names record the crops and produce: **aval** (apple), **bowyn** (beef), **eyz** (corn), **fav** (beans), **gronen** (grain), **gwaneth** (wheat), **leth** (milk), **oye** (egg), **pylas** (naked oats), **sygal** (rye), **ys** (corn). The processing of agricultural produce occurred in **forn** (kiln), **lety** (dairy), **melin** (mill), and **melin-drukya** (fulling-mill).

Domestic animals were kept: **byu** (cattle), **bogh** (billy-goat), **burgh** (cow), **cassec** (mare), **cath cat**, **daves** (sheep), **ky** (dog), **kenow** (puppy), **ebel** (foal), **gaver** (goat), **goth** (goose), **guartheuk** (cattle), **guis** (sow), **hoby** (pony), **hoch** (pig), **horth** (ram), **hos** (duck), **yar** (hen), **mabyar** (pullet), **margh** (horse), **mogh** (pigs, swine), **mylgy** (greyhound), **odion** (ox), **oghan** (oxen), **on** (lamb), **porhel** (piglet), **tarow** (bull).

The place-names thus retain a record of the husbandry of earlier periods.

Extractive and manufacturing industries

Table 5.3: Landscape layers: industrial, land-use

Place-name features	Examples
Modern/industrial	
bal mineral working	
whel mineworks	Wheal Reeth, Wheal Owles
stampes stamping mill	
coughen dug-mine on lode	
fok blowing-house, furnace	Vogue, Chyvogue
Traditional/rural	
gofal smithy	Govily
melin mill	
melin-drukya tucking-mill	
pol-pry clay-pit	
pol-sten tin-pit	
forn kiln	
fok furnace	
men-gleth quarry	
mon-gleth excavation	Trungle
mon-dy mineral house	Rosemundy, Wheal Monday
glow (char-)coal	
Ancient/natural	
stenak tin-bearing area	Stennalees, the Stenack
menek stony area	
monek mineral-bearing area	Monhek-cam, Monek-de-Nanscorlyes

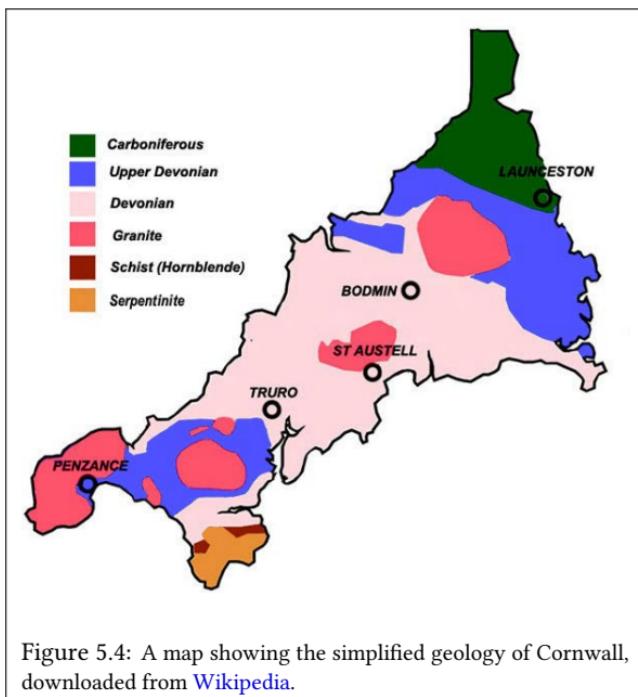
The abiotic basal layers of the landscaping process

provide materials for human use. The geology of the area supplies minerals, building materials and the basis of local soils.³ All of these register in the toponymic record. Its geology provides Cornwall with areas yielding minerals: **monek** (mineral ground), and in particular areas providing economic minerals such as tin: **stenek**, **stenak** (tin grounds), as well more generally **men** (stone) from **menak** (stone-bearing ground). These formed the basis of extractive industry and the establishment of **guyth** (tin-works), **mon-gleth** (mine-working), **coffen** (lode-mine), **wheyl**, **bal** (mine), **men-gleth** (stone-quarry), and the extraction of specific stone: **crak** (sandstone), **grow** (gravel), **men-growyn** (granite). William Cookworthy's discovery of china-clay (kaolin) at Tregonning Hill in 1746⁴ has led to Cornwall's currently most conspicuous and lucrative extractive industry. The clay country in Mid-Cornwall and its spoil-heaps and china-clay pits (**pol-pry**, **pit-pry**) has obliterated much of the original topography, but place-names can still record what has been buried.⁵

³See Wikipedia article on the [geology of Cornwall](#).

⁴See <http://www.cornwall-calling.co.uk/famous-cornish-people/cookworthy.htm>.

⁵See essays on Black-more and Twelve Men's Moor, in Henderson [1935] 1963.



Further industrial developments based on these extractive industries are recorded as **fok** (furnace), **oden** (kiln), **oden-colc** (limekiln), **gofail** (smithy), **shoppa** (workshop), and **stampeſ** (stamps). Smelting in a blowing-house is a native term, suggesting an adaptation of **hwetha** and **chy**. The later industrial development of Cornwall took place in an essentially English-language ambience. However the development of hard-rock mining in Cornwall brought about a widespread adoption of Cornish-language terminology throughout the industry internationally.⁶

The sacred landscape

The spiritual life of the first Cornish is still visible in place-names today. Pre-Christian monuments and features abound in the Cornish landscape: **menhyr**, **hyrven** (longstone), **cromlegh** (dolmen), **kylgh**, **dons men** (stone-circle), features of what has been termed “a religion of stone” (Bancroft 1987). Pre-Christian sacred sites and areas, termed **neved** (pagan sacred place, sacred

⁶See MacKinnon (2005:219–220), James (1994:35–36), and Raymond (1881:35), which “identifies thousands of industrial terms not found in Standard English, [and] lists nearly a third of those ascribed as being of Cornish origin.”

Table 5.4: Landscape layers: ideological, theological

Place-name elements	Examples
Methodist	
Chapel	Chapeltown
Commemoration of leader	Wesley Place
Biblical source	Mount Zion, Joppa
Religious movement	Teetotal Street
Anglican	
St + named non-Celtic saint	St Stephen (× 3), St Michael (× 3)
Catholic	
eglos church	Egloshayle, Egloskerry (+ 33 historical examples)
epscob bishop	Bishop Rock
pronter priest	Various field and house names
meneghy sanctuary, glebe	Manhay, Bodmin, Tremenheer, Meneage
merther grave of saint	
mynster endowed or monastic church	Porthminster
Celtic	
lann sacred enclosure, cemetery	Lanherne, Lelant (c. 20 present and 30 historical examples)
hen-lann ancient sacred enclosure	Helland, Kehlland
simplex name of Celtic saint	Germoe, Breage, Kea, Zennor
to- with pet-name of saint	Landewednack, Landagea, Towednack
crows cross	Crows-an-Wra
pre-Christian	
neved sacred site/area	Lanivet, Trewarnevas, Carnevas
menhyr, hyrvén, crom-legh, kelgh, dons-men	Tremenheere, The Grumbla Kilkhampton, Dawns-men

grove), are still so named in at least four instances today.⁷ With the coming of Christianity in its “Celtic” form, many of these sacred enclosures became a *lann* (enclosed cemetery). Some fifty or so places are known to have been so designated (Padel 1985:142). Many carried the name of the Celtic saint who first brought the gospel to the place and ministered to its people. With the changeover to Roman Catholicism, *eglos* (church) became substituted for *lann*. Padel (*ibid.*:91, 1976–7) notes some 35 cases of this, but only one such has survived in use as a place-name today.⁸ The adoption of the diocesan system after the Council of Hertford 673, led to the parochial system, which has persisted to the present day. The conquest by Athelstan in the tenth century and the institution of a bishopric at St. German’s led to its adoption in Cornwall, and parish church superseding Celtic *lann*.

With the Anglican Reformation, Saint almost completely replaced *eglos*, but the saint’s name was retained, or in some cases still stands by itself. The Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549 and its suppression was a factor in

⁷Padel (1985:172) notes four cases in Cornwall, and three elsewhere.

⁸The sole example is Egloskerry (*ibid.*:91). Two other examples of Eglos- names (Egloshayle) are later and descriptive of a church located on an estuary.

the decline of the Cornish language. The ensuing and continuing lack of popularity of the Anglican Church in Cornwall was overtaken by the widespread popularity of Methodism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This too has left its mark in place-names. One example is the hamlet of Chapeltown (in St Enoder), where I was a war evacuee in 1941. This had been known as Splat (building plot) until the building of a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in 1845.⁹ The Methodist movement came to Cornwall after the Cornish language had ceased as an everyday vernacular, so the marks which it has left in place-names and street names (such as Mount Zion, Wesley Place and Teetotal Street in St Ives, where I lived from 1941–44) are English-language features.

Ideological change is thus still manifest in today's place-names and their historic changing forms. The succession of various types of Christianity can still be plainly read in Cornwall's place-name record. Their ideological and theological imprint is still visible.

⁹See <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-71316-summercourt-wesley-church-with-attached-sunday-school>.

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Figure 5.5: OS map showing part of the St Enoder area.

Conclusion: a future for Cornwall's past

The role of place-name studies is fundamental to any serious study of landscape, human occupancy, and local history. In the case of Cornwall and its language they have a unique role in “peeling off” or “laying bare” the continuing function of the language in naming the features of the land and its use by the people. The salience of names on the face of the land and on the map provides a continued living domain in which the language still functions. In any strategy of revival this is a fundamental issue, and the reclamation of a Cornish-language world in which we live and move and have our being commences with the reclamation of these names.

This article has attempted to demonstrate how these names came into being, as the people occupied and used the landscape and made it their own by naming it in their own language. This study has also attempted to show something of the way in which historic and linguistic change has shaped these names, and has attempted to demonstrate that they constitute a linguistic domain in which the language still lives as the result of continuing language and cultural loyalty, and which has persisted despite societal language shift.

This study has also attempted to demonstrate that

place-naming is a dynamic process, in which all sorts of social, political, and economic processes interact. Toponymic studies have often presented themselves in a very static manner: i.e. “this is the name of the place today, and this is what it used to be at various periods.” Place-names undergo continuous and dynamic change, and this needs to be understood, and more fully reflected in their interpretation. In fact, a full understanding of their meaning cannot be attempted without it.

Change has been wrought upon the toponymy of Cornwall by economic and social processes, and by political forces such as linguistic hegemonisation. If there is an applied linguistics in this field, as the processes of language revival and revitalisation get under way, it is that the process of language shift should not be understood as inevitably uni-directional. The names can be reclaimed and promoted in their more authentic forms. Linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Kennedy 2012) can be created in which they feature on public signage, and on public, commercial and private facilities. This can be a means of raising language awareness and it is an essential part of an effective strategy of language planning.¹⁰

¹⁰For language awareness as a category of language planning, see

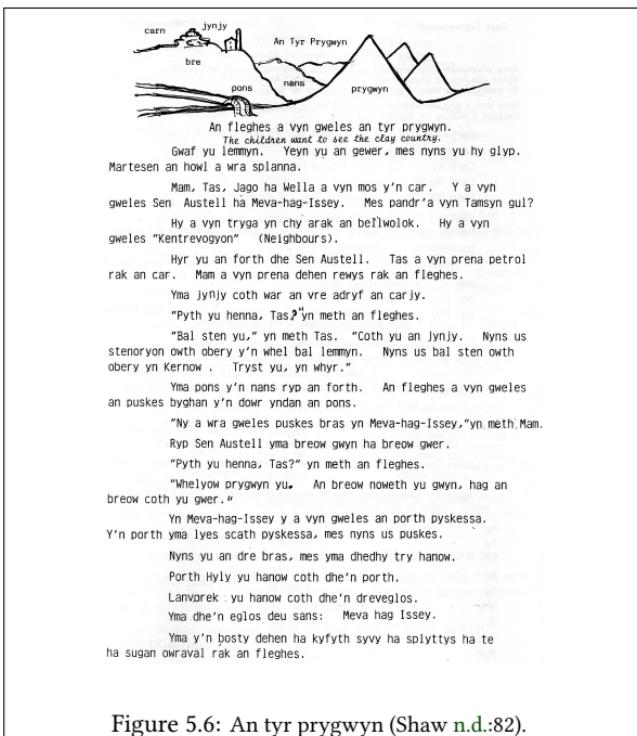


Figure 5.6: An tyr prygwyn (Shaw n.d.:82).

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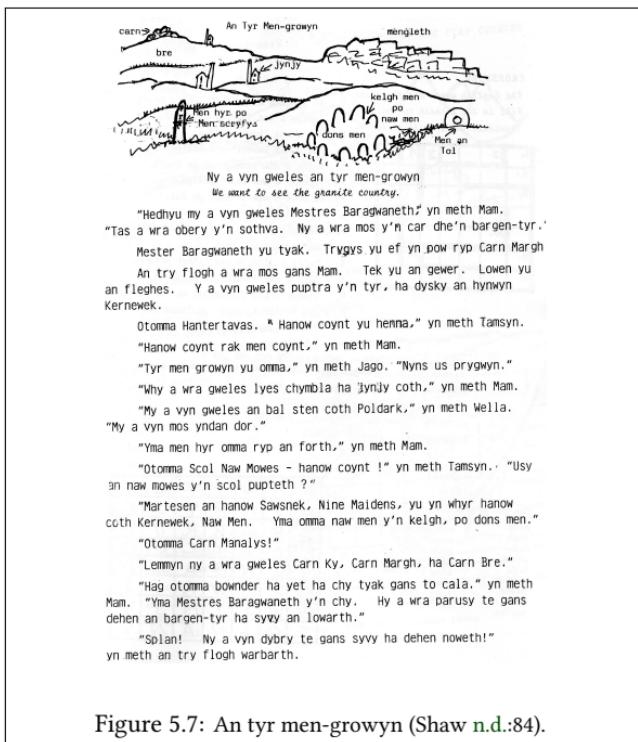


Figure 5.7: An tyr men-growyn (Shaw n.d.:84).

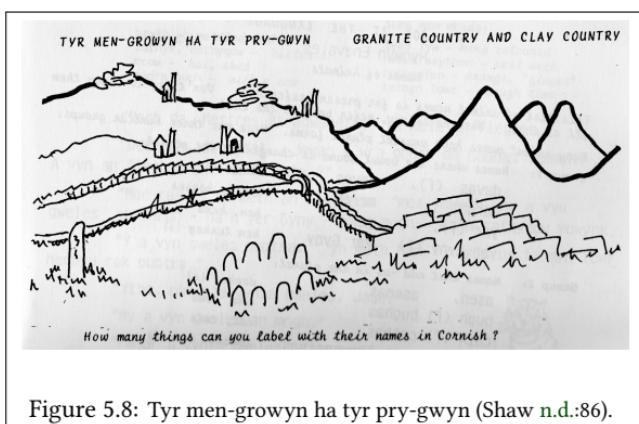


Figure 5.8: Tyr men-growyn ha tyr pry-gwyn (Shaw n.d.:86).

A principal recommendation stemming from this study is that these processes might become more salient in the public consciousness. The significance of place-name studies in this regard enables the names to become a “way-in” to the language, and at least two Cornish language courses have consciously used them to this

Cooper (1989).

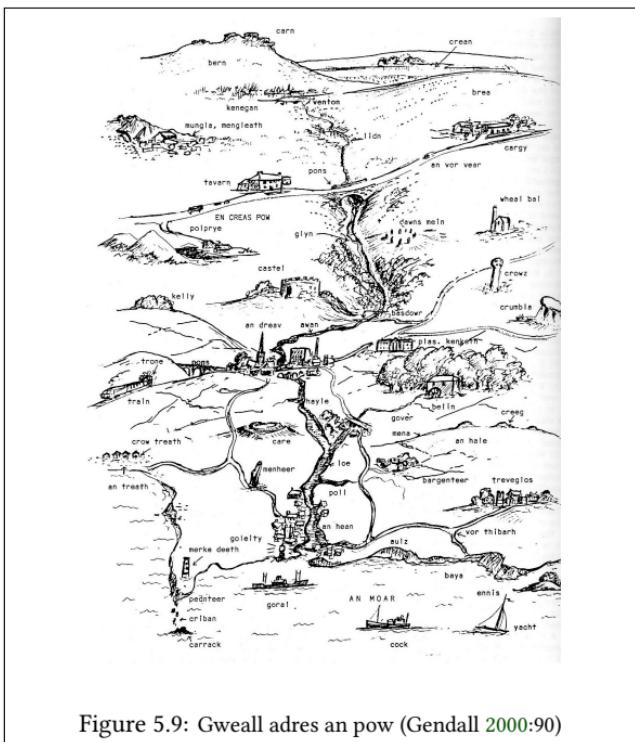


Figure 5.9: Gweall adres an pow (Gendall 2000:90)

effect (Shaw n.d.:82–86; Gendall 2000:90). In Scotland today there are now actual classes, books and television series on Gaelic for map-readers, and for hill-walkers.¹¹ As I was undertaking this project, I became aware of two relevant recent initiatives under the aegis of the Institute of Cornish Studies/Cornish Audio-Visual Archive, and assisted by the Heritage Lottery Fund. These are:

Tallys-an-Tir: Traditions and Stories of the Land

Funded by Heritage Lottery Fund and FEAST Cornwall, Tallys-an-Tir¹² was established at the end of 2012 to record and collect stories, photographs, maps and objects that explore Cornish landscapes. The project has worked with primary schools and has also worked with and organised events for other public and local groups. It has produced exhibition and archive materials for local studies and academic research.

¹¹See, for example, <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/travel/gaelic-for-hikers-1-565344>.

¹²See Tallys-an-Tir website.

Landmark Travels – our past in a suitcase

This project,¹³ which ran for three months from March 2014, has also worked with primary schools, with an emphasis on historic landmark and landscape features, through storytelling and creative workshops. The results travelled onwards in an old red suitcase to the next school.

As I was putting this study together it seemed to me that these projects deserved to be extended with a study which connected up landscape and cultural history to local place-names, and mobilised local people to research, record and renew them. As I worked on this, a further project was established and publicly announced, which did precisely this:

Taves an Tir

This project,¹⁴ commenced in Summer 2014 with the aim of enabling communities to discover more about the Cornish language through the names of local fields, farms, vil-

¹³See [Landmark Travels website](#).

¹⁴See <http://www.bewnanskernow.org/cornish-culture-blog/the-taves-an-tir-project-unlocking-the-origins-of-cornish-place-names>.

laces, streets, houses and families is getting under way in Lanivet, Heamoor and Redruth. It has been organised by Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek, with assistance from Cornwall Record Office and MAGA, and funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund.¹⁵ It has already held lively public meetings, generated enthusiastic public support, issued [its first newsletter](#) in September 2014, and appointed project staff and a director.

The project aims to make it more widely known that each town, village or hamlet in Cornwall has a number of unique Cornish field and settlement names. These preserve information on the landscape, its usage and ownership. The project is due to run until summer 2016 and the results will be publicly available in Kresen Kernow, Redruth.

The project promises to research in-depth the place-names of three locations. The micro-toponymy of such smaller features as field names and other landscape features (woods, streams, minor landforms) can easily pass

¹⁵HLF appointed me as a consultant, together with David Powell Associates in 2002–3, when it was contemplating a new budget-line for Intangibles (Language and Cultural Heritage), and I subsequently served as a member of their National Directory of Expert Advisers. Taves-an-Tir is exactly the kind of initiative that I had hoped would benefit from this new initiative.

from local knowledge as agricultural, industrial and other developmental changes alter the face of the land. Recording these will provide the means for naming the features which supersede them, e.g. as names for new buildings or new street names are needed on former fields. The success of this project should encourage others to take up the challenge in their own parish, town or area. I found that a small project I undertook some years ago (in 1985) on the field-names of my own family's farm on the Isle of Arran opened up a whole local landscape named in Gaelic, which is now no longer generally known locally. This told a surprising whole new-old story in itself. I very warmly commend this practice in Cornwall, which has undergone similar language shift.

This is one of the ways in which today's Cornish people can re-take their own landscapes and their own land. It is also a powerful way back to reclaiming the roots of their own culture, and a way forward to regaining their own language and making it more salient again in public life and affairs.

Appendix: Cornish place-name studies and their purpose

Dexter ([1926] 1968)

“... an effort to explain over 1600 Cornish names, but something more – an attempt to show the reader how he can interpret many more for himself ...” (p. 7) “... and how to name your house in Cornish.” (p. 65) “... Cornish, though dead as a spoken tongue still lives in the place-names of Cornwall.” (p. 13)

Nance (n.d.)

“... it is natural that those who live in Cornwall should take an interest in its own characteristic Celtic place-names ... without them Cornwall would no longer be Cornish ... in them Cornwall may be at any time speaking to us quite plainly in the old *Kernewek* that was here before Normans, Saxons, or even Romans ...” (p. 1)

Balchin (1954)

“The Iron Age peoples brought with them the Brythonic branch of the Celtic language, which survived in Corn-

wall in a spoken form until the eighteenth century and is still with us today in the place-names of the county ... not a visible element of the landscape ... but they are conspicuous on the map and are a valuable source of information.” (p. 33)

MacKinnon (1966)

“Understandably enough, Cornwall has suffered a greater degree of anglicisation of its place-names than the other Celtic lands ... The names remain even when the language or the people have disappeared.” (p. 7) “... St Ives has retained its Chy-an-Chy, Street-an-Pol and Stennack. This survival was the original means whereby as a child and wartime resident in Cornwall I was made aware that there was such a thing as the Cornish language.” (p. 12)

Padel (1988)

“Apart from their intrinsic interest, place-names can give important information about the country: archaeologists, local historians, family historians, those interested in the history of the landscape, and students of the Cornish language, all have questions that they would like to ask of the place-names.” (p. 1)

Weatherhill ([1995] 2007)

“... derivations of nearly 2,000 traditional Cornish place names plus snippets of history, folklore, local stories, poetry – and enough for you to get by in Cornish! This ... book provides a solid foundation in Cornish ... Cornwall will take on a whole new meaning!” (back cover)

Phillips (2006)

“... much of Cornwall was contained within monastic *lans* and estates ... if the Tamar were considered a spiritual boundary ... such a *Lan-Kernow* ... might prove a powerful way of preventing further marginalisation.” (p. 19) “... While Celtic aspects of faith remain largely forgotten in Cornwall, its culture, language and identity are all fast being reclaimed ... which merge together ... into the spiritual landscape of Cornwall itself.” (p. 11)

Tresidder (2014)

“The Edwardian project of re-casting Cornwall’s histories into mythical and romantic ‘folk tales’ is perhaps most evident when addressing the idea of a Celtic identity The stories that are left tend take on a parochial

outlook ... as their link with the Cornish language is lost. History becomes legend, stories become superstitions and Kernewek (the Cornish language) the ghost that haunts an Anglo-Saxon retelling of a commodity suitable for promoting tourism ... a social and linguistic understanding of Kernewek helps access the imagination and philosophy behind a people ...”

Acknowledgements

This paper acknowledges the help, advice and publications of Craig Weatherhill, and is also greatly reliant on the work and publications of Oliver Padel and the late Charles Henderson. This paper has been benefited by helpful comment and criticism from Janice Lobb.

Chapter Six

Cornish Language Research Landscape: research record, future needs – an overview and a possible agenda

*Keynote address to MAGA/Cornish Language
Partnership inaugural Cornish Language Re-
search Network conference, Cornwall College,
Pool, 27th–28th October 2014*

Overview: perspectives on Cornish language research

In 1979 Myrna Combellack (then Academic Secretary at the Institute of Cornish Studies) observed,

It should not be forgotten that the Cornish language is the only example in linguistic history of a wholly defunct vernacular being successfully resuscitated. Linguistically the new Cornish is unique. Acting on the cadaver of the long defunct tongue, it was produced by the two unusual acts of artificial insemination and self-induced abortion ... R. Morton Nance, Henry Jenner, and A. S. D. Smith caused the dead language of Cornish to bring forth a new tongue ...

Combellack 1979:45

¹

In less metaphorical language, the revival of Cornish was based essentially and entirely upon research. In the case of Robert Morton Nance (Mordon) and A. S. D. Smith (Caradar) this was virtually entirely desk research into the surviving manuscripts. Jenner however had some access to the last remembered remnants, but they were all indebted to the field research of Edward Lhuyd in 1700 (Williams 1993; Williams 2009), without which the revival

¹It must be remembered that the vernacular revival of Hebrew was based upon its continuing use as a hagiolect, *the loshn koydesh*, in synagogue worship.

of a demotic Cornish vernacular would have been highly problematical.

Scholarly enquiry into the Cornish language has a long and distinguished pedigree. Antiquaries, local commentators, and philologists in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries have left us their evidence and observations.² These precursors of the revival paved the way for the work of Rev W. S. Lach-Szyrma and Henry Jenner, and their successors in the 20th century, and further enabled the revival to become feasible.

In this earlier period two institutions stand out as centres of scholarly interest in all matters pertaining to Cornwall. These were the Royal Institution of Cornwall

²Such as: Richard Angwin (c. 1620–1675); William Scawen (1600–1689); Nicholas Boson (1624–1702); John Keigwin (1641–1716); John Boson (1665–1730); William Gwavas (1676–1741); Thomas Tonkin (1678–1742); William Borlase (1695–1772); William Pryce *Archaelogica Cornu-Britannica* 1790; Davies Gilbert (1767–1839) *Passion poem* and *Creation of the world* 1827; Edwin Norris *Ancient Cornish drama* 1859; Whitley Stokes *Pasconagan Arluth* 1861; Charles Rogers *Vocabulary of the Cornish language* 1863; Robert Williams *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*; Whitley Stokes *Beunans Meri-asek* discovered 1869 published 1872; the collection of old Cornish words by Jacob George (1868), R. S. Charnock (1870), John Bannister (1871), Miss M. A. Courtney and T. Quiller-Couch (1880); and Hobson Matthews *History of St Ives* 1892 with a chapter on Cornish language at St Ives.

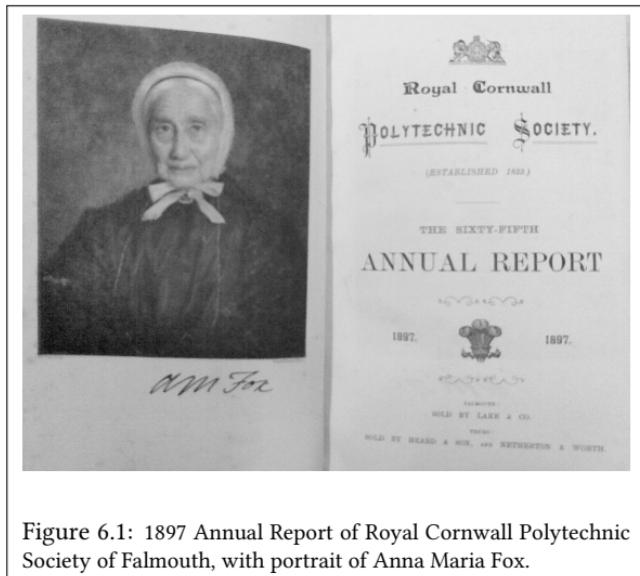


Figure 6.1: 1897 Annual Report of Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society of Falmouth, with portrait of Anna Maria Fox.

at Truro (founded 1818),³ and the Royal Polytechnic Society of Cornwall at Falmouth (founded 1832).⁴ In the 20th century they were followed by the Old Cornwall Movement (OCM) from the first local society at St Ives in 1920, and the Federation from 1921). Its journal *Old Cornwall* (1925–present) has published numerous articles on Cornish language matters. These societies, especially OCM, provided an accessible means of bringing before the interested public the fruits of research on the Cornish language. The Royal Polytechnic Society and the Royal Institution both produced a distinguished series of publications, proceedings, and transactions, and both have carried scholarly articles on Cornish linguistic research. The Polytechnic Society produced a series of annual reports from 1833–1985, and published John Bellows *On the Cornish language*, with a translation of Genesis 1 in 1861, and Robert Morton Nance *Folklore Recorded in the Cornish language* in 1924. In 1914 Henry Jenner read his paper on *The fourteenth-century Charter Endorsement* to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, which published it in its Journal of 1915.

Linguistic research into the Cornish language has

³See [Wikipedia](#).

⁴See [Wikipedia](#).



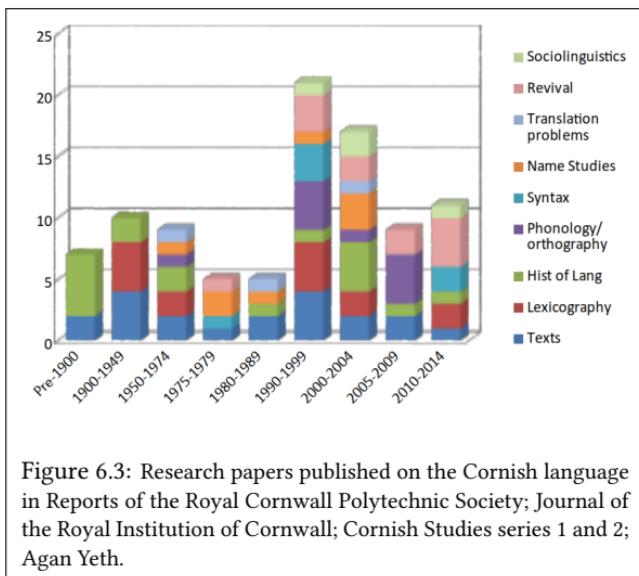
Figure 6.2: Annual reports of the Royal Polytechnic Society of Cornwall at Falmouth Public Library. The series ran from 1833 to 1985. Source: [Wikipedia](#)

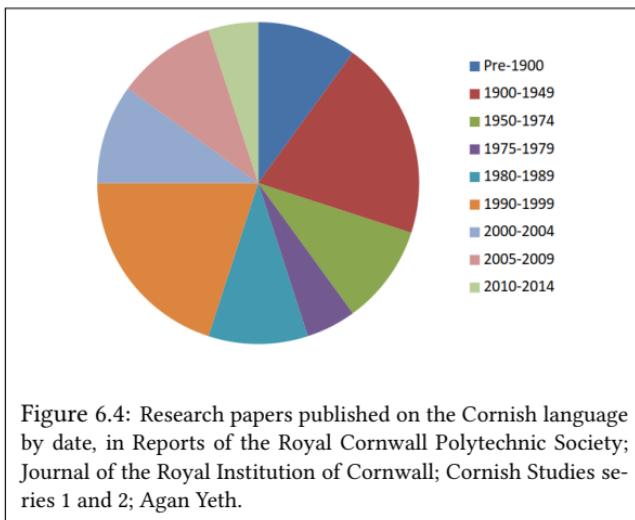
greatly increased in scope and quantity in the later 20th century and subsequently: see figures below. A significant stimulus came with the establishment of the Institute of Cornish Studies (ICS) in 1970, funded jointly by Cornwall County Council and the University of Exeter. Its first director was Charles Thomas, and its first

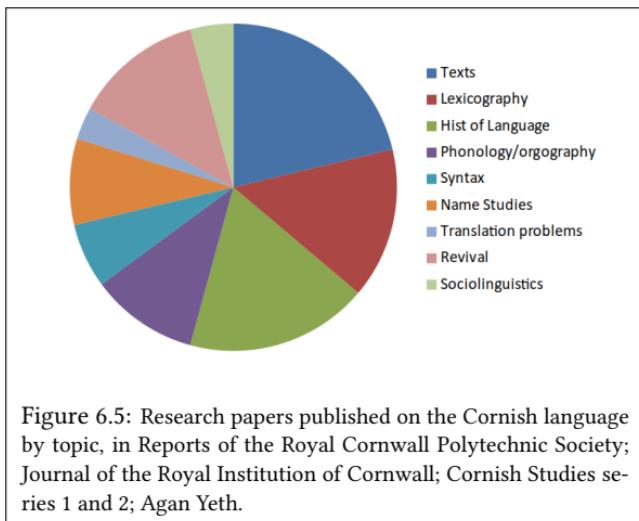
home was Trevenson House, at Pool. Further stimulus was forthcoming with the appointment of research staff with interest in Cornish language, and the initiation of an academic journal *Cornish Studies/Studhyansow Kernewek* in 1973, which ran with 16 annual issues until 1988/9. A Second Series of *Cornish Studies* was initiated by the incoming director of the ICS, Philip Payton, in 1993, and continues to the present. Both series have carried numerous scholarly articles on Cornish language and linguistic research. In 1999 the Cornish Language Board/Kesva an Taves Kernewek launched its own refereed academic journal devoted solely to the language, *Agan Yeth: Cornish Language Studies*. It has to date issued at least four numbers.

Language revival and research needs

The modern revival of the Cornish language is generally dated from 1904, the year of the “Caernarfon Telegram” (Miners and Crago 2002:16; Löffler 2002:62–64) and the publication of Jenner’s *Handbook* (1904). This initially supplied the want of a suitable textbook for the early attempts at language revival, chiefly promoted by Louis Duncombe-Jewell’s short-lived *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak*







(1901–14). The progress of the revival in the successive decades of the 20th century was admirably detailed by Charles Thomas in his keynote address to the Celtic Congress of 1963 held at Carbis Bay (Thomas 1963). In this he set out an agenda of priorities for development and research in terms of Cornish language corpus, much of which is still unfulfilled over half a century later:

1. A comparative and historical dictionary of the language at all its periods;
2. Full diplomatic editions of the miracle plays and associated fragments, and all Nance's notes. "*Indeed these should all be transcribed fairly soon, as most of them are in fading pencil.*" (My italics.)
3. "A series of analytical studies of grammar and syntax, not for enabling beginners to learn Cornish, but to place the study of Cornish on the same footing as that of all other Celtic languages." Thomas cites a number of such studies as already having been undertaken by Talek (E. G. Retallack Hooper) and Caradar (A. S. D. Smith).

In his *Conclusion*, Charles Thomas reminded his hearers that this agenda comprised the minimum requirements

for the language to be presented at an acceptable level of contemporary linguistic scholarship for the revival to establish itself. Without this minimum level, professional Celticists would continue to regard it as “a scarcely scientific revivalist local patriotism.” A previous generation of Cornish scholars had begun to address this task, but it needed to be maintained and augmented.

I have myself observed that any such revival would need to be firmly based on pre-existing and sound corpus research (MacKinnon 2002:277), and Charles Thomas’s recommendations comprised the minimum level for that. This is not in any way to argue that the revival should be halted until that is fully accomplished. It is however strongly to point out that we still need the historical and comparative dictionary, the full diplomatic edition of much of the corpus of traditional Cornish, and the transcription and editing of what Nance and other scholars have left us.

My own call for further research after the *Independent Academic Study* in 2000 (*ibid.*:276–281) followed this by recommending:

1. The signature and ratification by H. M. Government of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages at Part III level;

2. Corpus and acquisition planning buttressed by appropriate research. This would include educational research at National Curriculum, pre-school and subsequent levels, and the systematic editing and publication of the whole corpus of traditional texts.
3. Sociological research on the characteristics of the speakers, users, learners and supporters of the language.
4. Specific projects, such as the feasibility of an actual speaker community, a Cornish Language Trail (*Forth an Yeth*), and a language-planning authority.

In the dozen or so years since these recommendations were first put forward, a great deal has taken place on the research front. Indeed the pace of research, scholarship, publication, and language development has considerably increased in scope and quantity, and a great deal of credit is due to all involved for this progress. Nance had hoped that another generation would see the language walk.⁵ We have now begun to see it commence to jog, if not indeed actually to run!

⁵“One generation has set Cornish on its feet. It is now for another to make it walk.” R. Morton Nance in 1955, quoted in Pool [1965] 1967. Quotation on verso of title page.

Official recognition and language-development needs

The Council of Europe established the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages in 1992. Provisions made by signatory states are monitored every three years by a Committee of Experts who subsequently issue reports. States can sign and ratify the Charter for basic provisions of specified languages at Part II level, or at a fuller and more detailed level under Part III. The Conservative UK government of 1979–97 had resisted this, despite being frequently called upon to do so, notably by the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages. However the incoming New Labour government was sympathetic to a call for Welsh to be recognised under the Charter, and this was followed by calls for the inclusion of Gaelic, Irish, Scots and Ulster Scots, which were readily agreed. However, it took a parliamentary intervention by Andrew George, Liberal Democrat MP for St Ives, with a speech on an adjournment motion in the House on 23rd February 1999 for the inclusion of Cornish to be seriously considered.

Before acceding to its inclusion under the Charter, the government required assurance concerning the Cornish language. To this end on 22nd December 1999 the Secre-

tary of State for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) commissioned EKOS Economic Consultants (Inverness) and SGRÜD Research (Black Isle) to undertake *An academic study on Cornish* and report to the Government Office for the South West in March 2000 (with presentation to DEFRA, Eland House, Victoria, SW1E 5DU on 24th March 2000.) The present author was the principal researcher and author of this report (see MacKinnon 2002; MacKinnon 2004). Following this, H. M. Government agreed to recognise Cornish under Part II (Article 7) of the Charter, and this was announced by Nick Raynsford, Minister for Local and Regional Government on 5th November 2002. This partially met the first of the above recommendations. H. M. Government subsequently made an official declaration on 11th March 2003, and this was registered by the Council of Europe on 18th March 2003, that the U.K. recognises that Cornish meets the Charter's definition of a regional or minority language for Part II of the Charter. Confirmation that this signified "official status" was forthcoming later that year as the result of an official parliamentary answer in the House of Lords, given by Lord Evans of Temple Guiting speaking on behalf of the government, on 12th June 2003.⁶ Much further did in fact flow from this, and devel-

⁶The answer was to a question on the status of Gaelic: "The United

opments for Cornish were swift in following it. However ratification at Part III is still awaited.⁷

In the following year, 2004, an advisory group and a steering group representing the bodies promoting the three revived language varieties published a *Strategy for the Cornish language* (Advisory and Steering Groups for Cornish 2004). In my observations on this,⁸ I noted that the steering group on the strategy was to continue

Kingdom government ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in March 2001. As a signatory to the Charter, the Government have signalled their clear commitment to maintain and promote the use of indigenous minority languages across the United Kingdom, including Gaelic. The Gaelic language has, therefore, official status within the United Kingdom although the Scottish Executive has devolved responsibility for the development of the language within Scotland." *Ipsa facto* it follows that by signing for Cornish the Government similarly recognises Cornish. This has important implications for the status of the language, and a great deal more could flow from, and be made of this.

⁷So likewise had successive governments refused officially to recognise Cornwall and the Cornish as a national group under the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities until 24th April 2014 with a Liberal Democrat initiative in the current coalition administration. Speaking at Bodmin, the Chief Secretary to the Treasury Danny Alexander MP said that the government formally recognises the distinct identity of the Cornish people, and announced that the "proud history, unique culture, and distinctive language of Cornwall will be fully recognised under European rules for the protection of national minorities."

⁸Personal response and observations dated 1st February 2005 on Corn-

as a management group. This ensured continuity and momentum, and led later that year to the establishment of the Cornish Language Partnership (CLP, now MAGA) within the then Cornwall County Council. I summarised the immediate practical steps as I then saw them as:

1. a speaker, learner, user survey,
2. a public attitudes survey,
3. corpus scholarship,
4. acquisition of language planning skills,
5. educational initiatives,
6. a language acquisition-planning policy.

The Partnership acted promptly on all these priorities, with perhaps the exception of historic corpus scholarship. However, the Institute for Cornish Studies had convened an *ad hoc* meeting of specialists on the texts in October 2001, and this very much deserves to be revived. The needs of corpus research were, at this time, subsumed

wall County Council's *Strategy for the Cornish language* (Advisory and Steering Groups for Cornish 2004).

by urgent language development needs to agree upon an orthography which could be recognised throughout the Cornish language movement as a standard written form (SWF). An initial conference in 2006 at Tremough was followed by expert and language-group consultation, reporting to a further conference in 2007, ratified by the Partnership on 9th May 2008, with a quinquennial review undertaken in 2013.⁹

In its work to date, CLP/MAGA has given priority to new research relevant to its current task-in-hand, and to effective communication. Research is basic to the business of language-planning and development. These cannot be successfully pursued without it, just as market research is fundamental to effective business planning. To date, CLP/MAGA has commissioned three research initiatives on the characteristics of the speaker/learner group, and has assisted others in various ways.

A speaker, learner, and user survey was undertaken in 2006–7, with purposive sampling through language and community organisations, online, and by snowballing. Completed questionnaires from a sample of 710 respondents were analysed, and a report was published in July 2008 (Burley 2008).

⁹See [MAGA website](#) [link broken as of 2019].

Findings:

Concerning Cornish language, 37% of the sample comprised members of a Cornish language organisation (Kowethas the most popular with 25% involved). Attending language events was the most popular activity (31%). Results indicated an increase in studying Cornish in the 1990s, with a large surge over the past decade, which was strongly associated with females, the less well-qualified, respondents outwith Cornwall, and respondents not considering themselves Cornish. Attendance at classes was the most popular means of learning (62%), and reading marginally the most popular use (94%) as against speaking (at 92%).

Speaking ability was typically recent, with 44% speaking it for less than 5 years. Of the whole sample 13% reported themselves fluent speakers, and 42% able to conduct simple conversations. Ability was associated with older respondents, higher qualifications, higher qualifications, and Cornish residence. Frequency of use was typically weekly (34%).

Competent writing ability was claimed by 25%, and as with speaking ability, almost half the sample had been able to write for less than 5 years. (46%). Again, typically using this ability weekly (26%). The Kemmyn variety was used by just over half the sample (55%). The characteristics of competent and frequent users was reported as being Cornish, female, highly qualified, currently living in Cornwall but having also lived elsewhere.

Questions on awareness of, and support for the Cornish language were also included in the *Cornwall Quality of Life Tracker Survey* in 2007, undertaken by PFA Research and reporting to the Cornwall Strategic Partnership in November 2007.¹⁰ Sampling was undertaken in October 2007 by a postal survey of 17,306 randomly selected households, which yielded a return of 3,222 valid questionnaires, a response rate of 18.6%. Analysis of the Cornish language questions was undertaken in terms of age, gender, and area.

Findings:

¹⁰See [Cornish Strategic Partnership website](#).

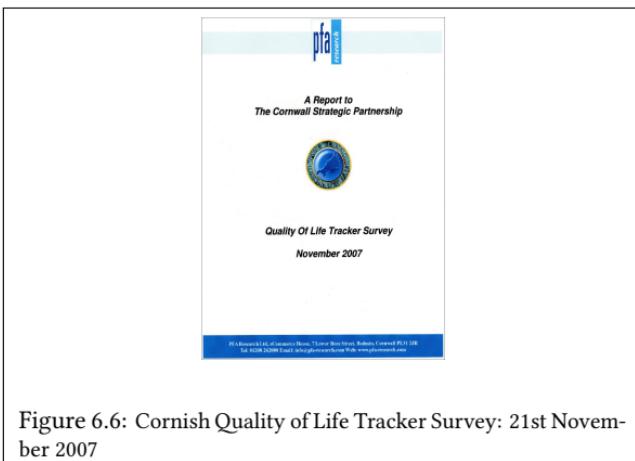


Figure 6.6: Cornish Quality of Life Tracker Survey: 21st November 2007

Over 90% of the sample reported that they were aware of the Cornish language, and 6% reported that they had “detailed knowledge” of it. However just under half the respondents (49%) were indifferent to greater use of Cornish in social and public life, with almost 10% “strongly in favour”.

Concerning gendered responses, women were rather more supportive, with 34% in favour, compared with men at 29%. Younger respondents were more in favour, especially the 25–34 age group at 48%. Support for the language was strongest in West Cornwall areas, such as Penzance and Camborne-Redruth. French was the most commonly spoken language other than English, with 662 (84%) responses out of 790 answering this question, and Cornish by 24 (3%).

In 2006 Ute Wimmer presented her doctoral study, *Reversing Language Shift, the case of Cornish*, at the Karl-Franzens-University of Graz. Ute Wimmer's study had been preceded by a study covering similar ground (Donaldson 1999), and followed by others exclusively on Cornish (Carkeek 2009) and comparatively (Dunmore 2011). The sample was purposively undertaken through Cornish learner channels, such as the *Penseythen*, and the Cornish language magazine, *An Gannas*. The sample comprised 101 Cornish speakers. There were in addition, 64 schoolchildren aged 11–12, and 101 non-speakers. Observation had been undertaken over the previous 9 years.

The thesis included a thorough survey of the history and contemporary position of the Cornish language.

Findings:

Results and conclusions were highly detailed but among the more notable were the following. Two-thirds of the non-Cornish-speaker sample were unaware of official recognition. Some 18% of speakers reported lack of contacts to converse with, although 19% of the pupils and 35% of the non-speaker samples reported regular contact with Cornish speakers. Of the speaker sample only 66% were actually living in Cornwall, and strong tendencies to stay and return were reported. The support for promotion of Cornish was similar amongst speakers and non-speakers: 21%/18% favourable, 56%/64% indifferent, and 10%/12% unfavourable. 32% of non-speakers appreciate the language as a symbol of identity. Amongst school pupils the majority liked their Cornish lessons and almost half saw the language as "cool". 21% of the speaker sample were beginners, and 32% fluent. However even these reported

learning difficulties and limited opportunities to use the language. Education generally, and school in particular, were seen as the most important field for promotion. The more competent speakers were older, so intergenerational transmission was impractical. This was a problem in advancing to a “natural” community language transmitted inter-generationally.

These three surveys have provided a most useful initial assessment of the social and demographic character of the learner community and the Cornish language speaker group. Their findings have important implications for language planning and language policy, and deserved to be followed up by regular monitoring of key indicators. With this in view, a further “Survey Monkey” survey was conducted through the MAGA network over three weeks in 2013, and its results were reported in November 2013. Questionnaires were distributed online to newsletter subscribers and on social media, and by post. Paper copies were sent to libraries and Cornish language organisations. 799 questionnaires were returned, an increase on the 2008 survey (712). The survey explored level of knowledge, language use, literate abilities and mode of

learning. There was a parallel language awareness survey conducted amongst Cornwall Council employees, which also reported in November 2013.

Findings: 2013 User Survey

There was a slight male bias in the sample but less than in 2008. Just over half were aged 30–59. Since 2008 under-25s had increased. Age-distribution broadly matched the Cornish population, with some under-representation of the under-25 and 75+ age-groups. There was a slight increase in respondents outwith Cornwall (totalling 33%). Trends indicated more young people and retirees taking up the language. 67 rated themselves able to converse easily and 54 as fluent. These figures can not be scaled up to match the general population, as the survey was purposive and self-selected.

The two largest groups were those with a few words, who were largely “occasional” readers and writers, and those with simple conversational ability, who also tended to read Cornish. Frequent writing of Cornish largely corresponded with the fluent group.

Listening patterns were better reflected in lower ability groups, while speaking understandably corresponded with fluency.

Usage patterns were chiefly with friends, social media, and at home. A surprising number (143) reported use of Cornish at work. The survey indicated that even less frequent readers were encountering and reading Cornish signage, advertising and social media in Cornish. Books and classes were the most salient means of learning Cornish, and social media, online and correspondence courses somewhat less so. Very few reported having learned any Cornish at school. Learning Cornish was substantially reported as current or within the past five years, tailing off with passage of time. A small minority reported acquiring Cornish within the family, and a smaller group through online resources. Commencement of learning was typically recent (39% since 2000). The largest number of respondents were not currently studying the language, and individual study and evening classes were the most favoured means. Online resources had overtaken

correspondence courses, although still used by relatively few.

Findings: 2013 Attitude Survey

This was carried out online amongst the 13,060 Cornwall Council staff, and produced 151 respondents. Over two-thirds of the sample were female, which might or might not reflect the council workforce. The survey explored support for the language, awareness of MAGA, strategic responses, and usage.

The two Cornish language questions on the 2007 Quality of Life Survey indicated that 49% then were neither in favour nor against greater use of Cornish. Detailed questioning on this area in the present survey indicated support for the language *per se* as strong, especially regarding distinctiveness of Cornwall and visibility in signage, place-naming, and enhancement of culture and economy. Less well-supported were business uses and personal take-up in learning – although still by over half (52%).

Statements regarding Cornish disappearing, enhancing distinctiveness, featuring place-names and signage, enhancing culture

and economy, and personal take-up were analysed further. Respondents were most aware of Cornish on street-signs (88%), and on brands and products (75%). MAGA's services were less well-known, e.g. translation (by 31%), the online dictionary (48%), language awareness taught in schools (37%), and increasing numbers speaking Cornish (55%).

Encouragement to learn Cornish was explored over a variety of means, the most popular being more publicity (53%), with most other methods being broadly approved. Seeing the language more often and support from public bodies produced the most "strongly agree" responses. There was a broad relationship between any level of knowledge of Cornish and positive level of support.

The surveys produced valuable data and pointers for future more general and penetrative surveys. Both surveys monitored data on Cornish in key social sectors, and such approaches constitute important forms of performance indication.

Cornish in the 2011 Census

Following a history of repeated requests to include questions on Cornish language in the decennial population census, The Office for National Statistics (ONS) enabled those who wished to do so to include Cornish in the “main language” question in the 2011 census questionnaire. This produced a total figure of 557 respondents in England and Wales, of whom 464 usually resided in Cornwall.¹¹ I believe this figure to be unreliable in several respects. Since almost all its speakers have acquired Cornish as a second language, few if any will have it as a ‘main language’ – a contestable concept in any event. Many of these “Cornish” respondents may well have had “dialect” in mind, or even “accent”, rather than language as such. These distinct categories should be specifically elicited in any survey or census questionnaire if reliable results are to be sought.

The census also enabled a “write-in”

¹¹ONS (Nomis 13 March 2013) 2011 Census – Main Language (detailed): Nomis _2013_03_13_175417.

category of Cornish to be entered on the identity question. Again, unless a specific question is asked, any answers are unlikely to be fully representative, and will probably considerably under-enumerate “true” numbers. There was no question for “Born in Cornwall”, to correspond with “Born in other UK countries”. If the UK signs the European Framework for National Minorities, it will strengthen the case for improved questions to feature in future censuses (or whatever replaces them) in these three instances. An authoritative Cornish Language Research Network could initiate a dialogue with ONS on these issues. It might be interesting to cross-tabulate these “Cornish speakers” with other socio-economic census factors. Results could be forthcoming, but the same considerations apply of whether they could tell us anything reliable about actual speakers.

From 2005 CLP/MAGA has regularly reported to and consulted with its own public in a series of open public

conferences at approximately 1-2 year intervals.¹² These have provided a focus for discussion of language policy and development issues amongst the wider Cornish language community.

The Cornish Language Partnership (CLP) has worked through the perspective of the four aspects of language planning: corpus, status, usage and acquisition. In this respect it has followed the model used by Bòrd na Gàidhlig in Scotland, and others elsewhere. There has been active contact between the two organisations, which I believe has been beneficial to both. They share a similar problem and challenge: the creation of new networks of speakers

¹²Namely at:

1. Tremough, 17th September 2005 (addressed by Meirion Prys Jones, Peadar Morgan and Phil Kelly).
2. Tremough, 30th September 2006 (looking at the different forms of Cornish in use).
3. Tremough, 14st October 2007 (commission reporting on findings).
4. Lostwithiel, 31st January 2009 (“Taking Stock”, round-table discussions).
5. Lostwithiel, 27th November 2010 (internal reporting and discussions).
6. Lostwithiel, 1st October 2011 (addressed by Tony Warren, Jersey).
7. Lys Kernow, 22nd March 2014 (addressed by Brian Ó hEadhra).

in areas which have lost the language over the course of previous generations. In 2009 the CLP set up working parties appointed on a skills basis on the four aspects of language planning (corpus, status, acquisition, and usage), together with a place-names panel. These have been active and productive. Earlier in 2014 the place-names initiative has witnessed its 1,000th bilingual street sign, and has advised on place-name forms, and Cornish language names for new developments. In this process the contribution of onomastic expertise and research is vital.

The model of language planning adopted by and underlying the work of the CLP originated in initial formulations of corpus and status planning in the 1960s. In 1966 Einar Haugen distinguished status and corpus planning, and these categories were later augmented by acquisition (Kloss and Verdoodt 1969) and usage planning (Baker 1985) as similarly important processes.¹³ Cooper (1989) also adds language awareness as a further dimension for language planning.

In its first decade the CLP/MAGA has developed rapidly as a language development agency, and has laid

¹³Haugen defined corpus planning as: selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration. Kloss and Verdoot identified corpus, status and acquisition planning. Baker identified usage or opportunity planning

firm foundations for its future development as a language planning authority. This may be its next organisational step. Following official recognition of the language in 2003, the incipient Partnership was successful in gaining public funding in 2005 comprising a package contributed by the Cornwall County Council, H. M. Government (Communities and Local Government), and European Union money under Objective 1. Jenefer Lowe was appointed Manager in May 2006, and Elizabeth Stewart as Administrator in September 2006, and was replaced when she left for alternative employment in 2013 by Matt Blewett, as Projects and Promotions Officer. Pol Hodge and Mike Tresidder were appointed as shared-post Education Officers in January 2010, and Sam Rogerson as Administrative Assistant in 2010.

Until 2012 MAGA was run by a Management Group representing the various Cornish language groups, but this arrangement has now been superseded by an appointed Board. This enables a skills-oriented body to be independent in the business of award and management of grants to the various groups. This is important in a small language-community in order to maintain transparency and avoid conflict of interest. Experience with Bòrd na Gàidhlig would confirm the value of this.

As with its role in commissioning and stimulating

research, CLP/MAGA has also given priority to effective communication. In addition to frequent public conferences detailed above, regular newsletters commenced in May 2005 with the *Cornish Language Strategy News Update*, and with the establishment of the CLP this continued as a regular monthly *MAGA Newsletter* and website from August 2007, and as *Kevren* from March 2013.

Research needs, and a possible future agenda

Looking to the future, the language-planning categories of status, corpus, acquisition and usage, together with Cooper's category of language-awareness comprise a useful framework to strategise and encourage research initiatives. The Cornish language movement, from its first phase of revival (1904+) until the phase when official recognition was secured (2003+), was characterised by acute sparsity of support from public funds. Publications in and on Cornish language were few and far between, and the language was slow in gaining a place in public education¹⁴ and also in academic recognition until the

¹⁴ Although instruction in Cornish was introduced at the private school run by E. G. Retallack Hooper (Talek) at Mount Pleasant, Camborne in the

establishment of the Institute in 1970.¹⁵ Journals which discussed the language (*inter alia*), such as *New Cornwall*,¹⁶ or actually published in Cornish itself, such as *An Lef Kernewek*,¹⁷ were home produced and privately financed. Using the contemporary technology of cyclostyled typescript with stapled bindings, the genre has been dubbed “rusty stapled publication” (Kent 2003:126).

Sources of funding

Although there is now public funding established for Cornish language development, and this has included some funding for research, present resources do not enable a fully adequate research programme to be supported. For

post-war years up until the 1960s, and at Brandon College, Truro. These were truly pioneering initiatives.

¹⁵ Although Cornish has received some attention at the University of Wales (Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, Lampeter, and see Lewis 1980).

¹⁶ *New Cornwall* was run by Richard and Ann Jenkin from their home at Leedstown, and was published 4–6 times a year from 1952 through the 1960s and into the 1970s.

¹⁷ *An Lef Kernewek* ('The Cornish Voice') was produced by E. G. Re-tallack Hooper at Mount Pleasant, Camborne, monthly/quarterly 1950s–1960s. Both magazines enjoyed the input and editorial services of Richard Gendall.

this to be achieved, other means must be sought. Lexicographical and linguistic research comes within the remit of such bodies as the British Academy and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Research studies in the fields of sociolinguistics, sociology of language and demolinguistics are covered by the Economic and Social Research Council. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) established a Language Heritage budget line a few years ago.¹⁸ This might be a fruitful source of funding for publication of the traditional texts and writings. Other sources might include Nuffield and Leverhulme, and directories of funding sources might also prove fruitful.

These bodies could all be productive sources of funding, especially if a scheme could be initiated in connection with the ICS for the establishment of funded postgraduate research posts on the lines of Soillse, the national research network in Scotland for the maintenance and revitalisation of Gaelic language and culture. This network involves the language development agency Bòrd na Gàidhlig, and the universities in Scotland which teach Gaelic. The scheme also provides grants for small-scale

¹⁸In which I was involved as a consultant (with David Powell Associates), and as a subsequent member of the HLF National Directory of Expert Advisers (for Intangibles: Language and Cultural Heritage).

research projects. For Cornish to move to this level of provision clearly implies a professionalization of the Cornish language research enterprise, active involvement of the local higher education sector, and the full utilisation of the available personal and professional expertise in this field as associates and consultants.

Research policy and strategy

A priority for a newly-established Cornish Language Research Network is an informed discussion on a feasible framework for a research agenda. Clear categories need to be established, and an order of priorities needs to be agreed. Without this as a foundation, research is likely to be *ad hoc* and reactive to immediate pressures rather than strategised with short-term, medium-term, and long-term perspectives, and it would lack any clear relationship with a language-planning strategy. I propose as a starter for discussion a framework based upon the five categories of language planning, as discussed above: corpus, status, acquisition, usage, and language-awareness.

1. The most immediate and salient need of the Cornish language community is to **increase the number of effective speakers**. This involves the categories of

acquisition and language-awareness. Research is needed as to what attracts people to the Cornish language, to acquire it, and to use it. That involves psycholinguistic, attitudinal and motivational research. I am not aware of any such yet being attempted, except for attitudinal questions on survey questionnaires. Since 1st August 1994 I have repeatedly called for such an initiative as a precursor to effective language-planning in the case of Gaelic, and have repeated this at every Gaelic-oriented meeting I have attended over the past 20 years. It has yet to feature in commissioned research programmes.

2. Allied to this is **pedagogic research** into effective methods of language teaching. Research in the context of other languages, including TEFL, would merit attention, adaption, and adoption.
3. In order effectively to utilise the fruits of these kinds of research, a **language-awareness programme** is clearly necessary in order to attract potential learners to acquisition programmes. Parallel to this other needs include the effective improvement of the position of Cornish language and Cornish Studies in school-level education, and the establishment

of an effective pre-school provision. A beginning has been made with nursery schooling, and with provision of language-learning via electronic and recorded media. This may be an effective means of overcoming the initial dearth of able and qualified language teachers. Gaelic experience has been that this shortfall has been the principal factor in limiting the development of Gaelic-medium education. Parental demand has been buoyant, teacher supply to date has not been able to match it.

4. These developments imply a close mesh between language-planning by the development agency, and an effective research plan being put into practice in **Cornish higher education**.
5. Corpus planning is multi-faceted, and Thomas (1963) drew attention to these needs a half-century ago. The full historical and comparative dictionary is still awaited, but **lexicographical research** might well prioritise learners' and school-level dictionaries. Similarly the full diplomatic editions of the traditional texts are still awaited. Some already exist (e.g. Thomas and Williams 2007), and the programme needs to be maintained.

6. Other aspects of corpus planning include **toponymic** and **onomastic** research. Cornish language in official and commercial public signage is a highly effective means of raising language-awareness. Cornish language versions of place-names need expert and specialist input and scholarly research into toponymy and onomastics. Gover's (1948) volume on Cornish place-names was never published, and now needs a great deal of revision in the light of research in this field. This is an urgency if Cornish names on public signage are to be based on properly attested historic forms.
7. An allied corpus problem lies in **new terminology**. It is no longer sufficient to rejoice, as did Caradar in 1947:

The decline of Cornish in the 18th century need not be regretted. Had the language survived into modern times, it would inevitably have lost much of its own idiom owing to the overwhelming influence of English, and its vocabulary would have become more English than Cornish. As it is, we have a compact medieval language, whose idiom is

Celtic and little likely to undergo any further change ... (Smith 1947:20)

On the other hand, the loss of a vernacular speech-community has meant the loss of indigenous ability to innovate in terms of idiom and terminology in response to the developing modern world. Repairing this loss may be possible with an idiom and terminology agency supported by the best corpus scholarship assisting the present-day speech community.

8. Allied to the need for more speakers is the need for **status for the language**. In the past Cornish has completely lacked any official status, and has suffered from lack of prestige amongst the general public. In 2003 Cornish secured official recognition, but in the years immediately prior to this the language had been recognised locally at local government level.¹⁹ Advances since then have given the language greater standing, and public

¹⁹e.g. by the earlier *Framework Document* for Cornish language policy adopted in 1997 by the former Cornwall County Council and all the former district councils in Cornwall, and subsequently the adoption of the *Cornish Language Strategy* by the county and district councils in 2005, and more recently the implementation by Cornwall Council of its *Cornish Language Policy & Cornish Culture* on 21st November 2009.

awareness has increased. Recognition at Part III level of the European Charter will require a case to be made, and this will have to be based upon demonstration that Cornish is functioning in new public domains. Collating this information will be a research job that can be accomplished in the fairly short term.

9. Usage planning involves the designation of rights to use the language in new domains, especially the public sphere, and the creation of opportunities to use it in new fields and activities. The right of using Cornish in public business of various kinds will probably be gained with increase in the numbers of speakers, but again a case will have to be made. This too will need background research. Increasing the salience of Cornish in the media, and the establishment of new activities and institutions is a practical task, and the research job here is in the field of **market research**.

Maybe that is sufficient for a fledgling research network to consider,

so finally ...

There is a great deal of scope for research and scholarship of all kinds to support the needs of the Cornish language and its community of speakers, learners, users and supporters. The language is rapidly progressing today towards a size and maturity in which its earlier revivalists and protagonists had confidence and hope. Sometimes there was a *cri-de-cœur*, as from Richard Jenkin in a *New Cornwall* editorial of Summer 1966:

Wherever you look in the Cornish movement ... you will see valiant and stout-hearted people trying to cope in their spare time with responsibilities that would be a full-time job for anyone. Often the same people are to be found tackling the important work in several societies, killing themselves for the sake of Cornwall ... To those who have long worked with little encouragement I would say: Seek out new helpers, encourage them, give them real work to do, and expect from them new ideas, new ways of tackling old problems ... Cornwall needs every willing hand, now and in the future.

Jenkin 1966:17

In those days it may have been true to say, as with scripture, “the fields are white unto harvest, but the labourers are few.”²⁰ But today the numbers involved in the Cornish language movement are considerably increased. (The prayer in the following verse to increase the labourers has seemingly been answered!) There has been greater professionalization in the field, and now there are both full-time and part-time remunerated posts in Cornish language development. There have in the past also been full-time academic and research posts in Cornish language. A next step would be to see such posts resumed and increased.

I for one have confidence in further development and opening opportunities in the Cornish language field. A Cornish Research Network can play a key role in this, and it is a timely and needful development. I wish it every success: *pub sowena-oll!*

Acknowledgements

- Kim Cooper, Principal Library Officer, and staff, Cornish Studies Library, Redruth.

²⁰John 4:35; Matthew 9:37.

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Chapter Seven

Henderson's Black-more revisited: disinterring a lost landscape¹

*Paper presented at Skians conference, Institute
of Cornish Studies, Tremough, 24th September
2015*

Henderson's Black-more in the seventeenth century

In a recent article on the evolution of place-names (MacKinnon 2014), I used the late Charles Henderson's 1927 es-

¹Although the subject-matter of this paper is Cornish place-names, I am not writing this as any sort of expert in this field. My background is sociology of language/sociolinguistics, and recent specialism has been in language policy and planning. In my earlier employment I taught physical and human geography, and these are the various perspectives I am bringing to this study.

say on Black-more (Henderson 1927, reprinted in Henderson [1935] 1963) as an illustration of the way in which changing land-use can alter or even obliterate much of the original topography, but records of place-names can still record what has been buried or even destroyed. Henderson's study was of "the great track [*sic*] of bleak upland between Bodmin and St Austell which is now the chief field of the china-clay industry. 'White-moor' would be a better name for it now" (*ibid.*:130). The present study examines Henderson's evidence further, and attempts to identify on today's maps and in surviving topography the locations of the features which he lists. In his essay, Charles Henderson quotes estate records of the Manor of Brannel, which list the features constituting the boundary markers of the lands of a Mr Tanner on "Henmoor *alias* Gunheath *alias* High Downs" in 1660. He also quotes from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Burngullow of 1671, and an estate map of 1696, both of which also detail this area. For the most part they record the landscape features in the Cornish language, with an English language equivalent or explanation (*ibid.*:131–132). Henderson notes that their spelling forms are peculiar to late Cornish (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and are not usually found in the place-names so far east as St Austell.

Henderson quotes the 1660 records as follows:

The Bounds begin at a stone called Crouse-widen *alias* White Cross lying by the highway from Cargvalance Vean [now Crugwallons] lane-end to Roch Church where the Lord Roberts, Mr Edgecumbe and Mr Tanner doe meet. Then to a stone called Carek-an-googe *alias* the Cuckoe Rock, lying near the said way to the left. Then to a stone called Mene-Flat in Peden-Halvegan at the head of Halvegan Moor. Then to a pile of stones called Pehel-Carnawhenis *alias* the Hornawink House on the right hand of the way. Then to a high rock called Mene-Vagar *alias* the Long Stone on the right hand, and thence to a round Burrow a little north-east in which are 9 stones then to a great Poole called Poole-an-abelly *alias* the Poole where the colts doe drink on the N.E. called Collen-a-Poole. Thence to a little pile of stones and so to the head of a spring called Venton Lamene, then to the Poole Bounds, then to a pile of stones in the moor called Tolvogue Rock, then to Gothos Well near the high-way to Roche and by stone to stone to the head of Venton-Cacorian and so to Nanpean

Moor.

Henderson [1935] 1963:131

The topographical record in subsequent mapping

The initial marker-point is Crouse-widen, Englished as White Cross, a road intersection half-way between Trewoon and High Street (at Grid Reference 070530), on what is now the main road A3058 from St Austell to St Stephen-in-Brannel. Here the road from Cargvalence Vean, now known as Crugwallins (GR 977521), crosses on its way to what was once High Downs, and which is now over-borne by Blackpool China Clay Works.

Crossing the main road, the un-named no through route minor road continues for about three-quarters of a mile. Carek-an-googe, the Cuckoo Rock, lay a half mile along this roadway on its western side at approximately GR 978535. This is at the southernmost edge of the china clay waste, but no feature corresponding to the rock is discernible from Google Earth images. Whether or not it still exists as a surface feature, or is buried beneath the china clay detritus is problematical.

The next identified feature is a stone named Mene-Flat, i.e. “flat stone”. The first Ordnance Survey seems to indi-

cate such landmark features by a small humped-shaped hachured symbol. The 1660 itinerary notes that this stone is located "in Peden-Halvegan at the head of Halvegan Moor". On the modern 1:50,000 reprint of the 1" to 1 mile 1813 original, the overlay of the National Grid graticule marks this at 979556, but it must be emphasised that this grid referencing system does not exactly correspond with the grid on the modern map.

The next feature is "a pile of stones called Pehel-Carnawhenis *alias* the Hornawinck House on the right hand of the way," at GR 980538. These two features lie between two northerly-trending tracks on the 1813 map, and the more westerly may have been the main or sole trackway in 1660. It seems to have become such a couple of centuries later by 1860.

The 1813 map indicates the exact position of the Mene-Vagar or Long Stone by means of a dot named Long Stone at GR 983561, close to the meeting of three trackways from the south.

The bounds continue to "a round Burrow a little north-east in which are 9 stones." At GR 983563 the 1813 map locates a feature named Cox's Barrow. The 1997 map carries the name Cocksbarrow at a corresponding point, although there is no marked feature. This would appear to have been at GR 989569 on the marked parish bound-

ary, which coincides with all these features so far, as Henderson observes that it was co-incident with Mr Tanner's 1660 boundary. The china clay wastes seem to have overwhelmed the site of the barrow here.²

The next boundary-marker is "a great Poole called Poole-an-abelly ... on the N.E." Twentieth-century maps do provide evidence of pools at a corresponding point. Whether any could qualify as the "great Poole ... where the colts doe drink" is arguable, but the feature seems to have been located at about GR 988574 on the 1997 map at "Mica Tip (dis)". This is more strictly due grid north rather than northeast of the last-named feature. Magnetic north is not now where it was in the seventeenth century, and this needs to be borne in mind.³

The bounds take a more westerly direction here, and the next feature, the head of Venton Lamene, might be any one of at least three headstreams lying to the north-

²I am obliged to Craig Weatherhill (personal communication 02.01.15) for the information that Cocksbarrow was, "Destroyed, but it was excavated prior to obliteration from china clay expansion. It had been the site of a timber circle ... The name 'Cocksbarrow' was surely coined to form a contrasting pair with Hensbarrow."

³In 1997 true north was $2^\circ 18'$ east of grid north. Magnetic north was estimated in 1999 at 3° west of grid north.

west. Only one of these coincides with the marked parish boundary at GR 982578, and is thus the most likely option.

“Gothos Well near the high-way to Roche” can be reasonably assumed to be located at about GR 971575. This is at the head of the valley in which present-day Gothers, formerly Goth-vos or Gothos, is located. However the bounds document does not state on which side of the highway the well was located.

The location of the intervening features, “the Poole Bounds”, and the “pile of stones in the moor called Tolvogue Rock” can only approximately be interpolated.

The location of the last-named feature, Venton-Cacorian, can be identified with a marked feature on a present-day map. The 1997 map marks a Spring at Currian Vale, GR 966567. The bounds then proceed to cross “Nanpean Moor”, which seems to have been the rough ground to the east and south-east of Nanpean now occupied by Winnipeg Mica Dam (disused) around GR 967560, and to the south of the lane leading to Old Pound, around GR 970555.

Toponymy and language

The witness of place-names, which are typically recorded in the Cornish language on the 1660 estate document, enable perspectives to be glimpsed of past landscapes, and land-use practices. These recorded place-names provide two types of evidence: linguistic, in a period when the area was undergoing rapid community language-shift; and in terms of landscape phenomenology,⁴ occupancy and land-use. Henderson himself provides some explanatory commentary in this vein. Sequentially the place-names are: Henmoor/Gunheath/High Downs, Crouse-widen/White Cross, Cargvalance Vean, Roch(e), Carek-an-googe/Cuckoo Rock, Mene Flat, Peden Halvegan/Halvegan Moor, Pehel-Carnawhenis/Hornawink House, Mene-Vagar/Long Stone, Poole-an-abelly/Collen-a-Poole, Venton Lamene, Poole Bounds, Tolvogue Rock, Gothos Well, Venton-Cacorian, and Nanpean Moor.

⁴Landscape phenomenology: “the way in which people experience the world they create and inhabit,” in Darvill (2002).

Henmoor/Gunheath/High Downs

Henmoor might initially be regarded as a hybrid name compounded from Cornish *hen* = 'ancient' prefixed to English 'moor'. This could well be consonant with its equivalent Gunheath, compounded from Cornish *gun* = 'down', a moorland converted into use as rough upland pasture, prefixed to English 'heath'. Henderson ([1935] 1963:126) however is inclined to derive *hen* from Middle English *hynde*, on the analogy of Twelve Men's Moor formerly "Twelfidna More, being old English for 'Twelve-Hundred-Moor'." Weatherhill ([1995] 2007) however derives this name from *hynde* = hind, female deer.⁵ The alternative name of High Downs clearly indicates that what had been sterile moorland or heathland had by the mid to later seventeenth century become utilised as rough upland pasture, suitable for summer transhumance of farm animals.

⁵However, in personal correspondence to me (02.01.15), Weatherhill believes that Gunheath is a totally Cornish name, from *goon* = 'downland' + *hedh* = 'stag, red deer'. If so, he feels it would form a (coincidental) pair with Hensbarrow = 'hind's barrow'.

Crouse-widen/White Cross

The charter gives the original Cornish name first, and it is spelled in a Late Cornish manner. Henderson observes that this is unusual so far east. The English version is an exact equivalent. The charter observed that the cross itself was a stone lying beside the intersecting highway. Henderson observed that the feature had disappeared and was unknown by his time. Also, the linguistic evidence seemed to indicate that Cornish was still in use or at least still traditionally known on Black-more in the mid to later seventeenth century. Today, we might conclude that the local sociolinguistic situation had become one of advanced language-shift.

Cargvalance-Vean

By Henderson's time this had become Crugwallons, and is thus marked on today's maps.⁶

⁶Weatherhill observes (personal communication 02.01.15) that early spellings indicate that the generic is clearly a plural, *crugow*, 'barrows, tumuli'. The qualifier is obscure.

Roch(e)

Named from French *roche* = rock. Pronounced as “roach” (Lander 2003:74).

Carek-an-googe *alias* the Cuckoe Rock

Again, we have an original Late Cornish name, followed by its exact English equivalent.

Mene-Flat

This is a hybrid name, compounded of Late Cornish *mene* = stone, and English *flat*. Such names suggest that local Cornish speakers had typically by this period become “semi-speakers” (see Dorian 1981), habitually using a mixture of both languages.

Peden-Halvegan

This name is explained in the charter as ‘the head of Halvegan Moor’ (Cornish *pen*, *pedn* = ‘head’). Henderson interprets this name as compounded with Cornish *hal* = ‘wet, upland moor’, and *vegan*, which he conjectures is cognate with the Welsh *bwgan*, a hobgoblin. If so, then together

with the next name, this area was at that time regarded as a desolation haunted by spirits and birds of the wilderness.⁷

Pehel-Carnawhenis alias the Hornawink House

The bird in question is the lapwing, *Vanellus vanellus*. In Scotland this is known as the *whaup*, and is noted for its mournful cry. Its Cornish name is variously noted as here, and as *cornwhylan* by Nance (n.d.:7), *kodna huilan* by Padel (1985:62), and *kernwhylly* by Williams (2000:198). The first element *pehel* is otherwise unknown to place-name specialists, but perhaps comparative Celtic philology might be suggestive.⁸

⁷Weatherhill challenges this interpretation (personal communication 02.01.15), rejecting that, “The qualifier does not appear to be *byghan*, ‘small’ ... at least two other place-names have a similar qualifier but the meaning is obscure.”

⁸Without specialist knowledge or authentication, I would hesitate to suggest it may be a Cornish equivalent or mistaken spelling for a conjectural *pebel* cognate with Welsh *pebyll* = ‘tent, pavilion’. Weatherhill (personal communication 30.12.15) suggests that *pehel* may derive from Cornish *peul*, ‘pillar, post’.

Mene-Vagar *alias* the Long Stone

Henderson did not discuss the Cornish name of this feature, but he noted that it underwent change in the subsequent records to “Longstone called Lavagoe-stone” in 1671, and to “Levaga or Longstone” in 1696.⁹

**Poole-an-abelly *alias* the Poole where the colts
doe drink ... called Collen-a-Poole**

Henderson interprets the Cornish name as “Pool (*pol*) of the (*an*) colts (*ebilly*)”. He interprets Collen-a-Poole as an English name for “*coltena*, the old English plural of ‘colt’”. This is evidence for the contemporary use of this moorland as rough pasture for breeding horses.

⁹Weatherhill observes (in a personal communication of 02.01.15), “These two entries, not long after the fully Cornish one of 1660, show a rapid Anglicisation process under way. What is *vagar*, -*vagoe*, -*vaga*? Two possibilities: 1. *magor*, ‘ruin’ ... 2. *maga*, ‘nourishing, nurturing’.

Venton Lamene

Henderson does not comment. However, *venton* signifies a spring.¹⁰

Poole Bounds

Uncommented, and probably the name of an adjacent tin bounds.

Tolvogue Rock

Henderson suggests, “from *tal*, a brow + *mogh* (mutation *vogh*) a hog.”

Gothos Well

Henderson comments, “now Gothers ... probably *bos*, a house,” and *Goth-vos* may mean ‘the old house’. He suggests this signifies a *hewas*, i.e. a location for summer pasture. This therefore would indicate the practice of tran-

¹⁰Weatherhill (personal communication 02.01.15) suggests that Lamene could be the same as Lamin (Gwinear) which has early forms showing it to be *Nansmen*, i.e. ‘valley of stone(s)’.

shumance of farm animals. Weatherhill (2009) interprets Gothers as derived from *gooth* + *fos* – ‘stream wall’.¹¹

Venton-Cacorian

Uncommented, but *venton* indicates a spring. The place-name is now Currian Vale. Weatherhill suggests that the similarly-named Venton Wycorian (in Kenwyn parish, and source of the Kenwyn River) derives from Cornish *fenten wycoryan* = ‘traders’ well/spring’ (Weatherhill 2005:118; Weatherhill 2009:33), or from *fenten goryon* = ‘hosts/clans’ spring’ (Weatherhill 2009:33). Without early spellings he finds the present instance hard to decipher.¹²

¹¹In a personal communication (02.01.15), Weatherhill further suggests that the qualifier is *fos*, ‘wall, rampart’, and the generic from *goodh*, ‘stream’.

¹²Weatherhill, in personal communication (02.01.15) suggests, “... something like *car yeyn*, ‘cold fort’ is possible ... *cor(dh)yon*, ‘clans’ is workable.” He suggests that the prefixed Ca-/Cu- (Cucurrian in 1840) may be analogous to Cucurrian (Ludgvan), although there is no trace of a fort (Cornish *car*) locally.

Nanpean Moor

Uncommented. The name is compounded from *nans* = ‘valley’, *byan* = ‘small, little’.

Henderson ([1935] 1963:131–132) notes that in documents relating to this area in the later seventeenth century the features named, especially those named in the Cornish language, are fewer; Cornish language nomenclature is replaced by English language naming; and that Cornish language names undergo spelling changes. He notes that in his day it was probably that only Longstone was still known (*ibid.*:132). Today, even that has gone from the landscape. However, prior to use of the moor for china-clay waste dumping, the stone was removed, its site archaeologically excavated and examined, and the stone re-erected on the green at Holmleigh Crescent, Roche.¹³

One possible inference from these indications could be that owing to its remoteness and inhospitality, the inhabitants of Black-more retained their Cornish language in community use longer than did adjacent areas of mid-Cornwall. However by the mid-seventeenth century Cornish was rapidly being replaced by English

¹³I am obliged to Craig Weatherhill for this information (personal communication 30.12.14).

in a situation of advanced language shift. The rapidly changing spellings of local names in the later seventeenth century, and the dropping or forgetting of much local Cornish-language toponymy could suggest that the processes of language change were accelerating into a case of runaway language shift, the final phase of societal replacement of one language by another. Such can be witnessed today in marginal Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland (MacKinnon 2011).

Black-more today

Today the area delimited by these bounds has been largely obliterated by the china clay workings of Black-pool, Longstone, Great Longstone, Littlejohn's, Dorothy, and Dubbers Mica Dams. Henderson ([1935] 1963:132) states that in his day of the landscape features noted in 1660 only the Mene-Vagar or Longstone was known, “a fine menhir or longstone standing ten feet above the ground.” No indication of this feature or its site is marked on today’s maps, except in the naming of the present-day china-clay works. Henderson reports that in his day there was no local knowledge of the name or of the location of Crouse-widen, the White Cross. Nineteenth century

maps do not indicate its location, and whether there is any official name of this junction today would need to be checked.

Although there has been some grassing over or landscaping of the southerly flanks of the china clay waste-land to the north of the present-day A3058 main road, exploration of its surface by means of Google Earth is impressive. The whole area is a white desert of china clay wastes interspersed by pits and white lorry tracks bearing little seeming relationship to the original and underlying topography. It is easy to lose oneself on the virtual journey of attempting to follow these bounds today. It would be equally easy, or even more so, to lose oneself in attempting such a journey “for real”.

Landscape exploration and interpretation

The interpreters of landscape whom I have cited in the earlier article: Henderson, Hoskins, and Pryor, all laid great emphasis on the essential exploration of landscape on foot, and also in the case of Henderson, on horseback. In his preface to Henderson’s *Essays*, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch refers to Henderson’s juvenile exploration of “fields, demesnes, ‘properties’, roads,

streams, bridges," and this exploration "To him, even thus early, this ancient native world ... was a palimpsest to be conned ..." (Henderson [1935] 1963:vii). Likewise in the essay on Henderson himself, A.L. Rowse observes that Henderson's chief delights included "walks over the countryside" (*ibid.*:xvi), whilst Henderson's own articles abound in references to visits in person, thumbnail descriptions of the setting or scene bearing witness to personal experience.¹⁴ Hoskins ([1955] 2013:14) likewise, in the *Introduction* to his first edition, asserts that through personal visits to a site, "There are discoveries to be made for which no documents exist, or have ever existed. To write its history requires a combination of documentary research and of field work, of laborious scrambling on foot wherever the trail may lead." Pryor (2013:3–4) likewise draws attention to the importance of walking through landscapes, as well as the practice of archaeology and the study of documents in order to understand them. The late Margaret Gelling likewise laid great stress upon personal visitation of sites in order fully to appreciate toponymic meaning, which could best be discerned in relation to landscape (Gelling and Cole 2003:xiv) in that,

¹⁴As, for example, that of *Twelve Men's Moor*, at Henderson [1935] 1963:145.

“topography should be studied on the ground, rather than on maps of any date, scale or quality” (Gelling 1984:8). Distance and personal abilities have meant that this has not been a possibility for me in this case. However these detractions have been partially overcome by means of viewing this landscape by means of Google Earth, but it is no real substitute.

However, this study reinforces points I made in my earlier article that landscape needs to be read as a palimpsest (MacKinnon 2014, citing Hoskins [1955] 2013:18–19 and Pryor 2013:15), that landscapes are layered over time (*pace* Vroom, and Murray 2014:36–38, cited in MacKinnon 2014), and that these layers need to be peeled back in order to understand the landscape phenomenology (see Pryor 2013:67 and Darvill 2002). Above all, the place-names preserved in estate documents and charters, and upon estate and other maps enable an overlaid and obliterated landscape to be at least partially reclaimed and better understood. Henderson ([1935] 1963:131) observed in his day of the extractive processes at work on Black-more, “Before the coming of the clay industry Black-more was full of interesting old Cornish place-names. Each burrow, rivulet, rock, or tin-bound retained a name of its own. Now they are largely lost.” And many more have been lost since he wrote. Whether the records of the china clay industry pre-

serve any of these names (as did earlier estate activities) might be a fruitful field for research. It would be good to think that the industry's activities were not entirely extractive, obliterative and exploitative.

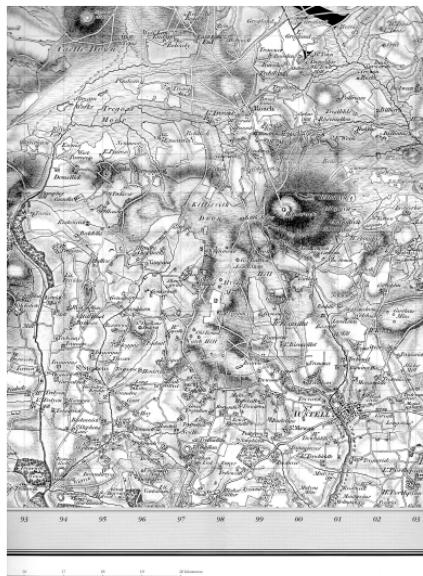
In Henderson's *Black-more*, we catch a glimpse of a society in rapid transition between languages and land-use practices which continued throughout the later seventeenth century. On the evidence of the records which Henderson has presented, within a generation between 1660 and 1696, Black-more transformed from a bilingual community in which its indigenous language was becoming vestigial, into an essentially monolingual one in which the indigenous language had become little more than a memory. Henderson's assiduous collection and preservation of country solicitors' jettisoned records, cleared out during the First World War (*ibid.*:xvi), enabled him to write such studies as *Black-more*. The subsequent deposit of his collection of records within the Royal Institution of Cornwall (*ibid.*:xxii) has the potential to enable further studies of the history of Cornwall to be attempted, and in particular, on the example of the present study, for further light to be shed upon the linguistic processes at work in detail in local areas throughout this history.

Acknowledgements

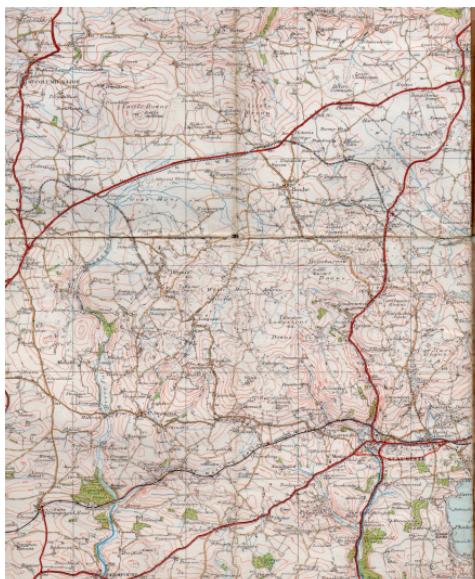
The author has been greatly assisted by the works of Oliver Padel and Craig Weatherhill on Cornish place-names and toponymic theory, and very much so in terms of personal communication with the latter.

The use of Ordnance Survey maps (Crown Copyright) is gratefully acknowledged with thanks, and in particular:

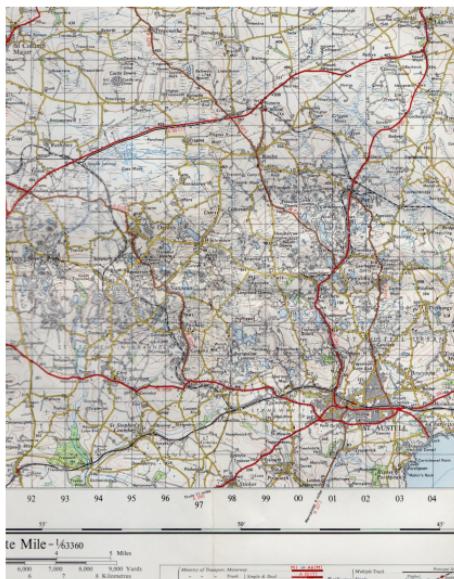
OS 1st Edition 1813, 1" scale, sheets 30, 31, rescaled and re-projected to match OS Landranger series at 1:50,000. Cassini Historical Map matching OS Landranger sheet 200. ISBN-10 1-84736-077-7



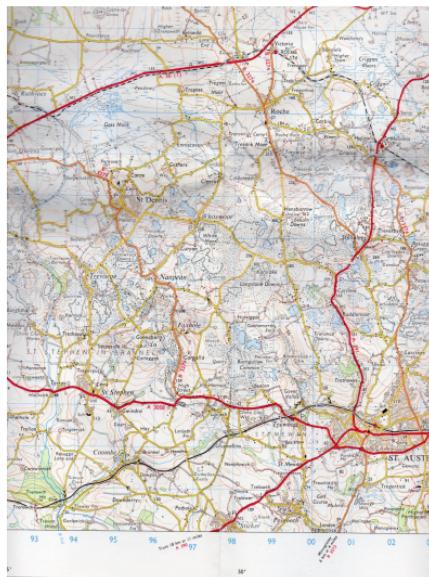
OS Contoured Road Map of Truro and St Austell, Popular Edition, Scale One Inch to One Mile, Sheet 143. Surveyed 1886–81, revised and reprinted 1930.



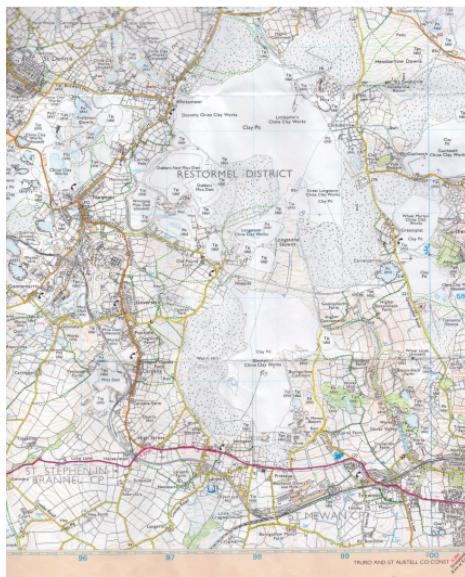
OS One-Inch Map of Great Britain, Newquay & Padstow,
Sheet 185. Fully revised 1958. Published 1961.



OS 1:50,000 First Series: Newquay and Bodmin, Sheet 200. Revised from photographs of Seventh Edition, Revised from air photographs 1969-70, roads revised 1972, published 1974.



OS Explorer 106 Newquay & Padstow. Scale 1:25,000. Revised 1997, reprinted with corrections 1998.



Chapter Eight

The Cornish spiritual landscape in place-names

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Studies Conference Glasney 750, Institute of
Cornish Studies, Tremough, 26th September
2015*

Landscape, people, language

Place-names furnish a unique perspective on landscape, its people and their language. In the case of Cornwall the continuity of its historic language from the dawn of history until a couple of centuries ago has left an abiding heritage of the way in which its speakers named the features of the landscape, the manner in which they used it, and the settlements which they established. Through them the Cornish language world in which they lived can

still be accessed. Place-names yield valuable information on landforms, land-use, husbandry, local fauna and flora, industries, and much else. These aspects in fact all comprise the composite natural and human environment which Gaster ([1950] 1961) termed “the topocosm”,¹ i.e. the perceived “world” of a specific community. The study of place-names can assist in understanding and revealing successive such perceptions or “topocosms” over time, especially if a “layered approach” is applied to the toponomy, such Murray (2014) has applied to the study of Gaelic place-names in Scotland.²

Place-names can reflect the layering of the natural environment from bedrock to landscape and human environment. Records of local place-names provide successive samples and impressions layered over time of the ways in which communities have collectively perceived local abiotic, biotic, landscape and occupational features.

In particular the spiritual or religious life of the Cornish people has left a record in place-names, and as the practices and beliefs of the people have changed over the centuries, distinctive toponymy bears witness to this.

¹Gaster ([1950] 1961:24) defines “topocosm” as “all the animate and inanimate elements that characterise the atmosphere of a given locality.”

²See especially Figure 3, p. 38.

Table 8.1: Layers in the landscape: expanded and developed from Murray 2014:36–38 (based on Meto Vroom)

Epitomisation	Features
Ideological	
Toponymy, psychogeography	Maps (physical and mental), records, written texts, oral lore
Sociological	
Society/community: landscape, seascape	Human environment
Cultural	
Occupance, settlement	Cities, towns, villages, settlement patterns, transhumance, nomadism
Economic	
Husbandry, agriculture, extractive and manufacturing industries	Farms, ranches, horticulture, managed land (downland, arable, pasture), mines, quarries, fisheries
Biological	
Biotic patterns: climatic climax vegetation, fauna/flora, habitat	Forests, grassland, heathland, moorland, savannah, deserts, tundra
Geological	
Abiotic patterns: bedrock, landforms, geomorphology	Geological strata, rocks, surface features (Davision cycle: structure, process, stage)

In the toponomy of present-day Cornwall, the record of successive spiritual or religious régimes can still be seen from pre-Christian, early Christian (“Celtic”), Catholic, Protestant (both Anglican and Methodist) periods, and in present-day secular modernity and post-modernity. Each

has left its distinctive trace in place-naming. Some of the distinctive place-name elements of successive periods are summarised in Table 8.2 (following), together with meanings and examples:

Pre-Christian toponymy

The element **neved** is compounded in several Cornish place-names (and is also encountered east of the Tamar). Padel (1985:172) gives as examples: Lanivet, Carnevas, Trenovissick, Trevarnevas. The meaning is basically a sacred place or area, such as a grove. Cognates exist in most Celtic languages, for example in Gaelic **neimhidh**, which is now also used for a glebe, or church lands. Anciently a *neimhidh* could be quite an extensive sacred area, such as Newmore, *an Neimhidh Mòr*, near Muir-of-Ord (Ross-shire). Whether the corresponding element in Cornish signified a similar extensive area is conjectural. The elements **menhyr/hyrven** (longstone), **crom-legh** (cromlech), **kelgh**, **dons-men** (stone circle) represent prehistoric and thus “pagan” monuments, surviving in the landscape, enduring monuments of what Bancroft (1987:ch. 5) calls “a religion of stone”.

Table 8.2: Successive spiritual/religious periods in Cornwall, and distinctive place-naming

Place-name elements	Examples
Secular modernity and post-modernity	
Highway intersection	Highgate Cross, Boxheater Junction
Housing development	Wayside
Bilingual street sign	Marine Drive/Rosva Vorek
Methodist	
Chapel	Chapeltown, Chapel Street
Commemoration of leader	Wesley Place, Wesley Rock
Biblical source	Mount Zion
Religious movement	Teetotal Street
Anglican	
Named Celtic saint prefixed by St	St Austell, St Enoder, St Ives, St Wenn
Catholic	
Named non-Celtic saint prefixed by St	St Stephen (× 3), St Michael (× 3)
eglos church	Eglosheyre, Egloskerry (+ 33 historical examples)
epscob bishop	Bishop Rock
pronter priest	Various field and house names
meneghy sanctuary, glebe	Meneage
mynster endowed or monastic church	Porthminster
Celtic	
lann sacred enclosure, cemetery	Lanherne, Lelant (c. 20 present and 30 historical examples)
hen-lann ancient sacred enclosure	Helland, Kehelland
simplex name of Celtic saint	Germoe, Breage, Kea, Zennor
to- with pet-name of saint	Landewednack, Landagea, Towednack
crows cross	Crows-an-Wra
pre-Christian	
neved sacred site/area	Lanivet, Trewarnevas, Carnevas
menhyr, hyrven, crom-legh,	Tremenheere
kelgh, dons-men	Kilkhampton, Dawns-men

The toponomy of “Celtic” Christianity

The sacred locations of our earliest Christianity were typically compounded with *lann* (sacred location, church-enclosure), as in Lanivet, Lanherne, Lelant. *Hen-lann* (ancient sacred enclosure) gives rise to Helland and Kehelland. Often the name of the early “Celtic” saint is compounded with *lann*, and very often stands alone, as with Breage and Germoe. There are at least 47 such examples in Cornwall of a Cornish saint’s name as simplex, some 19 cases where the saint’s name is compounded other than with *Saint/St*, and some 46 others where the saint’s name has been prefixed by *Saint/St*. Names now prefixed with *Saint/St* are however of predominantly indigenous Cornish/Celtic saints (46 as against 21 counted in this paper). Many of the indigenous Celtic names, such as Austol (subsequently anglicised and prefixed as St Austell), were in Cornish and not originally compounded with other elements; others, such as for instance St Enoder and St Ives, were originally in Cornish prefixed with *eglos-* and *porth-* respectively.³

Cornwall also provides several examples of familiar

³Williams (1999:222) notes the prefixing elements as *eglos*, *fenten*, *lan*, *merther*, *plu*, and *porth*.

(hyperchoristic or “pet-name”) forms of saints’ names prefixed with **to-**, ‘thy’. This is also known in Gaelic Scotland (where names where the prefix of **mo-** may be more common, but this does not seem to have occurred in Cornwall). Cornish examples with the **to-** prefix include Towednack, Landewednack, and Landegea. It is supposed that all these dedications to Cornish or Celtic saints preserve the name of the original Celtic missionary, who first established or renewed the Gospel in that place. These **to-** (thy-) compounds remember the saint in a familiar and personal manner.⁴ This practice may thus indicate a personal and less formal relationship between follower and religious leader in “Celtic” Christianity. The ancient crosses of Cornwall give rise to names compounded with **crows**, ‘cross’, e.g. Crows-an-Wra.

⁴This is common in Gaelic Scotland, where such elements as **Cill'** (cell, church), **baile** (township, village), **port** (harbour, port) are followed by **mo-** (my), and more rarely **do-** (thy) + saint’s name, generally in a familiar or diminutive form. Examples include Balmaha (Baile mo-Thatha), Kilmarnock (Cill m’Earnaig), Kilmonivaig (Cill mo-Naomaig), Portmahomack (Port mo-Chalmaig), Cladh do-Chunna (Do-Chunne’s graveyard), etc.

The toponymy of religious change: “Celtic” to Catholic

After Athelstan’s defeat of the Cornish in AD 930, the church in Cornwall began to be reorganised on the English/Catholic model (Berresford Ellis 1985:66–67). Cornwall had earlier adopted the Roman monastic tonsure and date of Easter in or about AD 705 (Taylor [1916] 1995).

With the supersession of the “Celtic” church and the adoption of Roman Catholicism, there seems to have been changes in toponymy in which *lann* was replaced by *eglos* (church), and later as Catholicism was replaced by Anglicanism, and Cornish gave way to English, the dedication was prefixed by Saint/St. There are at least 46 place-names where the indigenous Cornish or Celtic saint’s name is prefixed with Saint/St. Recorded forms of the same name sometimes went through successive forms in course of time and changing religious allegiance, prefixing the saint’s name with *lann-* → *eglos-* → Saint/St. Nevertheless there are some 47 examples of indigenous saints’ names surviving in place-names in simplex form,⁵ 19 examples where the saint’s name is

⁵These include Breage, Budock, Buryan, Colan, Constantine, Creed,

compounded other than with Saint/St,⁶ and 46 examples where it is.

Religious nomenclature from this period has entered into place names. As we have seen, **eglos** (church) enters into such names as Egloskerry and Egloshayle (with some 33 historic examples). **Epscob** (bishop) is cited by Padel (1985:94) as present in such historic examples as Carn Epscoppe, Meene-Crouse-an-Especk, and Maenanescop, which is now Bishop Rock. **Prontor** (priest) is cited by Padel (*ibid.*:194) as represented in Park Prontor, Carn Prounter, and Ponsprontiryon. **Meneghy** (sanctuary, glebe) is compounded in Manhay, Tremenheere, and possibly Bodmin (Padel 1985:163; Padel 1988:55). The allied element **Managhek** (monastic land) is represented in Meneage (Padel 1985:118–119). It is tempting to make a comparison with **neved** (above), if this can bear the

Crown, Cubert, Cury, Degibna, Feock, Germoe, Gerrans, Grade, Gluvian, Gunwalloe, Gwinear, Illogan, Kea, Kenwyn, Ladock, Ludgvan, Mabe, Madron, Manaccan, Maegan, Mawnan, Mevagissey, Mullion, Mylor, Newlyn (East), Paul, Phillack, Philleigh, Probus, Sancreed, Samson, Sennen, Sithney, Stithians, Towednack, Traboe, Veryan, Wendron, Zennor. Sources include Williams (1999:227).

⁶These include Altarnun, Padstow, Davidstow, Egloskerry, Gold-sithney, Porthust (Gorran Haven), Jacobstow, Luxulyan, Marhamchurch, Michaelstow, Morwenstow, Perranarworthal, Perranporth, Perranuthno, Perranwell, Perranzabuloe, Polruan, Ruan Lanhorne, Ruan Minor.

meaning of sacred ground or area. **Mynster** (monastic church) is represented in Porthminster (Padel 1985:167).

Subsequent religious change: Catholic to Anglican

Further religious change has also left its mark on place-names. With the English Reformation and the establishment of Anglicanism, there has been a tendency to preface Saint/St to the simplex saint's name as toponym. As we have seen, this has been resisted in some 66 cases (as noted above in footnotes 5 and 6). Williams (1999:222) further observes:

“It is significant that *sen/Sent* is common in Cornish only with foreign saints. Celtic saints and some of the commonest saints of the New Testament are usually referred to by their Christian names alone.”

It is for this reason that saint's name as place-name is probably commoner in Cornwall than east of the Tamar and the prefix St is relatively less common. Cornwall commemorates numerous indigenous Cornish or Celtic saints

whose place-names resist the Saint/St prefix. There are relatively fewer dedications to foreign saints than elsewhere, and their place-names are generally prefixed by Saint/St.⁷ However, Padel (1988) lists 39 cases where the Cornish or Celtic saint's name is also prefixed by Saint/St,⁸ and there may be also some seven or so others.⁹ Altogether in Cornwall there are 92 dedications to Cornish or Celtic saints giving rise to place-names noted in this paper, compared to 21 examples of such dedications to foreign or non-Cornish/Celtic saints.

The reprisals after the 1549 Prayer Book Rising spelt a death-blow to the language, removing much of its younger

⁷Examples include St Agnes, St Ann's Chapel, Chapel Amble, St Clement, St Clement's Isle, St Dominick, St. Erme, St Ervan, St George's Island, St Helen's Island, St John, St Lawrence, St Loy, St Michael Caerhays, St Michael Penkevill, St Michael's Mount, St Neot, St Stephen's-in-Brannel, St Stephen's (by Launceston), St Stephen's (by Saltash), Week St Mary: 21 examples. Sources: Padel 1988, Ordnance Survey.

⁸St Allen, St Anthony, St Austell, St Blazey, St Brecock, St Beward, St Buryan, St Columb (Major and Minor), St Day, St Endellion, St Enoder, St Erth, St Ervan, St Eval, St Ewe, St Gennys, St Germans, St Issey, St Ive (?), St Ives, St Just (-in-Penwith), St Just-in-Roseland, St Keverne, St Kew, St Keyne, St Levan, St Mabyn, St Mawes, St Mawgan (-in-Pydar), St Mellion, St Merryn, St Mewan, St Minver, St Pinnock, St Teath, St Tudy, and St Winnow.

⁹e.g. St Cadock, St Cleer, St Erney, St Gluvias, St Judgey, St Veep, St Wenn.

and more able-bodied male population. The dissolution of Glasney College in 1548 took out the principal intellectual centre of Cornish language learning and the creation of Cornish language literature. However the tradition of the “Gwari Meur”, the performance of Cornish language plays, did continue into the following century, despite the suppression of all religious drama by Queen Elizabeth Tudor in 1558 (Coleman 2015:116–117). In Cornwall this could be understood not only the more firmly to establish the Church of England, but also to remove a social institution which supported the indigenous language. In the following century Cornwall in general supported the royalist cause in the Civil War/War of the Five Nations (*ibid.*:117),¹⁰ and the letter of thanks from King Charles I in 1643 has been displayed in various Cornish parish churches.¹¹ Nevertheless, Anglicanism was never really popular amongst ordinary Cornish folk, and church attendances were reportedly low. The events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries taken together worked against the continuance of the language, although it was

¹⁰“The War of the Five Nations” is the term now favoured in the New Cornish Studies and “archipelagic” historiography in place of “the English Civil War”.

¹¹John Keigwin (1641–1716) made a Cornish translation which may have been subsequently displayed.

maintained in community and family use in a diminishing area of the far west until the end of the eighteenth century.

Further religious change: Anglican to Methodist

Industrialisation in the eighteenth century involved increasing population, and population movement. Developments in fishing and agriculture added to this. The developments in mining and manufacturing industry brought about population shift and population growth, and the established church was increasingly failing to provide and keep pace with this. The advent of Methodism in the mid-eighteenth century provided a religious focus for Cornwall's rapidly developing working and lower-middle classes, spearheaded by John Wesley's thirty-two visits to Cornwall between 1743 and his last visit, to Gwennap Pit, in 1789 (Shaw 1991).¹² As a result Cornwall still has the largest proportion of Methodists of anywhere in Great Britain, with the possible exception of Shetland.

¹²See [The Methodist Church in Cornwall](#).

Methodism was characterised by a vigorous order of local preachers, laymen – and later laywomen – who preached in the local vernacular. In Cornwall this development came too late to establish a cadre of local preachers using the local language, as in the case of Wales in Welsh, the Isle of Man in Manx, and in the Channel Islands in Jèrriais and Guernésiais. By the mid- and later-eighteenth century Cornish had become moribund and limited in its territory. There is no record of Cornish ever having been used in Methodist worship in this period, even in its final redoubts of West Penwith. However, such was the strength and pervasiveness of Methodism that it influenced local toponymy, albeit in English. St Ives for example became very strongly Methodist, as is testified by street names such as Wesley Place, Mount Zion and Teetotal Street. Many places throughout Cornwall are named after John Wesley (such as the various Wesley Rocks from which he is remembered to have preached), and chapel building leading to various Chapel Streets.

Methodist attitudes towards the Cornish language have not always been altogether favourable. A letter from the Rev W. S. Lach-Szirma to Henry Jenner (circa 1875) reports that his “old-fashioned church people” in Newlyn “certainly take an interest in it, their only objection is that Methodists think it ‘carnal’ and wicked ... and that

‘it does not pay’’ (quoted in Kent and Saunders 2000:322). These attitudes were shortly to be superseded, as by the end of the century and into the early twentieth there were prominent Methodists who promoted the ‘Celtic Revival’, and took an interest in the Cornish language, including the Rev Mark Guy Pearce, Alfred Browning Lyne, Methodist local preacher, as well as activists in the Tyr ha Tavas movement (Tregidga 1997:137).¹³ There are certainly today Methodist local preachers well able to conduct public worship in Cornish.

The Methodist movement in Cornwall has thus left its mark on recent toponymy, and linguistic landscape, albeit in English. It has also more recently made a significant contribution to the revival of Cornish culture and language.

¹³Tregidga (1997:149) also quotes Cecil Beer (in Cornish Guardian 17th August 1933): “it was a tragedy John Wesley had not lived a century earlier, since the religious zeal that he aroused might have arrested the decay of the language if it had been used in religious services ... one can easily picture the eloquence the local preachers might have reached in the use of the native tongue.” I wonder: John Wesley certainly brought into being a cadre of Manx language local preachers on the Isle of Man, even though he regarded the Manx language as “that confounded nuisance”.

Secular modernity and post-modernity

The twentieth century has brought about a marked decline in religious observation in Britain, and in Cornwall this has been marked by declining congregations, closure of Methodist chapels, and acute problems for Anglican parishes and parish churches. This process has continued apace into the twenty-first century. Whether secularism may be considered as a spiritual phase is arguable. However “spirituality” has grown in acknowledgement as adherence and attendance at worship in conventional religious observance and allegiance has declined. In the 2011 Census results for Cornwall¹⁴ 59.8% of respondents claimed allegiance to “Christianity”, 30.3% stated “no religion”, for 8.5% the response was “religion not stated”, and 1.4% claimed allegiance to “other religions”. The census figures for Cornwall very closely matched those for England and Wales as a whole, which were: Christianity 59.3%, “no religion” 25.1%, “religion not stated” 7.2%, and “other religions” 8.4%. Christianity as the majority response was thus declining, and the “no religion” and

¹⁴See [An overview of the headline figures for Cornwall \(Release 2.1 and 2.2\) February 2013.](#)

“religion not stated” aggregate was increasing.¹⁵ Both Cornwall and society as a whole in the twenty-first century were thus becoming increasingly secular.

Place-naming in a post-Cornish-vernacular Cornwall has been predominantly in English (though not entirely so). Modernity, especially in the twentieth century, has brought tourists, incomers and second-homers to an increasingly secular Cornwall. English thus became the dominant language of modern toponymy, such as house names, street and development names – but even so with a sprinkle of easy-to-pronounce Cornish-language names. Angarrack (2002:59) observes that highway developments have typically been given “bland English names”, such as Highgate Cross and Boxheater Junction, and developers have plumped for “culturally intrusive, but safe and easy Home County type names.” He also cites the example of ‘Wayside’ as just such a typical housing scheme name (*ibid.*:61; 287–289).

The twenty-first century is becoming increasingly post-Christian (in the sense of increasing secularity), as well as post-industrial (in the sense of becoming a “knowledge-economy”), and post-modern (in the

¹⁵Office for National Statistics 2011 Census: Religion in England and Wales.

nineteenth- and twentieth-century meaning of “modern” rather than “up-to-date”). Cornwall has witnessed changes in its linguistic environment. In terms of linguistic soundscape, settlers from east of the Tamar, second-homers, and tourists have produced English-accent dominance in many local and social situations, immigration has brought incomers from abroad in search of employment and acquisition of English, local people have undergone language-shift from Cornish accents and dialect to standard English speech. In terms of linguistic landscape, English has long dominated commercial signage from the nineteenth century onwards, and likewise official signage as this domain became increasingly prevalent in the twentieth. In Cornwall from the early nineteenth century maps were produced in English, and as the place-name forms had come to be recorded in English in official documents and for other official purposes they were thus represented in their anglicised forms on maps.

However, the twenty-first century and post-modernity in Cornwall have also witnessed new official policies to encourage and require new developments and thoroughfares to be named in Cornish. All district councils in Cornwall had adopted a Cornish naming policy after the turn of the Century. Before the end of the twentieth century the

County Council had adopted resolutions in support of the “distinctive nature” of Cornwall and its “special heritage”, and in promotion of the Cornish language and in encouraging “the use of the language in the naming of streets” (Angarrack 2002:287–288, citing County Council resolutions of 8th April 1997 and 27th July 1999 respectively). In 2006 Kerrier District Council adopted the policy of bilingual format for all new and replacement street signage. This policy was shortly adopted by the adjacent Carrick District Council, and after its accession as a unitary authority in 2009 by Cornwall Council for implementation throughout Cornwall.¹⁶ Post-modernity is thus witnessing the novelty of official introduction of a revived Cornish language into the linguistic landscape in a significant sense for the first time.

Conclusion

The marked change in style of place-names west of the Tamar was a salient and distinguishing feature of Cornwall which struck earlier tourists and guidebook authors.

¹⁶See [Cornish Language Partnership/MAGA website](#) [link broken as of 2019].

Much was made of this in the construction of “otherness” by promoters of the Cornish tourist industry, such as the Great Western Railway, as noted by Philip Payton and others.¹⁷

The distinctive place-names, as witnessed on maps, road-signs, place-signs, signposts and street names throughout Cornwall immediately spell out a dimension of “otherness”, and strike the observant visitor with an immediate impression that Cornwall is ‘different’. They are one of the factors which testify to an indigenous language, and give Cornish even today a domain in which it is salient. In this way place-names contribute an important element in the “linguistic landscape” (Landry and Bourhis 1997).¹⁸ This is defined as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region the linguistic landscape may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory.” In this manner the Cornish language still has a distinguishing and public role in Cornwall today. Linguistic landscape has been

¹⁷See, for example, Payton and Thornton (1995); Perry (1999); Dickinson (2008).

¹⁸See also Kennedy (2012).

described as being “somewhere at the junction of sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, geography, and media studies” (Sebba 2010). The linguistic landscape is an important dimension of difference which helps to make Cornwall a category of its own, in the terms of a recent article by Kirkhope (2015). He discusses some seven aspects and institutions, chiefly but not exclusively in constitutional matters, in which Cornwall is distinctively different from (the rest of) England. Place-names and linguistic landscape could well comprise an eighth.

Place-name signage is an important aspect in the construction of the linguistic landscape, and in the case of Cornwall the names epitomise a distinctive naming process in the indigenous language and its community in which the spiritual or religious aspect has functioned very differently from that in Anglo-Saxon England. The place-names indicate that the Christianisation of Cornwall was undertaken in a very different manner, as the toponymic incidence of indigenous early “saints” and missionaries indicate. The supersession of the toponymic prefix *lann* testifies to the process of Catholicisation, and the increasing augmentation of the simplex saint’s name as toponym with the prefix *Saint/St* witnesses the process of anglicisation and anglicisation which accompanied the introduction of Protestantism and the establishment

of the Church of England. Both processes have been resisted, and examples of each earlier type have persisted. In the process of normalisation of the revived language and the re-introduction of place-names in Cornish it is very much to be hoped that the restoration of authentic practice in place-naming is observed.¹⁹

Throughout Cornwall's Christian history those individuals who brought and planted the Gospel in local communities have been memorialised in place-names, from the "Celtic" missionary-saints in the Age of the Saints, c. AD 400–600 (Taylor [1916] 1995:38; Borlase [1893] 1995) to the thirty-two visits of John Wesley in the eighteenth century. Christianity originally came to Cornwall in a very different manner than it did to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to the east. There the faith was adopted "top-down" as a matter of state policy, and church dedications were made chiefly to non-native saints. Again, the patterning of place-names testifies to this.

To date, place-name studies have concentrated on the form, derivation, meaning, and etymology of place-names. Such valuable data can throw insightful light upon the incidence, pattern, geography, history, and above all the

¹⁹See chapters by Craig Weatherhill in Everson 2007; also Williams (1999).

social function of place-names. In the case of Cornwall and its place-names this paper has attempted to comment on how the distinctive toponymy of Cornwall sheds light upon its spiritual history, change over time, and the significance of this aspect of linguistic landscape today. Halliday (1973) has observed that in social life language-use is concerned with “what language does rather than what it is”. Two centuries after ceasing as community speech the Cornish language still continues to speak to us.

Acknowledgements

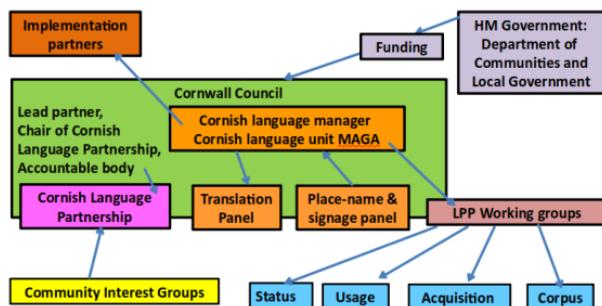
I am contributing this article not as any kind of specialist or expert on place-names. My own academic background is in economics, sociology and education. In my earlier appointments I taught human and physical geography, and more recently social sciences (including sociolinguistics, research methods and media studies), education and language studies (including Language Policy and Planning). These are the principal perspectives which inform this work. I also wish to acknowledge the many publications of Oliver Padel, Nicholas Williams and Craig Weatherhill.

Chapter Nine

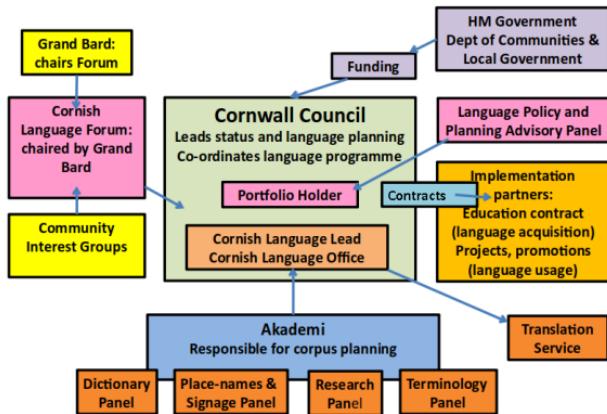
Cornish language planning structures

from Provisions for reviving a language: The case of Cornish – history, revival, planning provisions. Paper presented at SOILLSE Conference on Small Language Planning: Communities in Crisis, Glasgow University, 6th–8th June 2016

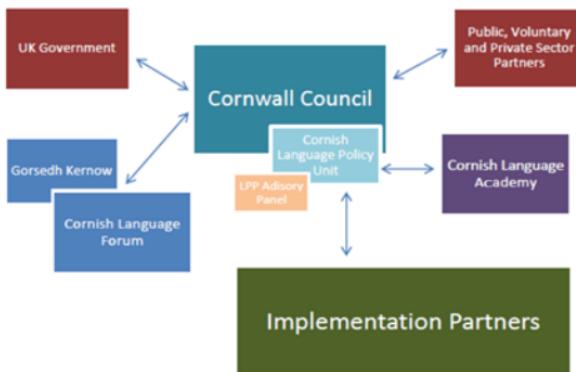
Cornish language planning MAGA 2005–15



Cornish language planning structure 2015–25



Cornish language planning structure 2015–25 (Iaith 2015): Proposed new LPP structure



Chapter Ten

Summercourt: location, landscape and language

26th October 2019

Place and position

The village of Summercourt and its surrounding hamlets, farms and countryside comprise the western part of the parish of St Enoder, in mid-Cornwall. The Summercourt area is a rural area of dairy and mixed farming. It lies on the A30 spinal route through Cornwall, at the north-western edge of the Clay Country. The china-clay spoil tips to the east have been a dominant landscape feature, and were illustrated on a Great Western railway poster of

the scenery to the east of the village in the 1930s.¹ The levelling and grassing over of these features has considerably softened their visual impact today.

The Churchtown of St Enoder lies about 0.6 mile to the north-east of the village centre (approximately one mile by road), from the crossroads at the intersection of the former A30 with the A3058 Newquay–St Austell road. From here the approach to St Enoder was once a country walk by lane, fieldpath and woodland. Today the route lies across the Summercourt By-pass (opened in 1991), part of the double-carriageway A30 trunk road. The crossroads, its adjacent highway margins and central position in mid-Cornwall² made it a convenient market place in the mid-

¹I saw this displayed at the then Poplar Railway Station in east London in 1939/40, and entitled "A Cornish Moor". The style was similar to E. McKnight Kaufer's "Devon's Moors", and 'Go Great Western to Cornwall' (both 1932). Unfortunately I have been unable to access a picture of "A Cornish Moor" either on-line or as a reproduction. "A Cornish Moor" was however my first question on arriving as war evacuee at Park House Farm in 1940. "Shall I see a Cornish Moor?" This produced gales of laughter in the farm kitchen. Mrs Mellow said, "Yes my dear, you surely will. When you wake up in the morning, just go over to the window and pull the curtains." Which I duly did, and there it was, just like in the poster: white mountains and purple heather on the lower slopes! A lifetime's ambition fulfilled at age 7.

²At Grid Reference SW 887 561.

dle ages, and it has been the site of the Summercourt Fair held on or about 25th September each year ever since.³ The fair has latterly been held in the “Fair Park” (or Fair Field) between the London Inn and Park House Farm (now demolished).⁴ This fair is one of the longest established in Cornwall, with a royal charter dating back to at least 1234.⁵

At about a half-mile to the southeast of the village centre along the former A30 lies Chapeltown (or Chapel Town). The name dates from after 1845 following the establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel and Schoolrooms (converted into a dwelling-house in 2000). The hamlet was previously known as Splat (a Cornish term for a plot of land).⁶ It may be significant that

³The modern fair runs from the third Thursday in September with the main market day the following Monday. (originally celebrating the feast day of the Holy Cross). See [Wikipedia](#) and [Visitor UK](#).

⁴The authority for the fair was originally “the holder of the White Glove” (see footnote ³), and this has latterly passed to the owner of the “Fair Park”. When I was resident at the adjacent Park House Farm in 1940–41 this seems likely to have been the then farm owner, a Mr Mellow.

⁵Summercourt Fair was earlier “the Long Fair” (*Langaferia, Langchep-yng*) held previously at nearby Penhale, and seems to have moved to what is now Summercourt in the reign of Edward II (1307–27).

⁶As shown on the Ordnance Survey map (Old Series) of 1813, and noted by Gover (1948:333) (citing Charles Henderson’s manuscripts).

Chapeltown is at the opposite end of Summercourt village from the Churchtown of St Enoder.

The name Summercourt is modern, and is English rather than Cornish. Padel (1988:160) dates the earliest use of this name to 1711, and Gover (1948:333) to 1712. The settlement that is now Summercourt (earlier spelt Summer Court) grew up around the fair which had long preceded it over at least five centuries. Henderson notes how Cornish fairs were often established outwith manors and towns, and the present-day settlements where they have been held have grown up around them.⁷ The name Summercourt is thus comparatively modern, and came to be so-named at a point in time most probably after the Cornish language had ceased to be the local vernacular. The location had been noted as *Langaferia* in 1227 (Weatherhill 2009:65; Padel 1988:60), and earlier

Gover spells the name “Splatt”, and does not cite or discuss the name Chapeltown. I was resident here in 1941 at what is now Sorrel Cottage (then c/o Mrs Stephens).

⁷Henderson ([1935] 1963:24–25): “After the Normans had established themselves, the earls of Cornwall and their barons began to found towns in their manors as commercial ventures. They found their Cornish subjects unwilling to dwell or meet in towns, even holding their principal fairs (such as the Long Chipping and Merthersithney Fairs) in desert places. These survive as Summercourt and Goldsithney Fairs, but the villages that bear their names have grown up around them.”

in Old English as *langan feire* (Weatherhill 2005:126). By 1351 the name had become Middle English *Langchepyng*. The meaning in all these cases was ‘long fair (or market)’. Gover (1948:330) had felt that this reference was to Mitchell (rather than to Summercourt as such). If so, the fair would certainly have been a long one had it extended that far.

The location of the fair at what is now Summercourt would have been ideal for a *plen-an-gwarry* (or playing place), as large numbers of people from elsewhere in Cornwall would have attended the “Long Fair” or “Long Chipping”. The site is at the north-eastern extremity of Summercourt, as noted by Lyon (n.d.:20–21).⁸ Concerning the location of this feature, Lyon quotes from a Church Terrier of 1601, “... Parsonage Glebe on the E of the Queens highway from Penhele to Mytchell on the S & the lands of Wm John Williams⁹ esq on the W & a lane leading to the church on the N.” Note: there is no mention of “Summercourt” at this date. Concerning the naming of this fea-

⁸Rod Lyon locates this feature at Grid Reference SW 8962 5666. The site is also shown as “Round” on the O.S. 1” map sheet 143 (1918, minor revisions to 1930), and as “Settlement”, with embankment shown, on OS Explorer sheet 106 (1997).

⁹This may well be an instance of a three-element personal name or patronymic. See below at footnote ¹⁴.

ture, Lyon (n.d.:20) quotes, “... and for my catell in a piece of ground called the playne place or Fayre park ... lying from my vicarage land SE.” It would seem that the *plen-an-gwarry* had by 1601 ceased to be used as a playing-place. It was located on church land, and thus the ordinance of Queen Elizabeth of 1558 against the performance of religious drama may have been thus obeyed. The location had by this time come to be ancillary to the fair, and was being used to graze cattle, which may have been its use in any case between dramatic performances and sporting events earlier. It is tempting therefore to identify this former *plen-an-gwarry* with the “summertime court-yard”, and which led to “the long chipping” being given its present-day name of “Summercourt”.

Henderson has noted that in the middle ages the Cornish preferred to establish their fairs in “desert places” and not within the bounds of manorial lands.¹⁰ This was for obvious reasons, namely to avoid incurring manorial dues. The site of the *langaferia*, now Summercourt Fair, was located in just such a *desert place* on the relatively unpeopled central uplands of Cornwall, where two major highways crossed. The *long market* was located along Cornwall’s main spinal highway, and we can imagine that the market

¹⁰See footnote ⁷ above.

stances, stalls and booths were erected along the roadside margins, and thus on the *king's highway*, ground which was common to all and not the manorial property of any.¹¹ The site of the fair was originally in nearby Penhale, and may have been earlier in Bodmin. Whether the fair grew out of Penhale towards the present-day crossroads at the centre of the later Summercourt, or was a deliberate move to a completely new location, may be conjectural, and as we have seen above, Gover believed that in 1351 it had extended to, or took place in Mitchell.

The location at the intersection of two highways promoted the popularity of the fair, which has continued to the present day. It may well have been the case that regular markets were held here, as well as the annual fair. During the middle ages and beyond there was evidently no permanent settlement or village at this site, and it may have been that the village came into existence as the result of the establishment of a "summertime courtyard" or "courtyard used in summer" by 1711/12, as noted by Padel (1988:160), Henderson, and cited by Gover (1948:333). This may have been some sort of holding or fattening pen for resting or fattening animals brought in

¹¹The fair continued to occupy the highway, and to trade animals up to the 1950s. See *Towns and Villages around Newquay*.

from elsewhere for marketing or sale at the September fair. Padel (1988:160) compares this place-name with a similar minor place-name in St Neot parish, *Le Somer Yerde*, with a similar significance.

By 1813 a small village had developed, as indicated on the Ordnance Survey (Old Series, 1 inch to 1 mile map, sheet 30)¹² and shown as "Summer Court or Lower Penhale". The alternative name may be a remembrance of the fair having extended from or moved from the adjacent village of Penhale before Summercourt was named as such.¹³ At the south-eastern corner of the crossroads is located the London Inn, a former coaching house dating from the 18th century. This and the "courtyard used in summer" (and perhaps also the *plen-an-gwarry*) seem to have been the principal developments from which the present settlement of Summercourt initially grew. The development of metalliferous mining in mid-Cornwall led to the construction of miners' cottages along the main highway (now School Road) westward from the crossroads.

¹² And on the reproduction at 1:50,000 scale Sheet 200 (published by Cassini 2007), at Grid Reference 886562.

¹³ There is also another Lower Penhale shown on this map at GR 905576, and this (or nearby) is the location of the Lower Penhale on today's maps at GR 904574. (There is a slight inconsistency with the imposed grid graticule on the Cassini reproduction compared with modern OS mapping.)

The establishment and development of Summercourt at the intersection of the main spinal route through Cornwall with an important coast-to-coast route (Newquay to St Austell) made it an attractive location for a major fair. The main spinal route (later the A30 trunk road) represents the main line commercial and economic interpenetration of Cornwall from the east. It also represents a line of influence by English-language speakers into the earlier Cornish-speaking heartland, and this is signified by the establishment of a succession of Middle- and later English-named settlements, a process which has continued from the Middle Ages into modern times.

Language persistence and language change: evidence in personal names

There seems to be evidence that Cornish was maintained as the community vernacular into the seventeenth century (and perhaps beyond). Buckley (2002) draws attention to the use of three-element patronymics as an indication that Cornish naming practices remained still extant, suggesting that the Cornish language was still locally in use. Buckley (*ibid.*:80) draws attention to Fox and Padel's work 2000 on the Arundell Collection in which

“three-part names” noted in estate records are discussed, similar to Deacon’s examples from Redruth,¹⁴ such as Henry John Jack, John Harry Jenkyn, John Thomas Harry, John Thomas Davey, Randolph Hicke Edward, and Richard Thomas Rawlyn (= Ralph) (Deacon 2004b:75–76). These gave way to “two-part surnames” ending with a place-name, such as John Thomas Tresidder.

Spriggs (2003) also maintains that such names are evidence of the contemporary local use of Cornish. He notes that Padel had found such names in St Columb Major between 1450 and 1550, and concluded that Cornish was then still spoken there (*ibid.*:236). Deacon (2004b:76) also notes the incidence of “two-part surnames” as evidence of Cornish language-maintenance. He cites such names as Henry John Jack (Redruth 1524), John Harry Jenkyn, Redruth 1545), William Toma Davy (Gorran 1451/64), and quotes Fox and Padel (2000:xxxiv) to the effect that “this naming custom was thus distinctive of areas where the Cornish language was still spoken.” Deacon’s 2004b:72 map of Cornish language surnames and bynames (from subsidy lists of 1520 and 1540) includes St Enoder parish

¹⁴Similar three-part patronymics (termed *sloinnidhean*) are still in current use in Gaelic-speaking communities in Scotland and Nova Scotia. Also see footnote ⁹ above.

as an area of highest incidence, at 10% and over. It was an outlier well beyond the 10%-plus areas of West Penwith, the Lizard and the Mount's Bay–Camborne–Redruth areas. Deacon (*ibid.*:79) also includes St Enoder comfortably within the area of his map (from sixteenth century subsidy lists) of parishes with two-part surnames. The name of “Wm John Williams of Probus esq” noted in the St Enoder Church Terrier of 1601 (see footnotes ⁹, ¹⁴) may well be an example of another. Comparing the evidence of these sixteenth and early seventeenth century documents with an examination of those of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would be instructive. This might produce further evidence in personal or place-names for the later vernacular use of Cornish.

Language persistence and language change: evidence in field names, personal names, and farms

Minor toponymy, such as field names, may also be evidence of contemporary or recent community use of Cornish. Holmes (2003:281) cites Henderson's manuscripts (Henderson Collection at RIC Cal 10, p.

176)¹⁵ concerning field-names at Trefullock¹⁶ in St Enoder in 1713, which “show the language at the same stage of development as contemporary documents in West Penwith.” He adds that “estate maps and field-name lists from Penwith in the Henderson Collection ... show that field names do not survive long after the change in language” (Holmes 2003:282).¹⁷ However the names at Trefullock evidently show the language surviving into the period when Summercourt had begun to come into being two-thirds of a mile away to the north-west. What name the Cornish-speakers of this time and place used for Summercourt is conjectural, as only English-language names for this settlement have been recorded.

Whether “the summer-time courtyard” or “the long market” were ever known by a Cornish-language equivalent by any contemporary Cornish speakers remains problematic, to say the least. The present-day Cornish

¹⁵This actual reference does not include mention of Trefullock. This is located at Henderson Calendar 14, No. 175 (p. 89) – a transcript of a document HK/19/21 (Henderson Collection: Mohun archive).

¹⁶At GR 897558, approximately a half-mile southeast of Summercourt cross-roads.

¹⁷Gaelic language field names are still in use at my own family’s farm on the Isle of Arran some three generations after Gaelic ceased as a community and family language over a century ago. See MacKinnon 2015.

translation of the latter as “Marhashir”, as was recommended by the Cornish Language Board, does not seem to have any basis in record, or contemporary documentation. This translates the Middle English and earlier Latin names of the fair at a period when Summercourt as a village did not exist. It might have been equally or even more valid to coin a modern Cornish-language equivalent based upon the modern English-language name of the village.¹⁸

The Tithe Apportionments in the 1830s–40s include maps and apportionment lists. These documents exist for St. Enoder parish, and are held at the Cornish Record Office. Copies digitalised on CD (TA56, TM56) are available for purchase. Inspection of these documents however proved disappointing as the 19th-century field-names indicate a general contemporary English-language nomenclature with very little surviving of a preceding Cornish-language naming practice. Land-use character of each field is indicated on accompanying papers, e.g. arable, pasture, meadow, mowhay, etc. Very few Cornish-

¹⁸It might be suggested, for example, Lys-an-Haf (if a royal or legal court should be the case), or Cort-an-Haf (if the sense is a courtyard in the everyday sense). Since this is not provable or ascertainable either way, no firm recommendation is possible.

language field-names had survived in St Enoder parish by this date. The Tithe Apportionment numbers the fields of each estate in its documents, and notes the following, which seem to be still bearing names in Cornish: on the Ennis estate: Little Trevuzza Close 77, Trevuzza Moor 78, Trevuzza Close 80, and Parkantroan 83; on Burthy Bruen estate: Burthy Downs 524 – 527, 581, Menessa 546, and Kerzeu 552; on Retyn estate: Willy Downs 1579; and on White Hall estate, part of Trefullock, The Geer 2003.¹⁹ Also, Gover (1948:332) cites Park-en-Grous ('field of the cross') from 1455, citing source as *AncDeeds IV*. Whether he cites this because the name was still known in 1948 is unstated. However, we do have the Trefullock field-names (from 1713; Spriggs 2003:244), as noted by Henderson,²⁰ and they provide evidence of local survival of Cornish, at least into the seventeenth century, and maybe beyond.

What also tends to confirm local late persistence of spoken Cornish are the three-generational patronymics in local church registers. Some remnant of this once-common practice may be perpetuated in the present-day

¹⁹Cornish *ker*, an earthwork, camp, or fortification, in which the Camp or Settlement at Grid Reference 893 553 is situated.

²⁰See note ¹⁵, above.

common incidence of the third generational element as a modern Cornish surname. For instance, in 1941 I was billeted with a Mrs G. Stephens of Chapeltown.²¹ Her surname may have originated as such an element of a conjectural three-part patronymic, such as Bernard Deacon and others have observed as evidence of local spoken Cornish practice (Deacon 2004b; Spriggs 2003). At the other end of the village at St Enoder Churchtown, the churchyard also has many gravestones with thoroughly Cornish names, many ultimately deriving from a Cornish language original.²²

Mid-nineteenth century census records likewise document many surnames of thoroughly Cornish types, such as the patronymics ultimately deriving from the three-generational Cornish naming practice noted above, as well as locational descriptors and occupational descriptors likewise originating in the Cornish language.²³

²¹Her son ran the village shop at the crossroads.

²²[St Enoder Churchyard, Grave details](#) lists numerous examples of names deriving from the Cornish language, such as Bray, Clemow, Pryske, Retallack, Tamblin, Teague, Trevithick, Whetter.

²³e.g. 1841 census documents, at [Cornwall Online Census Project—1841: Transcript of Piece HO107/150 \(Part 1\): Enumeration District 6 \(Civil Parish of St Enoder\)](#), book 1, folios 4–24, pages 1–25. Many of the names are patronymics, such as Stephens, Williams, Johns, etc., which may derive

My first billet in 1940 was with the Mellow family at Park House Farm. Deacon (2019:108) notes that this surname may very well have originated with a Cornish-language family name ending in the suffix *-ow* appended to a personal name.²⁴ Suffice it to say that there is evidence both in local surnames as well as in local microtoponymy for late survival of spoken Cornish here.

Although Summercourt is a comparatively recently established settlement, whose name is a modern English one rather than Cornish, it is embedded in a surrounding countryside whose minor toponymy is entirely Cornish in language (Lyon 2001:11).²⁵ All the farming settlements sur-

from original three-generational patronymics; others derive from Cornish language such as Bennetto, Clemow, Edyvean. Cornish language place-names are represented, such as Reskilly, Tresidder, Trevithick, Trevethan, and there are many examples of descriptors and locational names similarly derived, such as Veal, Teague, Bray, Priske, Tallick.

²⁴He does not suggest what might be the personal name in this case, but perhaps Miles, Milo might be possibilities.

²⁵Lyon discusses an 18th-century John Nancarrow, born 1739 and at age 40 resident at Market Jew. Local records (of St Hilary) have no mention but his dates correspond with a namesake at St Endor. Lyon observes, “It is most unlikely that this John Nancarrow was a Cornish speaker, although strangely enough, the parish of St Endor does have an unusually high percentage of Cornish language place names for its location.” The surname was still extant locally in 19th century census records.

rounding the village have names which are entirely Cornish in character, as shown in Table 10.1.²⁶

Table 10.1: Farming settlements near Summercourt

Farm name	Grid reference	Cornish name elements	Etymology	Source
Trefullock	856 558	Trev ullek	Damp (?) farmstead	Gov
Nanpean	898 554	Nans pyan	Little valley	W2
Trenithon	894 553	Tre'n ethyn	Farm of the furze	W2
Goenrounse	888 554	Goen rounsyn	Ass's (rouncey's) down	W2
Rosewyn	891 546	Res wyn	White ford	W2
Resurrance	888 543	Res Gerens	Gerent's ford	W2, W3
Arrallas	881 539	Arhant lys	Silver court	W2
Resparva	882 547	Ros perveth	Middle hill-spur	W2, W3
Penscawn	870 555	Pen scawen	Hill-top with alder-tree	W3
Trevessa	866 555	Trev usa	Outermost farmstead	W4
Pencorse	874 570	Pen cors	End of marsh	Gov
Carvynick	878 564	Ker/cayr veynek	Stony fort	W2
Boswallow	885 568	Bos woles	Lower dwelling	Gov
Hendra	890 570	Hen dre(v)	Old homestead/ home farm	Gov, W2
Troan	891 572	Tre Yowan	Yowan's farm	W2
Retyn	885 586	Res tyn	Ford by rounded hill	W2
Ennis	899 581	Enys	Isolated/remote place	W3
Penrose	899 572	Pen ros	End/head of hillspur	W3

²⁶Sources: W1 = Weatherhill [1995] 2007; W2 = Weatherhill 2005; W3 = Weatherhill 2009; Gov = Gover 1948; W4 = Weatherhill, C., personal communication 25/08/19. Here and elsewhere the valued advice of Craig Weatherhill is gratefully acknowledged.

A Cornish name for the village

The present policy of providing all places in Cornwall with a name in modern revived Cornish has prescribed Marhashir for Summercourt. This article has discussed the difficulties and inconsistencies inherent in this. It is entirely conjectural that any actual contemporary Cornish speaker ever used such an expression as *an varghas hir* to refer to the *Langaferia* or *Langchepyng*. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, but there is no actual written evidence for it. A Cornish translation of the alternative earlier nineteenth century name of the village as “Lower Penhale” would have some better justification, but at the risk of confusion with a nearby present-day settlement similarly named at Grid Reference SW 905 576. My own personal preference would be for consideration to be given to a translation of the modern English name of this village, which after all largely came into being essentially after the local prevalence of the Cornish language, such as Garth-an-Hav, rather than a translation of the medieval fair or market.

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Academic appointments/affiliations

- Substantial experience in the LPP field: studies of smaller-scale language-communities over many years (Gaelic and other minority language groups, ethnic minority communities).
- Academic appointments: honorary professor in Celtic (Language Policy and Planning), University of Aberdeen (since 2004); honorary professor (Cornish Studies) Univ Exeter (from 2018).

- Associate Lecturer in Social Sciences, Education and Language Studies, Open University (since 1971), latterly MEd in Education (Applied Linguistics, Language, Literacy and Learning).
- Previously fulltime at University of Hertfordshire (1974–1992): Reader in Sociology of Language 1974–1991, Visiting Professor and Reader Emeritus in Sociology of Language from 1992.
- Consultant with David Powell Associates (2002–2003) for commission from Heritage Lottery Fund to establish new budget-line for Intangibles (Language and Cultural Heritage), subsequently serving on HLF National Directory of Expert Advisers (2003–2010).
- **Activities with Institute of Cornish Studies:** Associate of Institute (1993–2019). Advisor to postgraduate students: Julie Tamblin MA Cornish Studies 2002, Kayleigh Milden PhD 2006. PhD external examiner: Jon Mills, 2002. Assessor for quality review: Cornish Audio-Visual Archive, “Cornish Braids”, Institute of Cornish Studies, University of Exeter, March 2006. Currently involved

in ICS Landmark Travels project. Honorary Fellow from 2018.

- 2015: “Special Award for services to Cornish language over many years” by Gorseth Kernow.

Research papers and publications on Cornish language

- (2000). “An Independent academic study on Cornish”, report to Government Office for the South West/DETR, abridgement in *Ogmios* 23, pp. 7–9.
- (2002). “Cornish at its millennium: An independent study of the language undertaken in 2000.” In *Cornish studies: Ten*. Ed. by P. Payton. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 266–282.
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- (2004). Articles on “Cornish” and “Scottish Gaelic”: [BBC Voices website](#).

- (2006). “Cornish and the future of the Celtic languages.” Paper presented at *21st Century Celts* conference, County Hall, Truro, 8th–10th September.
- (2014). “Bys Kernewek: A Cornish-language world, in which we live and move and have our being.” Opening paper presented at 3rd Cornish Studies Conference, *A Cornish World*, Institute of Cornish Studies, Tremough, 24th October. Published in *Cornish Studies (Third Series)* 1, April 2015, pp. 14–25.
- (2014). “Cornish language research landscape: Research record, future needs – an overview and possible agenda.” Keynote address to *Skians* conference, Cornwall College, Pool, 27th–28th October.
- (2015). “Henderson’s *Black-more* revisited: Disinterring a lost landscape.” Paper presented at *Skians* conference, Institute of Cornish Studies, Tremough, 24th September.
- (2015). “The Cornish spiritual landscape in place-names: Landscape, people, language.” Paper presented at Fourth Annual Cornish Studies Conference *Glasney 750*, Institute of Cornish Studies, Tremough, 26th September 2015.

- (2016). “Provisions for reviving a language: The case of Cornish—history, revival, planning provisions.” Paper presented at SOILLSE Conference on *Small Language Planning: Communities in Crisis*, Glasgow University, 6th June 2016.
- Participated in CLP/MAGA conferences 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010. Participated in Penseythen 1999, 2005. Successful in Kesva language grades 1–3 (2000–2002).

Appointed member of official boards and committees (for language policy and planning)

- 1990–2000: Consultant, organiser COMPASS conference 1993 (on minority language censuses and surveys) for European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (UK Committee).
- 2000–2002: Appointed by Scottish Government to Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (MAGOG), and contributor to Meek Report, “A fresh start for Gaelic” (Scottish Government).

- 2003–2014: Appointed to Bòrd na Gàidhlig (Gaelic language policy and planning authority, Scottish Government). Chaired committees for Language Plans and Research.
- 2008–2012: Appointed by OFCOM to MG Alba, management board for Gaelic media, BBC Alba, BBC Ràdio nan Gàidheal, etc.
- 2009–2011: Scotland's Census 2011 Steering Committee (General Register Office, Scotland).
- 2011–2014: Population and Migration Statistics Committee (National Records of Scotland).
- 2009–2015: Cornish Language Status Working Group (CLP/MAGA).
- 2015: Appointed to Cornish Academy Research Panel, MAGA (new LPP structure).

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