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In Search of a Single Voice: The Politics of Form, Use and Belief in the Kernewek Language

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Abstract

This dissertation is based upon fieldwork performed between 2007 and 2011 in Cornwall, a region of Southwestern Britain notable for its ambiguous ethnic identity – caught between England and the Celtic nations – and its unique, revived Celtic language, Kernewek. During the course of the research, work focused upon the role of the language revival movement as a tool for ethnic identification: hardening boundaries, shoring up faltering communities and nationalist purification. However, the language movement is divided into three primary factions, which take differing approaches to the language, and to their corresponding language ideology based upon their relationship to Cornish identity. These relationships are based upon speakers' sense of ethnic self as formed through class, kinship, linguistic self-perception, religious and political affiliations and place of birth and childhood. However, since the 2006 recognition of the language by the British states, all of these debates have become intensified due to pressure to standardize. This study examines specific examples including: teaching materials and pedagogical approaches in the language, debates over the minutiae of spelling, aesthetic sensibilities, and practices of the naming and renaming of people and places.

IN SEARCH OF A SINGLE VOICE: THE POLITICS OF FORM, USE AND
BELIEF IN THE KERNEWEK LANGUAGE

by

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Chapter 1: "Topping up your Cornishness"

"I don't care how they speak, but…"

Neil came into the house that we shared. A middle-aged Cornishman with close-cropped salt-and-pepper hair and a thick fisherman's sweater, he has a habit of audibly drawing breath through his teeth when surprised. He settled down in front of the gas fireplace in the formal sitting room, amongst the antique ceramic statuettes and a polished copper tea pot. He had spent the entire morning at a meeting of the government panel that decides the Kernewek[1] (Cornish Language) translations of street signs and they had accomplished almost nothing. He described the hours-long impasse over spelling and derivation and ended by saying "I don't care how they speak, but I wish they'd keep their fucking hands off my language!"

An outsider might assume that, as a speaker of a derided minority language, his anger was directed towards the agents of the central state who mediated the process and serve as gatekeepers towards wider public acceptance and funding of the language. But, in fact, he told me that the state's representative on the panel was the only one who kept the others civil. The bitter argument was between proponents of the three schools within the revived language, and is the current incarnation of a debate that has been ongoing for decades.

It was these debates, predating and persisting within a context of newly won state recognition and involvement, which first attracted me to Kernewek and Cornwall. I sought a context where I could study how variation in the form of a language comes to occur. In particular, I wanted to observe,

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[1] I will choose to use the term "Kernewek" to describe the language while writing in English both to respectfully mark it as a language with the right to name itself and to differentiate it from the English-language adjective "Cornish," which we will see below is a highly contested political category.

document and understand how powerful agents (not only the state, but also the academy, political groups and social movements) and belief systems or—more anthropologically—that complex we call culture influences the structure, spelling, pronunciation of a language. I chose a small minority language both because its size allows me to better comprehend the totality of the language community and its factions, but also because within minority movements I found a far more open and frank discussion of the nature, use and goals of language, while these elements were typically far more normalized and taken-for-granted in a majority language community. Hence, what I sought to understand was both small enough for me to mentally digest and regularly on the lips of my informants with a minority tongue. I also recognize the value of linguistic diversity and hope my work can better contribute to both the recognition of the value of lesser used languages amongst those for whom they do not have a high profile and give evaluative tools to their promoters.

This work explores the Kernewek Revival and, in particular, the state-sponsored standardization that has been ongoing for roughly nine years. In Kernewek, I found an ideal test case for understanding the role of various influences—the state, nationalist movements, etc—upon language: a small language where debates over form were not only common, but rancorous and well-articulated. The study aims, however, at a much larger target than simply the politics of language planning and revival; instead, I wish to use debates over spelling and grammar to shine light upon the underlying ideologies and identities that drive these processes and to show how the form, spelling, grammar, lexicon, that a language takes is fundamentally intertwined with both the ideologies of its speakers and the ways in which they use the language to meet pragmatic goals. The contemporary Kernewek Revival is infused with the currents presently buffeting nations, states and ethnicities—the collapse of state-based ideologies, the rise of intra-state ethnicities and ethnic conflicts and the absorption of cultural differences into larger units—and, while unique, is profoundly shaped by these global currents

(Greenhouse 2010; Eisenlohr 2004; Fishman 1998).   I aim to show that examination of the daily, lived experiences of Kernewek enthusiasts reveals much about the ways that these national and transnational ideas and forces impact the lives of not only the people of Cornwall, but throughout Europe and beyond.

In the decline of state-based ideologies I include not only the ethnographically well-described fall of the Eastern Bloc, but also the implosion of the old Imperial and Colonial States (such as Britain). The rise of new ethnic nationalisms includes the shocking events in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, but also more prosaic (re)emergence of ethnicities without violence. Finally, we saw absorption of cultural difference across borders as many minority groups from the Amazon to Siberia were increasingly drawn into the wider societies that surround them (e.g., Survival International 2001; 2002; 2009). This does not always entail an absorption of minority identity into the state-promoted dominant, but can include the coalescing of larger anti-state identities, such as can be seen in the rise of K'iche' Maya as the lingua franca of Guatemalan Mayans or the growth in importance of Euskara Batua, Standard Basque (Hualde 2007). Throughout these massive changes, the politics of language have remained a crucial, cross-cutting element.

Kernewek in its Context

In the wake of the collapse of the British Empire, the Cornish, a small ethnic group in the southwestern most corner of Great Britain, found their institutions on an apparently terminal decline. The traditional buttresses of identity—kinship networks, heavy industrial labor and staunch Liberal Methodist rationalism—collapsed and increasingly their children and grandchildren lived lives indistinguishable from their English neighbors. One traditional ethnic marker, language, had already largely disappeared from the scene. The Kernewek had been a Celtic language related to Welsh and Breton but had retreated from the 16th to the 19th centuries, eventually becoming the tongue of fishing communities in

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the westernmost parishes and finally ending its life probably as a men's tongue relegated to fishing vessels at sea (Grillo describes a similar situation where Scot's Gaelic became confined to a caste-like population in a collection of fishing communities [1989:51-52]). Thus while Kernewek words remained common in the English of Cornwall, especially in sea- and fishing-related words (Nance 1963), it was not a source of identity or usable as a community language by the beginning of the 20th century. Its last speakers died in the late 19th century and its only remains were in written fragments and odd dialect words.

The Cornish-English Dialect is worthy of some extended discussion. Today – and for at least two centuries – Cornwall has been a solidly English-speaking region of Britain. Like many areas of Britain, the English here is locally flavored although scholars of English dialectology categorize it within the spectrum of Southwestern Dialects. Although its use and internal variation has faded in the late 20th century, during this period of research

[…][…][…]

Into this context, a group of enthusiasts—many of whom were marginal to traditional Cornish culture—developed a nationalist project in which Kernewek, a Celtic language whose last native speakers died a century before, was a crucial element. They skipped over the industrial-era traditions of the ethnic Cornish around them and sought a purer Cornish identity in the remnants of Pre-Reformation (~1549 AD) traditions, including rituals, foods, visual symbols, but focused most intently upon language. Many, uncomfortable with their own ambiguously English/Cornish roots, sought to use the language as a weapon for mental self-purification.   Simultaneously, and in complementary ways, the language was seen by many as a tool for decolonization of Cornwall.

While the specifics of the Cornish case are unique, this story of declining difference is familiar throughout Europe as are the efforts of enthusiasts to create or revitalize outward markers of identity to

attempt to reverse the trend (e.g., the creation of ethnic festivals amongst the Gorals of Poland [Schneider 2006] and the creation of the Korrika amongst the Basques in Spain and France [de Valle 1994]).

The movement, beginning in the first decades of the 20th century, remained small and largely confined to a correspondence circle and a handful of language classes. Their first public manifestation was in 1928 when the movement leaders organized a ceremonial organization called the *Gorseth Kernow* ("College of Bards") with fourteen members. The members of these groups were largely Anglican, highly-educated and middle class. A number were English[2] and all were interested in Antiquarianism and Romanticism.

In the post-War period, as traditional liberal, Methodist Cornish society declined around the Revival, increasing numbers of younger Cornish in turn looked to the Revival—including Kernewek— as a source of new legitimacy and belonging; this led to a poorly documented explosion of interest in Kernewek in the late 1960s and 70s, paralleling similar movements in Wales, Scotland and elsewhere. The Kernewek that emerged in this period was far more comfortable with Englishness; instead of seeking purity and conflict with English(ness), as was common in the pre-War Kernewek Revival, these individuals were often integrated into the remnants of traditional Cornish communities and they sought in the language a tool for the reconstitution of these communities remembered in their families. Their Kernewek was more fluid, less worried about correctness and fascinated with the chimera of conversational Kernewek.

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[2] The exact definition of "English" versus "Cornish" is a controversial topic. For instance, followers of the Kernewek Movement tend to view Henry Jenner, the "Father of the Cornish Language Movement", as Cornish because of his birth in Cornwall and his dedication after retirement to the language. Yet Jenner's parents were both English—his father was a conservative Anglican priest sent to a Cornish diocese—and he spent the majority of his life in England. He had no connection to any of the institutions that defined Cornishness in his era (i.e., the Methodist Church, working class membership, political Liberalism, genealogical roots in the place, a Cornish last name or, presumably, use of the Cornish English Dialect).

While the language has certainly grown in popularity since the days of the 1928 Gorseth ("College of Bards"), it remains one of the smallest language in Europe, with perhaps 500 fluent speakers and around 5,000 with a basic understanding of the language according a recent study (MacKinnon 2000). My ethnographic observations have shown that while there is some growth amongst the young and the working class, the movement remains dominated by a well-educated population, many of whom have moved to Cornwall for their retirement. Kernewek as a medium of communication remains largely outside of everyday use and is constricted to particular, dedicated contexts. However, as a symbolic representation of Cornishness, the language has made significant strides since the 1960s: a number of Kernewek words are recognized by the vast majority inhabitants of Cornwall and its growing presence in signage and official documentation has leant it an air of legitimacy.

Despite these successes, today Kernewek stands factionalized with three major factions—Kemmyn, Unified and Late Kernewek—arguing bitterly about the future of the language. It was these debates focusing on esoteric, highly technical linguistic issues that first attracted my attention to Cornwall—I could not, on the surface, understand how such a small group of individuals all dedicated to the promotion of the language could disagree so strongly and not see the need for unity above the arcana of language revival. However, despite their technical appearance, I soon came to realize that concerns over linguistic issues point to the legacies of empire, colonization and the fundamentally ambiguous nature of ethnicity, especially in the heavily hybridized, minoritized societies at the margins of the modern nation-state. This dissertation aims to dig through the surface of these debates and to show how the struggle for the future of Kernewek is connected to wider issues of ethnicity, nationality, relations to the state and the role of the past in contemporary life and politics.

My time in the field was divided amongst three tasks: (1) interviews with individuals in

Kernewek, nationalist and heritage preservation movements, (2) observations of both daily life and more structured observations of Cornish language activities (such as classes and concerts) and (3) archival research at the *Kresenn Kernow* ("Cornwall Center"). I was able to conduct close to 60 interviews, which lasted on average an hour and were roughly half with Cornish language speakers; they were conducted in English, a native language of all of the speakers[3]. These interviewees ranged from being committed long-term activists (I was able to interview the creators of all of the major contemporary language forms[4]), dedicated recent arrivals, and also more marginal members of the movement, including a retiree who had largely withdrawn and several who had become disillusioned with the politics of the language.

To understand the role of an ethnicized language like Kernewek in the political landscape of the contemporary nation-state, we need a number of theoretical tools to comprehend its ability to mark, define and shape our social world and, conversely, the way that it is shaped by those ostensibly outside or non-linguistic factors like ethnicity, political belief, class or religion. The first of these concepts, standardization, lies at the heart of this ethnographic description.

Standardization and the Changing Role of the State

When we refer to Standardization it is useful to divide between what Silverstein refers to as the Standard and the Paraphernalia (1996:284). The first is an ideology where a "linguistic community […] is united in adherence to the idea that there exists a functionally differentiated norm for using their 'language' denotationally," the second is the institutional tools for managing and enforcing the Standard: dictionaries, schools, language academies, orthographies, etc. Standardization has a intimate connection with the institutions of power within a society—typically schools, media and government

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[3] To the best of my knowledge, only one of my interviewees claimed to be a native speaker of Cornish.
[4] With the exception of Unified whose creators died decades ago; however, I was able to interview Nicholas Williams who created Unified Cornish Revised.

agencies—and it is by passing these speech forms through these institutions that the form becomes ideologically "anonymous" and able to represent "the common or general voice," which is "idealized as a transparent window on a disinterested rational mind and thus on truth itself" (Woolard 2008:306). This is, of course, a fiction, as the privileged forms always belong to some populations more than others and serve to create new and reinforce old hierarchies (Gal 2006).

Standardization is not equally applicable to all languages—despite heroic attempts to create the necessary paraphernalia in minority languages like Kernewek—because other ideological currents reinforce it. The prestige of languages is fundamentally liked to the standing of their community of speakers; minority tongues are, especially in Western societies, treated with an "ideology of contempt" which is rooted in "ignorance about he complexity and expressivity" of non-Standard tongues, an belief in the legitimacy of Linguistic Darwinism and a belief that "bilingualism […] is onerous, even on the individual level" (Dorian 1998:11-12). This does not, however, prevent minority language activists from seeing standardization as potentially fruitful and across the globe, they pursue the necessary paraphernalia.

On a technical level, Haugen has described four stages undertaken by any standardization: (1) selection, (2) codification, (3) implementation and (4) elaboration. The first involves the decision that a "language problem" exists and that particular norms need to be valorized over others. The second, codification, involves the linguistic work of "graphization" (selecting graphs to depict sounds), "grammatication" (the selection of particular grammatical rules) and "lexication" (the "selection of appropriate lexicon") which, together grant the new standard the basics of a corpus: prescriptive orthography, a grammar and a lexicon (typically in the form of a dictionary). The third step involves the standard's adoption by institutions and individuals who work to promote it. Finally, elaboration, involves the continued work of updating and extending the standard to meet new demands (Haugen

1983). Traditionally, this process is linked to the State:

> The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. Ignorance is no excuse; this linguistic law has its body of jurists – the grammarians – and its agents of regulation and imposition – the teachers – who are empowered universally to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to the legal sanction of academic qualification. (Bourdieu 1991:45)

However, challenges present themselves to the would-be language planner at every step of the way, but especially in those areas which Haugen describes as "societal" or "external," (selection and implementation) involving the presentation of the standard to the public; the "linguistic" or "internal" stages (codification and elaboration) are more straightforward as they tend to occur within the community seeking to promote standardization. For instance, Haugen notes the unanticipated controversy in the 1970s over the proposal to spell "meter" as "metre" in the American metrification process; the fallout from this attempted change was so great that eventually the Federal Government reversed its position (a compromise with the British who had in turn abandoned "kilogramme" for "kilogram") and favored "meter" (Haugen 1983:277-278).

Since Haugen's original formulation[5], linguists have associated his first stage with status planning and the second with corpus planning, and following his work, saw the first as more political than the second. However, more recent scholarship has begun to examine the ways that status and corpus planning are fundamentally linked—we often cannot mark where one starts and the other ends—and that corpus planning itself articulates strongly with wider political goals of its agents. As Fishman notes "...language planning is part of the total social change […] process, whether as cause and/or as effect" (2006:5). Recognizing this interconnectedness, this research will not focus on

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[5] Which in fact dates back to the 1960s.

drawing distinctions between the corpus and status planning, but instead take language planning as a whole and examine how language ideology infuses the process throughout.

This process of standardization creates particular dilemmas for minority languages. As a minority language's authority comes from its ability to link the speaker to a particular community in a particular place, the process of standardization of minority languages—which pass them through institutions such as those of the Kernewek Revival—can have the paradoxical effect of stripping them of their authenticity without being able to match the anonymity of the dominant societal language (e.g. English or French). For instance, the standardization of Corsican has been fraught with difficulties because the standardized form is stripped of associations with place it is "nowhere Corsican" in a society where mico-regionalism is a fundamental component of ethnic identification (Woolard 2008:304; Jaffe 1999). A similar circumstance exists in the Basque country, where there is resistance to the use of Batua (standardized Basque) because of its lack of authenticity (Echeverria 2003:396). This is, in a sense invevitable because "…legitimate language is a semi-artificial language which has to be sustained by a permanent effort of correction" (Bourdieu 1991:60). In spoken, community languages like Gascon, standardization may, in fact, lead to further stigmatization of the spoken language (Eckert 1983); Kernewek has no large base of native speakers to become stigmatized, but the rancorous fighting for the past three decades has led to a stigmatization of the entire language community.

Furthermore, this dissertation will show how this process is shifting in contemporary practice along with the shift in the wider socio-political sphere from Modernism to Neo-liberalism. In the Modernist tradition, the Standard was associated with the state, with rationality and authority; in this tradition, of which French is perhaps the best example, was viewed as "closest to that of natural logic" (Grillo 1989:33) and therefore simultaneously a natural candidate for a universal tongue and a logical choice for a new French Republic dedicated to universal ideals of equality, liberty and fraternity.

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Minority languages emerging within this context have often sought to establish themselves as Standards linked to a (dreamed-of) state. These projects were at best tolerated and at worst suppressed by existing majoritarian European states.

However, we will see that in the post-Modernist, Neo-liberal era, the State's guiding philosophy and, hence, linguistic approach has shifted. This ideology critiques the presumed paternalism of the state, its focus upon rights and the dependency it is said to foster amongst citizens and posits an enabling approach. In this vision, "grand narratives" (to use Lyotard's words) like liberty and rights is abandoned and problems like the use of minority languages are seen as choices made by consumers of state services (Lyotard 1979; Harvey 1991; Williams and Morris 2000:176-179). Appadurai, examining the dark side of this era, notes that with the dislocation and disorder caused by the disappearance of the national economy, the Nation is "steadily reduced to the fiction of its ethnos as the ast cultural resource over which it may exercise full dominion" (2006:23), this leads to a "narcissism of minor differences" (2006:10) which is clearly evident in the Cornish context. Moreover, the State has come to be seen as a guarantor of minority rights, not their enemy (Appadurai 2006). Within this ideological landscape, Standards are created in order to more easily commodify the language for consumption by individuals and corporations (Williams and Morris 2000:188). This is a radical departure from classic, nationalist-driven language planning:

> Language planning, like all planning, usually entails both a *direction* toward which movement is desired as well as a *justification* for movement in the specified direction. (Fishman 1972:xi)

I will demonstrate how this state-based ideology operates on the ground in Cornwall, particularly in the Chapter 7, when I describe the impact of a new state agency—the Cornish Language Partnership—upon Kernewek and Cornwall. Through examining this agency, as well as comparing it to similar bodies in British-controlled Ireland and Wales, I will show how neo-liberalism is

appropriated, challenged and morphed in the day-to-day practice of language revival and use. This

ability to resist and distort is in part due to the properties of Kernewek as a marker—an index—of

Cornish identity, itself linked to anti-state and non-state ideologies.

Indexicality—Marking the World through Speech

For the users of Kernewek, one of its primary attractions is its ability to mark Cornish difference. As

we will see in chapters four and five, this phenomenon takes many forms and is integrated into a wider

project of Cornish nationalism and cultural distinctiveness. This marking off property of language is

known as *indexicality*, or the use of indices. One of the fundamental linguistic mechanisms by which

identity is linked to speech indices are linguistic forms (e.g., words, styles of speech, labels, etc.) which

refer to a social category of speakers.   Ponzio gives a more specific definition, built upon Peircean

theory, noting that the index signifies the referent (the Object) by "a relation of contiguity, causality, or

by some other physical and mechanical connection." This relation of meaning is built up over time

through a language user's experience with the index (Ponzio 2006:597; Curtin 2009:224).

Peirce is particularly useful in this style of study because he began a school of semiotics which

was immersed in "self-critical reflexivity, worldly engagement and dialogic alterity", especially

compared to the more Cartesian approach descended from the work of Saussure which "removes

language from its social embeddedness" (Parmentier 1994: xiii, xiv). This comes from the fact that, for

Peirce, language (as one element of our symbolic worlds) is a continually evolving, socially-grounded

phenomenon (Parmentier 1994:6, 10). For Peirce, "there is no such thing as an isolated symbol"

(Parmentier 1994:9).

In essence, one might consider indexicality a specific manifestation of Bourdieuian habitus, "a

community of dispositions…through which we perceive, judge and act in the world" (Bourdieu

1977:35). They serve as schema of practical knowledge based upon previous experience (although

continually revised) that is, to quote Bourdieu again, both "structured and structuring" (1977:72).

An example of indexicality in action is the use of the interjection "eh" in American English to refer to speakers of Canadian English; for instance, this tag, along with other elements of speech, indexed Canadianness in the characters Doug and Bob MacKenzie in the long-running skit "Great White North" on the television show SCTV in the 1980s. While not all Canadian dialects utilize this interjection and there are some non-Canadian regions that do[6], its use in performance marks the speaker as Canadian.

Ochs (1992) categorizes indexicality into two forms: direct and indirect indexicality. Direct indexicality is the performance of a speech act where a group is consciously linked to a linguistic feature; conversely, in moments of indirect indexicality, the index is part of a larger chain of meaningful connections which may not be obvious to the speaker. For instance, in her article on Mock Spanish, Hill (1995) explores the direct and indirect indices of Monolingual English speakers' use of Spanish, including an analysis of the famous "hasta la vista" line in the film *Terminator*:

> This fascinating scene clearly locates Mock Spanish in the same register with extremely vulgar English expressions. But notice that this register, and its Mock Spanish component, is ``the way people talk''. If the Terminator is to become human, to be redeemed from his machine nature, he must learn to talk this way too. By learning Mock Spanish, the Terminator becomes more like the witty, resourceful young John Connor, and gains the boy's approval. This is a superb demonstration of the direct indexicality of Mock Spanish: it recruits positive qualities to whiteness. However, the indirect indexicality is also made vivid in this passage. By associating 'Hasta la vista' with 'Eat me' and 'Dickwad', an image of Spanish speakers as given to filth and obscenity, and of their language is expressing such qualities, is both presupposed and entailed. (Hill 1995)

Silverstein (2003) develops two additional, compatible forms by showing how indices can both build upon pre-existing connections (in what she calls "presupposing" forms) and by establishing new connections (in "performative" forms).

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[6] Such as my own, the Inland North Dialect.

These researchers were primarily interested in spoken speech, but as spoken Kernewek is rare, this research also examines the importance of orthographic indexicality. This phenomenon involves the marking of identity and difference through the use of script. While orthographic indexicality shares much with verbal indexicality, such as word or language choice, grammar or sentence structure, it does not share many of the performative elements; for instance, there is no space for gesture or voice modulation in writing. Instead, orthographic indexicality places greater emphasis upon the visual.

This can be achieved through a number of mechanisms: script choice (such as between Latin and Cyrillic), font choice, the employment of foreign elements in writing (like characters from other scripts) and the deliberate misspelling or use of alternative spellings. At times, these differences are dramatic and have strong ideological connotations, such as the choice between Turkish Latin, Cyrillic or Arabic script in Azerbaijan—which are associated with Turkish Modernist Nationalism, Russian/Soviet/Socialist Modernity or Islam, respectively (Frantz 2001)—or the preference for highlanders in many areas of Southeast Asia for to reject the Buddhism- and state- indexing scripts of the lowland peoples to create entirely new scripts or utilize Latin ones that index the Messianic faiths (including Christianity) common amongst them (Smalley et. al. 1990).

At other times, the options for orthographic indexicality are more subtle, for instance in the Figure 1.1, a panel from the graphic novel *The Eternals, Chapter 5: Right To Live*, the character's words are written in English but utilizing Cyrillic characters that resemble English ones. In particular /Ф/ is used for /O/ and /Б/ is used for /b/. The resulting script is not legible to a user of Cyrillic, but gives a sense of Eastern European foreignness to the character without losing legibility for an English-reader. Hence, the substitution of letters can be said to directly index Eastern Europeanness. At the same time, the character "Druig" is a former KGB agent and the dictator of the fictional post-Soviet nation of Vorozheika with the power to hypnotize with his voice. The use of Cyrillic indirectly refers

to the region's Soviet and Post-Soviet history of corruption, dictatorship and the cult of personality (Gaiman, Romita and Klein 2008).

In Cornwall, deep within the domain of Latin script, there are far fewer choices for orthographic indexicality than in the highly poly-scriptural Southeast or Central Asia. One option, which we will return to frequently, is the employment of obviously Celtic words in signage over English ones (for instance "A'gas Dynnergh" instead of "Welcome" on town roadsigns). Another is the ongoing tradition of Gaelic Typefaces. A family of fonts based primarily on early Medieval texts like the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels, Gaelic Typefaces were developed in Ireland for the Irish Language. Today, when they are used in English, they directly index an Irish or Celtic identity—such as in the signs for Irish pubs (Kallen 2009:270). Gaelic Typefaces have had only limited acceptance in the Cornish movement. The Gorseth Kernow[7] ("College of Bards") has an annual calligraphic competition and I know artists who work extensively with it. For instance, the John and Mim at the Old Well Studio in the far west of Cornwall use calligraphy with Celtic knotwork and work themed around Cornish Saints, standing stones and the Cornish Landscape; they often try to incorporate the Cornish Language into their art. Their work shows High Anglican, Celtic Christian and Neo-Pagan influences. However, there is resistance to this type of writing: when one member of the *Cussel an Tavas Kernuak* ("Cornish Language Council") put up a website using knotwork and Gaelic typefaces, I heard a number of members complain that it was inauthentic.

Kernewek, both spoken and written, thus gains social meaning when it operates as a direct index to Cornish identity. Yet, as we will see in the following chapters, it never refers *only* to Cornishness but always carries indirect indices to other social groups: socio-economic classes, local categories of insiders/outsiders, and to religious (i.e., Methodist, Anglican or Pagan) and aesthetic (such

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[7] Definitions of Kernewek and Cornwall-specific words can be found in the Glossary (Appendix A).

as Celtic) affiliations. The referent capabilities of Kernewek thus operate within a social milieu, connecting to it via the phenomenon of *language ideology*.

Language Ideology—the Hinge between Speech and Belief

The crucial social phenomenon underlying this dissertation—the sinew that connects the arcana of orthography and grammar to the reality of everyday lives, the concept that causes language enthusiasts to know their debates are important without always being able to articulate why they are—is that of language ideology.

Pioneers of the theory of language ideology, Woolard and Schieffelin maintain that ideologies of language are systems of belief which "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality and epistemology…not only linguistic forms but social institutions such as the nation-state, schooling, gender, dispute settlement, and law hinge on the ideologization of language use" (1994:55-56). All users of languages have language ideologies, which are systematized, shared understandings of the way that language(s) work, the places and values of various forms of speech. Crucially, they are:

> …suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular socio-linguistic field, and because they are subject to the interests of their bearers' social position. (Gal and Irvine 1995:968)

Language ideology creates the framework of meaning into which indexicality operates; it creates the rules and context in which a speaker and interpreter are aware of the intentions and effects of the speech by arranging the linguistic elements into forms and patterns that connote social groups (Silverstein 1998:128). It is important to note that this understanding of language ideology is more expansive than that seen in Silverstein's early writings, where he defined it in a more limited manner as "any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use" (1979:193).

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Moreover, language ideologies form links to the forces present in the political economy of the areas where it operates (Gal 1989). Historically, it emerged out of a desire in the 1980s for linguists to understand the linguistic dimensions of power, domination and economic exploitation dating back to the early Ethnography of Speaking movement which sought to discover the origins of inequality between (amongst other projects) (Irvine 1989:345-346). The Kernewek language is used primarily within Cornwall, a region of the United Kingdom and, as this dissertation will demonstrate, is connected to the political and social state of that region and the aesthetic, moral and cultural goals of both its users and the broader population of non-users. Crucially, the language (and the movement to promote its use) are located within Europe and the Europe-wide ideologies regarding the place of language and its relationship to the nation, the state and the self.

Analyzing language policy in Europe, Susan Gal (2006) examines the dominant language ideology of the continent with the assertion that "it is a common sense view widely held by European elites that languages are organized systems with centrally defined norms, each language ideally expressing the spirit of a nation and the territory it occupies. Monolingualism is seen as natural" (163). She notes that the interlinking of concepts—nation, territory, ethnicity and language—undermines another facet of this ideology, which maintains that national languages are "socially neutral, supposedly anonymous voice(s)" (Gal 2006:166). This tension, where national languages are neutral and yet exclusive as they are linked to particular ethnic groups and national statuses, has led to a proliferation of minority language movements linked to nationalist aspirations throughout the continent; there is not a significant nationalist movement in Europe that does not have a linguistic component.[8] In many

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[8] Even the Scots Nationalists, who tend to share English with their neighbors to the south, emphasize the importance of the Scots language and Gaelic.

areas—Catalonia, the Basque Country, Wales, Brittany, Flanders, Ruthenia[9]—it is one of the dominant

motivators and symbols of the nationalist movements.

Concurrent to the dominant ideology equating a nation to a single language is the contrasting

fact that all European societies are multilingual and those languages coexist in situations of hierarchy—

both hierarchies of language (i.e., some languages have positions of societal superiority and others

inferiority) and of speakers (the related, but not identical ranking of the inferiority or superiority of

users) (Grillo 1989:1-3). These hierarchies are, on a day-to-day basis maintained by a complex set of

ideologies reinforced by quotidian forms of symbolic violence (Grillo 1989:5). Both the illusion of

national monolingualism and the daily reality of linguistic hierarchy underly the beliefs and practices of

those communities that use non-standard varieties of language, such as Kernewek.

These minority languages have complex relationships to the processes of standardization, the

process of creating a single, written and spoken prestige form of a language used by dominant

institutions (particularly the state but also media). While there are always numerous linguistic varieties

(a catch-all term for patterned, shared forms of speech, from languages down to dialects and sociolects)

existing parallel to one another in any given society, the users of a standardized form of language enjoy

benefits of prestige, access to powerful institutions such as the state and business and relative ease in

the educational sector. Moreover, underlying assumptions of language ideologies encapsulated in the

standard form are given legitimacy and strength through the process of standardization.

Standardization is a tool for reinforcing particular worldviews and promoting the position of elements

within the wider language community. Traditionally, standards were associated with the language of

majority-dominated state—Metropolitan French, the Queen's English, Castillian Spanish—but

increasingly, minority languages are also developing standard forms to compete with majority

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[9] Home of the Rusyns, in the Carpathian mountains of Ukraine and Slovakia (Magosci 1996).

languages in the public space (Urla 1993; Gal 2006; Hualde 2007).

In the process of standardization and engagement with the state, European minority language movements are increasingly drawn[10] into the dominant language ideologies as outlined by Gal—which see language as an expression of a nation/people, that is, as possessing a clear definition conveyed via a standard version and marking a discrete territory.

I understand the people of Cornwall[11]—both Kernewek users and those who have no interest in the language—as living within the boundaries of this hegemonic, European language ideology, which I treat as a hinge between the uses of language and wider social beliefs and systems. The debates around Kernewek are the culmination of an ongoing process of language standardization between vying interpretations of this ideological system, each of which seeks to codify and crystalize its belief systems into the final standard Kernewek.

In the following section, I will examine a concrete ethnographic example—a debate over the spelling of a town name on a road sign—through which I aim to begin my examination of the ongoing disagreements over the nature of Kernewek. The ideas and affiliations of the participants may at first confuse the outside observer, but I will show how they coalesce into definable patterns. These patterns become the basis for the analysis of the remainder of my dissertation.

Kernow a'gas Dynergh, Cornwall Welcomes You

Neil's frustration over the process by which road signs are written is not new. While doing research in Cornwall in 2010-11, several times a week I found myself driving the arterial road that connects the

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[10] This does not mean that they existed in complete opposition to this formulation in the past: many language movements in European history have imbibed this belief and been integral in the creation of nation-states where their tongues are the majority; examples include Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Slovenia and Greece.

[11] I do not use the terms "Cornish" and "People of Cornwall" interchangeably in this work. The first term refers to an ethnicity, some of whom live outside of Cornwall, and the second refers to all of those people, regardless of ethnicity, who live within the boundaries of Cornwall.

Cornish ex-mining towns of Camborne and Redruth. Crossing the high territory between the two

communities from Redruth in the east, one reaches the edge of Camborne and what was, at one point,

the most controversial road sign in Britain. While it is passed by thousands of motorists daily, the spot

is isolated for foot traffic and there are no nearby parking spaces. One day I pulled my scooter up on

the curb as cars whizzed by and got closer to examine the sign.

It is white, perhaps two meters across and one meter high. On the left hand side is the crest of

the town. Large block letters in the center read "Welcome to Camborne" below it, in italics, is the part

that has made all of the fuss. It reads:

> Kammbronn
> a'gas dynnergh[12]

The controversy began in 1988, when Mr. John King, a Camborne town councilor from the Labour

Party, proposed replacing the previous signs which read "Welcome to Camborne-Redruth, the centre

for touring and industry," with one that contained a greeting in Kernewek. This would be the first

official street sign in Kernewek, something that the language movement had been seeking for decades.

A former mining area, Camborne and its neighbor Redruth have long been strongholds for Cornish

identity politics and *Mebyon Kernow* ("Sons of Cornwall"), the Cornish Nationalist Party. It should be

of no surprise that the local council was the first to push for roadsigns in Kernewek. However, the

actual form of the spelling of the name "Camborne" was not a foregone conclusion: the name

"Kammbronn" had only existed for about three years as it was a product of a spelling system called

Kemmyn ("Common") that was constructed in 1985 and recognized by the Cornish Language Board in

1986. There was no single previous spelling recognized by all Kernewek users, but traditional

spellings included "Cambron" and "Camburn" and contemporary Cornish-English Dialect

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[12] This translates to English as "Camborne welcomes you"

pronunciations are best approximated by the spelling "Cam-burn." However, King was a firm

supporter of the new school of spelling and utilized its rules in the proposed sign.

In contrast to more decentralized political systems, decisions about the content of all road signs

in Britain are controlled by the central government. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative transport

secretary, Sir Peter Bottomley, "believed such a sign would serve no useful purpose. He also said that

drivers in England did not expect to see signs in an unknown language" (quoted in Stokes 1988). The

local MP[13] took up the cause, replying that "we are talking about drivers in Cornwall, not drivers in

England" and managed by the end of November to muster the Parliamentary support to reverse

Bottomley's decision (Stokes 1988; Camborne-Redruth Packet 1988).

The elation amongst King and his allies in the Cornish Language Board (The "*Kesva*") quickly

dispersed when staunch criticism emerged from an unexpected source: Dr. Charles Thomas, a professor

of Cornish Studies and the head of the Institute for Cornish Studies. Professor Thomas' criticism was

that the spelling of the town's name was a fallacious invention and should not be used in official signs;

it was enough of a problem to halt replacement of the sign. By May 1989, the sign had not been

erected and the debate went public in the *Western Morning News* (the region's leading daily). Mr. King

was cited as being "a fluent Cornish speaker" and that Kammbronn was "the version adopted by the

town council and which has been approved by the Cornish Language Board." He continued by saying

that "Prof Thomas does not speak Cornish and, although he is entitled to his opinion, there are at least

11 or 12 variants to choose from."

Thomas' reply was that "Cornish was mainly a spoken rather than a written language and

people used whatever spellings they liked, but in forms and records the spelling used is Cambron […]

'I am both a Cornishman and a Camborne man, of which Mr King is neither. I know of no other

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[13] David Mudd, also a member of the Conservative Party.

professor of Cornish Studies. On this matter my ruling is superior to anyone else's'" (quoted in Green, 1989). On the surface, this debate was over the correctness of one form of spelling the town name, but the debate was in fact much deeper than that as King and Thomas were representatives of two schools of thought on spelling that had been in conflict since the creation of Kemmyn in 1985.

In response to Thomas' criticisms, King came out with a public letter in the *Camborne-Redruth Packet* (a weekly based in Camborne) in April 1989 challenging his opponents to have a five-minute conversation in Kernewek with him to "let them prove their ability by speaking it publicly" (*CR Packet* 1989a). The response was strong. *The Packet* published five response letters on April 8th. One letter was from an anti-Kernewek position common amongst many traditionalist Cornish, a Redruth man who said "I was never taught it, and although I have lived all my life in Cornwall, I don't understand one single word, neither have I any desire to."

However, the majority of the criticism was from the same school of which Thomas was a prominent member. A member of the opposing faction on the *Kesva* ("Language Board"), Richard Jenkin[14], asked King to respect the spelling from major historic works (i.e., "Cambron"). Some wanted to take him up on his challenge, and one claimed that Cllr. King's preferred spelling system, Kemmyn, was "spurious…contrived…and invented" and rejected by the academy[15] (*CR Packet* 1989b). Cornish historian Dr. Philip Payton (who would later replace Thomas as the Director of the Institute of Cornish Studies and Chair of Cornish Studies) denounced his version as "having no historical basis whatsoever" and he claimed that:

> The idea that a small coterie of language enthusiasts somehow have a proprietary and exclusive control over Cornish place-names, and can tinker with them without public criticism being

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[14] The former Grand Bard of the Gorseth Kernow who used his Bardic name 'An Gernyk' and was a major supporter of Unified Cornish during this period.

[15] Though at this time the "academy" was made up of Prof. Thomas and a handful of other professional Celticists, the majority of the Academy ignored, and ignores, Kernewek.

regarded as legitimate, is monstrous. Indeed Cornish place-names are the heritage of all people of Cornish birth or descent. (CR Packet 1989b)

By January of 1990, the sign had been erected by the town council (with the authority of Ministry of Transportation), but criticism had not ceased. King continued to assert that "it is the spelling recognized by the Cornish Language Board" and that "there is no single alternative." Now the newspaper's preferred critic was perennial language activist and scholar Richard Gendall who "has been speaking Cornish since he was a boy."   Gendall notes that "there are two historical spellings either Cambron from medieval times or the later version of Camburn. Kammbronn is an invented spelling. It doesn't belong to the language at all. It doesn't even look like Cornish" (Green 1990).

While criticism of the spelling did not stop the erection of the "Kammbronn" sign, it has continued to dog the question of road signs until the present day. Building upon the Parliamentary permission given to Redruth, the tourist town of Newquay erected signs, only to take them down again in 1996 because of arguments about the correct spelling, sparking a letter from a Mrs. Jewell to *Western Morning News* calling for more signs "to bring [Kernewek] to the attention of everyone." She decried the "small clique" that controlled the language and who reformatted the spelling into "an alien language [by] people who prefer to turn to obscure ancient penning which probably had little Cornish input anyway." She said they "have never understood the real sounds and intonations of our Cornish…They want to turn it into an academic exercise with exams and a blue robe at the end of it" (Jewell 1996). Here Mrs. Jewell is referring to the faction, which promotes Kemmyn, those who recreated the spelling based upon Medieval writings and are closely tied to the institution of the Gorseth Kernow (the College of Bards which is discussed below)—whose members take exams and wear blue robes. Mrs. Jewell's connections between Medievalism, the College, the new spelling and the exams is important and will re-appear again in my analysis of Kernewek classes in the Chapter 6

"Sight and Sound: Language Pedagogy and Factionalism in Revived Kernewek."

In 1997, a large number of signs were put up in Western Cornwall for the International Celtic Film Festival. The move was promoted by a Mr. Foxley from the tourism bureau, a branch of the district government[16], who stated that "West Cornwall has a long history of Celtic traditions and we are keen to promote the area for all that makes it unique…it is time for West Cornwall to embrace its cultural heritage and use it to advantage" (*Cornishman* 1997). The support of these signs—in the same spelling form as the Kammbronn sign—led to the rare public resignation of a Bard of the Gorseth Kernow[17] ("College of Bards"), Craig Weatherhill.

Weatherhill contended that there was a "small, highly manipulative and sinister group of people in pursuit of their own agenda…[and] any who oppose their actions receive personal attacks on their character and works… frequently in print and always by whispering campaigns" (*Cornishman* 1997). Whispering campaigns could lead to more direct, if still anonymous, action: "[In the '80s] blood–curdling and anonymous telephone calls became a regular staple of Cornish nationalist politics" (Deacon et. al. 2003:78). The secretive nature of these threats and a collective desire amongst Kernewek enthusiasts to keep dirty laundry inside the Kernewek Movement meant that they were spoken about in private (including being spoken about to me confidentially), but rarely reported. One exception was a number of death threats that led to the cancellation of a festival in the town of Bodmin further east in 1996 (reported in Bennetts 1996). That said, these threats deeply affected many members of the movement; members of the movement told me about those who withdrew from participation due to the culture of verbal violence and those whose positions were hardened.

Questions of spelling, or orthography, are perennial for the Kernewek movement and have done

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[16] Cornwall had six districts, which exist between local town and county levels of government. The Districts were controversially eliminated by the Cornwall Council in a reorganization in 2009 but before that their authority over highways outside of developed areas meant they were crucial to the expansion of Kernewek roadsigns on major thoroughfares.
[17] See Chapter 4 for more on the Gorseth.

much to damage the public perception of the language and its promoters. In fact, the Battle of the Camborne Road Sign was a skirmish in the larger "Spelling Wars" of the 1980s and 90s. While most focused on the Cornish-dominated towns of the far west of Cornwall, these debates sprung up throughout the region and have now included three generations of Kernewek users. Numerous times in my fieldwork I heard non-users of the language—many of them staunch Cornish nationalists—dismiss the language movement as unnecessarily fractious and obsessed over purism and minutia. Even the activists often tear their hair out when a rare victory, such as the one over Thatcher on the road signs, is undermined by disagreement.

However, as an anthropologist working the in area from 2007 to 2011, these ongoing debates, heightened by the 2002 start of the state-sponsored process of language standardization, sparked my interest as they seemed to point to bigger questions about Cornwall, the Cornish identity and the role of language—especially revived languages—in modern political life.

Authenticity, Identity and Purity

While doing fieldwork in Cornwall in the summer of 2008, I attended an evening class for students studying the Cornish language. Held in an attic room overlooking the beautiful port of Falmouth, the half-dozen enthusiastic adult students and their volunteer teacher were trying to master grammar in the *Kemmyn*[18] (Common Cornish) spelling system to prepare for an upcoming examination sponsored by the Kesva ("Language Board"). This is the same system that was created in 1985, used to write the Kammbronn sign and currently promoted by the Kesva as their preferred standard form. They were also the primary source of the anger for Craig Weatherhill (who quit the Gorseth over their spelling),

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[18] I will follow popular convention here. Common/Kemmyn is typically referred to as Kemmyn in English-language speech. The other two forms known as Unified/Unys and Late Modern/Nowedga are typically referred to as Unified and Late respectively. Late Cornish is also referred to by some writers as Modern Cornish, however, as this may be confusing for readers who equate Modern Cornish with Revived or Contemporary Cornish, I have utilized Late throughout this work.

Professor Charles Thomas, Mrs. Jewell from Newquay and my housemate Neil (it was this group that he wanted "to keep their hands off my language.")

I was particularly interested in why these adults studied so diligently to take exams that do not qualify them for any jobs and do not give them the ability to converse with anyone they couldn't already speak with[19]. Going around the room, all of the students spoke about ethnicity. They saw themselves as ethnically Cornish and that this identity was at the root of their desire to pursue the language. Yet, this did not explain the exams—one can study Kernewek for years and never need to take an exam; in fact, students of the form used by my housemate Neil never take movement-wide exams and are known for their high percentage of quality speakers.

Through the conversation, students explained to me that they felt a constant need to prove themselves and that without exams they could not prove their aptitude or existence to government agencies. One activist spoke eloquently of this pressure to prove oneself, counting off her fingers she said:

> You're not proper Cornish[20] if you can't bake a pasty[21], you're not proper Cornish if you can't speak [Kernewek], you're not proper Cornish if you can't speak [the Cornish-English] Dialect, you're not proper Cornish if your parents weren't born here.

Another student described the situation numerically. He jokingly explained that by blood he was only 25% Cornish and that by learning the language he could change that to around 40%; he referred to it as "topping up my Cornishness." The term "topping up" is a reference to the common method to fill pre-paid cell phones. In commercial establishments across Britain, one is presented with opportunities to "top up" their phones. I believe the reference was meant humorously, but the idea that Cornishness is

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[19] To the best of my knowledge, every contemporary Cornish speaker can also converse fluently in English.
[20] The term "Proper" is a dialect term that means "right" or "correct." It has some moral overtones and is often used in the phrase "Proper Job" to refer to work done correctly.
[21] The Cornish national dish, it consists of a meat pie in a flaky crust.

quantifiable and malleable (and perhaps alienable) was interesting and at odds with interviews I had

with a number of "blood and granite"[22] ethnic Cornish activists who saw Cornishness as an essential

characteristic one is born with, not an attainable goal.

Being Proper Cornish is an elusive goal for some; I attended a Cornish pub-sing in 2010 led by

a well-known Cornish-themed storyteller and musician, and the evening was a roaring success.

However, while on my lift home, my Cornish driver and his Cornish wife commented that "[the

storyteller] is about as Cornish as an Englishman could be." Despite a lifetime dedicated to Cornish

folk arts and ethnic activism, he had been born in England to English parents and only arrived in

Cornwall as an infant. In the eyes of the purists, he was forever English and while this conception of

Cornishness was not universal, it was repeated numerous times in interviews and observations among

those who considered themselves Cornish by blood.

In this context of rigid categorization[23], for those struggling continuously (internally and in the

eyes of others) for status as Proper Cornish, the language is often seen as a tempting tool of

purification—both for the individual and the community. While the desire to use the language in this

way is present amongst some users of the other forms of Cornish (which will be discussed and

differentiated below), it is a dominant idea within the Kemmyn school and, in fact, underlies the entire

orthographic, phonologic and ideological project.

While I recognize the importance of purity and authenticity as important in the study of my

subject, I reject the theoretical legitimacy of both concepts in my own work. It is telling that the

Kernewek Movement has long spoken of collecting the "fragments" of the culture and language. Nadia

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[22] To borrow a term of self-identification for one of these ethno-nationalist interviewees.

[23] This ethnic essentialism, linking blood, land and (imagined) state, is not unique to Cornish nationalism, as it can be found in the roots of the Germanic school of nationalism, and is still present in the ethno-nationalist imaginings of Germans (Mandel 2008), Bosnians (Dimitrovova 2001), Czechs (Holy 1993), Hungarians (Kürti 2001) and other groups. However, the dominant form of Cornish Nationalism (and its most important political institution, the Mebyon Kernow party) has been, since the 1960s, a civic nationalism (Deacon et. al. 2003).

Seremetakis, in her 1991 ethnography *The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination*, discusses the importance of "fragments" for marginal peoples. She seeks to find "the empowering poetics of the periphery" and finds them in a similar, though perhaps less self-conscious, pastiche (1991:1). She notes that "the poetics of the cultural periphery is the poetics of the fragment" (1991:1) while examining geographically isolated, peninsular group in Greece, the Maniots. Seremetakis sees these fragmentary phenomena not as the remnants of a pre-colonial totality, but as as a strategy of cultural resistance, forged out of long-term marginalization (she notes that "there can be no holism in the margins") (1991:2-4). I likewise believe that while the search for an authentic, historically-accurate Kernewek may motivate some elements of the Movement, that it is ultimately a chimera and that what we see in Kernewek is instead a thoroughly contemporary language which has continued to evolve largely through the manipulation and display of cultural fragments, but in order to meet modern goals of its users.

However, before moving too far along these wider trends, I wish to examine how this desire for authenticity and legitimacy underlies the arguments made by both those who supported the Kammbronn sign (the Kemmyn users) and those who opposed it (the other two factions). I will begin with a short examination of each of these three factions: Kemmyn, Unified and Late Kernewek.

Three Systems, One Language?

Within the public debate over the road signs, there were three sides setting up their arguments and legitimacy (summed up in Table 1.1). Each of these factions promoted a particular way of not only spelling "Camborne" but—more importantly—of understanding how decisions on spelling should be made. This meta-debate is a reflection of the language ideologies at work here and I shall aim to tease these apart.

While it is not immediately apparent within the Kammbronn debate, there were a number of

parallel organizations in operation during this debate. On the Kemmyn side, the primary organization is the Cornish Language Fellowship (the *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek*), a membership organization which produces a monthly magazine (*An Gannas*), organizes classes and retreat weekends, and publishes numerous books, teaching materials and language ephemera (like mugs and place mats). The organization is a legally constituted charity and the membership votes for a board of directors. Parallel to the Kowethas ("Language Fellowship") is another membership organization—*Agan Tavas* ("Our Language")—which serves a similar role of organizing classes, publication and social events for Unified Kernewek.

The membership of the Kowethas also elects a number of representatives for the Cornish Language Board (*Kesva an Taves Kernewek*), which was created as a governing body, a role that was challenged when the recognized Kemmyn in the 1980s. The Board has thirteen elected members, and six appointed by the Gorsedd, the County Council and Federation of Old Cornwall Societies (two each). The Board manages examinations, and publishes the most important documents: dictionaries, grammars, scholarly works and classic texts etc.

Finally, the ultimate institution of the Medievalist hierarchy is the *Gorsedd Kernow*, the College of Bards. An honorary ritual organization, it is a body of individuals who have proven life-long dedication to Cornish culture, either by service to Cornish traditions[24] or by passing the ultimate level of examinations of the Language Board. The organization seeks to promote Cornish Culture by presenting awards (for example, for the best composition on a Cornish subject in English), promoting research and holding annual ceremonies in Kernewek. The body has elaborate regalia and elects a number of officers including: Horner, Swordbearer, Secretary, Treasurer, Chaplain, Herald and Deputy

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[24] Such as long-term involvement with the Cornish Wrestling Association, publication of historical documents or the restoration of antique steam engines.

Grand Bard. The ultimate leader of the organization—and for many the representative of Cornish

Culture to the wider world—is the Grand Bard.

The Gorsedd is held in high esteem by many in the Medievalist camp. One low-level student

told me he studied Kernewek because "it was the only way to become a bard before you're 70."

Beyond the Movement, members of the wider Cornish cultural scene also held them in high regard;

John Fleet of the Cornish European pressure group CERES told me how he always deferred to the

Grand Bard as "the representative of Cornish culture."

In contrast, the Late side is considerably less well-organized. The primary promoters have been

an organization called the *Cussel an Tavaz Kernuak* ("Cornish Language Council"), though Dick

Gendall has his own publishing front called *Teere Ha Tavaz* ("Land and Language"), which fluctuates

between being an organization and a pen name. Though they have not officially adopted Late (or any

variety) the Institute for Cornish Studies has also played a key role in bolstering the intellectual

ammunition of Late Kernewek.

Table 1.1	Kammbronn	Cambron	Camburn
Spelling System	∞ Kemmyn	∞ Unified	∞ Late
Root of Spelling	∞ Statistically designed system	∞ Historically attested documentation	∞ Contemporary Cornish- English Dialect
Proponent in 1988 Debate	∞ Cllr. John King	∞ Prof. Charles Thomas	∞ Richard Gendall
Arguments for Authenticity	∞ Fluency ∞ Institutional Support	∞ Academic Knowledge	∞ Fluency ∞ Ethnic Belonging
Attitudes towards Diversity	∞ Seeks a single spelling	∞ Seeks a single spelling	∞Acknowledge numerous potential spellings

Kemmyn- A Singular Standard

On the one side are the proponents of Kammbronn, the users of the Kemmyn spelling system (in particular Cllr. John King) who assert two primary forms of authenticity: possession of fluency (however that is defined) in the language and the approval of the spelling by the Cornish Language Board. Moreover, he notes that there are numerous traditional spellings (though the statement that there are "11 or 12 variants" is probably an over-estimation). When reference to institutions failed, John King turned to his ability to speak Kernewek, which has a particular symbolic power that he hoped would end the debate. At the heart of the Kemmyn project is a desire to eliminate variation and unify Kernewek—it was the first form of the language that specified a single written graph Letter or set of letters. This single graph-single sound principle is known as Phonemics and was articulated by the petition of the Campaign for Common Cornish's (Kaskyrgh Kernewek Kemmyn) "Ten Good Reasons for Adopting Kernewek Kemmyn as our Official Standard":

> Kernewek Kemmyn, like Welsh, is largely phonemic, that is there is a clear, simple and regular relationship between the written and spoken word, without any of the irregular or capricious spellings so familiar in English. While this is an advantage for any minority language, it is especially important for a revived language like Cornish. Almost all Cornish speakers have Cornish as their second language, usually acquired as adults. This, together with the absence of any concentrated body of Cornish speakers, means that the written form has a very strong influence on the quality of the spoken language. The learner above all needs to be able to pronounce an unfamiliar word correctly from its spelling, as far as possible without help from a dictionary or a teacher. (http://kk.kaskyrgh.cymru247.net/prags.html)

In "Kammbronn" the graphs are /k/, /a/, /mm/, /b/, /r/, /o/ and /nn/. A desire to make Kernewek easily typable on contemporary British keyboards (which, like North American ones, lack diacritics), meant that double letters (e.g. /mm/ and /nn/) were utilized when they were never present in the historical documentation and an emphasis was placed upon the letter "K" (it appears in *Kernewek* and *Kernow* [Cornwall], two of the most symbolically important and recognizable words) when it is largely absent in the historic record. The Kaskrygh justified this selection of graphs by stating: "Kernewek Kemmyn uses only the normal [sic] roman alphabet with no special symbols or accented characters. […] A page

of Kernewek Kemmyn therefore has a clean modern appearance"

(http://kk.kaskyrgh.cymru247.net/prags.html). The exact reasons for the preference for /K/ are difficult to tease out, but one appears to be its relative under-use in English. [25] It also may be due to the relative presence of /K/ over /C/ in Breton, a language which the creator of Kemmyn studied intensively and which many Kemmyn users look to as Kernewek's closest cousin[26].

One of the perennial criticisms of Kernewek Kemmyn, especially from the Unified camp, is that it borrows too heavily from the Breton language of Brittany across the Channel. Several times I heard about how Dr. Ken George—the creator of Kemmyn—was educated in Brittany and it was once explained to me that he was an agent of Breton nationalists who sought to annex Cornwall into a larger Breton world. While I doubt that George has anything but the best of motivations for Kernewek, the system he created would eventually serve as a conduit for a particular version of Breton Nationalist ideology to enter Cornwall. Working in Brittany at the same time that George was studying and there, MacDonald notes that Rennes—where George would study—was the center for the ideological development of a version of Breton, the Rennes Position, which promoted societal monolingualism, an "ideal in which the Breton language would do everything" (1989:87-88). As opposed to the rival Brest Position, the Rennes militants were closely tied to nationalist parties (as opposed to Communist) often came from French-speaking families and rejected any shared heritage with the French via the historic Gauls (MacDonald 1989:106). Similarly, George and his allies have supported the nationalist party (George has stood for Parliament for them), often come from English backgrounds and view Kernewek as emerging from a completely separate cultural origin from English.

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[25] For instance, the *Oxford English Dictionary* has /C/ as the 10th most commonly used letter in English (6th most common consonant), making up 4.53% of the total characters appearing in words in their Dictionary and /K/ as the 21st most common letter, making up 1.10% of the Dictionary. (http://oxforddictionaries.com/words/what-is-the-frequency-of-the-letters-of-the-alphabet-in-english)

[26] Wolfram Mathematica calculated that 1.9% of all characters in a selection of Breton texts were /K/ and only the 0.71% were /C/ (http://www.wolframalpha.com/entities/language_letter_frequency_rules/breton_character_frequency/a3/yn/8n/).

These nuances of Rennes-Kemmyn ideology aside, the closeness of the two languages is not denied by anyone I met. Even the lion of the Late camp, Richard Gendall, defined it as the closest cousin in a 1975 work *The Cornish Language Around Us*. The use of Breton seems natural to George and many users of Kemmyn who lean upon the cousin language to fill the gaps of missing words and grammatical rules in Kemmyn. In an article in *The Times Higher Education Supplement* in 1993 on the advent of the first Kemmyn dictionary George states:

> Fortunately, lessons can be learned from Breton, which is still spoken in Brittany which is closely related to Cornish. The two languages are like Spanish and Portuguese. They are not mutually intelligible. But they were once part of the same language which was spoken by the Brythonic Celts in Roman times. (Targett 1993)

However "Breton" is not a neutral category in Cornwall. I spoke to a High Anglican Cornish nationalist woman who told me that she loved to visit Brittany because it was "what Cornwall would be if it weren't for the [Protestant] Reformation." As the thinking goes, Brittany is still predominantly Catholic, possesses a significant Celtic-speaking population, and has an elaborate set of religious and folk traditions—such as a cult of the saints. The Reformation—and the controversial Cornish Genocide (more on this in Chapter 3)—destroyed these elements of an older, shared culture in Cornwall.

One critic of Kemmyn, "Carrek," described the problem on the Cornwall24 messageboard as the idea that "the romantic-nationalist argument of 'making the language look more Celtic' (if you can define a 'Celtic' look)" involves borrowing not only words, but elements of spelling and grammatical forms[27] from Breton with what s/he believes is "the intended or unintended effect of making the

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[27] This includes, according to Carrek, an emphasis on verbal (rather than nominal) sentences, a "reliance on contrived verb conjugations" instead of auxiliary verbs favored by Late users and the "teaching of the present-future tense to be a present tense." This argument is highly arcane for most non-specialists but involves—overall—a transformation in the way that sentences are constructed and verbs are used with the effect of emphasizing forms that are more distant from English and closer to Breton.

language less authentically Cornish" (Breton Vs. Cornish)[28]

The sounds of Kemmyn were developed by Dr. Ken George through the application of a statistically-based computer program to the surviving manuscripts, aiming to extrapolate the most likely sounds associated used in the language around the year 1500. With confidence on the sounds, George and his associates felt comfortable jettisoning the Unified graphs, which were quite varied. In a 2012 interview with John King, he brought up this choice of time periods and explained the thinking behind it:

YB[29]: I don't think anyone, before or since, has matched Ken George's painstaking and thorough reconstitution of a legitimate sound system for Cornish. His decision to go for a target date of 1500 was (and remains) controversial, but it is entirely logical and reasonable, in my view. Imagine that the Spanish Armada had landed in 1588, and Spanish had become the language of Britain, taking several generations to do so. If you wanted to revive (now dead) English as a spoken tongue, you would go back to Shakespeare and his predecessors, to a time when the language was fully alive and entirely itself, and there was a body of literature to provide the evidence base for it. That, essentially, was the principle Ken George followed for Kernewek, and I think the correctness of the decision is incontrovertible. Ken (and indeed most supporters of Kernewek Kemmyn, myself included) greatly respect the sincerity of the supporters of Late Cornish, but Late Cornish is the wrong foundation for a truly revived Celtic language. (2012)

It is important to note that this view of Kernewek fundamentally assumes that its essence—"when it was fully alive and entirely itself"—was destroyed by an English conquest comparable to a successful Medieval Spanish invasion. This view of Cornish History, the Cornish Holocaust model is popular in some Cornish and Kernewek circles (such as in the writings of the historian John Angarrack and the poetry of Kernewek enthusiast Pol Hodge), but is not without strong historical criticism, notably from Bernard Deacon (2007), an important member of the Late Kernewek tendency.

In 1987, Kemmyn was adopted by the *Kesva an Taves Kernewek* (the "Cornish Language

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[28] Breton vs. Cornish (http://www.cornwall24.co.uk/language-culture/topic5852.html)
[29] John King changed his name to Yowann Byghan in 2001, a topic I cover in some depth in Chapter 4, and is recorded in my records as "YB."

Board"), which had been established in 1967 to administer examinations in the language and maintain the technical side of the language (like publishing dictionaries, promoting scholarship and examining questions of grammar, lexicon and spelling)[30]. From 1987 to the beginning of the new standardization in 2006, Kemmyn enjoyed the position of semi-official standard, which aided Cllr. King (who has sat on the Language Board and is a member of the Gorseth) in finally having the Kammbronn sign accepted. However, Kemmyn has never been without its critics.

Unified: In the Scribal Tradition

One source of opposition to Kemmyn has been from within the institutional framework of the Revival is from the followers of the previous standard form: Unified. Unified is a product of the Nancean Synthesis. Robert Morton Nance institutionalized his Unified spelling form predominantly through the publication of his seminal *Cornish-English Dictionary* in 1955 and the handbook *Cornish for All* in 1961, his editorship of the journal *Old Cornwall* and his leadership position in the two institutions he and Jenner created: the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies and the Gorseth Kernow, the Cornish College of Bards.

His was an ideological project rooted in a particular view of both the language and of Cornishness. While earlier proponents of the language had embraced much of the remnants of Late Modern Kernewek (i.e., Post-Reformation) in the local dialect, Nance rejected this later Cornish as corrupted and sought to reconstruct a form of writing he found in Medieval documents, in particular, the Miracle Plays dedicated to Celtic Saints. The Nanceans were students of the Romantic Late Victorian, and took great pains to collect fragments of folklore and constitute them in the form of revived ceremonies, the most important and dramatic being the Gorseth Kernow ("College of Bards").

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[30] The Kesva was established to achieve two goals: the first was to democratize the movement by creating a transparent, modern board rather than rely upon the secretive, patriarchal lineage-style leadership of the Gorsedd, which had previously fulfilled this role. The other was to relieve the Gorsedd of a job that was becoming increasingly onerous for their relatively small organization.

The Gorseth, which is still the most prominent Cornish Revivalist institution, is primarily a body which conducts a yearly ceremony involving hundreds of blue robed bards who give awards for achievement in Cornish Culture and Kernewek while symbolically gathering and recreating the nation. In this way, the proponents of Unified put themselves into a direct lineage with the scribes, and their methods have more in common with archaeologists, historians and folklorists than natural scientists (like Dr. George's[31] use of statistics).

The Unified methodology is similar to a parallel current occurring in the Breton Movement in the 1920s and 30s which drew upon three sources—Welsh, ancient Breton manuscripts, and local Breton dialect terms—to create a modernized standard Breton. Their work was, however, largely rejected by everyday speakers of the language as a Celtic Esperanto, an accusation that would be thrown at Kernewek Kemmyn two generations later (MacDonald 1989:113).

The Kernewek used within Unified is systematized but not fully standardized[32] as the desire to preserve all of the language means that it often allows for multiple spellings of the same sound and current users often express a desire for different regions of Cornwall to maintain different pronunciations of the same spellings. While the focus of the language is upon the Medieval, Unified users are loathe to disregard any spelling, conjugation or word found in the historic texts and thus end up utilizing and memorizing elaborate grammatical tables—or not memorizing them and instead eternally referring to cheat sheets and charts.

While Prof. Charles Thomas was not a user of Kernewek, the position he takes is reflective of this scholarly approach to the language. He argues for basing the writing on historically attested

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[31] Dr. George's training (and his first PhD) is in oceanography, in particular the statistical modeling and prediction of tides. He has since received a second PhD in Celtic Linguistics, in part based on his Kernewek work.

[32] By this I mean that there is no association of single graph to single sound and that users enjoy the freedom to draw upon a number of variant spellings and, more rarely, pronunciations for many words.

spellings and suggests "Cambron," which is a medievalist spelling; this should be no great surprise as

Thomas was a medieval archaeologist by profession. Like Nance, Thomas bases the authenticity upon

academic knowledge and the collection of the fragments of the past. Citing his position as a

Cornishman, Thomas sees placenames (and their spelling) as a form of ethnic heritage to be guarded.

Late: The Dark Horse

Opposition to Kemmyn has also emerged from the tendency towards Late Kernewek. The proponents

of the Late forms—in 1988 most prominently Richard Gendall—seek to construct Kernewek based

upon the language "as it was last used" [33]: amongst fisherfolk, farmers and mariners in Cornwall's

western fringe in the late 1700s, and the elements of that language that they argue survived into the

Cornish-English dialect of the 20th century. This emphasis on sounds was first theorized by Gendall in

The Pronunciation of Cornish (1989), where he took a swipe at Kemmyn's borrowing from Breton,

saying

> …this is not a study of the history or derivation of the sounds of the Cornish Language, but a presentation of the available evidence. It does not therefore seek to exclude any sounds because these might be thought to have suffered outside influences, notably English, not to manipulate the system in order to include sounds that are assumed to be Celtic-derived yet apparently missing from the evidence. In short, this is a study of fact and not of theory. (1989:1)

In a 2007 interview with Mina Dresser—who we will return to in Chapter 4—the secretary of

the Late Kernewek association and an enthusiastic teacher of the language, she explained the thinking

undergirding this faction:

MD: [T]hen we have modern Cornish, which was the Cornish that was last spoken. I'm [in] the modern Cornish facet, so I feel that very much we are in a situation that we could be if English disappears from the face of the earth – this year and in 100 years' time they decided to revive English, […] and someone said, 'Well, we've got to go back to Chaucer.' And then somebody else would say, 'Well, maybe not Chaucer, but maybe Shakespeare.' 'Maybe we should go even further.' And then someone else says, 'Well, what is the matter with the language that they were speaking in 2007 when we stopped speaking?' 'Oh, we don't know that because, I mean they

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[33] A phrase I heard numerous times amongst Late Users.

say all sorts of peculiar things, you know. And they don't say privy, what's thou way with me to yonder time el tomorrow, but would you like to go to town with me tomorrow.' So, that's basically the major problem. It's not any more than that really.

Unlike both Kemmyn and Unified, the Late tendency[34] has eschewed the Romanticism of the bardic and druidic ceremonies of the Gorseth and the institutionalization of the examination system. Instead, they tend to valorize the lives of 18th and 19th century Cornish peasants, miners and fisherfolk—who would be overwhelmingly Protestant Methodists[35]. In general, they have avoided hierarchical organization and the development of a single spelling system. Instead, they focus upon the cultivation of correct speech, based largely upon the Cornish-English Dialect and the creation of horizontal Cornish/Kernewek communities.

 The proponents of Late Cornish, such as Richard Gendall and Neil Kennedy, tended to rely more upon reference to the sounds of the spoken Cornish-English Dialect over pronunciations derived from historical documentation. In fact, speaking Kernewek properly certainly has cachet for all of the players, though with different emphasis. While Prof. Thomas does not mention speaking (as he does not use Kernewek as a living language but instead as an object of historic study), other proponents of Unified Kernewek did: Ray Chubb—a leader in the Unified Cornish organization *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language")—responded in 1997 to opposition from the Helston (near Camborne) fire department to Kernewek roadsigns by asking: "A Cornish person ought to be used to the pronunciation. If the person is not Cornish and not prepared to learn the pronunciation, it's got to be asked whether they should be living in Cornwall" (*St. Ives Echo* 1997).

It is important to note here that there is no standard for fluency, though the term is widely thrown around. There is a symbolic power and authority given to a fluent speaker, which makes the

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[34] I use this term because the lack of institutionalization in "Late" Kernewek means that its influence has been present in numerous organizations and elements of Movement and its influences is often difficult to pin down precisely.
[35] As opposed to the overwhelmingly Catholic Pre-Reformation Cornish.

mantle tempting during debates. Several times I was told that I was fluent in the tongue by observers and I know that was not the case. Perhaps a few dozen people can hold a sustained conversation in the language on any topic. I know of one long-term activist who told me that "there are no fluent speakers" in a revived tongue, a tempting position to take.

Opposing King, both Thomas and Gendall assert that they have the backing of scholarship (this is especially true of the bullish Thomas) and that they are ethnically Cornish, which King is not. Moreover, they note that there are only a handful of spellings that were traditionally used by actual speakers of Cornish and, by extension, that those spellings should be preferred. This emphasis on continuity of use amongst with the living traditions of the common people of Cornwall was echoed in Jewell's letter where she dismisses "obscure ancient penning"—a reference to the Medievalist spellings which the Cornish Language Board promotes.

The insight of the language ideology perspective is that it pushes against the boundaries of linguistics, asking how do the ways that we speak relate to the ways that we view the world, our place within it and the goals of our societies. This dissertation aims to trace these connections from language to aesthetics, pedagogy and Movement organization to deep-seated beliefs of class, nation, religion and kinship. The Kernewek Movement is fundamentally political as it seeks to create a new Cornwall—but the nature of this new place is in dispute and Cornwall is a site of fundamental ambiguity.   In Cornwall, these debates do not occur in a vacuum, but instead a context of neoliberalization, Europeanization, de-industrialization and embourgeoisement of the working classes. Benedict Anderson argued that the nation is an "imagined community" (1983) and the struggle for a standard language is a contest over which form of imagination will gain institutional recognition and power over the others.

The Lay of the Land

This dissertation is laid out in ten chapters which seek to explore these questions of identity, spelling, patrimony and authority. After this introductory chapter they are:

Chapter 2: A Land of Contrasts
In this chapter, I lay out the contexts—geographical, cultural, political and imaginative—in which the Kernewek Movement exists. In particular, I highlight the differences between the Lifestyle and Lifestruggle views of Cornwall (Deacon 2007) and their connections to classed and ethnicized experiences of place. I begin with a vista: Cornwall as seen from the heights of Carn Brae, a hill above the twin towns of Camborne and Redruth. From here I examine how the understanding of the nature of the land itself is contested: on one hand (lifestyle) it is a soft, warm and beautiful land of cream teas, happy excursions and trendy beachfront restaurants, on the other (lifestruggle) it is a hard, cold and gray land of generations-long poverty, fallen industrial grandeur and stoic inhabitants. Moving from the land, I show how this contrast is carried into opinions about the inhabitants of the land as superstitious, in-bred and ignorant (Lifestyle) to innovative, industrious and oppressed (Lifestruggle). I conclude by linking this dichotomy—these two contrasting imagined communities—to the Kernewek Movement and its conflicting factions.

Chapter 3: Golden Ages
This chapter charts the history of Kernewek from its origins in the Brythonic languages of pre-Anglo-Saxon Britain until the beginning of the contemporary Standardization process in 2002. The chapter is divided into two halves: the first dealing with Traditional Kernewek, as it was spoken before its death in the 19th century and the second half on Revived Kernewek, spoken since the beginning of the self-conscious revival. Emphasis is placed on understanding events and literary works which continue to resonate in the current movement, especially those produced in its perceived Golden Age between roughly 1300AD and the Cornish Holocaust of 1549. The analysis of Revived Kernewek focuses upon the intellectual currents that feed the movement and motivate the language's users, with particular

attention paid to those that led to the divisions of the movement into three factions in the late 1980s.

Chapter 4: Because they are Cornish
Amongst the Cornish people—even many language enthusiasts—there has been a long-standing belief

that Kernewek, the Cornish Language, serves no useful purpose. By examining and comparing the

narratives of four users of Kernewek, this chapter challenges the notion of Kernewek's uselessness and

instead focuses upon the ways that its users dynamically employ it in their everyday lives without

necessarily utilizing it as a medium of communication. Instead, I will demonstrate that Kernewek

study and use is always located within a larger project of social transformation—where speakers

attempt to alter themselves, the Cornish ethnic community or the geopolitical organization of Cornwall.

Moreover, these projects are situated within the positionality of the user, influenced by factors such as

kinship (in particular belonging to Cornish families), religious affiliation, ethnic identification, and

personal histories of migration which influence the choices they make regarding preferred form of the

language.

Chapter 5: What's in a Name?
The fifth chapter aims to examine the central proposition of this dissertation: that speech is

fundamentally linked to belief and sense of self, and from there to a wider socio-political reality.   This

chapter focuses upon the phenomenon of the naming and renaming, of people, places and objects, back

and forth between English, Cornish-English Dialect and the various forms of Kernewek. Particular

attention will be paid to those individuals who choose to rename themselves as a window into the

complex intertwining of the beliefs of language users, their subjectivities, language ideologies and

nationalisms, and the institutional realities of standardization, competition with other groups, and life

within a neoliberal state.

Chapter 6: Sight and Sound—Language Pedagogy and Factionalism
This chapter digs deep into a primary ethnographic locale: the Kernewek classroom. Throughout five

years of research, classrooms emerged as primary sites of the transfer and development of language ideology. By comparing classrooms and pedagogic techniques between language factions, I will demonstrate how the ostensibly neutral teaching of language—grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation—serves to socialize students into particular modes of understanding the nature of Kernewek and, by extension, Cornish identity. Moreover, the processes of examination and instruction serve to weed out dissent within the Movement's factions and harden the battle lines between institutions; this chapter will build upon observations of renaming and self-transformation detailed in chapter 2.

Chapter 7: 'Onan Hag Oll'—Standardization and the State
Picking up the story of Kernewek at 2002, this chapter describes the insertion of the British State into the Kernewek debate and the ways in which its recognition of the language fundamentally shifted the grounds of debate and the balance of factional power. Through the examination of three debates within the standardization process—Preocclusion, Letter Choice and Diacritics—were shaped by stated and unstated neoliberalism. While these three arenas have grammatical and aural components, they primarily revolve around the question of how written Kernewek will *look*. This apparently esoteric observation will be connected backwards to the experiences and imaginings of Cornwall—lifestyle and lifestruggle—through the ideas of language ideology and national identity.

Chapter 8: 'Heirs and Successors'—Orthography, Ideology and the Nature of Ethnicity
The concluding chapter will return to the concerns first addressed in this introduction: the search for authentic belonging, and for the purification of a perceived colonization of the minds, society and landscape of Cornish people. I will demonstrate how the three factions, along with the new ideological consensus born of the standardization, all seek to address these concerns and I will ask why the aural emphasis of some elements (especially Late) of the movement has been overrun by the visual emphasis of others (especially Kemmyn) and the implications of that shift on Cornish identity both for the language and for wider ethno-politics in Cornwall and Britain. The debate over spelling in Cornwall is,

in fact, a manifestation of the larger transformation of the British economic and political community and the deep anxiety in post-Imperial Britain over the nature of ethnicity, the role of class, and the nature of the state. The struggle for a standard language is one arena in the struggle for the future of Cornwall and Britain.

Chapter 2: A Land of Contrasts

In order to understand Cornwall's peculiar linguistic character, an introduction to the place, its peculiarities and notable characteristics is necessary. This chapter aims to orient the reader to the social dynamics of Cornwall. It begins by laying out the place itself, using the vista from a high hill—Carn Brae—as a tool for understanding the landscape. However, beyond the uncontestable facts of geography, "this town is to the north, this river runs down the center, etc," there is little consensus over the nature of Cornwall, the character of its people, or the perception of it in the public discourse. Hence the remainder of the chapter embraces the ambiguity of Cornwall by examining juxtaposed differences in interpretation through the use of ethnographic vignettes, which are set aside at the beginning of each section with (§) marks. The choices of the themes of these three sections—the nature of the land of Cornwall, the character of the people who inhabit it, and the aesthetics of its cultural products[36]—were made because of their relevance to the Cornish example, but also because they will serve to demonstrate the connections between language and wider perceptions of the world.

At the center of this fundamental ambiguity in Cornwall—with disagreements about seemingly simple facts such as whether Cornwall is sunny or grey and warm or chilly—is the point that amongst all of the territories of the British Islands, Cornwall has a unique political and cultural position. The granite toe-end of the southwestern peninsula, it is considered by current British law to be a constituent county of England and its inhabitants to be English. For many of its residents, especially those who have recently arrived, this view encompasses their understanding of Cornwall's place in the world. However, for others, especially those with deep roots in the place, Cornwall is not a part of England,

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[36] In this case the inhabited spaces (homes and religious structures) and popular magazines are salient categories of cultural products explored in greater depth.

but instead a Celtic Nation, on par with its larger cousins Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Brittany. They see it legally not as a county but as a duchy, with distinctive laws, customs and institutions. While this legalistic division appears relatively easy to wrap one's head around, in fact the contrast between English County and Celtic Nation runs deeper and reflects long-term economic, social and cultural tensions which together constitute two different viewpoints of Cornwall which—borrowing from Deacon (2007)—I will refer to as Lifestyle and Lifestruggle.

The overall picture I aim to paint here is of a place of remarkable, grinding, generations-long poverty and violence side by side with scintillating luxury. The division between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle is not only in the eyes of the beholder, but in the real material lives of the people on the ground. My goal here is to show how that material experience translates first into aesthetics, beliefs and ideals and then into language ideology, then into language practices—in effect I aim to show how the spelling struggles in Cornwall today are a response to very real struggles for survival—both personal and cultural. My goal here is not to explain-away the distinctive culture of Cornwall as a product of economic marginalization and the fantasies of the English-dominated society (Hecher 1975, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), nor to repeat facile assumptions that Celtic culture has somehow caused the economic plight of the people, but instead to show how the material circumstances in which the people of Cornwall—rich and poor, insider and outsider—shape the way they understand the world and influence the decisions they make about it, thus influencing the material world in turn.

However, before we move into this cultural context, I would like to give a vista of Cornwall, and its major locations. The best place to begin this survey is from the heights of Carn Brae, a lone, rocky hill overlooking the western reaches of Cornwall, a place that filled the everyday horizon of my time in Cornwall.

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The View from Carn Brae: The Land of Cornwall

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To approach the summit of Carn Brae from the town of Redruth, one begins in the east, taking a

hedged-in paved road up and around the southeast side of the hill. Approaching the village of

Carnkie—Cornish for "stone dog" I've been told—the land appears to be mostly empty. Broad pastures

with the occasional cow or horse, isolated farm houses and lesser hills stretching away to the south.

The landscape is also littered with ruins: the smokestacks and walls that denote the head of a mine in

previous years.

The road to Carn Brae turns off the pavement just outside of Carnkie and, winding upwards,

eventually becomes a dirt path. If you ride a motorbike, like I do, the wind typically buffets you as you

gingerly negotiate around muddy pools and over patches of loose scree. Sometimes, arriving at the end

of the road, the wind has picked up moisture and the tiny droplets sting your face and hands. From

here, one continues to ascend, scrambling up over the worn granite protruding out above the last of the

pastures. When I came here with friends, they asked if I could make out the traces of paleolithic walls

built to enclose the tor; when I came here with my partner, she asked if I was lost. At the highest point

is the Carn Brae Monument, a phallic pinnacle of granite standing out on the horizon for miles in any

direction, built on a broad flat base. There is an iron gate in a small door at the base, but it was never

unlocked during my visits; it is possible it has rusted shut. It was built for a long-dead mine lord, a

statement of pride and confidence in contrast to the contemporary impoverishment of the towns at its

feet.

I do not come here for the Monument, nor for the archaeology—which is admittedly

impressive—but instead for the view. On Sundays, I sometimes take a book and thick clothes and

make my way to the top to sit, and read and think. This is not the highest point in Cornwall, that honor

is reserved for the even-more desolate Roughtor[37] to the east, but it is only from here that I can truly appreciate the geography of what many of my interviewees and friends think of as the Celtic Nation of Kernow and others just as confidently see as the English County of Cornwall.

Coming from a continent of vast spaces, I have always thought of Cornwall as a small place, a peninsula about one hundred miles long and perhaps an average of forty miles wide. I have taken trains across it as a daily event in my research and I know people who regularly leave it for all but their most basic shopping. Up here, though, I begin to understand its immensity in a geography of the imagination. For one, this land feels alone in the world; the poet Winifred Bowler noted "through this land the traveller feels/the omnipresent sea. Its moods/Contain the elements that spill"[38]. Certainly, the slate-gray sea stretches far to the north, south and west and on a rainy day it seems to meld into the flat sky so there is no horizon, only an all-encompassing embrace of gray emptiness.

Here, Cornwall-Kernow lies at our feet, bounded and yet still a bit mysterious. I do not mean to repeat the overused tropes of mysterious Celtic Cornwall forever cloaked in fog (though some days it certainly seems that way when the mist cuts through my jacket and covers my helmet's face shield). Cornwall is mysterious because its people hide it away. One of the most popular tourist destinations in Britain, every summer its beaches overflow with holiday-makers and in its coastal communities, second homes and retirement homes have overwhelmed the old fishing and mining families. But up here in the weathered, depressed mining districts, the tourists rarely come[39] and much of what is important is actually buried under our feet: mines and tunnels stretching for miles.

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[37] This name is pronounced "rowe-tor"

[38] This comes from her Gorsedd-prize winning poem "Cornish Seas" from 1972. It was published in the collection *Gorsedd Poems* edited by William A. Morris and published by the Gorseth Kernow and Dyllansow Truran in Redruth.

[39] I tried finding a hotel at short notice in Redruth one night and found that the one small budget place was full and the only other option was a grand old mansion at the edge of town. The town's tourist officer, a good friend of mine, deals more with genealogy buffs coming to peruse the archives than families seeking the sun.

On a clear day, from this vantage point, the land of Cornwall spreads out spectacularly before you. Facing north, the twin towns (and old rivals) of Camborne and Redruth are directly below. Former mining towns, today they are beset by economic depression and yet are great bastions of Cornish identity and pride, "the most ethnically Cornish places on Earth" according to a nationalist friend of mine. Unlike communities in North America, the towns here end abruptly, giving way to rolling hills covered in pasture. This is dairy land, known for its rich clotted cream, recently protected by the European Union as a regional dish equivalent to Champagne or Balsamic vinegar. To the north, the land drops off in soaring cliffs, formerly mined for shale, and isolated port towns like St. Agnes, Port Isaac and Padstowe. From Carn Brae you can clearly see the Irish Sea to the north and can imagine the lights of Ireland in the distance.

To your left, in the west, the land flattens out around the broad estuary of Hayle (a Cornish word meaning "estuary" of all things) before rising up again into the boot heel of the Cornish peninsula: West Penwith. The highlands there, ringed by the (mostly) ex-fishing towns of Penzance, Newlyn, Mousehole, St. Just in Penwith, Zennor and St Ives, are bare of trees and have a mystical air about them in the popular (mostly English) imagination. Home to one of the world's greatest concentrations of ancient megalithic monuments, from stone circles to underground barrows, it draws pagans, archaeologists and tourists from around the world. Once one of the most isolated areas of Britain and the last preserve of the traditional Cornish Language, today Penwith is the end of the train line from London and is filled—some say overrun—with surf-seeking tourists. Perhaps emblematic is Land's End, the westernmost point of both Cornwall and all of Britain, a headland that is now covered in an amusement park. Throughout Cornish communities, one sometimes hears tourists—and the English more generally—referred to as "emmets," a pejorative word meaning "ants" commonly

believed to be from the Cornish language[40]. I was told twice by friends that the meaning comes from

the view of the beaches from the hills (far from the sea, where the Cornish live) during the summer

when the sand seems to swarm with little ants[41].

Returning back to Carn Brae, if you turn around to face the south, a line of hills similar to Carn

Brae march off towards the Lizard Peninsula, a toe of Cornwall which today is probably the most

physically isolated region of the peninsula. The train lines do not reach here and the area has far fewer

visitors than Penwith. It is perhaps best known as a deposit of particularly ancient serpentine and the

home of great dish of the Goonhilly satellite earth station.

To the southeast is Falmouth, the first of the welcoming port-towns of the southern coast. The

land reaches the sea far more gradually than in the north cliffs, the surf is lower and the climate is more

mild. It is here, in sheltered south-facing valleys that the Victorians planted semi-tropical gardens and

succeeded at growing pineapples (albeit under glass). Falmouth is a pleasant, walkable community

which is now home to Cornwall's first University campus—the Combined Universities of Cornwall—

and is rapidly becoming an artsy college town. The south coast, the so-called Cornish Riviera, is

dotted with similar tourist-friendly communities like Fowey, Looe, and Polperro.

Turning one's face to the east, one first encounters the valley of the River Fal (leading to

Falmouth) and the Cathedral town of Truro, now the seat of the Cornwall Council[42]. Beyond Truro and

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[40] There is debate on this matter, as a different word "*muryon*" is used in historic Cornish documents; "emmet" seems to have a Germanic origin. However, the fact that it is widely considered to be Cornish and is today found only in Cornwall is of considerable significance.

[41] This term has an ambiguous place. It is not censored by the media and is used in the popular Cornish theatrical works of Dr. Alan Kent. However, one Englishwoman I know considered it to be as offensive as any racial slur and left a performance of Kent's *Surfing Tommies* with me disgusted with the show. I was told by an Englishman who worked in a factory in Cornwall that it was regularly used as a slur against him and at one point I was stoned by young boys outside an estate in southern Cornwall—they called me an "emmet" and told me to leave Cornwall.

[42] Throughout this work I will use the term "Cornwall Council" to refer to the elected body that was known by law as the "Cornwall County Council" until 2009 and the "Cornwall Council" since then. Both to avoid confusion amongst readers not familiar with the change and to recognize the sensibilities of nationalists who wish to avoid the term "County" in reference to Cornwall. It is the highest elected body representing Cornwall below the level of the British Parliament in

the Fal, the land rises again into the Clay Country. This high region is home to Cornwall's last extractive industry: china clay mining. The land is blasted away with high-pressure hoses in great open pit mines and the resulting slurry is dried to produce a fine clay used to make many products, most notably glossy paper and porcelain. The small Clay Country villages are notorious for being insular, staunchly Methodist and fiercely Cornish. The pagans find the land warped beyond hope of repair (I have been told that ley lines simply twist and break in the Clay) and tourists find the roads twisting beyond comprehension. The clay port of St Austell on the south coast is remarkably non-touristy and industrial.

Finally, in the distance, beyond the heights of Bodmin Moor (the edge of the Clay) lies East Cornwall. My nationalist friends were emphatic about its Cornishness, but one cannot help but feel the deeper English influences in towns like Liskeard, Callington and Lostwithiel; it was here (unlike the west) that the land was rich enough that the Saxon manor system could be imposed and this is the heartland of the palaces and castles of the monarchist Duchy of Cornwall, a post traditionally held by the heir to the throne of England (the current Duke is Charles Windsor[43]).

Finally, the eastern border, the River Tamar, is reached and Cornwall ends. Over the river lies Devon, an unambiguously English county, and the city of Plymouth, a place rebuilt in cheap concrete after uncounted Nazi bombs leveled it and is today a symbol for many Cornish of the aesthetic, economic and social dangers of "the City." Nowhere is this danger more symbolically apparent than at the Tamar Bridge, over which tourists, goods and in-migrants drive every day. It was no surprise to me that in the 2010-11 debates over changes to Cornwall's land border, the Bridge became the focal point of much of the protests.

Westminster.
[43] Commonly known as Prince Charles.

Nationalists argue that while the land of Cornwall ends at the sea and the Tamar, that

Cornishness extends far beyond it, to a far-flung Cornish mining Diaspora, a product of the economic

depression and mining expertise of Cornwall from the 1870s until the 1930s. Generations of miners

traveled to places like Moonta, Australia; Mineral Point, Wisconsin; Grass Valley, California; Pachuca,

Mexico; and the South African Rand. Since the 1990s, these links have been revived with regular

travel and institutional links between them and the motherland (Payton 2004).

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Despite the apparent totality of both the embracing vista from Carn Brae and the political vision of a

singular Cornish Nation from Land's End to the Tamar, there are deep divisions in Cornwall as

> ...gentrification widens the social divisions of Cornwall's new two-tier society, exacerbating problems of social exclusion. On the one hand we have **lifestyle Cornwall**, the Cornwall of Rick's Stein's restaurants, the Tate, the Maritime Museum, the St Endellion and du Maurier Festivals[44], the Cornwall of high incomes, four-wheel drives and selfish greed. On the other we have **life-struggle Cornwall**, estates suck into a spiral of despair and scarred by poor health, vandalism, drugs and petty crime, places where low incomes and deprivation are the norm. (Deacon 2007:227; emphasis added)

While the concept of a Lifestyle Cornwall is widespread in the media, the need for Deacon to create the

term Lifestruggle in contrast reveals the invisibility of this side of the Cornish experience. Writers on

Cornwall have examined this dynamic from several points of view, with Willett describing it as an

"insider/experiential" and "outsider/consumptive" difference (2009) and I discussed "active" versus

"consumptive" discourses (Harasta 2012). Amongst Cornish communities I often hear this referred to

as a Cornish versus English point of view—but I decided not to use this emic categorization because of

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[44] Rick Stein is a celebrity chef whose empire (including TV shows, a line of cook wear, and a number of books) focuses on fish—he owns a number of restaurants and hotels in the small village of Padstowe on the North Coast and has more-or-less singlehandely gentrified the previously tight-knit community. The "Tate" is a reference to a St. Ives branch of London-based Modern and Contemporary Art museum founded in 2003; the Maritime Museum is a Duchy-supported museum of maritime life which also opened in 2003 and is a branch of a larger London establishment. The two festivals celebrate elite culture (St Endellion is a festival of Classical music in a small North Coast village and the Daphne du Maurier festival is dedicate to literature in the South Coast town of Fowey). Together, these sites and events are symbolic of what Deacon calls "Lifestyle Cornwall," a vision of Cornwall focused on picturesque coastal villages, elite leisure and consumption.

the danger it presents for over-simplification of the ethnic situation in Cornwall.

Regardless of its name, the prevalence of this two-tiered division in public perception has had deep effects upon the politics of the Kernewek Movement.   To write on Cornwall, whether on the language or any other subject, one must have a view of what Cornwall means. The view looks different depending on whether someone is watching the "emmets" from the hillsides or looking up towards the "dangerous," "inbred," "crime-ridden"[45] post-mining towns in the hills.

Shane and the Cornish Riviera: The Nature of Cornwall

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Early in my second visit to Cornwall, in the summer 2008, I stepped outside my landlady's kitchen to the walled garden for a breath of fresh air. The night was chilly and the house's other boarder, Shane, was leaning in the door frame, smoking a cigarette. A big, quiet man in his early thirties, Shane came from an old Cornish family from the Lizard and worked as a farm equipment deliveryman. His knowledge of the backroads of West Cornwall was unparalleled and he often told me of quicker ways to get from points a to b. Tonight, though, we had just met and this was our first private conversation.

"*Mitten Da*" he said. I was as much taken aback by his use of the Cornish language as by his misuse of the phrase, which means "good morning." "You know Cornish?" I asked and he replied that he knew "a little bit" and provided me with a few phrases[46]—half of which were in the Cornish Language and the other half from the Cornish-English Dialect. I had spent the day in Penzance near the beach and asked him if he ever went down and enjoyed the sand. He told me that he did but never

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[45] I often heard comments on the central spine of Cornwall after I told people I was living in Camborne or Redruth (depending on the year). Some of these were from Cornish people from the coast, often poking fun at these towns (inter-town rivalry and local pride are key parts of Cornish sense of place) but many times they were from tourists and recent arrivals to the area who avoided these towns like the plague.

[46] Including "*emmet*," "*nadelik lowen,*" ('Happy Christmas' in Cornish) "*me 'andsome*," ('my handsome,' a dialect term of endearment used between men) and "*proper job*" (a dialect term of praise for something done right).

during the summer. He explained that one of his favorite things to do in the winter was to wait for one of the big storms off the Atlantic. He would head to an ocean-facing beach, sit on the sand and wrap himself up in a blanket so that only his face was showing. He would watch the storm hit and feel the wind and rain lash his face and body. He told me the experience was breathtaking.

Putting out his cigarette, he asked me to wait a moment and went inside.   Returning, he carried a narrow, staple-bound booklet entitled "Penlee: The Story of a Lifeboat;" it was the only book I ever saw him hold[47]. He explained that if I wanted to understand Cornwall, I would have to understand the Penlee Lifeboat Disaster. On December 19th, 1981 a terrible storm hit the Cornish coast, grounding a Dutch cargo ship on the rocks along the southern shore of West Penwith. In the fishing village of Newlyn, south of Penzance, a flare was sent up and the crew of the Penlee Lifeboat set out to rescue the floundering ship. The entire crew of both vessels was lost in a tragedy that tore apart Newlyn and gripped the British people.

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This would not be the only time that I saw Cornish people defining themselves, and their land, as a harsh and hardy place. It is a theme that appears to go back decades; for instance, in 1973 the Gorsedd prize for children's poetry in English was given to Christopher Harris of Penzance who opened the winning poem—"The Cornish Landscape"—with the lines:

> Not here
> the softly rolling hills, lush grass,
> not here
> the quaint thatched cottage
> cool in the shade of the large, stately oak.
> Here...
> all is barren and desolate,

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[47] Not that Shane didn't appreciate books or couldn't read, but simply that he didn't walk around with them or regularly recommend them to others. This was a stark contrast to our English landlady who never left the house without a book and regularly discussed them.

wiry gorse and coarse heather
        scantily clothe the sterile earth.
        Hunched, dwarfish trees
        cower beneath
        lowering black clouds.
        A misty blur,
        the sun,
        a pale ghost,
        shut out by the huge, translucent dome
        drenched with grey. [...]
        (In Morris:34)

In a similar vein, the 1975 award for adult poetry was given to a Mrs. E. Searle from Troon who wrote

"Late Summer" which begins:

                No gentle English Spring
                      Have we,
                Laying siege to Winter
                And gently prying loose
                    Its icy fingers,
                    One by one. [...]
                   (In Morris:37)

        I had read these poems to my Cornish flatmate, Neil, in January 2011. When I returned from a

freezing day climbing Roughtor in the pouring rain, soaked to the skin[48], Neil greet me at the door with

tea and the line "not here the sunny afternoons, here there is the horizontal rain." Our talk turned to the

idea that the Cornish like to think of themselves as in a harsh land lashed by the sea. Neil mentioned

how, after the Penlee Lifeboat disaster[49] the three other Cornish people he knew in Kent[50] (where he

was studying) contacted him within 20 minutes. He said that the English were sympathetic to the loss,

but didn't understand how deeply the lifeboats were embedded in the Cornish popular consciousness

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[48] In fact, I would have called off my expedition up Roughtor, on Bodmin Moor, but my Cornwall-raised (but of English parentage and ambiguous self-identity) guide explained that a bit of rain don't put people off a trip in Cornwall.
[49] Note: Neil was unaware of my conversation with Shane three years previous.
[50] The southeastern extremity of England.

and that the Cornish[51] like to think of themselves as lifeboat coxswains on a stormy night; hence the tragedy had a visceral impact upon the Cornish that was outside of their experience.

Neil then went over to the bilingual Cornish-English calendar on the kitchen wall[52]—left by the previous resident, an elderly Cornishwoman who had passed a few months previous and apparently did not speak Cornish—and turned to November, which had a picture of an abandoned granite mine engine house with gorse in the foreground, covered in fog. Below it, he had written a while back: "Kernow... post-industrial dereliction, bad weather and stunted plant growth." He said that people in Cornwall also thought of the plants as hardy, and there is a folk belief that roses can't grow well here, that they don't like the sea winds and that the winters aren't cold enough to kill their pests—of course, the rose is the symbol of England[53]. Neil mentioned that his father spoke of the "iconic Cornish garden: a galvanized steel bucket with the bottom kicked out, filled with earth and a single, struggling rhubarb plant and a line of potatoes."

He then spoke of a staple-bound pamphlet I found at a mining gift shop entitled "How to be Proper Cornish" by a mysterious "Penrose." In it, the author describes the Cornish as short, stocky, hairy and dark; Neil said that once he entered a pub with a stereotypical Norwegian friend of his and a Cornishman (who looked like Penrose's description) came up and said "you're not from around here are you?" and when his friend said "no" the man replied "yeah, the wind would cut you off at hedge height."

These attitudes extend beyond Neil's circle of nationalist friends and family. In 2008, I interviewed a woman named Cassandra who grew up adopted in southeast England. She told me how,

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[51] I think he meant primarily men here, Cornish identity is often fiercely gendered.
[52] It was named "Evocative Cornwall" but Neil would later note the Cornish title, "Kernow Hyrethek," is better translated as "Nostalgic Cornwall."
[53] The Rose is a symbol used in roadsigns in England to mark a tourist site. In Cornwall, these signs were regularly targeted for vandalism until in 2002, they were replaced with ones bearing alternative Cornish-themed symbols.

being "short and dark" she never felt like she fit in amongst the supposedly Germanic locals. As an adult she moved to Cornwall and felt as if she automatically fit in, it was only later she learned that her birth parents were Cornish. One night in 2011, after a few ciders, my friends Tristan, who is relatively short and dark in coloration, and Bryn, who is taller and lighter in complexion, playfully accused each other of being Celt and Saxon (respectively) with accompanying insults. Tristan's retorts must have cut a bit more deeply because the argument ended when Bryn admitted "sometimes I wish I could be a Celt." Both men have English ancestry and grew up in Cornwall.

These attitudes contrast strongly with the public perception of Cornwall in England, which sees Cornwall as a land of sunshine, palm trees, and summer idylls—the Cornish Riviera. This is an image produced both within Cornwall and outside of it. For instance, the front page of the St. Ives tourist association's website[54] calls on visitors to:

> Discover the bright and shining southwest tip of Cornwall, with the ancient town of St Ives nestling amongst rich, magnificent coastal scenery; surrounding you with the clearest air, the cleanest beaches and scented, sub-tropical gardens. St Ives has the kind of simple beauty that stops you in your tracks. Thanks to warm summers and Britain's mildest climate, the delights of St Ives, and the magic of Cornwall are here to be enjoyed all year round. (http://www.stives-cornwall.co.uk/)

Beaches and garden tours rank high upon the to-do lists of tourists visiting Cornwall. Beaches tend to be divided between the South Coast, which is seen as a family-oriented place with warm, gentle beaches and inviting tea houses, while the North Coast is associated with higher waves and a youth-oriented surfing culture; for instance, Watergate Bay (near the boisterous party town of Newquay) is known for surfing, extreme sports and the high-end restaurant Cornwall Fifteen owned by perpetually-youthful celebrity chef Jamie Oliver.

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[54] One must not assume that the St. Ives Tourism Association is made up of ethnically Cornish individuals as St. Ives has been ground zero for the Cornish tourist industry for over a century and few of the old fishing families still live there. Today, it is a thoroughly English place.

Dotting the warm south-facing valleys on the south coast (especially near Falmouth and Truro), formal gardens stand in the estates of well-to-do Victorian families. There is an alliance of these gardens and it is common to take a garden tour of Cornwall. I spoke one evening in 2010 with a gardener from the National Trust site of Glendurgan and he said that Britain is a bit obsessed with the glorious past found in gardens and stately houses, that it was desperately trying to "climb out of the Victorian era" but that the fact that Britain was so powerful back then made it continually attractive. Having lived in Cornwall for about fifteen years, he said that the interest in Cornish gardens often confused him as Cornwall is a very hard place and that, unlike in the softer parts of Britain, here the hard landscape matched the hardness of a life of poverty, which ironically made the poverty more picturesque.

Nature, and here I include the picturesque poor, are a playthings of the privileged, to be shaped and molded into appealing designs for recuperation and recreation. The fantasy of a seaside cottage, painting or lifestyle crops up in numerous unexpected situations, such as the renaming of cottages with titles like "Dream Achieved" or "Shangri-La" or the penchant for painters in contemporary St Ives or the pages of glossy magazines like *Cornwall Today* to sell images of natural Cornwall free from human hands. Advertisers learn to manipulate these conceptions, such as ones I saw in 2008 for cliffside flats outside of Newquay on the road to the fashionable Watergate Bay[55], where a pure white interior was contrasted with windows, each one a frame of a blissfully human-free natural landscape.

Embodying the fascination with Victorian gardens is Tim Smit and his projects: a Dutch music producer who moved to Cornwall and began renovating the "Lost Gardens of Heligan," an overgrown Edwardian estate that he eventually turned into a tourist attraction. In his book *Heligan* (2000), Smit describes his garden as evoking "a grander, more leisurely age" and gives images from a photoalbum:

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[55] Home to windsurfers, surfers and celebrity chef Jamie Oliver's high-end Fifteen Restaurant.

"a chauffeur standing proudly beside a Rolls-Royce, a pet emu on the loose being pursued by a laughing man in uniform, a group of smiling men in swimming trunks at nearby Pentewan Beach" (92). Smit would later go on to create the Eden Project in the Clay Country, perhaps the grandest modern garden in all of Britain and the paramount symbol of Lifestyle Cornwall.

Another example of this buoyant view of Cornwall as a land of leisure and eternal summer can be seen in Carol Trewin's 2005 book *Gourmet Cornwall*. The introduction was by Philippa Davenport who begins with her reminiscences of childhood holidays in Cornwall, breathily telling us "I remember the glorious light" (6). She then references Daphne Du Maurier, an English transplant novelist who is, today, a symbol of Cornwall's importance in the literature of England[56], and she describes how Cornwall has faced a "recent quiet revolution from modest backwater cooking to an honest modern cuisine that is rooted proudly in local ingredients" (6). Davenport places Cornwall within England, explaining that "historically, Cornwall was England's poor relation county. The hard-won livelihoods of her fishing, farming and mining communities were further disadvantaged by Cornwall's distance from the rest of England, out on a western limb, until the advent of the railways and refrigeration opened up communications and fresh food export potential" (6).

Trewin is more nuanced, saying that Cornwall is many things "...modern and vibrant as epitomized by the Eden Project and the surf culture of North Cornwall; an extinct tin mining industry, represented by lonely chimney stacks and derelict engine houses; a soft focus image of picturesque coves and harbours, which enchanted generations of artists..." (8). On a culinary front, however, it was characterized by local food production and simple techniques. She goes on to explain how Cornwall has experienced a "food renaissance" and that "visitors are surprised by the quality and range" of food

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[56] For instance, she is celebrated every year at the high-end Du Maurier Festival in Fowey, mentioned above by Bernard Deacon as a quintessential example of Lifestyle Cornwall.

(10). She says that what is important is that the ingredients, not the recipes are Cornish; she says she gives a focus on the working class diet, not that of the wealthy elites and shows how the current "revolution" is linked to them (11). She does give credit to chefs, stating that "chefs in Cornwall have rediscovered the freshness and quality of many simple, but superb Cornish ingredients..." (12). She has chapters dedicated to fish, shellfish, orchard fruits, dairy products, meats, vegetable products and other of these featured ingredients which she identifies as characteristically Cornish.

In the imagination of Lifestyle Cornwall, the land is a "poor relation county" of England: a place where life is slower, warmer and softer and any distinctiveness comes from isolation, poverty and the blessing of the sun. Cornish food is unique because it comes directly from the soil (and hence the warm climate), not because it is cooked in a way distinctive to the place (and therefore coming from a Cornish culture). When the industrial heights are mentioned, they are always a nostalgic glance backwards, never a way of describing the present people or a hope for the future. The Lifestruggle view tends to understand Cornish food in terms of distinctive recipes: clotted cream, pilchards, hogs pudding, Cornish breakfast, yarg cheese[57], Stargazey Pie[58] and, the pasty—the quintessential Cornish dish, recently protected by the European Union. This view, in direct contrast to the understanding of Cornwall as an industrialized place, is a product of the late 19th and early 20th centuries when "Cornwall was reconstructed as a remote, more primitive, yet somehow purer ancestor and antidote to metropolitan civilization" (Deacon 2007:181)

These viewpoints are bound to clash at times typically to the triumph of the Lifestyle viewpoint

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[57] An excellent semi-hard cow cheese cured in nettle or wild garlic leaves. Interestingly, despite a relatively young age for Yarg (invented some time in the 1970s according to my interviewees), it has been wholeheartedly adopted by a number of my ethnic Cornish interviewees when asked about the "cuisine" of Cornwall, perhaps because it is a distinctive, finished food product (as opposed to an ingredient).

[58] Stargazey Pie is perhaps Cornwall's most striking dish: created to commemorate Tom Bawcock's Eve (December 23rd) in the fishing village of Mousehole, it is a fish pie with the fish heads and tails poking out of the crust "gazing at the stars." I have never had Stargazey Pie, but have never heard anyone who has give it a positive review. It continues to be cooked for reasons of "tradition" rather than taste.

over the Lifestruggle. One (grey, wet, cold and windy) day in December, 2010, I was dragged away from the Cornish Studies Library by Dr. Garry Tregidga of the Institute of Cornish Studies and my housemate Neil, a student of the Institute, for a cup of tea at a cafe called *Boesti* (Cornish for "Eating Place"). The conversation revolved around Tim Smit's Eden Project, and its increasing involvement in the greening of industrial Cornwall. In particular Eden had created a partnership with a number of multinational mining firms called the Post-Mining Alliance[59] which were promoting the conversion of working china clay pits into swanky eco-housing developments called Eco-Towns; Eco-Towns were a Labour Government strategy to resettle well-to-do Londoners into rural areas of the country and gained considerable traction in Cornwall. Garry described an event sponsored by the Cornwall Volunteer Forum where groups from the Clay Country (where Garry originates and the focus of his research and activism) were invited to a forum. The event was billed as being about how to obtain more funding for their organizations, but when Gary arrived, he found himself roped into a promotional talk for the Eco-Towns. Garry said that the attendees became hostile to the presenter, who was singularly unable to answer their objections. Garry fears, however, that their mere appearance will be used to show popular support for the Eco-Towns project. Garry also said that the organization behind it has been funding mini-grants to organizations within the Clay, but that his organization has refused to apply to any of them as they're "dirty money." However, in the context of generations-long economic depression in the mining districts, even legitimate, well-meaning organizations will certainly be tempted by the "dirty money," and the power of the vision of Lifestyle Cornwall.

At the heart of the debate are two conflicting economic pressures—the demands of locals to enjoy the benefits of development and the desire of outsiders to cash in on the Cornish phenomenon—means that investment and development are continual political topics in Cornwall. In her ethnographic

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[59] The very name of which has Neil furious, he said you might as well call it the "post-Cornish alliance."

research amongst government officials, Joanie Willett (2009) found a striking difference between locally elected officials (who typically held strongly to the Lifestruggle, industrial prowess view) and economic-development agents brought in by outside organizations (who typically maintained a Lifestyle, Cornwall as a land of pleasure, view). The dominance of the Lifestyle view amongst these bureaucrats is important, as they tend to have greater resources and power than even elected local officials.

If we imagine our quintessential Lifestyle Cornwall visitor, she is blushing blonde bride on the beach on a sunny summer day, enjoying a local organic food and the blessings of a Cornish summer. On the other hand our quintessential Lifestruggle Cornwall resident lives in the hills, he eats day-old cold pasties and thinks the land is at its most Cornish during a brutal winter storm, when the small dark men of Newlyn—people perhaps a bit like my friends Tristan and Shane—squint into the wind and throw themselves into the waves on small boats to save lives.

Denzel and Dick Trevithick: The People of Cornwall

[The TV skit opens with Denzel in a 'farmer's outfit' in a barn next to a barn, leaning his head towards the horse's rear end. A man in a dress shirt approaches.]
Man: What the hell do you think you're doin?
Denzel: What do you mean?
M: What are you doin?
D: I'm kissin' a horse's ass.
M: Kissin' a horse's ass?
D: Yeah.
M: What the hell for?
D: It's a very old, it's very old thing. [points to lips] I have terrible chapped lips. Look! Look! They're chapped. So what do you do? You kiss a horse's ass. Done it for years.
M: Does it cure chaps?
D: Well no, it don't. But it will stop you lickin' them for a minute.[60]

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On the September 9th, 2010, I was in the Cornish Studies Library in Redruth to use the public internet; after a few hours of work, I walked up to the front desk to sign up for more time from my friend Tristan, a librarian. I found him discussing the state of the town with a man in his late 30s with grey hair who was considerably taller than either Tristan or me. He was a Redruth boy like Tristan, they had grown up together and he had recently returned to Cornwall after living in London for 20 years.

The two were in a heated discussion and as I approached the man was describing how irritated he is by "the Cornish." He said that he feels more Cornish outside of Cornwall than within and that he does not remember Cornishness being so important when he left. People talk about it much more now, he argued, and he doesn't like the insularity of it—he focused on the growing presence of "all the Cornish flags" as an example. The normally placid Tristan had little patience with him and argued that Cornwall is not insular but rather a place of innovation, with "lots of people inventing new things."

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This dichotomy—Cornwall as a place of innovation and invention versus Cornwall as an insular

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[60] Transcribed from a clip on Youtube, "More from Jethro"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBjxxaN_T8A&feature=related accessed online on October 30th, 2011.

backwater—infuses debates over the past, present and future of Cornwall. Cornwall is not simply a place, or even an imagined set of places within a watery border, but a framework for understanding the place of one's community, family and self, for understanding its nature, its past and for framing those facts to argue for a future.

I begin with this hushed library debate because it echoes so many that I heard, not always as obviously articulated, throughout Cornwall. Previously, I demonstrated how the very nature of Cornwall—rugged, windswept and wet versus soft, sunny and warm—is a matter of perspective, with the deepest divides often between residents (especially those who think of themselves as Cornish) and visitors or those recent arrivals who continue to view themselves, and their new homes, as English. This is echoed in a debate over the innovation-backwater debate, though the lines are not as cut-and-dry as one might suspect. Born and Bred Cornish, like Tristan's interlocutor, can view the place as little more than a glorified tourist trap and seek escape. While building on a long history of industrial pride in the region, the development of the "innovation Cornwall" historical argument seems to date from the rise of formal, academic Cornish historiography in the 1990s and was brought to the fore in the push for a Cornish Mining World Heritage Site[61].

One of the major debates in the realm of Kernewek linguistics is which base to use for the language—i.e., the language of what time period ought to form the core of the revived language (George 1995). Written remnants of the language exist from the 8th century (Ellis 1974:28-29) until the mid-19th century (Kent 2000:84) and contain mutually exclusive grammar and lexicon. Just as one cannot speak Chaucerian, Shakespearian and J.K. Rowlinian English simultaneously and be comprehensible, Kernewek revivalists had to select from the available time periods to reconstruct their

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[61] The rise of this historiography is tied to the rise in academic criticism of Cornish linguistics which has appeared since the creation of the Institute of Cornish Studies (1970), the Cornish Studies Library, and the journal *Cornish Studies* (1973). Social history has come to the fore in these institutions since the appointment of Prof. Philip Payton to the directorship of the Institute in 1991. I cover this intellectual history in the chapter "Golden Ages: A History of Kernewek."

language. One's attitude towards the Kernewek of this final period—when it was spoken by fishwives, farmers and the elderly—is tied to one's attitude towards the people, their class (the rural poor) and their ethnicity (the Cornish). For instance, on the online messageboard Cornwall24 on September 3rd, 2010, a poster named Gwelhevyn[62] criticized the use of later forms of Kernewek by saying:

> […] you could say [Late Kernewek] is just as artificial [as Medieval] as there is not enough material to base a language on, so they have to use English words or dialect words, or go back to [Medieval], and use the simplified grammer[sic] of the illiterates that were the last speakers of Cornish. ("Cornish vs Breton" 2010)[63]

This statement opened up a debate over the trustworthiness of "illiterates" and their "simplified grammar," with a number of posts both agreeing with Gwelhevyn and opposing him(?). Gwelhevyn remains anonymous but s/he posted in other parts of the website using a Medievalist form of the language (Kemmyn) and his/her opponents included prominent proponents of Unified Kernewek. The reliability of these later Kernewek users is the central question when users of the language decide whether to utilize the language and attitudes towards illiteracy and poverty are crucial. This debate connects outwards to larger discussions of the nature of the Cornish people which were brought up in Tristan's argument in the Cornish Studies Library. The most prominent counter point to Gwelhevyn (and others') skepticism is that, in fact, these last Kernewek users were not ignorant but instead fluent users of a language and part of a larger culture of innovation. In a 2000 focus group, Late promoter[64] Neil Kennedy explained:

NK: One of the things I found quite interesting is the way the language is portrayed by people, it's portrayed as this quaint, peasant language and the last person who spoke it, of course, was an old fishwife or whatever, not a mathematician. The last speaker, the last known traditional

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[62] I am not certain who "Gwelhevyn" is. The name means "leader" and there was a bard of the Cornish Gorseth who used that name named Kimberly George Foster, however, he was listed as deceased by the 2009 Roll of Bards. The name is found in Nance's 1935 dictionary and is listed as a Medieval term.

[63] Accessed online at:
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:70HAJRc85poJ:www.cornwall24.co.uk/language-culture/topic5852.html+Cornwall24+illiterate+grammar&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us

[64] And my former housemate.

speaker[65] of Cornish was a mathematician who taught mining engineers, and that's kind of, suddenly you've got a completely different perception of what the language is.

Kennedy's emphasis on the education and industrial connections of the final speakers echoes the lionization of historic Cornish inventors, in particular Richard (Dick) Trevithick, which is a regular element of the celebration of Cornish inventiveness. For instance, when in December, 2010 I was invited to a New Year's party in Camborne, the invitation letter told me it was on:

> Tehidy Road, which is an extention [sic] of Fore Street as you go down the hill from the HSBC Bank in the town centre. […] The hill is famous in Cornish history - Richard Trevithick ran the first-ever powered road vehicle up it on Christmas Eve 1801, and hence the Camborne song 'Goin' up Camburn 'ill comin' down'.

The story, which has entered folklore and undergone many permutations, is that Trevithick was a self-trained mine engineer from Camborne in the late 1700 and early 1800s. The most important of his many triumphs was the creation of the first steam locomotive. According to the legend, his first attempt at a locomotive overheated when it ran out of coolant and exploded. Rather than change his design, for his next attempt, he ran the vehicle backwards up Camborne Hill. By this crude repositioning of the firebox, he was able to keep a safe amount of coolant pouring over the firebox. This is the root of the popular folksong "Going up Camborne Hill coming down," and is commemorated with signs, plaques and a statue in Camborne. Camborne is also home to Trevithick Day, a townwide festival involving a heavy use of Cornish symbolism and a long procession of early steam locomotives. It is also one of the major centers for the Cornwall-wide Trevithick Society, an organization dedicated to industrial archaeology, in particular the restoration of historic steam engines of all types.

In response, the neighboring town of Redruth has put together a Murdoch Day, celebrating

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[65] He is referring to a man named John Davey who is argued to have been the last fluent user of the language (MacKinnon 2000b:5)

William Murdoch, a Scottish contemporary of Trevithick who also invented an early locomotive, the Murdoch Flyer while living in Redruth. A painstaking restoration of the Flyer sits in the Redruth marketplace. He was most famous for his invention of domestic gas lighting, which he first installed in his home which is today a community center in the middle of Redruth called the Murdoch House.

Throughout Cornwall, inventors and engineers are celebrated. In the China Clay Country, they speak about William Cooksworthy, the first European to make porcelain; William Bickford, the inventor of the safety fuse is a hero in Tuckingmill; the Harveys of Hayle were a great engineering firm until the late 20th century. *Cornish World* magazine celebrated a great historic engineering hero every month and detailed the innovative uses of Cornish mining technology throughout the world. This image of the Cornish as clever, self-taught and good with their hands (these men[66] were builders and tinkerers, not theoreticians) fits well in the rugged, working class industrial self-image of many Cornish.

In fact, the study of inventors was seen by some as a buttress against reports of insularity and violence. As I was returning for my second season of fieldwork in 2008, the man in the seat next to me in our small plane read over my shoulder and was furious over the fieldnotes I was reviewing. In particular he took umbrage to my supposition "on the possibility of a Camborne-Redruth rivalry;" he informed me my work was "rubbish" and that I was going to "tear apart the culture." He knew of no rivalry and told me my time would be more productive it I researched Richard Trevithick and the history of mining[67].

This was turned around by some of my interviewees who reported that focus on Cornwall's history of innovation could lead to a new age of innovation and prosperity. In particular, in my

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[66] And they are, universally, men. This identity is closely tied to masculininty.
[67] The rivalry between Camborne and Redruth is intense and at least a century deep and was confirmed by stories from over a dozen interviewees including one who described a pitched battle during the annual Boxing Day rugby match between the towns. I also recorded a number of pieces of rivalry folklore, especially jokes.

interview with Cornish filmmaker (and Kernewek student) Denzil Monk in 2007, he said that "there's been a lack of history there [innovation]" and that "in my ideal world we would work not in a competitive way, but in a collaborative, unified way, I think Cornwall would, along with many other smaller communities [be the places where] the ideas can be generated because when you're tied to somewhere like London I think it's, it's harder to experiment and make significant changes in the way that society's organized because it, it's more ingrained" (6-12-07).

Stories and contemporary uses of Richard Trevithick and the lesser members of the engineering pantheon can fill a chapter of their own[68], but my aim here is to illustrate them in comparison with a second Cornish archetype: the country buffoon. While the inventor is a trope closely tied to the Lifestruggle narrative, the buffoon is a more ambiguous figure. The buffoon—such as Jethro—is certainly a part of Cornish folklore (especially in anecdotal-style jokes) but when consumed by an outside audience, as Jethro's comedy is, he fits within the metropolitan stereotypes of rural life which adhere closely to the Lifestyle conception of Cornwall.

I began this section with a transcription from a skit by the Cornish comedian Jethro. Jethro— the stage name for Geoffrey Rowe (a common Cornish surname)—grew up in the West Penwith parish of St. Buryan. He is undeniably Cornish in his self-description and public perception. In fact, he has built a national image based upon playing the archetype of a rural fool: a character named Denzel (a common Cornish name). Recycling old jokes and inventing some of his own, Denzel is infamous for being ignorant, bigoted, alcoholic, chauvinistic (every time he mentions his wife he curses and says "I hate that fat cow! I hate her!") but also earthy and occasionally wise. He travels throughout Britain performing on stage, but also had his own skit-based television show for a period of time.

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[68] Though I can tell one or two of my favorites. I was told that Richard Trevithick was "a bull of a man," immensely tall and strong. He is said to have thrown a heavy (reports vary between 10 and 20 pound) hammer over Camborne Church— the long way. In the village of Four Lanes, he is said to have picked a man up with one hand and hung him on a hook in the corner of a pub, and it took three or four men to get him down afterwards.

Jethro invented the character of Denzel (as well as his even-more stupid comrade Penberthy, a Cornish surname), but he did not invent this style of humor. Salty humor has a long history in Cornwall—this is especially true in Cornish dialect writings and jokes, which only rarely break out of the genre. I have heard several occasions where Jethro-esque jokes were performed before ethnic Cornish audiences to wild appreciation; the largest was at a Cornish Christmas concert in 2010 in Redruth Methodist Chapel, where the Master of Ceremonies—in a heavy Cornish accent—had the audience roaring with his jokes about lascivious vicars and ignorant townspeople[69].

However, Jethro is not without his critics. In both 2009 and 2010, I heard anecdotal stories about how Jethro asked to join the Gorsedd Kernow, the Cornish College of Bards. This institution is deeply rooted in the history of the Cornish language revival and gives out awards to success in the arts, literature and culture. The rumor at the time was that the Gorsedd turned Jethro down, first because the Gorsedd does not take applications but instead chooses its members, but more importantly because its members felt that he was a humiliation to Cornwall, bringing out and reinforcing negative stereotypes that have kept the Cornish down. The Gorseth's creators—scholars of Medieval Kernewek—sought to avoid this country bumpkin stereotype through a return to the language of the pre-Reformation scholars and derided the Kernewek of the last speakers, in particular the legendary final speaker, an elderly fishseller name Dolly Pentreath who, according to a source of the time, was "poor and maintained mostly by the parish, and partly by fortune telling and gabbling in [Kernewek]." (Barrington, quoted in Ellis 1974:118-9).

In the previous section, I quote Trewin's description of Cornwall as "England's poor relation county" and how it was "disadvantaged by Cornwall's distance from the rest of England, out on a western limb, until the advent of the railways and refrigeration opened up communications and fresh

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[69] He actually referenced Jethro at one point, noting that "I stole the last one from Jethro."

food export potential" (2005:6). This London-centric image of Cornwall—it is obviously isolated as it

is so far from the capital—not only ignores the importance of sea trade in pre-steam Britain but glosses

over the crucial importance that the regions have had in British history.

Geographic and cultural isolation comes out most insidiously in stories and jokes about

inbreeding. For instance a teenager in Liskeard once asked me: "What is the definition of confusion?"

The response "Father's Day in St. Just."[70] A drunk couple on a train from Newquay in 2009 got into a

playful debate over the subject. She—Lisa—was English and he—Tristan[71]—was Cornish; she said

the only good place for clubs was Plymouth and he complained that it was a city (this was an insult the

way he said it) and dirty. She countered that the Cornish were inbred. He turned to me and said that it

was true that the Cornish were inbred. However, it was because of an old Celtic tradition where

widowers had to marry their eldest daughters, a union "which included conjugal rights." He said that's

why historically, Cornwall has the largest mental hospital per capital of any English county. Similarly,

in 2008, a Cornishman named Simon became defensive when I asked about inbreeding and said that

before modern transportation, it was difficult to move far beyond one's home village. He spoke of a

Doberman he once had and how the breed is only 100 years old and that is considered a pedigree,

emphasizing the word and repeating it several times.

The bitterness is understandable. Despite jokes, this racism has real-world effects on people; a

French friend of mine who is passionate about minority rights and lives in West Cornwall told me of

how a representative from TalkTalk (an internet company) came by the house to sell broadband and the

discussion turned to the role of internet in Cornwall and he said that the Cornish were backwards and

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[70] This could either be St. Just in Roseland or St. Just in Penwith; both are relatively isolated Cornish villages.
[71] This is not my librarian friend Tristan. However, the common name is probably not a coincidence: "Tristan" is a popular Cornish name amongst families who want to give their child a "Celtic" name. Tristan was an Arthurian knight of Cornish origin who is best known in the story *Tristan and Iseult*, whose translation of Kernewek was one of the earliest works of any length in the Revived Language. In the case of my friend, and of another Trystan (Trystan Spaulding-Jenkin) I knew of, their families had explicitly chosen the name for its Celtic references.

didn't appreciate the internet anyway. She went to describe numerous events in her career as a Cornish

activist when English people dismissed Cornish traditions and culture due to their supposed

backwardness. I even had a conversation with an English police constable assigned to a predominantly

ethnic Cornish community who explained to me that Cornish communities "aren't the healthiest" with a

wink, implying the effects of inbreeding.

Jethro's Denzel stories highlight and play upon these stereotypes and while they may be seen as

humorous within a presumed all-Cornish audience (such as the Redruth Methodist Chapel), when they

are performed before presumed English-dominated audiences (such as national television), the jokes

don't seem so funny. The English audiences laugh as hard as the Cornish ones, but seem to be laughing

more at the Cornish than with them. The self-assured narratives of Cornish industry, adventurousness

and innovation aim to (re)construct an outward looking (often to the mining Diaspora) Cornish identity

tied closely to the modern world and the global currents. Of course, there is a tension here, as the

Cornish seek to both emphasize their cultural (and at times genetic) distinctiveness and highlight their

openness to the modern world. At times, such as the Cornish Mining World Heritage site, these

tensions seem balanced, but at other times, such as discussions of pedigrees and bloodlines, they fall

seriously short. Debates over a historic base for the Kernewek language become entwined with these

anxieties when the question of what time (period) to base the language upon becomes a stand-in for a

debate over *whose* Kernewek to use—that of Medieval priests and scholars or of Early Modern

fishsellers and mathematicians.

Mines and Magazines: The Aesthetics of Cornwall

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Chris Verran's house is a bit like both his character and the way he views the ideal Cornishman: solid,

unadorned and staunchly nationalist. He lived in a stone cottage in the village of Carnkie on the slopes

of Carn Brae outside Redruth. We arrived for his interview and he led me into a narrow, knotty-pine

paneled living room while he prepared coffee. The décor was simple: two sofas, a TV with a

Playstation2, an impressive sound system with an extensive CD collection (mostly a mix of American

and Celtic—especially Irish—folk music, some early punk, and Country-Western). The only

decorations were a handful of prints of Carn Brae, Carn Brae Castle, a ruined engine house and a black

and white map of the shipwrecks of the Scilly Islands. The walls in the kitchen (the other room I saw)

were rough granite shorn of plaster. It turns out this was an aesthetic choice, as he had purposely

removed the spackle to reveal the rock; he pointed out one part where he restored the coating after he

discovered an unused doorway. Overall the house was clean and spare, revealing a precise man with

stark, historical, Cornish tastes. A construction worker, he was locally born and raised and fiercely

proud of his identity. His interests include Celtic folk music (he was introduced to me as a fiddler) and

archaeology; he told me that being Cornish means having a connection to the rocks of the land. For

Verran, Cornwall is a hard place of granite and that only men can be truly hard and truly Cornish.

Verran's décor was stark but not unique: I visited another (much older) firm Cornish ethno-

nationalist, an elderly man in a village outside of Camborne who had a study dedicated to Cornish

paraphernalia: a flag of Cornwall and smaller ones of her sister Celtic Countries and prints of engine

houses and prominent buildings from across Cornwall carefully arranged equidistant from one another

around the perimeter of the room. There was also a desk and a shelf of Cornish books in a room he

proudly called his "shrine." Everything was scrubbed clean and organized with military precision.

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While these examples are the extreme, they set the tone for a certain Cornish aesthetic closely linked to

the Lifestruggle view of the land. As I pointed out in the introduction to this work, language is

fundamentally connected, via language ideology, to wider concepts of world, including subjectivity, aesthetics, conceptions of the body and perceptions of the community. In the fourth chapter I begin to delve into the tricky topic of subjectivity; in this section, I instead wish to explore the role of aesthetics—not just in the formal question what is beautiful? but in a broader sense of how individuals organize, maintain and adorn their spaces (especially homes), cultural products (in this particular case, their magazines) and themselves. While the connection to language is not immediately visible, I will show, in this chapter and those that follow, the deep interconnected nature of these linkages.

Much of this aesthetic is also gendered in nature, a component of the unique relationship that the Celtic nationalist movements have, as a traditionally feminized region of Britain, had to masculinity (Arextaga 1997; Pittock 1999). Echeverria notes that the relationship between language, nation and gender is an under-studied area (2003:408). In her paper "Language Ideologies and Practices in (En)Gendering the Basque Nation," she examines how the pedagogical techniques utilized in Basque classrooms reinforce a particular vision of the language which valorizes the cultural accomplishments of men and erase women's work on the language. In particular, she demonstrates that the ways that Basque 2nd person pronouns—*Hi* and *Zu*—are taught excludes female voices and inhibits the ability for female speakers to fully access the language's potential to build solidarity amongst users and limits their ability to appear as fully authentic speakers (405). I will similarly here show how the aesthetic choices—elements like bare granite, and images of ruined industrial grandeur—also connect the user to a gendered understanding of the nation.

Returning to the Cornish homes, I wish to highlight a number of the elements of the design which harken to a Lifestruggle perspective: symmetry, scrubbed cleanliness, exposed granite, images of Cornish buildings (especially those associated with mining), elements of what is referred to as lace curtain working class elegance (e.g., china in glass cabinets, polished brass cooking vessels, lace

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decorations), Cornish flags and elements of Kernow-kitsch (e.g., maps, cloth wall hangings with pasty

recipes, dining room placemats with Kernewek words on them including Kernow for Cornwall, etc.)

were present to a greater or lesser degrees in many of the homes of the overtly ethnically Cornish[72].

They also tended to be the dominant aesthetic elements in Cornish Methodist Chapels, which prided

themselves on symmetrical, relatively unadorned, simple interiors and bare granite walls. The

predominance of granite walls and slate roofs in the architecture of west Cornwall came as a surprise to

some of my overseas visitors over the years who expected a more English setting of thatched roof

cottages pulled out of the Cotswolds or some idyllic fantasy.

A particular importance is placed upon Cornwall as an inhabited, typically industrial, landscape:

images of mines, castles and prominent buildings were important. I saw images like these for sale at a

Mebyon Kernow (the Cornish Nationalist Party) banquet and at events like the Gorseth (the College of

Bards).

However, perhaps the most unambiguously industrialized place in Cornwall is actually below

the surface: the mines themselves. There is a long running fascination with the mines amongst Cornish

communities. For example, in 2010, the Cornish Studies Library hosted a popular exhibition of photos

taken by the official photographer of the South Crofty Mine—Cornwall's last tin mine. The exhibition

included not only photos, but also a map of the mine itself with the locations of the displayed shots on

the wall; the Librarians told me about how visitors would pore over the maps and images, discussing

where the mine intersected with the everyday reality of the surface and events that occurred in that

midnight realm under their feet.

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[72] This was true both in the homes of those told me they were nationalists and those who took a more apolitical approach to their ethnicity. I visited the home of one elderly gentleman who was both a Cornish "patriot" and a British nationalist (due to his involvement in the Second World War and his loyalty to the Anglican Church) whose walls held images of both Cornish sites—castles and mine buildings—and military images of fighter planes and naval vessels.

In 2010, however, South Crofty was once again showing signs of life as a small team of experts pumped it free of groundwater and bit by bit examined the walls for damage. I visited one of these men at home south of Redruth where he sat me down in a sitting room that echoed Chris Verran's, only instead of nationalist paraphernalia, he had glass cases of mineral samples and photos he took in the deeps: men next to machines, head lamps weirdly illuminating veins in the walls, strange and beautiful rocks. The mines are a place of ambiguity: danger, mystery, beauty, pride. They are always present in the Central Mining District, yet never visible and rarely visited.

This often hyper-masculine worldview evoked mixed feelings amongst Cornish women with whom I spoke; the only woman I heard echo a deep nostalgia for the mines was an elderly woman who had worked in a mine company office. However, open critiques were also rare, the strongest feminist criticism I heard in Nationalist circles was directed towards the early, elitist, middle class proponents of Revived Kernewek. Perhaps a desire to maintain a public front of solidarity in the face of economic devastation and ethnic marginalization tempered criticisms in front of a (male) foreign anthropologist.

The local interest and activism around mining and industrial history culminated in the 2006 recognition of the "Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site" by UNESCO, locally known by the "Cornish Mining World Heritage Site," which emphasizes ethnicity (Cornish) over place (Cornwall and West Devon). UNESCO notes that:

> The substantial remains are a testimony to the contribution Cornwall and West Devon made to the Industrial Revolution in the rest of Britain and to the fundamental influence the area had on the mining world at large. Cornish technology embodied in engines, engine houses and mining equipment was exported around the world. (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1215)

In an interview with an archaeologist in the Cornwall Archaeological Service who worked on the mining site, the emphasis was not so much on the preservation of individual locations, but instead in maintaining the historic character of the landscape, to preserve the mining districts in such a way as to

be always recognizable (at least to the trained eye) as having borne the extraction of unprecedented amounts of ore. While several interviewees involved in the World Heritage Site project privately told me of their disappointment with what has been achieved since recognition—much of it converted towards the Lifestyle goal of attracting well-to-do tourists—it is indubitable that its creation was a locally-driven project which aimed to protect a perspective of the land and a character of the communities which reflects a Lifestruggle aesthetic, much as the celebration the beauty of derelict mine buildings and mine shafts does on the walls of the homes of enthusiasts.

This emphasis on Cornwall as a place of industry, activity and human transformation is contrasted with the Lifestyle image of Cornwall and the aesthetic it is associated with. The emphasis here is less on the celebration of Cornwall or Cornish history/heritage, but instead on the ability to consume Cornwall. The most popular Cornwall-themed magazine is Cornwall Today which advertises itself under the line "your county…the magazine." Nowhere is the Lifestyle viewpoint more openly articulated than in the wide selection of "aspirational lifestyle magazines" on Cornwall available at newsstands. Cornwall currently has four regular lifestyle magazines: *Cornwall Life*, *Cornwall Today*,[73] *Inside Cornwall* and *My Cornwall.*

The Cornish countryside, as promoted by media like the *Cornwall Today* magazine, is depicted to a rising English middle class as the island's premier site for the consumption of natural, high-quality products—from food to visuals (like seascapes and cliffs). From this viewpoint, Cornwall—"your county" (in the words of *Cornwall Today*'s tagline)—is foremost a set of commodities for visitors/part-

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[73] *Cornwall Today* is owned by Cornwall and Devon Media, the Westcountry division of Northcliffe Media which, in Cornwall, also owns *The Western Morning News*, *The Cornish Guardian*, *The West Briton*, *The Cornishman* and *Brides in Cornwall* magazine. It also owns the *Plymouth Evening Herald*, a number of papers in Devon and the national daily tabloid Daily Mail. On its website, it states it owns 115 local newspapers in three regions of Britain: "The Southwest and Wales," "The Southeast" and "The Midlands and North." It is connected to a multinational network of papers, radio stations and other media across Europe (including Romania and Croatia). It's notable that the Daily Mail's editorial stance is conservative: Monarchist, Capitalist, Euroskeptic, and Pro-Life; this position is echoed in the Western Morning News which is less vitriolic.

time residents to "explore," and "enjoy" while "escaping" from their everyday lives elsewhere (in the words of *Cornwall Today's* motto). It is a passive landscape, which takes meaning only when it is absorbed, as food or as a visual (through a window, in a photo, on a walk, or in a painting), into the visitor and its foremost purpose is to provide rejuvenation. This fits within the general classification within the English imagination of the Celtic periphery as a feminized place, associated with passivity and nature—stereotypes which echo the colonialist imaginations of previous generations and against which generations of nationalists (particularly Irish ones) have constructed ideologies of Celtic masculinity (Pittock 1999; Arextaga 1997).

Cornwall Today bills itself as "The Biggest and Best-Selling Magazine for Cornwall"; in its 2009 Media Pack, it claimed 14,000 subscribers and 34,000 readers and 49.3% of the sales outlet market[74]. As the most widely read of the four magazines, I analyzed the contents of its issues in the period between July 2008 and July 2009 and examined the magazine's website and the media packet it produces for potential advertisers. Each issue was analyzed along several criteria including attitudes towards Cornwall and the Cornish landscape and their coverage of food and chefs (one of the key areas of consumption of Cornwall).

The magazine's consumptive, Lifestyle attitude towards Cornwall is reflected in the tag line provided on their website and media packet: "Explore*Enjoy*Escape" and the slogan on all of the covers: slogan is "Your County…the Magazine." Like most aspirational magazines, it is dedicated towards celebrating an elite lifestyle: high-end food, wine, beautiful homes, beautiful scenery (photos and walks), picturesque history, investment, elaborate gardens, haute art and expensive health

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[74] It also claimed that 78% of its readers were over 45 years old and 72% of its readers were female; this is not surprising as the magazine's intended audience was well-to-do women with an emphasis on home decorating, food and scenic walks. It should be noted that this was a survey done through Tescos and WHS High Street—two large national chains with presence in Cornwall—and included no independent or regional businesses. This may create a bias towards the big national newspaper/magazine chains.

treatments. Its reporters attend posh events and photograph participants in the back of the magazine.

Except for a single, short discussion of the call for Unitary County Council in Feb 2009, political

discussions were studiously avoided.

The magazine has a heavy emphasis on photos, with a monthly photo competition and a large

amount of space given to gorgeous photography. The focus is on landscape and nature photos,

especially on the covers and in the competitions. Visually, the magazine's interior decorating sections

tended to feature homes with stark, white interiors that utilize windows as frames of Cornish

landscapes (ex: January 2009 and April 2009); when people are represented, they are well-dressed

individuals looking out the window. These literal picture windows stand in contrast to the popular

prints of constructed, historically relevant sites—like castles and mine equipment—that adorn the walls

of many ethnic Cornish homes. These images tend not to feature actual people, but instead the artifacts

of their creation—a landscape style that implies human presence and history while remaining within

the conventions of the genre.

Food was one of the areas of central importance to the magazine. The 2009 media packet

reported that Dining Out was the number one interest of readers[75]. Each magazine was divided into

thematic sections and while some of these varied over the period studied, every month included a Food

and Drink section. This segment consisted of: a feature article on food, a recipe from a high-end chef

located in Cornwall, a Cornish food "producer of the month," a "fish hero" of the month, a review of a

wine, a review of a Cornish restaurant, a page of restaurant listings and a section of paid ads. All of the

food featured in the magazine was either artisan, ethically raised, organic, naturally grown, or somehow

similarly made more ethical. It was all local, or Cornish-produced. Some examples included: tea

grown in a stately home and naturally grown asparagus (May '09), an organic market garden (Apr '09),

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[75] Followed by "Countryside and Beach Walks," "Visiting Local Gardens" and "Shopping for Cornish Produce"

smoked ethical artisan fish, meat, game and cheese (Mar '09) and an animal welfare friendly veal (Feb '09). Chefs were regularly featured in the magazine, especially celebrity chefs. Every magazine included an interview and recipe from a Cornwall-based chef and chefs made appearances in other parts of the magazine, such as the "Cornwall and Me" (which features and interview with a Cornwall-based personality) column in January of 2009.

This understanding of the Cornish context gives little space for indigenous communities—except as producers of folkloric tidbits and easily-replaced hands for making beds and washing dishes[76]. The magazines celebrate a quiet, natural life and celebrity chefs (such as Jamie Oliver and Rick Stein) position their establishments in picturesque villages and provide visitors both the visceral and visual opportunities to consume Cornwall; at the same time, as their supporters regularly point out, they produce Cornish jobs cooking and serving the food and cleaning up after the consumers have left.

In contrast to the consumptive Lifestyle format of *Cornwall Today* and its sister magazines, from the mid-1990s until 2010, a fourth magazine existed in Cornwall which sought to approach its subject from a Lifestruggle perspective. Named *Cornish World*, it was eventually bought out, its editorial staff fired and renamed *My Cornwall*. As the prolific political blogger "Cornish Zetetics" wrote in August of 2010:

> *Cornish World* originally wanted to be different. Adopting a magazine format, it explicitly looked outwards, embracing the global Cornish diaspora, opening its pages to Cornish revivalist culture and avoiding the worst excesses of the romantic pap that overflows from this bottom-shelf genre. (http://cornishzetetics.blogspot.com/2010/08/from-cornish-world-to-my-cornwall.html)

Cornish World had physical similarities to the other aspirational magazines, it was distinct from the

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[76] There is a growing immigrant presence in Cornwall, but much of the work of serving tourists is still done by locals. This work has a long history in Cornish communities—at least a century—and tends to be associated with female labor. Anthropologist Michael Ireland working in ethnic Cornish communities in the seaside Cornish village of Sennen noted the decline in prestige for this work over the 20th century, even as it became more central to village livelihoods (1992).

other three in that its target audience was the Cornish ethnic diaspora overseas and (to a lesser extent) ethnic Cornish readers within the region. *Cornish World* was a slick, professional publication, but built upon the themes present in the past three decades in less formal publications, including the overtly nationalist *An Baner Kernowek (the Cornish Banner)* magazine, the *Old Cornwall j*ournal and a line of pamphlets published by Tor Mark Press out of Truro for decades[77]. It featured articles on historic Cornish inventors and the role of their inventions in the broader world, on traditional recipes (as opposed to the use of local ingredients), tracing one's family history and news from the Cornish Diaspora. While it had beautiful glossy photos, it tended to feature images of buildings and people, especially on its cover. The Cornwall in *Cornish World* was an inhabited place with historical importance, a vibrant ethnicity and a future that it examined and debated (as it included articles on a number of political issues such as the proposed Unified Council and the change of County logo). While in its new format—*My Cornwall*—the magazine has become dominated by the same cultural aesthetics and rhetoric of its larger competitors, the original magazine showed the effect that differences in a sense of place can have over design and message.

Language in the Cracks Between – Ghostly Presences and Modern Dreams

For a relatively small territory, the variety of viewpoints about Cornwall is remarkable. These disagreements are over fundamental questions—is Cornwall a county or a country? Is it a land of hardship, ravaged by the sea or a land of soft, eternal summer? Are the native inhabitants innovative and adventurous or inbred and slovenly? Is it best viewed from the beaches or from the hilltops? In the previous sections, I have extracted examples of the contrast between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle

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[77] This line includes titles like: "Cornish Customs and Superstitions", "Cornish Shipwrecks", "The Story of Cornwall's Lifeboats," "Tales of Cornish Miners" and "The story of the Cornish Language." They're usually 5½ inches by 8½ inches in size with about 50 pages, staple bound with soft covers.

Cornwall, from their views of the landscape and on the nature of the people. While this contrast has its roots deep in both the history of Cornwall and of the relationship between the English and the Celtic Periphery (Pittock 1999), it is also a product of contemporary social and economic conditions in Cornwall: a jarring clash between fabulous wealth and leisure and brutal poverty and exclusion.

In the pure forms with which I have presented these two view points, there is little space for the Kernewek language. The traditional perception of Cornwall as a place of Lifestruggle is a way of viewing the place and belonging in it that does not need the language complete it, though there has been a growing acceptance of the language amongst traditionalist Cornish since the 1990s (Deacon and Payton 1993). On the other hand, while Kernewek is sometimes useful in signage that makes Cornwall more exotic to the eyes of the consumptive Lifestyle visitor, Cornwall has no need of a language to either be exotic or desirable for the outsider (Pittock 1999).

Where the language movement has thrived is in the ambiguous interstices between these worldviews, and, I will demonstrate in the following chapters, it is fundamentally a tool to address political and cultural ambiguity. I noted in the introductory chapter that "there can be no holism in the margins" and that the "the poetics of cultural periphery is the poetics of the fragment" (Serementakis 1991:1-2). One example of the unexpected, fragmentary role of the language within Cornish culture is the prevalence and description of ghosts within Cornwall.

Is there any being – real or imagined – as fragmentary as a ghost? A remnant of a human, unable to complete the full cycle of human existence, often unable to communicate or change location, these un-humans abound on the Cornish landscape. Ghosts have been popular in the tourism of Cornwall – part of an emphasis on Cornwall's picturesque folklore- and are a theme for numerous pamphlet-like Lifestyle books sold at tourist destinations (i.e. Addicoat 2000). Moreover, weaned on films like the Poltergeist (1982), the Amityville Horror (1979) or the Shining (1980), most outside

visitors or recent migrants to Cornwall consider an encounter with the uncanny to be terrifying, bizarre or, at the least, remarkable.

However, ghost stories serve numerous roles (Richardson 2003) and, there are circumstances where ghostly encounters (or, at least, stories about them) can become become everyday, comforting events. In circumstances of ethnic or social dislocation and uncertainty, there are ethnographic examples where "the ghost is a welcome external sign of spatial and temporal continuity" (Bear 2007:50). Bear describes an Anglo-Indian community living in the ruins of the ancestors' colonial railway colony; due to their mixed ancestry and lack of *jati* (caste) and *desh* (village), they are excluded from full symbolic participation in the Indian nation-state. Their omnipresent ghost stories provide "…transcendent substance to historical connections to a place, to ancestors and to an Anglo-Indian Community" (Bear 2007:52).

In Cornwall, some ghosts speak Cornish. Shelley Trower describes a situation where Cornish ghosts have been known to speak Kernewek. In locations like the Jamaica Inn on Bodmin Moor and the port of Penzance, stories abound of ghosts who speak a gibberish uncomprehensible to their modern descendants. Trower reports that these ghosts are a comforting presence, allowing local residents to claim that the Cornish language has never died, and legitimizing their ancestral claims to these now-heavily touristed locales (Trower, In Press).

I confirmed this phenomenon in a 2008 interview with Mrs. Jean Charman, at that time the independent Cornish nationalist mayor of the ex-mining town of Camborne. Mrs. Charman was one of the most intensely nationalist figures I met during my time in Cornwall, dropping out of the nationalist party Mebyon Kernow because they allowed non-ethnic Cornish residents to join the party. Her view of Cornish identity is firmly linked to the Blood and Granite variant of Lifestruggle Cornwall. She noted that "pure Cornish" are rare and that "true Cornish culture" has been lost in Cornwall; she also

attributed her self-proclaimed bravery to the fact that "I've got centuries of Cornish blood in me veins." Mrs. Charman is a Spiritualist and informed me that she regularly sees ghosts (an ability she also attributes to her blood) in the historic mining buildings and homes she continuously fights to preserve; for her, these ghosts were comforting members of a declining Cornish community and reminders of the legitimacy of her cause.

Unlike those staunch Lifestyle Cornish (like Mrs. Charman), for whom ghostly Kernewek is enough to legitimize their presence on the landscape, some Kernewek users are not as comfortable in their Cornish skins. For many of these individuals, the language serves a more active role in their lives, particularly as a tool for self-transformation, aiding in the removal of English elements in a bit to eliminate ethnic ambiguity. Others look outwards from themselves to declining Cornish communities which they see as increasingly English and homogenous; the language in these circumstances aims to eliminate the ambiguity by reinforcing traditional Cornish communal ties, a job previously performed admirably by the Cornish-English Dialect (and perhaps ghostly babbling). These tensions caused fracture points within the language movement and have served to prevent consensus on a single standardized form of the language since 1985.

Cornwall is indisputably a part of the Anglosphere; while I occasionally met recent immigrants with difficulties speaking English, I never met a person raised in the place without a native's command of the tongue. Moreover, I never met a Cornish-language user who was not a fluent speaker of English. That said, the Cornish Language has increasingly become a symbol of identity, resistance and hope for people in Cornwall. Throughout the Twentieth Century, it was a tool for various groups and individuals seeking to shift (or define) the nature of Cornwall and it cannot be separated from the Lifestyle-Lifestruggle dichotomy currently engulfing Cornish communities. However, it has never sat neatly on one side of the debate or another, being used as a tool for both (sometimes simultaneously) and this

tension has informed the ongoing debates over standardization and recognition of the language.

Chapter 3: Golden Ages

A History of Kernewek

This chapter aims to outline a brief history of the Kernewek language, with an emphasis on the ideological trends underlying its transformations, particularly in the 20th century[78]. It begins by examining the period of Traditional Kernewek—a term I use to describe the language when it enjoyed traditional transmission between generations within families and communities in contrast to Revived Kernewek, which is an explicit political-cultural project. This period has been divided up by Kernewek scholars into three periods: Old, Middle and Late (e.g., Ellis 1974).[79] I touch briefly upon the post-Traditional Kernewek period of the 19th century before examining the Revival. This early history serves two purposes: the first is to set the stage for the Revival, to show how the language evolved and died, but the second, more important reason is that the history of the language serves as the grist for the mill of the Kernewek language and Cornish Nationalism in general: the events of this period are hotly debated and employed to legitimize contemporary political and linguistic goals, hence some knowledge of what has previously occurred is necessary to understand contemporary debates (e.g., Angarrack 2002).

The bulk of this chapter examines the revival from 1876 until the beginning of state-sponsored standardization in 2002. It attempts a genealogy of the core concepts that underlie and drive the

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[78] Those seeking a more extensive history may consult Ellis (1971); a more modern history of Cornwall, including the language, can be found in Deacon (2007).

[79] This division obviously echoes the traditional periodization of English ("Old," "Middle" and "Modern") and deserves greater critical attention—however, I will use it as it is widely accepted amongst language enthusiasts and has been the basis for the reconstruction of contemporary Kernewek.

movement. Thus, the first section Roots of the Revival examines the literary, educational, religious and

aesthetic influences upon the early Kernewek Revivalists. This is followed by an examination of the

period from 1928-1985 when the language movement utilized a de facto standard called Unified. The

dominance of this project continued until the 1970s, when younger activists began to challenge the

assumptions of the dominant system and develop their own ideas about what Kernewek ought to be.

Throughout its century of development, participation in the Revival has been fueled by an

underlying tension in Cornish society between a popular, working-class Cornishness tied to

industrialism (especially mining), Methodism, and Liberal Modernism on the one hand and a more elite

Cornishness connected to High Anglicanism, Celticism and various forms of fascination with

Monarchism[80] on the other[81]. This tension has a complex relationship to the Lifestyle-Lifestruggle

dynamic in modern Cornwall because the users of Kernewek, as we will see in this and future chapters,

tend to fit untidily in the neat duality. The Revival is, in a sense, caught between these poles and this

status—fraught with ambiguities and anxieties—has remained a crucial feature of the Kernewek

Revival since its first days.

The eventual product of this disagreement, a tripartite split between Unified, Kemmyn and Late

Kernewek, is the topic of the final sections of the chapter. The first, "A Movement Divided," covers the

rancorous years between 1985 and 1988 when the consensus broke down. This period did not lead to

the adoption of a new standard to replace Unified's position, but instead to a period of entrenchment

and factionalism from 1988 until 2002 which makes up the remainder of the chapter. This section

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[80] This monarchism has a convoluted history: many early revivalists were staunch monarchists—though at least two were Jacobites who saw the current House of Windsor as pretenders to the throne. It has since morphed into an interest in the Duchy of Cornwall and the ancient rights and privileges of Cornwall, though this criticism has tended to be just as critical of the House of Windsor, it also tends to accept the correctness of the medieval Duchy and see Cornwall's current problems as linked to the way the Ducal responsibilities are handled by Charles Windsor.
[81] This division is itself a product of ambiguities within the broader British identity and factions within the Anglican Church and with its rivals—Catholicism and Nonconformist Protestantism.

examines the dominant ideologies and events of that period leading up to standardization, which will come into prominence as we explore the ethnographic context of post-2002 Cornwall and Kernewek in future chapters. Throughout this history, I aim to show that Kernewek has never "stood alone" and its story must be told within a context of Britain's (and to a lesser extent, Europe's) broader divisions of class, ethnicity, language and faith.

Traditional Kernewek: The 8th to the 18th Centuries

Early History

Kernewek is a member of the Brythonic (or British) branch of the Celtic language family, meaning that it descends from the language spoken throughout what is today England, Wales and (probably) Lowland Scotland when the Romans conquered. The cousin of Brythonic, Goidelic (Gaelic) is the general name for the Celtic varieties spoken in Ireland and by Irish migrants to the Scottish Highlands and the Isle of Mann. While the exact impact on Cornwall and Kernewek by the Romans is up for debate, it is known that the language was not overrun by Latin (Ellis 1974:5-16).

The Brythonic language(s) began their retreat from the south and east of the island of Britain with the invasion and growing cultural dominance of users of Germanic—the famous Angles, Saxons and Jutes. This is a murky history whose traditional sources are the one-sided accounts of the conquerors (e.g., "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" or Bede's "Ecclesiastical History"). At the same time, this is a period of considerable interest and passion for many Celtic nationalists and historians, especially in Cornwall where the ancient mythologies of King Arthur and the more recent stories of the Cornish Holocaust (I will return to that theme below) give emotional color to ancient events.

Regardless of the exact nature of events, the results are understood: the rule of the Celtic-speaking Britons was pushed westward, and eventually, by 577 AD the region including Cornwall was

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cut off by land from modern-day Wales, isolating the Welsh and Cornish. Somewhere during this time, large numbers of Britons left (or fled) modern-day England and crossed the Channel to conquer and settle what is today Brittany ("Little Britain") in the borders of today's France. This led to the tripartite split that we see in today's Brythonic languages: Welsh in the north, Kernewek in the center and Breton in the south—cousins with considerable mutual intelligibility and a long history of shared sea links and mutual hostility to the emerging nation-states to the east (Ellis 1974:16-25; Filppula et. al. 2008:8-12).

The final consolidation of Cornwall into the entity we know it today occurred by 936 AD when the Saxon kings of Wessex conquered the eastern portions of the Brythonic southwest peninsula (today's county of Devon) and "cleansed [the city of Exeter] of its defilement by wiping out that filthy race [the Britons]" in the words of William of Malmesbury, a contemporary chronicler. The Saxon king Athelstan, who did the cleansing, established an ethnic proxy state for the Britons west of the River Tamar, setting the borders of what became Cornwall (Payton 1996:69; Ellis 1974:26-31).[82]

Linguistically, while some Britons may have survived in pockets in other parts of Britain, these would eventually disappear, leaving Wales, Cornwall and Brittany as a linguistic archipelago (Filppula et. al. 2008). This system was relatively stable, though in the long-term, Kernewek declined in the face of English centralization. As Kernewek retreated, it left behind tantalizing remnants to mark its passage: placenames, dialect words and the precious written fragments. It is this fragmentary record, scattered over place and time, which is the root of much of the fierce disagreement over reconstruction in Revived Kernewek. While the historiography of Cornwall and Kernewek is hotly contested, I will employ a rough periodization to assist readers in understanding the ongoing debates. A timeline version of this history can be found in Appendix C: "Timeline of Cornish Linguistic History."

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[82] This periodization of Cornish History was also noted by Alan Kent whose history of *The Literature of Cornwall* (2000a) begins at 1000 AD, after the establishment of the border.

Middle Kernewek—A "Golden Age"

It was in this time period (~1000-1500 AD), especially in the period after 1300, that produced the greatest body of surviving literature in Kernewek and is considered by many enthusiasts of the language (known as "Medievalists") to be its Golden Age. Popular history links this flourishing period with the clerical establishment at Glasney, a college near present-day Falmouth which produced priests, scholars and a library in Kernewek. Here, it is argued (Kent 2009), the Cornish Miracle Plays were written. These were multi-day performances in Kernewek commemorating the lives of saints performed in the open air at various pilgrimage sites through Cornwall (Ellis 1974:35-36). Kent contends that drama is the defining artistic milieu of Cornish culture and that these performances were the characteristic art form of their place and time; today only a handful survive including *The Ordinalia*, *Beunans Meriasek* (the Life of St. Meriasek), and *Bewnans Ke* (the Life of St. Ke) (Kent 2000a:36-41; Kent 2009). They are undoubtedly the most influential Traditional works on the Revival.

This relative stability was shattered by events surrounding the Reformation and the series of conflicts widely known as the English Civil War. In these struggles, Cornwall remained staunchly Catholic and Royalist; the region enjoyed an autonomous government under Royal protection and remained committed to the Church in part for its relative tolerance of Kernewek. At the same time, the growing strength of the English state led to a series of revolts, largely against incursions into Cornish autonomy: including two uprisings in 1497 against centralization and taxes, and one in 1549[83] against the imposition of an English-language Book of Common Prayer. Deacon notes that the Cornish Nationalists envision "the transition period from the medieval to the modern worlds as the heroic last stand of the Cornish people who were dragged kicking and screaming into the English state" (2007:64).

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[83]1549 remains perhaps the most important Medievalist date and even an academic like Kent uses it as the start date for his history of Anglo-Cornish poetry, an era he ends in 1928 with the creation of the Cornish Gorseth, a symbolic rebirth of Medieval Kernewek.

The response of the English crown to these revolts was brutal and still discussed today by many

Cornish Nationalists, some of whom (e.g., Angarrack 1999) claim that it led to the destruction of

Kernewek. These repressions—tied into larger Reformation changes—included the public execution of

leaders, the wholesale killing of men of military age (perhaps 10% of the population), the destruction of

Glasney College and the removal of political autonomy (Deacon 2007:72-7). The elimination of

Glasney—including its library and the death of its leadership—has become a central feature of

nationalist analysis of the decline of the language, much of this work (e.g., Kent 2000a: 35-6) is based

upon a 1988 *History of Glasney College* by James Whetter, the founder of the marginal Cornish

Nationalist Party, publisher of *An Baner Kernewek* ("The Cornish Flag") magazine and a well-known

far-right figure[84] in the Cornish movement. His historiography took Glasney—which had been

something of a cypher as it was not well-known compared to other Cornish monasteries and lacked any

remaining ruins—and transformed it into the center of Medieval Cornish history (Dobson 1989).

As we shall see numerous times in the history of Kernewek, the intellectual developments in

Cornwall were often mirror or negative images of ideas popular in the English mainstream. This

historiography, which names the events of 1549 as the "Cornish Holocaust," is a reverse image of the

Anglo-Saxonism that dominated much of the English historiography of the Saxon-Celt relationship

throughout the majority of the 20th century and was taught in the schools that older Cornish

Nationalists attended[85]. This triumphal history saw the organized, rational Saxons arriving upon

Britain to face a disorganized, scattered, underdeveloped Celtic culture which they proceeded to sweep

away through military and cultural force, leaving few linguistic, cultural or genetic traces. This view

was challenged in the 1980s and was eventually replaced by an assessment of that period that saw the

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[84] By "far right" I mean that Dr. Whetter organized his splinter party from the mainline Mebyon Kernow (MK) when MK decided to embrace Civic rather that Ethnic nationalism. At one point Dr. Whetter's party organized a short-lived militant "green shirts" brigade reminiscent of the street-fighting groups of the Fascist parties.
[85] The teaching of an Anglo-centric history curriculum to Cornish children is a perennial complaint in Nationalist circles.

Anglo-Saxons as a small, militant minority dominating and eventually assimilating a Celtic majority (Filppula 2008:12-18). This view of peaceful assimilation is perhaps more palatable to a multi-cultural state than either the Anglo-centric, racialist, triumphalist history or its Cornish echo which is a call to ethnic solidarity and resistance. The challenge to the dominance of this interpretation of Cornish history in recent decades has led to tensions and open conflict within the Kernewek Movement discussed below.

Late Kernewek

Although historians like Angarrack (1999) have argued that the events of 1549 led to the final extermination of Kernewek, others observe that the language continued to be used as a community tongue for centuries after these events. There was, however, a long-term decline after the Reformation for which Deacon examines several causes:

> …there are obvious reasons for the decline in [Kernewek]. First the Reformation had cut links with Brittany. […] Second, it was no coincidence that mid-Cornwall was home to the majority of Cornwall's main recusant Catholic gentry. The growing pressure on such families after the 1560s may also have increased pressure… (2007:76)

This decline does not mean that it did not continue to have a role both in written and oral culture. Little of either survives, though we do have a glimpse into the oral culture through works like the folk tale *Jowan Chy an Horth* ("John of Chyannor") recorded in the late 17th century and the "Cranken Rhyme" a silly song recorded in the late 19th century (Kent 2000a: 79-80)[86]. In written texts there is less available than in pre-Reformation period (Kent 2000a: 96-100).

The historiography of this period has focused upon the language's death, (e.g., Ellis 1974), which has meant that relatively little attention is given to the actual literature produced during this

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[86] Neither of these works appear in Ellis' sweeping *The Cornish Language and Its Literature* (1974), perhaps revealing his Medievalist leanings.

period. These works both show an earthy humor—they deal with issues such as employer's theft of wages, the infertility of the land and the dangers of wandering the countryside on foot—and a great contrast from the elevated religious content and form seen in the surviving Medieval works. The selective nature of what survives in both cases leads to classed and occupational biases. Moreover, as Traditional Kernewek in all its stages, but especially here at the end, was primarily a spoken language, we are at a loss to understand a full picture of the language's richness. It is the ghost of a language that survives the in fragments and the tantalizing remains have served to inspire numerous attempts at recreating historic speech (e.g., George 1986, Gendall 1989). I hesitate here to go further than noting the fact that we lack the bulk of what existed in Traditional Kernewek for to enter a speculation of what was lost risks the projection of fantasy and over-speculation onto the record of the past.

Post Traditional Kernewek (1800s-1876)

The period between the end of the language existence as a community/family tongue somewhere in the late 18th to early 19th century and the re-kindling of scholarly interest in the language in the late portion of the century was a time of tremendous transformation and pride in Cornwall. As Payton notes:

> …the new Cornwall that emerged from [the 17th] century of trauma and conflict was in its way equally as 'Cornish' as that which had gone before. The incipient industrialization… wrought a new Cornwall that was radically different from its earlier incarnation and built a modern, assertive Cornish identity based on the nation of industrial prowess. (Payton 1996:160)

During this period Cornwall's industrial prowess in the areas of mining and engineering was at its height and Cornwall was able to export equipment and expertise around the globe. The dominant cultural complex of this period was characterized economically by mining, religiously by Methodism and politically by Liberalism. This identity was, in many quarters, openly hostile to Kernewek, which was "an obstacle to progress, an impediment in an English-speaking industrial environment, and

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irrelevant relic from less enlightened days" (Payton 1996:197). Methodist reformers sought to stamp

out Cornish superstition including not only the language but also Cornish wrestling, smuggling and

folk beliefs. British Methodism in this period has been analyzed as a tool for maintaining social order

amongst the industrializing working classes, directing emotional energies towards productive pursuits

or religious ecstasy (Thompson 1966:368).

In Cornwall, the new identity both served to draw the Cornish into Britishness—connecting

them to Protestantism (a central strut of British identity [Hastings 1997:55-61]), the Empire (via a

mining diaspora in places like South Africa, Australia and Canada) and industrialism (in the form of

mechanized mining)—while not erasing the idea of Cornish distinctiveness from England and

Englishness. This Cornishness was British, yet oppositional: it rejected the State church, demonstrated

hostility to Toryism and valorized Working-class livelihoods (Deacon et. al. 2003:10-12).

This industrial, Methodist identity—Cornish but also British and resolutely Protestant—is seen

in the first stanza of *the Song of the Western Men*, the unofficial national anthem of Cornwall, which is

sung during and after Cornish Rugby matches[87]:

> A good sword and a trusty hand!/A faithful heart and true!
> King James' men shall understand/What Cornish Lads can do!
> And have they fixed the where and when?/And shall Trelawny die?
> Here's twenty thousand Cornish men/Will know the reason why!

Written in 1823 by the Anglican vicar Robert Stephen Hawker, this hymn refers to the famous Cornish

rebelliousness, but in this case in the defense of Bishop Jonathan Trelawny who, in 1688, refused to

endorse James II's granting of religious rights to Catholics and was imprisoned. Ignoring the earlier

pro-Catholic or pro-Royalist revolts of 1497, 1549 and 1648 (and their staunch Royalism in the 1642-

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[87] As well as pub sings, concerts, language events, on youtube videos, and other displays of local pride.

1646 wars), Hawker's emphasis on the 1688 Revolt ties Cornish identity to the Protestant system instituted by William of Orange[88] which laid the foundation for the modern United Kingdom. By this time, Protestantism had set down deep roots in Cornish communities the ethnic working-class Cornish overwhelmingly rejected the Church of England for the more rigidly Protestant Methodist Church. Hawker, despite being an Anglican, was tapping into a strong, wide-spread Protestant sympathy which he linked to the Monarchy in tune with wider British nationalism common at the time (Deacon et. al., 1997:9; Corrigan 1985; Hastings 1997).

While there are certainly older survivals in Cornish culture, much that is thought of as typically Cornish by the Cornish themselves comes from this period; this includes much of the Cornish-English Dialect[89], rugby, modernism, characteristic architecture and a stubborn anti-authoritarian, anti-monarchical bent[90]. This set of cultural values and activities is the forerunner of the Lifestruggle Approach detailed in Chapter 2 and, as I outline below, was opposed to the aesthetics and values that spurred the Kernewek Revival for roughly its first century. It was not fruitful intellectual ground for a language revival; the revival of Kernewek beginning in the late 19th emerged at the margins of this culture, amongst people who were tied to a different set of values which they sought to tie to Cornwall, much like their intellectual descendants topping up their Cornishness over a century later.

The Roots of the Revival: Literary Pretenses, Literal Tensions (1876-1928)

While most Cornish people today consider *The Song of the Western Men* the national anthem of

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[88] This is part of the same series of wars where William of Orange conquered Ireland and set the stage of the Protestant Ascendancy in that land—his events in Ulster remain a major political in the north of Ireland today.

[89] Though certainly the Cornish-English Dialect is almost as old as the Cornish-English encounter (Filppula 2008).

[90] Cornish Nationalists like to project Cornish Rebelliousness back into the past—absorbing the rebellions of 1497, 1549, the English Civil War and more contemporary popular outcries—but the pro-Catholic/High Church and Royalist conflicts of the 16th and 17th centuries are difficult to connect to the anti-Monarchical nature of much of contemporary Cornish Nationalism.

Cornwall, the Kernewek revivalists sought to replace its position with a tune entitled *Bro Goth Agan Tasow* ("Old Land of Our Fathers"). Compared with *Song of the Western Men*, *Bro Goth* expresses a different set of values. To begin with it is not British in orientation but explicitly Celtic—not only are the lyrics in a Celtic language (indexing separateness from England and English) but the tune was borrowed from the national anthems of Wales and Brittany, an explicit attempt to bridge the nations. Second, the emphasis on Protestantism is weakened by the lyrics' mention of "ancient saints" and "the Grail," symbols of, at the least, High Anglicanism and Arthurianism, at the most, of Catholicism. *The Song of the Western Men* speaks specifically of Cornwall "we'll cross the Tamar[91], land to land," but only as the site of bold Cornish action, not as a place of affection, even veneration, like in *Bro Goth*. It is this emphasis on the land and nation, tied to the speaker via the passage of generations, which distinguishes *Bro Goth* as an explicitly nationalist song. The history of the words is obscure but it appears that *Bro Goth* was written by Robert Morton Nance (who I will return to below) in the 1930s and is most prominently sung at the yearly Gorseth ceremony.

These two anthems highlight the cultural, aesthetic and ideological differences between the old Cornwall of industry, rationalism, Protestantism and the British Empire and the new Cornwall of nationalism, Celtic languages and folklore. In one, Cornwall is the staging ground for bold acts and in the other, it is a passive place, the receiver of the singer's affections. While these differences are not as striking today as in the beginning of the 20th century (Deacon and Payton 1993), they demonstrate a gulf between popular Cornishness and the Kernewek/Cornish Nationalist movement in its earliest days.

Alan Kent, in his book *The Literature of Cornwall* (2000a), describes the history of Cornish (both Kernewek and English) literature for the past thousand years as being defined by a tension between two forces: indigenous, popular linguistic, literary and cultural movements and those parallel

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[91] The Tamar River, the eastern border of Cornwall, set in 936 AD.

forces which derive from English sources and which tended to be associated with outside elites. In the 19th century, the English cultural influences came to dominate Cornwall but that in the final decade of the century this hegemony was challenged by the movement we today call the Cornish Revival (Kent 2000a:148). This is echoed in Deacon's differentiation between seaward and landward influences, he also observes that by the early 20th century landward (e.g., English) influences predominated (2007:180).

Examining the period between 1890 and 1940, Kent sees three schools of literature emerging in Cornwall: one is made up of outsiders, including "modernist big guns" like Thomas Hardy, Virginia Woolf and D.H. Lawrence, who use Cornwall as an exotic Other in which to set their works and color their observations. The second is made up of outsiders who "synthesized their own identities with Cornwall's" creating literature that "depicting Cornwall with a more effective sense of reality"; the best known member of this school is Daphne Du Maurier (Kent 2000a:148). It is this school—in particular du Maurier herself despite her lack of Cornish upbringing—who are associated with indigenous Cornish literature in the eyes of the educated English elite today. The du Maurier Festival in the town of Fowey is an example of this, as its high-priced events bring outsiders into the town to listen to famous English literary speakers, attend teatime and take guided walks through the country. Another example is from the pilot for the BBC television show *Doc Martin*, where village rubes try to sell du Maurier walks to the London-based protagonist and the innkeeper explains that "if you're a literary man" he has a copy of one of du Maurier's novels.

Kent's final literary school is the least well known, but was made up of those figures who emerge from within the Cornish cultural milieu and are little read outside of Cornwall today. These authors "looked back to the period when the Cornish Mystery Play cycles were performed and when Cornwall had a 'real' medieval literature, somehow 'unpolluted' by intrusions of English […] the

Revival [was] founded upon a firm medieval base" (Kent 2000a:149). Already at this point, middle-class intellectuals within Cornwall were leap-frogging over centuries of industrialization, rationalism and Protestantism to seek inspiration from Medieval Cornwall.

These authors tended to be from the professional middle class and the movement was dominated by currents emerging out of the High Anglican[92] movement, locally stimulated by the creation of a Diocese of Cornwall and a Cathedral in Truro in 1876 (Kent 2000a:149). Cornwall in the 19th century was one of the most Methodist-dominated regions of Britain; the response of the Church of England was to establish a diocese in Truro and build a new cathedral—a remarkable event since it was England's first cathedral since 1220.[93] The first Bishop was Edward White Benson, a soldier against Methodism who would go on to become the Archbishop of Canterbury. Benson saw the re-creation of the institutions of the Medieval cathedral community as the most potent weapons against secularization and the "selfish congregationalism" of Methodist worship (Benson 1878:4). He wrote a treatise on *The Cathedral* (1878) and established Truro as a stronghold of High Church ritualism with nods to Celtic tradition, such as the veneration of Celtic Saints and an Episcopal Crosier[94] in an elaborate, Celtic style which is still on display in the Cathedral. The Cathedral itself is a soaring structure of Neo-Gothic style, which is a stark contrast to the unadorned sternness of local Methodist chapels.[95]

David Everett (2003) has noted the tremendous intellectual impact of the Anglican Church within the Revival considering the Church's minority position in Cornwall from the 1870s to the 1930s.

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[92] The Anglican church is a "big tent" organization which includes religious practice that range from very "Protestant" and Evangelical to very "Catholic" practices—the church has had a history of tension between these elements which led to the Civil War in the 17th century and the formation of rebellious Protestant sects like the Methodists, Quakers, Plymouth Brethren, Baptists and others. The "High Church" movement, which was prominent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, sought a return to the more Catholic end of the spectrum and advocated for more elaborate ritual, emphasis on the Communion and a traditionalist attitude.

[93] http://www.trurocathedral.org.uk/cathedral-story/story2.html

[94] A symbolic shepherd's crook carried by ranking church officials.

[95] These nods to Celticism did not, however, extend to criticism of Church history as the Cathedral bears a beautiful stained glass window dedicated to the creation of the English Book of Common Prayer but no reference to the Cornish uprising it inspired nor the brutal response by English authorities.

An early revivalist (and High Church priest) Rev. Lach-Syrma noted that the Low Church, more industrially-oriented Methodists "think it [the Cornish language] carnal and wicked [...] and that 'it does not pay'" (Everett 2003:197). In comparison, the first modern miracle performance of a Medieval Kernewek Miracle Play ("Bewnans Meriasek," the "Life of St. Meriasek") was in an Anglican Church using a translation by an Anglo-Catholic vicar (Everett 2003:203).

Hence we can see that the literary school that seeded the ground for the Revival was itself embedded within a tension in British Protestantism, which existed since at least the English Civil War. On one hand, the Low Church of Nonconformism,[96] iconoclasm, rationality and Modernism and on the other, the High Chuch of Toryism, ritual and traditionalism. In Cornwall, this division became overlain by the distinct ethnic identity of the place. The Low Church side became associated with a self-confident, oppositional, working-class ethnicity and the High Church side became infused with Celtic aesthetics and a fascination with folklore.

These High Church influences continue to have an impact on Medievalist Kernewek organizations. A number of my interviewees told me of involvement in Cathedral or explicitly High Church institutions including Mick Paynter (current Grand Bard) who was raised as an altar boy in a "High Church family" and whose father was a Warden.

The early Revivalists faced pressure from two directions: on the one hand by the English literary establishment that tended to deride the idea of an autonomous Cornish literature and on the other by a popular Cornishness rooted in concepts of industrial prowess, working class identity, modernity, Methodism and Liberalism. Their response to these dual critiques was to entrench themselves ideologically within the medieval literature and promote linguistic and literary distinctiveness in all areas, eventually creating the cultural landscape where a self-conscious Kernewek

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[96] "Nonconformism" is any form of Protestantism in Britain that does not recognize ("conform") to the Church of England.

Language Revival began (2000a:149). Kent notes that:

> The unequal power relationship between Cornwall and England produced the effect of the Cornish cultural elite promoting proactively the 'Other'-driven constructions of Celtic Cornwall generated at the centre [sic], not out of a spirit of deference, but one of resistance and reassertion of identity. (Kent 2000a:153)

In response to their suspicion of the popular Cornish identity, the Revivalists rejected both the later Kernewek texts (as being too polluted by English influences) (Kent 2000a:149) and many of the potential uses of the Cornu-English Dialect (2000a:157). Kent notes that "the Revivalists chose the more overtly Celtic symbolism of Cornish language and the badge of difference; thus at this crucial moment of reconstruction, failing, and limiting the expression of the Cornish working classes, since it repressed their voice" (2000a:157-8). Increasingly, written Dialect became relegated to the realms of humor and jest or as a passive source to mine for Celtic origin words.

In this view, Kernewek was understood as a Classical language most appropriate for ritual, poetry and inscription on stone monuments. It was seen as a victim of English and its restoration a distinctly anti-English affair. It ought to be no surprise that the early Revivalists placed Arthurian myths—the Celtic hero against the English invader—at the heart of the Cornish Gorseth, an annual ceremony of robed bards dedicated to promoting the language and culture. Near the culmination of the Gorseth ceremony, the members of the Gorseth gather around the Grand Bard in the center of a broad circle; the Sword Bearer of the Gorseth holds up the long blade he carries—a representation of the Sword of Arthur—and the Grand Bard places his hand upon the sword. Surrounding bards place their hands upon the Grand Bard's shoulders or upon the shoulders of others, so that all of them are connected to the blade. They then swear an oath, in the words of Yowann Byghan from a 2012 interview: "invoking a death-defying Arthur as her [Cornwall's] symbolic king."

However, the influences upon these Middle Class revivalists were greater than simply Arthurian

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Romanticism and Celtic Nationalism, they were also deeply influenced by their own experiences with languages and the concept of a Classical Language, in particular their Latin education. The instruction of Latin formed a major role in the intellectual formation of the early Cornish enthusiasts; even into the 21st century (2012) Mick Paynter was able to list to me the languages he studied in the 1960s:

JH: You mentioned [Biblical] Hebrew, did you study any other languages?
MP: Greek, New Testament Greek, Classical Greek, Latin, French and the other bits of language.

At the beginning of the 20th century, elite institutions emphasized Latin as the foremost subject: for instance more than half of the Eton masters were Latinists in 1905 and there was a national push in that period to increase the quality and quantity of Latin instruction (Waquent 2001). The primary movers of the early Cornish Revival—especially Henry Jenner, often called the Father of Revived Kernewek and a librarian of medieval manuscripts at the British Library—were steeped in this intellectual climate and it was within this current that they sought to reconstruct Cornish (Everett 2003).

At the heart of this instruction was the Classicist myth which placed emphasis on the Humanists of the last period of the Roman Republic and early Empire—Terence, Virgil, Ovid, Lucretius, Livy, and, especially, Cicero—and rejected Medieval and Church Latin which they portrayed as a fallen, bastardized tongue, destroyed by the barbarians of Rome's later years. Moreover, the Latinists placed an emphasis on grammar over other elements of the language (Waquent 2001:39-40).

There is a consistent tension between purity and use within a movement to utilize a dead language in the present. For instance, in scholarly Latin, one of the disciplines most attached to the language—botany—developed a form of the language distant from Classical sources; Waquent notes that "botanists' Latin is virtually an artificial language,[…] unencumbered with grammatical subtleties" (2001:128). At the same time, there was a movement within Protestant education from the

Reformation onwards towards a return to ancient forms of the language and "classical authors who had been dropped during the mediaeval period returned in force" (Waquent 2001:21).

Similarly, the early Cornish Revivalists portrayed Cornish as a fallen tongue, destroyed by the depredations of the Anglo Saxons. For instance, in his oft-cited *Story of the Cornish Language*, Peter Berresford Ellis noted that Middle (pre-Reformation) Cornish "was reaching its highest development" (1971:13). Ellis describes the elaborate Mystery Plays and their connection to Glasney College in Penryn. However, the settbacks in the Reformation (such as Glasney and the *Book of Common Prayer*); Ellis quotes the historian Whitaker: "this act of tyranny was at once gross barbarity to the Cornish people, and a death blow to the Cornish Language" (1971:15). Only if one has this ideology of bastardization and corruption can an act in 1549 be seen as the death of a language that even Ellis admits still had a speaker in the 1890s (Ellis 1971:129).

In the time since Ellis' book, this story of Cornish's bloody fall has been elaborated into a theory of a Cornish Holocaust. For instance, in 1999—in commemoration of the 450th anniversary of the rebellion—a series of monuments were erected around Cornwall and along the path of the rebellion's march east. In Penryn, close to the site of Glasney, a monument reads:

> Hemm a Govha An Koll A Gollji Glasnedh Ha'n Mernans an Vilyow a Wlaskaroryon GernewekYn Unn Dhefendya Aga Fydh, Yeth Ha Devosow Keltek.

> This Commemorates the Loss of Glasney College and the Death of Thousands of Cornish Patriots in Defence of their Faith, Language and Celtic Customs

> 1549-1999, Kernow Arta[97]

While the details of the Cornish Holocaust interpretation of history are unique to the particulars of Cornwall, it does echo arguments made in other minority areas of Europe, especially Brittany. In her

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[97] Inscription copied by the author from the Penryn monument. Kernow Arta ("Cornwall Again") was a   short-lived organization aimed at commemorating the 1999 anniversary.

ethnography of the Breton Nationalist Movement, MacDonald argues that the dominant features of the movement are: "it is self-consciously 'militant'; predominantly left-wing, and united by an assumption of common oppression" (1989:87). The elements of the Kernewek Movement with closest ideological links to the Cornish Holocaust theory, especially the promoters of Kernewek Kemmyn, also have strong ties to the Breton Movement as I described above. It appears that the ideology tying the language movement to militant opposition to oppression has migrated alongside beliefs about purification of the language.

Despite, and perhaps in response to, this growing cultural and academic elaboration around the concept of a Cornish Holocaust, there were a number of attempts in the early 20th century to promote Dialect as a means for serious reflection amongst the Cornish. Deep in a decades-long economic depression, these authors used Dialect to reflect on "the harshness of life in post-industrial Cornwall, which was never glamorous and most often depressing." The most prominent of these authors was Jack Clemo, who was "fervently anti-Celtic Revivalism and anti-nationalist" (Kent 2000a:156). Dialect for these authors "suggests an exclusive self-sufficiency, signaling the Cornish as *cognisente* and almost deliberately excluding the outsider, a means of social commentary in which language clearly defines ownership" (Payton 1996:252). Moreover, as we will see in the interviews with Mina Dresser and Mick Paynter in the fourth chapter, as Dialect has progressively declined, some Cornish people have turned to Kernewek—especially in its Late form—as a stand-in for future generations of Cornish people, drawing some elements of the Revival in that direction.

While it is beguilingly simple to construct a binary between Insider (Methodist, Industrial) Cornwall on one side and Outsider (Celtic Romantic English) Cornwall on the other, placing the Language Movement—especially in its Unified-dominated phase—firmly in the latter category, the Revival in fact emerged as a response to paradox created by individuals who lived within these

apparently rigid categories and yet felt that they did not match up to the reality of their experience. Even as early as Henry Jenner, the Father of the language, we can see a man whose ideology and aesthetics are in stark contrast to the Movement, and yet who yearns to out-Cornish the Cornish.

Jenner was an intensely political high Anglican, an Absolute Monarchist and a member of a number of secret societies, some of which appear to have been dedicated to the restoration of the Jacobite line to the throne. He worked for many years in the British Museum's Department of Ancient Manuscripts where he encountered a number of Kernewek fragments and was certainly exposed to the study of Classical Language. While Jenner was born in Cornwall, his father was an ethnically English, Anglican priest; the elder Jenner was so Anglo-Catholic in his orientation that when he was appointed to become a Bishop in New Zealand, his parishioners revolted and would not allow him to be enthroned (Williams [ed.] 2004 and Lowenna 2005). Sharon Lowenna, who studies the documents of this period, goes as far as to accuse him of being a proto-Fascist and part of a Carlist conspiracy to overthrow the government of Spain; she believes that his Pan-Celticism was part of a racial view of the world (2005). Certainly, Jenner's fundamental fascinations with secrecy (with codes and secret languages), anti-democratic monarchism and emphasis on inherited racial and class privileges ran counter to the Liberal, democratic spirit that dominated traditional Cornish ethnic politics and identity. The very ambiguities of Jenner's status—desiring to be Cornish yet never fitting into the Liberal, Methodist, Modernist Cornish society around him, fueled his interest in the language.

In the following chapter, I will demonstrate how similar anxieties are still expressed amongst users of the language today; some, like, Dee Brotherton and Julie Tamblin explain their projects of self-transformation utilizing the language and Yowann Byghan will openly express a desire to become Cornish as lying at the root of his interest in the language. In the chapter after that, I will broaden the lens further and showed how the public renaming of places and persons is an expression of the desire to

eliminate ambiguity and maximize the role of names' Symbolic functions as markers of ethnicity. In the following section, I will examine how the creators of the first standard version of Kernewek—Unified—endeavored to combat ambiguity by firmly basing the language within the pure, Celtic roots of the Medieval period.

Jenner was not a singular individual, the Romantic ideological currents that he tapped into were simultaneously used by other Nationalist leaders in minority areas of Europe. In Occitania, a region in modern-day southern France, Frédéric Mistral worked on a parallel course to reconfigure the Occitan language, creating a unified written form, composing Romantic poetry and founding a cultural renaissance movement called Félibrige (Grillo 1989:73)[98]. Like Jenner's Gorseth Kernow, Félibrige was consciously apolitical, interested more in creating elaborate ritual contexts for language usage and promoting the writing of poetry than promoting political autonomy. Closer to home, the Welsh elaborated on their tradition of poetry events—eisteddfodau—and developed a nationalist movement that drew upon Romantic imagery of nation and blood (Grillo 1989:93). Like Jenner, these activists (both Occitan and Welsh) were in part inspired by the continent-wide popularity of the epic poem Ossian from Scotland (Grillo 1989: 70, 90).

Kernewek United (1928-1985)

Emergence of Unified Kernewek: Medievalist Visions (1928-1970s)

Unified Kernewek is primarily the creation of two men: Robert Morton Nance and A.S.D. Smith. The early Kernewek revival from about 1900-1928 was characterized by a lack of an institutional framework: books (such as Henry Jenner's 1904 *Handbook of the Cornish Language*) and articles circulated and people came upon them and other enthusiasts more-or-less randomly. In his history of

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[98] Mistral was, however, a figure of continent-wide importance, and received the Nobel Prize for his literature in 1904, particularly for his epic poem *Mirèio*.

the language, Ellis notes that William Daniel Watson (Tyrvab), who he identifies as one of the "leading spirits" of the early revival learned from books until he happened to meet a workman and then a nurse who both had some traditional knowledge of words and phrases and a passing interest in the tongue (Ellis 1974:154). The two men who emerged as leaders of the movement—Nance and Jenner—would meet while doing research[99] (Ellis 1974:156). This was also a period of experimentation, with at least three competing spelling forms being promoted within Kernewek classes: Henry Jenner's from the *Handbook*, one promoted by the bard Hal Wyn in his London classes and short-story publications and what would become Nance's Unified spelling.

In contrast, the "Unified Period" which I date from the creation of the Gorseth Kernow ("College of Bards") in 1928 to the creation of Kernewek Kemmyn in 1985. It was a period with a high degree of institutionalization and centralization—certainly moreso than either before or since. Nance's institutional and ideological construct in this era has been called the Nancean Synthesis (Saunders 1983) and incorporated three main pillars: the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, the Gorseth Kernow and the Unified Spelling system.

The Federation was created in 1920 by Nance and Jenner to preserve the remnants of Corwall's Celtic culture (Ellis 1974:158); it served as a popular institution with a wide membership base. Its journal *Old Cornwall*, in publication continuously since 1925, was edited by Nance until his death in 1959 and became the vehicle for the promotion of his Synthesis. With one hundred and one branches in ten countries[100] in 2012, this antiquarian group has been a bastion of interest in Kernewek and other elements of the folkloric past.

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[99] Not that this is impossible in Cornwall today: while researching at the Cornish Studies Library I met a number of individuals who would become central to my understanding of Kernewek and Cornwall. In fact, I would at times arrange to have the librarians introduce me to researchers I saw with Kernewek materials.
[100] The FOCS has forty-six branches scattered throughout Cornwall; outside of Cornwall it has a number of affiliate groups: twenty in the USA, twelve in Australia, eleven in England, four in Canada, four in New Zealand, one each in Wales, South Africa, Cuba and Mexico. http://www.oldcornwall.org/

Created in 1928, the Gorseth ("College of Bards") was officially under the leadership of Jenner and then Nance, its first two Grand Bards, though Kent notes that it "was still controlled and unduly influenced by the Welsh Gorsedd" (2000a:152)—like the song *Bro Goth Agan Tasow*, the Gorseth was a variant of the original Welsh version. It served a number of functions: to provide a system of honors and accolades for the promotion of the language and culture, to give ritual embodiment to the "glorious invented Brythonic mythos of cultural unity" and to serve as a public platform for the Revivalist culture in contrast to the Methodist Popular Cornish Culture of the era (Kent 2000a:152).

Finally, the Unified Spelling system was first debuted in 1929 with Nance's *Cornish for All*, supplemented by the 1934 *Cornish English Dictionary* (which A.S.D. Smith had a large hand in as well) (Ellis 1974:160). In the introduction to his *New Cornish Dictionary*, which was the first in Unified, Nance explained how he came to create his spelling system:

> An acceptable standard spelling has been aimed at. This is based on the Middle [Kernewek] of the Ordinalia and the Passion Poem, which is the most perfect form of the language as well as being the one best known. (1955:II)

This medieval Kernewek was as much based upon the aesthetics of what felt right to Nance (1955:II) as a systematized analysis of the language on linguistic grounds. As Nicholas Williams has noted "...the most serious defect of Unified Cornish is its fondness for the quaint, archaic and medieval" (1998:17) and any student of Nance's system knows that it is full of ornate grammar, variant spellings and irregular conjugations.

What Nance, Smith, and Jenner did to create the Nancean Synthesis—including both the institutions and the reconstituted language—was to collect and organize the fragments of folklore. The Federation serve as the foot soldiers of the process, collecting, collating and publishing folklore—in fact the organization's motto is "*Cuntelleugh an brewyon us gesys na vo kellys travyth*" or, in English, "Gather up the fragments that are left that nothing be lost." While not interionally so, this philosophy

echoes the theorization of Nadia Seremntakis, who wrote that the the "poetics of the cultural periphery is the poetics of the fragment" (1991:1), certainly Cornish enthusiasts who find beauty in their constituted rituals would understand this concept.

This was not a new concept when these men applied it to linguistics in the 1920s: it is the same technique used by philologists and folklorists to (re)-construct the Germanic saga of the *Nibelungenlied*, the Finnish-language epic *The Kalevala* in 1849, *The Romance of Tristan and Iseult* by Joseph Bédier in 1900 and others. These epics served to formalize the imaginative boundaries of their respective nationalities by formalizing, purifying and elevating what had previously been associated with the lives of peasants or deceased, historic populations (Wilson 1975; Alphonso-Karkala 1986).

Bédier's work on *Tristan and Iseult* was the most influential of these projects upon the Cornish imagination. Bédier was a professor of medieval literature who believed that there was a single, ancient French poem from which all of the extant Tristan stories descend and sought to reconstruct that work through the comparative analysis of existing versions; while Bédier insisted upon its French origin based upon language, the work is set in Cornwall and the mythical land of Lyonesse purported to have sunk under the waves to the west of the peninsula. Kernewek users enthusiastically embraced Bédier's thesis of a single original work as it was reinterpreted in 1912 by Prof. Joseph Loth who argued that extant writers "derived their poems from a single Cornish source" (Ellis 1974:23). Henry Jenner embraced the Cornish origin of *Tristan and Iseult* and published several articles on the subject which continue to resonate through their recently republished editions (Jenner and Thurstan 1998; Jenner and Hambley 1999). Beyond this more academic analysis, Bédier's work was certainly known to rank-and-file Kernewek enthusiasts as a translation of it by A.S.D. Smith was one of the first major works in the language and is considered a foundational document in the Unified spelling system, coming out a year before Nance's dictionary. The publication was considered important enough that

after Smith's death in 1950, the Cornish Language Board finished the missing 1,000 lines of the work (Smith 1951; Ellis 1974).

In addition to these feats of literary pastiche, Kernewek enthusiasts have been aware of a similar trend in contemporary Druidic Revival. This 19th century movement to re-create the ancient druidic faith of the British Islands was largely inspired by the work of Edward Williams also known as Iolo Morganwg, who claimed to have fused information numerous historic Welsh-language documents to come to the formulae for a series of rituals. Later scholarship revealed that Morganwg did use some historic information, but was also a skilled forger and that much of his synthesis was of his own creation (including the famous Druid's Prayer). Regardless of this illumination, Morganwg's rituals became the heart of the Gorseth movement, which had a major influence on English Romanticism and was adopted by the Kernewek Revivalists in 1928 as the Gorseth Kernow[101] (Carruthers and Rawes 2003; Lyon 2008).

This flurry of philological and folkloric reconstruction and invention had a significant impact upon the nationalist imaginations of Romantic Europe. This led to the Herderian belief that nations without states (like the Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Basques) dwelt under the surface of European life, in fragments that could be gathered and put back into their previous forms. Specifically, they pushed nationalist dreams towards linguistic domains of historic reconstruction and set the stage in which the Kernewek Revival became intellectually possible. In a sense, the Kernewek Revival was a further step beyond these poems, a greater intellectual leap as it appears to be the first time in history when a language was recreated out of written records alone[102].

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[101] There is a much larger "parent" Gorseth in Wales and a smaller, more controversial, branch in Brittany. The Welsh Gorseth is a major political and cultural actor in the Welsh Language scene.

[102] The revival of Hebrew is parallel to these early days of Kernewek—and certainly Hebrew has been more successful— however, Hebrew was never only a written language, there has always been a preservation of spoken Hebrew in ritual settings.

This project was not, however, a classically nationalist one dedicated towards promoting an independent (or even autonomous) Cornwall. The creators of the Synthesis instead sought to direct the Language Movement towards cultural rather than political ends. Deacon, Cole and Tregidga note that:

> [l]eading figures like Jenner were indifferent to the increasingly divergent nature of Cornish politics from the Westminster model and it appears they did not even consider the possibility of advancing their ideas through the political process. Besides, their perception of Celto-Cornish nationality had to remain separate from the wider world of party politics since its ideological inheritance was derived from the antiquarianism of the previous century (2003:21).

Overall, this apolitical, antiquarian, Medievalist consensus did not last—it was perhaps an inevitable victim of its own success. As its popular base grew, so did the demands upon it by its users: by the 1970s—in step with a wider explosion of minority nationalism throughout Europe—students of Kernewek wanted to be able to use a language that was more fluid, speakable and overtly political.

Rumbles of Discontent (The 1970s to the Mid-1980s)

Discontent regarding the Nancean Synthesis and, in particular, Unified Kernewek began to emerge in the 1970s. Much of this criticism was based around a growing sense—in particular amongst younger language users—that Unified was not suitable for natural, spoken usage. In a 2012 interview with Yowann Byghan, who was involved in this early questioning, he demonstrated the emphatic nature of this criticism:

YB: …the importance of the phonemic principle cannot be overstated, particularly in view of our urgent priorities in the language movement, then and now. We wanted - and still want - the people of Cornwall (in great numbers someday, we never cease hoping) to speak Cornish: not just write it, read it, discuss it, study it, but SPEAK it. (Byghan 2012, emphasis in original)

The desire to create a body of true speakers was already inspiring, by the conservative standards of the earlier, antiquarian Revival, unorthodox actions; for instance Bernard Deacon (today of the Institute of Cornish Studies) was "forced into minimal fluency by Tim Saunders' refusal to talk to him

in English" when they lived together during this period (Maga 2006:10). Another group, led by George/Jori Ansell, established the first Kernewek play group called *Dalleth* in the early 1980s, part of the first concerted effort to raise a generation of fluent speakers (Smales 1984).[103]

The establishment of the first Institute of Cornish Studies by the University of Exeter in 1972 began the process of professional academic examination of the language and the language Movement. The original director, Prof. Charles Thomas (who, 16 years later, would attack the spelling Kammbronn on Camborne's roadsigns) established the journal *Cornish Studies* and was given a seat on the Cornish Language Board. Thomas began early on to criticize Unified spelling:

> Our Institute takes the view that the so called 'Unified Spelling' invented by Nance has never been explained, i.e. we have never had any real discussion of the principles on which it was based. We regard the dictionaries with their high proportion of words invented by the comparative method as suspect, […] lastly, […] we suspect that the pronunciation currently used for modern Cornish (based on an ultimate form of Wessex Middle English) may be wrong and that the true phonetic range is still just recoverable from an area west of an isogloss that cuts off the Land's End and part of the south side of the Lizard. (Thomas, in Ellis 1974:194)

Furthermore, Thomas noted that outside Celticists largely ignore the work of Nance, Jenner and Smith and rely upon 19th century dictionaries and texts (Ellis 1974 194-5). The criticisms that Thomas raised and their potential solutions—avoiding names borrowed from other Celtic languages for ones reconstructed through Cornish sources, and the re-orientation of pronunciation from one based on Middle English to one based upon the Cornish English Dialect of the most isolated portions of West Cornwall—would be adopted by the Late Kernewek camp as some of their primary arguments in the 1980s.

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[103] In fact, the very existence of these groups shows the intimacy of the individuals involved in the eventual splits: Tim Saunders and Bernard Deacon became vocal advocates for Kemmyn and Late Kernewek, respectively and *Dalleth* itself broke up when some members (such as Jori Ansell) moved to Kemmyn and others (such as Ray and Denise Chubb) remained in Unified. Private conversations with individuals involved show that the hurts and perceived betrayals that would emerge in this period still effect relations within the Movement today.

However, criticism emerged from other directions than the academic one, in particular amongst younger revivalists. In the 1972 *Annual Volume of the Celtic League* Tim Saunders, who would later become a notable Kernewek poet and promoter of Kemmyn, wrote an article entitled "Scubyon Lyenegyl" ("Literary Garbage") in which he leveled an attack against the Revivalists and demanded that they pay more attention to pronunciation. While *Scubyon* was written in Unified, Saunders would soon go on to develop his own writing system more closely linked to spoken Kernewek (Saunders 1972, Ellis 1985:145).

To put these ideas into motion, in 1978 Saunders teamed up with Dick Gendall, a folk musician and prominent revivalist, to produce a book entitled *Cornish is Fun!* Based on a Welsh version by the same publisher, its use of conversational cartoons broke from the rigid grammaticism of most Kernewek books of the time (e.g., P.A.S. Pool [1970], Nance [1950] and John Page [1979[104]]).

The traditional structure of the Language Board—made up of appointees of the Gorseth, the County Council, the Old Cornwall Society and, most recently, the Institute of Cornish Studies[105]—was seen as overly academic and disconnected to the base of the Kernewek Movement. In an attempt to more organically link the Language Board to the popular body of Kernewek users a new organization was created in 1979: the *Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek*, ("the Cornish Language Fellowship"). A membership body made up of students, teachers and users, it elected its own leadership as well as the majority of members of the Language Board (Ellis 1985:145; Sandercock and Brown 2006). In fact, it would be these same language teachers who formed the core of the movement's shifts in the coming

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[104] This is the date of the 3rd edition, I have had difficulty finding the date of the first edition of this book due probably to its fragility being a stapled pamphlet. It remains popular and is in its 7th edition, having been republished first in Kemmyn and then, in 2011, in the Single Written Form.

[105] I have not determined exactly when this occurred, but at some point between 1985 and the publication of the Kesva's policy statement in 2006 the two seats held by representatives of the Institute were eliminated. This undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the Medievalists by eliminating proponents of Late Kernewek (e.g., Bernard Deacon and Philip Payton) from the Board; today there are representatives of Unified and Kemmyn but not Late Kernewek on the Board; however, it is dominated by Kemmyn users.

years (Smales:1984).

The late 1970s and early 1980s were in general a time of revival in European minority

movements. In the north of Ireland, the 1981 hunger strike fundamentally "transformed and recreated

anew" the self-conception and worldwide perception of the Republican movement (Aretxaga 1997:80),

while in Wales, Nationalists founded their own Language Society in 1962 (which inspired the creation

of the Kowethas Language Fellowship in 1979 in Cornwall) pushed for a devolution vote in 1979 and a

hunger strike in 1980 for Welsh language television (Williams and Morris 2000:169). All of these

activities in the Celtic Countries were influenced by developments in the minority areas of Spain,

which gained considerable autonomy after Franco's death in 1977 and by the 1980 expansion of

Flemish rights in Belgium. One of the lightning rods of the period was orthography, not only was

Nance's Unified spelling challenged in Cornwall, but young activists in Occitania challenged the (as

they saw it) stultified and alienating orthography developed by Mistral in parallel to Nace and Jenner

(Grillo 1989:75). These changes were carefully followed in Cornish nationalist journals like *Carn*, *An

Baner Kernewek* ("The Cornish Flag"), and *Cornish Nation*, all of which are widely read in language

circles[106]. A young generation of *Cowethas* ("Fellowship") teachers and activists sought to make

Kernewek the language of the people: to democratize its base, politicize its role and make it more

speakable.

By 1985, these criticisms were mounting and Dr. Ken George—at that time the secretary of the

Cowethas' Education Committee stated in the journal *Kernewek Hedhya* that there were three

responses available to those who were attempting a more conversational Kernewek within the Unified

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[106] This tradition of cross-ethnic communication continues today, especially in the work of the Celtic League, whose members in Cornwall regularly disseminate information about other Celtic countries through publications, public statements and weekly a radio show. Cornwall plays a very public role in these organizations, for instance a Kernewek-speaking man of Welsh ancestry, Rhisiart Tal-e-bot, is the President of the League. Less publicly, I know that the Welsh Nationalist party trains activists in the Cornish counterpart and that members of the Cornish Nationalist party regularly visit and collaborate with members of other European ethnic minorities.

framework:

> …to retire completely and be lost to the Movement (like Dick Gendall), or to write a spelling nearer to the pronunciation (like Tim Saunders), or to try to carry on with a state   of trouble (like us). (quoted in Berresford-Ellis 1985:146)

However, by this time George was doing far more than trying to carry on; he was, in fact, developing his landmark spelling reform, which would come to be known as Kernewek Kemmyn. His creation, revealed in 1985-6 and endorsed by the *Cowethas* (then renamed *Kowethas*, both meaning "Fellowship") in 1987, would be the single most important, and controversial, development in the course of the revived language since Nance's 1929 release of Unified Kernewek.

A Movement Divided (1985-1988)

In 1985 the noted Celticist Peter Berresford-Ellis wrote a chapter on Cornwall for his pan-Celtic analysis *Celtic Revolutions*. He looked across the Cornish scene, which he had been familiar with for several decades, and while acknowledging the rumblings that were bubbling up in the previous decade, had an optimistic, chipper view of the future of the language, quoting the Grand Bard of the Gorseth:

> Barring wholly unforeseen circumstances, the language is now safe for all time; never will the […] 17th and 19th Centuries be repeated. Cornish will be learned and used as a living language for as long as there are Cornish men and women (Hugh Miners quoted in   Ellis 1985:147)

Unfortunately, Miners' and Ellis' prognostications of a healthy future were severely challenged with events that were brewing even as they wrote. At that time—despite growing criticism—the formal institutions of the language movement (the Language Board, the Language Fellowship and the College of Bards) utilized the Medieval-based Unified spelling system of Nance and Smith. In Ellis' same chapter, he quotes Dr. Ken George as having discontents but being unwilling to break with Unified and cited Richard Gendall as having "retired completely." Both statements turned out to be incorrect.

Dr. Ken George—Creating Kemmyn

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If the first stage of the development of Revived Kernewek was characterized by the Nancean's desire to "gather up the fragments" and use them to create a pastiche that points backwards at the deceased language, then the second stage was the creation of Kernewek Kemmyn. The process of creating the Kemmyn spelling was founded upon a desire to eliminate ambiguity within the language. It was created in 1985 by Dr. Ken George who took all of the extant documentation and ran a statistical analysis upon it using a technique he referred to as "phonemic orthography" (Mills 1999) to achieve a probable reconstruction of pre-Reformation pronunciation and retroactively applying it to Medieval grammatical forms. He postulates a single pure and correct Kernewek of which the extant elements are mere fragments. This systematized the spelling and attempted an elimination of ambiguity. In the stage of collection and organization, none of the fragments were disposed of, even contradictory ideas of spelling or grammar are at times maintained in Unified. However, the second process involves an elimination of variation: instead of viewing variation as legitimate, equal expressions of Cornish heritage, it instead sees them as signposts pointing backwards towards a truer past. This was thus a continuation of the Unified project of Medievalism and Celticism with a new emphasis on public accessibility and speakability.

The activists building Kernewek have continually insisted upon the political and social neutrality of their work. For instance, in my own conversations with Ken George, he informed me that he sought "the best and most accurate" orthography of the language, one which captures the language. This is an assumption repeated in Kemmynite writings on the subject (such as George and Dunbar's "Cornish for the 21st Century" [1997]) and is based upon a historical division between the linguistic and social sciences which sits at the heart of several centuries of research on language. Gal and Irvine note that "...by the mid-19th century language came to be seen as crucially unaffected by human will, individual intent or the particularities of social life" (1995:967), an observation echoed in Williams &

Morris' study of modern Welsh: "most [researchers] fail to see the language group as a social group and merely reify language in analyzing it" (2000:xxvi). A similar movement, which attempted to balance fidelity to tradition and a desire for a modern, politically-salient language existed within the Basque Community in the 1970s and 80s (Urla 1993).

Fundamental to the Kemmyn project is the assumption that Kernewek exists (or existed) as a natural object, as "perfection...fallen from grace" (to borrow Williams & Morris' description [2000:xvi] of the beliefs of contemporary Welsh activists about their own language). According to this belief, orthographies can attempt to capture this natural phenomenon—and differ in their ability to do so—but play no part in creating it.

Richard Gendall—A Very Public Response

In February of 1985, the Board announced in the *An Baner Kernewek* ("The Cornish Banner") magazine that Dr. George had finished a research project on historic pronunciations. In August 1986 this research (which was presumably circulating at the time) led to a response in the *Baner* by Dick Gendall, the same Gendall we met as the anti-Kammbronn spokesman in Chapter 1. Gendall called for a Late Kernewek and released the first of what would be numerous scathing retorts to Medievalist Kernewek, especially by George's Kemmyn:

> This Cornoack[107] is our genuine heritage, our real Cornish shorn of all the invention, and nobody, not even the scholars, can say that this is not the true Cornish tongue as it survived latest. Quite apart from its pedigree, it has the inestimable advantage of being simpler in its grammar, simpler in its spelling...This is thus a Cornishmen's Cornish, as developed by native speakers. All I have done is to set it down in learnable form. (An Baner Kernewek no 45 pg 9-10)

> By November of 1986, the magazine was filled with debates, including articles defending

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[107] Gendall has experimented with a number of spellings and names of his revived forms, but all of them fit under the larger domain of "Late Kernewek."

Unified and promoting both Late and Kemmyn. Gendall clarifies his arguments, stating that: "the best

way to make Cornish live is to link it up with the speech of those people who are the true inheritors of

the language: those whose talk is still rich enough to enclude [sic] 'dialect' words derived directly from

the Cornish language. **These are our native speakers**." (no 46, pg 4, emphasis in original). In the

same edition, George, on the other hand portrays the movement as having a "need to convert a

basically medieval written language into a modern spoken language, suitable for everyday use." He

describes the computer program (revolutionary for 1986) which he used to extrapolate spoken sounds

from written texts of various periods. (no 46, pg5). This is a stark contrast in preferred sources: the

spoken sounds of Cornish-English Dialect on the one hand and the written words of Medieval

Kernewek poets on the other.

Adoption of Kemmyn

By the end of 1986, the Kesva (the "Cornish Language Board") had adopted Kernewek Kemmyn after

a highly controversial meeting. The details of this particular moment are still emotionally charged for

those involved and it is difficult to ascertain exactly what happened. Kemmyn users today maintain

that this is the basis for their legitimacy; for instance in the *Derivas hy Thowl, A Policy Statement*

(2006), a response by Kemmyn stalwarts to the process of standardization, the authors start with a

history of the language, tracing the succession from Jenner to Nance and Smith to the Gorseth

("College of Bards") and others noting that there is "an unbroken line of responsibility and

development from the earliest days of the revival up to the present time and that these functions are

historically vested in the Cornish Language Board" (Brown and Sandercock 2006:4). On the other

side, I have heard a number of proponents of both Unified and Late Kernewek that this meeting was a

case of underhanded theft, that voting was rigged, that debate was silenced and that a small clique

supporting Kemmyn seized control of the Kowethas ("Language Fellowship") and drove out opposition.

To some extent, Kernewek Kemmyn won all of the early battles: it was recognized by the Kowethas (the "Language Fellowship") and the Kesva (the "Language Board") as their sole standards and as co-equal in the Gorseth ("College of Bards") and by 1988 (as we saw in the first chapter) it was given pseudo-recognition by the state in the form of the first bilingual street signs. This also guaranteed that Kemmyn would become the most widely-used variety, as it had the backing of the Kowethas' classes, membership lists, funding sources and publications while the other movements had to build those institutions on their own. The users of Unified and Late retrenched and established parallel bodies. One was *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language"), which was previously an invitation-only organization for elite speakers became restructured in the mid-80s to be the organization promoting Unified, akin to the Kowethas in structure and behavior. By 1987, Late users had organized their *Cussel* ("Council") which served as a much more amorphous organization of teachers and scholars and put out *An Garrack*, an informal newsletter from 1992 onwards[108].

Unlike the Medieval forms, which are well organized around two standard spelling systems, each with an accompanying organization promoting it, Late Cornish was, and is, a more amorphous phenomenon. Late users utilize several spelling systems, are often idiosyncratic about the way they write Cornish and have formed a number of organizations over the last few decades—it also appears that groups of them at times operate independently of any formal organizational structure. However, they share an emphasis on Cornish as spoken in the final stages of its life and the reconstitution of that language using remnants left in the spoken Cornish Dialect of English in the nineteenth and twentieth

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[108] *An Garrack* is considerably more informal than its competitors and is largely a product of Neil Kennedy. Some editions read like a letter to friends as opposed to the more formal newsletter style of the rival publications.

centuries. Late Cornish is infamous amongst the Medieval users for its disorganization. Unlike the Medieval forms, there are no standardized tests and several potential standardized spelling systems.

After this flurry of activity, it was these three factions and their accompanying organizations, classes, publications (with some coming and going during the period) that remained stable during the following period (1988-2002), the Spelling Cold War, a conflict of attrition with only rare public statements. This fracturing occurred parallel to a similar period in the related Breton Movement, where the 1981 election of a Socialist government led to a collapse of a previous unity into its current state: a broad number of groups espousing different ideologies, regularly splitting, collapsing and fusing and often competing bitterly over funds and influence (MacDonald 1989:94). Like in Cornwall, these divisions have often spilled over into the form of Breton with different schools of research (in particular the Rennes Position and the Brest Position) promoting rival versions of placenames, and neologisms based upon their interpretations of Breton history (MacDonald 1989:106).

One defining aspect of this period was an end to congeniality and an increasing polemicization and politicization—both towards one another and the outside. Both new forms sought a larger public and political role for the language. That this occurred in a context of open hostility from the Thatcher Government to all forms of minority expression is no coincidence. It echoed the militancy of Celtic nationalism in Scotland, Wales and, especially, Northern Ireland at the time, not to mention the simmering race relations in Britain's cities, which spilled into street violence in 1981, 1985, and 1989.

The Spelling Cold War (1988-2002)

The status quo from around 1988 until the early 2000s was something of a cold war: each organization considered its Kernewek superior, and went about organizing classes, publishing books, hosting fundraisers, putting up websites and conducting public relations. At the same time, an underground

culture of nastiness flourished emerging into the public eye in the forms of letters to the editor and, eventually, messageboards (especially the notoriously vitriolic Cornwall24 website).

Mounting Academic Criticism and Unified Cornish Revised

From the first days, there was a slow drum-beat of academic criticism which more often than not took aim at Kernewek Kemmyn. This growing presence of academic publications on the language, most prominently included the journal *Cornish Studies*, which came to be a center for criticism of Kemmyn after Philip Payton took over the editor's position and leadership of the Institute for Cornish Studies in 1993. Importantly, these studies began to examine the language standardization not simply as a technical linguistic phenomenon—a commonly held position amongst the elites within the language organizations—but as a question of values and ideology.

One of the first key articles was entitled *Authenticity in the Revival of Cornish* (1994) by Charles Penglase. Penglase argues that authenticity is the most desirable quality of a revived language and that it "gives the revival movement its validity for the Cornish people" (1994:96)*.* He analyzes each of the three forms existing at the time and emerges with criticisms of both Kemmyn and Unified which he says are "essentially the same language[…] a mash of numerous anachronistic elements […] words borrowed from modern Breton and Welsh, syntax from Middle Breton, grammar from Modern Cornish"(1994:97) and a strong support for Modern Cornish.

Penglase's work was a harbinger of things to come. In 1995 a new academic voice appeared on the scene: Nicholas Williams, a professor of Celtic Languages at University College Dublin. While Williams has long been involved in the study and publication in Kernewek (including wining several Gorseth prizes in poetry as a young man), in 1996 he appeared on the scene with a bombastic speech attacking Kernewek Kemmyn and launching a new round of vitriolic press (Cornish Guardian 1996).

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Williams began a scathing assault upon the linguistic principles of Kernewek Kemmyn through academic publishing[109] including developing a modified form of Unified he called Unified Cornish Revised which has had some acceptance amongst the Unified users in the organization *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language")—he is often mentioned in their circles and while they often use unmodified teaching materials, his revisions are noted in class[110].

Fears of the Outside: Narratives of Oppression within Kernewek Kemmyn

The response to this growing body of scholarship from the users of Kernewek Kemmyn was twofold: on the one hand, they began to publish their own academic counter arguments, in particular *Cornish for the 21st Century* [1997] by George and Dunbar, which was the first time since 1987 in which they formally recognized and responded to their opponents. [111] They also began to develop a deep suspicion of outside academics at times bordering on anti-intellectualism[112]. In a focus group in 2000 amongst Kemmyn users, the moderator asked "…there are at least three versions of Cornish […] how do you see this? How do you view it? What do you feel about it?" A man (the voices are anonymous in the transcript) replied:

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[109] *Cornish Today: An Examination of the Revived Language* (1995), *Towards Authentic Cornish* (2006), *Writings on Revived Cornish* (2006), *Form and Content In Revived Cornish: Reviews and Essays in Criticism of Kernewek Kemmyn* (2007), an edited volume by Michael Everson, Craig Weatherhill, Ray Chubb, Bernard Deacon, and Williams.

[110] While Williams is something of a publishing giant, others have also written on the subject. Bernard Deacon of the Institute of Cornish Studies has also examined the ideological underpinnings of the movement in: "Language Revival and Language Debate: Modernity and Postmodernity" (1996) and "Cornish or Klingon? The Standardization of the Cornish Language" (2005) . Jon Mills published a work entitled "Reconstructive Phonology and Contrastive Lexicology: Problems with the Gerlyver Kernewek Kemmyn" (1999)

[111] The general position of the Kesva/Kowethas leadership has been to treat the subject of standardization as fiat complete, for instance in Tim Saunders' letter to *Cornish World* in the early days of the standardization process where he argues that Kemmyn is more than enough for the Kernewek Movement and argues that "Any attempt to turn the clock back 20 years by reopening the long-settled question of the orthography is bound to fail." (accessed online at http://kk.kaskyrgh.cymru247.net/kampoell.html on Feb 13th, 2012).

[112] It is notable to state that this anti-intellectualism does not appear to have an immediate class basis and is directed towards proponents of the school of critical cultural analysis, not towards academics in general. A number of proponents of Kemmyn including Dr. Ken George and Dr. Loveday Jenkin teach natural science. I also do not want to give the impression that my encounters with the supporters of Kemmyn were overly hostile or suspicious, with a few exceptions. I am indebted to a number of users of the variety who went out of their way to help me in this project, especially: Mick Paynter, Rhisiart Tal-e-bot, Loveday Jenkin, Matthew Clarke and Pol Hodge.

Can I say something, one of the things is the division between different forms of spelling whatever, are being fielded by English speaking idiots that know bugger all about the language. They're doing it for very specific reasons. Most of them are, I have to say, academics that sought to undermine the efforts of the language over a number of years. This is not all in the past, if you look at the last Cornish Studies publication, Cornish Studies 7, you've got [three] attacks on Kernewek Kemmyn. […] It's in the interest of the people within the Institute of Cornish Studies to undermine the language, and that's what they are about. They don't want to do that because the language will probably seen as a threat to their academic superiority in Cornwall. (SGRUD 2000a)

This idea that there are active organizations opposed to the promotion of Cornish Identity and Kernewek who use concealed agents, especially academics (particularly those associated with the Institute) has cropped up repeatedly at the margins of the Kemmyn movement. An example of this comes from the 2008 messageboard posts of the anonymous "Pennysquire[113]" on the Cornwall24 website who created an elaborate argument accusing Prof. Philip Payton, the director of the Institute, of being a covert agent for Naval Intelligence:

> …Although little has actually appeared in print, the view that Professor Payton is a 'plant' is held by a number of respected individuals who are prominent in Cornish politics and/or the language. […] Many witnesses will confirm that in 1990 at Keskusulyans Kernow Professor (then Doctor) Payton (or Commander Payton RN in his service persona) publicly launched a vicious attack on the Celtic League. It is generally thought that two reasons prompted this: The Gendalls had attempted to take over the Cornish Branch of the Celtic League, but this had been prevented by the membership, who saw the Gendall's attempted coup as a move to use the Celtic League to attack the Cornish Language Board. (Sept 27th, 2008[114])

The depth of acceptance of this perspective is difficult to judge as it is maintained primarily in anonymous messageboards and private conversations, though even a mainline Kemmyn promoter, Tim Saunders, wrote in a letter to *Cornish World Magazine* that the Standardization process would help Kernewek's (not Kemmyn's) enemies:

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[113] Pennysquire's use of Kemmyn is inferred by reading other posts.
[114] Accessed online at the Cornwall24 Archive: http://archive.cornwall24.co.uk/forum/cornish-language-culture-and-history/who-is-thomas-stevens/page-9/ on Feb 13th, 2012

The most positive outcome it could hope to achieve would be to delay official recognition of our language by several years. At worst, it could derail the enterprise entirely. This would earn them the gratitude of those who wish harm to Cornish and its speakers (Accessed online at: http://kk.kaskyrgh.cymru247.net/kampoell.html).

In 1996, Paul/Pawl Dunbar of the Cornish Language Board accused Nicholas Williams of being "yet another of these 'wise men from the east' who arrive in a Rolls-Royce and are grateful if they can leave pushing a wheelbarrow" (Cornish Guardian 1996); the quote emphasizes Williams' outsider status (from the east, meaning England[115]) and his presumed wealth and prestige.

This perspective which sees Cornwall, Kernewek and the Cornish as an oppressed struggling against English domination is echoed in the propensity for Kemmyn supporters to view the history of the language as one of Holocaust and repression. Earlier in the same 2000 focus group, the moderator asked "why did the language die?" Immediately one of the speakers noted the 1497 Prayer Book Rebellion, the conversation moved away for a moment and then returned with another man stating: "…I'll just put Number One is what [the previous speaker] said is the Prayer Book Rebellion, or as someone has recorded it, the Cornish Holocaust. We lost 11% of our population." The speaker then went on to detail a number of specific massacres and the movement in 1997 to commemorate the 500th anniversary of their deaths. The moderator eventually had to cut him off, but another speaker returned to the issue shortly afterwards, requiring a second intervention by the Moderator to move the discussion forward. These focus groups were carried out amongst users of all three varieties of the language around that time, and while the events of 1497 were mentioned amongst Late users, nowhere near the attention was given; an even greater departure was found amongst Unified users who denied that the

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[115] In the article, "You Can't Spell 'Proper Cornish,' Essex man tells Duchy Audience" was bitterly critical of Williams, citing his Essex origins—not his current status as a Professor of Celtic Languages in Dublin, his bardship in the Cornish Gorseth or his Gorseth Awards.

language ever died at all (MacKinnon 2000a; 2000b; 2000c).

Much of the popularity of the Cornish Holocaust theme comes from the scholarship of historian John Angarrack whose two major books *Breaking the Chains: Propaganda, Censorship and the Manipulation of Public Opinion in Cornwall* (1999) and *Our Future Is History: Identity, Law and the Cornish Question* (2002) have had a notable opinion on popular conceptions of history. Angarrack uses history as a platform for political campaigning, in particular the search for recognition of the Cornish as a distinct ethnic group through bodies such as his Duchy of Cornwall Human Rights Association (http://duchyofcornwall.eu/). Interestingly, Angarrack (who is not, to my knowledge, a user of Kernewek) also engages in forceful criticism of the academics of the Institute for Cornish Studies, especially Bernard Deacon in his 2008 book *Scat t'Larrups?* which was echoed again on Cornwall24:

> …it is rather worrying that, on the one hand, we have a reasonably well supported campaign underway to [ultimately] disseminate real Cornish history into schools and the wider public domain, and on the other hand, people like Bernard Deacon being effectively paid by the state to suppress vital aspects of that history. (Post by "Sentinel" Oct 19th 2008[116]).

The last years of the 20th century were characterized by a highlighted interest in Cornish ethnic activism. The publications of John Angarrack, beginning in 1999, were joined by the commemoration of the Cornish Holocaust of 1997, the formation of the mass movement Cornish Solidarity in 1998 to preserve the last tin mine in Cornwall and promote ethnic rights (Green 1998) and the Operation Chough campaign in 1999 by Cornish ethnic right group the Stannary Parliament which removed English Heritage signs throughout Cornwall as an act of civil disobedience (Guardian 2002). These movements present a vision of an oppressed Cornish ethnicity, a colonized people forcibly held within the English state as opposed to earlier views of the Cornish ethnicity as a parallel partner in the project of Empire abroad (such as in Cornish participation in mining). In the process, the Cornish Holocaust of

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[116] Accessed online at the Archive: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:GACTHqu9KpcJ:www. cornwall24.co.uk/discussion/topic4039.html+Bernard+Deacon+watch&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-

the 16th century becomes the defining moment in Cornish history, which diminishes the value of later history (for instance Late Kernewek) and erases the Cornish complicity with the crimes British Empire.

The coalescence of this oppressed triumphalism—which both celebrates glorious Cornish history while views itself as a 500-year victim—intersected deeply into the Kernewek Kemmyn movement and the overall Medievalist project. For example, amongst the 26 participants of the 2000 Kemmyn Focus Group, there was a strong overlap between promotion of Kemmyn (rather than simply its use), interest in Medievalist History and Commemoration, a belief in the Cornish Holocaust and the phenomenon of name-changing[117].

This intensely political role of Kernewek Kemmyn is an area where it diverges from both Unified—which was created with an explicitly non-political ideology—and Late—whose proponents have a tendency to look towards Civic rather than Ethnic nationalism[118]. The primary goal of Civic Nationalist activism, a Cornish Assembly built upon the Welsh model, is promoted by not only Mebyon Kernow (the Center-Left Cornish Nationalist Party) but also the research of the Institute for Cornish Studies (Deacon, Cole and Tregidga 2003:107); in contrast, the ethnic nationalism of the Stannary Parliament, the 1997 protests, and the writings of John Angarrack, tend to focus upon the restoration of autonomous Medieval institutions and the recognition of a Cornish ethnic group which has legitimate

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[117] Evidence for their "promotion" of Kemmyn comes from the fact that 4 would sign a petition calling for Kemmyn to be recognized as the single standard and 6 would members of the Cornish Language Board (Kesva) by 2012. Evidence for their "interest in Medievalist history and culture", is due to the fact that 19 were bards of the Gorseth including one former Grand Bard and at least five were active participants in the 1997 commemoration of the 1497 uprising and one had taken a Bardic Name commemorating the leader of that revolution. Moreover, two were sitting members of the Stannary Parliament, which promotes a restoration of the Medieval institutions. One is known for his poetry remembering the Cornish Holocaust. As for name changing, three had used adopted Kernewek names on the list and one individual was known to have done it on other occasions. Naming changing as a phenomenon within Medievalist Kernewek, especially Kemmyn, is covered in depth in Chapter 5.

[118] For instance: Bernard Deacon, Julie Tamblin and Neil Kennedy tend towards the center-left, civic nationalist perspective while still recognizing the existence of a distinct Cornish ethnicity. Deacon has worked with Mebyon Kernow party head Dick Cole and fellow Institute academic Garry Tregidga to produce a work entitled *Mebyon Kernow and Cornish Nationalism* (2003). That said, Late users in the 2000 MacKinnon Late Focus Group did mention the events of Holocaust—though not using that word and incorporating them into a larger narrative of economic and cultural exploitation which included the mass emigrations of the 19th century (MacKinnon 2000b).

historic grievances against the state[119].

Since 1985, Kernewek Kemmyn has been transformed in such a way as to emphasize its use as a symbolic marker of difference and then applied in situations where it serves to eliminate Cornish-English ambiguity and harden ethnic lines; examples of this include (1) the renaming of individuals and places to make their names less English (e.g., Camborne → Kammbronn; John King → Yowann Byghan); (2) the replacement of English words with Kemmyn inventions or borrowings from Breton; (3) the creation of a spelling that visibly departs from English conventions and a concurrent emphasis on the sight of the language over the sound of it; (4) the emphasis on pre-Cornish Holocaust Medieval Kernewek as opposed to the supposedly English-corrupted Late Kernewek. These topics will be returned to in future chapters, especially "Chapter 5—What's in a Name" and "Chapter 6—Sight and Sound".

The Emergence of Late Revived Kernewek

At the same time that the Kernewek Kemmyn project re-examined the root documents of Unified Kernewek in order to promote its speakability, another group broke off from the main branch of the Revival—the Medievalists—to create a radically new form of the language called Late. Late was built upon a different cultural package than Medievalism and, in a sense, was more tightly grounded in the Lifestruggle view of Cornwall. This package can be synthesized as early as a *Laugh and Learn*, a 1988 textbook by Dick Gendall's. It features: (1) an emphasis on pronunciation, (2) a heavy use of borrowed words from Cornish-English, (3) a rejection of Medievalism, (4) a valorization of common folk. He states that the most important part of learning Cornish is learning how to speak and that his Late (he calls it Traditional) Cornish is the best for that as it is linked to dialect words, placenames and the West

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[119] That said, in interviews all of the Cornish Ethnic Nationalists I interviewed would support an Assembly if the option was presented, though typically as a first step in the pursuit of further autonomy up to (in some cases) complete independence.

Penwith sound that he assumes his readers are familiar with. He states that "the traditional language is so much easier than the mediaeval Cornish found in many books of the language revival" (1988a:2). He does not agonize over spelling, saying that students should spell as they would write in English[120].

The importance given to sound in *Laugh and Learn* was nothing compared to Gendall's other textbook from 1988: *Cowz en Euhall* ("Speak Up!") (1988b). The book took a radical turn from previous Cornish textbooks as it includes no English outside of the introduction and is completely integrated with the cassette (which can operate without the book, but not vice-versa). Here the focus is on learning by combining images and sounds. Responding to the Kernewek Kemmyn production of new words he both discarded a number of medievalisms and neologisms in favor of words of "international character" such as "teevee"(TV) instead of the Kemmyn "pellwolok." According to Gendall, this was a search for authenticity over invention as it is "untampered with by theorists"—a direct swipe at George and his associates (1988b:1). He states that the key is to look at the illustrations, listen and repeat, "make an effort to imitate [sounds] correctly and unashamedly" (1988b:4).

It is important not to repeat the mistake of observers (such as Williams [1995]) who equate Late Kernewek with Dick Gendall; Gendall was undoubtedly influential, especially in the earliest days and as a symbol of continuity and source of wisdom remains important[121]. However, others were involved in setting up the *Cussel* ("Council"), teaching the classes and producing the new materials. Despite a loose structure (see chapter 6), the *Cussel* serves as a force of continuity and legitimacy for Late Kernewek, creating a single standardized Late spelling in the 1980s and reforming it in the early 2000s.

Later publications, such as a later textbook, *Deskans Noze: A Cornish Course for Beginners* by

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[120] Gendall's willingness to 'play' with pronunciation is evidenced as early at a Cornish lesson in Cornwall Magazine from April of 1962 (V 4 No 12) when he writes out a conversation in "English syllables" with notes on pronunciation and stressed syllables, this was followed by a version in Unified Cornish and a literal word-for-word translation into English. He continues this "imitative pronunciation" again in the next edition (May 1962 V 5 No 1).

[121] Such as in 2007 when Mina Dresser (who is introduced in Chapter 4) insisted that I travel out to visit him.

Neil Kennedy (1997) echo Gendall's emphasis on sounds and words drawn from Dialect, an unapologetic borrowing of words with international currency and a rejection of Medievalism. *Deskans Noze* is also based off a Welsh textbook (*Dosbarth Nos*) and focuses upon the use of cassettes and notes that Late Cornish allows for considerable variation in spelling.

However, the Late project experienced significant problems in the early 2000s with the departure of Neil Kennedy from Cornwall and the transfer of leadership of the *Cussel* to Mina Dresser. At the same time, Gendall by this time quite elderly, began to retreat from the public stage to private study. In a highly unfortunate coincidence for Late Kernewek, the *Cussel* disintegrated just as the Standardization movement began in the mid-2000s. The inability for the *Cussel* to turn out large numbers of supporters to some public events and hearings and its declining number of classes,[122] reinforced the argument made amongst Kemmyn supporters that Late Kernewek was a minority among a minority and did not represent a legitimate strain of Kernewek thinking.

These arguments against Late Kernewek also take measure against its diversity of spellings—in particular the fact that Dick Gendall has produced a number of mutually contradictory spelling systems—which they equate to the diversity of historic spellings which they use as fodder for their reconstruction. The 2006 Policy Statement of the Kesva ("Language Board") notes that historically there was a "great variety of spellings, none of which individually fully reflects the wealth of sounds inherent in the language" and notes that late Cornish "was severely confined numerically, geographically and socially" (2006:14)—the position that there are numerous historic spellings and that the Late varieties of the language (as encompassed in contemporary placenames like Camborne) are corruptions was an argument made in 1988 by John King/Yowann Byghan in his campaign to erect the

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[122] Despite a heroic effort around 2006 by Mina Dresser to teach, on average, a class a day.

Kammbronn Sign.[123]

A Comparative Approach to Understanding the Orthographic Debates

Orthography "is where outside influences can be symbolically banished, where the internal consistency

and systematicity of the code can be displayed and policed, and where social actors can, through their

conformity, invoke the presence of a social and linguistic authority" (Jaffe 1999:217). Drawing upon

her research on the island of Corsica, Jaffe examines how the desire to have a single "unified,

authoritative, written Corsican" standard is part of a political project undertaken by a minority of

intellectual nationalist elites to establish and legitimize the boundaries of the nation and then discipline

its content. Like in Cornwall, the emphasis on writing is directly linked to an emphasis on form over

content (the primary theme of Chapter 6).

Their work is not, however, uncontested. Corsican identity—including language ideology—has

long been connected to an anti-authoritarianism which resists disciplining and Corsican language

activists have faced an uphill battle in instituting their standard upon the Corsican populace. Jaffe

describes a particular instance of this diffused resistance in the form of a public spelling contest in

1988. Organizers of the contest attempted to demonstrate a vision of the Corsican community where

literacy—especially in the standard—is widespread and cuts across class boundaries and where

regional diversity is subsumed into national unity. This perspective, however, was regularly

undermined by the statements of the participants themselves, by their unrepresentative nature (they

were overwhelmingly intellectuals) and the continual emergence of regional variation (Jaffe 1999:222).

In Haiti, debates throughout the 20th and 21st centuries over the standardization of Kreyòl

(Creole in English) echo Jaffe's observations about the relationship between orthography and

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[123] In which he was sternly opposed by the Institute for Cornish Studies and Richard Gendall.

national/ethnic boundaries. Haitian linguists divide into two camps: pro-etymologists and pro-phonemicists. The pro-etymologists seek to standardize Kreyòl using a base of French orthography, believing that "the orthographic system must be linked to a culture, to a tradition," despite the fact that some Kreyòl sounds—in particular rounded front vowels—do not translate easily into French graphs. The pro-phonemicists, on the other hand, seek to create an independent orthographic system for Kreyòl which has no connection to French and seeks to accurately and simply depict Kreyòl sounds. These debates are deeply connected to Haitian history—and its role in the imperial adventures of both France and the United States. Those who seek to emphasize the connection to France accuse their opponents of attempting to Anglicize Kreyòl, particularly because of the use of Anglo-Saxon graphs of "W" and "Y" in order to facilitate the conversion of the nation from French to English, and from Catholicism to Protestantism (early pro-phonemicists were North American Protestant missionaries); their opponents claim that they have "Frenchified" the written language, alienating it from the speech of the poor and valuing French culture over Haitian (Schieffelin and Doucet 1992).

The Kreyòl debate raises the question of what is the definition of authentic Haitian-ness and both sides can be seen to be attempting to place boundaries and legitimize their view of the nation. Like in Corsica, in Haiti the debate revolves around the nature of a language under the dominance of French, however, this is not a Francophonie-specific phenomenon, but is built into the process of standardization itself, especially within colonial and post-colonial settings where language has become a tool for simultaneous nation-building and nation differentiation (that is, from the colonial power).

The desire to utilize orthography as a tool of mental decolonization is not a uniquely Kernewek phenomenon by far. As Thomas notes "in historical moments where a spoken language can be represented by more than one script, that visual difference […] generally marks a political difference as

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well" (2007:938-9). Useful comparison can be made to standardization of Tagalog in the Philippines.

Like in the case of Kernewek, Tagalog advocates in the late 19th century promoted rival spelling

systems, which were linked to differing visions of the nature of the Philippines and Filipinos.

Curiously, one of the dividing lines was over the use of the letter "K," which "in part because of

histories of colonialisms and the languages attaching to them, the letter "K" in particular is a site of

ideological, anti-colonial contestation" (Thomas 2007:939). Thomas, in fact, notes the similarities of

the two cases:

> Advocates of reviving the Cornish Language are divided over which spelling system is best; one of the significant issues is whether or not to use the letter 'K'. The advocates of the 'K' [Kemmyn users] (like their predecessors in the Philippines) are champions of a system based on rationalized representation of basic phonetic units, and argue that the spelling is simpler and more accurately follows pronunciation. (Thomas 2007:955)

Thomas was apparently unaware of the ongoing standardization of Kernewek in 2007, where the very

question of visual differentiation came to a head and the letter "K" was adopted. Her analysis of the

role of orthography to decolonize through a breakage with both the colonial language and the

connections to a pure Classical spelling, in the case of Kernewek, the spellings used in surviving texts

which were drawn upon by both Unified and Late but not Kemmyn (2007:953).

We can thus observe that the pressures within the Kernewek community—to differentiate

Kernewek/Cornwall from English/England, to make Kernewek modern, to maintain fidelity to tradition

and to ease the learning process for students of the language—are widespread, finding distinct but

parallel expressions in contexts as widespread as Haiti, the Philippines, and Corsica. Throughout we

can see that orthography was continually utilized as a primary tool for setting the boundaries around

language/nation and policing its content. Simultaneously, and not paradoxically, this process of

boundary setting/policing was largely invisible as it was hidden by an ideology which stipulated that

languages are natural phenomenon outside of the realm of human manufacture and that the goal of

orthography and linguistics was to capture, represent, preserve or re-institute this natural product.

Chapter 4: "Because They Are Cornish"

Five Views on the Usefulness of a Minority Language

This chapter addresses the difficulties which language activists face when usage of their tongues in the public space is seen as legitimate only on the grounds of either economistic measures or for their place within the framework of cultural heritage. This is especially problematic for minority and lesser used languages which face difficulties meeting criteria for the first category and often find the second constrictive. In contrast, I argue that when we examine the narratives of users of a minority language, we see that neither category is prominent, and that the usefulness of the language is often tied to its ability to provide a role in removing perceived ethnic ambiguities and authenticating their particular cultural projects. While this appears, at first glance, to overlap with the idea of heritage, I will demonstrate below how the static, backward-looking nature of heritage would constrain many of these contemporary projects and limit the usage of the language in such a way as to potentially prevent its widespread, everyday adoption.

Amongst the Cornish people—even many language enthusiasts—there has been a long-standing belief that Kernewek, the Cornish Language, serves no useful purpose. By examining and comparing the narratives of four users of Kernewek and one non-user, I will challenge the notion of Kernewek's uselessness and instead focus upon the ways that its users dynamically employ it in their everyday lives without, however, necessarily utilizing it as a medium of communication. Instead, I will demonstrate that Kernewek study and use is always located within a larger project of social transformation—where speakers attempt to alter themselves, the Cornish ethnic community or the geopolitical organization of Cornwall. Like any statement of language ideology, these choices are informed by the cultural context, in particular the Lifestyle and Lifestruggle spectrum I outlined in chapter 2. Moreover, these projects

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are situated within the positionality of the user, influenced by factors such as kinship (in particular belonging to Cornish families), religious affiliation, ethnic identification, and personal histories of migration which influence the choices they make regarding preferred form of the language.

I recognize that oral history—the telling of one's life stoy—in this style is not a human universal, but instead a genre of performance. As such, it is not suited to all research contexts (Tonkin 1992:56). However, in Britain and, especially amongst this community so immersed within the folkloric tradition, the genre of oral history interview is one they are intimately familiar with (in some cases having conducted themselves). Unlike in, for instance, a West African rural context, where oral history may be a foreign genre, I believe that it is the best way to obtain oral information from the community as it is a form of indigenous oral performance (Tonkin 1992:54).

Useless Heritage

Minority languages face many challenges in the 21st century—from outright oppression to difficulties surrounding conversions to Unicode[124]—but one of their most ubiquitous problems is a perception that they are without usefulness. For instance, when the BBC opened a forum in 2010 on "Are Dying Languages Worth Saving?" they received mixed responses—some passionately in defense of minority languages, but others taking a more critical tone:

> **Kerverticus**: As a teacher of sciences in the West Highlands of Scotland, I consider the levels of support for teaching Gaelic to be unsustainable without impacting on my ability to provide sound USEFUL education for the world of work. […] Sorry, the world moves on and things drop by the wayside for everyday use.[125] [Emphasis in original]

> This criticism judges the usefulness of language study based upon economic criteria: whether it

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[124]Unicode is the universal system by which computers recognize particular written symbols. For languages with distinctive scripts (or even a single distinctive character, such as the /ə/ ["schwa"] in Azeri) making their script readable by computers is often a challenge. For more on the problems faced by Azeri users:
http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai104_folder/104_articles/104_alphabet_nightmare.html

[125] http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/haveyoursay/2010/09/are_dying_languages_worth_savi.html

leads to employment (for the individual) or economic development (for the community). Minority

activists working under these criticisms have responded by searching for the economic benefits, such as

in greater tourist interest in the Scottish Highlands (MacKinnon 1984; Kallen 2009) and educational

benefits for bilingual children in Wales (Powys Council). However, the coupling of usefulness with

economic success tends to limit the scope of the debate and leaves language enthusiasts up for criticism

as the same educational benefits can be acquired through the acquisition of a more economically

important language such as German, Chinese or French.

On the other hand, when language activists do often emphasize the cultural benefits—for

instance advertising by the Welsh Language Board that Welsh speakers will "have more appreciation of

Wales' languages and cultures" (byig-wlb.org 2007)— this type of benefit is typically seen within the

rubric of heritage. The conversion of a cultural activity in Britain into the domain of heritage

simultaneously freezes it in time and implies a separation of it from everyday, lived experience; Wright

describes how, in the English Midlands, the creation of mining heritage sites and commemorations in

the coal mining regions was resisted by some ex-mining populations as it reframed the activity as one

of the past, not a part of the present or the future (1992). For activists seeking to promote everyday

uses of minority languages, languages that have been segregated into the domain of heritage can never

fully satisfy their desires. This chapter aims to address this issue of usefulness and pragmatism

amongst a community of minority language users in Cornwall in the United Kingdom. Amongst the

Cornish people—even many language enthusiasts—there has been a long-standing belief that

Kernewek has no useful purpose and ought to exist primarily within the province of heritage.

The "Useless" Language

Henry Jenner, antiquarian, linguist and arch-monarchist, has been credited by many in the Kernewek

Movements for being the Father of Revived Kernewek because of his publication of *The Handbook of the Cornish Language* in 1904. In that book, the first textbook ever produced for Kernewek, Jenner faces one of the longest, thorniest problems in the Movement:

> Why should Cornishmen [sic] 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 Cornish. (Jenner 1904 [2010])

The shades of Jenner's observation "there is no money in it, it serve no practical purpose" continue to echo a century later. Since I began fieldwork in 2006, I have interviewed 60 individuals[126], attended numerous language classes and events and yet never encountered a student who took the language for what they identified as an economic or purely communicative purpose, such as travel or speaking to a partner's family or obtaining a job—motivations common amongst students of other, more widely spoken, languages. The reason for this is quite obvious: Kernewek does not exist as a community language where these particular domains of use would become salient. Moreover, while I did encounter Kernewek students who took the language "for something to do" or because "they liked languages," I never found them above the lowest levels of language study and were amongst the least committed participants. While I did encounter some students who explained the cognitive benefits of bilingualism—and these were never their sole reasons for learning Kernewek—these benefits to not address the question of why Cornish as the benefits are presumably identical for any second language.

Jenner's question remains a rallying cry for the Movement, providing a simple answer to what remains the most pernicious problem for the language. In my research, the automatic nature of this response—I heard it dozens of times—actually became a methodological problem: how to get beyond the answer "because I am Cornish"? This pursuit for a more nuanced answer became the heart of this chapter, which compares the narratives of four students and users of the language in order to probe

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[126] All involved in Cornish nationalism or heritage preservation, roughly half users of the language.

deeper at the motivations and beliefs of these individuals and, through them, to patterns for the movement at large. Furthermore, it examines the articulate argument against Kernewek by a proud Cornishman, showing that the connection because they are Cornish does not apply universally.

This does not mean that learning Kernewek does not serve practical purposes or that it is an entirely symbolic marker of heritage. In the narratives below, Kernewek will appear not as an end to itself, but as a tool for broader cultural change. This transformation is directed towards three objects: the self (for Dee Brotherton and Julie Tamblin), the Cornish ethnic community (for Martyn Whitford, Mina Dresser and Julie Tamblin) and towards the geo-political unit of Cornwall (for Julie Tamblin). Moreover, this transformation is informed by the broader social position of the student: her or his ethnicity, family history, religious affiliation, and personal story of migration.

Five Interviews—Five Projects

Between 2006 and 2011, I interviewed over sixty people in Cornwall who were involved in the Kernewek language, as well as activists in the areas of Cornish heritage and nationalism[127]. From this total population, I have selected five interviews with Kernewek users, Dee Brotherton, Julie Tamblin, Mina Dresser and Martyn Whitford, and one with a non-user, Adrian Rodda. These five interviewees were chosen for their range of backgrounds (Martyn is a young man, Julie a middle-aged self-employed woman, Dee and Mina are female retirees and Adrian a male retiree), experiences with the language (Adrian has never studied it; Martyn is a new student; Dee is a mid-level student; Julie is a language teacher; Mina is a leader in one of the language organizations) and for their variety of spelling system commitments (Dee uses Unified, Julie and Mina Late and Martyn Kemmyn). The hope was not to create a representative sample or examine typical individuals as to show a range of perspectives and

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[127] During this period I combined semi-structured interviews with participant observation, archival research and study of the language itself. This chapter draws primarily upon the interviews.

backgrounds and how a specific example connects to wider cultural contexts.

In the previous chapters I have examined the large cultural currents present in Cornwall, which lead to strikingly different understandings of the land and the people. I linked observations tentatively to the question of language ideology, but held off on examining what might be the most important connection between language and the other areas of culture: that of subjectivity—one's sense of self. This chapter aims to begin bridging that gap, by showing how four individuals have utilized Kernewek within the context of the Lifestruggle/Lifestyle dichotomy to engage in broad cultural projects.

More important than their demographic profiles is the fact the each is involved with Kernewek as part of a larger project of change. For Dee, this is a project of personal transformation as she comes to embrace her new home and become progressively more Cornish at the same time giving back the community that she has embraced. Martyn's project is similarly private, but slightly larger in scope: he sees the traditional Cornish identity of his grandparents crumbling and Kernewek as a tool for transferring that identity within the private sphere and, eventually, to a new generation. Wider still in scope is Julie Tamblin who is simultaneously engaged in a project of constructing a more Cornish self but only as an element in a much wider project of ethnic and ecological survival for which she has thoroughly engaged in the public realm to the point of running for office for the Cornish Nationalist Party. For Mina Dresser, Cornish identity is unambiguous and assumed while Kernewek is a way of protecting the wider Cornish ethnic community and taking the place of a dying Cornish-English Dialect as a marker of identity and difference. Finally, Adrian is concerned over the projection of Cornwall's legitimate historical triumphs and sees the promotion of Kernewek as, at best, a distraction from a more authentic history. These projects, which overlap while retaining their distinctiveness, reveal a wider articulation between involvement in Kernewek and motivations in the areas of ethnicity, subjectivity, politics and class. Moreover, I will demonstrate how they connect directly to the larger narratives of

Lifestyle and Lifestruggle in contemporary Cornwall.

Dee Brotherton: Kernewek in the Context of a Project of Self Transformation

For those who have moved to Cornwall from Up Country (England), Kernewek can be one element of an attempt to, in the term of my next interviewee (Julie), Kernowize[128] themselves. Dee Brotherton moved to Cornwall a few years ago, having completed a successful career in the music industry and seeking to move closer to her mother who had retired to west Cornwall. However, she admitted a deeper attraction to Cornwall because the place had been appealing in childhood holidays, and in visits as an adult. Today she lives in a large, beautiful home on the outskirts of the famous tourist town, artist colony and (former) fishing village of St. Ives. Since moving to St. Ives, the Brothertons (Dee and her husband Dave) have become deeply enmeshed into the artistic life of the community: for instance Dave is the chairman of the St Ives September Festival, an event dedicated to music, poetry, film and literature. Together, they have formed *Bagas Porthia*, a Celtic-influenced musical group that performs at town events. Over a cup of tea, Dee explained the process by which she came from being a newcomer to a full-scale participant in the Cornish movement and the Kernewek language. Dee's story had a narrative style to it, she aimed to tell me how she had been transformed and described it as a series of steps, the first of which involved moving to Cornwall and reconnecting with a place of her childhood:

DB: …we wanted to make the connection with Cornwall straightaway, anyway this went on, again I still [had] no knowledge of any real connection to Cornwall, I just knew that I wanted to be here and one of the most emotional experiences for me the first year down was when I started to explore the area for walking, […] we[129] walked all over the back of where I live now and the area called the seaport [?] and I came across a, a footpath sign which said "Halstown" and I remembered when I was 14 I went to Halstown. I mean I'd obviously been back to

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[128] "Kernow" is the Kernewek word for Cornwall, so to "Kernowize" is to make one's self more Cornish. The use of the Kernewek language version also implies an adoption of a more nationalist perspective as the term "Kernow" implies difference from England while "Cornwall" does not.
[129] "We" in Dee's narrative almost exclusively means Dee and her husband.

Cornwall many times but we hadn't actually around this area until we came here to live. After all this time and I said to my husband "I'm going to go up there" and I found the footpath across the fields and then the old kissing gates, they call them kissing gates you know the gate swings, there's no latch but you walk through it and squeeze around and close the gate behind you […]. And I found these kissing gates and I realized that I had walked there with my friend when I was 14 and the fisherman's cottage and it was so overwhelming that there were tears because I remembered all that wonderful time and that energy that I felt and I don't think that I've ever felt that sort of thing before, so I can feel myself getting emotional [laughs]. Now Halstown has changed of course, there's a big campsite up there, but, the cottages are still there!

The linear nature of this transition can be seen in the first line when she refers to her future discovery of Cornish heritage—"again I still had no knowledge of any **real** connection to Cornwall."

From this discussion of an immediate connection to a place from her childhood, Dee's narrative seemed to veer down a tangent as she explained her desire to have a religion that connected her to her surroundings and how, here in Cornwall, she found it in Celtic Christianity:

DB: We believe in Christianity, now we consider ourselves not particularly strong practicing, but Christians. And I like this, this idea of what people are calling 'Celtic Christianity', which is a feeling of more connection with nature, more connection with the soul, respect for men *and* women in equal measure, ah, I'm very critical of some of the Church of England teachings where, and its still going on now, with the more conservative priests, where women are put down and women are meant to feel, now it's not just Christianity, it's other religions too, treat women as second-class citizens. Now, I just love this idea of Celtic Christianity where you could celebrate the Earth around you, in a grounded way, in a spiritual way. And there seems to be a lot of people that are like this.

This apparent aside is, in fact within the overall narrative of her internal evolution: she was breaking away from her old traditions—in this case "Christianity" refers to the Church of England, with all its associations in her mind of patriarchy, conservatism and ecological exploitation. She is setting the stage for her big discovery, the real connection that she referred to several times earlier in her interview: her explorations of her family history, and the discovery that she is, in fact, a descendent of a Cornish family:

DB: But I still didn't know about my Cornish family, anyway my, ah, my mom had said to me "I'm

sure that you've got some Cornish connections on your father's side" and so I went to try and find out, um, at that time the, ah, I just want you to know Jesse that I, that it's marvelous fun now to go on the Internet for family history people can go and look up their family history, but at the time Ancestry which was the, ah, Brand-name if you like of the government website for births, marriages and deaths was just about beginning to come online. […] So I found a connection with my grandfather on my Dad's side […] and that really was the start of my wonderful journey to find out about my Cornish background and, um, I've actually started to do a family tree, um, I've studied, mostly on the Internet, and I got a lot of my relatives back to my, to the late 1700s, which is fabulous.

This "wonderful journey" into her Cornish background, transformed hers from an Englishwoman into—perhaps not Cornish—but something in between, and, importantly, into a person with a deep, organic connection to the place where she found herself. At this point, however, she had still not taken up Kernewek, but found the move from family history to language as a natural part of her evolution:

DB: So all these things and all these emotions were just pulling at you, all the time, all the time. And, um... we just, I just stop trying to explain it and I just put it down to, "well I've got Cornish ancestry, that must be it." And um, on the matter of the Cornish Language, to me it was just an obvious next step to do.

Dee worked hard doing research, reading histories of the language and about the debates between the various factions, eventually settling upon Unified. She says the original decision "partly because of the tutor," but she feels increasingly more comfortable: "reading now, like I said, the Nicholas Williams[130] account, it does make sense to me, the version I've chosen." Dee, now the leader of a Cornish music group *Bagas Porthia* ("The Group of St. Ives"), is found in all sorts of music and language events: parades for the Gorseth ("College of Bards"), neo-pagan tinged Midsummer/Winter festivals in Penzance, language weekends, traditional dance and music fundraisers for the language, folk festivals and elsewhere. In my busy fieldwork schedule, rarely did a week go by without bumping into tireless

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[130] I assume this is Williams' *Cornish Today* (1995), a well-known polemic attack against the dominant Kernewek Kemmyn of the day and an early academic defense of Unified.

Dee at one event or another.

According to her own narrative, Kernewek served as one—key—element in her self-transformation from a holiday visitor into a woman who belongs to the place. Dee's project of redefining her place in the world employed Kernewek as a practical tool to continue the work that had begun with internal emotional connection to the place and its music, evolved through philosophic examination of the dominant religion of her old life and broke new ground via family history.

Dee's narrative fits within a Lifestyle view of Cornwall common among many who migrate there for an improvement in quality of life: she connects to Cornwall on a beach in Halstown remembering blissful summer holidays of childhood, she speaks about a Celtic Christianity which she sees as a softer, kinder form of Christianity, one more connected to the land wary of, but not necessarily outside, the Church of England. She and her husband embrace a community arts scene and he rises to become the chair of the arts festival and she leads a Celtic-themed band. Deacon notes that this is not a new phenomenon, but that the construction of the Celtic Periphery as a tourist destination always incorporated a mixture of "self-satisfaction and anxious regret"—a place where the visitor is both able to recreate his or her modernity-battered self but simultaneously is a reminder of the fears of innocence lost (2007:181).

Within this aesthetic, Dee's conscious choice of a medievalist form of Cornish tied to ornately grammatical Mystery Plays and Arthurian legend is revealing—especially when compared to the choices of a Late spelling system tied to the Cornish-English Dialect made by the next two interviewees. For Dee, whose connection to Cornwall is historical via her ancestors, emotional due to her connection to the land and aesthetic from her enjoyment of Celtic music, it is understandable that she would feel increasingly at home with a form of the language that connects the speakers to a historic period of imagined pure Cornishness and revels in that same aesthetic—itself drawing from the pan-

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Celtic ideas that underpin Celtic music and art.

Julie Tamblin: Kernewek within a project of ethnic survival

I first interviewed Julie Tamblin in her home in 2008; Julie lives in the town of Lostwithiel, an old community with a Kernewek-origin name in eastern Cornwall. Lostwithiel is one of the prettiest places in Cornwall: narrow streets, stone buildings, and a beautiful parish church nestled into a curve of the River Withy. Though not a local by birth (her family is of North Cornwall farming stock), Julie is immensely proud of the community and gave me a tour in one of our later meetings, and afterwards as we ate lunch by the river she explained how it had once been Cornwall's capital, as the seat of Duchy in the medieval period. The place radiates antiquity, not the least because of the old Duchy Hall in the center and the current duke's castle just upriver a few kilometers.

Julie is a professional language teacher, running a language immersion bed and breakfast primarily for foreigners wishing to learn English[131], just off the main street, in a narrow stone row house. She is a petite woman with straight brown hair and a soft voice that belies her iron determination. Whether telling a full professor to watch his language at her dinner table, fighting publicly for the causes of ethnic autonomy and ecological sustainability, or simply refusing to "play the game" of factional politics between linguistic groups, Julie has always appeared to me as a woman who stands her ground—ethnically, politically and linguistically. However, as she began to explain in that 2008 interview, her current position in the world was in fact a result of a years-long project of self re-creation and definition. Like Dee, she gave me an explicit narrative of transformation and while many of the motivators are similar in the two women's stories, Julie came to a very different outcome, both ideologically and linguistically.

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[131] Julie primarily teaches English, but also has immersion classes for the Cornish language and continental European tongues.

For Julie, Kernewek is one element of a larger struggle for survival: of herself, Lostwithiel,

Cornwall, the Celtic Countries, and the World. The goal is to "develop resilience" in her community so

that it can weather the looming ecological crises threatened by the end of the Carbon Age. She

explained this situation in our second interview, in 2009:

JT: It's tricky to integrate areas which could appear to be quite specific and perhaps a bit apart but you and I both know that these are survival issues, but expressed in different ways. The person who'se focusing on writing a dictionary for the Cornish language and the person whose focusing on getting a wind turbine built to support their hamlet, those people have got things in common but because they're having to focus on what they're trying to achieve may not come together or may not see that somewhere else in Cornwall there's somebody else equally concerned about survival but with a slightly different frame of reference on the issue. In my position, I imagine those as one, as one issue. Because for us to survive down here and for Cornish people to survive as an ethnic group, which I believe we[132] are, we've got our own culture, history, language and we have identity, for us to survive, we need to be able to think about where we are in relation to other survival issues like our food security issues and if you're a community in need of energy, we need to think about those practical aspects of our survival and, conversely, for a person who maybe has a focus—at the moment—on constructing a wind turbine so their hamlet can have renewable energy, in order for that to really work and to fit in with the place where we are, it would be helpful for that person to maybe have an imaginative understanding of the cultural side of Cornwall, things that are invisible to the naked eye, like the way that people feel and the way that we psychologically engage with these practical things by our cultural frame of reference. Does that answer your question? I think there is a continuum really, some people may be more positioned on the environmental front and some people may be positioned more on the cultural fronts.

She explained that although "I was born here and my Dad was Cornish," her larger (as she described it)

English cultural frame of reference meant she had to struggle with Cornishness. Julie uses the term

"cultural frame of reference" extensively, a term she draws from her own research in psychology and

psycho-analysis, and uses to sum up the package of beliefs, practices and assumptions of particular

groups—generally the English and the Cornish in Julie's conversations. She also spoke of the

importance of "cultural parents," individuals who taught her the needed cultural frames of reference.

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[132] Julie's "we" in contrast to Dee's, is almost exclusively in reference to the collective Cornish people, or, occasionally, humanity in general

This Englishness was linked explicitly to loyalty to the Church of England, the Queen and the English language. More broadly, it was tied to a worldview that was hierarchical, rooted in a class system, patriarchal and exploitative of the environment. For Julie, the emergence of her Cornish cultural frame of reference was a process that took years of concerted and effort. It was (and is) a fundamentally political project tied to promoting a more egalitarian society. One element was not only joining, but becoming a lifetime member of Mebyon Kernow (the Cornish nationalist party) and standing for election to the Cornwall Council in 2009. After this unsuccessful bid, she explained her motivations to me:

JT: How did I come to get involved in the election? Well… on one level Jesse, it has been brewing up inside me, particularly since I've done my dissertation with Bernard Deacon at the Institute of Cornish Studies on the Cornish Language and my sense of identity as a Cornish person, I've become much more aware of, um, a lot of our issues down here in Cornwall and the fact that I wanted to have a voice in a Cornish cultural frame of voicelessness.

At one point she was approached by members of the local government who asked her to stand as an independent. She turned them down, but not without hesitation:

JT: Did I want to stick to the position of being a life member of MK…and all that goes with that, which I've written about in my dissertation, linking it with the language, the culture and the survival of the Cornish people as an endangered ethnic group. Did I want to act in a way that somehow pretended that I didn't have those ideological beliefs on the hope that I had a better chance of winning the election?

This political project translated into a religious shift for Julie as she first drifted away from the Church and England and then into the Methodist Church. Cornwall has long been a stronghold for Methodism and since the 19th century the faith has been associated with ethnic Cornishness. For Julie, this is an expression of the fundamental character of the Cornish: Methodism is more egalitarian, more critical of the monarchy, more open to the participation of women and more rooted in the everyday community. She has hope, as she sees (to use her words) tenacity as central to the Cornish identity.

But Methodism is more than a theological choice, it is also an aesthetic one: whereas Cornish

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Anglican churches are wreathed in gothic decay and antiquity, and often firmly tied to High Church ritualism, Cornish Methodism is notably Spartan in its décor, minimalist in its ritual and stern in its architecture. It is telling that when Dee Brotherton turned away from the Church of England for many of the same reasons (patriarchy, lack of environmental sensibility), she was drawn to nature-loving, ritualistic Celtic Christianity, meanwhile Julie—whose environmental concern runs at least as deep— was drawn to community-based Cornish Methodism, which has a history of linkage to environmentally destructive industrialism. That said, Julie does mention how her ecological activism is linked to Celtic Spirituality and the Celtic "respect for nature and the past," but she does so within the context of one of the most ethnically Cornish institutions available.

In these passages, Julie shows how her transformation has led to a cohesive political and social philosophy in which ethnic identification, party affiliation, political philosophy (e.g., egalitarianism), language use and religious belonging are deeply linked. She also positions herself within the school of critical Cornish studies emerging out of the Institute of Cornish Studies pioneered in part by her tutor, Dr. Bernard Deacon.

Dee and Julie are both engaged in projects of self-transformation, of shedding elements of English orientation and adopting those of a Cornish extraction. Both women look askance at the Church of England and seek a connection to the land. However, whereas Dee approaches this project from the perspective of a migrant outsider with a Lifestyle viewpoint, Julie's perspective shifts over time to a Lifestruggle one where she comes to understand herself as belonging not only to Cornwall but to the Cornish: her interests are in survival, tenacity, voice, and democracy and she views the Cornish as struggling (economically, ecologically and culturally). She spoke about emphasizing the collective over the individual and continually used the "we" when speaking of the Cornish.

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Mina Dresser: Kernewek within a project of Ethnic Community Maintenance

The anxieties revealed in comments like students with a desire to "top up" (in chapter 1), or in the search for authenticity or belonging in Dee or Julie can be contrasted to the confident Cornishness of Mina Dresser. I met Mina in 2007 after a Kernewek class she taught in the New County Hall, a looming 1970s-era concrete structure on the outskirts of Truro across a bustling traffic circle from a major supermarket. We met in the lobby and she walked me upstairs to the Trevithick Room, a small, plain, wood-panelled meeting room with windows overlooking the parking lot where she taught her class. Mina's class—three people were present the day I stopped by—was small, but not abnormally so for Kernewek.

Mrs. Dresser is a small, ginger haired, energetic retiree who at the time taught seven Late-Modern classes a week, was the secretary for the *Cussel* (the "Council," which promotes and regulates Late Kernewek) and has written a grammar book. She considers herself Cornish and British but not English; she does not call Cornwall a county and is suspicious of the monarchy.   She's only known the language for five years, but was in the diplomatic corps learning languages since the '50s (she knows six others) and is a native Cornishwoman from St. Ives, facts she credits with her rapid uptake of the tongue.

Mina believes Late Kernewek is the most accurate as it doesn't make up words, instead borrowing from Dialect and Standard British English; she gave me a comparison: "airplane" in Late is "ayrplan" while in Common it is "jynn ebron," which translates to "flying machine." She emphasized that it was more conversational and the closest to what her everyday Cornish ancestors spoke, as opposed to a high Medieval form used by priests and monks. However, she speaks Late Kernewek because the Late language teacher was the closest to her home, a very common occurrence—we'll also see that this was the primary driver in Martyn Whitford's choice as well.

As we settled into the formal interview, I asked her about her reasons for learning the language and getting involved in the Movement, she told me that while she studied Kernewek for ethnic reasons, it was not because she needed to be more Cornish:

MD: First of all, I am a Cornish woman. I was born St. Ives in Cornwall. Have you been there yet? [...] And in my day, everybody went to higher education of course, [but] **there was no university education in Cornwall and likewise there were no jobs** either. [...] And then I married a British man and in those days we were not allowed to continue with our career if we wanted those things. Anyway, um, so I have been wandering around the world ever since and five years ago, my husband retired, so we always had to have somewhere for our children to have a base, although we did have a base in London for a while. At any rate, we decided to come back. And now I have learned, I think probably now six or seven languages, so it leads to greater languages. Now, when I lived here before, there was nothing about our Cornish identity. It was never mentioned. It took quite a long time to get read about, I mean I am very pleased to see we have. [...] But I have **always been very proud of being Cornish** because I have traced my ancestor's back to 1614 and that was without doing any serious research at all. It in fact took me three visits to the National Records Office in [unintelligible] at the time. So, I have always been very proud to the fact that I was Cornish and if anybody asked whether you were English, used to say, 'No, I'm not, I'm British because I am actually Cornish.' I did not look like an English person anyway because the **English ladies are supposed to be tall and thin**, and that wasn't me, so anyway, so I always very very proud of being, very very proud of being Cornish and then of course my husband was not a Cornish member at the time. [Emphasis Added]

Unlike the two previous women, Mina did not give me a narrative of transformation, while she told me how she came to be involved in Kernewek, she did not become more Cornish through the process. Mina expressed in that passage a well-formed Cornish identity articulated in three ways: (1) through a struggle to achieve an education and decent livelihood, (2) deep family ties which have been reinforced (as opposed to discovered like for Dee or reconstructed as in Julie's case) through genealogical research and (3) the possession of a non-English body—short and stocky.

These three elements—struggle, family ties, and a Celtic body—are intertwined with an understanding of the nature of Cornwall and the Cornish people, which emphasizes Cornish identity as inherited and tied to a life of struggle. Kernewek neither adds nor detracts from this essential nature of

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her character and history, instead, it serves as a support for future generations of the community, as she explained:

MD: I do feel that our children who are now um, losing their Cornish accents anyway. You hardly hear a Cornish accent around and they, I feel that they have to have some sense of being Cornish because it, it's only fair to say to the people that live here that is "your Cornish", and you know, if not, we're going to lose our identity. And um, I think that they... being able to speak Cornish will be absolutely fantastic for them.

This association between ethnic belonging and the Cornish English Dialect was repeated in a number of interviews with older members of long-standing Cornish families. For instance, in an interview with Kemmyn teacher Mick Paynter (who had previously emphasized the long-standing links of his father's family to the town of St. Ives) he explained how his family expressed their Cornishness through Dialect while he was growing up:

JH: Growing up, did your family consider itself to be Cornish? Was it spoken about?
MP: Yeah, it was spoken about, certainly, with the exception of my mother, we all considered ourselves to be Cornish […]. But yes, we did and my family definitely was a Cornish family. […]
JH: How was it expressed?
MP: We always had the idea that Cornwall was special and separate […] When people from the other parts of the United Kingdom would come through town it seemed obvious to us what it was, but people, most people, would still use the Dialect of whatever area they're in and St Ives speech is, or was, particularly recognizable. […] My generation is the last to recognize the old way of speaking.

Mina's goal for the language is for it to be brought into the schools and taught to children—like Julie Tamblin, she is worried about survival, though she does not explicitly use the word, and she aims to take her language and activism firmly into the public sphere through state-sponsored education. However, unlike Julie, she sees this as a holding measure, preserving what exists--a Cornish identity linked in part to Dialect—instead of fundamentally (re)creating society or herself. As I will demonstrate in the chapter on the roots of history, this desire to reconstruct an imagined Celtic past has been a driver behind the Medievalist strands of the Kernewek movement since its earliest days; it does

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not, however, motivate the Modernist strand, which both Mina and Julie participate in. These forms of Kernewek do not imagine a break in Cornishness between the period when Kernewek was a community language and the current day, instead imagining a continuation of cultural identity through the Dialect and traditions crystallized into the private sphere of Lifestyle Cornwall. The final interviewee, Martyn Whitford also expresses a desire to integrate Kernewek into this private sphere, but unlike Martyn, Mina is unambiguous about her Cornishness and does not express in her interview a fear for future generations of her own family.

Martyn Whitford: Kernewek as a buttress for the Cornish Family

I met Martyn through my friend Frances Bennett who translated lyrics into Kernewek for his band Hanterhir. Frances talked up the band for several weeks before we had a chance to see them, explaining that while they had a song in Kernewek, there wasn't anything Celtic-y about them—as she is a Celtic folk musician and a fine fiddler this wasn't a slander against Celtic music but instead an enthused comment on the broadening scope of the language.

Originating out of Redruth, the night I saw Hanterhir they were playing in the Clipper Bar a dingy, dark dive bar in downtown Camborne. The show was during a Halloween party so the place was filled with zombies, sexy nurses, etc. The band, however, was the high point as the four (male) members all dressed as women, tossing sexual innuendos and amusingly pitiful attempts at seduction towards the audience. There was no stage, instead the band played at ground level in the back of a long, narrow space—the floor sloped so much that they were almost a story below the entrance.

The group defines themselves on Facebook as: "some say Hanterhir are a Cornish 'alt-folk rock' group, some people throw 'psyche' into the mix just to be cheeky […] The band plays songs in English and Cornish and are written around both real and imagined stories of peoples lives within

Cornwall."

Midway through their set, the lead singer, Ben Harris, asked "is anybody here Cornish?" and launched into a song in Kernewek despite a tepid response from the audience. However, the lyrics in both languages were largely unintelligible in live performance and if Frances didn't nudge me I probably wouldn't have caught onto the language shift for several lines.

After their set, we joined the band just beyond the stage, on an outside concrete pad where the smokers congregated under sulfur lights on a decrepit picnic table. I was introduced around and the bassist—Martyn Whitford—attempted a Kernewek Kemmyn greeting. It turned out that both Martyn and Ben had studied the language, Martyn formally and Ben through books. Ben, despite being proudly Cornish, was disgusted with the Movement because of the spelling changes. Martyn however was more enthusiastic about the potential of the Movement and agreed to meet me for an interview.

We met again a week later at a quieter, slightly more upscale pub called the Green Room in Redruth. Despite being quite young (27 at the time), he had a light Cornish accent as he explained how his background influenced his involvement with the language:

MW: I come from a Cornish background, my surname is pretty Cornish, in the, um, 1890s there was a survey that found that there were more Whitfords in Cornwall than in the rest of the UK so, um, I'm basically pretty much from a working-class Cornish background. I've got no family members outside the Truro area. So, yeah, mainly tradesmen: carpenters, farmers, etc.

Martyn comes from a classic Cornish family: working class, ethnically unambiguous, locally based but he expressed anxieties about Cornwall and his own relationship to Cornishness.

MW: I think in my Gran's generation there is a Cornishness is a different way, it was sort of a matter of fact that they were Cornish where I think now if you walk through Truro— the capital—it could be, that certain part, it could be anywhere in the UK. […] I think there is a definite interest with people my age now, and some people sort of mock that now, but there is interest—I think there's a lot of English people particularly who are down on it.

This relationship to family, class and ethnicity was echoed by another interview I had with a

young Cornishman, an literature student named Sam Williams who expressed these same interests in family history (going so far as to bring his family tree to the interview) and anxiety that his grandparents' generation was more comfortable being Cornish; unlike Martyn who turned to Kernewek in response, Sam instead took classes in Cornish literature (in both languages) and attended literature events.

For Martyn, though this uncertainty and ambiguity about his identity was only forced to the forefront of his consciousness when he left Cornwall to travel, as many young Britons do in their gap year, a period when education and work is deferred so the young person can travel or volunteer overseas. Martyn explained to me the difficulties expressing this identity with a short story about a bar in Vietnam:

MW: I was in Vietnam in a bar and I don't remember her nationality possibly Dutch, she was a Dutch girl I believe, I'm not sure now but I was with five or six people I've had quite a few beers, I'm traveling, I've been telling these people "I'm from Cornwall, it's a bit like Wales, a part of the UK" and they're going "ok, I've never heard of it" and I'm taking a leak into the trough and its highly graffitied different languages: Korean, Vietnamese, French, I don't know and I'm taking a leak into this trough and I look to the side and someone had scrawled in big letters "Cornish Boys do it Dreckly" in big marker and I'm like "bang! bang!" and I thought "yeah, that's where I'm from."

JH: Did you take everybody in to look at it?

MW: I did take one bloke, yeah. And I said "look I know we're drunk and we're strangers, but there it is!" I took a picture of it, it's on my phone.

Despite this success in a Vietnamese bar, his anxieties about Cornishness continued to manifest while traveling and drove him to turn to the language upon his return.

MW: …I've been learning for about a year, and it's been going pretty slowly. I knew a few words before, that's pretty much it, so it's gone very slowly. As for my reasons for learning… yeah…well, I kinda fancied it for a while and I was traveling and I kept on meeting people abroad and people would say "where you from?" and I'd say "well, you know the UK, but Cornwall it's different from England" and people wouldn't really get it and I'd say "**well it's got a different language**, blah, blah, blah" and I'd go on and people would say "well, speak some Cornish" and I'd say "yeah, uh, right…I don't actually know it." So I came back and started up lessons but it's a bit of a job to find lessons. I'd wanted to start for a long time and I

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found a guy who wanted to start in September but then I come across Conan Jenkin on the internet and he was starting a course shortly after I spoke to him, so yes. [Emphasis added]

This interest in promoting Cornwall and Cornish difference expanded to involve his musical hobby and the creation of Hanterhir:

MW: I think that Ben and myself—the singer—but to be fair I don't think the other two are very interested [in Cornishness]. They're both Cornish, but neither are that worried. There's no real, there are people doing Cornish music down here, but I don't think anyone really is doing alternative folky music like we are.

Ultimately, Martyn sees Kernewek as a tool not for the complete, public transformation of Cornwall, but instead as a tool for maintaining personal relationships amongst Cornish people in private conversation. He explains:

JH: What would you like to see happen to Cornish?
MW: Just spoken more. I've got no interest in it being "only speak Cornish not English," I'm not worried particularly in that, it's more for it to be spoken more in a sort of recreational way, I'm not sure if that's the right word, but it's gotta be spoken in the way some people in Wales speak Welsh. It's not "I'd like a beer please" or to the random passers by, but people meeting in the pub and speaking it as a second language and probably learning it as a second language from a young age probably helps a lot.
[…] I see [studying] as a long term project and, hopefully become fluent, and **when I have kids, bring them up speaking Cornish**. [Emphasis added]

He continues, expanding this discussion to talk about his hopes for Cornwall in the future:

MW: Cornwall, in my view, would be a worthy part of the UK, much like Wales and Scotland […] you've got to weigh in certain basics [...] you've got to weigh up certain business angles, I think Cornwall could play a fine role in the UK it just needs its own Assembly needs to be taken a bit more seriously, like Wales. So personally, I don't want to see it independent.

For Martyn, his anxieties over Cornishness—compared to relative easiness of his grandmother's identity—is compounded for future generations. He does not speak about sweeping public changes, independence, complete language shift, etc, but the maintenance of an identity he encountered within the family sphere and its slow expansion towards public recognition (being taken "a bit more

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seriously"). In this vision, Cornwall is fundamentally still Cornish and does not need a recreation or restoration of Medieval purity, but instead a wider acceptance by its neighbors. While he cites evidence similar to Mina Dresser and Dee Brotherton, who both mentioned the importance of genealogical research, his is only a brief aside to justify the consideration of his surname amongst the list of Cornish families. This is a matter-of-fact element, reinforcing what he already knows (much the same as with Mina Dresser), not a ground-breaking discovery like it was for Dee Brotherton.

Bernard Deacon has written about the retreat of Cornishness into the private sphere—in particular the family—that took place during the collapse of the Cornish mining economy and the concurrent deluge of English tourists and in-migrants (2007). This Cornishness is defensive, guarded and revels in old glories—it is deeply connected to the Lifestruggle narrative, traditional ethnic Cornish identity and the period of Cornish history that Prof. Philip Payton called The Great Paralysis (1996). Martyn's narrative connects to this understanding of Cornishness and sees Kernewek within a context of ethnic maintenance in the most limited of spheres.

Unlike Mina, Martyn does not wholeheartedly adopt Late Cornish, but his entry into the Kemmyn school was not an ideological choice. He had difficulty finding a teacher and Conan Jenkin—a Kemmyn supporter—was convenient; moreover, he reinforced later that while he is aware of the spelling debates, he just hopes for a compromise:

MW: I wouldn't say I follow the particulars of [the debate], but I understand that there is different groups of people who want to spell it one way but I think ultimately if you need to get the language on—you can sit there and debate—but ultimately there has to be a compromise, cause if Cornish is ever going to be taken seriously it will have to be spoken in a certain way and you've gotta kinda encourage the Council to let it be spoken in schools, you need a unified language which is what they're trying to do and I totally support that. Plus if you learn the language one way and they learn it another way then you've got two spellings and you need to unify to carry the language to the future.

This desire for a form, any form, which all parties could agree upon was widely held amongst

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Kernewek users who were more interested in having a common language than the form that language took. This was particularly true for many casual or new students I met, especially Kemmyn users like Martyn, but could be found at all levels of the movement.

Adrian Rodda: Kernewek as a historical artifact

My fifth example differs from the others in that he has never expressed interest in studying Kernewek and, although he is quite intimately familiar with the Revival, has always viewed it with reactions that range from bemusement to frustration. Yet, at the same time, he is profoundly—even unquestionably— ethnically Cornish in a way that many of my other interviewees might envy. Moreover, I will demonstrate that his ambivalence is not due to a lack of interest in Cornwall, as he is deeply committed to the cause of historical and archaeological preservation in Cornwall. It is, in fact, these two facts— his Cornishness and his concern for preservation—that undermine the legitimacy of Kernewek in his mind. While he is certainly unique, his lack of confidence in the Movement reflects a wider distrust amongst the traditional ethnic Cornish community.

I met Adrian Rodda on the first day of my second fieldwork season, in 2007. A mutual friend offered to pick me up from the airport upon my arrival and when she arrived, she was driven by Adrian. Adrian is a tall, good-natured man with silver hair, a light Cornish accent and a pedagogical approach to life that betrays his decades as a schoolteacher. His particular enthusiasm is for the past—both archaeological and historical—and this fondness came through on our first day. Instead of driving me home after my transatlantic flight, Adrian treated me to tea, gave me an afternoon tour of the antiquities of North Cornwall, and then drove me to a poorly attended concert of traditional music in a little Methodist chapel deep in the Clay Country.

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I ended up living a mere five minute walk from Adrian's house and was invited to join him numerous times in the following years: trips to ruins recent and ancient, to academic events, to walks with him and his dog Jake and dinners with his extended family. I also had the pleasure to interview him formally on three occasions.

Adrian is indisputably Cornish. This starts with his surname—Rodda—which is also the brand name of the most famous variety of Cornish clotted cream. He was born in Redruth to a poor, working class Methodist family who worked as tin streamers, a profession where the worker washes fragments of tin out of the wastewaters of the large mines. He told me how he grew up in one of the small stone row houses typical of the Central Mining District without running water. As a young man from a deeply Methodist background, he felt the calling to become a minister, a profession he eventually rejected for the field of education. He attended university outside of Cornwall and became an English teacher. He married an Englishwoman from a considerably more well-to-do background and they had three daughters. Eventually, after twenty-one years in England, he returned to Cornwall, where he worked at a local secondary school until his retirement shortly before we met.

During the period of this research, Adrian was the newspaper editor of the Cornish Archaeological Society, a volunteer guide at a historic site owned by the National Trust, a certified historic interpreter and an enthusiastic participant and leader of archaeological walks, digs and conferences. His interest in ancient Cornwall often drew him into contact with language enthusiasts, Nationalists and Neo-Pagans who are all drawn to Cornwall's ancient history (especially its numerous standing stones). In a 2009 interview, he commented on the similarities between the Nationalists' Gorseth and the Neo-Pagan ritual noting:

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AR: The made-up ceremony that the Bards have, that's hard to take seriously, the swearing on the sword and they make it a matter of policy that they do this, generally, at an archaeological site. I think recently they've gone to places a bit more modern, but usually they're at stone circles…

Adrian's political philosophy is far from Nationalist and harkens back to an earlier Cornish Liberalism. He is a believer in rationalism and universalism, traditions with deep roots in Cornish working class communities, especially Methodists. This included an egalitarian streak that emerged when I called him as an "intellectual" in an earlier paper—a label he strongly rejected and still pokes fun at me about today. I asked him whether Cornwall's culture was worth preserving and he responded:

AR: I'm not sure what Cornwall's culture is. It's a difficult [question]. Is culture the same as values? Is it singing and dancing? Is it attitudes? Which, I suppose, are like values. Is it a tradition of a separate language? Which has been lost and was made up again. I'm not sure what the culture is, I think I'm personally I'm much more interested in Pan-European culture and values. The minutiae of different languages doesn't mean much to me at all, it's what people have in common. So should it be preserved? No, I don't like anything which distinguishes one person from another, I'm afraid I'm all for uniformity [laughs] no not uniformity. I'm for... common tongues. I think if I'm prouder to be European than to be British than to be Cornish. I think it's absolutely wonderful—I was born in the Second World War—that we can find things in common with Germans and Austrians and Greeks and Italians and the contribution that they, [pauses] my argument against bothering at all with the Cornish Language is that it hasn't got very much literature it doesn't have very much to show us and I'd much rather put my time into learning perhaps the literature that Spain could offer us, or Italy, what that's contributed to us, to the way we think, to the writers, their influences on our language, to the values and the political and democratic institutions that comes to us from the Greeks and Romans, and the music from the Germans. […] I think we're just a small part in a very big jigsaw.

Adrian related to me the first time he encountered the Kernewek movement. He had recently returned to Cornwall and was interested in getting involved in the archaeological community—something he had done previously with his students in England—and attended a public meeting of the Cornwall Archaeological Society:

AR: I sought to rejoin the Archaeological Society, I saw a meeting advertised and went along to it. It was in Truro Museum, and there were still a few people that I recognized, but I'd grown, this

was, whew, eleven, twelve years along. Yes, I was about forty then, it was 21 years after I left Cornwall, so I didn't expect them to recognize me. I went into the room and was spoken to in Cornish, which I couldn't understand and then I found myself surrounded by people who spoke Cornish and because I couldn't join them, they didn't want to know and they weren't going to make an effort to speak English. And I thought 'oh my God, the lunatics have taken over the asylum!' I was so annoyed that I didn't go again for years, I didn't attempt to go. [laughs] Yes I didn't go. It wasn't until after I retired and went to an evening class that I was persuaded to go again, yeah.

JH: Did you find that they still spoke Cornish?

AR: Nope. Nobody does. [laughs] Thinking about it, I suspect that because our Society has a joint meeting with the Gorseth once a year, I suspect I walked in on that and walked into where the Gorseth people sit, rather than the sane ones [laughs]. But I didn't know that at the time, but they were just so—not only unwelcoming—but so, [ah] outrageously antagonistic.

It would be easy to guess, and perhaps some Nationalist readers would assume, that Adrian has no real connection to his Cornishness, no sense of place or ethnic self. However, he has a more complicated relationship than that. We were speaking of his life in England and he told me "I just longed to come back here [to Cornwall], to come back to the sea, come back to place where you can walk." Moreover, he—like Julie Tamblin—spoke with the ethnic we; when speaking of Roman archaeology in Cornwall he disputed "the assumption that the Romans didn't touch **us**" and when discussing Medieval history he argued that the Cornish Holocaust theory is "the thing that's been adopted by those who want **us** to believe that **we're** different, that **we've** always been different and been knocked around and abused by the English [laughs]" (emphasis added). Adrian is not alone in being both self-consciously Cornish and anti-Nationalist, one elderly Cornishman responded to a description of my research by saying "there are some strange folks among **us**."

I asked Adrian what he would like to see in a Cornwall of fifty years in the future and he responded with a statement that echoed many working class nationalists I spoke with:

AR: There would still be a deliberate effort made to teach and explain the part that Cornwall played in the major events of history and the way particularly the Industrial Revolution, perhaps the Celtic Church, main features like that. There would be less of the differences, there would be interest in language, the Cornish Language, insofar as it would help to interpret placenames, but I would much rather that the effort and money was put into getting children to be bilingual in

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French, German, Chinese than in Cornish. I would say the same in Gaelic, Irish, whatever, why go backwards? There would be still kind of a vernacular architecture which is based in stone and granite. There would particularly be a preservation of the industrial archaeology, like the mines. [...] We'll move on, it will be different. I hate to see everything looking like an aircraft hanger, [laughs] but it will happen I'm afraid.

In this argument, Adrian draws upon the Lifestruggle approach which values Cornwall's industrial history. Even though he himself is rarely engaged with any non-prehistoric archaeology, when asked what is most important to preserve, it was the industrial remnants that came first to mind. We spoke about the house where he volunteered—about its relevance in the modern era—and he explained that "It does show that in 16th century, Cornwall was not the back of beyond [...] we were not always backward, we were leaders and things, just as later we were with Industrial Revolution"—a similar argument to that made by those who place the image of Trevithick, not Denzel, up as the ideal Cornishman.

Adrian thus presents us with an interesting counter-example to those we have seen earlier: Cornish but not nationalist, concerned about history but unimpressed with Revival. For him, nationalism is associated with the World War of his childhood, a barbarism that he hopes will be absent in the new, united Europe. Unlike Julie, Adrian does not trouble himself deeply with the survival of the Cornish people, though he does sincerely hope that their gifts to the modern world, in particular industrialism—like the Greeks' gift of democracy or the Germans' of classical music—will not be forgotten in the coming years. This is his project, one of preserving the authentic triumphs of Cornish history and ignoring the chimera of a dead, literature-less language whose only role might be helping scholars understand the meaning of placenames.

Comparing Narratives

This chapter began with the widespread assertion, common even amongst proponents of Kernewek,

that minority languages are "useless." I argue that this perspective which equates use with economistic analyses, such as hiring potential of students or economic development in minority areas, is too narrow to encapsulate the reasons why minority languages are adopted and defended. In the process, these explanations tend to portray the users of minority languages—themselves often already derided by national majorities—as irrational.

Instead of looking outwards towards economistic explanations for participation this chapter has been engaged in an exploration of the subjective reasons for participation in the Kernewek Movement: how users of the language feel about themselves, what motivates them and how they envision the future. Oral history is a particularly useful tool in this context because as the tellers develop their narrations—give reasons for their authenticity, describe themselves and form their reputation—they articulate themselves as social subjects (Tonkin 1992:50). We can see that users of Kernewek are motivated by pragmatic goals aimed towards the transformation of themselves and their communities; in fact, in the case of Julie Tamblin's narrative, this transformation is aimed towards an entire world threatened by ecological devastation. Even the one interviewee who rejected Kernewek, Adrian Rodda, did so within the context of his own project of promoting what he saw as a more authentic expression of Cornish genius.

I demonstrated that these transformative projects are not isolated from the broader social currents in which their participants live. In particular, I have focused on two currents related to the larger social dynamics in Cornwall, the "Lifestyle" and "Lifestruggle" perspectives. While these perspectives infuse involvement in the language in all of the movements divisions, they do not play out mechanistically to influence membership in the language factions. Instead, the choice of spelling form is complicated by numerous factors: availability of classes (like Martyn, who struggled to find any teacher at all), attitudes of friends and family (such as Dee's choice of teacher based upon a connection

through friends), and an ideological evaluation of the authenticity of the form itself.

However, this usefulness is not monolithic in nature, nor does it vary idiosyncratically with its users. Instead, we can see that the positionality of the user interacts with his or her linguistic project. I identified the following salient variables: ethnicity, family history, religious affiliation, and personal story of migration.

While traditional Cornish nationalism has asserted that students of Kernewek study the language "because they are Cornish," the ethnic character of students is not so simple. Dee Brotherton was openly English and both Martyn Whitford and Julie Tamblin faced anxieties towards their Cornishness. Martyn, confident of his Cornishness while in his homeland, found himself increasingly challenged while abroad, to the point that he turned to the language upon his return. Julie Tamblin was even more explicit, utilizing Kernewek in a highly pragmatic manner as a part of a wider project of self- and community-transformation away from destructive, hierarchical Englishness towards sustainable, egalitarian Cornishness. Mina seemed confident in her place and instead looks to Kernewek for its potential within a wider Cornish community. Adrian further breaks down the assumption that Cornishpeople study Kernewek, because despite his strong sense of belonging, he sees no need to bolster it with the language.

Family history also played a key role amongst interviewees with all of them discussing their backgrounds to a greater or lesser extent. For Dee, the discovery of Cornish heritage was a moment of "real" connection to the place which authenticated her earlier emotional and aesthetic ties. Mina also saw her heritage as part of her fundamental connection to the place, though this was not a discovery but instead a long embodied characteristic: she saw Cornishness not only in her ancestors but in the characteristics of her body. Martyn speaks about his Cornish grandparents and ancestry, noting how much easier it was for earlier generations that for people his age but never questioning that their

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authentic ethnic character had been conveyed to his generation. For Julie, her mixed English-Cornish parentage was a source of anxiety (from the English side) and authenticity (from the Cornish side), a dichotomy that she sought to undermine by eliminating her English cultural parent—reinforcing the kinship metaphors. Adrian was the only interviewee to not emphasize his family roots, in fact he would often proudly tell me about his extended family in places like Indonesia and Australia.

Religious affiliation was not as explicit amongst interviewees as the previous two, but existed "behind the scenes" as it were. For Julie, the choice *was* obvious between an English/Anglican/Royalist religious affiliation and a Cornish/Methodist/Celtic Nationalist one. Julie's disenchantment with the Anglican Church was echoed by Dee Brotherton—however, she responds not with stern Cornish Protestantism but by an engagement with Celtic Christianity. Adrian too has an ideology rooted in religious practice; although he is no longer a practicing Methodist, its liberalism, universalism and egalitarianism continue to influence his thinking.

Finally, there are the stories of movement and migration. None of the interviewees had geographically static lives, even Martyn who has lived the majority of his life in Cornwall, has spent time abroad and, significantly, marks on the importance of his travels for his current perspective on the language and culture. The other four interviewees all spent considerable time outside of Cornwall and are marked by this. Dee Brotherton, who was born outside of Cornwall, fears that she has no authentic connection to the place because of it, and Julie Tamblin notes that the fact that she was brought up within its borders reinforces her legitimacy as a Kernewek user. Adrian's time outside was marked with longing for the place but he values the educational opportunities that leaving afforded him.

These factors play dynamically within the narratives of the five interviewees, providing them each with a unique set of tools and challenges and changing their approach towards Kernewek. They also framed their goals in regards to the language. However, we can see amongst all of them two

primary similarities: first that the language is not an end unto itself, but instead a piece of a larger project and second that the learning of Kernewek serves to eliminate perceived ethnic ambiguities for those that have them. For some, like Dee and Julie, these ambiguities are within themselves, as each woman possesses a body caught (to a greater degree for Dee and a lesser degree for Julie) between two perceived poles: Englishness and Cornishness. For Martyn and Mina, however, this ambiguity is perceived within the wider society caught in a generational flux. Both seek to utilize the language to bolster the distinctiveness of their communities, places which they acknowledge were far more self-assuredly Cornish a few generations ago. As Martyn put it, his time abroad led him to realize that for his "Gran" Cornishness was "sort of matter of fact," while for him "you walk through Truro—the capital—it could be […] anywhere in the UK."   Without questioning his own belonging and that of his family for generations, he seeks to buttress Cornishness for the future (including his own not yet born children) through learning the language and using it in his folk-rock band. It is not a surprise then, that the one interviewee who valued the dissolution of ethnic boundaries and lauded the growth of a pan-European sentiment, Adrian, also rejected the authenticity of the Revival.

These differences in positionality and motivation are reinforced by differences in form of Kernewek, in particular in the dichotomy between Medieval and Late varieties of the language.

For instance, Dee comes to the language from the outside, coming to Cornwall because she is attracted by a place of fond childhood memories, delightful holidays and the promise of post-retirement relaxation. Dee embraces Medieval Kernewek and becomes increasingly at home in it as she immerses herself in the Celtic culture in which it is enmeshed: Celtic music (liker her band Bagas Porthia), Celtic Christianity and a connection to the land and history. For Dee there is no organic connection to Cornwall—when she eventually does find one (to her delight), it is deep in her family history. Dee must jump generations to connect to Cornwall, much like the Medievalist Kernewek she speaks, which

leapfrogs over the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries of Cornish history to create ties to the pre-Reformation era.

In contrast Mina's Late Kernewek is tied to the Cornish Dialect of miners, fisherfolk and farmers. She is comfortably unambiguous of her ethnic status and that of her family over generations and sees an organic connection between herself and the last speakers of the language. Her legitimacy in being Cornish was never questioned ("I have always been very proud of being Cornish")—in fact she read it into the nature of her body which she contrasted to "English Ladies" who "are supposed to be tall and thin." Similarly, only Late Kernewek fits in Julie's Cornish identity (in fact she tries out the other two forms and ultimately rejects them as inauthentic) because of its relationship to still-existing Cornish communities that she seeks to protect and invigorate. Even Adrian, who has much in common with Julie and Mina, directs his criticism primarily at the most important institution of the Medievalist movement: the Gorseth ("College of Bards").

Jenner's assertion that one learns Kernewek "because they are Cornish" resonates with many of today's learners. Yet, it does not address the fact that, as we saw in the Dee's case, it may be that in learning Kernewek one *becomes* Cornish. For many, the situation is more accurate described as Yowann Byghan, a passionate advocate of Common told me: "I wanted to *learn* Cornish because I wanted to *be* Cornish" (emphasis in original).

Beyond Cornwall: Heritage Languages in Mexico, Mauritius & Scotland

While the Cornish situation is unique, minority languages around the globe are caught between the conflicting categories of useful languages on the one hand and heritage languages on the other. At times this dichotomy appears openly in the statements, such as the comments by an online poster across the globe in Mexico named Zacatecana in a 2011 forum discussing Mexico's 2011 official translation

of the constitution into 13 indigenous languages[133]:

Zacatecana: It does not make sense to waste time and money on translating the Constitution to these languages that as time goes on will eventually be lost. However, it has sentimental value to the native populations that by history have been made to feel like they are not citizens of Mexico. I read that this was such a big deal to indigenous people that they celebrated in their own traditional ways. […] Besides, it is important to conserve these languages, [in my opinion]. They are part of our cultural heritage.

Zacatecana expresses the same a fundamental tension in this post as we can see amongst Cornish users caught in the strange paradox of celebrating their language's uselessness. On the one hand she agrees with the previous poster who wrote "That's ok, but they can read it? I am sure 98% of Mexican population, indigenous or spanish speakers aren't read [sic] the mexican constitution. For me do it this is a HUGE WASTE OF MONEY." Yet, she immediately qualifies the earlier statement with the line "it has sentimental value" and "they are part of our cultural heritage." Notions of heritage serve to cut off the target of the 'heritage' label from the everyday lived life—it becomes a thing to preserve, place in a museum and erect bulwarks around to keep from the modern world (Wright 1992).

This tension between economistic rationales and neoliberal arguments for the value of multiculturalism and heritage creates a situation where users of minority languages can come to overemphasize the heritage value of their tongues to the point of, like Henry Jenner, celebrating their uselessness. This phenomenon is not limited to Britain but can also be seen in Mauritius, where Hindi and other Heritage Languages are taught not for their communicative uses but as tools for directing the cultural character and moral framework of the nation. On the island, a French-based Creole is used for the day-to-day business of life across ethnic and religious communities. It is envisioned as bastardized and impure by many (especially in the Hindu-dominated government) and is allowed to evolve freely. Hindi, however, is seen as founded in sacred texts and creates a link to the ancestral land of India;

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[133] The project also translated the National Anthem and the Magna Carta. http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/660310.html

considerable energy has been expended by government and Hindu nationalist figures to freeze Hindi as Heritage and eliminate outside influences (Eisenlohr 2007). Similarly, Haeri (2003) describes the Classical Arabic/Egyptian Arabic diglossia in Egypt and shows how Classical Arabic has been frozen into the state found in the Quran and become elevated beyond the reach of everyday speakers, a province of experts and clergy.

As we saw in the bitter comments against Gaelic in the opening section of this chapter, Kernewek is not alone in being thought of as useless, it is, in fact, a characteristic of attitudes towards minority languages throughout the globe. These attitudes towards languages—useless, "a waste of money"—come to also be equated with the speakers of those languages (Bucholtz and Hall 2003).

However, in the above analysis of the role of Kernewek in the lives of its users, we can see that the language serves neither the economistic role of promoting economic growth or personal job acquisition, nor is it employed for its place within the heritage of users[134]. In my interviewees, I asked how interviewees wished to see the ideal Cornwall of the future. I never heard an argument for "no change"—a heritage, preservationist vision—from Kernewek activists thought it did sometimes appear in the statements of activists in other nationalist pursuits, especially archaeology. In fact, for many users, born into ambiguous circumstances in regard to Cornishness, its position as part of their heritage is up for debate. For an interviewee who has moved to Cornwall and studied Kernewek as an adult, the backward looking goals of preservation often have less emotion connect as it is not their heritage to be preserved.

Instead, Kernewek serves as a tool for change, pragmatically and strategically deployed against

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[134] At least not in the contexts described within their interviews. There are a small, but potentially growing number of artists and professionals who utilize their ethnic identities within their professional careers and who deserve further investigation. The artists described here—Martyn and Dee—certainly employ their Cornishness in their work, but neither seems to gain considerable economic benefit from their activities.

areas of perceived ethnic ambiguity. While difficult to measure quantitatively, minority activists have long utilized these symbolic changes to leverage for concrete political and material change (e.g., DeValle 1994; Curtin 2009). Interviewees differed greatly in their positionality in regards to both the language and the Cornish ethnic identity, but shared a desire to harden the ethnic lines in particular areas of their life. For some it was an internal struggle to make themselves more Cornish (and less English) and for others it was directed outwards to the ethnic community at large or the geopolitical unit of Cornwall.

Kernewek is not alone in being deployed as a practical, forward looking tool for societal change. For instance, for years, Basque activists have organized the Korrika, a cross-country run to raise funds for Basque language education. Throughout the run, not only is the language utilized in speech and writing, but it is also symbolically represented, especially in the form of a baton passed from hand-to-hand. The run cross all of the contemporary borders dividing the imagined Basque nation. The message is clear: the Basque language unites the Basque people and language education is the tool for realizing this as a political reality (De Valle 1994). If the promoters of Basque were limited to economistic measures—"how does Basque help the economy or its user's income"—or heritage goals—"how can we preserve what we have and celebrate it unchanging"—they would never be able to imagine the sweeping politico-cultural goals of national unity or sovereignty. Moreover, a scholar only looking for economic or heritage uses would be baffled by Korrika, which neither rmakes economic nor heritage sense as it does little for the economy and is relatively new and cannot be construed as tradition.

Jenner's assertion that one learns Kernewek "because they are Cornish" resonates with many of today's learners. Yet, it does not address the fact that, as we saw in the Dee's case, it may be that in learning Kernewek one *becomes* Cornish. For many, situation is more accurate described—as Yowann

Byghan, a passionate advocate of Kemmyn told me— "I wanted to *learn* Cornish because I wanted to *be* Cornish" (emphasis in original). This groping towards Cornishness is peculiar to a particular type of Lifestyle approach to Cornwall, as the Cornishness of Lifestruggle Cornwall is largely assumed (or, at the least, comes more easily). In describing the Catalan movement, Llobera notes that nationalism "is never purely the stuff of cool rationality" (2004:57) but is shot through with affective, emotional attachments; this chapter builds upon that analysis by not assuming those ties, but instead showing how they are constructed and connected to particular visions of the future.

In the following chapter, I wish to turn this gaze outwards to the public sphere to see how this project of social transformation—of the self, of the Cornish and of Cornwall—plays out and how it is related to the process of becoming Cornish. I will focus specifically upon the phenomenon of naming and renaming which has been prevalent in the Kernewek Revival since its earliest days and show how these public projects once again are rooted in social phenomenon that are simultaneously deeper and broader than they first appear.

Chapter 5: What's in a Name?

This work opened with a discussion of conflict over spelling of the Kernewek Language—in particular examining the fierce debates that surrounded the respelling of the town of Camborne. I demonstrated that there are three factions involved in this spelling debate, each with a different vision of not only how Kernewek should be spelled, but justifications for why that is the case. This was connected to the concept of language ideology, or the fact that each of these factions embodied a different way of understanding language in general, and the political and social roles of Kernewek more particularly. The second chapter turned away from language to view Kernewek within the larger landscape—literal and imaginative—of Cornwall. I examined how this landscape is viewed in remarkably contrasting ways, which I referred to using the shorthand of Lifestyle and Lifestruggle. The third chapter examined the history of the language until 2002 and the fourth surveyed interviews with four users of the language and explored their motivations and beliefs in depth, in the process showing how involvement in the language is tied to larger projects of transformation—of the learner, Cornwall and the Cornish people—which are themselves rooted in the contrasting viewpoints of Cornwall explained in the second chapter.

In this chapter, I return to language ideology in order to demonstrate how these belief systems underlying the three Kernewek factions—Kemmyn, Unified and Late—come into play in the ongoing debates over naming and renaming in Cornwall. In particular, I wish to show how, for some, this process is driven by anxieties over the ambiguous nature of Cornwall, the Cornish and Kernewek and a desire to impose certainty upon their world.

Building upon the idea of Kernewek's usefulness in projects of transformation which I detailed in the previous chapter, I will show how the use of Kernewek in the public spaces of Cornwall is

typically motivated by goals other than the conveyance of meaning through the content of the language. I will expand upon this observation to demonstrate how three distinct uses of Kernewek—symbolic, instructional and conversant—are approached by the three factions and their goals for the transformation of Cornwall. This analysis will return to the theme of place names and show their intimate connections with personal names, both first names and surnames[135]. I will show how traditional naming practices, especially the emphasis on Proper Cornish surnames both reinforces the ethnic identities of some and marginalizes others. I will demonstrate how the phenomenon of self-renaming, concentrated in particular forms of Kernewek, serves as a bolster against this marginalization and creates new forms of belonging. Throughout, I will show how these broad, public uses of the language tie back to the narratives of transformation and language that were featured in the previous chapters and the uncertainties caused by the overall confrontation between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle Cornwall. I will link this localized phenomenon to the broader linguistic questions of indexicality and the ability of a name—in this case consciously chosen—to mark associations between the labeled (i.e., the place or person) and certain forms of ethnic belonging.

Kernewek—Symbol of Identity, Teaching Tool or Means of Communication?

On a wet, gray morning in September 2010, I was seated in a small, rather run-down laundromat in Camborne when a man in his late sixties came in to clean the bedding for a vacation rental property he and his wife operated. He would later explain that she cleaned the building between guests while he cleaned the bedding. He put in his laundry and we began to chat; he was surprised to find an American so far from home and he said to me in a matter-of-fact way: "we Cornish aren't English, you know." I decided to play a bit dumb and told him I had heard that but asked him what made them different.

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[135] "Surname" is a British term, commonly used in Cornwall, for what is referred to in American English as a "last name"

"Well, we have a language" was his reply and he launched into an impromptu lecture on Kernewek greetings and how to decipher the meanings of exotic Cornish placenames—words like *Carn Brae* ("Rocky Hill") or *Chyandour* ("Water House"). In the way that he presented them, the names of the places were a dual lesson: one in the Cornishness and Non-Englishness of my surroundings and secondly in the history of the landscape. For instance, he asked rhetorically, "why was it called 'Water House'?" and then examined a number of possible reasons, each of which led to a different interpretation on the historic role of the community.

A week later, a different elderly companion and I were leaving a supper at his daughter and son-in-law's home. All of them are proudly Cornish and are involved in promoting Cornwall on the European scene, but none are able to speak or read Kernewek. The son-in-law walked us to the door and when my companion turned and said "*Tre genes, nos da*" ("Farewell, Good Night") the younger man replied with the same. As we walked down the darkening streets, past the old miners' cottages, I asked him if he knew of the Kernewek classes that were taking place in an old Methodist chapel nearby; he replied that while Kernewek was important he was far too busy with his other Cornish work to find the time to take a class. However, he did take pride in using a few phrases he had memorized for greetings and farewells in both conversation and in his written communication. He laughed and told me that sometimes people thought he was fluent because of how he used the language in his letters, but that he had to refer their questions to the experts. However, he said that he wanted to give the impression amongst those non-Britons with whom he worked that Kernewek was alive and important.

As we continued down the street I noticed that one of the road signs we passed was bilingual: "Centenary Street/Stret Centenary;" in this out-of-the-way corner of an overwhelmingly English-

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speaking community[136], the bilingual sign could not be much help in navigation. These signs are increasingly common as the Cornwall Council has a policy of replacing damaged or outdated signage with new, bilingual versions.

In these examples—a Cornishman asserting a linguistically-rooted identity to a foreigner and tying it to a sense of place, the apparently casual use of the language through stock phrases and its appearance on street signs—one can see that Kernewek is of symbolic importance to many people of Cornwall, independent of their ability to creatively construct grammatically sound sentences. The language has become a crucial element of the region's identity in the latter half of the Twentieth Century, not because of a statistically salient increase in fluent users, but because of its ability to mark Cornwall as distinct—though whether that distinction is ethnic, cultural or political depends upon the context and the observer.

In the previous chapter, I quoted Henry Jenner's famous line: "there is no money in [Kernewek], it serves no practical purpose, and the literature is scanty and of no great originality or value," to challenge the widely-held idea that there is no useful reason to learn Kernewek. This emphasis on the utility, or lack thereof, of Kernewek has long slowed the expansion of the language into public spaces. The dominant political philosophy of Britain in the modern era has been rationalism, liberal capitalism and the rule of law (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). Both in Jenner's time and today, a primary argument against the use of non-English languages in the United Kingdom has been an economic one: there is no profit in them. For instance, MacKinnon (1984) details the decline of Gaelic in the late-20th century as linked not to repression, but to the desire for social mobility, which

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[136] In Cornwall I never met anyone who could use Kernewek that was not fluent in English; Camborne does have a growing population of non-English speakers, however, they tend to use Polish, Estonian, Latvian, and Portuguese—the only signs of these languages I saw were on a closed Polish restaurant and a struggling Portuguese one.

was seen within the Gaelic-speaking community as linked to use of English.

However, through the examination of the narratives of my four language users, I showed how each of them studies Kernewek as a component of a wider project of transformation. This pragmatism, which strategically uses Kernewek as a tool, extends beyond the mere subjective transformations of users (featured in chapter 4) to the language's growing place in the public sphere as evidenced by roadsigns throughout Cornwall, state recognition, its growing use in schools and by non-Revivalist entities like businesses, clubs and the media. In the examples above—the old man at the laundromat, my friend with his stock phrases and the bilingual roadsigns—the use of Kernewek is not outside of a social context: it always attempts to accomplish something in the wider world.

This idea of examining usefulness of language has found root in the field of sociolinguistics in the realm of speech acts. A foundational concept of socio-linguistics, early pioneers of speech act theory called for an analysis of language based upon fundamental units of communication (the speech act) which accomplished a single action, such as asking for the pepper at the dinner table and then receiving it (Searle 1969). More nuanced analysis of speech acts revealed how people used language to accomplish all sorts of goals, including making themselves look good, convincing others of the rightness of their opinions, giving warnings, etc.

The analysis of the conflict surrounding roadsigns in Cornwall, like the Camborne/Kammbronn sign, benefits from viewing the sign as a type of speech act: a discrete unit of communication which attempts to achieve an action in the world (Kallen 2009:272). The typical actions associated with roadsigns, such as warning of danger or informing drivers of distances, do not necessarily apply to these bilingual signs. This does not mean that they do not serve their creators' goals and by elaborating the potential uses of these signs, we can better understand why the users of the various forms of Kernewek, each with presumably different goals for the language, can have radically different reactions

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to them.

While it is possible that other uses exist, I have observed three primary uses of Kernewek in the public space—most prominently in signage, but also in performances of the language like my friend's stock phrases in letters and greetings. I have named these categories: Conversant, Instructional and Symbolic. These categories overlap to some extent with the Informational (Conversant) and the Symbolic functions in Landry and Bourhis (1997). These three categories of use and their relationship to form and content of the language are summarized on Table 5.1.

The first, **Conversant**, is the use of the language in the way that we generally understand it: as a medium for communicating information between two speakers or writers/readers. Landry and Bourhis refer to this function in signage as Informational, though they limit its application to information about the limits of a linguistic group's territory, while I use it in a broader sense to examine all content-based communication; in a simple sense it refers to the command to Stop implied within a stopsign (1997:25). This is by far the rarest use of revived Kernewek today, occurring only in a few ritualized public situations, in private conversation between users who know each other and in a handful of pre-planned social events. In Conversant speech the *content* of the speech is the most important element and the *form* is more fluid. In the Conversant speech I would hear at gatherings of individuals from numerous Kernewek factions, there was considerable variation of form that rarely gave cause for note, much less debate or incomprehension. For instance, while living with Late Kernewek user Neil Kennedy in 2010 and '11, we organized a number of weekly *Te ha Tesednow* ("Tea and Cakes") events where Kernewek users of all factions from the neighborhood were free to stop by for informal conversation and (of course) tea and cake; similar events called *Yeth an Werin* ("Language of the People") occurred in pubs on a monthly or biweekly basis throughout Cornwall—there are perhaps as many as a dozen a month at any given time. There were three regulars at these events: Neil, his friend Gus Williams and Matthew

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Clarke. Despite the fact that Neil and Gus used Late and Matthew Clarke (and some of the other

guests) used Kemmyn, they only rarely misunderstood each other's meanings in Conversant speech,

despite notable grammatical differences between the forms. The three men would sit around the

electric fire and talk about mutual acquaintances, local and national news and even read poems and

sing songs, in two radically different forms of the language, yet communicate their ideas without

serious problems. This does not mean that differences in form were not recognizable, in fact both Neil

and Gus commented to me on them, but that they did not hinder the primary goals of the gatherings: to

have a space for fluent, conversational Kernewek without continually switching into English to explain

meanings. In particular, they mentioned the fact that Clarke used the verbal construction "yth esof vy,"

while Gus and Neil preferred the form "thera ve" and Gus in particular said he had to do some on-the-

spot translation in his head[137]. To show the significance of this difference, I will give an example from

a written elementary exercise from an online educational forum written in Unified Kernewek (a

Medieval form like Kemmyn), followed by the same line in Late Kernewek[138] and then in Standard

English[139]:

[Unified]	Ow hanow yw Alaister, **yth esof vy** ow tesky Kernowek yn Plymouth,
[Late]	Hanow ve ew Alaister, **thera ve** teski Kernûak yn Plymouth, (dâ ew
[English]	*My name is Alaister, **I am** studying Cornish in Plymouth, (Plymouth is*
[Unified]	(dâ[140] yw genef Plymouth). Aberplym yw hanow fûg. **Yth esof vy** ow
[Late]	dhem Plymouth). Aberplym ew hanow fîg. **Thera ve** redia An Bibel,
[English]	*good to me[141]). 'Aberplym' is the fake name[142]. **I am** reading The Bible,*

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[137] This may be due to the facts that Neil dealt with Medievalists like Matthew on a regular basis via the Cornish Language Partnership or that his level of Medieval scholarship was better than Gus'.

[138] A perfect comparison is not available, so this was constructed entirely using example sentences from the Beginner's Notes from http://www.moderncornish.net/

[139] Note that this direct translation to Late Kernewek is done rather literally and that, in practice, Late users tend to construct their sentences with difference emphasis and word order.

[140] Diacritics like this are employed amongst some Unified users, especially those who prefer Kernowek Standard (KS) (see the Chapter 7), but are not found outside of the instructional context in classic Unified Kernewek.

[141] This construction "[noun] is good to/with me" is typically translated into English as "I like [noun]."

[142] This author, Alaister, this is an interesting comment from a new student. Aberplym is a name for Plymouth created by Kemmyn users and is a construction similar to the "Aberfal" discussed below. His teacher, in Unified, apparently desires that his introductory-level students not only study historically attested names but also teaches them that Kemmyn-origin

[Unified]   redya An Beybel treylyes gans N.Williams.[143]
[Late]   trailez gen N. Williams.
[English]   translated by N[icholas] Williams.

While these spellings show great variation, a skilled user of any of these forms would be able to understand the basic content of what is being conveyed in either written or, especially, spoken Kernewek. Hence we can see that in these Conversant uses of the language, meaning is primarily contained within the content of the sentence (such as the ideologically-loaded statement of whether one studies the Bible as translated by Nicholas Williams in Unified or the one into Kemmyn by the Cornish Bible Project led by Keith Syed). Moreover, Alaister, writing on a Unified messageboard with his First Grade homework probably has no knowledge of other forms of the language, nor in the symbolic significance of terms like "yth esof vy," he is instead attempting to convey information like his name and residence. Similarly, Gus, Neil and Matthew had all known each other for decades by the time I met them in the late 2000s, and were well aware of each others' preference in spelling forms, hence in the conversations they had, these differences in form did not convey significant new meanings that I was able detect or were mentioned in my post-conversation debriefings with Neil. That said, form is not without significance—the very fact that *yth esof vy* and *thera ve* are marked means that their use conveys meaning—but that this meaning is not the primary concern of the speakers and writers.

Table 5.1: Three Uses of Language and their Relationship to Form and Content

Forms of Use	Relationship to...	
	Form	**Content**
Conversant	Weak	Dominant

respellings are "fake."
[143] http://www.cornwall24.co.uk/elementary/topic6566.html

Instructional	Potentially of Equal Importance	
Symbolic	Dominant	Weak

The second category of use, **Instructional**, refers to those uses of the language where it is not the primary medium of exchange, and the content of the Kernewek used is not meant to contain the meaning for the observer, but instead meaning is found in the instructional interpretation of the nature of the language or the history of Cornwall. For instance, I have often engaged in conversations where Kernewek placenames are discussed and described to me; on these occasions, the meaning of the Kernewek is central to the conversation and is meant to convey information about the landscape, about deceased Cornish social patterns or about the nature of Cornwall. My conversation in the Camborne laundromat is a primary example but it came up in many contexts. For example, in my interview with Martyn Whitford, I asked what it was like to take a Kernewek class and he replied:

MW: Truth is it's very interesting, cause coming from a Cornish background an seeing you're, every day you're kind of speakin' Cornish and you don't know it. If you were to say "Penstrays" [sp] or "Pendowr" it means something in Cornish, so you realize when you, Penstrays being an example in fact near Truro I believe it's "open valley" and when you look at it you go "oh yeah it is an open valley." Or I believe Camborne is "crooked hill" or something like that, I'm not exactly sure, you go "oh yeah, when you take away the houses that's what it is." It's interesting from a local level.

Hence, for Martyn, the most enjoyable part of Kernewek class is the ability for the language to teach him about the landscape, to give him insights into the history of placenames. These Instructional conversations primarily occur in English. In Instructional use, *content* is important, but so is *form*—as the teacher aims to convey information utilizing both elements.

The third form of use—**Symbolic**—involves those contexts where Kernewek is employed but there is no need (and perhaps no expectation) that the exact content of language carries meaning, instead meaning comes from the simple fact that it is Kernewek, not English, that is being used. I refer

to this as Symbolic not to denigrate its importance, but instead to section it off for analysis from the main stated goal of the Revival: the promotion Conversant uses. Landry and Bourhis also refer to similar uses as Symbolic, though here they once again have a more limited meaning—their symbolic function is a signs declaration of what languages are acceptable or dominant in a given landscape through placement of text, comparative font size and omission on public signage (1997:27). I have a wider sense of the term, including this type of analysis but other types of form-based analysis. The use of this term, symbolic does not mean that there is no communication involved, but instead what is communicated is the Cornishness of the individual that uses the language, or the place that carries a sign in it. In Symbolic uses, the *content* is largely subsumed under the demands of *form*: as most observers of the Symbolic use cannot understand the content, it is the Cornishness—the form—that is predominant. My friend's stock phrases, Martyn Whitford's band's unintelligible Kernewek lyrics and the bilingual roadsigns are excellent examples of circumstances where the content carried little weight and the usage was predominantly symbolic.

One of the fundamental roles of language is to provide names—labels—for phenomena, and while this idea of language acting as a code for labeling the world is simplistic from a position of linguistic analysis, it does have deep roots in the popular consciousness and, in fact, is the primary way that it operates in Symbolic, as opposed to Conversant, use. Through naming and, especially, renaming, language users often seek to redefine and reshape their social worlds. Throughout Cornwall, this has been most prominently seen in the substitution of the Kernewek word "Kernow" for "Cornwall" in English speech and writing—especially on the omnipresent flag bumper stickers. This widespread naming and renaming reflects an anxiety with Cornwall's ambiguity—is it England or is it a Celtic nation?—amongst a segment of the population. The process of renaming and redefinition with a wold believed to be more Cornish name was referred to by one of my interviewees as Kernowizing, a

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fitting name I will use. The remainder of this chapter deals with these Kernowizing processes in

contemporary Cornwall, a place where Kernewek is increasingly used to replace English in the names

of places, institutions, people and in stock phrases.

"How do we fight back except by insisting on our Cornishness?" Placenames as tools for creating ethnic landscapes

In the mid 1970s, Cornish enthusiast and scholar Richard Gendall published a short pamphlet entitled

"The Cornish Language Around Us" (1975), in which he explored the use of Kernewek in public

spaces. Much of the work is dedicated to traditional placenames, which are overwhelmingly rooted in

Kernewek. Placenames are a perennial source of curiosity and pride in Cornwall and sites likes

"Crows-an-Wra" ("The Witch's Cross") or "Plain-an-Gwary" ("The Playing Place") still attract interest

from tourists and antiquarians. Moreover, they are a continual source of attention from Kernewek users

and Cornish history enthusiasts in general. On two separate occasions, teachers of Kernewek (one

from Kemmyn and one from Unified) told me that a primary reason people start learning the language

is to understand the placenames. Mick Paynter, Grand Bard of the Gorseth and my Kemmyn teacher,

told me that this category of words was one of his first forms of exposure to the language as a boy in St

Ives: "All the placenames were all Cornish, eventually it occurs to you that maybe there are meanings

my father told me some of that, and knew some of it." The interview evidence for the importance of

placenames is supported by a number of books dedicated to the subject,[144] and the fact that most

Cornish textbooks dedicate considerable space to explaining them.

Despite the longstanding importance and folk knowledge about place names, writing in 1975

Dick Gendall was at a loss to direct the enthusiast to find actual grammatically sound sentences in the

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[144] These include Chirgwin, Nance 1963, Padel 1988, Weatherhill 1995, George 1996, Brown and Sandercock 1996, Lyon
and Sandercock 1997, Holmes 2000, Sandercock et. al 2005; Weatherhill and Everson 2009, all of which deal with
placenames across Cornwall. There are and extensive number of books and articles dealing with specific regions, types of
names and individual sites.

language (that is, conversant constructions that convey meaning via content), identifying a handful of shops with public signs and two monuments, both located in isolated areas of the peninsula. Moreover, he openly stated that spoken Cornish is a rare phenomenon and encouraged readers to attend the yearly rituals of the Gorseth, (the College of Bards) or to a handful of yearly Anglican services that featured the language.[145]

A little over a decade later, Gendall writes about the growing spread of Cornish and faces the perennial Jenner Question[146]: "Why learn Cornish?" He responds:

> Because it is ours and it is us. We have lost so much of our heritage: we have been bought out, built over, taken over. It has sometimes been forgotten that Cornwall has had a proud past [...] We may not always be ready to admit it, but we feel threatened; and **how do we fight back except by insisting on our Cornishness**? (1988:1 Emphasis Added)

Here Gendall touches upon a crucial element of the current enthusiasm for the symbolic use of Cornish: its ability to "insist on our Cornishness," and to "fight back" against the "loss of heritage". The Cornish language is not unique as a marker of Cornish ethnic separateness—it is shared by a number of other Cornish symbols, in particular the national flag of St. Piran (Harasta 2009). The fact that written words are symbols containing particular linguistic meanings has led us to often dismiss or not recognize that their symbolic potency goes beyond linguistic content. Would Chinatown feel the same to a visitor not literate in Chinese if all the signs were transliterated into Latin script? This sense of a place linguistically via visual clues is known as the Linguistic Landscape. A language's presence within the wider linguistic landscape has an effect upon the vitality of the language, the sense of belonging for language users and the perceived status of the language within the community for both users and non-users (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

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[145] This was years before Gendall broke from the Medievalist strand of Kernewek to be one of the founding creators of the Late form. Gendall since 1985 has had nothing to do with the Gorseth, High Anglican services or monuments carved in Unified.
[146] See Chapter 4 for discussion of the "Jenner Question"

While theories of the linguistic landscape are useful, they tend to focus upon its impact upon users of minority languages, however, in many circumstances, these places are also the home to many (if not a large majority, like in Cornwall) of users of majority languages. These individuals are also influenced by the linguistic landscape and some may have an interest in promoting the place of the minority language within it—in places like Cornwall with an absence of the spoken minority language in the public, the linguistic landscape may be the only connection to the language for the majority of the population. The ability for the written word to convey meaning beyond its linguistic content has been recognized in the theoretical study of the genre of comic art for some decades (Eisner 1985 and McCloud 1994) and is particularly strong when the linguistic content is inaccessible to the observer. Just as the Chinatown signs create a landscape that carries a feeling to those who cannot understand their content, so do Kernewek signs to those who are able to recognize them as non-English yet are unable read their meaning via their content. Cornish place-names, through their non-Englishness, implicitly make the statement that began my laundromat conversation: "we Cornish aren't English, you know."

However, contingent upon this effect is the fact that the signs must be immediately recognizable as both not English and Kernewek. Some traditional placenames have been Anglicized such that their non-English origins are not immediately apparent, such as "Market Jew" Street in Penzance (which derives from the words *Marghas* "Market" and *Yow* "Thursday") or the village of St. Day (origin unknown, possibly from the Latin "santus dei," but probably no relation to the English word "day") (Padel 1988).

The response from within the Kemmyn camp has been to emphasize the Cornishness/ non-Englishness of these places over their traditional spellings. Hence, in Kemmyn respellings of place names "C" has been replaced with "K" and "Y" largely replaces "I", "DH" has appeared for the sound

conveyed through "TH" in English and there is an emphasis on double letters—"MM" and "NN".

Names like "Kammbronn" (Camborne), "Aberfal" (Falmouth), "Lostwydhyel" (Lostwithiel) are immediately non-English to even those without any knowledge of Kernewek. Landry and Bourhis note the importance for language planners and activists to create a "linguistic territory [that is] clearly demarcated" especially "as one crossed the linguistic frontier;" they note the effectiveness of this policy on the Wallonia-Flanders frontier within Belgium and in Francophone France (1997:24). Perhaps taking to heart these lessons, currently the most dramatic representation of marking boundaries via the creation of a visually non-English frontier is seen on the Tamar Bridge, the most popular entry point into Cornwall, where a bilingual sign was erected in 2008 which read:

<div style="text-align:center">

Welcome to Cornwall
Kernow A'gas Dynergh[147]

</div>

While this linguistic marking of the territorial boundary is perhaps the most dramatic at the Tamar Bridge, it occurs on a daily basis throughout Cornwall through the deployment of Kernewek words and other national symbols such as the Cornish Flag and Crest (Harasta 2009). One of the most prominent of these symbols is the "Kernow" bumper sticker. An oval perhaps six inches across with a Cornish Flag (white cross on a black background) centered on it, across the horizontal white bar of the cross the word "Kernow" ("Cornwall" in Kernewek) is written in black, all capital, block letters. These stickers are seen throughout Cornwall on both personal and professional vehicles. While living in Redruth I went out on two Sundays in the winter of 2010 to count the sticker's appearance. I surveyed 13 residential roads[148] with a total of 286 cars with visible bumpers (those that were backed into driveways were not counted. Of this total number, 22 had Kernow stickers, around 7.7% of the total. I

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[147] http://www.gorsethkernow.org.uk/english/news/news2008.htm; http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1227186/Kernow-agas-dynnergh-Welcome-Cornwall--County-officially-bi-lingual-return-Cornish.html
[148] The purpose of choosing residential roads on a Sunday was to capture the frequency of stickers amongst the resident population, excluding business and tourist travelers as much as possible.

also found one with the Crest of Cornwall and another that read "Cornish Born, Cornish Bred, Strong in the Arm & Great in Bed." While Redruth is notable throughout Cornwall for its high percentage of people who consider themselves ethnically Cornish (one nationalist told me Camborne-Redruth is "the most ethnically Cornish place on earth"), the dominance of this particular sticker—and there was no other sticker that had nearly the dominant position[149] of the Kernow sticker, confirming an intuitive sense that they are common.

This is not necessarily a representation of the use of Kernewek either, as neither of the two Kernewek users that often gave me lifts—Neil Kennedy and Clive Baker—had Kernow stickers. What it does represent is a public assertion of the Cornishness of the vehicle and, presumably, its occupant. In a broader, linguistic landscape sense, the proliferation of Kernow stickers—which utilize the Cornish language—serves to mark a space as different.

These stickers were available primarily in local shops: I saw them in two used book stores, a flea market, an emporium,[150] a Cornish themed store, the Cornish Studies Library and a Kernewek book store. A display in the Pool Market (what Americans would call a flea market) was the most impressive: they had 38 variations of the traditional oval stickers (most with different town names instead of "Kernow" on them) and 42 other Cornish themed stickers including ones with the chough (the national bird), the Duchy Crest, maps of Cornwall, anti-English themed jokes ("beautiful place…shame about the neighbors") and outlines of iconic mining buildings. Nearby tables offered Cornish themed cigarette tins, patches, key chains and pins. These were not necessarily tables run by Cornish nationalists, as they also often had English paraphernalia, though the Cornish materials had a numeric dominance (and a physical one as well in the case of the sticker board which stood

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[149] The only one to come close was for humane dog adoption, "A Dog is for life, not just Christmas," which I saw five of and for Pirate FM Radio, which I saw four of.
[150] The shop was a combination of an antique store, book shops and a card store.

prominently in one of the doorways to the market). The Market itself, which was in a large,

warehouse-like building, flew a St. Piran's flag outside.

Perhaps the most eccentric use of the language/flag combination was a vehicle I affectionately

called the Kernowmobile owned by Stuart Cullimore, who sits on the Cornwall Council for Camborne

South (the district where I lived in 2008 and 2009) for Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish Nationalist Party.

Stuart's car, a black Jeep, had a Cornish flag flying from either side, stickers for three mining-related

Cornish organizations (two with flag logos and one with an outline of Cornwall on it), election

materials in the rear and side windows, four nationalist stickers on the rear including a Kernow sticker

and one with the Kernewek line *Kernow Bys Vykken*, "Cornwall Forever") and a spare tire cover with

crossed Cornish flags on it.

Naming not only marks, but can be seen to define nationness in the European context. In the

Czech Republic, a nation whose contemporary identity was forged in the crucible of minority language

politics akin to Cornwall's (Holy 1993), the lack of an ethnonym (e.g., Czechia or Chesko) and the

widespread use of a political name ("The Czech Republic[151]") has been argued to have denigrated and

weakened the very existence of the Czech people (Velisek 2009). In at least that author's view, without

a name, there is no nation.

Overall, the presence of these Kernewek and Cornish-themed stickers, when combined with the

growing number of public signage (both state-sponsored and on private homes and businesses), creates

a linguistic landscape where Kernewek is seen as increasingly accepted by ethnic Cornish individuals

as a symbol of their separate identity and territory (Deacon and Payton 1993). This public presence

and acceptance of the language is one of the most significant triumphs of the language movement since

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[151] Compared to places like the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia which tend to be referred to by shortened names—the CAR, the Congo, North Korea, and Macedonia or FYRM.

the 1970s when Dick Gendall was hard-pressed to locate it. Today, symbolic usage of the language is the primary way which most people in Cornwall encounter the language on a regular basis and exists outside of the Conversant uses sought by teachers of language classes and the Instructional uses that are so important to many historians (professional and amateur) of Cornwall. However, this Kernowization has not been without its criticisms and, as I will show in the next section, elements of it have been actively challenged by users of Unified and Late Kernewek.

"Aberplym yw hanow fûg": Contestations of the Kernowized Landscape

However, the emphasis upon differentiating between English and Kernewek has meant that there are often sacrifices of another use of Kernewek: that of an instructional tool. Students, amateur and professional, of Cornish history find placenames very useful for revealing information on the past. For instance, one amateur historian explained to me why he prefers the English "Falmouth" over the Kernewek "Aberfal"—which have the same linguistic content—he pointed out that Falmouth is a relatively young community and that when it was formed, no-one in the area spoke Kernewek; in fact, as Falmouth was created to serve Henry VIII's coastal fortifications and then as a major naval communication center, it has always been tied to the English state and English identity. This is contrasted to its neighbor, Penryn, which has a Kernewek name and was founded during the Kernewek-speaking period. This historian pointed out that this information is hinted at in the English name of the place and argued that a renaming to "Aberfal" erases the most public evidence of the town's history.

An example of how this reversal comes to have a life of its own is seen in the history section of the Wikipedia entry for the town, which read on January 12th, 2012:

> The name Falmouth is Anglo-Saxon, and appears to be a direct translation of the prior Celtic name *Aberfal*, "mouth of the Fal river". It is claimed that an earlier Celtic name for the place was *Peny-cwm-cuic*, which has been Anglicized to 'Pennycomequick'.

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However, there is no historic evidence for "Aberfal" nor even for the construction "Aber-" ("rivermouth"). The word is noted in the landmark 1952 *New Cornish Dictionary* (Nance), but as a respelling of an archaic Old Cornish word. Prominent placename guides (Padel 1988, Nance 1963 and Chirgwin) do not record any names with this construction and Padel's *Dictionary* includes every placename on the Government-issue Ordnance Survey maps.

While the evidence for Celtic-origin "Peny-cwm-cuic" is also weak—I cannot find a reputable source that includes it—the imposition of "Aberfal" as *the* historic name of the town and "Falmouth" as a translation glosses these discussions and serves to perpetuate a view of Cornish history as having a pure Cornish period with an imposition of an English layer over the top.

There is, however, resistance to this reinterpretation of the linguistic landscape, as we saw above in the line "Aberplym yw hanow fûg" ("Aberplym is a false name") from Alaister's Unified Kernewek homework, some instructors openly oppose the creation of these new names; in Cornwall, this division between promotion and opposition breaks down along factional lines with Kemmyn users promoting new names and Unified and Late users opposing them.[152]

One evening in winter of 2011 I was returning home from a Yeth an Werin ("Language of the People," an informal conversational gathering) with Ray Chubb, a Unified user and head of the language organization *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language"), and the subject of placenames came up. He told me how, in the 1980s, he was entertaining a group of Breton musicians visiting Cornwall for a Celtic Music Festival.[153] After the concert, they asked Ray to take them out so they could deface mono-lingual roadsigns, painting out the English and replacing it with Kernewek. Ray explained that he found their plan funny as "80% of the roadsigns are already in [Kernewek]." For Ray, places like

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[152]   There are, of course, many individuals in all factions who take no strong stance on the matter.

[153] The Bretons are a Celtic ethnic group from Brittany, just over the water on continental Europe from Cornwall. They speak Breton, a language which is argued to be the closest to Cornish. Breton music and dance, which is radically different from Irish-inspired Celtic music and dance, has a strong following in Cornwall, especially amongst Kernewek users.

"Camborne", "Redruth" and "Crows-an-Wra" were already in Kernewek and needed no change. He told me that the placenames were was his first experience with the language and he was strongly attached to them. By the late 1980s, he and his organization came out strongly against the conversion of "Camborne" to "Kammbronn" for just this reason.

Another area where the Kernowization of a placename spelling eliminates historical ambiguity is in those areas where the original Kernewek meaning of a place is debatable and the new spelling takes a single position. An example of this is the conversion of Camborne to Kammbronn. "Kamm" and "Bronn" means "Crooked Hill," but this translation is debatable as there is no prominent hill—crooked or not—in the area[154]. While it is possible that "Crooked Hill" is the original meaning of "Camborne," it is not certain, and the use of the new, Kernowized, spelling eliminates this ambiguity. The elimination becomes normalized in the process of teaching, such that Martyn could tell me in 2011 "I believe Camborne is 'crooked hill' or something like that." While Martyn is not entirely certain of the name, he saw this as a fault of his memory and expressed no knowledge that there was any debate about the translation.

Renaming, can then create a circular logic where the new reconstruction is retroactively applied upon the extant variations: instead of seeing "Aberfal" as a very recent translation of "Falmouth," the latter name instead becomes described as a "translation of the prior Celtic name"; instead of having a discussion of the potential meanings of the name "Camborne," a single interpretation is applied retroactively through "Kammbronn." Hence, the Symbolic use of Kernewek place names to mark the true nature of the land comes to obscure the Instructional use of the name to convey often ambiguous information about the past and, at times, Conversant use the name as Kernewek conversations break

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[154] There is also a more technical, linguistic argument against the 'Crooked Hill' translation: that the grammatical construction "kamm-bronn" is not accurate as the /b/ sound would be mutated into a /v/. Celtic languages demonstrate a phenomenon called "consonant mutation," which will be covered in Chapter 6. Suffice to say for our purposes here that if the meaning was 'Crooked Hill,' the construction "kamm**v**ronn" would be more grammatically correct than "kamm**b**ronn."

down and people ask "wait, where are you talking about?"

In late 19th and early 20th century Cornwall, when Kernewek was considered a dead language, its revival became a tool for symbolically making its users of as Cornish not English by marking public difference. This is a reversal of its purported uselessness and the assertion that the only reason it is studied is "because they [students] are Cornish" (Jenner 1904). This uselessness applied only to the Conversant domains, not to the Symbolic one, where Jenner and Nance's work has proven remarkably useful for generations of students seeking to "top up their Cornishness" or the Cornishness of their surroundings.

This desire to eliminate ambiguity via Kernowization has resonance beyond the naming and renaming of places and is particularly evident in the closely linked phenomenon of naming and renaming persons. Individuals in Cornwall have long placed importance upon names—especially surnames—arguing that some are Proper Cornish and mark belonging. This, of course, also creates a population without proper names who are marginalized from Cornishness . They are, in the words of one interviewee below, Strangers, no matter how long they live in Cornwall.

"Whose Little Cheeld are You?"—Proper Cornish Names

"Whose little cheeld are you?" she repeated a second time, having stopped her narrative once to tell me to take out my notebook and to ensure that I spelled "cheeld" properly.

"'I'm Tom Tobey's' I would say when the old people asked" she continued, setting down the tea mug on the formica table. "But Tom Tobey wasn't my father or my grandfather. He was my grandfather's grandfather. In St Ives every one of the old families has a nickname and ours was Tobey, for Tom Tobey. So when one of the old people want to know who'se child you were, that's what they were asking." Tobey wasn't even his (or her) surname; she explained that in a town with only a

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handful of common first names and surnames, nicknames were crucial differentiators.

We were sitting in the Sandwich Stop, a small cafe in the town of Redruth in Cornwall's Central Mining District where I often lunched. My companions were a motley group whose sole defining characteristic was a simultaneous lunch break. The town—and the cafe—were pretty uniformly ethnic Cornish and it was well known that I was studying Cornish Culture[155]. So, at lunch, café regulars often told me family stories, personal recollections or their fiercely held opinions on the place of Cornwall in the world.

The storyteller today, in mid-November, 2010, was a middle-aged Cornishwoman raised in the seaside village of St Ives, a place once famous for its insular Cornish fishing community and now better known for its seaside holidays and cheap paintings of seascapes. Like many of her compatriots, she had migrated inland and upland to the depressed ex-mining towns—like Redruth—where one might still be able to afford a house and scrape out a living. While she was interested in Cornish history and, especially geneaology, she was not involved in the Language Revival and could not use Kernewek. At that point, I believed that the St Ives where people wanted to know "whose cheeld" you were had been dead for fifty years, and that this was a remembrance of the last gasp of some extinct patrilineal system[156]. But in Cornwall, history has a way of staying alive, and she continued:

> People still know about Tom Tobey these days, in fact my brother is very political—he's always writing about the monarchy and the Duchy [of Cornwall]—and when he writes letters to the editor, he always signs them 'Tom Tobey.' That way, the local people know that he knows what he's talking about.

This strong association of insider status in Cornish towns with family history was reiterated in an

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[155] It is interesting question to consider to what extent these stories circulate without the presence of a researcher dedicated to studying "Cornish Culture." Certainly, the fact that their themes appear in many contexts implies that they have some wider salience. I was conscious of this thorny question during my time in Cornwall which was one of the reasons that I maintained relationships with numerous non-Nationalist residents of Cornwall, including a number of flatmates.

[156] Perhaps it was akin to the inherited nicknames Mewett described in the fishing villages on Lewis Island off the coast of Scotland (1982).

interview with another old St Ives resident, Cornish teacher and current Grand Bard of the Cornish

Gorseth Mick Paynter who told me in 2011:

MP: I was brought up in St Ives in West Penwith and my father an electrician, his family lived in St Ives for, forever, at least four or five hundred years. My mother came from the Midlands [in central England], my mother is a "Stranger" as we used to say. I always found it rather odd when people asked me who my mother to reply "oh my mother is a Stranger." We were a bit like Aborigines, when you meet people they want to know "whose boy are you?" And you'd tell them whose boy you were. "Whose your father? Whose your mother?" If you're mother's from outside the territory there it's not really in your interest to tell them.

JH: Would the territory be St Ives?

MP: Cornwall, generally Cornwall. Although some people say that foreigners begin at Hayle [a few miles east of St Ives and just off the West Penwith peninsula].

The debate over Kernewek signage is part of a much wider conflict over names in Cornwall.

The power to name is a substantial one and the politics of naming have become tied to the politics of

belonging, identity and nationality in Cornwall. The categories of naming—persons, families, places,

common nouns—intersect with one another. The name Tom Tobey[157] is simultaneously a marker of

place (St. Ives), family (the Tobey lineage) and ethnicity (Cornish through and through), but only to the

insider. These debates over naming and renaming, and the walling off of insider from outsider are

elements of a larger ambiguity of place which defines much of the cultural and political landscape of

Cornwall.

The localized phenomenon of St. Ives nicknames, while revealing about Cornish attitudes

towards place, is overshadowed by the much larger importance of Cornish surnames. The residents of

St. Ives have the additional family nickname (like Tobey) but throughout Cornwall people differentiate

between Cornish and English surnames. The centrality of surnames in the Cornish ethnic imagination

is a source of both certainty for people like Julie Tamblin and Martyn Whitford (who have them) but at

the same time, create anxiety for many who see themselves as Cornish but don't have them, such as my

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[157] The name, not the long-dead man.

next interviewee, Yowann Byghan. A traditional rhyme goes "By Tre, Pol and Pen shall ye know all the Cornishmen." These three prefixes are remarkably common in Cornish surnames and include:

Tre: Tredinnick, Tregear, Tregidga, Tregonning, Tregurtha, Trelawney, Tresidder, Trevanion, Trevelyan, Trevithick, Trewartha
Pol: Polglase, Polgrean, Polkinghorne, Polwhele, Pool
Pen: Penberthy, Pendarvis, Pengelley, Penhaglion, Penhale, Penhallow, Penketh, Penrice, Penrose, Pentreath

Beyond these names linked to famous prefixes there are many other names considered to be typically Cornish: Angarrack, Bolitho, Borlase, Carlyon, Clemo, Curnow, Davy, Harvey, Jenkin, Lanyon, Minear, Mitchell, Nance, Pascoe, Rawe or Rowe, Rescorla, Rodda, Rogers, Tamblyn, Thomas, and Williams and potentially hundreds more[158]. The cachet of having a Proper Cornish surname is strong. Thus, for example, one elderly woman with a Cornish surname told me she had been jealous as a girl of her classmates with "Tre, Pol and Pen."

The idea that surnames, as they are transferred ostensibly unchanged for generations, connote a realness and authenticity of belonging is not unique to Cornwall. Ethnography from the former Protugues colony of Macau in southeast China found that the possession of a Portuguese (or Sinicized Portugues) surname allowed a certain segment of the otherwise-ethnically Chinese, Cantonese-speaking population to assert a connection to Portugal that they saw as more real than their ties to China and Chinese-ness (de Pina-Cabral 2010).

Returning to Cornwall, the example of Tom Tobey indexing a specific place goes beyond St Ives as well. Placenames are connected to surnames in Cornwall because they tend to be drawn from the names of the places where a family originated not their profession (such as in English: Cooper, Smith, Miller, etc) or their patriline (such as in Scots: MacKinnon, McDonald, etc). This means that people's surnames are often the same names as places, though not necessarily anywhere the family has

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[158] This list includes those names which I was specifically told at one point were "Proper Cornish."

lived for many generations. Maps have been published with a depiction of Cornwall covered with

hundreds of names and an accompanying guide where one can look up the origins of one's surname.

Names like Tregear, Trewartha, Trevelyan, Pool, Pentreath, Penrose, Penrice, Lanyon, and Rescorla are

not only linked to families but also to places. For instance, I met a Perran Penrose[159] in North Cornwall

whose ancestors were probably linked to a village of Penrose near Padstowe. The traditional prefixes

all have placename meanings: /Tre-/ is a settlement, /Pol-/ a pool of water and /Pen-/ a headland or hill.

The process works in reverse as well, as people apply their names to newly constructed places: Penrose

Estate and Penrose Camping Park may have their origins in their founder's names. Some much older

placenames originated in the names of community founders, often commemorated as saints, so that the

name "Ia" becomes *Porthia*[160] ("Ia's Port"), or "Dithy" lends his (her?) name to the community of

Landithy ("Dithy's Settlement"). In particular, the relationship between Ia-Porthia-St Ives is a strong

one: the parish Church is dedicated to Ia, I saw art work dedicated to her both in churches (Anglican

and Catholic) in town and amongst local artists, such as a series of beautiful greeting cards by John and

Mim Nash. The story of St. Ia, who supposedly came over to Cornwall from Ireland floating on a

cabbage leaf, has remained in the popular vernacular stories, including modern retellings involving

conflict with the Revenue Department of the customs office.[161] The Kernewek name for St Ives,

Porthia, appears in a number of contexts (beyond roadsigns) such as Dee Brotherton's musical group

Bagas Porthia ("The Band of St. Ives"), the large Cornwall-based property developer Porthia

(http://www.porthia.com/), the Porthia-Hayle Holiday Homes rental company and Porthia Autos. The

saint's name also appears in a modified form ("Eia") in the St Ive's based Eiafilms production

company, owned by a Kernewek student of Kemmyn; this version also appears in a Hotel Eia and an

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[159] A middle-aged man, Perran told me that he was born into a Cornish family and had been given the Kernewek first name
"Perran"—the same as Cornwall's patron saint—at birth, making his full name a distinctly Cornish one.
[160] The commonly used Kernewek name for St. Ives ("Ives" = "Ia's").
[161] http://www.britannia.com/history/legend/cornish/cornss09.html

Eia Cottage rented out to tourists, both in St Ives. All of these names overtly utilize the Saint's name in the context of the town—as the town's name has been significantly Anglicized (Ia→Ia's→Ives), and the name Porthia not common until the Revival, this is not done accidentally by individuals simply seeking to use the town name in their business or organization.

This long-term give and take between surnames and place names complicates the typical nationalist association of a people to a land and has similarities to the "genealogical nationalism" described by Shyrock in *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination* (2007). Shyrock describes this type of identity in Jordan, where systems of kinship knit together an ostensibly national group; he differentiates this from what he calls "tribalism" noting that this popular nationalism has a tie to older forms of identity, a link which is often obscured:

> …the conceptual allure of "high nationalism"-that is, nationalism construed as a Western-derived, state-sponsored enterprise designed to produce a unified, literate culture (Gellner 1983)-threatens to obscure the pre-national models of community which, in the Middle East and elsewhere, continue to shape the modem, national identities that encapsulate them. (Shyrock 1995:327)

Closer to home, Llobera notes that kinship remains at the core of the nationalist ideology of Pairalisme, which links old Catalan families to "their ancestral home: a rural house where the ancestors originated" and the surrounding landscapes (2004:57).

Cornishness is similarly linked to kinship in the imaginations of many members of traditional Cornish communities. Cornwall is small enough that there is often a sense amongst Cornish people that if they possess enough knowledge of their own family history, they can find an ancestral connection to any other Cornishperson on a first encounter. I observed this twice. Once I overheard a conversation at a pub where two men discovered that their uncles had once worked together on the Falmouth Docks; the two had never met before and first asked about each other's surnames, then where their families were from. Not finding a direct kinship connection, one of them switched to asking what

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line of work the other's family members who lived near Falmouth had done—his interlocutor named a few positions, all of them men's work and they hit upon the docks, comparing times when the kinsman of each had been there.

Another time I observed this phenomenon was at a meeting of Mebyon Kernow, the Party for Cornwall, Neil Kennedy met a young activist named John Rawe—and based off of John's name they managed to find a common ancestor back several generations. Hence names open doors and lead to discussions, they serve as a common denominator and a marker of insider-ness. This "Kernow-cred," as one activist named it, is a strong form of cultural capital. The possession of a name like "Pascoe" or "Trevithick" in Cornish circles guarantees some foot-in-the-door authenticity—at the very least his or her ethnicity will not be challenged so quickly in the media as it has been for Kernewek activists with English surnames like John King and Ken George[162]. This legitimacy, however, is not available to all who wish to assert their Cornishness leading to a separate, linked phenomenon of Kernewek first names and naming changing (Kernowizing) that I will discuss in the next section.

The Born-Again Celts: John or Yowann? Katell or Katherine?
In recent years, many Cornish families have reinforced this ethnic status in their children by giving them what are seen as authentic Cornish names. They are often helped by pamphlets such as *Names for the Cornish: Three Hundred Cornish First Names* (1970) by Truran Books (the imprint owned by nationalist Len Truran). The work has been reprinted continuously since its inception and is now in its third edition. The work draws name lists primarily off of Medieval documents, such as a list of 150 slaves released from the Bodmin Priory in the 10th century, but does include "a few…which have been popular in Cornwall over many centuries whereas their use has diminished in other parts of the British

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[162] It does not completely isolate one from such criticism though: the Cornish Guardian (1996) heavily criticized Nicholas Williams for being English, though his surname is relatively common in Cornwall. However, in Nicholas' case, he is quite unapologetic in his Englishness at times using his Anglicanism and Royalist predilections to needle his opponents. He once told me that in Dublin College he is the Celtic Language faculty's "pet Englishman."

Isles" (3). The author states that particularly important and popular first names were from Saints and others were deduced by breaking apart placenames. A number of people in their forties and below bear names found in the book. For instance I am aware of people with the names: Alan, Arthur, Caradok, Colan, Conan, Denzil, Gawen, Jory, Jowan, Meryn/Merryn, Petroc, Peran/Perran, Tristan/Trystan, Wella, Jenifer, Jenna, Loveday, Lowena/Lowenna, Morwenna, and Tamsyn/Tamsin. There are examples of the giving of Kernewek names both amongst long-term Cornish families and relatively recent migrants—in fact many are given by families with no involvement in the Kernewek Movement. This reinforcement in the succeeding generation echoes the concerns raised by Martyn Whitford and Mina Dresser in the previous chapter that Cornish identity is weakening in the generational transmission and needs the Kernewek language to bolster it. Martyn spoke of his desire to teach it to his own children and Mina spoke of teaching it to children in general; this emphasis on the future generations was repeated by numerous interviewees involved in the Movement.

However, not all people are content to give Kernewek names to their children, but instead see the Kernowizing of their own names as a part of their personal transformation. I opened this dissertation with the story of the transformation of "Camborne" into "Kammbronn," a process spearheaded in 1988 by a man named John King. However, I had difficulty tracking down Cllr. King in the early 2010s and began to suspect that he had died. However, by luck an Internet search turned up a man named "Yowann Byghan" in Dumfries, Scotland who had apparently once been a "John King" and served as a town councilor in Cornwall. Further investigation turned up the fact that Cllr. King's predilection for renaming ran deeper than was apparent in 1988, and that he had in fact re-created himself and legally changed his name. According to my friends in Camborne who remembered him from the 1970s and '80s, John King was known for being an English-born Labour Party councilor with a fondness for Kernewek and a fine singing voice. As I discovered first through an online search

and then through an interview, Yowann Byghan has run for office in the Scottish Nationalist Party, stating to be Cornish and fluent in Kernewek, is a practicing Druid, historian of the early Celtic period and an author of children's books set in Celtic Britain.

In a 2012 interview with Yowann, I asked him why he took up the study of Kernewek. He replied that he was

YB: …born in London, so I am technically English by birth, although I think of myself as Cornish by nationality… [however] in 1969 I played the disciple John (and other parts) in the Bristol University Drama Department's revival of the Cornish *Ordinalia* at Piran Round. It was during this visit that I made my first emotional commitment to Cornwall. It was a very **powerful and profound experience, coming to me directly from the land, sea and sky**, and the first time in my life that I had ever felt a bonding of the soul with a particular place. I have lived in other places since then, but if people ask me where my home is I always answer, 'Cornwall'.

I began by teaching myself Cornish in the 1970s from the few books then available. […] My first Cornish teacher was Len Orme, a Bard, a gentle and unassuming man, and a very good teacher. My fellow student was Jori Ansell, who was later Grand Bard. After three years with Len, I myself became a Bard of the Cornish Gorsedh through examination in the Cornish language (1978).

I wanted to learn Cornish because I wanted to be Cornish, is probably the simplest way to describe my motivation. I have always been strong at languages (my French is fluent, my German fair, I have taught Latin and Greek, I have smatterings of Welsh, Spanish and Italian, and I am currently learning Scottish Gaidhlig). Cornish is more important than all the others, however. I dream in Cornish, I pray in Cornish, and I expect to die in Cornish. [Emphasis added]

Focusing upon the name-change, I asked him about the thinking behind the shift and he directly linked it to his position within the *Gorseth* (the "College of Bards"):

YB: I took Yowann Byghan as my Bardic name in 1978, and I made it my legal name in the USA in 2001. It means, as you probably know, "Little John". Richard Jenkin (Map Divroeth), who was the Grand Bard who inducted me in 1978, initially disliked my choice of Bardic name, recognising (quite rightly) that I was making something of a joke. I'm a big and heavy man - always have been - so Little John does have something of a deliberate making light of the Gorsedh's stuffiness about it. However, I explained to Richard that Behan is the surname of my mother's Irish lineage[163], so there was a more serious reason for choosing it (spelled in the Cornish way) and he graciously accepted my choice. When my name was called in the circle,

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[163] Byghan is pronounced "be-yan" in English, hence it's similarity to Yowann's ancestral name "Behan."

the public laughed at the translation - the first and only time it has ever happened, I believe. I also chose a name in that form because I wanted to change my name legally to Yowann Byghan immediately after the Gorsedh.

I told my parents of my intention, and my father objected. He had had several recent heart attacks, didn't expect to live much longer, and asked me to wait until after he had died before I changed my name legally. As a King, whose ancestors had taken that name because MacGregor was illegal for them to use, the question was important to him, and I respected his wishes. He died in 1999, and I waited until 2001 to make the name change official. I have actually thought of myself as Yowann Byghan (and most of my Cornish-speaking friends have called me Yowann) ever since 1978. The only problem I have with it now is that only Cornish speakers can either pronounce it or spell it correctly, but that is a very minor problem. I get all sorts of fascinating variants, mostly BIGGUN or BYEGONE, but it doesn't matter.
[Interview Jan 24th, 2012]

While Yowann's transformation is particularly dramatic, he is not alone in re-creating himself, a phenomenon which Neil Kennedy once referred in conversation as being a "Born-Again Celt," and for desiring to become more Cornish via the language. Names—both personal (first) and sur (last)—have symbolic salience in Cornwall where they often index ethnicity as I described above. Susan Gal notes that minority languages in Europe grant legitimacy to their users claims to belong by creating a "relationship to a particular community...deeply rooted in social and geographic territory" (2008:304). It is also fruitful to note the parallels between Dee Brotherton's narrative and that of Yowann's, both of which are infused by a Lifestyle approach. Both are English by birth but, after a deep emotional encounter with the Cornish landscape and elements of Revived Cornish culture (e.g. the Mystery Plays and Celtic Music) express a connection to Cornwall. They express their desire to transform themselves via studying Medieval Kernewek. Both began studying Unified but Yowann was an early, passionate, promoter of Kernewek Kemmyn. Of course, the most dramatic difference in their stories is Yowann's desire to change his name (and that of his town). I believe that these two differences, adoption of Kemmyn and changing names, are fundamentally linked.

Yowann is not alone in adopting a new, Kernowized, name to accompany his new language and,

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presumably, identity. In the remainder of this section, I will argue that Kernowizing names is a

patterned phenomenon which occurs primarily amongst users of Kernewek Kemmyn (like Yowann).

Evidence below points to a situation where the more one studies and becomes involved in Kernewek

Kemmyn, the more likely one is to Kernowize one's name from an English form to a more Cornish

one. This phenomenon becomes more relevant when placed within the context of the Kemmyn-driven

Kernowization of placenames (e.g., Kammbronn and Aberfal) and an overall movement towards the

elimination of ethnic ambiguity in Cornwall.

While in Cornwall, I collected details about names (English and Kernewek) that have been

altered which are laid out on Table 5.2 (below). This list does not attempt to be comprehensive, but

was instead collected based upon experience, and may be viewed as an opportunistic sample, aiming to

be indicative of trends. There are several varieties of names on the list. Some are respellings, where

the original sounds of the English name are retained but they are respelled according to Kemmyn rules

(I know of no examples in other varieties). Thus "Pauleen Preece" becomes "Polin Prys" and "Paul

Dunbar" becomes "Pawl Dunbar." Others involve more dramatic restructuring such as "Gary Angove"

who renames himself "Gari An Gof," and "Michael Angove" becomes "Myghal An Gof." Both of

these men take on the structure of the name of the medieval Cornish rebel Mychal An Gof[164], who was

killed in 1497 by the forces of Henry VII while leading a revolutionary army to the gates of London[165].

The second variety is a name shift, where Kernewek versions of names are substituted for

English ones (e.g., "Yowann" or "Jowan" for "John," "Katell" for "Catherine"), of these, I encountered

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[164] The recent respelling of Mychal's name as "Myghal," for instance on 500 year commemorative plaques placed in 1997
along the route his army marched, is another example of the retroactive application of Kemmyn spellings.
[165] The Angove/An Gof phenomenon is an interesting one. "An Gof" was not only a prominent figure in Cornish
Nationalist mythologizing, but is also the preferred name of periodic Cornish Nationalist militant groups. Hence the
Kernowization of the relatively common surname 'Angove' into 'An Gof' has a distinctly militant edge to it. In the
Kaskyrgh petition (see below), there were four individuals who signed 'An Gof' and none as 'Angove' while in the
Kernowak petition (also below) it was reversed: one Angove, no An Gofs.

one from a Unified user, two from Kemmyn users and one unknown.

Table 5.2: Examples of Name Changing in Contemporary Kernewek				
English Name		**Kernewek Name**	**Type**	**Preferred Spelling**
George Ansell	→	Jori Ansell	Shift	Kemmyn
Michael Palmer	→	Myghal Palmer	Respelling	Kemmyn
Neil Davey	→	Nyl Davey[166]	Respelling	None
John Rowe	→	Jowan Kereve[167]	Shift	Unified
Paul Dunbar	→	Pawl Dunbar	Respelling	Kemmyn
Catherine Loveday Moore	→	Loveday Carlyon	Personal Dropped, Maiden Surname	Unknown
Catherine Hosken	→	Katell[168] Hosken	Shift	Kemmyn
Andrew Thompson	→	Andrew Climo	Old Family Surname	Unified
John King	→	Jowan Byghan	Shift, Old Family Surname	Kemmyn
Jowan Byghan[169]	→	*Yowann Byghan*	*Respelling*	*Kemmyn*
Michael Angove	→	Myghal An Gof	Respelling	Kemmyn
Pauleen Preece	→	Polin Prys	Repelling	Kemmyn
Gary Angove	→	Gari An Gof	Repelling	Kemmyn
William Brown	→	Wella Brown	Shift	Kemmyn

Finally, the third variety of name change is the substitution of one name for another—for

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[166] Neil no longer spells his name in this way, preferring his English spelling.

[167] John is particularly playful with names, also calling himself online "Juan Kévere" and "Serious Dave." Notably, when he took office as a Town Councillor in Camborne, he used his English name.

[168] Katell is a Breton name (e.g., the singer Katell Keineg) and is not listed in the *Names for the Cornish* guidebook.

[169] This is Yowann Byghan from the interview above. Before the creation of Kemmyn, he changed his name, to Jowan, the Unified version of the name. He later converted it to Yowann with the creation of Kemmyn, a change he does not acknowledge in his retelling of the events. The pronunciations of Jowan/Yowann are identical.

instance, the dropping of a married surname for a Cornish maiden name, or the adoption of an ancestral name. This is a relatively widespread phenomenon and is probably due to the importance that many Cornish people place upon Proper Cornish surnames. Some of these individuals apparently use their Kernewek names only in Cornish circles: for instance Jori/George Ansell once passed me a two-sided business card with one side ("George") in English and the other ("Jori") in Kernewek. Others, like Yowann Byghan make a more complete shift, to the point of legally changing their names.

None of the names or respellings were from the Late Kernewek camp—possibly because by the final days of the language which Late is based upon, the Cornish had wholeheartedly adopted English names and perhaps because of a perceived lack of need, a theory I will return to below. Moreover, there was a pronounced bias towards name shifting—especially respelling—amongst Kemmynites over Unified users. Some of these respellings simply involve the application of Kemmyn spelling rules to the sounds of their English names. Thus "Pauleen Preece" becomes "Polin Prys" and "Paul Dunbar" becomes "Pawl Dunbar."

The Cornish are not unique in this use of renaming as a decolonizing instrument—the adoption of an overtly Kernewek name is similar to practice of adopting African, Muslim or related names amongst African Americans. Malcolm X's surname, for instance, was a rejection of what he called his "slave name" ("Little") and a stand-in for his forever-lost African tribal name. The name was simultaneously an act of resistance to colonialism/slavery and a continuous reminder of slavery's perpetual wounds. A Kernewek name has a similar effect as it continually needs explanation and marks outsidership: for instance, in his Scottish electoral campaign in 2011, Yowann Byghan had a section of his official website explaining his name. The everyday use of such a name—"X" or "Byghan"— politicizes the quotidian but does not give resolution to the original act of colonization; this is an unsettled life that perhaps led to Malcolm's eventual adoption of the surname "Shabazz."

This unsettling and politicization has meant that unlike place renaming, personal name changing has remained (in both the Kernewek and Nation of Islam cases) the province of a dedicated leadership core. The exact number is hard to determine in part because finding quantitative data on the Kernewek community is difficult: there have been no statistically rigorous surveys, only recently have standards for terms like fluency been created and none of the factions have been willing (or able in the case of the Late promoters) to publish membership lists. The Gorseth produces a yearly list of its new members, but not all of them are inducted for language proficiency and, moreover, Late users cannot join the Gorseth via examination. This means that evidence for name changing is most accessible via qualitative data, such as I have already presented. There is, however, one comparative window for studying the spread and nature of name-changing afforded by the post-2002 Government standardization of Kernewek: comparison of the Kaskyrgh and Kernowek petitions.

As the state became involved in the language and it became apparent that it would insist upon a single standard spelling for public use, the language factions scrambled to catch up. The Kaskyrgh Kernewek Kemmyn ("Campaign for Common Cornish") was a petition organized in the early days of this process to encourage the state to recognize Kemyn as the single standard. Simultaneously, a group of Late and Unified users produced and presented a compromise form they called Kernowek which they opened up for the Kernewek community to sign. This means that we have roughly analogous documents produced by two groups rather rigidly divided by spelling system, moreover, we can assume that while signing was a self-selective process amongst participants, that the self-selection operated more-or-less equally on both petitions—thus they are comparable.

These two documents, which I will return to in a later chapter and expand upon, provide for our purposes here a window into the frequency of name-changing. I examined every name on both petitions (89 on the Kaskyrgh and 72 for the Kernowek) and made a list of all that were not of traditional

spellings; if the individuals were not already known to me (and many were), then the individuals were investigated online to see whether they had written down a Kernewek respelling. Twelve of the 89 Kaskyrgh signers had changed their names and only one signatory of the Kernowek proposal had—a comparison of 13.5% versus 1.4% of the totals. A further five individuals on the Kaskyrgh appear to have been given Kernewek first names from birth, with two overlaps (individuals with given Kernewek names who had changed some element of them). As the Kaskyrgh (13.5% name changing) was apparently universally signed by Kemmyn supporters and Kernowek (1.4%) overwhelmingly by Late and Unified supporters, this is evidence of the numeric concentration of name-changers amongst Kemmyn users.

The concentration of Kernewek respellings in the Kaskyrgh petition was further heightened if one only looked at the more elite sectors of the petition. The creators of the Kaskyrgh document had requested that signers note whether they were members of the *Gorseth* ("College of Bards"), if they were fluent, if they were teachers and how many years they had taught[170]. Of the 45 individuals who had graduated onto the third or fourth level of examination (of a total of 4 levels), 8 had changed their names—17.8% of the group. Of the 26 who had denoted their bardic names (all of whom had passed the fourth grade), 6 had changed their names—23% of the total. This evidence argues that not only are Kemmyn users more likely to change their names, but that the longer and more involved one is within the Kemmyn movement, the greater the likelihood of name-changing.

The one individual who changed his name in the Kernowek petition had substituted his mother's Cornish surname for his father's English one. No one respelled their names using any known Kernewek orthographic[171]. This individual, Andrew Thompson/Climo, is known for being a particularly staunch

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[170] In contrast, the Kernowek petition had only asked what spelling form the signer preferred.
[171] Including the two Kernowek signatories who identified Kemmyn as their preferred spelling form.

supporter of Unified Kernewek, heading the Unified organization *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language") for several years during the standardization debates. He is also known for his presence online, engaging in at times heated debates with Kemmyn supporters on messageboards and blogs. The fact that he substituted only his father's English surname (Thompson) for his mother's Cornish one (Climo) reinforces the idea that name changing is restricted to Medievalist forms of the language—I have yet to meet a Late practitioner who has changed his or her name. However, this association does not hold for the naming of children, as I know a number of Late users who have chosen Kernewek names for their children; the disconnect appears not to be Kernewek names *per say* but instead the transformative process that leads to renaming. This is significant because a key component of Kernowization is not the name itself but the process of conversion and change, as shown by the interview with Yowann Byghan. Hence the giving of a Kernewek first name to a child has a different symbolic content and makes a different statement in public than the adoption of a Kernewek name by an English-named adult.

There is also some, slight, evidence that this name-changing phenomenon has been accentuated through the process of creating and promoting Kemmyn. While all uses of Kernewek emphasize the ethnic distinctiveness of the place, Kemmyn, with its unique phonetic script, has provided a new system for highlighting Cornshness, as is seen by the fact that its users have increasingly turned to name changing since its adoption in 1986. In a pamphlet entitled *An Lyver Kevarwedha Kernewek: A Directory of Cornish Institutions and People 1984/5* (Smales 1984), a list of Kernewek teachers from the year before the creation of Kemmyn contains a number of names of individuals who would later join Kemmyn and the names they used at the time. They included Pauline Price and George Ansell both using their English spellings—whereas today both, without exception, use their Kernewek spellings in Cornish themed publications. Certainly Kernewek names were not prohibited in the publication as there

are two substitutions: Wella (William) Brown and Myghal (Michael) Gill. While I know that Wella's original English name was William, Myghal is more mysterious and may have been given the name Myghal at birth. It is certainly possible, as well, that Pauline/Polin and George/Jori were using their Kernewek names at this time—and I know from an interview with Yowann Byghann that he was known by his new name amongst his Kernewek friends since at least 1978—it is interesting that they did not use those names when today neither is shy about using Kernewek names in any activity associated with the language (for example, in newspaper articles and English language publications).

There is considerable hostility to renaming among many non-Kernewek using ethnic Cornish people: several times I heard non-activists referring to (what are sometimes called) the "funny names" of Kernewek enthusiasts. One friend of mine with an interest in Cornish history and archeology, but not the language, bemoaned the damage that silly names had upon the reputation of the language when they appeared in letters to the editor. This hostility appears to have also appeared in the Late camp, which is closest ideologically to the Lifestruggle mindset of many traditional Cornish, where I heard snide remarks about renaming and a refusal amongst some to use the new names—for instance, specifically calling Jori Ansell by the name "George"[172].

While these samples, an overall universe of 161 individuals, are on the small side, when this data is combined with information from other sources—such as the interview with Yowann Byghan, and ethnographic observations—we can see a definite trend towards name changing within the Kernewek Kemmyn faction, one that is far more attenuated (primarily involving the substitution of surnames) amongst Unified users and completely absent amongst Late users. As we have seen in the previous chapter that Kernewek use is connected to projects of social transformation in order to lessen

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[172] Jori is a very public target for this type of criticism as he is a strong promoter of Kernewek Kemmyn and served as Grand Bard of the Gorseth—he is, to the best of my knowledge, the only Grand Bard to have 'Kernowized' his name.

ethnic ambiguity, we may deduce the Kernewek Kemmyn is either particularly attractive towards those who seek a self-transformation or that it inspires those tendencies amongst those who take it up.

Where do we get new words from?—Neologisms and Borrowings

One of the fundamental challenges of the Kernewek Revival from its earliest stages was dealing with the problem of lexicon: there simply did not exist enough words in the traditional repertoire to cover all of the needs of day-to-day 20th and 21st century life. This is especially true in the area of technology, as there was a lack of words like "telephone," "airplane," "computer" or "automobile." However, there also exists a number of missing words which probably did exist in traditional Kernewek but for whatever reason were not written down in the surviving records examples include "moustache" (which Nance translated as "mynvlew" or "lip-hairs" using two existing Kernewek roots) and "Bible" (which Nance borrowed from Breton as "Bybel"). Those examples reveal the two potential solutions to lexical holes that have been commonly used by Kernewek users since the beginning of the Revival: (1) construction of a new word using attested Kernewek roots; (2) borrowing a word from another language—most often Breton and English, but also Welsh and French.

Similarly, Coluzzi (2007) notes that there are two options available to minority language promoters dealing with this issue of lexical modernization, one is to to adopt "the term in use in the minority language or another prestigious language […], perhaps with an attempt to adapt it to the phonetics of the minority language" (132); the other is that "a new meaning is given to an old word or a new term is coined on the base of the traditional roots of the minority language." Coluzzi notes that the former "places emphasis on efficiency, clarity, modernity, and the close relation to the majority language" while the latter "underlines authenticity and difference from the dominant language" (2007:132-3). Both processes occur in the Italian languages he studies, and this is the case in Kernewek as well. However, in Cornwall, there has been a tendency to explicitly ideologize the two options, with

the Late school preferring the first option and the Celticists in the Medieval schools using the latter. Moreover, the differences that Coluzzi notes, "efficiency, clarity and modernity" on one side and "authenticity and difference" on the other. "Closeness relation to the majority language" is not a goal but Kemmyn users assert that this is the unintentional product of the Late school's reliance upon borrowings from Standard English and the Anglo-Cornish Dialect as we will see. The preference of lexical purity over the potential benefits of borrowing from dominant tongues is common to many minority language movements and can reach a point where it threatens the survival of the tongue (Dorian 1994:479); this conservativism is doing harm to the viability of languages like Irish, Scots Gaelic and Mexicano (Nauhatl) as well as Kernewek (Dorian 1994:485-488). This emphasis on purity has been noted by scholars for some time, largely due to the ability for an ideologically pure [sic] language to serve as an authentic link to the national past (e.g., Fishman 1972:45-50).

In her history of Basque lexicography and dictionary writing, Azkarate (1988) notes the instability of lexicon and its pliability before ideological shifts amongst lexicographers:

> At the end of the last century and the beginning of the 20th century, coinciding with the birth and growth of what has been called Basque Nationalism there was another influx of neologisms into the Basque language. But these purists, nationalists […] not only created genuine Basque terms for technical purposes [...] but they also rejected all the Latin borrowings, even those long ago accepted and established as Basque words. Therefore, certain people started to use many new words which replaced the 'foreign' (Latin-origin) ones, but which had the inconvenience of being strange and unintelligible to lay people. (1988:468)

This process of purification, which emphasized the differences between Basque and Spanish, was reversed during the centralist Franco Regime. There is a gap between the 1920s and 1970s when war and oppression prevented dictionary work, but she describes a dictionary published by the Euskaltzaindia (Basque Language Academy) in 1974 where emphasis is placed upon borrowed words such as "anbulantza" for "ambulance" (borrowed from the Spanish "ambulancia"). In contrast, in 1984—after the death of Franco and the beginning of the process of decentralization that I described inspiring Cornish activists—borrowings were once again replaced with what are seen as purer Basque-origin neologisms, in this case "anbulantza" was replaced with "eriautoa." She also remarks that, like in

Kernewek, Basque neologisms are often the creations of the dictionary-writers themselves who are confronted by holes they feel they need to fill to create complete dictionaries.

Given this potential for ideological expression, the process of lexical expansion[173] is fraught with potential pitfalls: words will sound awkward, new constructions will have errors, or they will be ideologically distasteful (i.e., originate in English). Nance's 1935 *New Dictionary* took a middle-of-the-road path, even noting in the introduction that "a well-chose Chaucerian word can look more at home in a Middle-Cornish sentence than a pedigree Celtic one that is backed by Welsh and Breton together. This is not of course to suggest that would-be users of Cornish should avoid new Celtic compounds or restorations. They could not indeed get very far without them…" (Intro III).

The inheritors of Nance's system, championed by the language organization *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language"), have followed the same trend. In the 1990s they began releasing supplements to the original dictionary including words that Nance overlooked or had appeared since his death. In the Supplement #3 (Agan Tavas 1995) they released a hodgepodge of 387 new words, giving the provenience of each. 302 were new coinages from Celtic Roots and eighty five were deemed borrowed from other languages. They listed nineteen different languages as origins including the expected (21 from Latin and 17 from French) and the exotic (1 from Aztec, 1 from Aborigine [sic], 1 from Gascon, 1 Trade Name, etc); Celtic borrows were not listed as such. Only seven words were listed as borrowed from English[174]. All were spelled the same as in English except that the word order was reversed in Castor Oil and "oil" was translated into Cornish. However, of the other 78 borrowed words, all appear to have been borrowed via English. For instance "Aspyryn" was listed as a Trade Name, "Alcohol" was listed as borrowed from Arabic, "Balcon[y]" from Italian, "Cobra" from Latin, "Dyftheryia"

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[173] I prefer "expansion" over "modernization" as the term implies that language like Kernewek are sufficiently part of the modern world.
[174] They are: "Castor Oil," "Elk," "Enamel," "Mahogany," "Panel," "Potash" and "Zip."

(Diphtheria) was "International," "Golf" from Scots, "Mynken" (Mink) from Swedish and "Rutabaga" from Swedish. I could not find any of the borrowed words which had not existed in a very similar (if not identical) form in English before. I don't think this is a deceptive measure—as it is a Cornish-English vocabulary, none of the readers will think that "Cobra" came directly from the Romans to Cornish—but instead as a justification for borrowing. This means that the only languages with significant impact upon Unified Kernewek in this supplement were Welsh, Breton and English.

While there was some criticism of Nance's coinages in the 1970s (as I detailed above), the current Unified coinages garner little attention, perhaps because they were published not in a dictionary but in soft-cover supplements. The promotion of new words in Kemmyn and Late, however, have met with more serious criticism from outside sources. This is particularly true with English borrows in Late and with new coinages from Celtic roots in Kemmyn.

As early as Dick Gendall's 1988 *Laugh and Learn Cornish*, his slim vocabulary has a number of obvious English loanwords including: "hat," "bikini," and "towal" (towel). Similarly, Neil Kennedy's 1997 textbook *Deskans Noze* it does not shy from English loanwords "hockey" and "Australia" (1997:13). On the other hand, in the late 1980s, the promoters of Kernewek Kemmyn were creating new words such as: "pellwolok" ("far-seer" for Television), "pellgowser" ("far-speaker" for Telephone) and "Jyn-amontya" ("Moving Engine" for Automobile). I heard numerous criticisms of the aesthetics of these new words from both Late and Unified speakers, "pellgowser" in particular elicited regular, scathing remarks from some and "Pellwolok" was scrutinized in a national newspaper (Targett 1993).

In 2008 I had a chance to view the creation of these new words firsthand. I attended an evening class in Kemmyn and afterwards, over tea, the conversation turned to creating neologisms. The two teachers present, Polin Prys and Loveday Jenkin were both on the standardization Ad-Hoc Committee

(and the Language Board) and were involved in the project of producing a new dictionary. They

explained for the class and myself how they were trying to decide on a word for "sycamore."

Producing a collection of dictionaries, they began to consult them, first looking at Nicholas Williams'

revision of Unified and dismissing the word as awkward, then looking through a dictionary by Richard

Gendall, and ones in Welsh, Breton, English and French. The choice of the word, they explained,

involved a tension between aesthetics, speakability, purity and loyalty to Celtic Roots. On a second

level, they aimed for fidelity to Medieval origins and, if that was not possible, to legitimate sources

from Cornish-English Dialect or other Celtic Languages. Polin told me that "the dictionary committee

needs two types of people: those who know words and those who use them." They were, however,

suspicious of Late users for both a lack of formalization of their dictionaries and their use of Dialect

and English origin words; one Gendall dictionary was singled out by Loveday for being "70 percent

Dialect" and then asked rhetorically "what's the point?"

There is an explicit desire to eliminate English influences amongst promoters of Kernewek

Kemmyn. For instance, I went to a Kemmyn evening class in 2011 in a community center in West

Cornwall when a group of children running wild in the halls invaded our class. The teachers, perhaps

excited for a chance to pass on their knowledge to people under the age of 30 (I was by far the

youngest person in the class), began to explain a bit of Kernewek to them. A little girl asked the

teacher: "What is the Cornish word for 'karate'?" And the teacher replied: "It's 'karate' because it's not

an English word, you don't need to change it." In 2002, even as the language was being recognized,

Paul/Pawl Dunbar, a member of the *Kesva* ("Language Board") "winced" when asked by a BBC

reporter about the use of English loanwords and explained:

> Students don't want to be breaking into English several times in a sentence when talking about
> something technical. It's irritating to have to use the language that bloody murdered Cornish
> (Duffy 2002)

This sense that the language is only as legitimate as it is far from English has resonance beyond the Kernewek circles. A Cornish student in a first year Kemmyn class told me that his English brother-in-law asked him how to say "I want a cup of coffee" and when he replied "My a vyn eva koffy" the other man said that Kernewek wasn't real because it didn't have a word for "Coffee." The student told me that they then argued about the fact that there isn't a native English word for the beverage either as it's borrowed.

While a significant portion of Kernewek words are created whole-cloth by dictionary writers, there is also a more organic process of creation on-the-fly. I was in a language pub gathering in Truro in late November of 2010 when we hit a snag in conversation. I mentioned that a woman I had met in a Kernewek class the day before taught Sociology, however, no-one knew the word for "sociology" in Kernewek. Three individuals at the table (of a total of seven present) pulled out pocket dictionaries in Kemmyn and began to thrash out a new coinage. One woman suggested that as "Archaeology" was "*hen dhyskans*" and the word for "Society" was "*Cowethas*" that the word should be "*Cowethas Dhyskans*." I brought up the point that the meaning of "Society" in this sense was perhaps more akin to a club or group rather than society in general and that perhaps "sociology" would be ok as it was a common word in all Western European Languages; I was given a dirty look and the matter was dropped.

I would later bring up the issue to a Late instructor who told me he called that phenomenon the "kettle-thrashers": people who create new idiomatic phrases but use potentially incorrect constructions to do so. The name came from a regular pub gathering where they translated "switch on the kettle[175]" using the words for a caning or beating ("switching") and a large outdoor kettle. Complications to this

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[175] A common phrase in British English meaning to turn on the electric tea kettles found in every British kitchen I ever visited.

type of coinage arise in particular because the pocket dictionaries that are often used for this purpose do not have in-depth descriptions of the subtleties of words nor of their origins.

The fact that neologisms are necessary for modern Kernewek is undeniable: all languages need new words regularly to remain relevant, and this is especially true for minority and revived languages that struggle to fill the roles of dominant languages in their users lives. However, the ideological questions that are raised by the creation of neologisms in Kernewek are not inevitable, but arise from a tension between (as my Kemmyn teachers explained in 2008): aesthetics, speakability and purity. One school, Kernewek Kemmyn, values the purity—the non-Englishness—of new words over the other elements. Unified users give a nod to purity, creating the fiction that their new words come from far more varied sources than they do, but tend to take an eclectic approach, valuing the aesthetics of the word. Finally, Late users tend to emphasize the speakability, using words of international currency (to borrow a common term used by them) without hesitation—hence "teevee" and "bikini" appear without anxiety.

Roots of Renaming

Anthropologists have long noted the importance of re-naming in a variety of cultural contexts: American Muslim converts, English and Chinese names in colonial Hong Kong (Matthews 1996), and names for initiates of secret societies. For instance, Khosravi (2012) studied the phenomenon of name-changing amongst Muslim immigrants in Sweden who sought to give themselves "white masks" in the form of Swedish-sounding names. While for some, the change was a pragmatic one, especially if their names were in the public eye (such as for lawyers and doctors) but for others, it was seen as a representation of a more "true" self; two examples he gives are: "My [Muslim] surname does not fit my appearance, since I am blond and have blue eyes" (76). One major difference between Khosravi's

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immigrant groups and the Kernowization of names in Cornwall is the fact that a Swedish name in Sweden is racially neutral and unmarked, while those of Kernewek users are in fact marked as different. Names are often seen as reflections of the self, such as in the Lusophone world where one's true (given) name is seen to have a greater reality than the everyday names many people commonly go by (Pina-Cabral 2010).

In Cornwall, the adoption of new names has deep roots in the Celtic Revivalist context: Iolo Morganwg, the creator of the Gorseth ritual, was originally named Edward Williams. He instituted a process of adoption of a Bardic Name as part of the admission in the Gorseth, a process adopted by the Gorseth Kernow from its earliest days. Henry Jenner, the first Grand Bard of the Gorseth Kernow, became *Gward Myghal* ("Servant of Michael"), Robert Morton Nance, his successor, chose the name *Mordon* ("Sea Wave"), and A.S.D. Smith chose *Caradar* ("Lover of Birds"). Some early bards have become better known by their bardic names than their English ones, such *Talek* ("Broad-Browed") whose English name was Ernest George Retallack Hooper. A long-term activist who knew the Retallack Hoopers told me that even the old bard's wife called him Talek. In letters to other bards held in the Cornish Studies Library from the 1920s, *Hal Wyn* ("White Moor," A.K.A. Ralph St. Vincent Allin-Collins) wrote letters to *Bras y Golon* ("Great Hearted" A.K.A. William Benjamin Tregoning Hooper) where he referred to other bards by their bardic names and addressed and signed the letters using his and Tregoning Hooper's monikers. He also published articles in English and Kernewek in the 1930s using his bard name—even before he was accepted into the Gorseth Kernow. Hal Wyn, at least, took the role of bard seriously and wrote in 1928 to Bras y Golon to congratulate him on starting to teach a new Kernewek class and noting that "...as a Bard you have undoubtedly influence over the people" (C491.67 July 10th 1928).

Thus, name changing has a long history in the Kernewek movement and is fundamentally

linked to the Romantic, Celtic-themed aesthetics and ideology of the Gorseth. The shared, overlapping history of religious neo-pagan Druidry and the language-movement Gorseths (including the Cornish branch) includes this tradition of name changing. Dr. James W. Maertens, the head of the Avalon Center for Druidic Studies explained the philosophical significance of name changing:

> ...Many druids today follow the tradition of magical lodges [descended from Morganwg's Gorseths] and take Druidic names […] The purpose is not to get a 'cool' name but to take a name that signifies your self-transformation into something new. Many druids take names from Celtic mythology or one of the Celtic languages, but many also follow the Native American tradition and choose animal names.

While many Kernewek users, including many bards of the Gorseth, would reject the religious significance of their own bardic names, the mystical element of transformation accompanying initiation into higher grades of the order has deep subjective resonance. Moreover, there are a number of bards with neo-pagan druidic connections such that the movement cannot be ignorant of this similarity. The mystical transformation of a name is related to the deep, at times sudden, emotional connection to the land of Cornwall that appears in Lifestyle-infused narratives of some Medievalist Kernewek users like Yowann Byghan and Dee Brotherton.

Indexing Identity: Names as Political Tools in Cornwall, Taiwan and India

Kernowization is not a random event in Cornwall, nor is it simply the free choice of the name changer. By far the most common form of Kernowization is in the re-naming or re-spelling of placenames on public signage. This has taken a front stage role in the Kernewek movement since the 1988 debates over Camborne-Kammbronn and, as we have seen has been promoted by the users of Kernewek Kemmyn and, generally speaking, opposed by users of Unified and Late Kernewek. This phenomenon is tied to a particular interpretation of Cornish history which erases the depth of English influence upon the land by re-imagining English placenames like Falmouth and Plymouth as translations of the

original Aberfal and Aberplymm. Even in more obvious Kernewek-origin names, like Camborne/Kammbronn, the creation of the new, Kernowized name can erase ambiguity and debate over the name's origin.

A related, far less widespread process is that of Kernowizing personal names. We looked closely into the narrative of prominent Kemmyn user John King/Jowan Byghan/Yowann Byghan, who both pushed the creation of the Kammbronn sign and pursued his own name shift as part of a growing emotional and spiritual link to the land of Cornwall, as opposed to an inherited link via long-standing family and community practices. I showed how this was similar, though apparently stronger, than the link created by fellow imigré and Medievalist Kernewek user Dee Brotherton (Chapter 4). I then demonstrated how this phenomenon of name changing occurs within the leadership of Medievalist circles and, in particular, amongst the users and promoters of Kernewek Kemmyn. In fact, we can see that all of the prominent pre-1985 name-changers (like Wella Brown and Yowann/Jowan Byghan) chose to use Kemmyn over Unified once it emerged as an option. A large number of those central to the Kemmyn movement since its inception—Polin Prys, Jori Ansell, Yowann Byghan—have altered their names in certain contexts (if not entirely).

While the process of creating and promoting Kemmyn has fostered this practice and given it particular strength by offering the possibility of respelling one's English name using Kemmyn orthography, it is in fact a deeply rooted phenomenon linked to the ceremonials of the Gorseth. A central institution of the Medievalist Cornish Revival since it earliest day, the College of Bards has always engaged in name changing in its rituals—much like the neo-pagan druidic movement which it has historic links to—and even amongst its earliest practitioners, the name-changing was taken seriously and the names were used in English-language letters and publications.

As I demonstrated in the fourth chapter, for activists learning Kernewek, the language is part of

a larger project of social transformation which can be directed inwards at the self, or outwards towards either Cornwall as a place and/or the Cornish as a people and cultural tradition. Not all individuals engage in identical projects and one's perspective upon Cornwall and the Cornish deeply influences the track that is taken with Kernewek (including those, like Adrian Rodda who reject the language's authenticity). The association of name changing with Medievalist Kernewek and the Kemmyn form in particular demonstrates an affinity for this variety of the language with those engaged in a project of self-transformation. This was affirmed in my interview with Yowann Byghan where he explained that he took up the language in order to become Cornish and my interview with Dee Brotherton who increasingly comes to support her use of Unified Kernewek as she moves further down her path of becoming connected to her new home and community; Woolard notes that authenticity for minority language communities derives from the ability of the language to naturalize a connection to place (2008:304-305), echoing an observation made by Fishman's analysis of the role that language has in creating (supposedly) authentic links to the past (Fishman 1972:7, 45-50). In contrast, the avoidance of name changing amongst users of Late—even at times a rejection of the use of Kernewek names for others—is connected to the fact that their projects of transformation tend, like in the cases of Mina Dresser and Julie Tamblin, outwards towards a Cornish ethnic community in the place of a decaying Cornish English Dialect (and other cultural markers).

In relation to the usage of public signage, scholars (Curtin 2009) have noted the importance that indexicality plays. A symbol indexes another object when it implies "a relation of contiguity, causality or by some other physical connection" (Ponzio 2006:597). In Curtain's analysis of signage in Taiwan, she noted how traditional Chinese characters[176]—the official standard on the island—indexed both a

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[176] Compared to the Simplified Characters created by the People's Republic of China and used on the Mainland, amongst the large Malaysian Chinese population and in Singapore. Traditional Characters are also used in Hong Kong and Macau.

Taiwanese separateness and a fidelity to traditional Chinese values. More salient to this research is her

analysis of the ongoing dispute over Romanization of Chinese (i.e., the writing of Chinese words using

the Roman alphabet): she describes the three forms of Romanization and how each indexes different

political and cultural identities. Hanyu, first created in Mainland China, is promoted by the

conservatives and indexes

> (1) authentic ethnic and/or cultural 'Chineseness,' (2) Chinese nationalism and pro-unification
> with China […] and (3) Taiwan's receptivity to internationalization. [Curtin 2009:232]

Tongyong, on the other hand, was developed on the island of Taiwan, is usable with indigenous

languages as well as Mandarin and indexes:

> (1) multiculturalism and multilingualism; (2) a Taiwanese identity that is ethnically, culturally,
> linguistically and/or geopolitically distinct from 'Chinese' identity, (3) Taiwanese nationalism
> and/or pro-independence, (4) a censuring of the [nationalist government]'s history of
> domination and its forces (re-)sinicization […] and (5) an openness to internationalization while
> maintaining a prideful, distinctive *Taiwanese* identity [Curtain 2009:232, emphasis in original]

In a Cornish context, the public use of Kernewek indexes—especially in written signs—creates a

linguistic landscape which indexes:

> (1) The separateness of Cornish identity
> (2) The foreignness of English and Englishness
> (3) Cornwall as a nation not a county
> (4) The Celtic heritage of Cornwall

Kernewek Kemmyn, with its emphasis on re-spelling and its attempt to re-create an idealized Medieval

pronunciation further indexes:

> (1) Concepts of a pure Medieval past
> (2) Pre-Reformation history
> (3) Censure upon the English state for perceived genocide
> (4) The illegitimacy of English placenames and hence English presence on the land

These debates over naming and renaming echo the politics of renaming around the globe, especially in

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post-colonial contexts such as India and South Africa. Indian Hindu nationalists in particular have renamed prominent cities: Bombay became Mumbai, Calcutta Kolkata, Madras Chennai and Pondicherry Puducherry. This renaming of major cities is the tip of the iceberg as renaming has taken much deeper roots, down to the level of the street signs. In India as in Cornwall, these changes are fueled by an ethno-nationalist movement seeking to purify the landscape of English influences, changes which only resonate complaints from the political opposition when they have potential economic effects, such as a lack of international name recognition for Bombay or Bangalore[177] or cause difficulty in navigating newly-named roads (The Hindu 2001, BBC 2006).

However, this chapter aims to demonstrate that the shifts of the linguistic landscape, whether on the micro level of road sign orthography or the macro-level of the names of international financial centers, is not meaningless (The Hindu 2001), but serves as a tool for reconstructing the observer's sense of place and their relationship to the history of the locale. Moreover, it serves an exclusive function, serving to alienate some social groups and elements of the past by systematically indexing others.

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[177] Where there is a proposal to change the city's name to 'Bengaluru' (BBC 2006).

Chapter 6: Sight and Sound

Language Pedagogy and Factionalism in Revived Cornish

Amongst proponents of Kernewek, Conversational Cornish has remained a chimera for decades. Despite demands for a more speakable language dating back to the 1970s and two major attempts at standardization the language movement has failed to produce a significant increase in fluent speakers. This chapter argues that the roots of this problem lay within the ideological foundation of the Kernewek Movement, and in particular its promotion of Medievalist forms of the language. Moreover, the education of new students in this language ideology is not overt, but is instead codified into the dominant educational patterns of the movement. Hence, this chapter examines the way in which language pedagogy and language ideology form a dialectic system which, in the case of Kernewek, forms a barrier to the Movement's stated goal of educating fluent speakers.

As early as the mid 1970s (Ellis 1985), younger activists were complaining that Unified was more suitable to writing than speech, an observation which drove the search for an alternative. As we saw in the previous chapters, the fracturing of the Kernewek Movement can be understood in its historic context—the pressures that led to the split, the primary individuals and institutions involved, the consequences—but what this does not tell us is why, a quarter century later, these divisions remained within the Movement. Moreover, it does not address why, after almost three decades of debate over creating an easily speakable language (i.e. Kernewek Kemmyn), the size of the user base of Kernewek appears to have stagnated since the 1980s, with a 2000 survey of the language only reporting

about 500 self-described fluent users (MacKinnon 2000). The fact that the Movement is aging is obvious in any visit to Language events where I was typically the youngest person in attendance (I was 29 in 2010-11), often by several decades. In interviews, this stagnation is often attributed to bad publicity created by the infighting. While there may certainly be some truth to that assertion, I believe that the roots of the problem lay deeper than that: within the forms of language ideology promoted in the Kernewek classroom.

This chapter will fuse information from interviews, public manifestos, internal group publications, scholarly debates within the movement and, especially, observation of language classes and other events. The goal is to understand the underlying ideological drive behind each of these factions and how those ideological differences are reflected, reinforced and re-interpreted through the act of teaching. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that it is ideology hat keeps Medievalist Kernewek from spreading as widely as its proponents desire. As the primary site of language interaction has always been the classroom or between self-study student and textbook—this chapter examines the Kernewek classroom as a site of ideological instruction, showing how versions of Cornish identity are taught alongside Kernewek.

While I recognize three forms of Cornish that emerged in the splits of 1985-1987 and remained relatively stable until 2006, Kemmyn (Common), Late and Unified Cornish, in this chapter I will divide these into two larger schools of thought: Medievalist (including both Kemmyn and Unified) and Late. I will examine the role of speech/sound in the pedagogy of the Late school and the role of writing/reading/sight in the pedagogy of the proponents of Medievalist Kernewek, and how these reinforce the ideological differences in the makeup of the two sides. The underlying ideology of the dialects is intertwined with the preferred pedagogical techniques utilized by instructors, the how (pedagogy) cannot be separated from the what (Kernewek) of the classes.

Overall, Medievalists form the vast majority of users, perhaps over 80% (MacKinnon 2000), and control the largest and best-funded organizations. The classes of the Medievalists were relatively easy to find and their websites regularly maintained. The Late users were far more disorganized, an amorphous group whose primary body—the *Cussel* ("Council")—collapsed into inaction in the mid-2000s. The ability to compare Medievalist Kernewek, especially Kemmyn, to rival forms gives the surface impression that Kemmyn is succeeding. This comparative success and ability to control institutions and create the functioning apparatus of a Language Revival (i.e., a language board and membership organization[s]) akin to those of the Welsh and Gaelic movements, belies the fact that the Kernewek Movement has failed—in all of its varieties—at doing its primary goal: creating a body of fluent speakers able to sustain itself naturally in the community. The young turks of the passionate years of the 1970s and 80s continue to hold their seats in the organizations they created without an obvious new generation of a similar size able to replace them.

Why then, when the Medievalists have been successful in institutionalizing themselves over thirty years, have they failed to reproduce the language community? It is my belief that the two large families of Kernewek dialects—Late and Medieval—embody radically different understandings of the language which appeal to different students which, while raising barriers to Movement-wide coordination, does not in itself explain the failure. Moreover, the pedagogical techniques preferred by each form draw in students receptive to that form and reinforce the central assumptions about the language itself. Language instruction is not a neutral activity, but is itself deeply encoded with meanings which serve to not only provide information about how to speak and write Cornish but also what is legitimate Cornish, what is valuable about the language and how the revival ought to proceed. The language ideology, and accompanying institutional forms and pedagogical techniques, of the Medievalists has proven far more successful than those of the Late users in organizing the short term

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Movement but is, in a sense, a pyrrhic victory that undermines its ability to create fluent speakers.

The Importance of Cornish Classes

From its inception, the Cornish Revival has been rooted in self-taught scholarship and led by unpaid enthusiasts. Since the publication of the first textbook in 1904, the language has lived primarily through language classes and it appears that almost all prominent language figures have also been language teachers.

I have attended classes with twelve instructors and collected information on a half-dozen more and, despite the divisions, they have numerous similarities. Firstly, teachers are rarely paid and usually conduct classes for free (or for a nominal fee to cover materials). They often occur in unlikely places: I have attended classes in a teacher's kitchen, an attic room, a cafe/pub, a Methodist church library and a conference room in the County Hall; I have heard of classes at truck stops and in tin mines. According to interviews with instructors in all three major forms, students are usually adults, often retirees and usually drop classes after a single, introductory level; this information is reinforced by observation of the classroom settings where first grade classes are many times larger than upper grades and overwhelmingly populated by retirement-age students[178]. Those who continue to upper levels often become activists and teachers in their own right, sometimes after a remarkably short period of time (as short as a single semester in one case I know of). Teaching materials vary widely between teachers, who often produce their own textbooks, worksheets and other teaching techniques. While a number of formal textbooks have been produced, even those instructors who use one vary widely in their methods of application. While the Cornish Language Partnership is aiming to improve pedagogy, there is no centralized training or accreditation of instructors.

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[178] Whether this is because they only wanted a taste or because they were disillusioned is a topic of future research.

I attended Kernewek classes occasionally in the summers of 2007 and 2008, regularly throughout the summer of 2009, and thrice weekly in Autumn and Winter of 2010-11. In 2010 I attended the Unified classes of Clive Baker twice a week (an informal one in a café and a more formal one at a church hall) and the introductory Kemmyn classes of Mick Paynter, Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorseth, once a week. I also tried to visit a third class each week (including other levels taught by Baker and Paynter). I was unable to find a regular Late class within a reasonable driving distance but tried to make up for it by living for several months with Neil Kennedy, one of the driving forces behind the Late movement. During these years I lived in the Cornish communities of St. Austell (2007), Camborne (2008-9) and Redruth (2010-11) letting flats or single rooms within family houses in working class neighborhoods.

Overall, I observed a dynamic, shifting pedagogical environment where instructors and teaching materials rapidly appear and vanish (often as the instructor becomes burned out). While some instructors do have formal training, often as schoolteachers, most have no formal training in pedagogy, they teach Cornish as it (and other languages) was taught to them and as feels natural and effective. There are, however, patterns that emerge in the education, patterns which cluster around the two primary dialect families of Medieval and Late Kernewek users.

The Pedagogy of Medievalist Kernewek

While I observed the classes of both Common and Unified Kernewek and there was variation in their methods, an emphasis was placed by both upon interaction with written texts, typically using at least some materials produced specifically by the teacher.

There is a relishing of grammatical complexity found amongst many of the Medieval forms' most passionate defenders. For instance, at the Lowender Perran Celtic Music Festival, I spoke to an

enthusiastic middle-aged woman named Jan at the *Kowethas* ("Language Fellowship") table. I pored through their dictionaries and I asked her which she recommended, she told me one was simpler, the other more grammatical and scholarly. She then confessed that she loves grammar and preferred the second text; furthermore, she was delighted by a new book of 280 declined verbs had just come out.

Grammar is often seen by Medievalists as what sets Kernewek apart from other languages. For instance, at a poetry night at a Polyglot Café in Falmouth in 2011, I spoke to a middle-aged Englishwoman who had been studying the Medieval version of the new Standard since she moved to Cornwall several months before. She explained to me that "Cornish is not like any other language" because of its peculiar grammar and then gave the example of the construction "nyns yu" (a negative to be). She was quite surprised, and I think disappointed, when I told her that I thought Welsh and Breton have much the same grammar as Cornish.

The Unified instructor I was closest to, Clive Baker, is notable for his use of written resources. Clive had produced an entire text book on a home computer which he sold at cost to his students, either in its totality or by chapters[179]. In his voluminous briefcase he also carried phrasebooks and mini-dictionaries for sale and a plethora of Cornish-English dictionaries for his own use. Often in class, students would ask Clive questions about obscure words or conjugations and he would turn to one (or several) of his dictionaries or complicated consonant mutation charts (which he laminated and gave to his students for reference). He suggested that students always carry one of the pocket-sized charts to aid their memory; in this he echoed the classic Medievalist exercise book *Cornish For Beginners* (1963) by P.A.S. Pool, which was written in Unified but has been translated in Kemmyn, where it is suggested that students avoid memorizing mutation charts—Pool assumes that a student would always

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[179] This in itself is not exceptional: I met at least a half-dozen teachers (of all variants) who had produced some form of exercise or text book.

have a chart on hand for reference. As consonant mutations are remarkably common (almost every

sentence has one), this would pose a serious challenge to any natural conversation. In a 2012 interview

with Yowann Byghan, he explained that this was due to the fact that Pool (and his generation of early

Revivalists) could not speak the language and instead always wrote it:

YB: None of us attacked or condemned Morton Nance[180] -indeed, we were immensely grateful for
his work and that of his generation, including great figures like Pawley White (Gunwyn), EG
Retallack Hooper (Talek), and, later, PAS Pool and John Page. However, it was clear that none
of those Unified proponents had ever seriously thought of Kernewek as primarily a spoken
language: they were locked into an earlier vision of Kernewek as a written, dead language, like
Latin or Sanskrit. For me, Kernewek Kemmyn - Common Cornish - signified the exact opposite
of that, Cornish as a living, spoken language, the common language of the people.

While Pool is limited by the written, self-study nature of his text, his work is organized around

grammatical instruction and provides only a limited vocabulary which does not include any

neologisms—hence it tends to be Medieval in its subject matter (students can speak of lords, servants

and druids but are not able to purchase anything as words for currency are missing). Moreover, despite

the admirable push in Kernewek Kemmyn circles to promote spoken Kernewek,[181] I found that

Kemmyn classes still relied heavily upon texts—having students read aloud, conjugate verbs, etc—and

Kemmyn users also regularly employed written devices (dictionaries, cheat sheets) in conversational

conxtexts. The most common was a pocket dictionary produced by the Cornish Language Board which

many Kemmyn students brought to all events where they anticipated using the language; however, I

saw students bringing even the largest, scholarly dictionaries (including *An Gerlyver Mur*, literally

"The Big Dictionary," the largest produced for the language) to what were billed as informal

conversational events at pubs.

Consonant Mutation—Alphabetization over Pronunciation

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[180] Robert Morton Nance, the creator of the Unified system.
[181] And their frequent criticisms of the failures of other groups to do so.

Consonant mutation is a peculiar feature of the Celtic Languages. The beginning consonant of a word—especially when it is hard (e.g., /b/ /k/ /t/)—is modified in its sound (typically softened to a sound like /p/ /g/ /dh/) when it is preceded by certain types of words, such as possessive pronouns. This is a particularly difficult topic for many students of Kernewek, who find it unnecessary and alien. Since the earliest days of instruction, Medievalists have developed charts to assist students. An example are those laminated and given out by Clive Baker, but I also saw them amongst Kemmyn users—sometimes glued into the front covers of their dictionaries. I asked several Late instructors about the issue and they informed me that they would explain the mutations to their students but not dwell on them, instead believing that they were learned naturally in the sounds of speech.

However, amongst Medievalists, these charts have been relatively uniform for decades (see Table 6.1 for a reproduction). On the left-hand side are a series of consonants, arranged in alphabetical order. Sometimes the pronunciation categories of the mutations ("soft," "aspirate" or "hard") were written, but more often they were simply referred to by number and I never heard an instructor explain the nature of the categories of sound. Moreover, the organization by alphabetization is helpful for a student using a dictionary to look up words, but is not perhaps the most obvious form of organization; a useful comparison is with Welsh Language materials—which are written by native speakers—and which tend to organize their charts by categories of sound and do not include numeric states, but only descriptions of the sounds.

This has not gone completely unnoticed by Medievalists. On November 12th, 2010, while reading back issues of the Medievalist group *Agan Tavas'* ("Our Language") newsletter *An Gowsva* ("The Talking Place"), I found a single-page article by Eddie Climo entitled "Phonic Approach to Mutations" that pointed out that the traditional mutation tables are organized alphabetically, when illiterate native users don't think in terms of how things are spelled, but instead how they sound. He

reorganizes the table phonically and shows how sounds made in various parts of the mouth are grouped together in their mutations (see Table 6.2). I photocopied the article and brought copies to my Unified class organized by the group *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language") that evening. Clive didn't recognize it and was markedly unenthusiastic about it. Normally he reveled in complicated grammatical terms but at this juncture he complained about the use of terms like "unvoiced plosive" and "unvoiced fricative." The other three students also looked askance at the article and returned to their grammatical work— poring over dictionaries and consulting charts.

In the traditional chart (the upper one), the alphabetization of the 1st state means that there is no discernible patterns to the sounds—hence one must simply memorize or (as Pool suggested and Baker practices) carry a cheat-sheet chart. The modifications by Climo, thus, appear to make much greater sense of the mutations: when organized by sound, suddenly groupings appear and, while still complicated, one's ability to take them in increases. Moreover, if there is a pattern to their creation, then one can begin to better understand the Late teachers' claim that they can be learned naturally along with learning proper speech. However, the fact that Climo's concept was dead in the water and, moreover, that similar charts did not migrate over from other Celtic languages along with the myriad of textbooks and other teaching materials that have been translated[182] is remarkable and perhaps reveals the depth of dominance of written Kernewek over spoken forms in this community.

Table 6.1: Typical Consonant Mutation Chart (Unified)

1st State *(Unmutated consonant)*	2nd State *(Soft mutation)*	3rd State *(Aspirate mutation)*	4th State *(Hard mutation)*	5th State *(Mixed mutation)*
B	V	-	P	F

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[182] Such as: Dick Gendall's 1988 *Laugh and Learn Traditional Cornish*, Neil Kennedy's 1997 *Deskans Noze* which are both Late Cornish conversions of Welsh books. Also, the Cornish Language Board has converted over beginners books created for multiple languages: *The First Thousand Words in Cornish* (Sandercock 1994) and *Cornish for Beginners* from the Usborne series, which had a previous line of Welsh textbooks of the same style.

C, K	G	H	-	-
CH	J	-	-	-
D	DH	-	T	T
G	*Disappears*	-	C, K	H
G	W	-	QW	WH
M	V	-	-	F
P	B	F	-	-
T	D	TH	-	-

Table 6.2: Consonant Mutation Chart as reorganized by Eddie Climo (Unified)

Unmutated consonant	*Soft mutation*	*Aspirate mutation*	*Hard mutation*	*Mixed mutation*
P	B	F	-	-
T	D	TH	-	-
C, K	G	H	-	-
B	V	-	P	F
D	DH	-	T	T
G	*Disappears*	-	C, K	H
G	W	-	QW	WH
M	V	-	-	F
CH	J	-	-	-

Valuing Writing and Speech

I interviewed Clive in the summer of 2009, and he told me that the most important element of Cornish is the use of traditional grammar. He said that as Cornish is flat in its intonation, subtleties in grammar convey considerable meaning. For Clive, the ornate verb conjugations were a delight to study,

allowing him to express himself in ways that are impossible in English. Moreover, as what makes

Cornish distinctive is its complicated grammatical systems, to simplify the grammar would mean

eliminating the charm and distinctiveness of the language (and, he said, Cornish culture and history).

To change the spelling not only threatens the grammar (as so much is held in, for example, enclitic

pronouns), but it also threatens the connection of the movement to the past in the form of documents.

He described to me how he continually consults "the manuscripts" for answers to questions.

These examples have implications on classroom instruction as well. After a class by Clive's

friend and fellow Unified user Ray Chubb, I asked Ray why he avoids his textbook's long discussions

on using patterns for sentence structures; Ray says that he doesn't like them that he prefers to think and

teach in grammatical forms (Dec 2nd, 2010).

This emphasis on writing was seen by some as at the expense of spoken Cornish. For instance,

I spoke to a young woman at a children's Kernewek play group who said that she used to go to a

particular monthly Language Night but doesn't anymore because it tended to be dominated by a group

of bards (people of the highest level of academic achievement) trained in Unified Cornish who could

only write in the language and struggled to speak.

Common Cornish users justifying their argument that it should become the standard form of the

language often argued that this was because their people had published the most number of written

materials: it was through writing that one accomplished something for the language. On the other

hand, Late users would often tell me about social events they organized: pub meetings, classes and

music events; Common users would discuss these as well, but never with the same importance that was

given to writing.

This emphasis on written materials also appears in an examination of teaching tools available

for self-study on the internet. In 2009, I performed three Google searches: one for "Cornish

Language," one for "Learn Cornish" and one video search for "Cornish Language" and collected the top fifteen results[183]. I coded the responses based on what form they were written in (including English) and whether the site included actual teaching materials or only links and commentary. Of the forty-five responses, twenty-four had no actual language materials: of these six were information on purchasing software or books on Kernewek and eight had only links (often to other websites that came up on the search). Only a handful of the links contained useful materials for language learners: the largest was Warlinnen, the homepage of the Cornish Language Fellowship, which provided text-based materials in Kemmyn. According to the Alexa web tracking service, Warlinnen was by far the most popular language website[184]. Only two videos were produced in Medieval forms (one each in Common and Unified Cornish). The overwhelming balance of material available was in a written format. While, admittedly, these numbers are small and do not produce a statistically sound sample, I believe the production of such a sample within languages with such a limited base of speakers as Kernewek is prohibitive, if not impossible, and that the results need to be instead interpreted qualitatively within a larger examination of Kernewek pedagogy.

Structuring the Community: The Exam System and Institutional Hierarchies

One of the defining elements of Medievalist Kernewek—both Kemmyn and Unified—is a reliance on standardized examinations (grades) which all students were expected to pass before moving to more advanced classes. As I described in the introductory chapter, these exams elicited considerable excitement and energy from students; a number of students told me of their nervousness and stress leading up to the test. These exams date back decades, were created by the Gorsedd and were one of

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[183] Beyond fifteen, the materials were non-existent. The Internet remains an under-utilized tool for the language Movement.

[184] On December 29th, 2009 it was ranked 3.5 millionth, while the Cornish Language Partnership was ranked 5.3 millionth, Agan Tavas 12.5 millionth and the Cornish Language News 17.3 millionth.

the primary reasons for the creation of the Cornish Language Board (managing the exams was becoming overwhelming for the Gorsedd).

In a 2008 survey of the language, 38.5% of the 645 respondent population (230 individuals) stated that they had passed Grade 1 examinations (in either Kemmyn or Unified), and 27.3% (176) had gone on to pass Grade 2. Grade 3 qualifications were held by 23.6% (152) and around 10-11% held each of the two currently available Grade 4 exams (Language and Literature/History) (~70) (Burley 2008:45-46). This survey was circulated through the language community organizations and thus does not capture those who have dropped out of the movement or remain engaged but prefer to do it outside of the institutional circles. Thus it does not give us a good understanding of the total number of people who have taken the classes (information I have not been able to find), but it does give us an idea of the population of those who have taken exams and are still engaged in institutional Kernewek. It gives us a rough count of the size of the core base for Medievalist Kernewek and its breakdown by examination level. This same study found that roughly 52% of respondants preferred Kemmyn, 32% preferred Unified (or Unified Revised) and 11% preferred Late (Burley 2008:31).

Exams help structure the Medievalist understanding of the language. On numerous occasions I was asked by fellow students "what grade are you?[185]" As my Kernewek instruction took an unconventional pattern[186], I did not fit neatly into the pattern. In September of 2010, I had a conversation with a middle aged student named John before his Grade 1 Unified class. He was deeply confused by my status and made me explain why I was "skipping" a grade and attending a Grade 2

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[185] On one occasion, with three middle-aged female students of Grade 2 in Kemmyn, it was the very first question they asked: before the typical "why are you in Cornwall?" or "What is your name?"
[186] I was only able to take classes during a short period during the year while I was in Cornwall and during that period I would at times take classes up to four nights a week (at many levels and in various forms simultaneously) and study for at least an hour a day; this meant that I was often "above" my fellow students in conversational ability but lacking "basic" vocabulary and grammar.

class that night when I hadn't passed the examination. I was a bit taken aback by his anger and changed the subject; I asked him why he took this particular class: he stated that he was in a more informal night class in Newlyn, which was also organized through *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language"), but he preferred this one as it is "more organized and more exam-based," we he believes gives him goals and focus. He informed me that his goal is not to learn to speak Kernewek—he thinks it's too hard—but to learn to read a book like *Enys Tresour* (*Treasure Island*[187], which was just released in translation a month before), he spoke at length about the beauty of the book: its font, the quality of the paper, the excellent illustrations, etc. He confided that he had never read *Treasure Island* in English and that this would be a good excuse to learn. The number of novel-length books written in, or translated to Kernewek, is quite limited, with perhaps 20-25 in total; this (along with its high quality production) made *Enys Tresour* notable.[188]

The exams, thus, serve as important set of goalposts for the Medieval movement. Examinations structure social interaction between students by organizing them into a handful of numbered grades. For instance, I visited regular pub gatherings called *Yeth and Werin* throughout Cornwall which are advertised as conversational evenings. I arrived in one in a small village in West Penwith where the local devotees were all Kemmyn users. Upon entry I was asked three questions: my name, where I was from and my grade in Kernewek. The informal leader spent the evening consciously rotating me (and other beginners) between conversations with my fellow first graders (described as "my peers") and upper students who I could learn from and with whom my interations were often pedagogical in character (for instance, we would stop conversation to go over grammatical errors). While this was the

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[187] *Treasure Island* is a fitting book for translation to Kernewek. In speaking to the translator, Prof. Nicholas Williams, he told me that the language was archaic and about the sea so few neologisms were necessary. Moreover, the opening scenes of the book appear to be set in Penzance, Cornwall and one of the main characters, Squire Trelawney, has a archetypal Cornish surname.
[188] Including nine novel-length books translated by Evertype, the publishers of *Enys Tresour*, a version of the *Little Prince*, four novels by Myghal Palmer, and a smattering of other novels by individual authors.

most hierarchical Yeth and Werin I attended, I found that in general participants explicitly chose their

grade peers for informal conversations and consulted with those in higher grades at moments of

uncertainty. Moreover, the exam process helps to give authenticity to teachers and institutions. This

question of authenticity came up in 2008 in a discussion with Prof. Laurence Rule, a member of the

Dictionary Committee of the Language Partnership; I asked him why proponents of Late did not take

exams. He replied:

LR: …Late [Kernewek], has always been, quite frankly, a mess. Um, they, didn't really start to get it going, to get their act together, until the early '90s. They are still very much divided. I think they've agreed on a unified spelling[189], but they agreed upon that only about two years ago. And, the Language Board, has had some, I suppose, tentative discussions, we could say, with the Late [Kernewek] people about 'did they want to extend the examinations to them?' And so far the answer's been no. Now, it's a critical issue and it's a critical issue because as we move forward into teaching the language in schools, the first question that's going to be asked in the education world is: 'are these people qualified to teach?' And in England, as in the States, that's a very specific legal definition. You know, you must have gone through certain particular courses to be recognized as a qualified teacher.

JH: Right

LR: The second question which would be asked is 'how do we know that they know any Cornish?' Now, if somebody's been through the examinations of the Language Board, you have some assurance that they do. If they hadn't, now I mean Bernard [Deacon[190]] speaks Cornish apparently quite fluently though I find him impossible to understand. Um, but he has, to my knowledge, never been through the examination system, so how do I know? Now, as far as I'm concerned, of course, it isn't important. But if we're running a school...

JH: Then it becomes more important...

LR: ...then it becomes much more critical. Um, so that's the situation, certainly as far as Late is concerned.

Yet the examination regime, which orients itself to as-of-yet imagined qualifications for state-

run schools, has begun to be extended to the Late community. At a December 2010 meeting of the

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[189] According to conversations with the leadership of the Cussel—the Cornish Language Council—which governs Late Kernewek, they produced their first standardized spelling system in the late 1980s, soon after breaking off. They then produced a second, updated standard a decade later, which may be what Laurence is referring to. There was, however, a remarkable level of ignorance amongst Medievalists as to Late Kernewek: they were confused as to who their leaders were (often attributing Dick Gendall far more authority than he ever had), how many students they had, whether they had a standard spelling, if they produced any dictionaries/books, and even if they had an organization at all. This was not true of Medievalists about each other, nor was it true of Late users about Medievalists.

[190]A lecturer on Cornish Studies at the Combined Universities of Cornwall and a noted proponent of Late Cornish.

Cornish Language Council—the informal guiding body of Late Cornish—reports emerged from

teachers that the Language Partnership was developing exams that they expected Late students to take.

Neil Kennedy asked the assembled group who was writing the exam. When no-one was able to answer

he asked "who says they can examine us?" One of the experienced instructors, Julie Tamblin, reported

that she put in an application for examiner in the Asset and Language Ladder Scheme and was rejected;

she said it is part of a wider "process of discounting Late Cornish" and another teacher agreed that

there are serious "trust issues."

For a movement concerned with reviving spoken Kernewek, these Late teachers have reason to

be suspicious of the examination process. The early exam process, based upon copies I read in the

Cornish Studies Library was heavily based around writing and reading and of the 286 words considered

necessary for the First Grade from 1962 to 1970 only two were definitively modern: Caryach/Caryajys

("bus") and car tan/kerry tan ("motor car"). These exams show how, in the period surrounding the

1967 creation of the Language Board there was an absolute emphasis on written Cornish, archaic

lexicon and knowledge of complicated grammatical terms. While my interviewees have stated that the

exams have shifted since then—an observation confirmed by the exam syllabus published by the *Kesva*

("Language Board")[191], this fundamentally conservative, text-based approach continues to infuse

Medievalist Kernewek—especially in its Unified form. The current exam is heavily based around the

knowledge of grammatical concepts. Moreover, the generation of teacher-scholars who created

Kemmyn—like Ken George—learned Kernewek within this context.

We can see a direct translation of these tendencies into contemporary Kernewek Kemmyn

education. I took weekly Kemmyn classes in the winter of 2010 and 2011 with Mick Paynter in St

Ives. During that time, I was given weekly handouts by Mick drawn primarily out of the Kernewek Dre

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[191] http://www.kesva.org/assets/files/kesva/DerivadowHaSteus2012.pdf

Lyther correspondence course which the teacher stated was the most popular course in the language movement. These handouts always included a list of new vocabulary words. In a count of all of the nouns—a total of 155 words—I found that 138 described objects and relationships which existed at the end of Traditional Kernewek, 17 that described those created in the 19th century and none that described objects or ideas that were created in the 20th or 21st centuries. Students could discuss castrated cattle ("lon"), dried cow dung ("glos"), rushes ("broenn"), and hawthrone ("spernenn wynn") but not currency, computers, airplanes, or employer/employee relationships (with the exception of "secretary" ["skrifennyades"]). In fact the only technological developments in general they could speak of were "motor car" ("karr tan"), "net" ("roes"), "engine house" ("jynnji") and "bike" ("diwros"). In contrast, there were a number of farming words such as "manure" ("mon"), "apple" ("aval"), "pig" ("hogh"), "goose" ("goedh"), "lamb" ("oen"), and "bullock" ("lon")[192]. As the KDL course was designed with the exams in mind, it sheds light on a testing regime whose lexical emphases appear not to have fundamentally shifted since the exams of its founders in the 1960s and 70s.

The Pedagogy of Late Kernewek

The study of Late Kernewek in the late 2000s was particularly difficult, as classes were far rarer in this variety, and in some years appeared not to have occurred. The governing body of Late, the *Cussel* ("Council"), collapsed soon after my arrival and was only revived in my last year of fieldwork. This collapse is a touchy subject and seems to involve personality conflicts amongst the leadership in the wake of the departure of two leading activists: Neil Kennedy, who moved to Brittany, and Dick Gendall, who—now elderly—went into semi-retirement. Conversations with both men revealed that in addition to personal, non-Kernewek reasons for withdrawal, both expressed deep frustrations with the

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[192] In addition to these 155 words, there were also 157 placenames, of which 153 were traditional local names.

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rancorous divisions in the language and, especially in Neil's case, exhaustion with activism. Delving more into this sensistive period, where I myself have only weak second-hand knowledge, could be potentially detrimental to some of the participants in this project, and so I hesitate to speculate any further and defer this line of analysis for future research.

The collapse, however, does not mean that Late ceased to exist in the 2000s, as it was still used in conversations, emails and amongst friends, however its institutional manifestations were rare. Hence, I do not have the same depth of material on pedagogy for Late as I do for Kemmyn and Unified and instead rely here more upon interviews and analysis of documents.

In the fourth chapter I described the Late package as it emerged in the writings of the 1980s as including four elements: (1) emphasis on pronunciation, (2) relatively heavy use of borrowed words from Cornish-English, (3) a rejection of Medievalism, (4) valorization of common folk. In this section I will show how those articulated values become translated into pedagogical techniques.

An anecdote was repeated to me independently by two students of well-known Late Cornish teacher Neil Kennedy: on the first day of their class, Neil would play sound recordings of elderly men in the westernmost parish of Cornwall in the early 20th century speaking in thick Cornish Dialect. While these men were speaking English, Neil would tell his students to focus on the sounds—the intonation, the rhythm—because this was truly Cornish and was what they were going to emulate. Neil reinforced this link between spoken Cornish dialect and Late Cornish in an interview in 2007:

NK: I chose [Late] because it has a more direct link with the traditional survivals of Cornish (place-names, dialect, etc) that I grew up with. As such it fits better with a popular sense of Cornishness. I have no time for the notion of language purity but I am concerned to reproduce the language of the last native speakers as closely as possible. As such, I am very concerned with reproducing historical pronunciation and believe that I do so more accurately that [sic] speakers of other forms. (6-20-2007).

This emphasis on the spoken continues outside of the classroom into an early embrace of audio-visual

materials by Late users. One of Neil's students, Frances[193], a middle-aged woman and Celtic folk music enthusiast, insisted later in the interview that I borrow a VHS film that she found inspirational. The film, *Kernowpalooza* was a professionally produced 30 minute television show created in 1999. It was entirely in Late Cornish, featuring musicians, artists, poets and surfers reflecting on various parts of modern Cornish life. This continues today: in my brief survey of internet materials I found only a single simple text-based teaching tool, but encountered an entire series of homemade instructional videos. Amongst the top fifteen responses to the video search, five were instructional materials produced by Late speakers and only two were produced in Medieval forms (one each in Common and Unified Cornish).

Valuing Sounds

In an interview with Julie Tamblin (2008), a teacher of Late Cornish, she described to me how she had tried both of the Medieval forms but had found them false and invented. She said that it was the sound and the feel of Late Cornish that she found legitimate: that she had known it was the real Cornish when she had heard it spoken. When Neil met her in 2010 he reported to me that "her Cornish is pretty good" because "she focuses very strongly on trying to get the pronunciation just right" (November 11th, 2010). However well she might have succeeded in the eyes of an expert, however, when one of my non-Cornish speaking friends who was, however, familiar with Medievalist enthusiasts, heard her speak he thought it was Elvish, revealing the gulf of phonic difference between Julie and Medievalists. Julie had informed me in an email in October of that year that she was focusing on teaching Cornish via a "lexical approach" where words and phrases are taught preferentially over grammar.

Gus Williams, another Late teacher, told me how he had switched from Unified to Late and

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[193] The same Frances who introduced me to Martyn Whitford and his bilingual band Hanterhir.

found that it sounded more natural, like the "old boys" (his terms) in Sennen (in western Cornwall) talking around the bar. He further said that Late people focus upon pronunciation and avoid the idea of purity while the Medieval users focus on grammar and worry about keeping out English influences. He said most of his use of Cornish involves some mixture of English words (he also mixes Cornish into his English) and that he and his wife speak a hybrid at most times.

A visit to a Late Kernewek class in Mullion taught by Dickie Mint in 2010 revealed how the Late package is taught, even when the Late spelling system is jettisoned.   Dickie Mint is an enthusiastic, working class Cornishman who was a student of Neil's and a long-term teacher. His class was larger than most I have been to: the students were crammed into his dining room and included a number of his neighbors from the housing estate. He was accompanied by a former user of Kemmyn named Esther who now promoted the Medievalist version of the Standard Written Form. Despite this change, the techniques of teaching emphasized orality: Esther and Dickie read lines from a conversation printed in an old *Cornish World* magazine and students translated them verbally. They then constructed sentences using flashcards they had written out in a previous week.

The class then moved over to the construction of sentences using flash cards. The cards were organized into bundles such as "family words," "conjugations of bos", "prepositions", "mutations", etc. Dickie fumbled in an alphabetical organizer looking for the right bundles while Esther led the class. They were constructing present participles with possessives, such as:

Yth esov'vy | ow | ponya | gans | ow | map[194]
(I am | [Gerund] |run |with|my|brother)

 Most of the flashcards were actually made by the students themselves during earlier classes. All of the forms used were pure Main Graph SWF and Neil later told me that he found it very

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[194]   Each upright line is between a flashcard.

depressing to hear Dickie Mint use the word "eus." As they went along and, in particular with mutations, Esther would provide little sayings to help memory, such as the idea that Third State Mutations only occur with PaTtycaKe (PTK) consonants or that the Third State can be thought of as "adding an 'H'". At one point, there was debate between Dickie and Neil over whether they could use "thera" or "eus" and Neil said that the SWF allows either, Dickie replied that he thought they had to use Main Graphs until Breakthrough and Neil replied that Breakthrough was for children and that this is an adult class.

While a number of them took notes, there were no written work, and no written assignments collected or given out. Dickie would later discuss the arrangement he has worked out with Esther at a Late meeting and one of the other teachers—Jan—said she doesn't mind compromising on spelling like Dickie but not on pronunciation. Agreeing with her, Neil called for a defense of certain phonemes associated with Late pronunciation (December 7th, 2010).

This emphasis on sound is looked upon with suspicion by many Medievalists who believe that traditional pronunciations were lost in the Anglo-Cornish Dialect. For instance, in his 1984 text *A Grammar of Modern Cornish* William/Wella Brown—a prominent Medievalist—argued against over-speculation on extinct pronunciation, instead saying that attention should be given to the Medieval Literature (in particular the Miracle Plays) and to using inference to flesh out grammar (vi-v).

The governing body of the Late movement is the *Cussel an Tavas Kernuak*, the "Cornish Language Council." The *Cussel* was organized as a "council of elders" to provide guidance to those studying (Late) Kernewek. Classes were asked to send representatives to the *Cussel*, which made decisions based off of consensus[195]. The *Cussel* does have a formal leader, a chairperson, but the

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[195] Students of more formal consensus models should note that the Cussel does not use an established consensus model and while there is a verbal commitment to consensus, I noted in meetings that members do vote on issues. All of the votes I

meeting in which I was present she did not direct the conversation nor did she set the agenda. When it was established, the *Cussel* did not immediately advocate a single spelling system, nor has it ever followed the route of the other organizations which developed their own publishing wings that produced dictionaries, grammars and textbooks; eventually they did adopt a single spelling, however, they changed it in recent memory. Individual members of the *Cussel* have published widely, but there is no single published dictionary; I did note that many members utilized Neil Kennedy's electronic dictionary, a Word document that he periodically updated and emailed out to friends. While this dictionary appeared to me to be as well-researched as any of the formally published ones, it was never cited or (apparently) utilized by the Cornish Language Partnership in their standardization efforts.

As Late Kernewek is not recognized by the Language Board (unlike both Medievalist forms), students of Late cannot join the Gorsedd through examination in the language, though a few[196] have been selected because of their dedication to Cornish Culture. Likewise, they have no representatives on the Language Board. A number of Late users had disdain for the Gorsedd: I was told of scornful satirical comics from the 1970s and 80s (though I never saw them) and one participant told me he had no desire to "ponce about in a blue dressing gown and a tea towel on my head," mocking the blue robes and headgear of the Gorsedd ritual. Some of those who were members, such as Neil Kennedy, Frances Bennett and Bernard Deacon, appear to have taken little interest in their positions beyond receiving the accolade.

Ideology and Pedagogy

The division between Late and Medieval forms of Cornish have persisted over three decades despite the small language community and the rise of prominence of new generations of speakers. While often

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observed were unanimous and I am not certain what would have happened if there were dissenting votes.
[196] Including Neil Kennedy, Frances Bennett, Rod Lyon and Bernard Deacon.

glossed as spelling debates, they are in fact fundamental divisions about the nature of Cornish and the direction of the Revival.

On the one hand is Medieval Cornish—embodied in the Unified and Kemmyn spelling systems. It is, as Ken George (creator of Kemmyn) wrote in 1986, a conversion of "a basically medieval written language into a modern spoken language, suitable for everyday use" (5). This pre-eminence given to the written is widespread amongst Medievalists, from Clive Baker with his charts and handmade grammatical lessons, to the Kemmyn activists who claim legitimacy for their form based on the number of books written in it, to the webmasters of Warlinnen who write phrasebooks and exercises for their site. For these forms of Kernewek, correct intonation is often unimportant (Clive going as far as saying it is completely flat) or is an unachievable chimera (an idea held by Wella Brown [1984] and others), as it is grammar that contains meaning and the essence of the language. There is a political salience to favoring writing, as Jaffe noted in her examination of the dominance of writing amongst Corsican language nationalists, for: "all writing in education, the media and politics has the value of displacing [majority language] domination of the public sphere" (1999:215).

The Late Cornish activists, on the other hand, intonation is absolutely crucial: it is the sing-song rhythms of the Cornish English Dialect that they seek to emulate, as they see it as carrying the Cornishness left from the old language. They have less concern over mixing English words, as it is not pre-eminently the grammar or the content of the words that makes it Cornish. For these activists, it is the aural and performative—whether that be in folk music concerts, videos, recordings or pub conversation events—that is emphasized. For many of them, Medieval Cornish simply doesn't "sound right," while for their Medieval counterparts much of Late Cornish "looks too English."

The pattern perceived in both the field and in analysis of teaching materials (electronic and hard copy) was that Late users placed an emphasis on reproducing the sounds spoken forms—hence relying

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more on audio-visual materials—while Medieval users emphasized written forms—hence relying on typed materials, was repeated online. Late users, despite their small numbers, dominate the instructional videos while Medieval users dominate the written guides.

It is not that users of Medieval forms do not utilized AV formats, for instance noted Kemmyn supporter Pol Hodge has collaborated on a number of short films. The difference is instead one of emphasis. This emphasis is shared with other classical tongues whose study and use is primarily aimed to index identity through symbolic uses rather than promote conversant uses applicable to everyday needs—examples include Classical Arabic in Egypt (Haeri) and Hindi/Sanskrit on Mauritius (Eisenlohr 2007); even amongst users of a spoken language like Welsh, the role of the language "as a symbolic quality" has become increasingly important even as the ability and opportunity to use it has stagnated in Welsh society (Williams & Morris 2000:162). Moreover, it would be easy to stretch these divisions across the rubric of oral versus written tradition, though both are hybrids as they seek to be both written and spoken tongues. Where this rubric works is in understanding their fundamental starting points: for the Medieval forms, Cornish is a written language that needs to be transformed into a spoken one— Ken George said the most troubling question for him was: "How do you know you are pronouncing Cornish correctly?" (1986:6). They start with the script and build upwards. Meanwhile, for the Late proponents, the sound of Cornish was given—it was the English dialect sounds they heard in the speech of the elderly and in recordings—and it has been the discovery of the content, the written words, that has been more problematic.

Implications for Pedagogy

This difference of emphasis has deep implications for the pedagogical project. Medieval Kernewek has a highly structured system—single spellings, formal membership groups with elected leadership, and a

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long-running framework of examination—and this is reflected in their teaching systems. Importance is given to spelling, grammar and the construction of correct *written* Kernewek. This spills out further by structuring the interactions between students outside of the classroom as the examination system gives a hierarchical framework which every student can fit into which classifies them from the first day of Grade 1 all the way to the position of Grand Bard of the Gorsedd.

On the other hand, the Late Cornish classroom emphasizes orality and informality of structure. The nature of the language, it's apparent disorganization in the eyes of Medievalists—plurality of spelling, flexibility of grammar, willingness to borrow elements of English—belies the value given to pronunciation. Emphasis is given to personal relationships: consensus over hierarchy, conversation over writing, sound over sight. These tactics, however, have not played out with great success in the Spelling Wars and the Medieval examination regime is increasingly encroaching onto the Late project; the arrival of exams is felt as an imposition, "who says they can examine us?"

The majority of any introductory course in Kernewek never continues on to higher grades. Laurence Rule explained the situation which I observed in numerous classes across Cornwall:

LR: The Cornish Language Board operates examinations. With great revolutionary fervor they're labeled grade 1, 2, 3 and 4. And you take Grade One after about a year and so on. Now, it has always been true that the majority of people taking Grade One examinations, which gives you an understanding of how the language works, how placenames work, and so on, and gives you familiarity with simple phrases and ability to have a simple conversation. The majority of people who take that examination do not continue. There's actually quite a distinct step, so that for example, um, it's not unusual to find perhaps 25 or 30 people taking the Grade One examinations in a particular year and, as this year I mean I actually mediated the exams, there was only one person taking Grade Two. So that's always been a problem, there are people who get into it to satisfy this wishing to know something about the language then who decide not to take it beyond that stage. And that's always been the case and whether this will change or not, who knows? (June 23rd, 2008)

The processes of examination and pedagogy serve as selective devices for their organizations. In my interviews with language users I always asked how they found their first classes, only a tiny minority

were aware of the divisions in the language before joining the movement and tended to pick the first class that presented itself or the one that was most convenient to their schedules. This means that any Grade 1 class, regardless of variety, has roughly the same breakdown of motivations and beliefs in the students; I never observed that one form or another tended to attract different types of students.

The vast majority of these students never take a second year of classes. While some individuals may quit for personal reasons or because of a general distaste for the language, there is evidence that many are uncomfortable with the pedagogical methods. Julie Tamblin told me of how she sampled both Medieval forms before turning to Late and I was told by a young (~25) man how his Medievalist classes were too focused on writing and grammar to the detriment of speaking and he had no interest in continuing with class and studies from books and tapes at home, as he put it "there are too many fucking books and they don't agree."

For decades, while pursuing a modern spoken language, they have promoted a particular vision in their classes and publications which values the written over the spoken and grammar over pronunciation. This can be seen in the teaching tools themselves: alphabetized mutation sheets, written examinations, elaborate textbooks, dictionaries and books of hundreds of verbal conjugations. The system they have created is strictly hierarchical, both within the classroom where a small cadre of students relates to the (typically) single instructor and the numerous ranks and offices within the language organizations. This hierarchical system has been highly successful at the short-term, day-to-day business of the Revival: organizing classes, publishing newsletters and lobbying governments. In comparison, it has been spectacularly more successful (at least in year one) than the proponents of Late Kernewek in the *Cussel* ("Council"), which struggles organize classes and advance its position.

The use of Medieval forms of the language, dating back to the Pre-Reformation era reinforces these predilections. Those documents are rich in grammatical complexity but have large lexical holes

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for modern users: students using Peter Pool's book, for instance, can speak of the feudal system or subsistence farming, but are at a loss when talking about mundane tasks like buying things, working an office job or relaxing with friends in a non-hierarchical situation. In response, Medievalists seeking to maintain their perception of the language's purity have constructed often-awkward neologisms such as *pellgowser* for "television" or *jynn ebron* for "airplane." The Medievalist ideology has also reified forms of Kernewek that appear to have alienated the majority of its own first grade students and becomes practically unspeakable without the constant mediation of written materials.

Thus, the teaching of Kernewek and the language ideology that underlie the movement exist in a dialectical system in which the goal of a spoken, community language is an eternally distant goal. In a circumstance where the majority of beginning students drop out of the language, Kernewek classes continually weed out those who are not interested in learning complicated grammar and written exercises; while this might imply that Late classes would be more appealing, during my time in Cornwall, the Late community was unable to fill that gap. There is some anecdotal evidence that in the 1980s, Late was able to do so: Neil Kennedy told me of highly successful classes at truck stops and in mines that consciously sought to break down the Medievalist forms of pedagogy and reach out to a more Working Class audience. However, they failed to maintain this momentum in part perhaps to the massive economic dislocations in the Cornish Working Class that was their target audience due to the closing of mines and general neo-liberal economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s. I also heard from Neil and former Late activist and teacher Gus Williams that many withdrew because the wider Movement's debates became (under the ideological influence of the Kemmny branch) increasingly arcane and alienating for a relatively less-educated Working Class audience. In the process of these debates and shifts, the grammatical demands upon Medievalist students become so great that the memorization of verbs and mutation charts becomes a practical impossibility for most. In the process,

a body of users able to have natural conversations unmediated by the written word remains outside the grasp of a movement that claims it as their ultimate goal.

Conclusion

At its heart, this dissertation aims to connect the dots between a language's form (i.e., orthography, grammar, lexicon), the language ideologies of its users and its users' intended goals. In Chapter 2, I laid out the main ideological currents running through Cornwall, which I summarized under the headings Lifestyle and Lifestruggle and I showed how they were more than simply intellectual, but were manifested particularly in aesthetics. This chapter has served a a bridge between aesthetics on the one hand and linguistic form on the other. What looks better? What feels more authentic? What is more legitimately Celtic? These questions, which are central to the Kernewek Revival, can never be answered through a statistical analysis of the extant documents nor through an adaptation of scientific descriptive linguistcs, instead they are answered through appeals to the ideological and aesthetic side of the movement. I demonstrated in the third chapter that the history of Kernewek is tied to the larger intellectual history of Cornwall and Britain and that the Revival emerged out of a particular tension between an insider ethnic status in Cornwall that excluded particular forms of belonging—in particular those that were High Anglican, Celto-philic, Middle Class and Antiquarian in nature. The language that is a product of that tension is today still divided between forms that privilege a written, Medieval, Celtic aesthetic and those that favor a spoken, Dialect-infused, Late aesthetic. As I have laid out in this chapter, and summarized in Table 6.4, the varying orthographic schools in the Kernewek Movement each articulate with a number of broader linguistic, social and political dimensions of Cornish life.

Table 6.4: Ideological Articulations Kernewek Orthographic Schools

Attitudes Towards…	Late School	Unified School	Kemmyn School	Standard Form
Prioritized traditional sources	Late Writings and Cornish Dialect	Medieval Documents	Medieval Documents	Medieval Documents*
Standardized Spelling?	Multiplicity of Spellings	Single Spelling System (with internal variation)	Single Spelling System (1 sound – 1 graph)	3 Variant Spelling Systems (1 sound — 1 Graph)*
Borrowing	Tendency to Borrow from English & Dialect	Eclectic Borrowing from Celtic Languages	Tendency to Borrow from Breton	Tendency to Borrow from Celtic Sources
Attitude towards English Influences	Comfort with Historic English Derivations	Sees Historic English Derivations as Corruptions	Sees Historic English Derivations as Corruptions	Sees Historic English Derivations as Corruptions*
Marking Pronunciation	More openness to diacritics to mark pronunciation	More reliance on orthography to mark pronunciation	More reliance on orthography to mark pronunciation	More reliance on orthography to mark pronunciation
Revival Emphasis	Emphasis on speaking	Emphasis on writing	Emphasis on writing	Too soon to Determine
Pronunciation or Grammar?	Pronunciation	Grammar	Grammar	Too soon to Determine
Group Organization	Network model	Hierarchical institutions	Hierarchical institutions	Hierarchical Institutions
The Gorsedd	Largely negative	Largely positive	Largely positive	Largely Positive
Institutions	Cussel	Agan Tavas	Kowethas/Kesva	Maga
Exams	Rejects	Promotes	Promotes	Promotes

*Officially there are three variant spellings of the Standard Written Form, two of which are called "Variant" forms and are based off of Late or Unified sources. However, there is no indication that these two Variants have had *any* official use since their creation. Instead, all official Maga documents have been in the form closest to Kemmyn. That said, *Agan Tavas* has produced documents in the "Traditional Graphs" variant, though their textbook was rejected by Maga for grammatical mistakes; at the same time Maga funded a textbook in the Kemmyn-based variant. I noted in examining both textbooks that they appeared to be produced hastily and both had grammatical mistakes.

Chapter 7: "Onan Hag Oll Rag Kernow!"
Standardization

*"An Mor Hedra vo yn fos dhis a dro, 'th on **onan hag oll** rag Kernow!"*
*(As long as the sea may be as a wall around you, we are **one and all** for Cornwall!)*
From *Bro Goth Agan Tasow*

The 2011 Maga Conference

Every year since 2005, the Cornish Language Partnership, better known by its Kernewek name Maga,[197] has held a Cornwall-wide conference on the language. The theme of the conference has varied from year to year, but always with the goal of updating the wider Kernewek Movement to Maga's activities, forecasting new developments and to bolstering support for the wider project of Standardization.

The 2011 conference was held on November 27th in the mid-Cornwall town of Lostwithiel in a community center owned by the town council. Turnout was disappointing, as an unseasonable snow kept many home. The main event was in a large auditorium, the edges of which was taken up by tables for a number of groups including *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language"), the *Kowethas/Kesva* (The "Language Fellowship"/"Language Board"), *Radyo an Gernewegva* (an online weekly radio program), *Movyans Skolyow Methrin* ("MSM," a Kernewek preschool), Evertype (a publisher) and a number of projects of Maga itself.

I arrived around 9:45, about a half-hour before the announced start time and picked up a nametag at the door, I was also provided with a portable headset in order to listen to simultaneous translation. Any time a speech was in English, someone would translate into Kernewek and vice-versa. Pol Hodge, an activist and employee of Maga had already told about the translation and which he said is a new feature at this conference but that they've used it at other events and have had success;

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[197] From the verb for "grow" or "nurture"

according to him, many people from outside Cornwall are impressed with the level of technology used by the Cornish Movement.

The event felt a bit like a who's who, with figures that have appeared through this dissertation present including: Nicholas Williams, Jori Ansell, Mick Paynter, Pol Hodge, Loveday Jenkin, Neil Kennedy and Julie Tamblin. I sat about midway back with Julie who excitedly told me about her expectations for the event as we sipped tea. The crowd was relatively casual in dress, the only person in a full suit was a former policeman named Nev Meek who took a leading role in many of the presentations—to the consternation of some of the seasoned activists who told me he had only appeared when the standardization was already underway. Overall, there were forty people present, seven who used the simultaneous translation service. The reports were largely given in Cornish, relying upon the translation which worked well.

Mick Paynter, in his capacity as the Grand Bard of the Gorseth, was the master of ceremonies and opened the event with a short speech around the theme that "without a strong language we will not have a strong culture." Mick then introduced Jenefer Lowe, head of Maga, who gave the first in a series of presentations on Maga's ongoing work. Mick was the only person to remain in front of the room for the entire conference period and I was asked by Jori Ansell (an ex-Grand Bard) to take photos of him for the Gorseth website; unfortunately, they all turned out blurry or showed Mick looking inexplicably bored. The big news of the day was a letter announcing a change of policy from UNESCO, which had previously classified Kernewek as "extinct" and now considered it "undergoing revitalization." Maga's list of activities was impressive: collaboration with the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds to educate the public about Cornwall's national bird (the endangered chough), teacher education, dictionary production, film festivals, collaboration with the local professional rugby team, an upcoming Christmas Party and taster sessions and stalls at festivals around Cornwall.

Much of the talk at the event was over the production of new Standard Written Form (SWF) dictionary. Jenefer announced the release of a 10,000 word glossary online and later Pol discussed how, in his area of education, a major problem they're facing is the lack of a dictionary for schools. He explained that his team has been giving out the glossary, and are in the process of preparing a dictionary for schools. He noted that there is a lack of Late vocabulary in the book because, he maintained, there is a lack of official vocabulary from the outside academic consultants—Ben Bruch and Albert Bock—and there are too many colloquial terms. His educational dictionary is also simplified so that there is only one version per term. Neil would later accuse him in private of having Kemmynized the dictionary and removed every compromise form, but thought he probably did his Kemmynization unconsciously.

Nev Meek's presentation was on the Status Working Group whose most public role is the creation of bilingual signs. He brushed over the fact that in the previous month the Signage Panel had collapsed as its Late and Unified members had pulled out, citing intransigence on the side of the Kemmyn proponents.

Lunch was free and was served in a buffet form in a side room: there were pasties, cold salads, little sandwiches, and non-alcoholic drinks including coffee, tea, juice and water.

After lunch, business turned towards the future, in particular the goal of the Maga staff to transform itself so that Corpus and Strategic Planning would continue to be run by the Partnership (the Partnership would be a "consultative body for policy and direction") but service delivery would be carried out by a wholly-owned company. The central idea was that this company could subcontract out its services to language organizations—while the preschool and radio program were mentioned, the unspoken reality is that the only organization able to take up much of this work is the Kemmyn-using Kowethas ("Language Fellowship"). Throughout the language of business was used: this is a business

model and they're looking for "a better way to run a business," moreover they want to make the Partnership amenable to contract law by interacting with both the Council and the Language organizations via contracts. Nev says they need "an efficient system of delivery according to milestones." Later, Matthew Clarke (the organizer of the radio show) asked (in Kernewek) why the Partnership is making a push to emphasize Cornish distinctiveness, and Jenefer Lowe replied that this is important as Cornish is a tool for "selling Cornwall."

The first, and only, expression of anger emerged in the question and answer session after this presentation. Michael Everson, the owner of the publishing firm Evertype and a known vocal proponent of Kernowak Standard[198] stood up began to speak (in English) about divisions within the language, the unspoken conflict. He argued that his desire to have Traditional Graphs (a "valid aesthetic choice" in his terms) in the Glossary was rejected and that book he had published (a textbook entitled *Skuel an Yeth*[199]) was ignored by Maga and the Signage Panel had completely collapsed. Behind me in the auditorium were sitting two members of the *Kesva* ("Language Board"), one whispered to the other, "why won't she just shut him up!?" and "why doesn't she just say the truth!" Jenefer gave a moving impromptu speech (in English) about the need to unify the movement around a single spelling, saying that the SWF and how it is to be used is deeply misunderstood by users of all forms ("both sides" as they said) and that she will send out that document again. She says that the Partnership will stick to this agreement in all of its actions, even if everyone hates it, until the process is followed to amend it. She says that people are free to use the orthography of their choice in private but

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[198] There is more on this form below, but in short, it was a compromise form created by users of Late and Unified Kernewek to bridge the gaps between them and create a single united front for the Standardization process. By this time, however, most of its supporters had turned to the Standard Written Form.

[199] This book was not advertised on the Maga website and I was told by a Maga insider that it was because of a number of grammatical errors in the book—I looked up the book and confirmed the existence of these errors. However, in consulting the most popular, long-running Kemmyn textbook—called KDL—I found similar errors, however it remains advertised by Maga. This was particularly true of the overuse of the word *dhe* ("to") as an infinitive particle, a practice in English ("to run") but not in Kernewek.

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that it is important that the debates are out of the public eye (the woman behind me said "they're still out on Cornwall24" [in English]). Jenefer continued that "we know there are still problems" but that they need to be solved "out of the public eye and without heat." She continued: "in the modern world and with modern communication we cannot do anything else and survive." Later that evening, at tea in Julie's house, in conversation with prominent Kernowak Standard advocates, the content of Everson's complaints was not challenged, only the aggressive way he pursued them.

The account of the 2011 Maga Conference serves to highlight the fundamental shifts that have occurred I the Kernewek Movement since formal government recognition in 2003 and even since the beginning of this project in 2006. The decade since has seen the traditional power factions jockeying for position in the new system. Meanwhile, there has also been a rise of a new group of individuals—agents of the state—with financial and symbolic resources far beyond what any of the traditional factions are able to muster[200]. The years since 2003 have seen a teeter-totter effect, with the previously weak factions—Unified and Later Kernewek—utilizing the State's presence (and its ideological language) to bring about radical changes to the new Standard Written Form; however, as the institutional framework of Maga and the SWF has become established, some members of the Kemmyn faction have increasingly come to direct its shape and move resources towards their own organizations and projects. In the process, the uncrystallized SWF of the early 2000s has increasingly come to resemble Kemmyn. I will demonstrate that this similarity is not always in the written form itself, but instead in the ideology that underlies it.

In Search of a Single Voice

The Government of the United Kingdom recognized the Kernewek Language under the European

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[200] Which is, ironically, a rather pitiful sum able to pay for only four employees and their programming.

Charter on Minority and Regional Languages on March 18th, 2003. This event was a milestone in a

process of recognition and standardization that had begun in 1998 and continues to this day in

Cornwall. However, the main period of standardization concluded in 2008 with the presentation of the

new Standard Written Form and the end of the Cornish Language Development Project.

This roughly decade-long period was one of incredible anxiety: outside academics were brought

in and given tremendous power over the state of the language, new organizations, alliances and

loyalties were created, and—especially difficult for some in the Kemmyn leadership—a new cadre of

state-supported leadership figures emerged. The final product was a new spelling system: the Standard

Written Form, usually called the SWF in writing or "swuff" in speech (both Kernewek and English).

The most fundamental shift was the fact that the Movement was transformed from a voluntary

one involving individuals who often saw themselves as opposed to and by the State to one that was not

only recognized by the State but funded and directed by it as well. While interviews with the Maga

staff reveal an awareness and sensitivity to this problem, its existence was more-or-less unavoidable.

More important in the changing nature of the language than the clash of personalities or the

emergence of new leadership cadres was the fact that the State's ideological projects and

cultural/economic constraints came into play with the beginning of Standardization. The driving force

of much of the Kemmyn Movement since 1985 was a desire for a politicized Kernewek (see Chapter 3)

able to assert Cornish distinctiveness. This goal had served as the dominant ideology of the Movement

(as the Kemmyn faction controlled the dominant institutions of the language) but was at odds with the

New Labour Government's goal of creating a new, multi-cultural Britain characterized by mutual

tolerance between ethnic groups. The Kernewek Movement adopted the language of multiculturalism,

benefiting from the Government's greater acceptance of Cornish difference. While this ideology did

not necessarily align with the goals of the Unified and Late factions[201], there was enough coherence

that the new 2007 de-jure SWF standard reflected more of their goals than the previous de-facto

standard of Kemmyn. However, I will demonstrate that the effectiveness of this pluralistic viewpoint

in 2007 did not create an end to the Kemmyn ideological dominance amongst the movement and that

events since that time have moved the SWF closer to pre-2007 Kemmyn, to the growing dismay and

anger of many Unified and Late supporters.

　　　　This chapter begins in 2000, before the beginning of official standardization but after the

process of recognition had begun. By looking at a snapshot of the position of Kernewek at this point,

we can better understand who were the groups that were involved in Standardization, what their goals

were and what were their strengths and weaknesses. I also go over how larger events in the UK

affected Cornwall and how certain elements of the Kernewek Movement were already positioning

themselves for the new form. The primary events of this period are detailed in the Timeline in

Appendices.

Run Up to Standardization

The Movement in the New Millennium

It is useful to attempt a snapshot of the Kernewek Movement in the period between the beginning of

Government interest in the movement (~2000) to the official recognition and the beginning of the

Standardization process (2002). This can be attempted in part because a research company named

SGRUD Research led by Prof. Ken MacKinnon was hired by the Government in 2000 to do a survey of

the Language Movement: the materials from this project—both the final report and the raw data (some

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[201] This is a complicated point: the Kernewek movement had long called for a more open, accepting State—a situation which the New Labour Government was more favorable towards than the Thatcherites—but in their language ideology, many Kernewek groups still promoted monolithic, totalizing versions of the language (such as Kemmyn) which stand in contrast to the multicultural spirit.

of which is available online)—provide a unique picture of the Movement at a particular moment and because there were a number of public statements made by various groups on behest of the Government which assert their ideological positions. While this occurred before the start of ethnographic fieldwork, I view this as a baseline or even ethnographic present with which my work begins. Through interviews and documentary analysis, I believe it is possible to carefully reconstruct this period.

MacKinnon believed that there were, in 2000, approximately 350 people able to "use the language effectively for everyday purposes" with 10 families "using the language in the home". He identified over forty organizations which promoted the use of Kernewek—most of them were involved in larger political and cultural projects—and noted the existence of three competing varieties of the language with the exception of Maga itself and the MSM daycare, this surveyed list remains unchanged (MacKinnon 2000). Overall, MacKinnon's report was favorable towards recognition and portrays a small, but diverse and active movement and a language with a distinct place in the Cornish community. He examines the entrenched factionalism and notes that increasingly, individuals are viewing these forms as equal dialects rather than competing standards; this point of view is evident amongst some of his focus groups (in particular the Late users) but not amongst others (in particular the Kemmyn users) and it is probable that MacKinnon emphasized it because he suspected this mutual tolerance was what the State was seeking at this time (Back et. al. 2002).

I accept MacKinnon's numbers and analysis as generally valid, but wish to dig deeper into the character of the movement at this time. There is no government census that recognizes language use in Cornwall nor has there been a truly rigorous survey; the numbers of users is so small that this might not be methodologically possible; moreover, self-identification as a user of Kernewek does not necessarily

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give any information about one's proficiency[202] nor what spelling variety one prefers. What I have instead attempted to do is create a database of names of individuals involved in the Kernewek movement in the 2000-2002 period that can be linked to specific spelling varieties.

I have correlated five comparable documents to create this database; it does not attempt to be comprehensive but instead to be a strong sample with which I hope to demonstrate correlations. Three of these documents are transcripts from focus groups conducted by MacKinnon which included the sign-in sheet and two are from petitions organized by the major factions to promote various forms of the language to the State. The Focus Groups were each organized around a particular form of Kernewek: Kemmyn, Unified or Late—hence they are rare documentations of conversations where individuals self-identify their spelling allegiances. Moreover, MacKinnon requested that individuals identified themselves not only by name but also by their most important position or affiliation within the Movement. He organized these events in a parallel fashion and ran them using similar questions, hence the information is broadly comparable between them and broadly relevant to the entirety of this ethnography.

The two petitions were also strictly organized by spelling association: one, the Campaign for Kernewek Kemmyn, openly asserts the superiority of Kemmyn and hence its signatories can be assumed to be Kemmyn users and supporters. The other, the Kernowak proposal (which I cover in more detail below), is for a hybrid form of Kernewek which blends elements of Late and Unified, its signatories were asked to identify their preferred spelling form. In both cases, individuals were recruited via word-of-mouth and signed onto the petition online from anywhere in the world; both petitions drew not only from Kernewek users in Cornwall itself but amongst the broader Diaspora,

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[202] It is probable that a number of Cornish Nationalists would self-identify on a formal census as Kernewek users who had little or no proficiency with the Language in order to strengthen the position of the nationalist movement. While this is probably true of any minority language, the remarkably small size of the language movement means that these numbers could have a highly significant impact upon any such study.

especially Australia, England and the United States. I was asked to sign the Kernowak petition in 2006

by one of its organizers, Nicholas Williams, after my interview with him. He explained that it

"welcomed the opinions of outside experts" and that I could email him any suggestions after I read it

over.

In total, the lists create a universe of 195 unique participants[203] all of whom can be identified by

preferred spelling variety and can be assumed to have more than a passing interest in the language as

they were willing to go beyond classes to participate in an essentially political process of language

recognition. Of the participants, 55.3% used Kemmyn, 21.5% used Unified, 14.8% Late, 2.6% both

Late and Unified, 1.5% both Kemmyn and Unified, and 3% none (see table 7.1). This corresponds

roughly to MacKinnon's findings that the majority of Kernewek users were part of the Kemmyn camp

and that Unified was slightly larger than Late. The chart also reveals that none of the varieties appear

to be dying off, which echoes what MacKinnon's observation:

> It would seem now to be a matter of fact that there are at least three varieties of the revived
> language in existence. The largest in numerical terms may be Kemmyn, and it is certainly the
> most productive in publications and language resources. It may in a Darwinian sense yet win
> the day in terms of numbers. It may nevertheless yet have to argue further if Cornish progresses
> further in public life. (MacKinnon 2000)

Thus, at the beginning of the Millennium and at the outset of this project, the Kernewek

Language Movement was divided into three factions, each with stable growth, classes spread

throughout Cornwall and corresponding publications. While a war of attrition may have eventually

been won by Kemmyn, as MacKinnon supposes, instead what occurred shook the foundations of this

tripartite split. In 2002, the language movement finally achieved one of its longest held goals: formal

recognition of the language by the Government.

In the years immediately following recognition, the loyalties of the entrenched split shifted

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[203] There was some overlap, but the list was reviewed so that no name was counted twice.

remarkably, leading to new varieties of Kernewek and new expressions of the underlying differences that led to the divisions of 1985 in the first place. In the next section I will examine the cultural and political reasons for those splits.

Good Friday and Multicultural Britain

Political events in other areas of the United Kingdom's Celtic Fringe (Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Mann) have often overshadowed political developments in Cornwall. The issue of Irish Home Rule divided the Cornish from their Celtic Cousins in Ireland in the 1880s through to the early 1910s, reinforcing the self-proclaimed non-political nature of the early Cornish Celtic Revival (Deacon 2003:155; Tregidga 1997). I have heard both plaudits and anxieties about this circumstance: even at the Maga Conference a suggestion was made that they should ask for advice from Bretons and Welsh on linguistic matters and this raised a question from Late teacher Dicky Mint about whether the Cornish were "lesser cousins." The Maga staff told the audience that "Cornwall punches above its weight" in the Celtic scene and that it is an equal partner. A similar debate occurred earlier that year at the annual conference of the Cornish Audio Visual Archive.

This outside influence came to prominence in 1998 with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement between the United Kingdom, Ireland and the majority of the political and military factions in the north of Ireland[204]. A cornerstone of the Blair Government, Good Friday was a complete turnaround from the previous Conservative policy on the North (especially that of Margaret Thatcher during the height of the Troubles) (Feeney 2004:109). It recognized the aspirations of both Unionists and Nationalists as legitimate political positions, acknowledged the legitimacy of the Republic of Ireland's interest in the North and aimed to promote a multicultural approach which, crucially for

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[204] Only the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by Ian Paisley, did not join in the accord.

Kernewek recognized "the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity" (Government of Northern Ireland 1997). This research thus occurred in a political climate in contrast to the 1970s and 1980s when Late and Kemmyn emerged, when confrontation with the State was the order of the day.

To enact this linguistic provision, the Government of the United Kingdom (at the insistence of the Irish Republic) signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2001, at which time it recognized five minority tongues: Irish, Ulster Scots, Welsh, Scots Gaelic and Scots. The two revived languages of Britain—Manx and Kernewek—would not be recognized until 2003. Britain was the tenth country to ratify the Charter (Council of Europe 2009)[205]. This linguistic recognition accompanied referendums on devolution in Wales, Scotland, the north of Ireland and Greater London leading to the establishment of the autonomous parliaments in all of these bodies by 2000[206].

The events in Edinburgh and Cardiff were part of a more generalized "commitment to modernizing Britain, embracing diversity and valuing cultural mix" on the part of the New Labour Government (Back et. al. 2002). This Cool Britannia approach to governance increasingly devolved responsibility to local authorities—though this devolution did not necessarily mean a democratization, as the leadership of many of the new agencies, such as the Regional Development Agencies and Regional Assemblies and were appointed by local government and non-governmental bodies (i.e., charities and businesses); moreover, through the Government Offices of the regions, the central state was able to exercise continued control over these local agencies (Musson et. al. 2005).

Enforcement of multiculturalism was the modus-operandi of the European Union's intervention

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[205] After Norway, Finland, Hungary, the Netherlands, Croatia, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Slovenia.
[206] However, a 2004 referendum on a similar autonomous body in the North of England failed.

in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well. As Hayden (2002) points out, the creation of a "multi-multi[207]" protectorate in the Balkans sought to overcome strident nationalist division through the recognition of a strictly enforced equality between warring groups. They aimed to short-circuit claims of both victimhood and victoriousness by treating all groups as having a clean slate. This style of consocial democracy would later become the standard post-conflict style of governance applied to Northern Ireland, where the makeup of the Northern Ireland Executive was based upon a strict Nationalist/Unionist quota system (Feeney 2004). A similar system has deep roots in Lebanon's consocial confessionalist system, where it has served to harden sectarianism in the political sphere (Nicolaysen 2008).

While I was in Cornwall, the Cornish Nationalists could point to few hostile actions towards the language from the State, and because authority over the language was first delegated to the Government of the South West and then to the Cornwall Council after the 2011 Conservative electoral victory, the central state appeared largely absent. I will show below, however, that its ideological presence continues to be a major force and it has been one of the primary beneficiaries of standardization.

Events in Cornwall

The 1998 peace accords afforded an opportunity for minority languages throughout the United Kingdom to gain official recognition, including Kernewek; however, the Government insisted that a single written form be agreed upon in order to facilitate the process. The Agreement and recognition gave the Kernewek Movement an unprecedented institutional opening but, as I will demonstrate, events had already been moving in Cornwall that would set the stage for Standardization.

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[207] In that it promotes multiculturalism, defined as respect for multiple languages, multiple religions, multiple ethnicities and multiple sexualities.

By 2000, just as discussions on Recognition were beginning, the *Cussel* ("Language Council")
(the promoters of Late Kernewek) and *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language") (their counterparts for Unified
Kernewek) had already come to some form of accommodation: they had begun to hold hybrid
conversational groups and classes and talks were ongoing to produce an accommodated form; as one
Late language teacher told Ken MacKinnon in his 2000 survey of the language:

> So that's a hybrid one [group] in between two kinds of [Kernewek], which is quite good […] So
> we've got a kind of secret agenda that one day there's going to be instead of three kinds of
> [Kernewek] there's going to be two. (MacKinnon 2000b:16)

The transcripts of the 2000 focus groups also reveal that an important ideological shift had already been
taking place within particularly the Late camp, where variation in the language (i.e., Late, Unified and
Kemmyn) was being viewed as a type of dialectical different rather than a competition with a zero sum
game between groups:

Man: The thing is this, all these standard [Kerneweks] are [Kernewek] aren't they?
Woman a: Yeah, You can still work it out.
Woman b: Yeah, we can communicate at work[208] with two different names and spelt differently.
[…]
Woman c: Yes, its [Kernewek], the spelling is different, so what? People used to spell, I mean, I
think in my surname Vivian. I've come across about twenty different variations of
spelling one surname, just because they didn't know what way to spell it. It doesn't
matter. […] People understood it, so what? (MacKinnon 2000b:34)

This alliance was strong throughout the period of this study with Unified and Late users co-publishing
works (both in Kernewek and English), supporting one another in a walkout of the Maga Signage Panel
and displaying numerous personal friendships. The leaders of their groups frequently consult one
another by email over ongoing developments. These statements and actions paint a stark difference

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[208] I believe this speaker, a user of Late Kernewek, had previously discussed how several of her co-workers spoke Medieval
forms of the language and that they used the language in day-to-day conversation without problem (albeit with good natured
teasing).

from both earlier Late writings (for example Dick Gendall's 1986 proposal in *An Baner Kernewek* ["The Cornish Flag"] for Late where he claimed it "is our genuine heritage, our real Cornish shorn of all the invention, and nobody, not even the scholars, can say that this is not the true Cornish tongue as it survived latest") and from the commentary going on in MacKinnon's parallel focus group with Kemmyn users where at least one speaker claims that other varieties of Kernewek are creations of "academics that sought to undermine the efforts of the language over a number of years" (MacKinnon 2000a). It was a change, however, that began gradually to be heard throughout the Kemmyn camp as the standardization campaign progressed. A number of prominent Kemmyn users would eventually come to support the Standard Written Form—at least in public education and signage—including Pol Hodge, Loveday Jenkin and Polin Prys. By 2012, Yowann Byghan, a staunch Kemmyn supporter since the 1980s, wrote to me that:

YB: Ken [George] (and indeed most supporters of Kernewek Kemmyn, myself included) greatly respect the sincerity of the supporters of Late Cornish, but Late Cornish is the wrong foundation for a truly revived Celtic language

However, in the period between 1998 (Good Friday) and 2002 (Recognition of Kernewek) there is evidence that this plural view of Kernewek was emerging within the Late and Unified camps first, only spreading to Kemmyn after the beginning of formal Standardization. The most concrete product of this collaboration emerged after the beginning of standardization, a proposal called Kernowak Standard (or "KS"), which the Kernowak Petition cited above was in support of. KS was created primarily by activists from the Late and Unified camps in an "attempt to unify middle and late Cornish into a single linguistic system […] [a] remarkable achievement" (Cornish Language Commission 2007). KS had two basic principles:

- The spelling system must be based on attested traditional orthographic forms.
- In the orthography the relationship between spelling and sounds must be unambiguous.

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(Kernowak.net)

The first principle became a central unifying call for Late and Unified proponents—they based their shared complaint against Kemmyn upon its use of an invented spelling. However, their second principle actually brought them closer to Kemmyn, as not all of the spelling systems they used adopted the one sound to one graph principle that was the central addition of Kemmyn to Kernewek in 1985; moreover, Neil Kennedy, one of the creators of KS reported that the committed "consciously sought to narrow the gap with Kemmyn and chose gaps that approached them when we could, e.g. <eu>[209]". KS served to unify opposition to Kemmyn and make the adoption of Kemmyn as the standard impossible (Cornish Language Commission 2007).

However, these impressive steps towards unification were not the only voice in the mid 2000s and, even well into the standardization process I observed individuals representing and claiming to represent various factions reject compromise and engage in such vicious partisanship that the Cornish Language Commission brought the issue up in the introduction to its 2007 report:

> We must admit that in reading through the submissions and other documents such as contributions to forums, various members of the Commission have been taken aback, saddened, and even shocked, by the virulence of some the actors with regard to others who can in no way be accused of being less committed to Cornish than themselves. It is our hope that you all move on to (and beyond) discussing orthographical and linguistic matters. (Cornish Language Commission 2007:1)

That said, there is evidence that the committed factionalism was a minority position in the early 2000s, with a growing number of language users yearning for some form of compromise. In 2006, there was a large conference involving delegates from numerous organizations. Analysis of the list reveals of participants that a majority of these individuals—who can be assumed to be committed enthusiasts of the language—had not been engaged in either of the two recent partisan attempts at standardizations,

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[209] Personal communication, April 30th, 2012

the Campaign for Common Cornish or the Kernowak proposal. It appears that many were sitting on

the sidelines of the argument, hoping that the standardization process would bring about a new form. I

saw this myself in interviews, typically with Kernewek users who had taken up the language after the

1980s, where interviewees expressed disgust with orthographic debates and, even one who refused to

discuss them altogether stating she only wanted to talk about the positive parts of the language. The

Commission commented on this situation as well:

> …we find that very many committed speakers, from all camps, are thoroughly disillusioned and
> disheartened by the current controversy, and feel that almost any decision, even if it means they
> themselves having to make a special effort to relearn the written language, would be better
> (Cornish Language Commission 2007:1-2)

Kemmyn as the Standard versus Kemmyn as a System

All of the language varieties, Unified, Kemmyn, Late, had supporters who believed in it as an

ideological project and those who used it for either convenience (it was the form used by the nearest

instructor as we saw for both Martyn Whitford and Mina Dresser) or—in the case of Unified from

1928-1986 and Kemmyn from 1986-2002—because it is the de-facto standard. Those who support the

ideological system of Kemmyn—such as Ken George (the architect of Kemmyn) and Paul/Pawl

Dunbar (the editor of the Kemmyn journal *An Gannas*), who co-wrote *Cornish for the 21st Century*

(1997)—between 1986 and 2002 benefited from the presence of these supporters of Kemmyn as the de-

facto standard which bolstered their numbers.   It is debatable whether a majority of Kernewek users

supported Kemmyn as an ideological system, as many used it for its popularity, not its ideology.

The numeric dominance of Kemmyn over other forms of Kernewek is was agreed by all of the

users of the language that I spoke with. This is not simply in number of users at all levels of

competence, but also in publishing, events and availability of classes. This strength is one of the major

arguments for Kernewek Kemmyn raised by its defenders in the Kesva and Kowethas[210] (the

"Language Board" and "Language Fellowship").   There was, in 2005-6, a movement to have

Kernewek Kemmyn recognized as the de-jure standard by the State. Falling under the rubric of the

"Campaign for Common Cornish," it called for an acceptance of Kemmyn without compromise and

produced the second petition I cited above; by the time I began seriously looking into the language in

2007, this movement had largely faded, but there were a few individuals who I met who still argued for

that outcome[211].

In their eventual report, the Cornish Language Commission explicitly recognized these calls

and the strength of the Kemmyn supporters by having an extensive section of their report explain their

reasons for *not* adopting Kemmyn. They lay out the pros and cons and sum up the situation with the

following:

> The most important reason for not proposing KK [Kernewek Kemmyn] is that choosing KK
> would not represent a novel situation. This would lead to a continuation of the schism that has
> existed since KK was chosen 20 years ago. In fact, the situation might well get worse. Indeed,
> compared to the situation back then, things do now look worse for KK: it has not won the day.
> The protest is still there. Moreover, the opponents seem now, for the first time since 1987, to be
> united in KS, and actually seem to expect the Commission to come out and say: «You were
> right, the KK supporters *were* wrong, KK linguistics is flawed, so we will choose LC, or UCR,
> or UC,». It is not the intention of the Commission to do so. But it would be counter-productive
> to make them even more fierce opponents to KK than they have been so far. (Commission
> 2007:5-6)

This call for a compromise eventually won the day (as I will show below) and it revealed one of

the weaknesses of Kemmyn as the standardization process took root: an unknown number of Kemmyn

users preferred the form *because* it was the de facto standard and when a new standard appeared with

greater symbolic strength (in particular that it was recognized by the state) they switched over to it. A

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[210] Accessed at the Google Archive:
http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:im4jBKxGxCsJ:kk.kaskyrgh.cymru247.net/prag.html+campaign+for+common+cornish&cd=4&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a
[211] Likewise, there are still individuals I know of who argue for an acceptance of Kernowak.

number of prominent Kemmyn users have migrated to work on the standard including some who were firm supporters of the Campaign to Save Common Cornish and the Language Board[212]. They were not alone in this, as an entire cohort of Unified users—an independent group called *An Kylgh Kernewek*—from Falmouth adopted the new standard en-masse in 2010 and began working to convert old Unified texts to the new form[213].

However, this sense of strength, coupled with a suspicion of academics and the State (which I covered in chapter 3) meant that the Kemmyn camp was caught flat-footed at the beginning of standardization. Unlike the leadership of the *Cussel* ("Council") and *Agan Tavas* ("Our Language") who quickly mobilized around the Kernowak proposal[214], the Kemmyn leadership produced mixed statements. The first manifestation was the Campaign for Common Cornish which sought to establish Kemmyn as the official standard—this campaign appears to be dead very soon after it was launched and there was no formal response for some time after that. Even today, there is mixed participation: in the 2010 Maga Conference there was little sign of a number of prominent Kemmyn proponents , but a good showing from the Unified and Late camps, some of whom traveled from overseas to participate.

The eventual compromise from the Kemmyn direction came from an unexpected source: two outside academics—Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch. Bruch is an American and, in 2006 was a new (2005) doctor who had written a dissertation on Cornish verse and since 2009 has worked in Bonn, Germany and Iowa, USA (http://www.benjaminbruch.com/cv.html). Bock is a linguist teaching in Vienna and had previously done work with Breton and migrated to Kernewek in the early 2000s (http://www.albertbock.net/). These two German-speaking foreigners created a new compromise

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[212] Here I include Pol Hodge, Loveday Jenkin and Polin Prys, as examples of individuals who either signed the Campaign Letter or serve on the Kesva but also work with the Partnership.
[213] http://www.cornish-language.org/an-kylgh-kernewek1
[214] Though not universally, there were dissenting voices. However, there was no institutional manifestation of this dissent—just a withdrawal of a number of individuals from the Movement.

spelling system they called Kernewek Dasunys (KD), in part derived from early work on KS, which

they were participants. These men argued that revived Kernewek (by this they seem to mean Kemmyn)

had acquired its own legitimacy and needed to be given weight:

> Even though it contains many elements that are demonstrably "unhistorical" or "inauthentic",
> Revived [Kernewek] has existed long enough to be respected as a language in its own right. [..]
> In choosing or devising and Standard Written Form of [Kernewek], if it is considered important
> to maintain a link to the written [Kernewek] of the year 1600, it should be seen as equally if not
> more important to maintain a link to the written and spoken [Kernewek(s)] of the year 2000
> (KD 2007:2)

KD was not a full proposal, but instead a call for a system of shared orthographic principles

with which all existing forms of Kernewek could be written so that pronunciation and grammar would

remain intact (KD 2007:3). In addition to being admittedly closest to Kemmyn, this system shared a

basic concept with proposals being floated by Kemmyn proponents, namely that there could be a single

spelling system which Late and Unified users could adopt, keeping their pronunciation and grammar

but altering their spelling.

A New Kernewek? The Birth and Implementation of the SWF

Process of Standardization

Above, I described the often non-democratic local government bodies the Labour Government favored

in its regional policies. The eventual government body created to standardize and promote

Kernewek—the Cornish Language Partnership (typically known by its Kernewek name *Maga*)—would

reflect this pseudo-devolution characteristic of English regions: its primary body was made up of

individuals from local governmental bodies[215], the language movement[216], the local economic

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[215] Including a representative of the Cornwall Association of Local Councils and the Cornwall Council—Children Schools
and Families and three Councillors from the Cornwall Council itself.
[216] It has representatives from the Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek, the Kesva an Taves Kernewek, the Cussel an Tavaz
Kernuak,, the Gorseth Kernow, the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies and Agan Tavas.

forum[217], and educational bodies[218] with oversight from a representative of the Government Office of the South West[219]. Its funding is a mixture of monies from the local Cornwall Council, the central government and the European Union (www.magakernow.org.uk).

Soon after its creation in 2005, Maga "asked representatives of all the forms to set out the case for each, detailing the history and the ideas which underpin them" (Lowe 2006). They then constituted a committee of experts, including Rod Lyon (prominent Kemmyn user, former Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorseth), Ken George (developer of Kemmyn and member of the Language Board), Nicholas Williams (developer of Unified Cornish Revised and professor of Celtic Studies), Bernard Deacon (prominent Late user and lecturer at the Institute of Cornish Studies) and Laurence Rule (Kemmyn user, member of the Language Board and former Dean of the University of East London). These reports and meetings led up to a major conference in 2006 involving 116 delegates from numerous Cornish organizations (Lowe 2006:7)[220]. I was, unfortunately, out of Britain during this event.

At this conference, there was an acceptance of a set of Guiding Principles:

- Existing forms will continue alongside a single[221] written form.
- The process must be based on mutual respect, with everyone contributing to the
- debate and the outcome.
- The process must be transparent and inclusive. (Lowe 2006:13)

This was a uniquely inclusive and pluralistic model: it asserted that the SWF would exist "for use in formal education and public life" (Lowe 2006:13) but never insisted that it be adopted by all of

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[217] Which is made up of representatives of business, government and voluntary sectors.

[218] The Institute of Cornish Studies, and the Learning and Skills Council.

[219] This body, which was central to Labour's system of decentralization of offices while maintenance of central control (Musson 2005), was abolished by the Conservative Government. It appears that the Office's representative on the Partnership was not replaced.

[220] This was quite a turnout and included, to the best of my understanding of factional differences, every single organization and point of view on the language, including interested parties who had not studied the language. It was perhaps the most representative body of the language movement before or since.

[221] At this time the Standard was referred to as the "Single" written form, it was later changed to "Standard" to be more inclusive.

the language groups nor that it ever be expected to be the preferred form for personal usage. It also not only called for all to participate but, in fact, *required* full participation for success.

Moreover, for the first time, considerable authority was given to a body of an appointed Commission "comprise[d of] respected language planners who among them have experience of similar situations" (Lowe 2006:13). It is important to note that while the process was far more "transparent and inclusive" than any previous standardization in Kernewek (i.e., Unified or Kemmyn), it was fundamentally not *democratic*, instead taking a technocratic model which granted power to academic outsiders who were required to consult, but not to defer, to the Kernewek Movement, which is itself not representative of the people of Cornwall as a whole. As Fox (2008) demonstrates, transparency and accountability, while rhetorically tied to democracy in contemporary discourse, is in fact an independent phenomenon. In the instance of the 2006-2008 standardization of Kernewek, the process was remarkably transparent and fundamentally undemocratic.

The Commission would eventually include Prof. Joshua Fishman, Prof. Colin Williams, Chaspar Pult, Dr. Trond Trosterud, Prof. Miquel Strubell, and Dónall Ó Riagáin. These assembled experts included experience with the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages and individuals experienced with the standardization of languages like Romansch (Sayers 2009). Importantly, while two of these individuals were involved in Celtic Languages (Dónall Ó Riagáin with Irish and Colin Williams with Welsh), fundamentally these individuals were concerned with socio-linguistics and the political side of language revival, not the technical side of Celtic linguistics. This is especially true of Prof. Fishman, an American linguist who pioneered the sociolinguistic study of minority languages. By accepting all of the existing forms as equally valid and bringing in "impartial" and "neutral" (to use the language of the Partnership) experts, Maga asserted a pluralistic viewpoint of seeking a political compromise, not technical perfection.

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I interviewed a number of individuals involved in Maga to gain an inside perspective; one of the most articulate was Laurence Rule a former Dean at the University of East London, who was involved in standardization from the earliest points (Lowe 2006). Laurence explained that the Partnership currently has five working groups: (1) Corpus (which he is the chair of and is working on the "body of the language", including a dictionary); (2) Acquisition (which is about teaching); (3) Use (which is working on bringing it into communities); (4) Status (which works on getting it recognized by official bodies and, with use, industry); (5) Signage (which is the most active group and is living up to the Council's bilingual sign policy, which they adopted from the old Kerrier Council--the most pro-bilingual of the District Councils and the only one except Penwith with a policy). He noted that the Corpus working group has produced a glossary available online[222] and is working on a dictionary (14-10-10).

Thus, the Partnership has three levels: at the top is a decisionmaking body ("the Partnership") made up of appointed representatives of numerous organizations including elected officials, below them is a professional staff dedicated to creating and running programs and parallel to their work are the Commission (while it existed) and below them, the five working groups, each of which has representatives of the various factions upon them. In its formal equality of representation, it is akin to the consocial governance models used in Lebanon, Bosnia and the north of Ireland and, like in these regions, every layer of governance becomes a potential site for contestation and filibuster, like occurred in 2011 in the Signage Panel and gives considerable prestige to the presumably neutral state agents who sometimes seem to hold the balance of power.

The Standard Written Form

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[222] He said 5,000 words but others report 10,000 words. It's possible it was an earlier edition or he was incorrect.

After a year of investigation and debate, in 2007 the Commission released its report which laid the

groundwork for the new standardized form. The Commission's final proposal was to not adopt a single

form of Kernewek—whether it be Kemmyn, KS or KD—but instead create a compromise form

> …somewhere in between KK and KS, building on KD, but with an input from KS, seems to us
> to be a possible path forward. In this way, the SWF can aim to make a very large number of
> people to have to make a relatively small adaptation. (Cornish Language Commission 2007:8)

The Commission stepped aside and the Partnership called upon the services of Bock and Bruch, this

time formally, to produce the new Standard Written Form, which they released in 2008. Bock and

Bruch, however, noted the importance of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Partnership which included

leading voices in all of the existing factions[223].

The Standard Written Form is unique in the history of Kernewek because it is the first

pluralistic standard form. The previous de-facto standards—Unified and Kemmyn—attempted to be

singular spelling forms, providing a single format; this is particularly true for Kemmyn which instituted

a phonemic, one sound-one graph rule. The SWF, on the other hand, recognizes a Main Form with two

acceptable variations: Variant Graphs and Traditional Graphs

Variant Graphs are for those "cases differences in pronunciation between the varieties of

Revived Cornish are too great to be bridged by an umbrella graph." To be more concrete, this means

that those places where the SWF system excludes the possibility for Late Kernewek users to write their

forms, it possesses "'dialectal' spelling variants of equal status" (Bock and Bruch 2008:9).

Traditional Graphs are another system of variant spellings that allow for those who "prefer to

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[223] Specifically Jori Ansell (Kemmyn, Kesva/Kowethas, Gorseth), Andrew Climo-Thompson (Unified, Agan Tavas), Bernard Deacon (Late, Institute of Cornish Studies), Mina Dresser (Late, Cussel), Pol Hodge (Kemmyn, Kesva/Kowethas), Loveday Jenkin (Kemmyn, Kesva/Kowethas), Rod Lyon (Kemmyn, Kesva Kowethas), and Polin Pris (Kemmyn, Kesva Kowethas). Dr Trond Trosterud, who had served on the Commission, was its Arbiter. It had an "Advisory Panel" of Michael Everson (Unified), Ken George (Kemmyn), Dan Ryan-Prohaska, Keith Syed (Kemmyn), and Nicholas Williams (Unified).

use spellings that more closely reflect the practices of traditional Cornish writers." In particular, this refers to users of Unified Kernewek who prefer not to use what they perceive as Kemmyn-like spellings (Bock and Bruch 2008). Moreover, their system also allowed for the adoption of Late words where attested historic variants existed.

This new spelling system has been—more-or-less—adopted by the entire movement, including the *Gorseth* ("College of Bards") in 2009 and the promotional organizations for all three forms—at least in the area of education for children and public signage. As we will see, however, this public consensus contrasts with everyday application.

Undoubtedly, the SWF has been a pragmatic compromise for all of the language factions involved; however, in the process by which it was created and the form it takes, it also reflects the desires, and ideologies of the State in a way that no form of Kernewek has previously done. The neoliberal, multicultural state produced by New Labour and the European Union in the late '90s and early '00s[224] operated, in part, through the construction of a technocracy of unelected bodies known as Quangos[225]. The Cornish Language Partnership has operated entirely within this scheme, which co-opts the assistance and symbolic capital of the voluntary sector (in this case the language organizations) through the carrots of recognition and availability of funding. These semi-representative boards then have a tendency to further defer their day-to-day decision-making power to panels of experts and professional staff. The overall goal is to depoliticize decision-making—which was achieved in the realm of Kernewek by recognizing all of the forms as equally valid and submitting them to a technocratic process of compromise; however, as we have seen, Kernewek does not exist outside of its highly politicized uses and this depoliticization has proved to be hollow.

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[224] Building upon the avowedly neo-liberal and not-so multicultural state created by the Thatcherite Conservatives in the 1980s and 1990s.
[225] An abbreviation of "Quasi-NGO," or "non-governmental organization," thus state-created charities. Quangos are characteristic of the New Labour approach to governance, but were first promoted by the Thatcher Government.

The final product was similarly reflective of the State's ideology, which sought to promote a cultural climate of "mutual tolerance" (Back et. al. 2006), rather than one of ethnic confrontation. In the Cornish context, ethnic confrontation involved primarily the challenging of the legitimacy of the State by Cornish ethnic activists, a process which had reached new heights in the late 1990s, a process in which Kemmyn, the dominant form of Kernewek, had become a tool for eliminating ambiguity and asserting Cornish difference. The SWF recognized—in fact institutionalized to an unprecedented degree—ambiguity and plurality. Moreover, it legitimized the State's role as the one actor that had finally ended the pernicious spelling disputes and reinforced its future role as the ongoing arbiter, guardian and regulator of the language. While I do not believe that the local agents of the State, those sitting on the Partnership or serving in the Commission, had the explicit goal of minimizing the political role of the Language, the regulatory context in which they operated, the goals set before them by their mandates and the general cultural climate in which they moved all directed them towards this eventuality.

This system is probably based at least partially on the 1993 creation of the Welsh Language Board by the Welsh Language Act. The Language Board takes the form of an appointed non-governmental board of directors which oversees a small staff whose primary role is the distribution of grant money. The organization, like Maga in Cornwall, is fundamentally neoliberal in its approach, using the same methods of de-politicizing the language through technocratic intervention and redirecting language planning towards market-based goals and methods. Language users are seen as consumers and the Board's primary goal has been to utilize marketing to shift their attitudes towards the consumption of the language (Williams & Morris 2000:167-169; 174-182)[226].

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[226] Whether the 2012 appointment of the first Welsh Language Commissioner to replace the Board will change this approach remains to be seen.

If, as scholars have argued, standardization creates new hierarchies and new exclusions (Urla 1993; Gal 2006)—we can see that the standardization of Kernewek is no exception. However, where traditional standardization valorized the prestigious dialects of a powerful region or city[227], the standardization of Kernewek was an ideological question. The various forms of the revived language are universally based upon ideological differences, thus the creation of the Standard form is an ideological decision.

Thus, even if the new SWF was phonetically and orthographically closest to Kernewek Kemmyn—it was radically different ideologically. The other two forms—Late and Unified—benefit from the SWF, in that it formally recognizes their positions, but their users sacrifice more phonologically and orthographically in adopting the SWF. Kernewek Kemmyn's vision of the language is of a politicized tool that is unified around a single spelling, valorizes the Medieval and reconstructs/purifies the nation. The SWF has multiple spellings, recognizes an equal value to both Medieval and Late forms and has a more limited ability to serve to eliminate ambiguities in the way the Kemmyn does. The greatest beneficiary of the standardization process in its early phases in the ideological arena was in fact the State, which brought the Kernewek language closer to its ideological position and positioned itself as the ultimate arbiter of the language.

The overall effect was one of uncertainty and destabilization and while I encountered hostility to the SWF from members of every faction, in particular I found Kemmynites opposed to it in the early days of 2006-2008, I believe because Kemmyn is singularly based upon the principle of one sound to one graph without exceptions or alternatives while none of the other forms (including the SWF) has such rigidity. The expansion of the SWF into all domains of public use has been afforded by its

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[227] For example, Standard French is based upon the dialect of Parisian elites and Standard Malay is based upon the court languages of the Malaccan royal houses.

unparalleled access to wealth and the prestige of state sponsorship which means that today there is little Kernewek in alternative forms outside of the private activities of language groups.

However, 2008 was not the end of the story for Kemmyn, nor for the development of the SWF. Even as early as 2008, the creators of the SWF stated that it was a provisional document and that it would be reviewed in 2013. Yet the changes to the form began almost immediately and can be seen as a form of resistance, where proponents of not the form, but the ideological content of Kernewek Kemmyn have increasingly come to dominate and direct the nature of the SWF, the Partnership and the language. To reveal this phenomenon, the existence of which is muttered about amongst the supporters of Unified, Late and KS, (and occasionally, as with Michael Everson's outburst at the 2011 Maga Conference, spoken aloud) I will turn away from an analysis of documents which has predominated in this chapter thus far, and instead utilize ethnographic observations from my time in Cornwall between 2006 and 2011.

Maga On the Ground, 2006-2010: Reassertion of the Values of Kemmyn

By the time I first arrived in Cornwall in 2006, Maga's presence was already being felt throughout the language movement and Cornwall. They had quickly established a practice of setting up tables at events to hand out professionally-produced fliers, I saw them at events ranging from the 2006 Royal Cornwall Show to the 2011 Open Gorseth ceremony; at the 2011 Conference it was reported that they had tabled at 28 events in the previous year. Moreover, Maga fliers appeared in libraries around Cornwall, and mini-language lessons appeared in rugby match programs, and on their sophisticated website. The Maga's free translation service meant that SWF signs were popping up around Cornwall—for instance in a new chain pub in Truro called *Tri Dowr* ("Three Waters") owned by a company named Weatherspoons I saw that their posted menu and signs for the toilets were in the SWF

Cornish (Main Graph).

However, the presence of Maga went deeper than its public face, as it became known it had an effect of "swuffing" activities. Users struggled to make their writing compatible with the SWF, yet often lacked easily accessible information about it in the form of grammar guides and dictionaries. For instance in October of 2010, I visited the Movyans Skolyow Methrin (MSM). The only Kernewek medium preschool, the program operated once a week and involved not only teaching Kernewek to the children but also to their parents so that education could continue out of the classroom and in the household. The day I arrived the parents were not learning Kernewek but instead developing new teaching materials, in particular a bulletin board of a tree losing its leaves under a blue sky with one cloud, all made of construction paper cutouts. They had labeled the tree ("gwydhenn"), the leaves ("delenn"), the cloud ("komol") and the sky ("ebron"). The problem was that these translations came from one of the parents and were in Kemmyn and needed to be in the SWF as MSM received its funding from Maga and had to teach the SWF. However, there was some disagreement about what the proper form was in the SWF—in fact a number of the adults (who also tended to be students of the language in evening classes) thought that Kemmyn *was* the SWF. Eventually, I pulled out my laptop, we hooked up to the internet and got the recently released glossary. "Gwydhenn" became "Gwedhen", "Delenn" became "Delen", "Komolenn" became "Komolen" and "Ebron" stayed the same. The woman who was the most ardent supporter of the original spellings was surprised at all these changes and didn't understand why the other spelling forms existed—she said that the double letters helped her to know what gender something was[228]. Eventually, the description of why this had occurred fell to me and one woman who was involved with Maga. The parents took down the offending sections, flipped them over, wrote new signs and re-stapled them to the board. The woman who was involved in Maga

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[228] It is notable that this occurred 8 years into the standardization process.

told me that she is now in Maga programs and only uses the SWF, but originally learned Kemmyn and if she mentions other forms it is inevitably Kemmyn since "the students are most likely to meet up with that form." She said that most of her students are pretty accepting about the idea that there are numerous spellings.

This confusion over spellings, what is acceptable and what is not, appeared in another classroom that I visited that was attempting to "swuff" itself. In December of 2010, I visited the Kernewek class of Dicky Mint[229] in the rural village of Mullion. I traveled to the class with Neil Kennedy, an old friend of Dicky's. We came into Dicky's kitchen to find it crowded with people including, to my surprise, another teacher—a woman I had previously met in Maga events. In addition to the two teachers, there were two elderly men and four women, two of whom were quite elderly, one was in her thirties and the other younger than me. This was one of the bigger Kernewek classes I attended in my time in Cornwall.

While there were copies of the Agan Tavas ("Our Language") published textbook *Skuel an Tavas* ("Language School") on the table, but no-one opened them while we were there; most of the students also had pads where they were writing down the occasional word or phrase, but the class did not focus upon direct, individual interaction with the written word. Instead, when we arrived the teachers were reading lines from a conversation copied out of an old *Cornish World* magazine and having their students translate the lines verbally as they read them. The class then moved over to the construction of sentences using flash cards. The cards were organized into bundles with labels such as "family words," "conjugations of bos", "prepositions", "mutations", etc. They were constructing present participles with possessives, such as.

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[229] Dicky's given name is "Richard Ormond," but he is called "Dicky Mint" amongst users of Late Kernewek and told me to refer to him by that name. Dicky is a good natured and self-effacing individual, but has been involved in the Late movement for many years. I first came across his name in the transcripts from the 2000 Late Focus Group conducted by Ken MacKinnon and by the time I met him in 2010, he was still a central member of the Cussel.

Most of the flashcards were actually made by the students themselves during earlier classes. All of the forms used were pure Main Graph (Kemmyn-based Medieval) SWF and all of the participants—including Dicky Mint, a long-term Late user—used the verb "yth esa," which is present in Medieval Kernewek but not in Late (it is replaced by "thera")[230] and the SWF gives special accommodation for the equal legitimacy of both forms. There were a few spelling corrections on the cards, including the word "Coweth" which had its "C" written over with a "K," spelling "Koweth." Once again, the SWF gives accommodation for the use of both C and K in these forms, with the version "Koweth" being the one closer to Kernewek Kemmyn and the "C" being used by Late and Unified users.

Later, over a pint and after all of the others had left, Neil asked Dicky why he had switched entirely over to the Kemmyn-based Main Form of the language. Dicky responded that he thought they were only allowed to use the Main Form in Breakthrough—which is the first stage of the language, written up for public school children's classes. At this time only Breakthrough existed in formal lesson plans from Maga. Neil replied that the Breakthrough classes are only for children—in fact, they were not teaching Breakthrough, but an adult class, which is exempted from even using the SWF if the instructors do not desire it. Dicky was distressed by Neil's revelation (as well as his consternation) and pointed out that his co-teacher was incredibly helpful and they worked well together; he noted that she had a dislike for many of the prominent Kemmyn users and that she helped out throughout Maga.

Even outside the classroom, there was a growing dominance—to the exclusion of other forms—of non-Main Form (Kemmyn-based) Kernewek. My residence for several months in late 2010 and early 2011 with Neil Kennedy, a prominent proponent of Late Kernewek, revealed this influence. For instance, in early December of 2010, I entered the Cornish Studies Library where both Neil and I did

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[230] We previously saw the importance of this distinction in chapter 5 where "thera" was compared to "esov." "Eus" and "Esof" are conjugations of the same word *Bos* ("to be"), a common, highly irregular verb. "Yth esa" is a third person singular present and "Esof" is a first person singular present.

most of our research computing to find Neil furiously crossing out words on the Library's copy of the Maga newsletter and writing in new words. Surprised, I asked him what he was doing: he informed me that it was an article that he had written which had been edited—without his consultation—by a prominent Kemmyn user who was the final arbiter of the newsletter's SWF. His phrase "Specyal Mencyon," which Neil says is attested in the historic texts, was replaced with "Kampol Arbednek" which Neil says is a recent construction from the verb "Kamp" (to mention or gossip") and "Arbednek" which Neil believes is borrowed from Welsh. His verb "Laveras" was also changed to "Leveris," a removal of an accepted Late form for a Main Graph form.

By late 2010, the Unified and Late representatives were beginning to become scarce around Maga events. For instance, soon after the collapse of the Signage Panel in the autumn of that year, I attended the yearly Maga Christmas party where there were thirty one people present. Of them only two—Denise and Ray Chubb—where strong advocates of Unified and there were no strong advocates of Late. In contrast, I identified twelve of the participants as educated in Kemmyn and four of them (Jori Ansell, Loveday Jenkin, Pol Hodge and Matthew Clarke) had been known proponents of the form. Of the remainder, three did not—to my knowledge—use Kernewek, four were unknown to me and one—Jenefer Lowe—has maintained a studied neutrality for years but was originally trained in Unified. The Kernewek used at the event was all Medieval and the written materials provided (including a book of Christmas Carols) were all in Main Graphs; that said, I did distinctly hear someone (or several persons) using a distinctly Late Kernewek pronunciation in the sing along (a /-dn/ rather than /-n/ sound), perhaps someone being playful or a political statement.

This predominance of current and former Kemmyn users was not due to a lack of Late or Unified users in the general area—the very next night I attended a private Christmas party in the same place (in Redruth) which had, to my count, an additional half dozen Unified users, one Late user and no

Kemmyn users.[231] The event was held at a funky café called the Melting Pot which was the site of weekly Kernewek classes in Unified and it was a rare event for me to enter the café and *not* find Michael Chappelle, a vocal Unified proponent, in a corner drinking coffee.

The growing sense for many that I spoke to amongst the Late and Unified factions felt a growing alienation in 2009 and 2010 to the Maga process: Breakthrough classes only used the Kemmyn-based Main forms, Kemmyn-based words were given universal preference in the Maga Glossary and other forms were excluded entirely from the forthcoming children's dictionaries. This anger began to bubble at this time, leading to Michael Everson's protests at the Maga Conference, volumes of bitter emails and the withdrawal of the Late and Unified representatives from Maga's official Signage Panel, which approves all Kernewek translations on public signs. However, in general, the response was not one of public anger (as it had been in previous years) but instead of withdrawal from the process—with individuals from the Late and Unified camps dropping out of panels and working groups.

This process of withdrawal threatens to become one of exclusion as, in the 2010 Maga Conference, Jenefer Lowe (the director of Maga) stated that the 2013 review of the language will focus on "not to debate every point but to improve the existing with an emphasis on what teachers and translators working with the SWF want." If Late and Unified users are no longer willing to teach or translate for Maga, they may be ignored in the final changes. Moreover, the plan to partially convert Maga into a business which outsources its work to other groups also potentially concentrates influence in the hands of the pro-Kemmyn *Kesva* ("Language Board") and *Kowethas* ("Language Fellowship"), the best organized groups (especially since after Maga's rejection of Agan Tavas' textbooks, that

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[231] Granted, it was a party thrown by a known staunch Unified supporter and the lack of Kemmyn users was not a great surprise. I use this counter example to note that the site was not unknown or difficult to reach for a number of other people.

organization may be hesitant submit bids to participate).

Looking to the Celtic Cousins: Comparing the role of the British State in Welsh and Irish

It is useful to compare post-2002 Kernewek with the situation of the Irish Language in the north of Ireland since the beginning of the Troubles and of Welsh in Wales since the 1993 passage of the Welsh Language Act. In both cases, we have a Celtic language undergoing Revival—this is especially true of Irish which still a community language in the west of Ireland, but these surviving language communities are not found within Ulster and the vast majority of Irish users there are products of a conscious Revival movement—and both are within the bounds of the British State and its minority policies. In both cases, the British state in the 1990s and 2000s reversed a long-term policy of neglect (and, in the case of Irish, outright repression) to instead adopt a position of engagement and, eventually, recognition. The differences between the cases also help us to better understand what is distinctive about the case of Kernewek.

Unlike the French or Spanish states,

> ...in general the 'eradication of the patois' was never pursued as a conscious, whole-hearted policy designed to forward the development of the British state. Nonetheless, the effect of the unification of Britain on the dialects of England, and the languages of Britain, has been devastating. (Grillo 1989:48)

All of the Celtic languages in Britain have been effected this malign neglect, but the emergence of the state onto the scene as a promoter and defender of these languages has had considerable unintended consequences. The 2002 recognition of Kernewek and the ensuing radical re-adjustment of both form and ideology was a relatively late example of this phenomenon; state intervention in Irish began in a serious way with the 1989 creation of the Ultach Trust and in Welsh with the 1993 Welsh Language Act

and Welsh Language Board.

The two fundamental differences between Irish in British-controlled Ireland and Kernewek in Cornwall are: the relative stability of form in Irish and the socio-political context of the Revival. In contrast to Kernewek, for which there are fundamental outstanding questions of corpus planning (i.e., its orthography, historic base, lexicon, etc.), Irish has a relatively stable form.[1] At the beginning of the 20th century through the founding of the Irish Republic in the south there were considerable debates over spelling, orthography and grammar. These debates were made particularly relevant by the Republic's declaration of Irish as its official language and the need to write the authoritative version of the Constitution in that language. Compromises were found and a standard version of the language (with some allowance for regional variation) was achieved by the time of the publication of the 1945 Popular Edition of the Constitution (Ó Cearúil 1999:35-48). By the 1990s, neither the Republican Movement of the north nor the British Government had the desire or symbolic capital to seriously change the form of the Irish language; the Republicans would lose authenticity—as they sought to unite the two portions of Ireland and emphasize their similarities—and the British lacked legitimacy— considering how the Republic had self-consciously made Irish a part of its patrimony, to attempt a change would be seen as a hostile act by the Republic.

This does not mean, however, that the involvement of the British state in Irish did not lead to fundamental changes within the language community, both intended and unintended; this is, after all, a period when the state's legitimacy was, in part justified by its protection of minority rights (Appadurai 2006). O'Reilly (1999) described the Irish community in the north as utilizing three discourses: decolonizing, cultural and rights. The first two date back to the days before the founding of the Irish Republic and the Partition of the island and form a continuum. For those articulating the decolonizing discourse, Irish is a tool to break down the cultural and political hegemony of the British and the

English language. This ideology is connected rhetorically and literally to the armed struggle of the IRA through the popular slogan: "every word of Irish spoken is like another bullet being fired in the struggle for Irish freedom." In contrast, the cultural discourse seeks to disengage the language from republican politics and to promote it as a piece of cultural patrimony, valued for its beauty and its connection to the history and land of Ireland. This continuum appears to have a similar manifestation in the Breton Movement where MacDonald notes that there exists a "tension between broadly 'political' and broadly 'cultural' definitions of the cause" (1989:74).

In 1989, the British state reversed its long-term neglect of the language through the creation of two bodies: the Ultach Trust and the Cultural Traditions Group. The former was set up as a Quango (a government sponsored NGO) and has since served as the dominant conduit for government funding to the language. It also presided over a re-alignmet of what had previously been disparate public funding for language projects; the necessity to use particular buzz words and the perceived cutting of funding for language groups that did not tow the government line immediately "heightened hostility towards the British government […] as well as fuel[ed] suspicions of the Ultach Trust" (O'Reilly 2000:121). This shift has, since that time, coalesced into an unofficial government adoption of the cultural discourse and an attempt to isolate and marginalize users of the decolonizing discourse (which was seen as connected to the IRA's ongoing war against the state). One of the most important elements of this discourse is that it moves the language out of the political realm; however the term "political" in this case is a code for republican politics. The state aimed to weaken the IRA by removing one of its political weapons—eliminating all of those word-bullets aimed at British cultural dominance (O'Reilly 2000:35-37).

The response to this development has been not the wholesale adoption of the cultural discourse as the government hoped—though those organizations who seek funding at least pay lip service to it as

"it is increasingly part of the public 'mask' which must be worn in dealings with the powerful" (O'Reilly 2000:84)—but the emergence of a new way of talking and organizing around the the language: the rights discourse. This new and still emerging discourse repoliticizes the language and frames it within the struggle for civil rights, human rights and minority rights within a European context. Furthermore, "this sort of creative process has resulted not only in the formation of rights discourse, but in the transformation of the first two discourses as well" (O'Reilly 2000:42).

Welsh too has enjoyed relative stability and, in contrast to Northern Ireland, the state's intervention on the language issue was not overtly challenged by decolonizing ideology promoted by an armed insurgency. This does not, however, mean that the British government's attempts have been adopted whole-cloth.

The 1993 Welsh Language Act was not the first attempt of the British state to bring Welsh into the national fold. The 1967 Act of the same name repealed a centuries-old prohibition of the use of Welsh in law courts and allowed for some limited translation into the language of government documents. However, the new law and the instrument of its implementation—the new Welsh Language Board—was "a direct manifestation of the more orthodox neo-liberal orientation of regional development with its focus upon community development and planning" (Williams and Morgan 1999:185). In particular, it was hamstringed with its inability to coordinate traditional language planning activities and its lack of enforcement powers. It instead sought to use market-oriented techniques, commodifying Welsh and attempting to promote opinion shifts in language consumers. In accordance with neo-liberal philosophy, it practiced non-directionality, replacing long-term planning with the promotion of flexible strategies, technocratic best-practices and an emphasis on consumer-driven service delivery (Williams and Morris 1999:177-180). In this framework,

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...language planning, as a discipline, which has largely been constructed on a moralist platform involving local rights, is obliged to reassess its enterprise. It also means that the search for a rationale for the relevance of diversity must accommodate this orientation. (Williams and Morris 1999:181)

The overall effect has been to "take... the language our of politics and divesting the language of any moral or ethical context" (Williams and Morris 1999:203), a situation that has hardly been uncontested and eventually led to Plaid Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party) and Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) to call for its dissolution (*Daily Post* 2004). This was finally accomplished in 2012 with the Board's replacement by a new Welsh Language Commissioner who would be directly responsible to the Welsh Assembly. The new Commissioner has the enforcement powers, can require certain private enterprises (e.g., utilities) to utilize the language and creates a tribunal for hearings of citizens' accusations of violations of language rights.

In both examples, we can see a similarity to the Kernewek situation: the state intervenes to promote a de-politicized, technocratic ideology via the creation of Quangos. This ideology, while backed by the financial and symbolic resources of the state, does not achieve complete ideological dominance: in Ireland it produced new discourses of resistance, in Wales it was opposed enough to that its promoter was eventually replaced, and in Cornwall the dominant ideology of the language movement has reasserted itself within framework created by the state.

Moving Forward

The purpose of this chapter has not been to condemn Maga, the pro-Kemmyn institutions or Kemmyn-trained individuals—in part because condemnation would lead quickly into accusation, especially the accusations of the existence secret cabals that have plagued Kernewek since 1985. I would, instead, like to argue that what has happened here is that the form of Kernewek institutionalized in 2008 was

ideologically separate from the values of the majority of Kernewek users and that what has happened since, in the implementation, is that these values have been re-asserted by their holders. As the British State has withdrawn direct involvement and is increasingly turning the Kernewek standardization back to local control, the SWF has come increasingly to resemble, especially in its underlying values, Kemmyn. The effect of this decreasing plurality, however, has been that the primary losers in the situation are the minority forms—Late and Unified—and that the conflict has played out via pre-standardization relationships.

Instead, we can see this Kernowization of the form and its move away from plurality and back towards being a single, monolithic, Medieval-based standard as occurring in a number of ways:

Open Hostilities: There are still areas, most prominently in the Signage Panel and in the re-editing of Neil's essay, where members of the old factions openly attempt to assert their earlier positions. While this factor certainly has an impact, I do not believe it is a major source of Kernowization.

Lack of Space for Debate: The membership of the Kernewek Movement is deeply concerned over its public image—a theme that came up repeatedly in interviews, public statements and casual conversation—and therefore there is a desire to close ranks. Angry debates on the Cornwall24 website and in private meetings have replaced discussions in the press. The Maga Newsletter is an upbeat piece of promotional material, not a space for serious discussion. There is not institutionally-sanctioned journal for serious discussion on the language. This has led to a retreat by those who oppose the Kernowization and their disappearance from events.

Calls to Efficiency: Maga has only limited resources and when they have a limited ability to create documentation they have universally chosen to cut corners by only providing a single, Main Form, version. This was not the only way that Maga could have chosen to save funds, but it was an

approach that was taken, from what I could see, across the board and without discussion of its reasons or ramifications.

Widespread Ignorance: Many students and teachers are ignorant of what the SWF contains, allows and disallows. This can be seen in Dicky Mint's honest belief that he is required to teach a Main Form lesson designed for schoolchildren or the idea in the daycare class that Kemmyn is the SWF. Some of this ignorance may be due to a desire amongst some cadres in the old factions to prevent their membership from fully understanding it but I believe it is more deeply rooted in the central importance given to intimate relationships between student and tutor which I detailed in Chapter 6.

Unquestioning of Fundamental Assumptions: The Standardization process questioned the assertion that the selection of a written form of Kernewek is a purely technical linguistic matter—in fact it was predicated upon the assertion that it was a fundamentally political matter in which all of the existing forms were seen as equally valid. However, this was not widely disseminated nor was there a further debate over exactly what these political debates entailed.

Chapter 8: "Heirs and Successors"

Form, Ideology and Use

When studying a minority language like Kernewek, one is often asked about the future of the tongue. Will it die out again? Will the new standard work? Will Kemmyn cease to be utilized? What future for Kernewek? These localized, particularistic questions are themselves echoes of more universal ones: do minority languages have a future? Will state-intervention and standardization save them or is principled ethnic and political resistance to the majority culture (including the state) the only hope for non-majority languages?

These questions have particular salience in this age of linguistic paradox: where we have both the ongoing greatest linguistic extinction in human history (UNESCO 2010) running parallel to historic global concern over the preservation and promotion of minority languages (e.g., the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Language [2009]; Appadurai [2006]). For the supporters of linguistic diversity, both from within minoritized communities and amongst their allies, the role of the state in the promotion of the tongues is one of the most central issues. For many, the recognition and promotion by the state is the holy grail of language movements, the only way to preserve a tongue into the new century. Others, perhaps looking at the failures of state-sponsored programs (such as the inability of 90 years of official promotion to reverse the decline of Irish in Ireland) or simply harboring a natural suspicion of an institution that has for so long served to eliminate minority cultures, doubt the efficacy of the state. Finally, there is a school of thought that predicts the decline of the state in the globalized world and doubts the efficacy of even the best-intentioned interventions.

As the proponents of the small languages wrestle with these questions, they also—in Cornwall and beyond—struggle with a continuous battle for relevance in majority societies that often see them at

worst as useless impediments to progress and at best as heritage deserving museum-like preservation. What this research has demonstrated is that in the case of Kernewek, the use of a minority language is a pragmatic strategy tied to projects of societal transformation—at times one of social justice, other times one that looks like a decolonial struggle—and that even those users who at times embrace the language's uselessness and its importance for Cornish Heritage do so within a perspective that looks towards transforming themselves and their communities in the future.

Kernewek as a Lens for Exploring Language

The experience and history of the Kernewek Movement has much to add to the debates over the place and utility of minority languages. Kernewek's tenuous status as a revived tongue and its small numbers of users aided my research in seeing the connections between language and ideology. As a revived minority tongue used more as an index of ethnicity than a tool for conversant speech, it is a part of a wider movement for Cornish distinctiveness. As we saw in Chapter 4—"Because They Are Cornish"— the language is adopted by its users as a pragmatic tool for social transformations, in particular in the pursuit of the elimination of ethnic ambiguities. This process of ethnic clarification is most overt in the creation and promotion of Kernewek Kemmyn and has been most obvious, as I demonstrated in Chapter 5—"What's in a Name"—in the processes of renaming that are prevalent across Cornwall today.

At the heart of these transformations is a sense amongst many of the people of Cornwall that their society remains polarized around two starkly different conceptions of the place, and a desire to move themselves and/or their communities towards a more Cornish end of the spectrum. One side of the equation is the Lifestyle narrative sees Cornwall as an extension of England defined by its natural beauty and wildness, a place for English recreation and re-creation, and its inhabitants as backwards

and picturesque. The other, the Lifestruggle narrative depicts the place as distinct from England, a site

of industry, active human history, and technological advancement and its inhabitants as the clever blood

inheritors of a tradition of innovation and creativity. In order to demarcate the boundaries of Cornish

and English in this system, an array of symbolic markers have been developed including indexical

language forms such as Proper Cornish Names, Cornish-English Dialect words[232] and the use of

Kernewek. Speech fits into a larger system where ethnicity is seen as marked by one's body (short,

dark and Celtic vs. tall, blonde and Saxon), one's place of birth, food preferences[233], the type of labor

one does and one's connections to social networks (real and imagined) via kinship.

While, for many Cornish people, these markers of difference provided them with a sense of

belonging and a perceived connection to their heritage, differentiation always entails exclusion, and

there are many who remain either outside or ambiguous towards the category of Cornish who desire to

be within it. The formation of group identities around cultural categories and certain types of

performance is a messy, continuously contested enterprise. As human cultural groups have no real

biological, racial or genealogical bases, every attempt at categorization (including language

standardization) creates new forms of marginal identity and new types of exclusions (Brubaker 2004,

Gal 2006).

For some of these excluded individuals, Kernewek serves as a pragmatic tool for symbolic re-

alignment of themselves within the Cornish-English continuum; we examined these motivations in

depth in chapter four with the narrative of Dee Brotherton and in chapter five with the Born-Again

Celts like Yowann Byghan. For others, more comfortable with their ethnic position, Kernewek can be a

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[232] The most prominent Dialect markers are: "Emmett," "Me 'Andsome," "Proper Job" and "Dreckly."
[233] The most subtle of these is found in the traditional Cream Tea, a dining ritual shared with the neighboring English county of Devon. The dish includes a cup of milky tea, a scone and strawberry jam and clotted cream to put on it. The difference between a Cornish cream tea and a Devon one according a number of informants was that in Cornwall one applies the jam to the scone first and then the clotted cream on top of it and in Devon the order is reversed. I had trouble remembering this at times and was playfully mocked twice by Cornish friends who "read" allegiance into my scone preparation (Kirby 2009).

tool for wider social change, specifically for the symbolic (re)creation or bolstering of ethnic Cornish communities; in chapter four this was the motivator for Kernewek activist Mina Dresser and student Martyn Whitford.   However, for many activists, like Julie Tamblin, the division is not so cut and dry and the transformation of the self and of the community is inextricably intertwined. Once we move below the surface variation, we find that all of these individuals are motivated by a perceived deficit of Cornishness—in themselves, their families or their communities—which the minority language helps to make up for via its ability within a broader European language ideology to index ethnicity. However, as each user in our example has his or her own positionality in regard to Kernewek and Cornishness, they differ in how they use the language and its indexical capabilities.

While the symbolic uses of a language may be most apparent in one that is shorn of most of its conversant uses, this does not mean that these observations would be any less applicable to other languages, especially those in ambiguous political circumstances. We can see in the disputed territories of the world that of language often has a role in marking territory, eliminating ethnic or national ambiguity and asserting particular visions of the landscape and its inhabitants and while these functions of language have been examined individually elsewhere, this dissertation has shown how they interact with each other and with the building blocks of language itself (i.e., orthography and lexicon). We can see the insights that this holistic approach may offer by examining two larger cases where it may prove useful: Taiwan and Israel/Palestine.

The island of Taiwan has a uniquely ambiguous status—claimed to be part of China by Chinese Nationalists in both the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and as a distinct nation by Taiwanese Nationalists (Wang 2004; Curtin 2009). This contestation has taken a linguistic turn, especially as "in China, language has been a quintessentially nationalist concern" (Wang 2003:797), which has taken different paths on the Mainland and in Taiwan in part due to the ideological

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differences between the states[234]. While I noted the indexical relationship between one element of

these differences, Romanization (the writing of Chinese using Latin Characters) and nationalist debates

within Taiwan in Chapter 5, this is only one element in a larger series of linguistic spaces on Taiwan

afforded by the existence of the de-facto independent state on the island. Much as the arrival of the

British state to the Kernewek table in 2002 fundamentally (and in unexpected ways) shifted the

linguistic debate within the Kernewek Community, the decades-long sparring between the PRC and

ROC has created unanticipated grounds and institutions where a linguistic re-imagining of Taiwan's

nationality can be enacted. In their effort to position themselves as defenders of the traditional Chinese

Nation, the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan maintained Traditional script despite reforms on the

Mainland; in the process, the Taiwanese have, in essence, created a distinctly Taiwanese form of

writing and created further cultural distance between the two Chinas (Wang 2003).

Similarly, across the globe in Israel/Palestine, the absence of one language (Arabic) and

historical narrative in the public spaces indicates power as much as the presence of the debated scripts

in Taipei (Trumper Hecht 2009; Abu el Haj 2001). For example, in the Israeli-dominated city of

Nablus, the growing Arab minority is conspicuously absent from public signage. That this unbalance is

due to the politicized nature of language in Israel/Palestine is unquestionable, but what a holistic

examination of language would offer is a greater understanding of not only how, say, Hebrew

dominates the space but how the very form of Hebrew itself and the subjectivity of its users is shaped

by that position of dominance. The example of Kernewek shows the pliability of language before the

cultural/political needs of its users.

Debates over the presence of a linguistic form in the public spaces is tightly interlaced in

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[234] This is most starkly manifested in the Simplified Chinese script adopted on the Mainland as part of its desire to modernize and democratize the language and Taiwan's stern maintenance of the more complicated Traditional script, which means the readers/writers in the two Chinas effectively cannot communicate using a shared language.

Cornwall (as well as in places like Taiwan [Curtin 2009] and Albania [Trix 1999], as we ill see below) with debates over the proper form that the language should take. The rocky history of Kernewek standardization shows that the currents of identity politics have a resilience which standardization does not erase. Almost a century ago, proponents of Late, verbal-focused, Dialect-influenced Kernewek like Hal Wyn appeared to lose out against their Medievalist, writing-focused, Celtic-influenced rivals like Robert Nance who established the first dominant standard form of the language, Unified. Yet, in the 2000s the SWF institutionalized the continued existence and coequal status of both types of contemporary Kernewek. Moreover, the rise of Kernowized forms within the SWF itself shows the persistence of the trends that fueled Kemmyn despite setbacks from the most recent standardization. The creation and promotion of Kemmyn show that orthography—the choices of written characters—is not a purely technical issue but one deeply laden with meaning and symbolism. Kemmyn was not the first orthographic system to contain such symbolic load, as early as the creation of the Stamboul alphabet in Albanian in the 1870s, scholars were seriously considering how character and script choice could reflect and emphasize ethnic difference within an ethnically mixed national landscape (Trix 1999).

Albanian linguistic identity was already central to Albanian nationalism when Shemseddin Sami Bey created his Stamboul alphabet in 1879; the name, which is the Albanian form of Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire most Albanians lived within, reveals its cosmopolitan origins (Trix 1999:257). Stamboul was based on Latin characters, seen as a neutral choice unlike the two other roots it could have drawn upon—Greek and Arabic—which were associated with the two faiths dividing Albanians, Christian and Muslim, respectively (Trix 1999:259). However, Bey also adopted letters from Greek and Cyrillic, as well as modified Latin letters, all of which gave Albanian a distinctive appearance which was seen as an important ethnic marker in the cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire, where

"a distinctive alphabet symbolized a distinctive people" (e.g., Greeks, Slavs with Cyrillic, Georgians, Jews with Hebrew, and Germans with Fraktur) (Trix 1999:266). However, Stamboul began to fade after World War I, with the crumbling of this cosmopolitan world. With ethnicities increasingly possessing separate nation-states, the institutionalized differences in script lost some of their strength and Albanians would, in time, adopt the all-Latin Bashkimi alphabet.

Undoubtedly, as our national societies continue to mix and both new hybrids and the perceived need to emphasize new differences emerges, some will seek to emphasize orthographic difference (or similarity) in order to achieve their socio-political goals. Yet the short-lived history of the Stamboul alphabet—not to mention the fate of pre-Unified Kernewek spellings—shows that spelling systems can die out when they are displaced from their position amongst users, a phenomenon which was perhaps recognized before, but has not been examined as it occurs. One question amongst Kernewek users today is whether Kemmyn, Unified or Late will cease to exist? The question itself assumes that Kemmyn—or any linguistic variety—is an entity which exists outside of its uses.

What this dissertation has argued is that whether or not any linguistic form continues to be used depends on two factors: whether it can be connected to a population's values and outlooks and if it can serve to advance that population's tangible goals. In both cases, this connection is performed through language ideology. Language does not exist outside of its uses and the attitudes towards it and when rivals appear, they can overtake previously dominant forms through usurping either connection. In the case of Kemmyn, this use would include its role in Kernowizing people and places. Already the SWF appears to have the advantages of widespread legitimacy and public funding. If, as has been the case since 2006, the SWF can serve the same uses and values as Kemmyn in roadsigns and placenames, it is probable that support for Kemmyn will fade within a generation. If the SWF comes to embody, instead, its original pluralistic vision, it is probable that Kemmyn will retain its cachet as a tool for lexical

decolonization, perhaps even gaining in strength as an anti-establishment variety of the language. The same goes for the varied anti-Kemmyn forms of Kernewek, whose supporters' influence currently appears in the decline as they fracture in their backing for the SWF, Unified, KS or Late. If current trends continue, the SWF will become "the new Kemmyn," and the final form created in 2013 will be purged of much of its pluralistic nature in practice, if not necessarily in principle. Kemmyn supporters will continue to operate but in declining numbers. The opposition will continue, perhaps in a single form but more likely in a more amorphous shape. However, as the lessons of 110 years of concerted revival, these opposition tendencies will not disappear from the language scene, but instead continue to serve as resources for those who find themselves opposed to Kernowization.

Form, Ideology and Use: Three Facets of Language

As we look beyond Cornwall, we can expand this argument outwards, and observe that language debates are a manifestation of underlying dynamics within the society(ies) of their users. Kernewek does not exist outside of its uses, which are a pragmatic manifestation of the goals of its users, in the same way that Taiwan's orthographic arguments are a manifestation of the larger ambiguities of the island's global position (Curtin 2009), and Stamboul faded when the Ottoman landscape of alphabetic pluralism died in the First World War (Trix 1999). Far from being useless as is sometimes maintained, Kernewek is, like the Stamboul and Taiwanese orthographies, a highly effective tool to combat perceived ethnic ambiguities through its ability to index particular forms of identity. As long as the current ethnic dynamic—fueled by a stark difference in perception of the landscape between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle points of view—continues, different populations of Kernewek users will approach the language with different goals, and be drawn towards different forms of use. Much in the same way, as Chinese and Taiwanese nationalists differ in their uses and goals, the writing and display of Mandarin

has taken divergent forms in the process; similarly, we can see that Stamboul faded in the Albanian community once the multi-script, cosmopolitan environment it was designed to be used in was dismembered. This was most dramatically seen in Chapter 5's discussion of the conflicts over conversant, symbolic and instructional uses of the language and the language's ability to index different meanings over varied contexts. Standardization affects this by privileging some forms (and hence their concomitant uses) over others. As the two primary uses of standardized Kernewek are in road signs and public education, this is a debate over the linguistic nature of the landscape and the normal Kernewek of the next generation (respectively).

For everyday users of the language, these larger questions, while possibly interesting for discussion, are not their immediate motivators for engagement with the language or any of its particular variants. Instead, as we saw in chapter 4, Kernewek is experienced as part of larger projects of social transformation, which are themselves rooted in the same persistent ambiguities over differing concepts of Cornwall, the Cornish and the role of Cornishness. Despite the neatness of the difference between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle when it is written out such as I have done above, in practice there is considerable slippage between them. Residents of Cornwall rarely purely embody one narrative or the other and Kernewek is a part of a wider toolbox for dealing with these everyday anxieties.

This dissertation has demonstrated that use is never separated from either ideology or form and we can thus see these three factors—use, ideology and form—are mutually influential. In the case of Kernewek, the desires to *use* the language, as a spoken form, as a visual marker of ethnicity, a tool for education about history or as a mechanism for creating supposedly pure literary works, at times conflict with one another and there is no variant of the language which functions equally well for all. Though evidence is currently lacking, we might surmise that similar conflicts—for instance the conflict between marking Taiwanese distinctiveness and the need to communicate with visitors (both from the

PRC and beyond)—may create unique spaces for debate and political action and influence the forms of the language. Late Kernewek, for instance is seen by its users as the most closely connected to actual speech (historic and contemporary), but by its detractors as unable to properly mark the landscape as different from England because of its links to the Cornish-English Dialect and its connection to periods of Cornish history seen as tainted by English influences. Building upon earlier research on ideology, ethnicity and orthography, this research has demonstrated that use is connected to form—the spelling variant—but also to language ideology, as the expectations of what the language can and should do undergirds the potential uses imagined by proponents of the language. Hence, we can see that the emergence of the neo-liberal, multicultural ideology towards the language (as promoted by the State since recognition in 2002) have appeared concomitantly with proposals to use the language to sell Cornwall and promote tourism as we saw in Chapter 7.

Standardization, thus privileges not only proponents of a particular form, but, as this research has shown, those who intend to use the language in ways that the new standard is most suitable for. This is in contrast to traditional critique of standardization, where the new standard was based upon the speech of a particular region (like Paris or London) or a particular class of individuals (such as the royal court) (Gal 2006). In this analysis, standardization obviously favors a particular social group while excluding others. However, in more contemporary standardizations of languages like Basque (Urla 1993) or Kernewek, where attention is paid to not favor one regional or class dialect over another (or in the case of Kernewek where there are no significant regional differences), standardization still creates favored and unfavored groups.

We can find an example of a writing system that has consciously avoided regional favoritism while still favoring particular groups in the Pahawn Hmong, a unique orthographic system created by the prophet Shong Lue Yang for the Hmong language in Southeast Asia. Pahawh Homong has fourteen

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competitors for the loyalties of the Hmong, but is primarily seen as opposed by Romanized Hmong which used Latin characters. Shong Lue Yang created his system as a form of cultural protectionism and spiritual uplift for his people and today it is favored by Hmong nationalists who oppose the Communist Lao government and who practice traditional Hmong religion. Pahawh Hmong "is serious. It is for religion, and for the recording and preservation of a Hmong culture threatened by dispersal, political powerlessness, persecution […] struggle for survival […], confinement […], and the demands of day to day life at the bottom" (Smalley et. al. 1990: 135). Its continued use is fueled by those uses and pressures and without them it "could fade away like writing systems developed for different languages in the past those not maintained and supported by people in power" (Smalley et. al. 1990:135). Pahawh Hmong competes most intensely with the Romanized Popular Alphabet, which was created by Christian missionaries and is associated not only with their faiths, but a desire for Westernization, Modernization and education. Hence the triumph of one form would lead to a privileging of particular factions of Hmong society over others.

These subtleties of ideological and factional association are particularly amenable to ethnographic research. In fact, a non-ethnographic examination of the Kernewek SWF—one in which the forms are taken out of their context and use and studied as a cultural product—could potentially misinterpret who benefitted from the standardization. The official standard provides equal status to forms based on Kemmyn, Unified and Late, however (as we saw in Chapter 7), in practice the Unified and Late based forms have little or no usage and might be argued not to exist outside of the ideal.

Future Research

The contextualization of standardization specifically and the relationship between use, ideology and form is an area that deserves future research in populations and amongst language varieties with a

greater range of uses than Kernewek. For instance, amongst Kernewek users there is a widespread, if not universal, desire to create social change in Cornwall, however, amongst users of English there is often no meaningful relationship to England or to another English-official state. How do the dynamics of use/ideology/form differ amongst populations who utilize the same language within different states? For example, how does the nature of the polyglot Indian state lead to different manifestations of English compared to its home in Britain or in the USA where it is caught up in anxieties over race and citizenship? Similarly, how do these dynamics alter when a language is used within a state by populations that do and do not identify with the nation or are excluded from citizenship? For instance , in Germany, where Turkish Guestworkers and their descendents inhabit German communities and often employ German as a first language, yet are systematically denied access to Germanness, both legal and symbolic (Mandel 2008). In a land where, at least since the days of Herder, language has been tied to national essence, how does this Turk-German dynamic play out in the interlocking domains of use, ideology and form? What about languages that are treated primarily as pragmatic tools for commercial or cultural exchanges, such as Russian between non-Russian citizens of former Soviet states, or French in the bureaucratic apparatuses of African states? In these cases, language does no index belonging or citizenship but is seen asa practical mode for Conversant uses; this potentially has an impact on form as users are less concerned about indexing their own identities—a problem we have seen bedevils Kernewek's neologisms and borrowings.

Of course, this work would be most applicable to understanding the dynamics behind similar ongoing revivals around the globe, such as the revival of Manchu within the context of the explosion of activity around minority cultures in mainland China (Johnson 2009). Like Kernewek, Manchu ceased to be used as a spoken form and has been consciously revived; however, unlike Kernewek, it was the language of the ruling group (in this case the Manchu Dynasty) repressed by the Revolutionary

Government as reactionary. This type of research would allow a comparative approach which treats

language revivals within their larger cultural and ideological context--in this case both the

Revolutionary repression and the more recent policy of *zhonghua minzu* which envisions a

multicultural Chineseness that transcends ethnic division and is based upon a shared connection to a

supposedly unified and ancient Chinese Civilization (Bulag 2003). It is apparent that *zhonghua minzu*

has opened particular spaces for the Manchu Revival, but a holistic, comparative approach allows us to

move beyond the surface comparisons to ask question such as: how do the intended uses of an ethnic

language amongst a scattered, urban Manchu population differ from those of a geographically

concentrated, rural Cornish population? How are the ideologies motivating interest in a former

majority tongue associated with a discredited state differ from that of a minority language which has

never held a dominant place in the state? Because of the reconstructed nature of both languages, their

forms have been particularly pliable, meaning that these comparisons can have particularly rich nuance

on all sides of the use-ideology-form triangle.

As this research dealt with a language in which the standard form is highly, publicly contested,

another area for future investigation may be in those languages where the standard form is widely

accepted and normalized such as the Academy controlled languages such as French or Spanish or ritual

languages like Latin or some Native American tongues[235]. Already, this research thread has begun to

bear fruit with research on Arabic (both Classical and Vernacular forms) in Egypt (Haeri 2003) and

Sanskrit (especially in its relationship to Hindi and Creole) in Mauritius (Eisenlohr 2007), where

ethnography has shown that the mixing of elements of sacred and secular language, including the use

of verbal and written markers indexes a wide variety of social groups and serve as potent markers of

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[235] By this I mean those Native American languages whose domains of use have contracted to purely formalized and ritualized settings.

social structure and belonging in the nation-state. In both of these cases, there is a formal, sacralized

standard and a range of nonstandard forms. Users construct their written and spoken language in a

dynamic circumstance where, depending on their desired use and their beliefs, they reshape their forms

to match. Like Kernewek, these examples show the complexity and persistence of forms (and

corresponding ideologies and uses) which lie under the apparent consensus of standardization.

The potential for Kernewek as a site of research for these questions has also not yet been

exhausted. While the continued ethnographic tracking of the effects of the standardization would

undoubtedly result in a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of language change on the

ground, it would also be fruitful to expand this analysis of form-ideology-use outside of the immediate

arena of language. In Cornwall, numerous cultural practices take on these dynamics, especially within

nationalist circles: self-consciously Cornish music, dance, storytelling, sports and cooking; in all of

these arenas, the aesthetics of form are connected to openly debated ideology and less overt demands of

use. We saw this in chapter 2, when connections were drawn between Lifestyle and Lifestruggle

aesthetics and understandings of the nature of Cornwall and the Cornish and then how these

understandings folded into and informed projects of Kernewek promotion. An example of a space

where this cross-media approach would be useful is in the analysis of the ongoing Kernocopia event

which fuses Cornish folklore, sports, music, dancing and language into a single performance organized

within the context of the 2012 Olympics and Cornish Nationalist criticism of the London-centric nature

of Olympic expenditures and performances.

Ultimately, these links are also tied to the language movement, which has grown up alongside

them. Hence, with further ethnographic research, a more robust understanding of the overall universe

of Nationalist practice and the everyday campaign to transform the ethnic character of Cornwall can be

painted. This picture, made possible by the relatively small size and interconnectedness of the Cornish

movement, can serve as a template for understanding similar movements throughout Europe and beyond, and with time, a dynamic picture of ethno-nationalism can be formed which will provide greater insights for researchers in a number of fields, including not only anthropology but also political science, sociology and history.

Winners and Losers: Standardization, the State and the Future of the Language

In the standardization of Kernewek—with the creation of a pluralistic standard—the standardizers shoed a cognizance of current sociolinguistic research on the politicized and the potentially exclusionary nature of state intervention, which shows how far the practice of state involvement in language has come in recent years (Cornish Language Commission 2007)[236]. However, the ethnographic analysis of the run-up to the state-sponsored standardization, including the failure of the previous two standardization attempts and the post-1986 fragmentation of form and ideology, as well as the analysis of the day-to-day application of the SWF has shown that standards, no matter how well-intentioned and well-thought-out, fundamentally benefit some stakeholders over others. While the general consensus in the Kernewek Movement is that the language movement as a whole has benefitted from the positive press of standardization and a public mending of fences, standardization did nothing to erase the underlying tensions that have fueled the movement—and its variant forms—for decades. Moreover, it has ultimately benefitted those whose intended uses of Kernewek are best served by the main graphs, a Kernowized form of the language well suited to publicly index Cornish difference and less suited for those who seek to study historic texts or converse in a fluid style of speech unmediated by the written word. Traditional analysis of standardization revealed the ways that the privileging of one geographically associated form favored some social groups (primarily those who used the form)

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[236] In fact, the Commission included Prof. Joshua Fishman, a world-renown scholar of minority language politics.

over others; analysis of the standardization of Kernewek reveals that the favored group need not be speakers, but can be those who are ideologically aligned with the same values as are indexed by the standard. It is also important to note that the relative *lack* of speakers of Kernewek gives language planners greater ability to tinker; the Cornish have a luxury of using rival forms of the language in part because they have had no pressing need to unify in order to communicate until the arrival of the carrot of state support in 2002. In places where non-standardized languages are used by a large population as their day-to-day tongue, standardization takes on a more immediate, pressing need.

Beyond these populations of users, the standardization has also benefited the State and its agents who, as we can see from the accounts of the 2009 Maga Conference, are now firmly in the driver's seat of the language movement. The state policies of multiculturalism—characterized by state-sponsored mutual recognition and tolerance between ethnic groups—is also supported by a standardization that recognizes the state's role in the language. This multicultural policy fundamentally protects the privileges of the racially White and ethnically English in Britain whose unearned dominance has been threatened by the demands of minority groups (both those from the Celtic fringe and from racialized ex-colonies) to equal citizenship by promoting tolerance over justice and a recognition of symbolic equality over the recognition of material grievances. It also ignores the symbolic power of Standard English as a posited neutral tongue and does little to undermine the corrosive power of the ideologies of Linguistic Darwinism and the naturalization of monolingualism, which are especially potent in the English-speaking world (Dorian 1998:10-11).

It should come as no surprise that the standardization of Kernewek by the British state was not the end of the debate as the two winners—the proponents of Kernowized Kernewek and the state's policy of multicultural tolerance—are fundamentally at odds. Hence, since 2007 we have seen the reassertion of Kernowized ideology, form and use, a process which is primarily opposed not by a state,

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which has largely abandoned Kernewek (especially after the dismantling of New Labour's apparatus of regional governance by the Conservatives after the 2010 elections), but by proponents of other forms, uses and ideologies of Kernewek. This is not to say that nothing has changed since 2002, as government recognition is perhaps the most important development in the language since the beginning of the Revival itself, and the state has provided a new array of tools and resources for the language movement—access to schoolchildren, public signage, legal protection and symbolic authenticity— which will doubtless be central to the goals of the Movement for the foreseeable future.

This observation should have resonance far beyond Cornwall, as, under the banner of multiculturalism, states around the globe are finding minority languages useful to their own goals, as objects of heritage, markers of tolerance, and s tools for reaching out to diasporas.[237]

The purpose of this research is not to question the value of these developments, but instead to dig below the surface consensus of the Movement to examine the variation which inevitably lies below and to understand how a useless language functions in the world, why it has attracted such passion and effort and not only who wins in the debates over language but why these outcomes occur and what they mean for the wider dynamics of the society in which they occur.

A century ago Henry Jenner asked "why should the Cornish learn Cornish? " The answer so commonly given—"because they are Cornish"—is only half true because through learning Cornish these activists have actively reshaped the very meaning of the word. In fashioning signs, orthographies and dictionaries, in attempting to use it as widely as possible, Kernewek language activists over the past century were also re-fashioning Cornwall and the meaning of Cornishness. By extension, as self-described Cornish-men and –women, they were re-defining themselves. The old genealogical and

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[237] Or circumventing their creation, such as in Slovakia where the state promotes a Rusyn identity amongst populations that might otherwise become part of a Ukrainian minority, and hence a future irredentist threat (Magosci 1996).

class-based identity—which is ultimately ascribed—becomes an achievable goal through a process of decolonization and Kernowization, a process that is ultimately mediated by language.

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Appendix A: Glossary

Agan Tavas— ("Our Language") A membership body of Kernewek users. Became the de-facto promoter of Unified Kernewek in 1986 after the Kowethas adopted Kemmyn.

An Baner Kernewek— ("The Cornish Flag") A predominantly English-language magazine published for decades by Dr. James Whetter, the leader of the right-wing Cornish Nationalist Party.

Breton— A Brythonic Celtic language used in Brittany, in the territories of modern-day France. Closely linked to Kernewek and Welsh. The adoption of Breton linguistic forms into Kemmyn has become an area of controversy.

College of Bards of Cornwall— See "Gorseth Kernow"

Common Cornish—See "Kemmyn"

Cornish Language Board—See "Kesva"

Cornish Language Fellowship—See "Kowethas"

Cornish Language Partnership—See "Maga"

Cowethas—See "Kowethas"

Cussel—(Short for "Cussel an Tavas Kernuak") The "Cornish Language Council," the governing body of the Late Kernewek form. Founded in 1986.

Glasney— A medieval institute of learning located near present-day Falmouth on Cornwall's southern coast. Considered by many nationalists to be the center for traditional Kernewek scholarship. Destroyed during the Reformation.

Gorseth Kernow—(A.K.A. "Gorsedd Kernwow") The College of Bards, a non-political honorary society created in 1928 by Henry Jenner and Robert Morton Nance to promoted Cornish Culture and the Kernewek Language. Seen by many as the symbolic guardians of Cornish culture. Formerly the governing body of Unified Kernewek until the creation of the Kesva in 1967. See also "Barth Mur."

Grand Bard— ("Barth Mur" in Kernewek) The elected leader of the Gorseth Kernow. Seen by many as the symbolic and ritual protector of Cornish Culture.

Jenner Question—From the beginning of Henry Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language* (1904) when he asked "Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish?" his reply is "Because they are Cornish."

Kaskyrgh Kernewek Kemmyn—The "Campaign for Common Cornish," a short-lived petition around 2002 created to call on the UK Government to recognize Kernewek Kemmyn as the single written standard for public usage.

Kemmyn— (Short for "Kernewek Kemmyn," "Common Cornish") A form of Kernewek based primarily upon the poetic writings of the medieval period. Largely developed by Ken George. Governed by the Kesva. Utilizes a phonemic spelling.

Kernewek—("Cornish") The spelling of the name of the Cornish Language in the Single Written Form. Used in this work to identify the revived language.

Kernewek Dasunys—("Cornish Reuinted;" A.K.A. "KD") A compromise spelling form created in 2006 for the Standardization by Albert Bock and Benjamin Bruch based off of Kernewek Kemmyn. Became the primary base for the SWF.

Kernow—The widely-accepted Kernewek name for "Cornwall."

Kernowak Standard—(A.K.A. "KS" or "Kernowak") A compromise spelling form created in 2006 for the Standardization primarily by users of Unified and Late Kernewek.

Kernowize—The process of converting a person, object or place into a form perceived to be more legitimately Cornish from a nationalist perspective. Also described as "Kernow-cred" ("cred" = "credibility").

Keskowethyans an Taves Kernewek—See "Maga"

Kesva— (Short for "Kesva an Tavas Kernewek") The Cornish Language Board, the governing body of Kernewek since its creation in 1967. Accepted Kernewek Kemmyn as its official form in 1986 and is today dominated by Kemmyn users voted by the membership of the Kowethas. Unlike many language regulators, it is a private charity, not a state-sponsored body.

Kowethas—(Short for "Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek") The Cornish Language Fellowship, a membership body of Kernewek Users. Accepted Kernewek Kemmyn as its official form in 1986 and is today dominated by Kemmyn users. Elects the majority of the members of the Kesva.

Late—(A.K.A. "Kernuack Nowedga") A form of Kernewek based primarily upon the prose writings of the 17th and 18th centuries. Largely developed by Richard Gendall and Neil Kennedy. Governed by the Cussel. Utilizes traditional spellings.

Maga—(A.K.A. Keskowethyans an Taves Kernewek or The Cornish Language Partnership)

Mebyon Kernow—The "Sons of Cornwall," the primary Cornish Nationalist Party since 1951. It is left and center and allied to Plaid Cymru in Wales and the European Free Alliance.

Mystery Plays—A category of surviving traditional Kernewek literature including: *The Ordinalia*, *Bewnans Ke* ("The Life of St. Kea"), *Beunans Meriasek* (the Life of St. Meriasek), and *Gwreans an Bys* ("The Creation of the World"). They are the scripts for medieval dramatic works on Christian subjects believed to be performed in the open air in sites called *Plain an Gwary*. Considered by Medievalists to be the most important sources of traditional Kernewek and the basis for both Unified and Kemmyn.

Ordinalia, The— See "Mystery Plays"

Prayer Book Rebellion— The last of a series of late 15th and early 16th century Cornish revolts. Begun in opposition to the institution of an English-language *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549, its suppression is considered by some Cornish Nationalists to be the death blow of the Kernewek language in its Medieval form.

Stannary Parliament—An autonomous medieval parliament located in Cornwall and under the Duchy of Cornwall which governed the rights of tin miners. Never formally suppressed, it was last called in 1753. It has become a central element of medievalist Cornish nationalist demands for modern political autonomy and a "Revived Stannary Parliament" has existed as a pressure group for several decades.

SWF—(Short for the "Standard Written Form") A form of Kernewek created during the Standardization process of the early 2000s and utilizing forms based upon various time periods. Governed by Maga. Utilizes a phonemic spelling system.
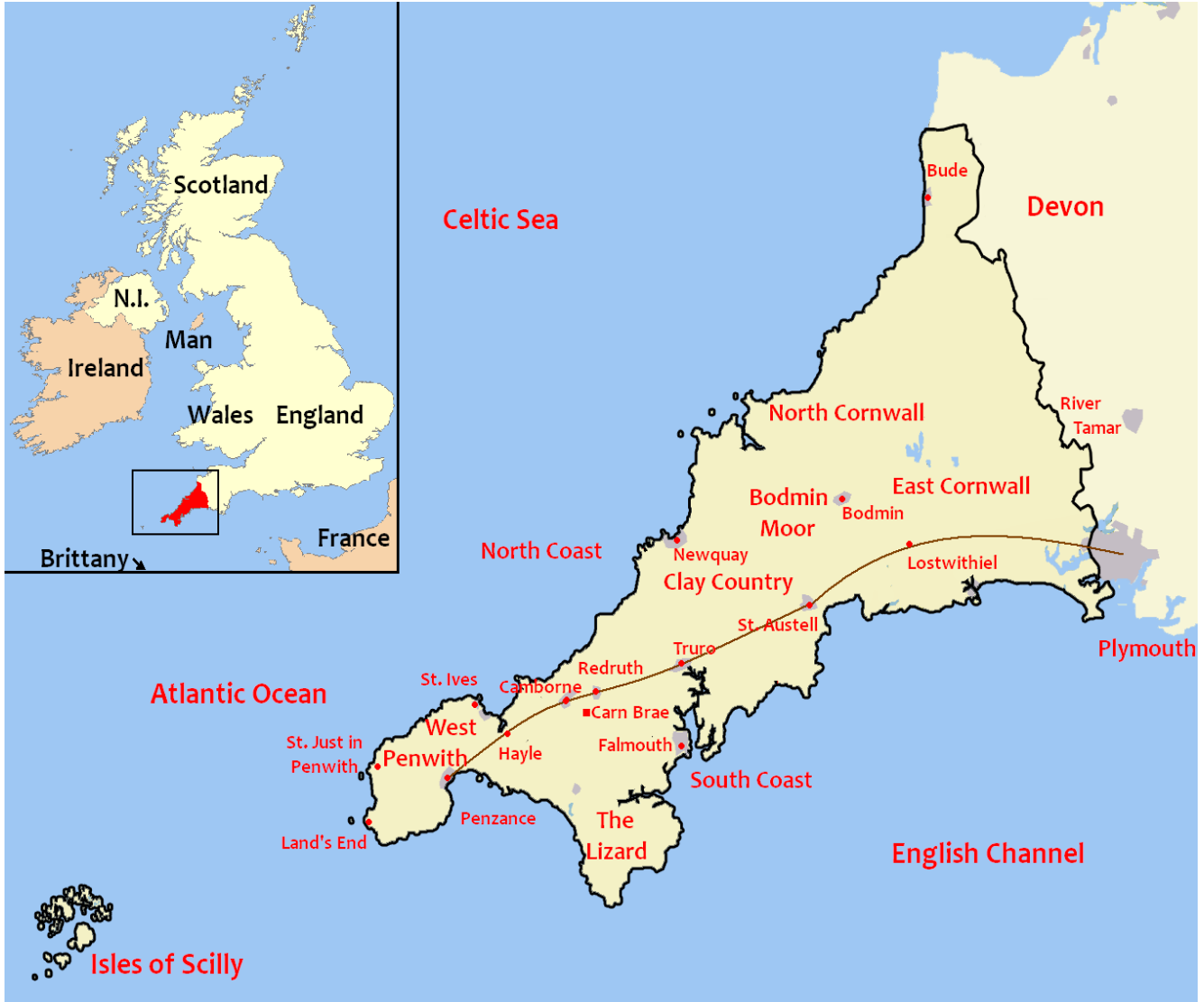
Unified—(A.K.A. Kernewek Unys) A form of Kernewek based primarily upon the poetic writings of the medieval period. Largely developed by Robert Morton Nance and A.S.D. Smith. Formerly governed by the Kesva, today has no standing governing body. Utilizes a traditional spelling.

Unified Cornish Revised— (A.K.A. UCR) A form of Kernewek created by Prof. Nicholas Williams in 1995 which attempted to modify Nance's Unified spelling system to meet the criticisms raised by other factions. Never adopted by any institutions, it is influential amongst many Unified users. Has never had a standing governing body, only the writings of Prof. Williams. Utilizes a traditional spelling.

Yeth an Werin—Regular, informal pub gatherings where conversational Kernewek is used.

Appendix B: Map of Cornwall

Figure 1: A Map of Cornwall with locations mentioned in text. Created by the author, based off of free

map available through Wikimedia

Appendix C: Timelines of Cornish Linguistic History

Years	*General History of Kernewek*
Pre-900s	**Early Kernewek**: Cornwall an undifferentiated part of Brythonic-speaking Britain
936	**Conquest**: Saxons conquer Southwest Peninsula and establish the modern borders of Cornwall. Brythonic speakers are removed from Devon and concentrated in Cornwall.
1000-1549	**Middle Kernewek**: Cornwall incorporated into England as an autonomous Duchy, Catholic church is the dominant literary institution
1549	**"Cornish Holocaust"**: Cornish uprisings against Protestantism and English centralization are violently repressed, ending the period of classic medieval literature.
1550s-1800	**Late Kernewek**: Early industrialization and tin mining. Primary period for surviving prose literature. Kernewek declining and increasingly isolated in the far west.
1800-1876	**"Post" Kernewek**: Language no longer used in Cornish communities. Golden age of Cornish mining, engineering and steam technology.
1876	Centenary celebrations of the death of the "last" speaker of Kernewek, revival in scholarly interest
1876-1928	**Early Revival**: Interest in language amongst antiquarians, Romantics and proto-nationalists. Tied to folklore and Celticism. This period also sees the quiet death of the last autonomous institutions of the medieval Duchy of Cornwall.
1928	Creation of the **Gorseth Kernow**, the Cornish College of Bards.
1928-1970s	**Unified Kernewek**: Domination of Medievalism in the form of Unified Kernewek, the Gorseth and the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies.
1967	Creation of the **Kesva** an Tavas Kernewek (Cornish Language Board), which aims to regulate Kernewek and conduct examinations.
1970s-1980s	**Era of Discontent**: Younger activists seek to promote spoken Kernewek, unhappy with Celticism and Kernewek as a literary language.
1985-1988	**Splintering of Movement**: Creation of Kernewek Kemmyn and Late Kernewek, creating three factions in the language. Bitter disputes.
1986	The Kesva accepts Kemmyn as its new standard.
1988-2002	**Spelling Cold War**: Factions conflict in the academic press, over public signage and in the local newspapers. Kemmyn is the largest faction, but unable to completely dominate.
2002	**Government Recognition** of Kernewek.
2002-Present	**Standardization**: Creation of the Standard Written Form and the Cornish Language Partnership.

Years	*Timeline of Language Standardization*[238]
1997	**Historic Labour victory** in Westminster including a Cornish seat in Falmouth-Camborne[239]
1998	**Good Friday Agreement** in the north of Ireland
2000	Signature of the **European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages (ECMRL)** by the UK Government
2000	Research for the MacKinnon Report on the State of Kernewek
2000	Cornwall qualifies for **Objective One** development assistance from the EU
2001	Entry into force of the ECMRL for Welsh, Irish, Ulster-Scots (Ullans), Scots, and Scottish Gaelic
2003	Entry into force of the ECMRL for Kernewek and Manx
2004	Publication of the "**Strategy for the Cornish Language**" outlining the future of the State's role in the language.
2005	**Creation of Maga**, the Cornish Language Partnership
2005	Funding received for Maga from the EU (Objective One), London and the Cornwall Council
2006	Beginning of the **Cornish Language Development Project**, including the creation of the Standard Written Form
2007	Presentation of the preliminary **Standard Written Form**

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[238] Assembled from Evans & Lacoste 2008; European Council 2009

[239] Andrew George MP, a Liberal-Democrat with Cornish nationalist tendencies who delivered the first speech on the floor of the House of Commons in Kernewek, was also first elected to the St. Ives seat in this election.

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Education

2006- Present   **Syracuse University**, Syracuse, New York

PhD in Cultural Anthropology (expected Summer 2012)

2006-2009   **Syracuse University**, Syracuse, New York

MA in Cultural Anthropology (defended April 16th, 2009)

2001-2005   **SUNY Geneseo**, Geneseo, New York

BA summa cum laude with honors in Anthropology

2004   **AIP Language Institute**, Valencia, Spain

Certificate in Spanish Language and Culture

Dissertation

"In Search of a Single Voice: Politics of Use, Form and Belief in Cornwall, United Kingdom"

An ethnographic study of a language revival movement in the context of the project of multicultural, neoliberal state building in the County Cornwall in Southwestern Britain. It explores the intersections between activism and the processes of ethnic, class, place and national identifications in post-Imperial, post-industrial Europe.

Dissertation Readers: John Burdick (chair), Susan Wadley, Hans Buechler, Shannon Novak, Jaqueline Urla

Honors and Awards

2010   Claudia de Lys Graduate Scholar in Anthropology

2010   Maxwell School of Citizenship Summer Dean's Fellowship

2009   Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs Goekjian Scholar

2009   Claudia de Lys Graduate Scholar in Anthropology

2009   Roscoe Martin Fellowship for Research

2008   Syracuse University Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award

2008   Maxwell School of Citizenship Summer Dean's Fellowship

2006   Sagamore Institute of the Adirondacks Director's Award for Service

2006   Syracuse University Graduate Fellowship

2005   Pavel Sabovik Award for Service and Scholarship in Anthropology

2005   Phi Beta Kappa Honors Society

2005   The SUNY Geneseo-endorsed applicant for the Rhodes Scholarship

2005   Lambda Alpha honor's society for anthropology

2004   Golden Key Honors society

2003   Junior Fellowship in the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences

2001-   Member of the Geneseo Honors Program
2005

2001   Phi Eta Sigma Honors Society for exceptional freshmen

Classroom and Public Education Experience and Training

2011   "Global Encounters, Writing Intensive"(Ant 185), Teaching Assistant, Syracuse University

        "Introduction to Cultural Anthropology" (Ant 111), Teaching Assistant

2010   Syracuse University

        "Introduction to Cultural Anthropology" (Ant 112, two sections) and "Language and Culture" (ANT 344, one section), Lecturer.

2009   SUNY Oswego

2008   "Introduction to Cultural Anthropology" (Ant 111), Teaching Assistant

        Syracuse University

2007   "Peoples and Cultures of the World" (Ant 121), Teaching Assistant

Syracuse University

2006   Teaching Assistant Training

Syracuse University

2005-   Public Tour Supervisor and Historic/Cultural tour guide

2006   Sagamore Institute of the Adirondacks, Raquette Lake, NY

2005   Anthropology Teaching Assistant Seminar

SUNY Geneseo

2004   "Language and Culture" (Ant 120), Teaching Assistant

SUNY Geneseo

2003   "Exploration of Human Diversity" (Ant 101), Teaching Assistant

SUNY Geneseo

Research Experience

Independent research for PhD dissertation in Cornwall, United Kingdom amongst the Cornish Language Community. Fall 2010-Spring 2011

Research Assistant for Prof. John Burdick investigating effectiveness among community-labor coalitions negotiating community benefits agreements with universities. Spring 2010.

Conducted preliminary field research in Cornwall, England via ethnographic interviews, archival research and participant observation, summers of 2007-2009

Received a Syracuse University grant to research SU's adjunct professor population via survey and ethnographic interviews.

Conducted biographical research on historic figures and wrote copy for the new permanent exhibit, "Faces of Wilderness" for the Sagamore Institute.

Conducted research and developed two new specialty tours for the Sagamore Institute: "Secrets and Scandals At Sagamore: Public Image and Private Lives in the Victorian Adirondacks" and "Sagamore at Night: Light and Dark, Civilization and Wilderness"

Received a grant for research including ethnographic interviews, surveys, archival research, text and art analysis and observational trips to Washington DC and New York City for Senior Honor's Thesis

Received a grant for a two-week research trip to the Yucatan in early 2005 with the Chair of the Anthropology department to study Mayan lifeways and rituals.

Archaeology Research Laboratory Experience: Artifact cleaning, care, assessment, pottery reconstruction, mass analysis techniques

Applied Anthropology Experience: Interview, survey and rapid assessment techniques.

Written Works

In Search of a Single Voice: Language, Minority Nationalism and the State in Cornwall, United Kingdom, PhD Thesis, Syracuse University, ongoing.

"Interpreting the Cornish Alps" article accepted in the 2012 *Journal of the Cornish Audio Visual Archive*

"The Gift of Compost" article in the Fall 2011 edition of *Communities Magazine*

"Arise St. Piran: The Cult of the Saints and the Redefining of Cornwall" article in the Spring 2010 *Journal of Cornish Studies*.

"Body of the Saint, Body of the Nation: The Uses of Sacred Remains English and Cornish Nationalism" article in the Spring 2009 *Maxwell Review*

"Making a Viable Semester: A study of adjunct professors at Syracuse University," research report presented to Adjuncts United, 2007

Living the Myth: The Intersection between Myth and Politics in American Society, Senior Honors Thesis, SUNY Geneseo, 2005

Presentations

April 5, 2012, "Sight and Sound: Language Pedagogy and Facitonalism in Revived Cornish," Mellon Corridor for the Humanities Linguistics Panel. Syracuse, New York

March 15, 2012, "What's in a Name? Placenames, Personal Names and the Politicization of Minority Language," Language and Culture, Anthropology Graduate Seminar. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

March 10, 2012, "What is Linguistic Anthropology?" Introduction to Anthropology, Undergraduate Class. Utica College, Utica, New York.

June 12, 2009, "Tourism and the Cornish Alps", Cornish Audio Visual Archive Annual Conference, St. Austell, Cornwall, Britain

January 25, 2009, "The Works of Erik Mueggler", Anthropology Graduate Student Organization of Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

November 15, 2008, "Arise St Piran: The Cult of the Saints and the Branding of Cornwall", American Anthropological Association Conference, San Francisco

April 26, 2008, "Arise St Piran: The Cult of the Saints and the Remapping of Cornwall," Anthropology Graduate Student Organization of Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

November 24, 2006, "Voices of the Dead: The Constitution and the Supreme Court," Anthropology Graduate Student Organization of Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

April 15, 2005, "Incidents and Observations from a Mayan Shamanic Ritual," Geneseo Undergraduate Research Scholars Symposium, Geneseo, NY

April 15, 2005, "Living the Myth: Religion and Politics in America," Keynote address at the Geneseo Anthropology Dinner, Geneseo, NY

April 15, 2005, "Living the Myth: Religion and Politics in America," Geneseo Undergraduate Research Scholars Symposium, Geneseo, NY

June 10, 2003, with Greg Inzinna, "The Middle Management Gap: An Anthropological Look at Modern Farming," Cornell Cooperative Extension, Mount Morris, NY

March 20, 2003, with Kathy Cohick, "Bockmier Point Lithics: Hard Evidence for Sedentism," Poster, North East Anthropological Association (NEAA) 43 Annual Conference; 3-20-03, Burlington, VT

April 11, 2002, "Comparing Love: Affection in Modern Drama;" Geneseo Humanities Undergraduate Paper Symposium, Geneseo, NY

Professional Affiliations

American Anthropological Association

Society for the Anthropology of Europe

Institute for Cornish Studies (Tremough, Cornwall)