**AN
INDEPENDENT ACADEMIC STUDY
ON CORNISH**

FINAL

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*SGRÙD
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CONTENTS

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1   <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

This is the report of an independent academic study of Cornish, which has been undertaken on behalf of Government Office for the South West (GOSW). The research was undertaken between January and March 2000.

1.1   **BACKGROUND**

The Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) has, through GOSW, responsibility for co-ordinating advice on Government's policy on the Cornish language in relation to the Council of Europe Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. The Charter makes provision for various measures for the protection and promotion of such languages in States who subscribe to it. The UK Government signed the Charter on 2 March 2000 and will ratify it later this year.

The Charter gives only a broad definition of regional or minority languages as:

  i)   traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population;

  ii)   different from the official languages of that State; and

  iii)   where territory means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of various protective and promotional measures provided for in the Charter.

GOSW, on behalf of DETR, has commissioned this independent academic study to establish the position on the use and currency of the Cornish language historically and today. This will provide a sound factual basis for informing consideration of policy issues by various Government Departments.

1.2   **STUDY OBJECTIVES**

The objectives of the study were to report factually and impartially on:

  i)   the historical position of Cornish to the present day, including the period of its decline and disappearance in the 18th Century and its recent revival, drawing comparisons with the experience of related Celtic languages in the UK;

  ii)   the ways in which Cornish is "traditionally used" in a) Cornwall generally or in specific parts of the country and b) elsewhere in the UK, in speech, reading and writing, including an assessment of the number of people considered to be fluent in the language, and the extent to which Cornish is "the mode of expression" of a number of people in their everyday life;

  iii)   the availability and take up of learning and study of Cornish at each level (primary, secondary, technical and vocational, further education, adult and continuing education or other) and the nature of the qualification over, say, the past 20 years in a) Cornwall and b) the rest of the UK, identifying how that teaching is provided and supported (financially or otherwise), and where it is no longer available the reasons why this is the case;

  iv)   the existence or otherwise of a body of literature in Cornish through to the present day;

  v)   details of organisations which promote Cornish, how they are supported and funded, their membership and activities including exchanges and events with other Celtic language organisations; and

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vi)   details of the sources of funding and support available in the UK and in the EU, to support languages such as Cornish and of the funding and support that has been secured for Cornish over, say, the last 20 years.

1.3   RESEARCH METHODS

A number of research methods were employed. First, desk-based and library research was used to establish the development of the Cornish language and the existence of a body of literature. The main research element was a face-to-face and telephone survey of **50** organisations and individuals associated with the promotion of the Cornish language. This survey, of course, produced information on other study elements, such as the historical development of the language, as well as information on the activities of present-day organisations and educational provision.

In addition, three focus groups attended by 60 Cornish-speakers were held within Cornwall to elicit additional information on use of the language. These were held separately for each of the three present-day versions of the language. These groups provided contact with a further **48** persons. The main findings from this exercise are incorporated within the overall text, rather than the findings being reported upon in a dedicated section.

Further, telephone research was undertaken with education providers and funding bodies. This supplemented the information generated through the main survey programme.

1.4   STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The main text of the report is largely structured around the six study objectives referred to above.

Chapter 2 considers the historical position in terms of the development of the language and the existence of a body of literature. **Chapter 3** presents our findings on mode of use, while **Chapter 4** reports on current and recent educational provision with regard to Cornish. **Chapter 5** describes the range and activities of groups presently involved in the promotion of Cornish while **Chapter 6** reports on the use of funding sources that have been available to the language and the extent to which these have been accessed in recent times, as well as potential sources for the future.

Appendix A provides a list of reference sources used in compiling this report. **Appendix B** details the organisations and individuals involved in Cornish language promotion consulted during the research.   **Appendix C** provides a chronology of significant events in the development of the Cornish language. **Appendix D** contains copies of the questionnaires used in our survey work. **Appendix E** contains a bibliography and **Appendix F** contains some additional statistical data, in the form of maps and diagrams.

2 DEVELOPMENT OF CORNISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

2.1 ORIGINS OF THE LANGUAGE

The Cornish language is one of six surviving related 'Insular Celtic' languages and is most closely related to Welsh and Breton. Its relatedness to these languages stems historically from the victory of the West Saxons at the Battle of Dyrham in AD 577 (some 10 miles north of Bath) which effectively split the southern Britons into two peoples, the ancestors of the present-day Welsh and Cornish.

The subsequent advance of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Wessex into the southwestern peninsula of Great Britain, the territory of Damnonia, resulted in population movements from the Dorset and Devon areas overseas into Brittany and Galicia (northwestern Spain). In Brittany, British speech survives as Breton to the present day. Trading links and exchange of population of related speech continued between Cornwall and Brittany from the sixth century until the sixteenth - and in some form even up to our own times.

Subsequent defeats of the southwestern Britons brought early English influence as far as the River Ottery in north Cornwall in 682, and to southeastern Cornwall between the Tamar and Lynher rivers in 710. In 722 a Cornish victory regained territory and stemmed English advances, subsequently reversed in defeats in 753, 815 and 838. This period probably represents a period when a Cornish rather than a Damnonian or British identity was in the course of formation. In 936, Athelstan's decisive defeat of the Cornish resulted in their final expulsion from Exeter and elsewhere in Devon, fixing the boundary at the Tamar, where it has remained ever since.

The absorption of Cornwall within the Kingdom of England was not immediate. Cornwall was regarded as a separately named province, with its own subordinated status and title under the English crown, with separate ecclesiastical provision in the earliest phase. There were subsequent constitutional provisions under the Stannary Parliament, which had its origins in provisions of 1198 and 1201 separating the Cornish and Devon tin interests and developing into a separate parliament for Cornwall maintaining Cornish customary law. From 1337 Cornwall was further administered as a 'quasi-sovereign' royal Duchy in the later medieval period. (1)

The implications of these processes for the Cornish language was to ensure its integrity throughout this period. It was throughout most of the Middle Ages the general speech of essentially the whole population and all social classes. Over the greater part of the first millennium and a half of its separate and distinctive existence, the Cornish language functioned as the majority speech for all economic and social purposes in the life and society of Cornwall. This was certainly the case throughout its early and middle periods up to the end of the Middle Ages. It had of course begun to weaken in eastern Cornwall by the end of this period - but throughout this period it was renewed and strengthened by trade and commerce with Brittany, and the settlement in Cornwall of Bretons speaking a closely-related language and assimilating into the speech-community.

The situation changed rapidly with the far-reaching political and economic changes from the end of the medieval period onwards, and language-shift from Cornish to English progressed through Cornwall from east to west from this period onwards. The numbers of Cornish speakers during this period have been estimated by Dr Ken George from various sources. (2) He regards the numbers of speakers as coincident with total population more or less between the Domesday enumeration of 1086 and the early thirteenth century, with numbers estimated between 15,000-20,000. Growth continued with some divergence from total population to a likely peak of 38,000 in 1300 (some 73% of the total population of Cornwall at that time), before the demographic reversal of the Black Death in the 1340s. Thereafter numbers of Cornish speakers were maintained at around 33,000 between mid-fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries against a background of substantial increase of the total Cornish population.

From this position the language then inexorably declined until its cessation as community speech in its last local areas at the end of the eighteenth century.

Three popular risings within a century and a half of the Tudor Accession and attendant loss of life - both from battle, and in subsequent reprisals - accelerated this process, especially amongst Cornish-speakers of child-bearing age. There was considerable disruption of the accustomed way-of-life. The Reformation considerably reduced traditional ties with Brittany.

During its middle period Cornish underwent changes in its phonology and morphology. An Old Cornish vocabulary survives from 1100, and manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels from even earlier: c.900. Placename elements from this early period have been 'fossilised' in eastern Cornwall as the language changed to English, as likewise did Middle Cornish forms in Mid-Cornwall, and Late Cornish forms in the west. These changes can be used to date the changeover from Cornish to English in local speechways, which together with later documentary evidence enables the areas within which Cornish successively survived to be identified.

Middle Cornish is best represented by the *Ordinalia*, which comprise a cycle of mystery plays written in Cornish, it is believed at Glasney College in Mid Cornwall, between 1350-1450. They were performed throughout areas where the language was still extant, in open-air amphitheatres (playing-places or 'rounds' - *plenys-an-gwary* in Cornish) which still exist in many places.

There is also a surviving religious poem *Pascon agan Arluth* (The Passion of our Lord). These texts enable a corpus of Middle Cornish to be ascertained. Later miracle play compositions include *Beunans Meriasek* (the Life of St. Meriadoc) datable to 1504 and William Jordan of Helston's *Gwreans an Bys* (The Creation of the World) dated 1611. These may hark back to older forms of the language, for other writings in the sixteenth century show the language to have been undergoing substantial changes which brought it into its latest surviving form (Late or Modern Cornish). These writings include Tregear's translation of Bishop Bonner's 'Homilies' c. 1556-8.

2.2 THE DECLINE OF CORNISH

The period between the Tudor Accession and the Civil War was one of considerable political and economic change. During this period the Cornish - as a people - rose three times in conflict with the highly centralising English state of which Cornwall now formed a very definite part. In the preceding later Middle Ages under the Normans and their successors the Cornish economy developed on its three staples of fish, tin and copper - tin especially.

This last was regulated by the Stannary Parliament which had a far-reaching and independent legislative role in Cornwall. This engendered some stability for Cornwall - and for its language. There may even be some evidence that the language re-established itself to some extent eastwards one again. (3) However, there was a major rising in 1497 on the issues of central control of the tin trade, confiscation of the Stannary charters and suspension of Stannary government - this against a general background of Tudor centralisation at home and expansion abroad.

The sense of identity of the Tudor monarch with the Arthurian heritage was thus shattered by a popular uprising against additional taxation for war with Scotland. The rising led by Thomas Flamank, lawyer of Bodmin, and Micheal Joseph *'An Gof'*, blacksmith of St. Keverne ended in failure. It was however commemorated five hundred years later in 1997 by *Kerskerdh Kernow* 'Cornwall marches on', a mass march from St. Keverne to Blackheath.

The 'Prayer Book' rising of 1549 had an explicit language-dimension. The Reformation and the concomitant changes in the newly independent Church of England led to the removal of images from parish churches and the imposition of an English-language prayer-book in place of the accustomed liturgy in Latin.

The petition to the king was explicit that: '...we the Cornyshemen, whereof certain of us understande no Englyshe, utterly refuse thys new service.' (Article 13) The rising was suppressed with some ferocity and summary execution of prisoners: several thousands perished, and the aftermath was particularly severe. (4)

These risings have been likened to the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite Rebellions in Scotland - with similar implications for the language. (5) Cornwall's efforts during the Civil War may have won some degree of temporary local autonomy but were on the whole a period of destabilisation for the Cornish language. The later outcome of the imprisonment and acquittal of Bishop Trelawny (1687) provided Cornwall with a national icon who with popular support won over adversity.

During this period of unrest and rising the language was unrecognised by any official translation of liturgy or scripture. From 1560 catechisms and sermons were allowed in Cornish - albeit instrumentally - where English was not understood, but these measures were insufficient to give a literary and religious base for the language, as was the case in Wales. Cornish versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostle's Creed date from these provisions. However, without the mainstays of a Cornish Bible and Prayer Book, standardisation of the language did not occur and thus a full literary corpus of Cornish of this period was not transmitted. Without a stabilising or conserving standard, the language in its latter phases continued to develop increasing disparity from its pre-Reformation manifestations in miracle play and religious literature.

The gathering pace of change in the seventeenth century brought further unrest and civil war. In this there was much military activity in Cornwall, and these disturbances further destabilised the Cornish-language speech-community. However, writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to develop the language as a literary medium, even though by this period it was in substantial decline demographically. The genres within which the language was developed extended to encompass biblical translation, technical writing, transcriptions of traditional oral lore, letters, verse, epitaphs, topography and history. These writings of the 'Newlyn School', and in particular the Boson family, comprise much of the corpus of Late Cornish literature. (6)

Despite there having been no translations into Cornish of the Prayer Book and the Bible with the sixteenth century Reformation, Cornish was used in church services for the Lord's Prayer, Creed and sermon. In the late seventeenth century these uses ceased. The last places using Cornish were at Landewednack on the Lizard until 1667, and at Towednack in West Penwith until 1678. (7) In the seventeenth century George estimates the numbers of Cornish-speakers as dropping to 14,000 by mid-century and to about 5,000 by its end. (8)

In 1700 Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709), Welsh-speaker, antiquary, philologist and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford visited Cornwall in 1700 as part of his researches into the six 'Celtic' countries, and published these in 1707 as *Archaelogia Britannica*. To this four month visit we owe much of our knowledge of the pronunciation of Cornish in its last vernacular form, the preservation of much Late Cornish literature (which would have been greater save for a destructive fire at his printers), and indeed the earliest identification of the Celtic languages as such. (9)

By Lhuyd's time Cornish was spoken only in the utter extremities of Cornwall. In these last areas it persisted tenaciously into the last decades of the eighteenth century. Its last reputed speaker, the celebrated Dolly Pentreath, died in 1777 - although examples of Cornish speakers are attested later. (see below)

In his *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* of 1790 Dr William Price of Redruth provided a review of the language in its last vernacular phase, its last traditional writers such as Tonkin and Gwavas, and its last everyday users who outlived Dolly Pentreath. These included Thomson the composer of her epitaph in 1789 - and others too. (10) However, by the turn of the century Cornish had almost certainly ceased both as vernacular and community speech. It may well however have survived longer in family transmission.

With the advent of Methodism in Cornwall from Wesley's first visit in 1743, reaching St. Ives and St Just (in which areas the language still lingered) as well as far as Scilly, a new popular religious movement was engendered which soon became the predominant religious identity in Cornwall. Methodism remained overwhelmingly strong in Cornwall from the mid-eighteenth to well beyond the mid-twentieth centuries. It had a vigorous lay ministry and adult class movement, but with the weakness of Cornish at this time, there was little prospect of a demotic Cornish-language local preaching tradition - as occurred through Manx in the Isle of Man, and which considerably enhanced and maintained the language there. There is no record of tradition of use of the language for worship in Cornish Methodism. By the mid-eighteenth century Cornish was evidently no longer seen by its last speakers as appropriate to the religious 'high domain' - even in Methodism. In the following century however Jacob George, Methodist class leader of Mousehole, made a collection of surviving Cornish words and expressions in his area. (11)

Cornwall had traditionally been one of the more industrialised areas of Britain, with its metalliferous industries, both extractive and smelting - especially of tin, which had been commercially important since antiquity. The exhaustion of streamed tin and the change over to deep hard-rock mining, which started to be extensively developed during this period, occurred while the language was still generally extant in west Cornwall. By the end of the century steam power was being developed in Cornwall especially for pumping and other mining applications. The Cornish language thus came to contribute greatly to the terminology of metalliferous and hard-rock mining, as this was the leading world area for their development. (12)

The main corpus of written Late Cornish derives from this period. Its writers were educated men, and included skilled tradesmen, clergy, men of affairs, the successive generations of the Boson Family of Newlyn, lesser gentry, and professionals. They spanned the period of the later seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, and have provided not only original writings, collections of the writings of others and of oral Cornish lore, but also accounts of the state of the language and its areas of use in their day.

By the last years of the eighteenth century, Cornish speakers were only still to be found in the remote western coastal parishes between St Ives and Penzance. Even here the majority of the population had probably ceased to use the language, and it is remarkable that knowledge of the language persisted in family tradition throughout the nineteenth century. The domains in which Cornish was used during this period included reciting the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and for counting - especially for fish in places like Mousehole, Newlyn and St Ives - with examples even being attested well into the twentieth century.

Sociologically the language can be seen as retaining significance in spiritual life - and instrumentally in keeping control of a transaction within the indigenous sphere. The early collectors and revivalists have communicated the names and locations of persons who were able to produce examples of traditionally communicated Cornish - some may even have been 'semi-speakers' who had been able to understand the language in their youth at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth century.

Economic change from the later eighteenth century brought about a process of emigration: especially as the fortunes of fishing, mining and agriculture fluctuated. The opening up of new mining areas abroad provided a strong pull factor. (13) Cornish people were migrating to North America by the mid-eighteenth century and there is evidence that these included Cornish speakers. William Gwavas (1676-1741) corresponded to North America in Cornish. (14) Today there is a world-wide diaspora of 'Cousin Jacks and Jennys'. In Australia especially this has developed particular links with the homeland in places like Moonta and Broken Hill. This diaspora has even more recently developed an interest in acquisition of Cornish Language.

2.3 "APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION": CORNISH IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Knowledge of Cornish did not cease with the passing of the last native speakers. Its knowledge and cultivation were, however, maintained for over a century by other means. Cornish words, phrases and formularies were passed on orally by ordinary Cornish working folk, and Cornish language studies were progressed by a number of academic scholars.

There are numerous reports of Cornish being used for counting - especially of fish in west Cornwall. These numeral sets required the name for the fish in question to stand for the numeral 'one', and 'two' was generally rendered by the Cornish word for 'next'. Collections of Cornish words still in use in fishing, children's pastimes, and more generally were made by a number of scholars throughout the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth.

Berresford Ellis reports scholars such as Edwin Norris, who collected the Cornish Creed in 1860, W.D. Watson in 1925 with reports of numerals and the Lord's Prayer, J.H. Nankivell in 1865 on traditional numerals, Rev W. S. Lach-Szyrma in 1864 reporting the word collections of Couch and Thomas Garland, as well as researches of his own. Lach-Szyrma introduced Henry Jenner (1848-1934), a Cornishman working in the British Museum, to informants at Mousehole. Further contacts, including sources amongst Jenner's relations by marriage led to his further work in collection of vernacular Cornish from amongst its last tradition-bearers, and laid the basis for his pioneering work in language-revival.

J. Hobson Matthews, librarian of St. Ives reported John Davey, schoolmaster of St. Just and Boswednack, near Zennor, (1812-1891) as the last person with sufficient traditional knowledge of Cornish to be able to speak some, and recorded a short piece of original verse. (15) Tradition has it that Davey kept his Cornish alive by speaking to his cat. From within the speech-community of the last semi-speakers came a *Memoranda of Old Cornish Words still current in Mousehole and Newlyn* in 1868 collected by Jacob George, Methodist class-leader of Mousehole. (16)

Cornish scholarship developed in this period with the publication of Cornish texts and dictionaries. In 1859 Edwin Norris published his edition of the *Ordinalia* as The Ancient Cornish Drama. Davies Gilbert published John Keigwin's version of *Pascon agan Arluth* in 1826, and the latter's translation of Jordan's *Gwreans an Bys* in 1828. The discovery of *Buenans Meriasek* in Wales led to its editing and publication in 1872 by Whitley Stokes. The discovery of the 'Charter Fragment' by Jenner on the verso of estate charters from Mid Cornwall led to publication in 1877. (17)

In 1880 Miss M. A. Courtney and T. Quiller Couch published a *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall*. Frederick Jago's *Ancient language and Dialect of Cornwall* appeared in 1882 and his *English-Cornish Dictionary* in 1887. This built upon earlier lexicographical work: Charles Rogers's *Vocabulary of the Cornish Language* of 1861; and Rev. Robert Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of 1863. Collections and meanings of Cornish names were published by R. S. Charnock in 1870, and by Rev John Bannister in 1871. These efforts were followed by Lach-Szyrma's *The Last Lost Languages of Europe* in 1890. This even contained some elementary lessons in Cornish.

References to, and knowledge of, the existence of the language was kept in public consciousness by popular folk literature such as the collections of folk tales by Hunt and Botterell. (18) Use could even be made of the language in other fiction such as children's stories. (19) Likewise local scholarship in parish histories and the like communicated further knowledge of the language. (20) Recollection of the language had been perpetuated amongst ordinary Cornish working people, and the educated public had been reminded of the presence of the language around them. The grounds were thus fairly well set for revival. The 'apostolic succession' had been secured - the phrase is Nance's (see below) - and recovery of the language was a possibility.

2.4 THE EARLY REVIVAL

Jenner's work in restoring the Cornish language was published in 1904 as 'A Handbook of the Cornish Language'. It formed an effective basis for language revival and learning. The back cover observed: '...There has never been a time when there has been no person in Cornwall without a knowledge of the Cornish Language.' (21) Jenner approached this work from the background of a previous study of Manx. (22) He had become a bard of the Welsh Gorsedd in 1899 and of the Breton in 1903.   He took the Bardic name of Gwas Myghal.

In these encounters there had been some resistance to the acceptance of Cornwall as a Celtic nation with the loss of the language as a living everyday speech. This was to be reversed at the Caernarfon Celtic Congress in 1904 when Jenner spoke to the theme of 'Cornwall- a Celtic Nation', produced his 'Handbook', and arranged to receive a congratulatory telegram in Cornish. He successfully vindicated his point.

Undoubtedly Cornwall today owes its sense of Celtic identity to this initiative. In 1907 he formulated a Cornish Gorsedd ceremony but the inauguration of Gorseth Kernow, at Boscawen-Un stone circle, did not follow until 1928. It has been held annually since and has become an important institution in Cornwall's cultural and civic life. It has stimulated a great deal of artistic production, including much in Cornish, promoting literary competitions from 1940 onwards. From 1932 it has acknowledged fluent Cornish speakers by receiving them as language bards.

Associated with Jenner in the earliest phase of the revival was L. C. Duncombe-Jewell who inaugurated the Kowethas Kelto-Kernuak (or Celtic-Cornish Society) on the pattern of revivalist organisations in other Celtic countries. It was short-lived but influential. In its two or three years of active existence it initiated much that was taken on board by later organisations and it secured the publication of Jenner's 'Handbook'. It thus cemented in place the foundation of the revival. (23)

Henry Jenner is widely acknowledged as 'the father of the Cornish revival', but Robert Morton Nance (Morden) was undoubtedly the leading figure in the first half of the twentieth century. He was born in Wales of Cornish stock in 1873, settling in the St Ives area in 1906. Jenner had based his revival of Cornish on 'where it had left off', i.e. Late or Modern Cornish. His ideas on spelling and pronunciation had been influenced by Lhuyd and the tradition of speaking Cornish of its last semi-speakers.

Together with Jenner, who had settled at Hayle, Nance founded the first Old Cornwall Society at St Ives in 1920. By 1925 the society had grown into a federation throughout Cornwall, and the first issues of its journal 'Old Cornwall', which continues today, spelt out a radical 'gathering of the fragments of the past' in order to initiate a forward-looking agenda whereby Cornwall's national identity, culture and language could be secured in the context of what really amounted to a political agenda and an appeal to youth and the coming generation.

A youth movement was in fact established: *Tyr ha Tavas* (Land and Language). The movement also produced a literary magazine *Kernow* (Cornwall) between 1934-36, which was the vehicle for a lively revived Cornish language literature, featuring stories, articles and verse of some literary quality, together with re-publication of the classic texts, and articles on language-revival. This provided an additional incentive for learning Cornish: there was something worthwhile to read.

The reasons why Nance broke with Jenner's ideas on taking Cornish forward from where it left off deserve to be better researched and understood. Surviving colleagues of Nance and Jenner were unable to shed much light (24), but it seems fair to say that Nance wanted a sense of connectedness to Cornwall's classic literature, and an idiom and spelling system which would enable the religious drama and verse of the late medieval period to be accessed.

Modern scholars such as Richard Gendall draw attention to a greater corpus of material in Late or Modern Cornish. However, its literary merit may be parlous and its spelling system much different from the *Ordinalia* and *Pascon agan Arluth*. Nance's ideas on the medieval basis for the revived language was assisted by Henry Lewis's *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol* (Handbook of Middle Cornish, published 1923, second edition 1946) despite its appearance in Welsh. (25) There does not seem to have been a personal rift between Nance and Jenner - they continued to correspond: but whereas earlier correspondence was in Jennerian Cornish, later correspondence was in English.

A.S.D. Smith, a Welshman who took the bardic name of Caradar, was the third of the leading early revivalists, acquiring his Cornish from Nance's 'Cornish for All' (26). Caradar's publication 'Lessons in Spoken Cornish' (1931) was influential in promoting the first generation of Cornish revivalists who acquired the language in order to speak it. His Cornish course 'Cornish Simplified' first appeared in 1939 and is still available.

Other phrasebooks were published by W.D. Watson 'First Steps in Cornish' (1931) and by Edwin Chirgwin 'Say it in Cornish'. (1937) By the outbreak of war there were Cornish language classes in both Cornwall and London which had formed the basis of a small group of people who were able to speak and write to each other in Cornish. (27) The language was being used in public ceremony at the annual Gorseth meeting, and from 1933 in an annual church service. In the words of Morton Nance: 'One generation has set Cornish on its feet. It is now for another to make it walk.'

The revival seemed set fair to continue on these lines. In the words of A.S.D. Smith after the vicissitudes of war: 'The decline of Cornish...need not be regretted...we have a compact medieval language, whose idiom is Celtic and little likely to undergo further change...Cornish will be as fully intelligible 1,000 years hence as it is in the present year of grace, 1947.' (28) Forty years on things were to be very different.

2.5 LANGUAGE USE IN THE REVIVAL

2.5.1 Overview

The earliest revivalists, such as Lach-Szyrma, Jenner and Nance had probably little initial speaking ability in Cornish - but they certainly wrote in it; surviving publications and letters attest to this. However, Jenner and Nance seem to have acquired speaking ability before the First World War. The inter-war period witnessed a substantial development in that this early phase of revival took speaking ability seriously. The establishment of *Gorseth Kernow* in 1928, and the commencement of church services in 1933 were spurs to spoken Cornish in public use - even if at first only in ritual and ceremony. Plays by Nance (*An Balores*, 1932), and Peggy Pollard (*Bewnans Alysaran*, 1940, *Synt Avaldor*, 1941, and *Synt Tanbellen* shortly after) assisted the process of familiarisation with spoken Cornish.

So too did the production of verse - as several of the first circle of Cornish speakers were active composers of verse. By the 1930s a circle of at least twelve people were able effectively to speak and use the language (see note 27), including Nance's daughter who had been brought up to speak the language, arguably the twentieth century revival's first 'native Cornish speaker'. (29)

After the dislocations of war, the Cornish language movement made slow but steady progress. *Old Cornwall* regularly continued to appear, with frequent Cornish-language items. From 1952 a new periodical *New Cornwall* was started by Richard Gendall. It was subsequently edited by Helena Charles, and from 1956 by Richard and Ann Jenkin of Leedstown. The magazine carried items of contemporary interest and current issues, again with frequent contributions in Cornish. It ran until 1973.

With the re-establishment of a Cornish-language periodical *An Lef Kernewek* in 1952, also under the initial editorship of Richard Gendall, contemporary written Cornish again found an outlet. The editorship subsequently passed to E.G. Retallack Hooper who continued the magazine until 1983. By this time a further Cornish-language magazine *An Gannas* (The Ambassador) had been established from 1976. Spoken Cornish was assisted by the availability of Nance's recordings of 1954 on gramophone records.

Music has been an important domain for Cornish-language use. The first broadcast of Revived Cornish was in a programme of choral music in 1935. It was well received and a series followed in which six Cornish choirs took part. In the post-war period this beginning was slow to be built upon. However, music came to play an important part in the later revival. Folksong and traditional music from the seventies onwards became an important introduction to the Cornish language for many. Cornish language was featured by the folksinger Brenda Wootton, the folk group *Bucca* (Hobgoblin), and the dance side *Cam Kernewek* (Cornish Step). Choral singing, which has been a longstanding feature on the Cornish cultural scene, renewed its interest in Cornish language singing, and today many choirs include Cornish language items in their repertoire - notably Celtic Chorale which formed to support Methodist services, especially in Cornish language.

In the 1970s new uses for Cornish began to spread from the revival circle into wider Cornish society. The folk music revival stimulated interest in Cornish folksong. A song collection, *Canow Kernow*: Songs and Dances from Cornwall, was published in 1966. (30) The folk music revival which got under way at this time produced folksingers in Cornwall such as Brenda Wootton who sang in Cornish - chiefly Richard Gendall's compositions - and the folk music group *Bucca* singing in Cornish, playing and performing Cornish dance.

These performers were popular in Cornwall, and internationally. Their recordings originally on LP are still currently available on cassette and CD. They brought a knowledge of Cornish to a wider and more popular audience. This extended use of Cornish brought the language into new domains and was an important factor in incentivising more people to learn it. The popularity of Cornish in song led to the re-publication of *Canow Kernow* - it is still available - and to a further collection of Cornish song and dance music, *Hengan*, in 1983. (31)

The 1970s also witnessed the establishment of extended opportunities to use spoken Cornish. From 1975 there has been a language weekend in residential accommodation. This has expanded into holiday camp accommodation and has grown to more of a week than a weekend. Other day events, such as Cornish-language walks commenced at this time. At this time a number of young families began to use Cornish as a home language, and an organisation *Dalleth* (Beginning) was formed in 1979 to support bilingualism in the home and linked issues. In 1981 a children's periodical *Len ha Lyw* (Read and Colour) commenced in support of early language acquisition.

Publishing of Cornish-language material was taken forward by the establishment of a specialist press. *An Lef Kernewek* in Camborne undertook some publication of Cornish-language texts, and its efforts were subsequently joined by Lodenek Press of Padstow. More recently the output of Dyllansow Truran, managed until his death in 1998 by Leonard Truran of Redruth, published an impressive booklist for a one-person enterprise of books in Cornish and about Cornish. Since his death the bookstock has been managed by Tor Mark Press a division of D. Bradford Barton of Truro, an imprimatur specialising in popular handbooks on Cornish subjects.

Public worship has become an increasingly important field of use for Cornish. There have been annual services since 1933, and formal services have now increased to eleven annually, together with Christmas carol and harvest services. There has been an increasing development of aids to worship: translation of liturgy, scripture, hymns and psalms. Landmark publications include: vespers in Cornish 1935, hymnary and psalter 1962, Book of Common Prayer 1980, editions of Mark and John 1976, and a lectionary in 1978. More recently the translation of scripture has been taken very seriously.

In 1983 the Language Board recognised a body concerned with bible translation: *Kescoweth Treloryon Scryptor Sans* (Fellowship of Translators of Holy Scripture). This has now been superseded by the work of Keith Syed of Charlton Kings, a scholar of Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic who has a complete translation in hand of the whole biblical canon from the original languages. It is hoped to publish the whole Bible in Cornish in the near future.

2.5.2 Estimates of Numbers of Speakers

Estimates of numbers able to speak Cornish effectively during the twentieth century are difficult to assess. The criterion adopted in this study is the ability to 'hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics.' The best indication is in the numbers of language bards admitted to the Gorseth, and from 1967 numbers successfully passing the examinations of the Language Board at the then highest grade, Three. In the first year of its operation, 1967/68 there were 20 successful presentations to its examinations, rising to a peak of 93 in 1981, of whom 9 passed at the highest grade. However in both earlier and later years there were more passes at highest grade. (32) In 1983, seven language bards were received into the Gorseth. By 1984 there were eighteen learners' classes operating throughout Cornwall, and five elsewhere.

These indications might suggest growth of an effective speaking community to about one hundred - but a more cautious contemporary estimate places numbers around forty. (33) In the period immediately prior to the language reforms and controversies of the later 1980s, numbers of effective Cornish speakers probably increased from about 50 to 100.

Since this period there has been a very definite increase in the pace of language development. Many of the organisations and individuals consulted during this study felt that there had been positive effects of the tripartite split. Research into the language in its various forms was seen as having been very greatly stimulated. Literary production greatly expanded, as the use and range of the language-varieties was demonstrated by their users. The associations of the three main language-varieties established classes and Cornish-language events, and began more actively to campaign on behalf of their own causes. The spirit of competition had stimulating effects. Public debate brought about a greater public awareness of the language and its communities of speakers.

2.6 **THE MORE RECENT REVIVAL AND THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY**

The post-war period was one of consolidation and gradual growth for the language movement. The revived language began to engage in a process of language development, with neologisms being coined and gaining parlance. It was a period also of development of the written literature, encompassing publication of newly discovered texts from the classic period, short stories, translations of scripture and from other languages such as Welsh, drama and verse. An anthology of literary Cornish of all periods *Kemysk Kernewek* (A Cornish Miscellany) was published in 1964. (34) New textbooks for this new phase of the revival appeared by P.A.S. Pool Cornish for Beginners in 1961, and by Richard Gendall *Kernewek Bew* (Living Cornish) in 1972.

In 1951 a group of language bards and former members of the pre-war *Tyr ha Tavas* and Young Cornwall organisations formed *Mebyon Kernow* (Sons of Cornwall) as a pressure group seeking further self-government for Cornwall. This has later turned into a political party, Mebyon Kernow - the Party for Cornwall. It has a strong political and economic agenda, but has always placed linguistic and cultural matters to the forefront in its public appeal. In 1969 a Cornish National Party was formed.

In 1967 the Gorseth and the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies set up *Kesva an Tavas Kernewek* (The Cornish Language Board). This was intended as an examining authority and language academy. In its original composition it lacked academic representatives - at least such as would be recognised by university Celtic scholarship. Such may have been desirable in view of Charles Thomas's earlier reservations and his later call for an authoritative historical dictionary covering all periods of the language, together with diplomatic editions of the classic Cornish texts.(35)

Growing criticism of the 'Nancean Synthesis' was beginning to be felt. There had been criticism of the deficiencies in Middle Cornish being supplied by Welsh and Breton cognates in Unified Cornish. These, and the lack of a 'down to earth literature', were criticisms made by Tim Saunders in 1972. (36) The academic world had always been cautious of the revived language. Academic study of Cornish - perforce in institutions outwith Cornwall - had concentrated upon the medieval language. In 1972 Cornwall gained its own research institution, the Institute for Cornish Studies. Its first director, Charles Thomas, regarded Nance's 'Unified' as never having been sufficiently explained, neologisms as insufficiently using placename and dialect resources, and the pronunciation based upon shaky models. (37)

Dissatisfaction with the spelling and pronunciation of revived 'Unified' Cornish motivated Ken George to propose a reform on phonemic lines to regularise the pronunciation as it may have been c. 1500, and to bring spelling into line with a series of proposed pronunciation changes. His work was computer assisted and was published in 1986. (38) George placed his ideas before the Language Board, and a general meeting of all interested parties and individuals within and outwith Cornwall was convened in St. Austell. It recommended that the Language Board examine the case for reform and feasibility of the proposals.

In July 1987 the Language Board accepted George's proposals on a vote of 14 to 1 (Richard Jenkin dissenting). This decision could be said to reflect the wishes of the community of speakers and users of Cornish as the Board had been restructured in 1985 with a majority (14 out of 20) of its members being elected by Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek, the speakers' organisation established in 1979.

The language-variety which resulted from these moves was named 'Common Cornish' or Kernewek Kemmyn - now generally referred to as 'Kemmyn' for short. George's reaction to the language debate and his later ideas have been presented in 1995 as 'Which base for Revised Cornish?' as well as in grammars and dictionaries. (39)

These far-reaching changes in the sound system and written appearance of the language were not universally accepted. Those who preferred to remain within the Nancean 'Unified' system, such as Peter Pool, Richard Jenkin, Ray and Denise Chubb used an existing association to institutionalise their preferred language-variety: *Agan Tavas* (Our Language). Its membership was originally for fluent speakers and by invitation only. It was reformed in 1990 and made open to all who supported the continuity of Nance's 'Unified' variety (*Unys* in Cornish).

This was not the only fallout from these events. Richard Gendall had been a longstanding figure in the movement: as a teacher of the language and author of an innovative and effective textbook, songwriter and scholar. His reaction to this language-reform was to return to Jenner's original basis of Modern or Late Cornish and to develop the revived language from its last traditionally spoken form.

Although not going back to Lhuyd's spelling conventions (which were after all merely a phonetic system to indicate the pronunciations which he heard), he took the corpus of language of its last writers as the basis of spelling, and claimed that the corpus of Modern or Late Cornish was greater and lexically richer than that of the medieval texts. This was also capable of being supplemented by survivals in dialect and placenames. So far as neologisms were needed these could be supplied by loan-words from English reflecting the international currency of such terms. His ideas have been expressed in articles and books (40) and his extensive researches have been published as dictionaries and grammars. (41)

The Late/Modern Cornish movement established a language council, Cussel an Tavaz Kernuack, in 1988 which comprises founder members and representatives chosen by Late/Modern Cornish speakers and learners in formal classes and informal groups.

The early stages of this controversy were at times heated and acrimonious. There was considerable cultural investment of those who had effectively learned the language and campaigned for it, and who had studied the language, thought carefully about it and its problems, had engaged in substantial research on these problems, and framed systems to address them. This undoubtedly produced strongly held views on the language, which were in many cases incompatible and led to protracted debate.

This was against a background of general progress in the language and previously growing numbers of learners and effective speakers. In 1981 Wella Brown, a leading figure in the movement and author of a standard grammar of Unified Cornish estimated the number of effective speakers at around 40. (42). The situation may well have stimulated more people to learn the language - although numbers presenting at examinations and attending language weekends seemed to slump during the period 1987-91. (43)

On the positive side, the controversy has been seen as stimulating research which might otherwise not have been attempted and the production of publications and learning materials on an unprecedented scale. Ways forward have been seen in the joint statement of representatives of the three language-varieties in 1991 who concluded that, ' ...this document proves that these groups can put aside their differences as and when necessary,' and that '...the main differences are in the spelling and pronunciation.' (44)

The Cornish Sub-Committee of the U.K. Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages was formed in 1995. All the three main language organisations are represented upon it, together with representatives of authorities and organisations having business with the language. It has played a key integrating role. (45)

The Gorseth has played an important part in the reconciliation of the language variety controversy. It has continued to recognise Nance's Unified Cornish alongside Kemmyn. From 1999 it has also accepted entries to its literary competitions in Modern or Late Cornish, and it has also published a Book of Prayers for Cornwall using all three varieties.
The Language Board has also continued to recognise Unified in its examinations alongside Kemmyn as long as there is demand. If there is, and if the Board were also to recognise Modern or Late Cornish, as does the Gorseth, further resolution of this situation might be assisted.

The spirit of mutual recognition which has ensued is viewed by Deacon as something of a truce. The controversies have, on the whole, died down. Organisations and individuals have in the main got on with the task of language development. The output of publications and materials has been quite impressive, bearing in mind the slender resources with which they have been funded - generally self-funded. Deacon also draws attention to the legitimacy of reasons for language choice often not being scientific: different varieties may appeal to different social sectors. He also points out that the language debate had not been joined and debated by academic linguists and language specialists, and there is need for a scholarly debate on the linguistic issues involved. (46)

In recent years though, these issues have begun to interest academic linguists. Glanville Price at Aberystwyth has taken an interest in the Modern or Late Revived variety and feels that this overcomes many of his objections to the invented status of Unified or Kemmyn, which he had dubbed 'Cornic'. There was reaction to this term, and Price has emphasised that he did not intend it as pejorative. (47)

A similar critical view of the Kemmyn revision has been taken by Jon Mills at Luton, who feels it to be 'linguistically naive' and not a suitable basis for language revival. He makes critical points too regarding the respelling of placenames whose Cornish language forms are being altered in order to conform with Kemmyn spelling conventions, producing forms which never existed within the traditional language. (48) Nicholas Williams at Dublin is also highly critical both of Kemmyn and Late/Modern revived Cornish. Concerning Kemmyn he comes to different conclusions concerning the relationships of Traditional Medieval and Late Cornish.

He feels that it would have been more prudent to have based the pronunciation and spelling on the latest period when the language was a full vernacular. This for Williams was the period c. 1505-1611 which is represented by at least three major texts. His ideas were presented in Cornish Today in 1995 and have subsequently developed further. (49) Williams has proposed the revision of Unified Cornish on these lines as 'Unified Cornish Revised'. His advice is accepted by the continuing Unified Cornish movement, Agan Tavas, as a way forward. Some of the leading proponents of Late/Modern Cornish have also conversationally observed that their and his Late Cornish models may in practice be drawing together. (50) It is fair to state that the academic views of these language specialists are firmly held and robustly argued. Deacon's call for a scholarly debate might, if it were implemented, indeed spark off further contention.

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 appears to be Kemmyn, and it is certainly the most productive in publications and language resources. It may in a Darwinian sense yet win the day pragmatically in terms of numbers. It may nevertheless yet have to argue further if Cornish progresses further in public life. There will be a problem over the spelling of placenames if public signage in Cornish is further implemented.

This may well involve the consultation of onomastic and linguistic specialists and the accommodation of the different varieties over mutually agreeable spellings. This may not be an easy process. Over three-quarters of Cornwall's placenames are Cornish and in western Cornwall their present spellings derive from the Late or Modern Cornish period. In the east, placename spellings testify to earlier periods of the language's historical development. If public authorities and public services use Cornish more extensively, the form in which the language is used will require consideration.

There is currently no single standardised form of the language which is accepted by the generality of speakers and users of Cornish. At present a number of Cornishes legitimately exist. It should be remembered that this is in fact the case with English, domestically (with Standard Southern English, and Standard Scottish English as well as Scots itself) featuring in their respective education systems, and world-wide (with British, Indian, American and Australian Standard Englishes). Each of these is a Standard English capable of being readily understood (albeit with some distinctive features) by speakers and readers of the other.

In the case of the other Celtic languages, these too have their dialects. Substantial differences exist between North Welsh and South Welsh. There is a standard learners' form *Cymraeg Byw* (Living Welsh) and the development of a common broadcast standard, neither of which are intended as prejudicial to local dialects. In the case of Irish there are three major regional dialects. The need for a non-territorial standard form became evident on independence in the early twenties. This was accomplished by spelling and other reforms implemented officially in the later forties. Nevertheless local dialect is still used in public education in the Gaeltacht areas.

The situation in Brittany is even more fraught than in Cornwall. There are some seven competing forms or dialects of the language and these are often associated with specific political ideologies. The varieties of present-day revived Cornish may be likened to dialects, interestingly formed not on geographical or social bases, but upon learners' preferences, needs and loyalties.

The way forward lies with the speakers, learners and users of Cornish themselves. There seems to have been progress in this respect as the community of speakers develops. The different forms of Cornish become more familiar to each other and a process of accommodation commences. Some institutions use all three. For example, the Cornish sub-committee of EBLUL enables all three forms to be used. This did not produce any particular problems at the meeting attended as part of this particular research. A simultaneous translation into English for non-Cornish-speaking members was also provided.

Kemmyn and Unified Cornishes have developed neologisms from root forms within the language itself, or use similar constructions as do Welsh or Breton. These are reviewed and approved by a sub-committee of the Language Board. These forms would be very largely intelligible to a Late or Modern Cornish speaker - even though this latter form tends to take over new vocabulary as a borrowing from English or common international usage. Although spelling conventions between the various forms of the language give a markedly different look to the written forms, the pronunciation is not so markedly divergent as to make them mutually unintelligible. Even the spelling conventions can become familiar with practice and use.

2.7   CORNISH LITERATURE: FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE PRESENT DAY

In its earliest known phase we have very few literary examples. In Old Cornish there is a very small corpus comprising little more than a vocabulary, manumissions and glosses on the margins of the Bodmin Gospels. Texts in Middle Cornish are more replete - and the foregoing account of the development of the language fairly well notes them all. The more recent literature is also outlined. In the words of Henry Jenner: 'Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish? There is no money in it, it serves no practical purpose, and the literature is scanty and of no great originality or value. The question is a fair one, the answer is simple. Because they are Cornish.' (51)

Jenner's nineteenth century Utilitarian concern with money, practical purpose and value were of his day. They may now be challenged not only in terms of the economic and political functions of language, but also in terms of the quality of literature that was to be produced in the revived language.

Good general guides to the literature are provided by Berresford Ellis 1974 (52), and Murdoch 1993 (53). The classic and the traditional literature is well summarised by Gendall 1994. (54) His purpose is the notation of vocabulary - not literary criticism - and his estimates of word count are: 1,000 in the corpus of Old Cornish, 67,320 for Middle Cornish, and 89,639 for the Modern Period. This represents the lexical basis on which Cornish was revived.

From the outset, the revival actively produced a lively written literature. Early scholars such as George Sauerwein, Henry Jenner and Duncombe-Jewell produced verse, and this genre was further developed by the succeeding revivalists: Morton Nance, Allin-Collins, W. C. D. Watson, A. S. D. Smith, Edwin Chirgwin, Peggy Pollard, Retallack Hooper and quite a few others. Their productions and those of many others of the more recent revival have recently become more easily accessible with the publication of an anthology, The Wheel, edited by Tim Saunders. (55)

From its inception in 1925 *Old Cornwall* regularly carried items in Cornish, and together with the specifically Cornish language periodical press (noted earlier) an increasing output of verse, short stories and prose articles has continued with increasing momentum. Allin-Collins (Halwyn) published many short stories in Cornish through these media, and in the local press (such as The St Ives Times & Echo), and a collection *An Den ha'y Dheu Wreg* (The Man and his Two Wives) in 1927. Both Nance and Peggy Pollard wrote several plays in Cornish. The inception of services in Cornish from 1933 led to translation of hymns, liturgy and scripture. The Gospel of Mark was the first complete book of the Bible to be translated in full, by A. S. D. Smith, which appeared in 1960. Nance published a collection of folk tales in Cornish in 1939 *Lyver an Pymp Marthus Seleven* (Book of the Five Miracles of St. Selevan).

Further literary production followed after the war: A. S. D. Smith's *Nebes Whythlow Ber* (A Few Short Stories, 1947), and *An Seyth Den Fur a Rom* (The Seven Sages of Rome, 1948), and posthumously *Trystan hag Ysolt* (Tristan and Iseult a verse saga, in 1951, completed by D. H. Watkins and appearing in 1973). A. S. D. Smith also left an unpublished translation of the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

Following on from this period the work of Richard Gendall as short story writer and songwriter must be mentioned. His Cornish language songs were featured by the late Cornish folksinger Brenda Wootton and were popular at events and festivals and in recordings throughout Cornwall and beyond. Spoken Cornish had only previously been available on disc of Nance reading traditional Cornish material.

The increase in literary production which has taken place since deserves a critical study of its own. Berresford Ellis takes the account as far as 1974, and Tim Saunders to 1980. His poem collection, The High Tide 1974-1999, spans this period (56) - and it epitomises a period of considerable literary growth, and a fivefold increase in numbers able to speak and read Cornish. Much of the literature of this period remains available. It is written in Unified Cornish, which makes it a little unfamiliar to Kemmyn and Modern/Late Cornish readers.

The bulk of literary output over recent years has been in Kemmyn. Specialist outlets have been established retailing this material as high street bookshops: *An Lyverji Kernewek* (The Cornish Bookshop - Helston, from 1997), *Gwynn ha Du* (Black and White - Liskeard, from July 1998), and Just Cornish (St. Just, from May 1999). These enterprises are all essentially committed to Kemmyn, so it is difficult for production in the other language-varieties to find a specialist outlet. However *An Lyverji* holds the bookstock for the Cornish Language Board - and hence has the Unified backstock, which it can supply. It currently carries a booklist of 110 titles in Cornish. These range over such genres as learners' materials, novels, short stories, verse and song, children's books, classic texts, and religious literature.

Cornish literary magazines have greatly stimulated literary production. Although these have been 'little magazines', their effect has been considerable. In the thirties there was *Kernow* (Cornwall), which developed after the war into *An Lef Kernewek*. More recently there has been *Delyow Derow* (Oak Leaves), taking this tradition of letters in Unified Cornish up to 1996. Each of the three varieties of revived Cornish has developed its own periodical. These focus on information, general and language issues rather than literary Cornish. More recently however, a North American publication *An Balores* (The Chough) provides a literary medium for all three revived Cornishes.

2.8 COMPARISON WITH OTHER CELTIC LANGUAGES

With regard to language history and demography, each of the Celtic languages represents a special case. Some have long histories as literary languages, and others are sparse. Some are still the vernaculars of speech-communities and are used for all the business of everyday life, and others are used for a variety of specific purposes by networks of speakers without a common speech-community basis. Some have quite highly developed presence in the social institutions of their countries: education, media and public life, while others are very poorly developed in this regard.

As explained above, Cornish ceased as a speech-community vernacular about two centuries ago. Knowledge of Cornish has been transmitted by other means, and in the twentieth century it underwent revival as a spoken language. Its closest correlate is Manx, whose last native speaker died in 1974 but which nevertheless claims several hundred speakers - 643 at the 1991 Census.

Since a Manx language question has featured on the Isle of Man Census, it is possible to analyse the Manx-speaking population in terms of distribution, age, gender, place of birth, occupational and social class. This is not possible for Cornish as the language has never featured on population censuses, and there has never been as yet a specifically-targetted language use or ability survey.

As with Cornish, Manx is spoken by under 1% of the population. However there is nursery provision and the language is taught in the school system by peripatetic teachers. Manx is used extensively in public signage and language display in Manx official domains. It also has a form of official status in that the titles of statutes have to be read in Manx for legislation to be ratified.

Although not revived languages as such, both Irish in Northern Ireland and Welsh have enjoyed a long and continuous history as spoken community-languages or vernaculars. At the present time both demonstrate considerable demographic vitality. Although both languages have suffered under specific legislative and administrative disabilities, a viable body of speakers has continued and the languages have been transmitted through the family between generations. Until the Welsh Courts Act of 1942, and the Welsh Language Acts of 1967 and 1993, legislation in Wales dating back to the early sixteenth century specifically rendered Welsh of null legal effect. Nevertheless it enjoyed a vigorous private domain of family, chapel and Eisteddfod culture. During the twentieth century it steadily gained ground in education.

Between the wars popular movements to promote and support the language amongst young people and in the family came into being, and these led after the war to a vigorous playgroups movement, and to Welsh-medium primary and secondary schooling readily available in areas where the language was no longer the majority speech. The nursery and playgroups movement was originally entirely voluntary, community-based and self-funding. It has come to enjoy a measure of official funding, and the Welsh-medium schools system was virtually from the start developed by local education authorities.

The decline in Welsh has been halted and reversed in the late twentieth century by these developments, with numbers increasing to 508,000 in 1991. This includes a very dramatic increase in the numbers of young people: especially the 3-15 and under 25 age-groups - a development which has been gaining strength over the past 40 years.

By 1991 over one-third (34%) of all Welsh speakers were under 25, a level which provides a potential for language-maintenance through family transmission. Welsh may therefore succeed as a family language throughout Wales, with supports outside the home in education and in Welsh-language media available throughout Wales. Demand for Welsh-medium education has also been strong amongst non-Welsh-speaking parents and from non-Welsh-speaking homes.

In Northern Ireland the Irish language has had greater difficulties in gaining official support and recognition. Since partition in 1922, it has been viewed by a predominantly Unionist and Protestant administration as associated with nationalism, republicanism and Catholicism. Nevertheless it maintained some status in the education system as a language of study. More recently it has developed as a medium of education in a growing number of primary schools, and more recently still secondary schools.

There is no longer any Gaeltacht area as such in Northern Ireland, where the language has continued as the all-purpose community speech. However, in West Belfast a group of families using Irish as their home language came together about thirty years ago in the Andersonstown and Falls areas, established the first Irish-medium school and have created an Irish-speaking area - visible even on shop facades.

In 1991 the first language census since partition produced a total of 132,000 Irish-speakers, of whom 27% were under 15 and 48% under 25 - with an ostensibly even stronger potential for transmission than Welsh. Irish speakers have developed a cultural infrastructure of Irish-speaking organisations and clubs, and more recently organisations such as *Glor na Gael* (Voice of the Gael) have developed Irish-language community initiatives.

In all the Celtic contexts migration has historically taken speakers outwith the traditional homelands. In Scotland some 40% of all Gaelic speakers normally reside outwith the Highlands and Islands. Only one in three of all Gaelic speakers lives where the language is in the majority. Only one-third of all Gaelic speakers lives in households where all members speak the language. These factors mean that language-maintenance in family transmission is difficult without the support of external factors such as Gaelic-medium education and media, as in Wales.

Since 1985 a developing Gaelic-medium schools system has provided 59 primary and 13 secondary Gaelic units across Scotland. These developments grew from a voluntary playgroups movement from 1982, which is now augmented by 33 local education authority nurseries. Since 1991 a Gaelic Television (now Broadcasting) Fund has considerably increased Gaelic output.

Each of the Celtic language-groups has had to face similar problems of the kind compared with Cornish - although of varying differences of scale. In recent times each of the Celtic language-groups has undergone language-shift. With both Cornish and Manx this has resulted in the cessation of the language as a community vernacular. Both languages are now maintained by a network of revived language learners.

To a large extent this is true also of Irish in Northern Ireland where there is now no longer a territorial Gaeltacht. There is however a revived 'neo-Gaeltacht' in West Belfast.

Although Gaelic is still the language of a traditionally continuing Gaidhealtachd community, its maintenance is assisted by a growing network of revived language learners.

This is also true of Welsh. Even though it is the strongest and largest of these language groups, it has nevertheless had to face problems of territorial dispersion of speakers into 'non-Welsh' areas, and increasing family formation across the language line. Yet the language is successfully transmitted in these cases with the development of cultural infrastructure throughout Wales - especially education and the media.

Occupationally, census data for Welsh, Gaelic, Manx and Irish provide useful indications of the social structure of their respective speech-communities. There seems to be a general pattern evident for these languages of their speakers being marginally more strongly represented in semi-professional occupational groups (such as teachers, nurses, etc.) and a skilled manual working class group - especially in the traditional homeland areas.

In the case of Cornish its initial revival was quite definitely within an educated and middle-class circle. The later revival has broadened considerably in social spread. The (skilled-manual) working-class speakers were well represented in the focus groups and social encounters with Cornish speakers in this study. In terms of age-profile, this research points to a representative spread across the age-spectrum. Anything further beyond these impressions would need a dedicated study of its own.

3   MODE OF USE

3.1   FROM A WRITTEN RECORD TO A SPOKEN LANGUAGE

The nineteenth century Cornish scholars were concerned with the transmission of the written language and the collection of what still remained in oral lore and transmission. The early twentieth century revivalists were concerned with developing these remains into the basis for a revived spoken language. This Chapter attempts to evaluate their success a century later at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The main criterion for everyday language fluency explored in face-to-face interviews and in the three focus groups of this study with representatives of the three main language-varieties was the ability to 'hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics.' (See Section 2.5.2) This has been taken in this study as the definition of effective speaking ability as used below. The results are noted below together with the various ways in which the language is used by its speakers today in everyday life.

Of the original revivalists a century ago, Smith identified five as having speaking ability. Berreseford Ellis names twelve who were able to do so by the 1930s. From Gorseth records of reception of language bards it can be shown that this number had grown to some 38 by the outbreak of war. (57) From records of Language Board examination passes, the number passing at the then highest level (Grade Three) had increased to 10 per annum by 1976, and to 22 by 1983. From 1989 a Grade Four was introduced as the highest ability level, with two candidates passing in that year, and rising to 15 by 1999.

Wella Brown estimated around 40 effective speakers in 1981, although a larger number had by this date passed the Language Board's examinations at highest level: 131 having done so between 1962 and 1981. (58) Between 1962 and 1987 there had been a total of 213 passing at Grade Three, and between 1989 and 1999 a total of 58 passing at Grade Four, making a total of 271 altogether (and a total of 309 passing at Grade Three).

The estimates of general language ability in Cornish as reported by face-to-face informants and at focus group meetings varied quite widely in individual instances. In some cases a personal estimate might be a wild guess - and in other cases quite a considered evaluation of evidence and experience. Bearing in mind the methodology of eliciting this information from identified language-activists, who varied widely in their personal estimations, the results must be read with caution. The levels of ability elicited extended from the minimalist position of 'a few words and phrases' (e.g. knowing that 'Kernow' means 'Cornwall', etc.) to speaking on complex or special topics. The principal criterion is however fluent everyday conversation as defined in section 2.5.2.

The results from the focus groups were inclined to be even more divergent in the cases of the first individuals offering an opinion. Subsequent respondents tended to be very influenced by the earlier speakers.   These results are reported in **Table 3.1**, over.

It should be very strongly cautioned that in terms of reliability these results are merely the aggregation of personal opinions and impressions. They cannot be taken as representative statistics of the present day language situation. This information could only be reliably elicited by a properly targeted and representative language-use survey, or by questions on the government's own Opportunity Survey and Population Census.

It must also be emphasised that the data in Table 3.1 represent mean values.   The apparent precision of these average values should not be regarded as actual or real.

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TABLE 3.1: IMPRESSIONS OF NUMBERS SPEAKING CORNISH AT DIFFERENT ABILITY LEVELS				
Cornish Language Ability Levels	Impressions of Members of Focus Groups			Impressions of Activists
	Kemmyn	Unified	Late/Modern	All Forms of Cornish
On complex /special topics	200	150	100	445
Fluent everyday conversation	200	585	363	840
Simple conversations	3,000	1,000	500	2,900
Simple sentences	5,000	1,500	4,000	5,437
A few words and phrases	300,000	175,000	55,000	2,275
Number in group	26	14	20	17

More realistic results were obtained from those specifically representing the three main organisations in reporting the language abilities of their known membership. **Table 3.2** below summarises the opinions of leading members of the language organisations concerning the language abilities of their members. Greater confidence can thus be placed on these findings. Cornish may however also be acquired quite independently of these means. Some effective learners may not have taken any examinations or been received as language-bards.

TABLE 3.2: ESTIMATES OF MEMBERS' ABILITY BY REPRESENTATIVES OF LANGUAGE GROUPS				
Cornish Language Ability Levels	Kemmyn	Unified	Late/Modern	Total
On complex /special topics	100	10	10	120
Fluent everyday conversation	200	20	25	245
Simple conversations	150	15	30	195
Simple sentences	35	15	30	80
A few words and phrases	10	20	60	90
Learners in classes	285	80	80	445
Learners by correspondence	297	25	3	325
Language magazines	300	50	100	450

Today estimates of numbers of speakers can run into several hundred, but speakers of Kemmyn fairly consensually estimated around two hundred effective speakers. Unified Cornish (Revised) claims about 20. Late/Modern Cornish speakers claimed around 25. Numbers in other areas where the language is known to be studied (including those outside the United Kingdom) can only be conjectural.

Questions on numbers learning Cornish and using it within the family amongst the 17 language activists interviewed produced mean estimates of 459 adults learning the language, 126 learners under 16, 171 persons using the language in family life, 20 children acquiring the language as 'native speakers', and 85 acquiring knowledge of the language otherwise within their families. Again, it must be stressed that without a representative and targetted language use survey these results are a matter for individual conjecture.

The results of this study suggest that there may be about 300 effective speakers of Cornish (with about 30 reported for the London area). This estimate is based upon numbers passing the Language Board examinations at highest grades in recent years, together with language bards received previously. If this estimate is realistic, this study in contacting some 84 Cornish speakers, encountered between a quarter and one-third of the speech-community.

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3.2 **PRESENT DAY LANGUAGE USE**

3.2.1 Introduction

This study was able to sample a variety of situations of everyday use of the language. This process included **46** face-to-face interviews with representatives of language organisations and organisations having business with the language, language activists and scholars. Of these **34** were Cornish speakers. There were also **4** interviews by telephone, of whom **2** were Cornish speakers.

There were **3** focus groups of Cornish speakers from each of the three main language networks. The numbers in these groups totalled **60** persons. This number included 12 Cornish speakers who were also individually interviewed, and 48 other Cornish speakers. Thus the study sample comprised **98** persons, of whom **84** were Cornish-speaking, representing between a quarter and one-third of the estimated speech-community total. From all these sources respondents reported a wide variety of language uses from their experience. The principal researcher also visited events and participated in meetings in which Cornish was spoken.

The questionnaires used in the face-to-face and telephone interviews are given at **Appendix D**. It should be appreciated that not all respondents were able to provide answers to all of the questions contained in these questionnaires, nor was it anticipated at the outset that they would be able to do so.

Ability to respond to particular questions was constrained by: respondents' own knowledge of particular issues, reflecting the: wide range of organisations and individuals that were consulted during the research; and amount of time that respondents were able to devote to the interview. Accordingly, this Chapter reports the data that are available to us from the questionnaire survey, supplemented by evidence from the focus groups, reflecting these constraints which any similar exercise faces.

3.2.2 Home And Family Life

Some **10** named families resident in Cornwall were reported or reported themselves as using Cornish as family language within the home, and as language with which they raised their children. A further **2** cases reported specifically communicating knowledge of Cornish to their children although only one parent spoke it. These cases were distributed across west, mid and southeast Cornwall. This factor has hindered face-to-face contacts and the establishment of playgroups. Nevertheless, this study can report meetings with children who were heard unprompted to speak the language with their parents, and vice versa. Although the number of these cases is not large, this achievement without any large measure of official impetus to do so (as in the Republic of Ireland), and in the context of a small-scale and largely self-resourced language movement is noteworthy. Impressions communicated in focus groups of numbers of homes where some Cornish might be used at some time during the typical day ranged from "very few" to "maybe 250". Participants also frequently commented on their own early experiences in having had some Cornish phrases taught to them at home.

3.2.3 Social Life Outwith The Home

Opportunities to use the language in general social life often have to be specifically made. Respondents often mentioned the nearby presence of other Cornish speakers in their local areas, and reported using Cornish for normal everyday encounters in streets, shops, etc. One small network meets for a drink on the way home - this study can report a natural meeting of companions who used the language socially in this way. Otherwise the language organisations arrange activities such as 'fun days', rambles in the country, day events, *Yeth an Werin* (Language of the People - social meetings in pubs, etc.), language weekends and language festivals.

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Entertainment will often provide a focus for language users to meet for 'the crack' and to use the language conversationally. During the study period, a Breton dance night at St Agnes took place, *Can Rak Kernow* (A Song for Cornwall) at Truro, and Racca Day at Bodmin. Cornish language users were involved in these performances, and others formed part of the audience. In autumn a major folk festival *Lowender Peran* takes place at Perranporth and this features Cornish as a platform and performance language, along with special language days and activities.

Respondents and focus groups provided many instances of use of Cornish in everyday life. Some examples include a Cornish-speaking electrician and a bricklayer, each of whom encountered a workmate who knew the language, and they each used the language 'on the job'. Shops and pubs were most frequently reported as places where local Cornish-speakers encountered one another and used the language in daily social exchanges. One woman said, "We should use the language more even to people we don't know. They might be a Cornish speaker."

3.2.4 Cornish In The Workplace

Interviewees reported using Cornish at work - as the electrician and bricklayer noted above. Two persons at least were identified as learning the language because they needed to know it in their work (in library and research services). Two other Cornish speakers reported the presence of other Cornish speakers where they worked (in a local government department and a technical institution), and that they regularly spoke in the language to their work colleagues.

3.2.5 Public Ritual, Ceremony And Services

From the beginnings of the revival such uses as the Gorseth ceremonies, and religious services have provided a 'high domain' of everyday language use. Cornish language services now take place at least once a month. Some co-ordination of this activity is effected by the Bishop of Truro's Ecumenical Advisory Group on Services in Cornish set up in 1974.

The main providers are Anglican, Methodist and Catholic - but all services are ecumenical. Services are conducted by Cornish speaking ordained clergy, lay readers and local preachers. There is an increasing demand for use of Cornish in weddings, christenings, funerals, and other personal and public ceremonies, which takes the language well beyond the actual effective Cornish speaking community.

Just before the study period millennium commemorations occurred - some of which were reported as featuring the language in various ways. Towards the end of the study period, the annual St Piran's Day commemorations (5-6th March) included Cornish language plays as well as ceremonial, and the opportunity for language users to congregate together in a more secular context.

3.3 **PROGRESS IN LANGUAGE RESTORATION**

The revival of Cornish as a living spoken language is nearing its centenary. (59) As is evident above, the language is being used by its speakers across a range of everyday purposes. Families use Cornish as a home language and raise their children to speak it. There is a lively scene of cultural events which Cornish speakers attend to enjoy - and to meet other Cornish speakers. There are leisure activities - both formally organised and entirely informal - noted above. Some informants noted that once they knew everyone who spoke Cornish, but now they often meet complete strangers who speak Cornish to them. There are now shops which will sell to you in Cornish - and others which sign, label and brand their goods in Cornish. Thus Cornish is starting to have business uses.

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A network of Cornish speakers is using the language once again for everyday purposes. It would be possible to evaluate the success of the language revival to date in terms of Joshua Fishman's ideas in his study 'Reversing Language Shift'. (60) His study is particularly concerned with small language communities which are approaching or which have suffered 'language-death'. Fishman discusses the circumstances of cases of successful language restoration and provides a theoretical structure which numerically small language-groups may pass through to successful language regeneration.

Fishman details a typology of language restoration: the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS) from a near extinction phase (GIDS 8), to a fully restored language functioning fully in all domains (GIDS 1). It must be emphasised that this scale is concerned with levels of actual use, irrespective of the actual numbers of the minority and majority speech-communities involved - or of the proportions of the minority within the majority speech-communities. It is therefore a qualitative rather than a quantitative scale. The present study has identified the language from its lowest point in the nineteenth century and described developments in the twentieth. In Fishman's terms this study reports the progress of revival through the following stages:

GIDS Stage 8: 'Most vestigial users are socially isolated old folks and (the language) needs to be reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.' This stage corresponds with the late nineteenth century when collectors were noting oral transmission from semi-speakers, and revivalists were attempting to codify the results into dictionaries, grammars and language-courses.

GIDS Stage 7: 'Most users... are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond childbearing age.' Probably most of the early revivalists in the early twentieth century were, but one at least was teaching his child Cornish.

GIDS Stage 6: '..the attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement.' By 1939 there was an active group of young people and students who had learned the language. After the war marriage and family formation began to produce another generation who knew the language from their infancy. The group comprised a network in touch through informal contacts, the creation of Cornish language organisations and regular events.

GIDS Stage 5: '...literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy.' This is where the language movement very largely stands today. The language is being used as a home language, children are taught to read and write as well as speak it. A developing Cornish-language press produces learning and resource materials for children. Without exception respondents did not distinguish between speaking, reading and writing abilities in Cornish. These were all felt to be pretty much the same, which is understandably the case since Cornish is predominantly acquired through classes, books and written materials. There has been some development of the language in school education, which is described further at **Chapter 4**. Cornish is seen above as getting into community use in various ways - even beyond the network of speakers, and it is being institutionalised in Cornish life in entertainments, language events, public signage and official uses.

The further stages of the GIDS outline the progress of a reviving language through the stages of lower grade education, the lower work sphere, lower governmental services and mass-media, and to higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media domains. These stages represent the agenda before Cornish today.

Representatives of the three main language-varieties all reported uptake of Cornish amongst learners of all age-groups. A 'gaping hole' was reported amongst the 18-24 age-group for Kemmyn, and the other language–groups also reported low uptake 'about 10%' of their members in this age-group. Largest uptake was reported amongst the middle-aged (e.g. for Unified 50% in the 45-59 age-group, and for Late/Modern 80% in the 25-44 age-group). Although these are only impressionistic estimates, they point to concern with appeal to young people. However, there were under-25s at each of the focus groups and they contributed to discussion.

Respondents reported Cornish as having great value in naming ordinary things: roads, houses, boats, children, domestic animals. In this way the language is being used again across a wide sector of Cornish people. The rituals of everyday life, and public ritual and ceremony too, are becoming domains in which an increasing proportion of the public wishes its ethnic identity and heritage language to be used. The commercial applications in branding and language display in advertising are seen as ways in which assurance can be signalled of Cornish quality and authenticity. The focus groups generated strongly argued points concerning the symbolic function of the language in securing specific recognition for Cornwall at regional level.

The Cornish language thus has its challenges today - as it has in the past. Respondents reported increasing emphasis on what the three main language-varieties have in common: mutual intelligibility and understandable spelling conventions. The language movement increasingly sees these forms as akin to dialects, as indeed modern English has both regional dialects and different official forms, which pose few problems today. The language institutions are developing mutual recognition and ways of working together. Kemmyn and Unified users frequently testified that only spelling really distinguishes them. Users of Unified and Modern/Late Cornishes speak of the ways in which their speech-varieties are becoming closer together.

Above all, the observations of learners and users of Cornish today emphasised the importance of the language for Cornish identity - not necessarily in a political sense - but in terms of regional development and cultural heritage. For many it was an important source of self-identity. One family woman struggling to make ends meet and without educational qualifications said, "I really feel somebody now that I can speak Cornish!"

3.4 NEW DOMAINS OF EVERYDAY USE: THE ARTS AND THE MEDIA

3.4.1 The Arts

The arts continue to be an important domain for Cornish-language use. They operate as opportunities for Cornish speakers and learners to come together and use the language either as performers or audiences. As is the case with other Celtic languages they form an important overall part of the language "scene".

The dance movement has expanded as *Can Kernewek* developed new shoots, and new groups formed. These include *Ros Keltek* (Celtic Rose), *Tan ha Dowr* (Fire and Water), *Otta ny Moaz* (Look at us go!), and *Asteveryn* (Replenishment). *Bucca* was the seed bed for other groups using Cornish in public performance: *Dalla* (Origin, Dazzling), *Sowena* (Good heath - Prosperity), The Bolingey Troyl Band, Zabuloe, and others. Cornish Music Projects and Hubbadillia are two groups which bring Cornish language and music activities to schools.

More recently Cornish language has been celebrated in pop and rock music. There are several groups using Cornish, including *Skwardya* (Ripping) and *Mamvro* (Mother Land), and an annual *Can Rak Kernow* (Song for Cornwall) event in which Cornwall's nomination for the Pan-Celtic Song Festival is chosen. Today's lively Cornish music scene comes together at events like the now week-long *Lowender Peran* (Joy of Perran) at Perranporth which since 1978 has extended its tourist season to mid-October, and Racca Day at Bodmin in February.

The Gorseth has since 1928 been the principal patron of the Cornish language arts. Its annual meeting in early September is the means of encouraging literary and artistic composition in a wide variety of genres for both young people and adults. The associated *Esethvos Kernow* (Cornwall's Eisteddfod) is an important platform for performance.

In the spoken word media Verbal Arts Cornwall has been active since 1993. It has organised and promoted events and co-operated with other organisations in featuring Cornish language as well as Cornish dialect in its work. It is very conscious both of inter-Celtic links and the Cornish diaspora. It has organised events at *Lowender Peran* and the Wadebridge Folk Festivals, and at *Goel an Yeth* the Cornish Language Festival. It has organised school events and school clubs, seminars, new writing projects, theatre projects with Cornwall Theatre Company and Knee-High Theatre, local poetry and verse competitions - and much else. It is in the course of reformulation as *Awen* (Inspiration) - with proposals for future projects in public local arts, radio writing, poetry performance and a website.

Cornish-language theatre and poetry have the capacity to reach widespread and local audiences. Pol Hodge for example as a Cornish-language poet, has undertaken over 120 poetry readings since October 1994 (with a mean attendance of 50), has published a collection of verse and has made a feature film on his work. Cornish language interest has also been reported in connection with the A39 Theatre Company.

Wild West Films have made *An Dewetha Geryow a Dolly Pentreath* (The Last Words of Dolly Pentreath), *Linynnau Safron* ("Saffron Threads"), *Ledyans Leven Dhe Gernow Garow* (A Smooth Guide to a Rough Cornishman) and *Splatt Dhe Wertha* (Plot for Sale). This last, a short surrealistic comedy, won the festival Golden Torc award at the 18th Celtic Film and Television Festival held in St. Ives in April 1997. The programme was broadcast by West Country at the close of the festival. West Country Television (now Carlton) produced *Kernow Palooza* for the 1999 Festival. Other companies are also involved in this genre, such as A38 Films and West Country Films. The availability of these productions on video as well as the broadcast media represents a significant advance in the uses and genres of the language.

3.4.2 The Media

Cornish has only recently begun to be used again in broadcasting media. There is a half-hour Cornish language programme on Sundays on BBC Radio Cornwall. Pirate FM had carried two one-minute Cornish-language news broadcasts in a contemporary news format. However, a recent management change has withdrawn them, reportedly in case Devon listeners are put off the station. However, Pirate FM does sponsor *Can Rak Kernow* (A Song for Cornwall).

Cornish-language television has been developed under West Country TV and some half-hour Cornish language features and films have been broadcast. The Regional Film Archive, covering both BBC and ITV in the south west region, has traced the use of Cornish language in regional programming back to 1962. Use in films can be traced back at least to the 1940s.

There is a weekly Cornish-language column (on Tuesdays) in the regional daily, Western Morning News. This aims at a popular audience, handles popular issues and has a partly bilingual format. Otherwise press features in Cornish are sporadic.

3.5 PUBLIC SIGNAGE AND LANGUAGE DISPLAY

This represents a domain of particular importance for the 'visibility' of Cornish. Many towns now display or incorporate a Cornish welcome in their nameboards. Outside Penzance station is a granite block stating '*Pensans a'gas Dynargh* - Penzance welcomes you.' The controversies over this issue were featured on the Dolly Pentreath film noted above.

The naming of new streets and public buildings also constitutes a contemporary domain for Cornish language. District Councils are the authorities for road and street naming. Carrick District Council, for example, has a supportive policy on designating Cornish-language names for new streets and public buildings. That such uses are now to be found is an indication of the progress made by the language revival in making a wider public aware of the language and in developing goodwill towards it.

Parish and town councils have the opportunity to put up Cornish-language and bilingual name-boards. In the St. Ives and Penwith area this was done prior to the Inter-Celtic Film Festival in 1997. One of the problems here is which form of the language will be chosen. In this last case it was Kemmyn - leading to controversy over the form in which the Cornish name of Camborne was used. The Cornish Sub-Committee of the UK Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages was consulted and is reported as having an advisory panel on this issue. The Language Board also has a working party on placenames and other Cornish name requirements. The Board has contacts with The Welsh Language Board and academic placename specialists in Wales for reference and guidance.

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4   EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Respondents in this study frequently raised the issue of educational provision for Cornish as a "problem area". The future prospects for the language were seen as very much bound up with opportunities to learn it in both adult and school-level education. The development of pre-school and primary education through the medium of the language has been a means of Welsh regaining demographic normality, and of encouraging demographic development for both Gaelic and Irish.

4.2   ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES

4.2.1 The Situation Pre-1980

There had been adult education classes in Cornish in both Cornwall and London before the war. These were conducted by Morton Nance at St. Ives and elsewhere by A.S.D. Smith. In 1933 Smith noted classes in seven Cornish towns, involving 60 adult learners A correspondence circle was started by Smith at this time, and continued by F. B. Cargeeg. In some form this continued throughout the war years. (61) In London in the pre-war years classes were conducted by A. V. Allin-Collins and Trelawney Roberts. (62) In the post-war period classes resumed in Cornwall, and in London at the City Lit.

In 1967 the Cornish Language Board was set up by the Gorseth and the Old Cornwall Federation. This took over the business of running examinations in Cornish which the Gorseth had previously itself undertaken. These examinations were in three grades, with proficiency being marked by being received by the Gorseth as a language bard. Initially the examinations were at three grades with a language proficiency test, taking students to a little beyond GCE 0-Level equivalent.

4.2.2 Adult Education Over The Past Twenty Years

The 1984 Report on the State of the Language notes that by 1983/84 the numbers of adult education classes in Cornwall had increased to **eighteen**, in: Falmouth, Bodmin, Camborne, Saltash, Hayle, Helston, Launceston, St Just, Padstow, Lostwithiel, Liskeard, Penzance, Torpoint, Perranporth, St. Austell, Newlyn East, Truro, and Newquay. Outwith Cornwall classes were being held in Taunton, Bristol, London, Rennes (Brittany) and in South Australia. (63) (See **Appendix F**)

The Language Board was producing grammars and learning materials for its then three grades of language proficiency and was conducting examinations. These provided some incentive and yardstick for students' progress. The 1984 Report also provided details of the successes at these grades between 1968-1983. Overall these indicate increasing numbers and proficiency. Total passes at the respective grades rose from 20, 25 and 26 in 1968-1970 to 93, 61 and 59 in 1981-83. (64)

The examinations are now organised across four grades, with additional focus on culture and history (these highest grades are taken as equivalent to everyday fluency as in section 2.5.2). More recently a fifth grade has been introduced under the aegis of the Institute of Linguists. This equates to first year degree level proficiency.

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The present study was able to identify **thirty-six** formally organised classes in Cornwall. **Sixteen** classes taught **Kemmyn**, at: Callington, Four Lanes, Grampound Road, Helston, Jacobstowe, Launceston, Liskeard, The Lizard, Looe, Lostwithiel, Mullion, Penzance, Pool, Saltash, St. Austell, and Truro. **Nine** classes were organised in **Unified**, at: Bodmin, Bude, Camborne, Newlyn, Penryn, Penzance (two classes), St Austell and St. Just. There were **eleven** classes in **Late/Modern** Cornish, at: Falmouth, Menheniot, Pendeen (two classes), Redruth, St. Agnes, St. Austell, St. Ives, Troon, and Truro (two classes). Membership figures for 28 of these groups totalled 284, suggesting an estimated 365 total enrolment in all classes. (65) (See also: Table 3.2 and **Appendix F**)

Other learners may be attending Goel an Yeth (the language week organised for Kemmyn), Penseythun Kernewek (the language weekend in Unified), and the Late/Modern Cornish language days. Other informal classes and self-help groups were also reported, which altogether would almost certainly bring the total to the estimates of 445 learners provided by the three main language groups (see **Chapter 3**). Outwith Cornwall there are classes in London at three levels at the City Lit (in Kemmyn), at Bristol (in Unified) and in Australia. Tutors are generally well experienced often as longstanding language bards, with Language Board qualifications at highest grades. Otherwise teachers are professionally qualified or, in at least one case, hold the City & Guilds Further Education Teachers Certificate C&G 730.

The classes are generally small groups which do not muster the minimum numbers for a college or other adult education class. Most meet in pubs, peoples' homes, village halls and the like. In the cases above of two class groups, some separate provision for beginners and more advanced students has been possible, although classes are generally mixed in ability. Classes are meeting in college premises at Falmouth, Pool, Penryn, St Austell and Truro.

For Kemmyn and Unified Cornish the Language Board provides an examination scheme, which extended to a fourth grade from 1989, which takes account of Cornish literature and culture, and more recently an advanced Level Five, in conjunction with the Institute of Linguists and which can function as the first part of a degree course. Moderation and validation are provided by the Modern Languages Advisor of the Cornwall Education Authority, and there are active links with the Welsh Language Board and examinations authority. In recent years total passes at Grades 1-4 at the Cornish Language Board's examinations have totalled 90 in 1997, 76 in 1998 and 61 in 1999. (66)

The adult education classes in Late/Modern Cornish are not on the whole geared towards examinations as such. Classes at Truro have utilised an NVQ-type of attainment testing validated by CENTRA, a Lancashire-based organisation. This body has now merged with several others, including the South West Association for Education and Training, into the Awarding Body Consortium through which the scheme is now operated. This involves about half the class enrolment. Otherwise with Late/Modern Cornish the examination scheme is not so well developed. However the Cornish Language Council is considering a scheme on similar lines to the 'GCE-equivalent' attainment scheme of the Welsh Joint Education Committee. Age-profiles of learners are generally reported as predominantly middle-aged (65% in 30s and 40s, with perhaps 10% aged under 30, and 25% aged 50 and over).

Kernewek dre Lyther (Cornish by Correspondence) was established in 1982/83 and has been organised to date by Ray Edwards of Sutton Coldfield. After its first year of operation it had 19 enrolments, of whom only four were resident in Cornwall, and the remainder elsewhere in the UK and worldwide. By 1989 enrolments had increased to 130, and by 1999 to 297 - the 1990s showing particularly steady growth of interest year on year. (67) Correspondence tuition is also organised by Agan Tavas in Unified Cornish, and by Teer ha Tavaz for Late/Modern Cornish. In the cases of Kemmyn and Unified Cornish these schemes are linked to the Language Board examinations, as with their adult classes generally.

4.3   **THE CORNISH LANGUAGE IN SCHOOLS**

4.3.1   Earlier Developments

In the early revival, Cornish was introduced into local authority schools by revivalists like Edwin Chirgwin who were also teachers. In the post-war period Cornish language was taught at E. G. Retallack Hooper's private Mount Pleasant House School in Camborne. In the course of time it became possible to take Cornish at secondary level through a GCSE Mode 3 scheme which was operated by the Welsh Board. Cornish began to feature in the local authority system where there were teachers able and interested to teach it - as at Helston where Richard Gendall taught languages for many years.

Before the 1980s the number of schools teaching Cornish was very small, involving only a handful of pupils.

The 1984 State of the Language Report noted **seven** schools where Cornish had been taught up to that time. **Five** were at **primary** level: Saltash, St Stephen's by Saltash, Bodmin, Troon and Camborne. There were only **two secondary** schools reporting as teaching the language: at Camborne and Liskeard. (See **Appendix F**)

With the increasing economies in education and local government, and subsequently the introduction of the National Curriculum and local management of schools, the subject teaching of Cornish was reported as increasingly difficult to organise – or to find a place for Cornish Studies within an increasingly crowded curriculum.   The language continued in some places as a lunch break or after school activity or club.

4.3.2   Cornish In Schools Today

For the purposes of the present study a survey was undertaken by the Modern Languages Advisor who circulated all local authority schools regarding their present (1999/2000) provision for Cornish language. This varied from school to school.

Although Cornish is taught in Cornwall's schools, those that do so are few in number, and involve a relatively small number of pupils. Current provision is generally extra-curricular in the form of lunchtime or after-school classes and clubs. With the devolution of resource management and policy to schools, provision for Cornish language is now a matter for individual schools rather than overall local authority direction. However the education authority has a policy and resource document on Cornish Studies in schools, and the language features within this.   Modern languages policy is supportive of Cornish and assists initiatives in the language in various ways, such as validation and moderation. Teaching resources include the authority's own Cornish Studies pack, and a Cornish language pack.

In many cases Cornish is taught by one of the school's own teachers, and sometimes as part of the Cornish Studies programme.   In other cases there is a visiting teacher who is paid from school funds or from charges made for extra-curricular activities. Funding difficulties can hinder these developments, as can the availability of suitably qualified teachers.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

At primary level some form of actual teaching of the language was reported at **12** schools, as follows:

- ❖ **Wendron** teaches years three and four topic-based classes for 20 minutes per week.

- ❖ At **Roskear** the school has taught Cornish for three terms now, with a teacher remunerated by Verbal Arts Cornwall.

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❖ At **St Mawes**, Cornish is taught as part of the curriculum in years three to six, and there is also a Cornish language club.

❖ At **St Michael's, Helston**, Cornish is taught by a visiting teacher in a weekly after school class also open to all Key Stage Two pupils, staff and parents - with accreditation available.

❖ There is also a weekly club with a visiting teacher at **Ludgvan**.

❖ At **Heamoor**, Cornish is taught at a lunchtime club to year six pupils.

❖ At **Treyew** the language is taught as part of the Cornish Studies module in year five (summer term).

❖ **Weeth** organises an activity club weekly for two terms based on Language Board Grade 1 examination to years three-six.

❖ **Coads Green** integrates the language with Cornish dancing at Key Stage Two, and teaches words, phrases and greetings.

❖ **St Neot** has introduced Cornish with years four, five and six.

❖ **Godolphin** has two half-hour lunchtime classes in Cornish, and another in Cornish singing, open to years five and six.

❖ At **Brunel** (Saltash) Cornish is used in assemblies, and for registers with both Key Stage One and Two pupils. There has been a weekly after school club which is to be restarted, with opportunities to take Language Board Grade One examinations. The school choir sings in Cornish.

Some primary schools (such as Foxhole, Penryn and Lanlivery) reported past activity and would like to re-introduce Cornish. At Boskenwyn a Cornish grace is used at meals and pupils learn Cornish songs. The school has a Cornish motto. Suitable textbooks and a resource pack and video for teachers without specific language ability were identified as priorities for provision if the language is to expand in schools.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

At the secondary stage, **four** schools were identified as providing teaching in Cornish.

❖ At **Liskeard Community College** and

❖ **Newquay Tretherras** there are lunchtime clubs preparing for the Language Board's new modular examinations, involving eight and four pupils, respectively.

❖ At **Pool** up to 15 pupils are working towards the Language Board's Grade One exam.

❖ At **Truro** there is an after-school club for Sixth Form pupils studying Unified Cornish.

Between 1985 and 1988 there was a GCE scheme for Cornish Language under the school's own scheme at Pool. There were two or three successful candidates each year. Between 1988 and 1996 this was superseded by a GCSE scheme. This was organised under the Southern Examining Board until 1991. It was then taken over by the Welsh Board and ran until 1996. Over this period there were 42 successful candidates - but this rate was insufficient to ensure its continuation. Pupils at the above four secondary schools now take the Language Board examinations (presentations and passes details were not communicated in survey returns). Examinations are moderated through the County Education Authority's Advisor for Modern Languages and validated by the QCA.

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4.4 CORNISH STUDIES AND CORNISH LANGUAGE RESEARCH IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Cornish in primary and secondary school-level education do not provide a basis for Cornish as a subject area in its own right in Higher Education. There are no degree schemes in Cornish Language anywhere - let alone degree schemes taught through the medium of Cornish, as there are in Welsh, Irish and Gaelic contexts. Cornish has been taught as a subject in the University of Wales at Aberystwyth and Lampeter.

In 1972 the Institute of Cornish Studies was established by the University of Exeter and Cornwall County Council. It is located in Truro, with a permanent staff of director, secretary and full time research fellows. It produces an academic journal, 'Cornish Studies' which reflects its work, encompassing not only archaeology and history (the specialities of the Institute's first and current directors) but also language and culture, natural history and the environment, social and economic fields. It has developed new perspectives in cultural history, the Cornish language and its revival, migration and social issues such as housing and health in Cornwall, Cornish literature and tourism. Research staff are currently involved in language, cultural studies, politics, mining and natural history research.

The University of Exeter has recently introduced two higher degree schemes through the Institute of Cornish Studies: an M.A. in Cornish Studies and an M.A. in Celtic Studies. These degrees may include Cornish language studies.

The Cornish Language Board has an active concern with linguistic research into Cornish language: its historic forms, lexicon, grammar, and onomastics. It has working parties in these fields and actively develops links with academic institutions and research initiatives. The Board has sponsored a new academic journal - one exclusively devoted to research into Cornish language: 'Agan Yeth - Cornish Language Studies'. Its first issue appeared in October 1999 and carried high quality articles reviewing Gendall's Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish, Ute Hirner's dissertation on the sociolinguistics of Cornish and Welsh, an article by Rod Lyon in Cornish on Cornish playing-places, and the Cornish Bible Project by Keith Syed. A second number is currently in preparation.

The other language-movements are also involved in research: Unified through Nicholas Williams at Dublin, and Late/Modern Cornish through the work of Richard Gendall.

4.5 ISSUES

There have been attempts to start a Cornish-language playgroup for pre-school infants. These efforts have been frustrated by the territorial distribution of the parents themselves. It has meant that there has never been sufficient critical mass in any one area to sustain a viable group. To overcome this, organisations such as Dalleth and Agan Tavas have developed support materials.

The presence of Cornish in the primary stage is heavily dependent upon the presence of a Cornish-speaking teacher, the sympathy of school staff, local management resource budgets, and especially head teachers. This study reports parental demand for Cornish as a second language in the school system but it is again distributed across many catchment areas, and a 'critical mass' calling for provision has been diluted by distance - unlike the more concentrated demands experienced in the Northern Irish, Gaelic and Welsh contexts.

Where Cornish is taught as part of the integral school curriculum (as at Wendron, St. Mawes, Treyew and St. Neot), it is taught to whole year and key stage groups – and hence to all pupils as they pass through these stages. Otherwise where there is only a lunchtime or after-school class or club the numbers involved are relatively small.

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Without a developed playgroup stage, prospects for wider provision of Cornish in primary schooling are more difficult - let alone a Cornish-medium primary stage being established in the foreseeable future. However, Cornish as a second language should be a feasible proposition - as has long been the case for the other Celtic languages in their respective countries. These all make provisions for their languages within the Core Curriculum in the cases of the National Curriculum in Wales generally and Northern Ireland where Irish features in its schools, and the Curriculum and Assessment Working Paper Gaelic 5-14 in Scotland.

For the language to progress within the education system it needs to be more clearly indicated within the schools curriculum, as the other Celtic languages are within their own systems. In order for it to be more widely taught, with some place for it within the school day as well as in extra-curricular classes and clubs, it would need the support of properly resourced and remunerated peripatetic teachers. Where teachers without Cornish language proficiency wished to introduce the language, resource packages and videos would be required. To provide these would require funding and resourcing. A decision would also have to be made concerning the form of Cornish to be used in these classes.

The difficulties in restoring a state-recognised schools level examination were also identified by our consultees as a problem for the advancement of Cornish as a school subject, especially at secondary level. Local management of schools was also frequently cited as a difficulty in making a place for Cornish within school life, and finding resources for it. However, in other Celtic countries greater local autonomy has often been seen as the means whereby enhanced provision for the language has been secured.

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5   ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING CORNISH

5.1   INTRODUCTION

There is a wide range of organisations involved in, or connected with, the language. Our research has identified a total of over 40 such bodies. These can be broadly categorised as follows: language organisations, dedicated to the promotion of the language; cultural organisations; organisations in political and public life; communication media organisations; private sector enterprises; and organisations active in religious life.

5.2   LANGUAGE ORGANISATIONS

GORSETH KERNOW: THE GORSEDD OF CORNWALL

The Gorseth was founded in 1928 on the model of those already established in Wales and Brittany. It acted originally as the chief centre for language revival and came to produce examinations for language learners until this function was taken on by a specially constituted Language Board. It conducts an annual ceremony at which bards are received for proficiency in the language and conspicuous services to Cornish language, culture and life. There is only one order of admission, quite deliberately to avoid distinctions of grade and hierarchy. Proclamations are also celebrated at other major cultural events. The Grand Bard is generally a distinguished figure in the language movement and is appointed for three years.

The Gorseth has promoted language and literary activities through both Unified and, more recently, Kemmyn varieties. Since last year it has admitted Late/Modern Cornish for its competition entries. It has also recently issued a book of prayers for Cornwall produced in all three language varieties. It has thus become an important institution which gives recognition to each form of the revived language. Its principal sources of income are the bards' annual subscriptions.

KESVA AN TAVES KERNEWEK: THE CORNISH LANGUAGE BOARD

In 1967 the Gorseth and the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies set up the Board to be an independent language-planning and examining authority. A revised constitution in 1982 now constitutes 21 members, 15 of whom are elected from the body of speakers (Kowethas), two each from the Gorseth and Old Cornwall Federation, and one member each from the County Council and University of Plymouth.

Its turnover in the mostly recently completed financial year was in excess of £15,000. Its principal income has been a grant of £5,000 over five years from the County Council, augmented by a grant this year of £3,000 from the Council's new language-fund. There have also been grants from: Heritage Lottery Fund; the Duke of Cornwall's Fund, for a dictionary; the European Commission, for a grammar, and from Caradon and Carrick District Councils, for purchase of computers. In 1987 the Board adopted the Kemmyn form as its standard. It has, however, pledged to provide its services, and to make its examinations available, in the continuing Unified/Unys language-variety.

KOWETHAS AN YETH KERNEWEK: THE CORNISH LANGUAGE FELLOWSHIP

This is the members' organisation for the Kemmyn language-variety. Established in 1979, it aims to promote Cornish in everyday life. It organises the annual Goel an Yeth. This has grown out of the original weekends, Penseythun Kernewek, and for some years has been attracting between 200-300 users and learners of Cornish. The organisation promoted Dythyow Lowender (Fun Days), and Yeth an Werin (Language of the People) - social meetings in pubs, etc. These events are now largely autonomous and self-organising.

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There are also links with other Celtic-speaking organisations.   Kowethas acts as publisher for books printed in Kemmyn, apart from grammars, dictionaries and other language-resource material, and books in English about the language. It has a current list of some 124 titles. The organisation works on an annual turnover of approximately £10,000.

DALLETH: BEGINNING

With the use of Cornish as a family language, Dalleth was established in 1979 to provide support, develop language materials for children learning the language, and to press for bilingual education and nursery provision.   There were about six families at that time who were using the language in the home and raising children bilingually. It has been reported to us that there are approximately 12 such children who have become 'native speakers' in this way.

AGAN TAVAS: OUR LANGUAGE

This body was formed in 1986 to organise speakers using Nance's Unified Cornish. Originally it was by invitation of fluent speakers only. With the tripartite split, it continued in the form of an existing organisation staying with the original revived form of the language. In 1990 it was reformed on an open membership basis.   Its aims are to ensure continued support for Unified Cornish and it organises events, supports classes and campaigns for language use.   It has an organising council Consel Agan Tavas, and aims at 'including Kemmyn and Nowedja users in an inclusive and open way.' Postal tuition is provided, together with a website with internet learning.

Since 1992 Agan Tavas has published a magazine (An Gowsva - The Talking Shop) on a twice-yearly basis in Unified Cornish, with some English content. There has also been a literary magazine, Delyow Derow (Oak Leaves), which was published between 1988 and 1996.

CUSSEL AN TAVAS KERNUACK: THE CORNISH LANGUAGE COUNCIL

This is the authority for the Late or Modern Cornish language-variety. It bases this on the writings dated between 1558-1776, and aims at standardisation within the middle of that period.   It has five members representing language specialists, teachers and users.   It undertakes research, publishes grammars, dictionaries and language resources. It is funded by its members and voluntary donations. It has recently been assisted by a grant from the County Council's language-fund for the production of a language course.

TEER HA TAVAZ: LAND AND LANGUAGE

This is the members' organisation for the Modern or Late form of the language. It acts as an imprimatur for publications and as a centre for language-related activities. Cornish language classes are currently organised at Truro and St. Austell Colleges.   Postal tuition is also undertaken. It was formed in 1986, and has recently been assisted by a £1,000 grant for evening classes' needs.

CORNISH SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE UK BUREAU FOR LESSER-USED LANGUAGES

This body reports to the UK Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages. The sub-committee was set up in 1995, and its 20 or so members represent all branches of the language-movement, together with other organisations having an interest in the language such as the County and District Councils, the Gorseth and Old Cornwall movements.   Prior to the inception of the Sub-Committee, the UK Committee had supported the applications for EU grant funding from DGXXII for the publication of Ken George's dictionary and Wella Brown's grammar (£3,000 each). The Sub-Committee is an important institution as it provides a forum for all aspects of the language movement - and is one of the very few institutions to do so.

5.3 CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS FEATURING THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

ESETHVOS KERNOW: THE EISTEDDFOD OF CORNWALL

This is a triennial festival of Cornish language literature, music and culture. Formed on a similar basis to the Welsh Eisteddfod, it is held in various centres throughout Cornwall and involves many Cornish organisations across and beyond the language scene.

THE CELTIC CONGRESS

This longstanding organisation, whose roots go back to the early days of the language revival, is represented by a Cornish Branch. The annual congress of the whole organisation is to meet in Bude in April 2000.

CELTIC FILM AND TELEVISION FESTIVAL

This organisation was formed in Scotland in the late 1970s. It is still headquartered there, although it has active branches in each of the Celtic countries. It has greatly stimulated the production of Cornish-language films and video. The 18th annual festival was held in Cornwall for the first time in 1997. The Golden Torc award was won by a Cornish-language production: Splatt dhe Wertha (Plot for Sale) which was produced by Wild West Films. These efforts have been assisted by EU DGXXII, West Cornwall Film Fund and Lottery sources. Video and Film production has been stimulated by these activities, and there are two other organisations involved in Cornish language film production: A38 Films and WestCountry Films.

LOWENDER PERAN: THE JOY OF PERRAN

This now week long folk festival at Perranporth has been organised since 1978. Strongly featuring Cornish language and traditional culture it also has a strongly international dimension. Cornish is used as a platform language at all events and there is a Cornish language day. Four out of its six directors are Cornish speakers. The events include visiting performers and groups from the other Celtic countries.

The festival is a showcase for Cornish traditional music and dance, and a major opportunity for Cornish speakers to get together socially and culturally. Organised around it is voluntary work in schools, and the festival has led to the production of a Cornish dance video and book. It attracts about 3,000 visitors and is viewed as an important means of extending the tourist season in Perranporth into mid-October.

The organisation is constituted as a limited company with charitable status. It has attracted funding of approximately £2,000 in recent years (£200 from the parish council, £1,600 from Carrick District and £250 from Cornwall County Council).

CORNISH MUSIC PROJECTS

This is a small business partnership which has operated since 1998 on a commercial basis. It is involved with Cornish language and music activities in schools, networking with other organisations to promote music workshops and performance events. These activities are supported by a research programme into Cornish traditional music material, and the production of books and recordings. The organisation has obtained grants from a range of sources (e.g. from Directory of Social Change) and has received funding from the County Council, Regional Arts Lottery Fund (with Cornish Music Guild) and the Elm Grant Trust. The two partners are involved in other performing groups and bands.

FEDERATION OF OLD CORNWALL SOCIETIES

This movement was founded by Robert Morton Nance between 1922-24, and still has active branches throughout Cornwall, and a regular journal, 'Old Cornwall'.

VERBAL ARTS CORNWALL - AWEN (INSPIRATION)

This was formed in 1993. It is active in support for Cornish language and dialect in schools; and in wider community activities at Cornish language events, writing projects, theatre events, poetry and verse. It has developed active links with the Cornish diaspora and other Celtic countries. Assisted by South West Arts, it aims to become a self-financing business.

CORNISH DANCE SOCIETY

This was formed in the 1990s to promote Cornish dance and customs, organises events and workshops, publishes a newsletter and hires costume. It acts as an umbrella organisation for Cornish dance sides - which include those with a Cornish-language persona (e.g. Asteveryn, Otta ny Moaz, Tan ha Dowr). Although not specifically a language organisation, it nevertheless supports the language and culture in various ways.

CORNISH MUSIC GUILD

As a parallel to the Dance Society, the Music Guild has an important co-ordinating function and supports various traditional music groups which have a more specifically language-oriented performance policy (e.g. Dalla, Sowena, Bolingey Troyl Band, etc). Formed in 1987, it has charitable status and operates on an annual budget of approximately £2,000. It aims to promote Cornish music and composers and a greater use of Cornish material - especially in Cornish music and dance. Cornish language has been used for calling at traditional dance and Cornish language events.

5.4 ORGANISATIONS IN POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

MEBYON KERNOW

This organisation was formed as a political lobby for Cornwall in 1951. It attracted support from across the political spectrum and beyond. Most of Cornwall's MPs were members. When it became a political party it lost these affiliations. It has always given a place to the language in its programmes, as it was originally formed by language bards and others prominent in the language movement. It has a quarterly magazine and branches throughout Cornwall.

THE CELTIC LEAGUE

This Inter-Celtic political forum is represented by a Cornwall branch. The League and its Cornish Branch were both formed in 1961. The objectives of the organisation are self-rule for the Celtic nations, the promotion of their languages and cultural and political self-determination. Lobbies and language campaigns have been undertaken. There is an Inter-Celtic quarterly magazine (CARN) which has regularly featured Cornish language articles since its inception in the early 1970s. These articles have in recent years been accepted in any recognised form of Cornish. The League has very slender resources and receives no third party funding.

CORNWALL COUNTY COUNCIL

The Council has an arts officer who is a Cornish speaker and who undertakes a co-ordinating function for the Cornish language. She maintains an information source on Cornish language organisations. The Council has recently adopted a framework policy of support for the language and it has circulated all the District Councils seeking its joint adoption. This has been forthcoming for Carrick, Kerrier, Penwith and North Cornwall Councils, although Caradon and Isles of Scilly have not yet followed suit.

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DISTRICT COUNCILS

The four Councils that have adopted the County framework policy for Cornish language will be invited to send representatives to the Cornish Sub-Committee of the European Bureau. Two (Penwith and Carrick) have produced supportive action for Cornish signage. Although it has not yet ratified the County policy, Caradon has funded a Cornish language class for its employees, while Carrick has produced a newsletter in Cornish.

CORNISH BUREAU FOR EUROPEAN RELATIONS (COBER)

CoBER exists to make available to Cornish organisations information relating to Europe. It has been involved in a variety of initiatives including the designation of long-distance paths and waymarking, with European assistance (e.g. The Saints' Way). It has a Cornish language profile and is represented on the Cornish sub-committee of EBLUL.

5.5 ORGANISATIONS USING CORNISH IN COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

CORNISH LANGUAGE FILMS

As noted above these are chiefly represented by Wild West Films, A38 Films and West Country Films. The first of these has been assisted with funding from European sources, West Cornwall Film Fund and Lottery sources. In recent years it has produced four specifically Cornish language productions and another which also features the language.

RADIO

Cornish language has been used in broadcasting by two stations in Cornwall: BBC Radio Cornwall and Pirate FM. Radio Cornwall currently carries a short Cornish language magazine programme and news in Cornish on Sundays.

5.6 ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING CORNISH IN ENTERPRISE

AN LYVERJI KERNEWEK: THE CORNISH BOOKSHOP

Located in Helston, this was established in 1997. Start-up capital was a combination of a small-business loan, mortgage, and overdraft facility. It is now virtually financially self-supporting. There are facilities for workshops, publishing and meetings on the premises. The enterprise holds the bookstock of the Cornish Language Board and Kowethas. It retails these together with Cornish interest books and promotional material.

GWYNN HA DU: WHITE AND BLACK

This shop is located in Liskeard. It aims to promote Cornish language, show Cornish books to the public and act as a focus and shop-window for the language. Its start-up capital was very small (chiefly donated as gifts) and it relied initially on voluntary work in its initial phase since 1998. It now has a full-time manager and New Deal funding. All accounts and records are kept in Cornish and telephones answered in the language. The initiative has been developed through Kowethas an Yeth.

JUST CORNISH

This is a one-person enterprise, located on one of St Just's main streets. It sells Cornish language and language interest books in English, together with crafts with a specifically 'all made in Cornwall' sales policy. It was established in May 1999 with self-found start-up capital.

KERNOW DESIGNS

This one person enterprise supplies the three Cornish bookshops and others with Cornish language materials.

5.7 ORGANISATIONS PROMOTING AND USING CORNISH IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

BISHOP OF TRURO'S ECUMENICAL ADVISORY GROUP ON SERVICES IN CORNISH

This body was set up in 1974. Although an Anglican initiative, Methodist and Catholic interests are specifically included as the chief denominations providing worship in Cornish. It has a very slender working budget. There are now at least eleven formally-organised services in Cornish held annually - with other services such as Carol and Harvest Services. It has also been involved in the development of Catholic liturgy.

BREDERETH SEN JAGO: THE BROTHERHOOD OF SAINT JAMES

This fellowship was established in 1988 and is principally concerned with organising pilgrimages on an open denominational basis. Its aims and activities encompass concern with Cornish history, saints and placenames and its membership includes speakers and teachers of the language. Its finances are minimal.

6 FUNDING SOURCES

6.1 FUNDING AWARDED TO CORNISH LANGUAGE GROUPS

From our consultations with organisations and individuals involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish language, it appears that there has been little history of funding activity over the last 20 years. Our consultations indicate that this probably reflects the generally small scale nature of these organisations over this time. Many of the organisations are run by a small group of individuals, who may not necessarily have the expertise or knowledge to make applications for funding to national/European organisations.

Table 6.1, over, provides a breakdown of the funding that Cornish language organisations have sourced over the past 20 years (although it is more likely that the funding listed has been awarded within the past decade). It shows that we have identified third party funding of approximately £50,000.

The Table shows that Cornish language organisations have generally received small amounts of funding for their activities over the period. One of the main sources of funding has been local authorities. Verbal Arts Cornwall is unique, in that it has been supported entirely by South West Arts, which provides £21,000 annual funding. This funding is used for the promotion of the Cornish language and dialect in arts events. It has also been used for the past three terms to remunerate a post at Roskear primary school for teaching the Cornish language (as mentioned in Section 4.3.2).

There have been a small number of successful applications to the European Commission DG XXII. Two of these were grants awarded (via European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages) under the Minority Languages programme, for the publication of two books (a Cornish dictionary and a book on the grammar of modern Cornish). In both cases, £3,000 was awarded. The Minority Languages programme then required 50% matched funding (it is now 55%).

Of those organisations that disclosed the amount of funding awarded, just over half received £1,000 or over, with the funding mainly ranging between £1,000 and £3,000. Just under half of successful applicants received under £1,000.

Over the last 12-18 months, there has been a general move towards helping organisations involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish language and assistance to these groups appears to be growing. In the current financial year, Cornwall County Council has allocated £5,000 to Cornish language organisations, primarily for assistance towards publications. This money has been distributed between the three Cornish language movements (£3,000 to Kemmyn; £1,000 to Unified; and £1,000 to Late/Modern). The £5,000 Cornwall County Council fund will continue on an annual basis from the present financial year onwards.

Also, The Celtic Congress is holding its annual inter-Celtic gathering in Cornwall in April 2000. North Cornwall District Council has contributed £500 towards this event.

6.2 FUNDING AND SUPPORT POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE TO CORNISH LANGUAGE GROUPS

Local authorities within Cornwall tend to operate generic programmes for their areas and generally do not run any schemes specifically related to Cornish language activities. This is evident in Table 6.1, where Cornish organisations involved in the promotion or development of the language received assistance primarily as, say, community-based organisations. Thus, these organisations tended to receive assistance as part of standard programmes designed to assist small businesses, education, the arts and so on. Our research identified just one local authority programme that has been established specifically for Cornish language organisations: the Cornwall County Council scheme referred to in the preceding section.

TABLE 6.1: FUNDING RECEIVED BY CORNISH LANGUAGE ORGANISATIONS			
Organisation	Funding Source	Amount Received	Project
Kowethas An Yeth Kernewek	Cornwall County Council	£1,500	Goel an Yeth
	South West Arts	£5,000	
	Carrick District Council	£300	Computers
	Caradon District Council	£500	Computers
Kesva An Tavas Kernewek	Cornwall County Council	£5,000 (over 5 years)	
	Heritage Lottery Fund		
	Millennium Festival Award		
	Duke of Cornwall's Fund	£500	
	European Commission, Minority Language Programme	£3,000	Production of dictionary
	European Commission, Minority Language Programme	£3,000	Production of grammar book
	District Councils		
Gwyn Ha Du	Individuals of Kowethas	£500	Start up capital
Cussel An Tavaz	Cornwall County Council	£1,000	Evening Class support
	Cornwall County Council	£1,000	Language course
Agan Tavas	Individuals	£500	
	Members	£1,400	Reprint of Nance's dictionary
	Federation of Old Cornwall Societies	£50	
Verbal Arts Cornwall	South West Arts	£21,000	Annual funding to operate organisation
	Cornwall County Council; Carrick District Council	£750	Staging St Pirian play
Wild West Films	EU DG XXII		Film making
	West Cornwall Film Fund		Film making
	Arts Lottery Fund		Film making
Cornish Music Projects	Cornwall County Council		
	Arts Lottery Fund		
	Elm Grant Trust		
An Lyverji Kernewek	SW Investment Board Loan	£3,000	Start up capital
Loweder Peran	South West Arts	£250	Festival events
	Carrick District Council	£1,600	Festival events
	Cornwall County Council	£250	Festival events
	Local parish council	£200	Festival events

Table 6.2 provides details on unsuccessful funding applications over the past 20 years.

TABLE 6.2: CORNISH LANGUAGE ORGANISATIONS UNSUCCESSFUL APPLICATIONS FOR FUNDING	
Organisation Applying for Funding	Organisation Applied to for Funding
Kowethas An Yeth Kernewek	Gulbenkian Foundation
	European Union Lesser-Used Languages
	Verbal Arts
Cussel An Tavaz	Cornish Rural Community Councils (for Peripatetic Teacher)
Cornish Music Projects	Arts for Everyone
	WestCountry TV
	Duke of Cornwall's Development Fund
	Music Sound Foundation
	Heathcote Trust
	Chadman Charitable Development Fund
	Aurelius Fund
	Atlantic Foundation
Cornish Music Guild	Millennium Funding

During the 1990s, the European Commission operated a number of cultural programmes designed to: improve the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples; conserve and safeguard cultural heritage of European significance; and support cultural exchanges and artistic and literary creation. It is often the case that in order to access funding, projects assisted require the involvement of partnerships between organisations from two or three Member States.   The projects may involve collective exchanges of experience; bilateral visits; and transnational events.

Our consultations indicate that over the last 20 years, Cornish language activity has not really been at the stage of critical mass where it could link up and exchange information with organisations in other Member States. Unfortunately, the Isle of Man (where there is the potential to link its Celtic language activities with those of Cornish organisations) is not a Member of the European Union. Further, these initiatives generally have relatively small budgets which are spread over six years and which are available throughout the European Union. Consequently, competition for funds is very strong and tends to favour groups that already have established links with similar groups in other Member States.

Our consultations suggest that Cornish language organisations would have been able to source very little European funding over the period. However, Cornish language organisations were able to source at least one European fund over the period. This was the Minority Languages Programme (see Table 6.1). It provides support for: developing language skills (teaching aids, training, publications, etc); information, such as publication of magazines; language description and standardisation; and economic and social protection of the language, such as using the language on signs.

Between 1994 and 1999, Cornwall had Objective 5b status, making it an eligible region for assistance under three structural funds: ERDF(European Regional Development Fund); ESF(European Social Fund); and EAGGF(European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund).

ERDF primarily provides support for the creation or modernisation of economic infrastructure which contributes to the development or conversion of the regions concerned. It supports investment in transport, telecommunications and energy infrastructures, business development, tourism, research and technological development. ERDF can finance investments which must: primarily concern industry, craft industry or non-merchant services (including activities relating to tourism); and facilitate the creation of new jobs and maintain existing permanent jobs. Over the period of its operation, no applications were received for ERDF in relation to projects involving organisations working on the promotion or development of the Cornish language. Further, given the economic development remit of ERDF, it is unlikely that Cornish language organisations would have been eligible to receive funding directly in relation to language promotion activities.

ESF is the European Union's financial instrument for investing in people. Its objectives are: to help prevent and fight unemployment; to make Europe's workforce and companies better-equipped to face new challenges; and to prevent people losing touch with the labour market. Basically, ESF provides funding to projects relating to the labour market.

No Cornish language organisations have received assistance under ESF. Further, it is highly unlikely that such organisations would receive ESF funding, given that projects need to demonstrate a justification for assistance on labour market grounds.

LEADER II funding has also been available in Cornwall during the 1990s.   This is an experimental rural development programme funded by the European Union and UK public sector sources. It is run by local partnerships and managed by GOSW. The programme focuses on innovation and experimentation within the rural economy by local people, communities and businesses.

There have been no applications received from Cornish language organisations for LEADER II funding, and given that all projects that are assisted must have an economic benefit for the area, it is unlikely that such organisations would have received funding for language-related activities. If they were successful in approaching LEADER for funding, it would be in relation to undertaking rural-related activities, rather than for conducting language-specific activities.

The Department of Education and Employment (DfEE) was also consulted as part of the research. It advised of two funds that could potentially be sourced for Cornish language related activities: the Study Support Programme; and the Standards Fund.

The Study Support Programme is funded by the New Opportunities Fund - a fund which is administered by the DfEE through the National Lottery. The Study Support Programme covers out of school hours learning, ICT and childcare and is administered at a local level by the local education authorities. The scope of the fund is quite wide ranging, as it is aimed at improving motivation, achievement and confidence building.

The DfEE has indicated that the programme could be a potential source of funding for Cornish language study out of school hours, as well as any associated staffing costs. However, it is up to individual schools to decide the purpose for accessing the fund, and take up of funding is likely to depend on the priorities of local schools and the local education authority.

As part of the funding criteria, applications need to demonstrate additionality, that is, the project would not proceed in the absence of the funding. The application also needs to illustrate sustainability beyond the period of grant. No match funding is required, that is, the grant provides 100% funding. Applications can be made by groups of schools or the local education authority.

The programme has a budget of £160 million for England for the period 1999 to 2003. Information from the DfEE indicates that there have been four successful applications in Cornwall to date, with a total of £464,000 awarded. The applications were made by groups of schools, with proposed projects ranging from homework centres to outdoor and cultural activities.

The Standards Fund (also known as Grants for Education Support and Training) is also administered by the local education authorities. This fund is aimed at raising achievement and motivation and helping pupils to become more effective learners. The scope of activities that can be assisted through this fund is broad, and it is feasible that funding could be awarded to support the study of the Cornish language. However, again it is up to the schools to decide how to utilise any funding.

Grants from this fund are only available to special schools and the most deprived 22% of schools nationally. In Cornwall, this relates to a total of 46 schools: 39 primary schools; 2 secondary schools; and 5 special needs schools. The fund awards a grant of 50% and the local education authority is required to match this funding.

The fund operates on a single year rolling programme. £20 million was available in England in 2000/01. Cornwall was allocated £98,000, of which, £68,000 was devolved direct to the 46 qualifying schools in the area. For 2001/02, a total budget of £60 million has been allocated to the fund, although no decision has been made to date as to how this should be distributed.

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6.3 POTENTIAL FUTURE SOURCES OF FUNDING

Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were formally launched in eight English regions in April 1999. The South West of England Regional Development Agency (SWERDA) area includes Cornwall. The RDAs have been established to provide effective, properly co-ordinated regional economic development and regeneration, enabling the English regions to improve their competitiveness. They have the following statutory purposes: economic development and regeneration; business support, investment and competitiveness; skills, training and employment; and sustainable development. Their remit does not include cultural activities and discussions with SWERDA have indicated that it would be unlikely that funding would be available to Cornish language organisations for language-related activities.

On their inception, the RDAs also inherited the management of various programmes from other agencies. One of these programmes is the Single Regeneration Budget, which was inherited from GOSW. SWERDA and Cornwall Regeneration (who administer the Single Regeneration Budget at a local level on behalf of the RDA) were consulted as part of this research. Our discussions revealed that no grants had been awarded to Cornish language organisations under the five rounds of programmes that have been considered to date. Again, the likelihood of such organisations accessing this funding is marginal, particularly as projects need to demonstrate a community benefit, eg a project that improves the wellbeing of a community on economic and social grounds.

The Cornwall and Scilly Objective 1 Single Programming Document (SPD) for 2000-2006 is currently under consultative draft. From this document, there appears to be one Measure where funding could potentially be sourced. This is Measure 5.2, which relates to securing economic benefits for the arts, cultural, leisure, tourism, heritage and environmental industries. The two key features of this measure will be to increase the number of people employed in these sectors; and to increase collaborative working, both within and between sectors.

The activities that could be assisted under this Measure includes the promotion and development of the region's arts and cultural industries (including those related to the leisure and tourism sector), heritage and environment businesses. However, it should be noted that at the time of writing, the SPD is still being finalised and a definitive list of the activities that the programme will support has still to be agreed. It is likely that applications will require 50% matched funding.

LEADER Plus will be the successor programme to LEADER II. Based on our discussions with the European Partnership at this time it is not known whether the LEADER groups in Cornwall will decide to run this programme.

A programme has been developed called Culture 2000, which has been designed to replace some of the cultural programmes operated by the European Commission during the 1990s. It will operate from 2000 to 2004, and has a total budget of 167 million ECU over its five years of operation. Its objectives are to: promote cultural dialogue, creativity and the transnational distribution of culture; the promotion of cultural diversity and common cultural heritage; and improve public access to culture. However, the eligibility for funding from this programme includes: short-term activities involving cultural operators from at least three eligible countries; long-term (ie three years) co-operation activities involving cultural operators from at least five eligible countries; or European emblematic projects eg European City of Culture, cultural prizes, major events, etc. Again, it may be difficult for Cornish language organisations to secure such funds.

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7   SUMMARY

7.1 HISTORICAL TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CORNISH

The Cornish language was the speech of Cornwall from Dark Age times through to the late Middle Ages. In late medieval it was weakening in eastern Cornwall but its substantial reverses came with the closer incorporation of Cornwall into the Tudor state. At its maximum size the speech community has been estimated at 38,000 (circa 1300), representing 73% of the total population of Cornwall at that time.

During early modern times Cornish initially held its ground as the majority speech of the Cornish people but the further dislocations of the 17th Century (Civil War) and other rebellions destabilised the language considerably. By 1700, the year in which Edward Lhuyd visited Cornwall he reported the language to be in substantial decline and limited only to the western extremities of the County, where it persisted into the last decades of the eighteenth century. This process of decline was considerably hastened by Cornwall's early industrialisation and the inter-penetration of a previously autonomous speech community by adventitious economic enterprises reinforcing a new language. Economic change from the later eighteenth century brought about a process of emigration, with the opening up of new mines abroad providing a strong pull factor.

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

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

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

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

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

7.2   MODE OF USE

Traditionally, historically spoken Cornish extended across the whole range of uses when it was the majority speech of the Cornish people. In late mediaeval times it produced a literature which was chiefly religious drama and verse. Cornwall had significant trading links with Brittany, and Cornish was thus used in the tin trade in commercial and economic life.

The events of the 16th Century resulted in the anglicisation of upper orders of society especially as members of this class were replaced by English speakers and the language became general in Cornwall's ruling classes. In its last phase when the language was obviously fast retreating, efforts were made to secure its prospects by the production of a written literature in its Late/Modern form. This was developed by a class of professional people.

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

In the revival, its early use was chiefly written and from the beginning a conscious effort to produce a quality literature is evident. This has continued to strengthen from the pre-1939 period - as has the resolve to ensure Cornish as a spoken language.

Today, the language is spoken in a wide variety of situations: the conducts of business in Cornish organisations; in cultural events; in a wide variety of social activities when speakers congregate; and most importantly in the homes and families of what is still a small number of cases. A reasonable estimate of the number of speakers able to use the language effectively for everyday purposes is around 300, including about 30 in the London area. There may be, perhaps, 10 families using the language in the home.

Cornish is also used increasingly in public worship and in public ceremonies and ritual, and it has recently begun to be used again in broadcasting media. The arts continue to be an important domain for Cornish-language use. They operate as opportunities for Cornish speakers and learners to come together and use the language either as performers or audiences. As is the case with other Celtic languages, they form an important overall part of the "scene".

Public signage and language display represents a domain of particular importance for the "visibility" of Cornish, with many towns now displaying or incorporating a Cornish welcome in their nameboards. The naming of new streets and public buildings also constitutes a contemporary domain for Cornish language.

7.3   AVAILABILITY AND TAKE-UP OF LEARNING AND STUDY OF CORNISH

At the present time, there are 36 formal classes in Cornish at adult education level, which encompass all three language groups, and it is estimated that over 350 people attend these classes. The majority of these are held in and organised by FE Colleges. Otherwise, they are locally organised by language activists and held in a variety of venues, such as village halls and pubs. Other informal classes and self-help groups were also reported, as well as language events organised by the three language movements. It is therefore estimated that there are approximately 450 people involved in learning activities provided by the three main language groups. There are also classes in London and overseas, as well as a correspondence course organised outside Cornwall.

At school level, Cornish was being taught as early as the pre-1939 period in local authority schools. After the war it featured in a private school at Camborne and subsequently developed in the local authority sector. A GCSE Examination incentivised Cornish at primary and secondary level.

At the time of the study, 12 schools reported the teaching of Cornish (both within and outwith the school day) at primary level and 4 secondary schools reported Cornish as an extra-curricular activity. Although the number of schools reporting the teaching of Cornish at some level has increased in recent years, the cessation of the GSCE scheme (due to the low numbers involved) and the introduction of the National Curriculum and local management of schools is seen by respondents to our research as a set back to further development. For the language to progress within the education system, it needs to be more clearly indicated within the schools curriculum, as the other Celtic languages are within their own systems.

In terms of Cornish language playgroups for pre-school infants, there has not been the sufficient critical mass in any one area to sustain a viable group. However, organisations such as Dalleth and Agan Tavas have developed support materials to help overcome this. Without a developed playgroup stage, the prospects for the wider provision of Cornish in primary schooling may be difficult. However, Cornish as a second language should be a feasible proposition, as has long been the case for the other Celtic languages in their respective countries.

7.4 A BODY OF CORNISH LITERATURE

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

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

7.5 ORGANISATIONS WHICH PROMOTE CORNISH

There is a wide range of organisations involved in, or connected with the language. Our research has identified a total of over 40 such bodies, which can be broadly categorised as follows:

❖ Language organisations (for example, Gorseth Kernow; Cornish Language Fellowship; Agan Tavas; and Teer ha Tavaz). These represent the three main forms of the language and all are represented on the Cornish sub-committee of EBLUL.

❖ Culture organisations (for example, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies; Cornish Eisteddfod; Lowender Peran Folk Festival) and bodies co-ordinating music and dance.

❖ Political and public life. The majority of local authorities have adopted a policy framework supportive of the language. Political organisations include Mebyon Kernow, COBER and The Celtic League.

❖ Media. Examples of organisations using media include small film and video enterprises, Celtic Film and Television Festival, local radio stations and the press, including Cornish language periodicals.

❖ Private sector enterprises. These relate primarily to Cornish language literature activities, with three specialist bookshops setting up throughout Cornwall since 1997, and a small business wholesaling in Cornish language materials.

❖ Religious life. This is co-ordinated by the Bishops Advisory Group and services are held across a number of denominations.

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

7.6 FUNDING AND SUPPORT

It appears that organisations and individuals involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish language have received little in the way of funding over the last 20 years. We have identified third party funding of approximately £50,000. This probably reflects the generally small scale nature of these organisations over this time. However, there has been some funding activity during the 1990s, albeit for relatively small amounts. One of the main sources of funding has been local authorities; while South West Arts has provided the largest single source of funding, supporting Verbal Arts Cornwall entirely with £21,000 annual funding. There have also been a small number of successful applications to the European Commission DG XXII, under the Minority Languages programme.

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

In addition, funding programmes delivered under Objective 5b (eg ERDF) and LEADER II during the 1990s generally required assisted projects to demonstrate an economic benefit for the area; it is therefore unlikely that Cornish language organisations would have had successful applications specifically for language-related activities over this period.

The Department of Education and Employment (DfEE) was also consulted as part of the research. It advised of two funds that could potentially be sourced for Cornish language related activities: the Study Support Programme; and the Standards Fund.

The Study Support Programme, which is managed by the DfEE and administered at a local level by the local education authorities, provides funding to schools for various activities. Discussions with the DfEE indicate that the fund could provide a potential source of funding for the learning of the Cornish language out of school hours, as well as associated staffing costs. However, take up of funding is likely to depend on the priorities of local schools and the local education authority.

There are a number of institutional and funding changes currently taking place. For instance, RDAs have recently been established in England; and the Cornwall and Scilly Objective 1 Programme will commence during 2000. Discussions with the South West RDA, whose remit does not include cultural activities, indicate that it would be unlikely that funding would be available to Cornish language organisations for language-related activities.

In addition, a programme has been developed called Culture 2000, which has been designed to replace some of the cultural programmes operated by the European Commission during the 1990s. It will operate from 2000 to 2004, and has a total budget of 167 million ECU over its five years of operation. However, the eligibility for funding from this programme includes partnership activities involving cultural operators from at least three eligible countries, and it may be difficult therefore for Cornish language organisations to secure such funds given the current level of critical mass.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

LIST OF CONSULTEES

Organisation(s)	Individuals
Agan Tavas	Ray Chubb
Agan Yeth	Ken George
An Lyverji Kernewek	Denis Lamerton
An Gannas	Graham Sandercock Ann Sandercock
An Garrack	Neil Kennedy
Bishop's Advisory Committee on Cornish Services	Rev Brian Coombes
Bredereth Sen Jago	Hilary Shaw
The Celtic Congress	Ray Chubb
Celtic Film & Television Festival	Jenefer Lowe
The Celtic League	Martyn Miller
The Cornish Bureau for European Relations	D C Williams
Cornish Eisteddfod	George Ansell Rev Brian Coombes
Cornish Language Board	Wella Brown Graham Sandercock
Cornish Language Council	Bernard Deacon Richard Gendall
Cornish Language Sub-Committee Of European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages	George Ansell
Cornish National Committee	Jenefer Lowe
The Cornish Literary Guild	Richard Jenkin
Cornish Music Guild	Jim Pengelly
Cornish Music Projects	Francis Bennett Hillary Coleman
Cornwall Education Authority	Geoff Grigg
Cuntelles Kysgwlasek Keltek	Neil Plummer
Cussell an Tavas Kernuack	Neil Kennedy
Dalleth	Ann Sandercock
Gwynn ha Du	Malou George Paul Dunbar
Federation of Old Cornwall Societies	Richard Jenkin
Gorseth Kernow	Ann Jenkin George Ansell
Institute of Cornish Studies	Bernard Deacon Philip Payton Amy Hale
Just Cornish	Milo Perrin
Keskerth Kernewek	Ann Jenkin
London Association for Celtic Education	Philip Chadwick
Lowender Music Festival	Peggy Morris
Mebyon Kernow	Dick Cole
Pirate FM	Matthew Clarke
Ros Keltek	Jenefer Lowe
Teer ha Tavaz	Jan Gendall
University College, Faculty of Celtic Studies, Dublin	N J A Williams
Wild West Films	Bill Scott

Organisation(s)	Individuals
University of Plymouth, Department of Modern Languages	David Bickerton
Verbal Arts Cornwall	Bert Biscoe
Local Authorities	
Cornwall County Council	Jenefer Lowe Geoff Tait
Carrick District Council	Philip Heayn
North Cornwall District Council	David Brown
Elected Members	
Candy Atherton	MP
Andrew George	MP
Bert Biscoe	Cornwall County Council Carrick District Council
John Carley	Carrick District Council
Loveday Jenkin	Kerrier District Council
Neil Plummer	Cornwall County Council Kerrier District Council
Alastair Quinnell	Cornwall County Council
Individuals	
Peter Berresford Ellis	Historian/Cornish Language
Treeve Crago	Archivist, Gorseth Kernow
Richard Gendall	Language Scholar
Beatrice Kernow	Language Teacher
Jon Mills	Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Luton
G Pawley White	Past Grand Bard

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
IN CORNISH LANGUAGE HISTORY AND REVIVAL

CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN CORNISH LANGUAGE HISTORY

577	Battle of Dyrham: Southern Britons separated into forebears of presentday Welsh and Cornish
682	English advance to River Ottery.
710	English advance to Tamar - Lynher area.
722	Cornish victory and reegain of territory.
936	Conquest by Athelstan. Expulsion of Cornish from Exeter. Boundary at the Tamar.
1000	Manumissions in *Bodmin Gospels*.
1066	Norman Conquest - in Cornwall the 'Armorican Return'.
1100	Old Cornish Vocabulary *Vocabularium Cornicum*..
1198	Origins of Stannary Parliament
1201	First Charter of the Stannaries.
1264-65	Foundation of Glasney College, Penryn.
1337	Creation of Royal Duchy of Cornwall.
1340	*Charter Fragment.*
1348-51	First outbreak of the Black Death.
1350-1450	Compostion of *Ordinalia* (cycle of mystery pays) and Passion Poem *Pascon agan Arluth.*
1497	Cornish rising led by Michael Joseph An Gof and Thomas Flamank.
1504	Play of Saint Meriasek *Beunans Meriasek.*
1549	Prayer Book Rising.
1556-58	Tregear's translation of Bonner's *Homilies*.
1611	Creation drama *Gwryans an Bys* (William Jordan of Helston)
1642-49	Civil Wars.
1667	Last Cornish church services at Landewednack.
1675	Death of Richard Angwin.
1678	Last Cornish church services at Towednack.
1680	William Scawen (died 1689) *Antiquities Cornu-Britannic*.
1700	Edward Lhuyd (antiquary, philologist 1660 -1709) in Cornwall.

1703	Death of Nicholas Boson.
1707	Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*.
1716	Death of John Keigwin.
1730	Death of John Boson.
1741	Death of William Gwavas.
1743	Death of Thomas Tonkin.
1776	William Bodinar (died 1794) Letter in Cornish.
1777	Death of Dolly Pentreath of Mousehole (reputedly last speaker of Cornish.)
1790	William Pryce's *Archaelogia Cornu-Britannica*.
1826-28	Davies Gilbert publishes John Keigwin's version of *Pascon agan Arluth*., and Jordan's *Gwreans an Bys*
1859	Edwin Norris's *Ancient Cornish Drama*.
1861	Whitley Stokes' *Pascon agan Arluth*.
1861	Rogers' *Vocabulary of the Cornish Language.*
1863	Robert Williams' *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum.*
1868	Jacob George's collection *Old Cornish Words* (Mousehole and Newlyn)
1869	Discovery of *Beunans Meriasek*, published 1872 by Whitley Stokes.
1870	R.S. Charnock's collection of Cornish words.
1871	John Bannister's collection of Cornish words.
1877	Henry Jenner (1848 - 1934) discovers and publishes *Charter Fragment*.
1880	Miss M.A. Courtney and T. Quiller Couch *Glossary of Words Used in Cornwall*.
1890	W. S. Lach-Szyrma's *The Last Lost Languages of Europe.*
1891	Death of John Davey of Boswednack (born 1812 at St. Just) reputedly the last with traditional knowledge of Cornish

CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN CORNISH LANGUAGE REVIVAL

1901-1903   L. Duncombe-Jewell secretary Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak (The Celtic Cornish Society).

1904   Henry Jenner (Gwas Myghal) publishes 'A Handbook of the Cornish Language'. Uses a Late Cornish spelling system.
Cornwall admitted to Celtic Congress - Jenner's 'Caernarfon Telegramme'.

1906   Robert Morton Nance (Mordon) moves from Wales and settles at Nancledra.

1909   Jenner retires and settles at Hayle.

1920   First Old Cornwall Society at St. Ives.

1924   Federation of Old Cornwall Societies established.

1925   Federation establishes periodical 'Old Cornwall'.

1928   Gorseth Kernow inaugurated at Boscawen-Un.

1929   Robert Morton Nance published 'Cornish for All' in 'Unified' Middle Cornish spelling system.

1931   A.S.D. Smith (Caradar) publishes 'Lessons in Spoken Cornish'

1932   Gorseth receives first 'language bards ' by examination.

1933   Cornish language classes established by Old Cornwall Federation in seven locations.
First church service in Cornish since late 17th Cent., at Towednack.
Tyr ha Tavas (Land and Language) youth movement founded by Dr. E.H. Hambly.

1933-6   A.S.D. Smith resident in Cornwall.

1934   Nance and Smith publish 'English-Cornish Dictionary'
'Kernow' magazine in Cornish started. Continued until 1936.
Death of Jenner.

1935   First radio broadcast.

1938   Nance publishes 'Cornish-English Dictionary'.

1939   A.S.D. Smith publishes 'Cornish Simplified'.

1949   Tregear Homilies discovered.

1950   Death of A.S.D. Smith.

1951   Publication of Smith's 'Trystan hag Ysolt'
Mebyon Kernow founded.

1952   'New Cornwall' magazine started. Continued to 1973.
'An Lef Kernewek' (The Cornish Voce) founded. Continued to 1983.

1959   Death of Robert Morton Nance.

1961   P.A.S. Pool publishes 'Cornish for Beginners'.

1962   Cornish Hymn Book and Psalter published.

1967   Kesva an Tavas Kernewek - the Cornish Language Board established.

1972   Institute of Cornish Studies established at Pool.

1974   Bishop of Truro's Advisory Group on Worship in Cornish.

1976   'An Gannas' (The Ambassador) magazine establised. Now continues as principal organ in Kemmyn.

1978   First Lowender Peran Festival. Cornish Lectionary published.

1979   Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek (Cornish language Fellowship) and Dalleth (Beginning) established

1984   State of Language Report.

1985-88   GCE scheme in Cornish at Pool. Continued to 1996 as GCSE.

1986   Ken George publishes 'The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish' - precipitates Tripartite Split: Nance's Unified Cornish maintained by Agan Tavas. Richard Gendall researches and proposes Late Cornish.

1987   Language Board adopts Kernewek Kemmyn as standard - but undertakes to maintain examination system in Unfied.

1987   'An Garrack' (The Rock) bi-monthly magazine in Late/Modern Cornish established.

1988   Cussell an Tavaz Kernuack (The Cornish Language Council) established as organising body for Late/Modern Cornish.

1988-1996   'Delyow Derow' (Oak Leaves) literary magazine edited by Richard Jenkin.

1992   'An Gowsva' (The Talking Shop) twice yearly bilingual magazine in Unified CornIsh established.

1995   Cornish sub-committee established of U.K. Committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages.

1997   Keskerth Kernow (Cornwall Marches On!) commemorative march of 1497 Rising: St Keverne to Blackheath.

1999   Commemorative march of 1549 Prayer Book Rising .

2000   GOSW commissions An Academic Study on Cornish.
            Edward Lhuyd in Cornwall tercentenary.

APPENDIX D

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

CORNISH LANGUAGE ORGANISATIONS

CORNISH LANGUAGE ORGANISATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

A.   BACKGROUND

Name of organisation   …………………………………………………………………...

Interviewee   …………………………………………………………………...

Position within organisation   …………………………………………………………………...

B.   ABOUT THE ORGANISATION

1.   When was your organisation formed?

        ………………..

2.   What, if any, periods of dormancy have there been since that time?

        From ………..   to   ………………….

3.   Please describe the main objectives of your organisation. To:

        a   …………………………………………………………………………………

        b   …………………………………………………………………………………

        c   …………………………………………………………………………………

        d   …………………………………………………………………………………

4a.   For the most recently completed financial year what was your organisation's level of:

        Income   £   ………………..

        Expenditure   £   ………………..

4b.   How, if at all, have these levels of income and expenditure changed in the last five years?

        Increased   ☐
        Unchanged   ☐
        Decreased   ☐
        Don't Know   ☐

        Details

        ………………………………………………………………………………………….

        ………………………………………………………………………………………….

        ………………………………………………………………………………………….

5a. How is this income figure broken down between:

Members' subscriptions/purchases [ ] %

Donations/fundraising from individuals other than members [ ] %

Sales (eg publications) to non-members [ ] %

Third party funding [ ] %

TOTAL = 100%

5b. Please provide details of any third party funding which your organisation received within the most recently completed financial year (Probe re organisations; amount of funding; whether funding is regular or a one-off)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

6. Apart from any contributions received in the most recent year can you please give details of any past third party funding that your organisation has received?

a. Organisation …………………………………………………………………...

Amount (£) …………………

b. Organisation …………………………………………………………………...

Amount (£) …………………

c. Organisation …………………………………………………………………...

Amount (£) …………………

7. Have you made any unsuccessful applications to third parties for funding?

Yes [ ] **GO TO Q8**
No – all have been successful [ ] **GO TO Q10**
No – have made no applications [ ] **GO TO Q9**

8. Could you please provide details of these, including your understanding of the reasons why the application was unsuccessful?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

GO TO Q10

9. Why have you made no such applications?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Could you please list the range of potential funders of your organisation

Organisation ……………………..   Location   ………………………..

Organisation ……………………..   Location   ………………………..

Organisation ……………………..   Location   ………………………..

C.   **ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN**

11. Please describe the main activities undertaken by your organisation

a …………………………………………………………………………………………

b …………………………………………………………………………………………

c …………………………………………………………………………………………

d …………………………………………………………………………………………

12. Can you please give details on the amount of activity your organisation undertakes?   (eg frequency of meetings, number of newsletters produced per annum, number of events held)

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

13. How, if at all, has this amount of activity changed within the last five years?

Increased   ☐
Unchanged   ☐
Decreased   ☐
Don't Know   ☐

Details

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

14. What use is made of the Cornish language within your organisation, as follows:

a. Internal oral communication

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. Internal written communication

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. External written communication

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

15. Does your organisation currently, or did it previously, offer any **classes** in the Cornish language?

Yes ☐ **GO TO Q16**
No ☐ **GO TO Q17**

16. Can you please provide the following details about these classes:

a. Frequency

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. Location

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. Level (eg beginner, intermediate)……………………………..

and to what extent do students achieve levels :

use simple phrases ………………
get by in simple situations ………………
get by in general conversation ………………
hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics……………….

discuss a complex subject ………………

d.   Numbers attending

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e.   Type of individuals attending (eg gender, age, place of residence, socio-economic)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

f.   Coverage of cultural/heritage aspects as well as simply language

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

g.   Changes in provision (if relevant, probe for reasons for classes no longer being continued)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

h.   Any certificates/qualifications awarded to individuals on completion of classes

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

i.   Skills/qualifications required in order to teach classes

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

17.   Does your organisation organise any events and festivals that are attended by people other than your members?

Yes   ☐   **GO TO Q18**
No   ☐   **GO TO Q20**

18. Could you please describe these, in terms of their:

a. Frequency

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. Regularity

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

19. Could you please provide the following information about events and festivals that you have organised (if frequent/regular ask about most recent ones)

a. Years held/Location

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. Purpose of the event/festival

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. Numbers attending

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. Any information on profile of attendees

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

D. **PROFILE OF MEMBERSHIP**

20. Are you a membership organisation?

Yes   ☐   **GO TO Q21**
No   ☐   **GO TO Q35**

21. How many members does your organisation presently have?

…………………………..

22. How, if at all, has this number changed within the last five years?

Increased ☐   by …………………….
Unchanged ☐
Decreased ☐   by …………………….
Don't Know ☐

23. What are the main reasons for this trend? (Probe for any changes in the profile of members, even where the total number is unchanged)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………….

24. How many of your members are able to speak Cornish effectively in terms of being able to:

a. hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics   ………….
b. discuss a complex subject   ………….

25. How many of your members have some more limited knowledge or ability in Cornish:

a. use simple phrases   …………
b. get by in simple situations   …………
c. get by in general conversation   …………

26. How many of your members are presently learning to speak the language?

………………..

27. How many of your members are able to write Cornish effectively

a. general everyday topics   ………….
b. specific specialised topics   ………….

28. How many of your members have some limited ability to write Cornish

a. use of simple phrases   ………….
b. get by in simple written situations   ………….
c. more general Cornish   ………….

29. How many of your members are presently learning to write in Cornish?

………………..

30. How would you divide your membership between:

Active members   ………………..%

Passive members   ………………..%

31. Could you please provide some details of your membership, as far as possible, in terms of:

a. Gender

	% of membership
Men	
Women	

b. Age

Age	% of membership
16-24	
25-44	
45-59	
60+	

c. Place of Residence

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. Employment status (eg working, unemployed, student, retired)

Age	% of membership
Working	
Housewife/husband	
Unemployed	
Student	
Retired	

e. Place of birth

	% of membership
Cornwall	
Outside Cornwall (but with Cornish connections)	
Outside Cornwall (and no Cornish connections)	

32. Please describe any significant variations in the profile of active as opposed to passive members

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

33. Could you please describe any overlap of membership between your organisation and other Cornish language organisations (Probe for main other organisations to which members belong and extent of overlap)

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

E. **USE OF CORNISH BY MEMBERS OF ORGANISATION**

34. Thinking about the use of Cornish by your members in their everyday lives, could you please describe their use of the language in the following domains. **(Note: For each category ask respondent to give an approximate percentage of members making each of these type of uses)**

a. The Home

    (i) as the general everyday family language ....

    (ii) in bringing up children as native speakers   ....

    (iii) or in other ways   ....

b. Public Domain (in a social context outside the home)

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. Dealings with third party organisations (eg local authorities)

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. Workplace

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e. Cultural activities

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

f. Is there a tradition of the use of Cornish in each of the above (a-e) ways:

Over the past century

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

More recently

………..

………..

………..

………..

How have these uses changed over those time periods?

………..

………..

………..

………..

F.   <u>**LINKS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS**</u>

35.   Please describe the main links that you have with other organisations active in Cornish that **are based in Cornwall** (including language organisations and local agencies)

Organisation 1

Name ……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

…….

…….

Nature of links

…….

…….

Outcomes from these links

…….

…….

Organisation 2

Name   …………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

…….

…….

Nature of links

…….

…….

Outcomes from these links

…….

…….

Organisation 3

Name   …………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

…….

…….

Nature of links

…….

…….

Outcomes from these links

…….

…….

36. Please describe links with other Celtic language organisations that are **based outwith Cornwall**

    a. Other Cornish language related organisations

Organisation 1

Name …………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Nature of links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Outcomes from these links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Organisation 2

Name …………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Nature of links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Outcomes from these links

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

b.   Other Celtic language organisations

Organisation 1

Name   ……………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Nature of links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Outcomes from these links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Organisation 2

Name   ……………………………………………………………………………………………..

Purpose of links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Nature of links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

Outcomes from these links

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

G.   **ACTIVITIES OF OTHER ORGANISATIONS**

37.   What do you see as the main organisations active in the Cornish language in the following spheres of activity?

a.   **academic/research**

           ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

           ………………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. **language promotion**

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. **educational provision (including pre-school)**

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. **publishing/media**

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e. **cultural (eg choirs, dramatic associations, writers clubs, religious groups)**

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

H. **GENERAL USE OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE**

Would you personally or on behalf of your organisation be able to give an estimation of:-

38. The total number of effective Cornish speakers at the present time that:

a. hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics ……….

b. discuss a complex subject ……….

39 **a.** The total number of adults (16+) currently learning Cornish

…………

b. The total number of people under 16 years of age currently learning Cornish

…………

40. The total number of people using Cornish in family life

…………

41. The total number of children who are being brought up:

a. as a native Cornish speaker ………

b. with some knowledge of Cornish in other ways ………

details

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

42. The socio-economic profile of those using the Cornish language

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

43. The overall place of the Cornish language within the life of Cornwall

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

44. What do you see as having been the main trends in use of the Cornish language within the last twenty years (probe for main areas/groups seeing particular growth or decline)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

45. What are the main reasons that explain these trends?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

46. Are you aware of any sources of information that document everyday usage of the Cornish language or reports that provide information on the language?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

I. **VARIETIES OF CORNISH**

47. What are your/your organisation's views on the development of the three present day varieties of Cornish?

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

48. Does this situation of different varieties of Cornish in present day use create any particular problems in general or for your activities/your organisation in particular?

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

LOCAL AUTHORITY/FUNDERS

LOCAL AUTHORITY/FUNDERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of organisation ……………………………………………………………………...

Interviewee ……………………………………………………………………...

Position within organisation ……………………………………………………………………...

A. **THE ROLE OF YOUR ORGANISATION**

1. Does your organisation have any written statements/strategies which mention or are specifically related to support to the Cornish language?

Yes ☐ **GO TO Q2**
No ☐ **GO TO Q3**

2. Can you please give details of these? (such as date of completion; obligations imposed upon organisation; extent to which support to the language is an obligation across different departments; basis on which the policies were compiled – consultations with other Celtic language bodies and degree of public/organisational consultation – agree to access relevant documentation)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

3. Does your organisation have any staff whose specific remit includes support to the language?

Yes ☐
No ☐

If yes please provide details (number of staff, grade, responsibilities regarding the language)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

4a. What activities can your organisation undertake **at its own hand** to assist the development of the Cornish language?

1 ....

2 ....

3 ....

4 ....

4b. What forms of assistance can your organisation offer to **third parties** involved in development of the Cornish language? (including in-kind assistance)

1 ....

2 ....

3 ....

4 ....

5. In what ways do you publicise the availability of such assistance?

....

....

....

6. Please describe the processes whereby organisations can receive such assistance.

....

....

....

....

7. What criteria are stipulated for their receiving assistance? (eg detailed application, match funding requirements, monitoring of project outcomes, need to demonstrate economic benefits)

....

....

....

....

....

....

8. What, if any, animation has your organisation undertaken to generate projects and activities by relevant groups?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

LOCAL AUTHORITY CONSULTEES GO TO Q9
OTHER FUNDING BODIES GO TO Q13

B. **PROMOTIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES BY OWN ORGANISATION**

9. **Excluding educational provision**, has your organisation undertaken any promotional activities relating to the language?

Yes ☐ **GO TO Q10**
No ☐ **GO TO Q11**

10. Can you please give the details of any such activities (including co-working with third parties including Cornish language organisations)

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

11. Do you have any links with organisations supporting other lesser-used languages?

Yes ☐ **GO TO Q12**
No ☐ **GO TO Q13**

12. Can you please provide details of these links?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

C. **FUNDING AND RESOURCE PROVISION**

13. Over a period up to the last 20 years, can you please provide details of assistance offered to groups involved in the promotion and development of the Cornish language?

a. **ORGANISATIONS FUNDED/ASSISTED**

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

b. **ACTIVITIES/PROJECTS FOR WHICH ASSISTANCE WAS PROVIDED**

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

c.   **TYPE AND LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED**

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

d.   **PROJECT/ACTIVITY OUTCOMES**

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

14.   What are the main factors that explain the number of cases and level of assistance given over this period ?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

15.   Have there been any unsuccessful applications for assistance from Cornish language organisations during this period?

Yes ☐

No   ☐

D.   GENERAL USE OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

Would you personally or on behalf of your organisation be able to give an estimation of:-

16.   The total number of effective Cornish speakers at the present time that:

a. hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics   ……….

b. discuss a complex subject   ……….

17.   a.   The total number of adults (16+) currently learning Cornish

…………

b.   The total number of people under 16 years of age currently learning Cornish

…………

18.   The total number of people using Cornish in family life

…………

19.   The total number of children who are being brought up:

a. as a native Cornish speaker   ………

b. with some knowledge of Cornish in other ways   ………

details

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

20.   The socio-economic profile of those using the Cornish language

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

21.   The overall place of the Cornish language within the life of Cornwall

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

22.   What do you see as having been the main trends in use of the Cornish language within the last twenty years (probe for main areas/groups seeing particular growth or decline)

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

23.   What are the main reasons that explain these trends?

……..

……..

……..

24.   How would you describe the present role of the language in Cornish life, specifically in terms of:

a.   public ceremonies and 'occasions'

……..

……..

b.   media and public communications

……..

……..

c.   the arts

……..

……..

d.   education

……..

……..

e.   economic activity, such as tourism

……..

……..

f.   Within the home

……..

……..

g.   Within the workplace

……..

……..

h.   Within other social settings
……..

……..

i.   In terms of written, as opposed to spoken, form

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

g.   Is there a tradition of the use of Cornish in each of the above (a-i) ways:

Over the past century

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

More recently

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

How have these uses changed over those time periods?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

25.   Are you aware of any sources of information that document everyday usage of the Cornish language or reports that provide information on the language?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

26.   What are your/your organisation's views on the development of the three present day varieties of Cornish?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

27.   Does this situation of different varieties of Cornish in present day use create any particular problems in general or for your activities/your organisation in particular?

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

EDUCATION PROVIDERS

CORNISH QUESTIONNAIRE: EDUCATION PROVIDERS

A. **BACKGROUND**

Name of organisation …………………………………………………………….……..

Interviewee …………………………………………………………….……..

Position within organisation …………………………………………………………….……..

2. Does your organisation have a strategy/policy statement specifically related to the provision of education in the Cornish language?

Yes ☐
No ☐

Details

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

3. Does your organisation have any staff employed **specifically** in relation to Cornish language activities?

Yes ☐
No ☐

Details

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

3. Does your organisation currently, or did it previously, offer any classes in the Cornish language?

Currently ☐
Previously ☐

Can you please provide the following details about these classes (also discuss trends over time)

4. Level (eg beginner, intermediate)……………………………..

and to what extent do students achieve levels :

use simple phrases ………………
get by in simple situations ………………
get by in general conversation ………………
hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics……………….
discuss a complex subject ………………

4. Frequency

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Location

……..

……..

……..

6. Numbers attending

……..

……..

……..

7. Number of weeks over which classes operate

……..

……..

……..

8. Fees Charged (if relevant)

……..

……..

……..

9. Course content (eg coverage of cultural/heritage aspects as well as simply language)

……..

……..

……..

10. Number of years over which the courses have run/were running

……..

……..

……..

11. Methods of promotion (probe for amount of financial resources dedicated to this aspect)

……..

……..

……..

12. Type of individuals attending (eg gender, age, place of residence, socio-economic)

……..

……..

……..

13. Details of any certificates/qualifications awarded to individuals on completion of classes

……..

……..

……..

14. Numbers of people who have successfully qualified from these courses over the past 20 years

……..

……..

……..

15. Skills/qualifications of teaching staff

……..

……..

……..

16. On-going course development (probe for role of third parties/other providers in informing course development, including links with other Celtic language organisations, such as Welsh)

……..

……..

……..

17. Where classes have been discontinued could you please state why this has been the case?

……..

……..

……..

18. What do you see as the main factors that explain the trends in numbers attending the classes?

……..

……..

……..

GENERAL QUESTIONS

19. Are you aware of any sources of information that document everyday usage of the Cornish language or reports that provide information on the language?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

20. What do you see as having been the main trends in use of the Cornish language within the last twenty years (probe for main areas/groups seeing particular growth or decline)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

21. What are the main reasons that explain these trends?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

22. How would you describe the present role of the language in Cornish life, specifically in terms of:

a.   public ceremonies and 'occasions'

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

b.   media and public communications

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

c.   the arts

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

d.   education

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e.   economic activity, such as tourism

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

f.   Within the home

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

g.   Within the workplace

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

h.   Within other social settings

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

i.   In terms of written, as opposed to spoken, form

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

g.   Is there a tradition of the use of Cornish in each of the above (a-i) ways:

Over the past century

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

More recently

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

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……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

How have these uses changed over those time periods?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………………………..

23.   What are your/your organisation's views on the development of the three present day varieties of Cornish?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

24.   Does this situation of different varieties of Cornish in present day use create any particular problems in general or for your activities/your organisation in particular?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

ELECTED MEMBERS

ELECTED MEMBERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Name .……………………………………………………….……………………...

Authority/Constituency .…………………………………………….………………..

1. On an **ex officio** basis, what are your own roles and responsibilities regarding the development of the Cornish language?

.……………………………………………………………………………………

.……………………………………………………………………………………

.……………………………………………………………………………………

.……………………………………………………………………………………

2. On a **personal** basis to which, if any, Cornish language organisations do you belong?

1 .………………………………………………………………………………

2 .………………………………………………………………………………

3 .………………………………………………………………………………

4 .………………………………………………………………………………

3. Who do you see as the main organisations involved in the development of the Cornish language?

a. **academic/research**

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. **language promotion**

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. **educational provision (including pre-school)**

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

.………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. **publishing/media**

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e. **cultural (eg choirs, dramatic associations, writers clubs, religious groups)**

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

4. How would you describe the present role of the language in Cornish life, specifically in terms of:

a. public ceremonies and 'occasions'

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

b. media and public communications

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

c. the arts

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

d. education

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

e. economic activity, such as tourism

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

f. Within the home

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

g.   Within the workplace

        ……..

        ……..

h.   Within other social settings
        ……..

        ……..

i.   In terms of written, as opposed to spoken, form

        ……..

        ……..

g.   Is there a tradition of the use of Cornish in each of the above (a-i) ways:

        Over the past century

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

        More recently

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

        How have these uses changed over those time periods?

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

        ……..

5. What do you see as having been the main sources of assistance/ funding for the development of the Cornish language within the last 20 years?

....

....

....

6. How would you describe the general perceptions of your constituents regarding the Cornish language?

....

....

....

USE OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

Can you please provide your own views on the use of the language as follows:

7. The total number of effective Cornish speakers at the present time that:

a. hold a general conversation at ordinary speed on everyday topics ....

b. discuss a complex subject ....

8 **a.** The total number of adults (16+) currently learning Cornish

....

b. The total number of people under 16 years of age currently learning Cornish

....

9. The total number of people using Cornish in family life

....

10. The total number of children who are being brought up:

a. as a native Cornish speaker ....

b. with some knowledge of Cornish in other ways ....

details

....

....

11. The socio-economic profile of those using the Cornish language

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

12. What do you see as having been the main trends in use of the Cornish language within the last twenty years (probe for main areas/groups seeing particular growth or decline)

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

13. What are the main reasons that explain these trends?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

14. Are you aware of any sources of information that document everyday usage of the Cornish language or reports that provide information on the language?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

15. What are your views on the development of the three present day varieties of Cornish?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

16. Does this situation of different varieties of Cornish in present day use create any particular problems in general or for your activities/your organisation in particular?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

APPENDIX E

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APPENDIX F

ADDITIONAL STATISTICAL DATA, GRAPHS AND MAPS

Figure I
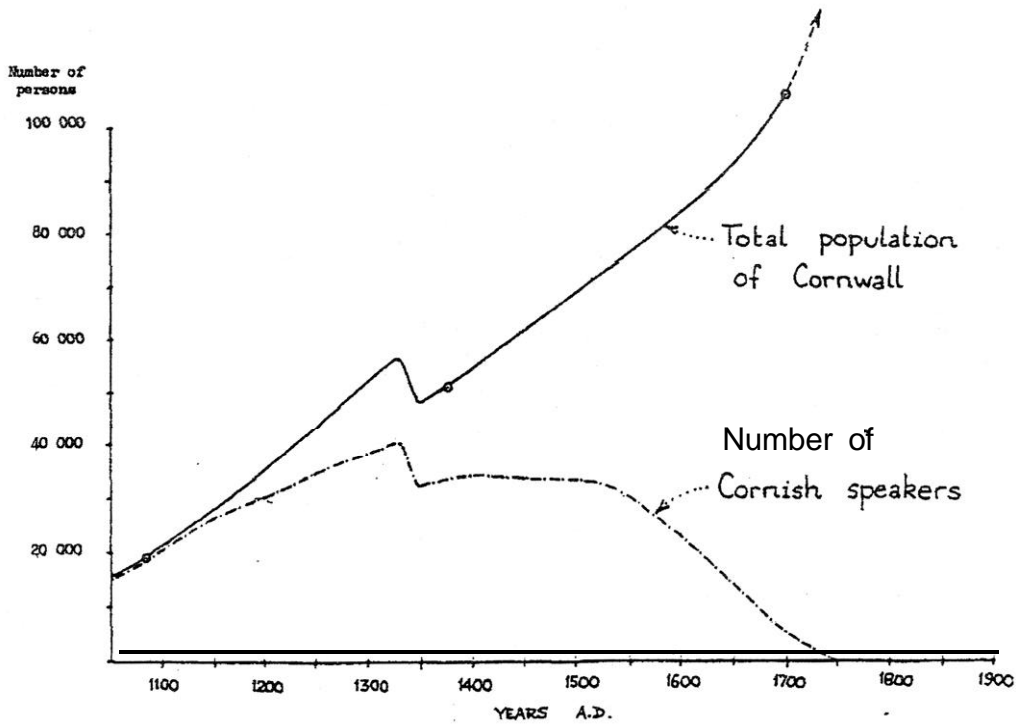
Source: Ken George (1986) 'How many people spoke Cornish traditionally?'
in Cornish Studies 14 (19%) pp. 67 - 70 (With author's permission)

Note: The author observes that numbers in the sixteenth century should be
revised to take account of loss of life in and after the 1549 Rising
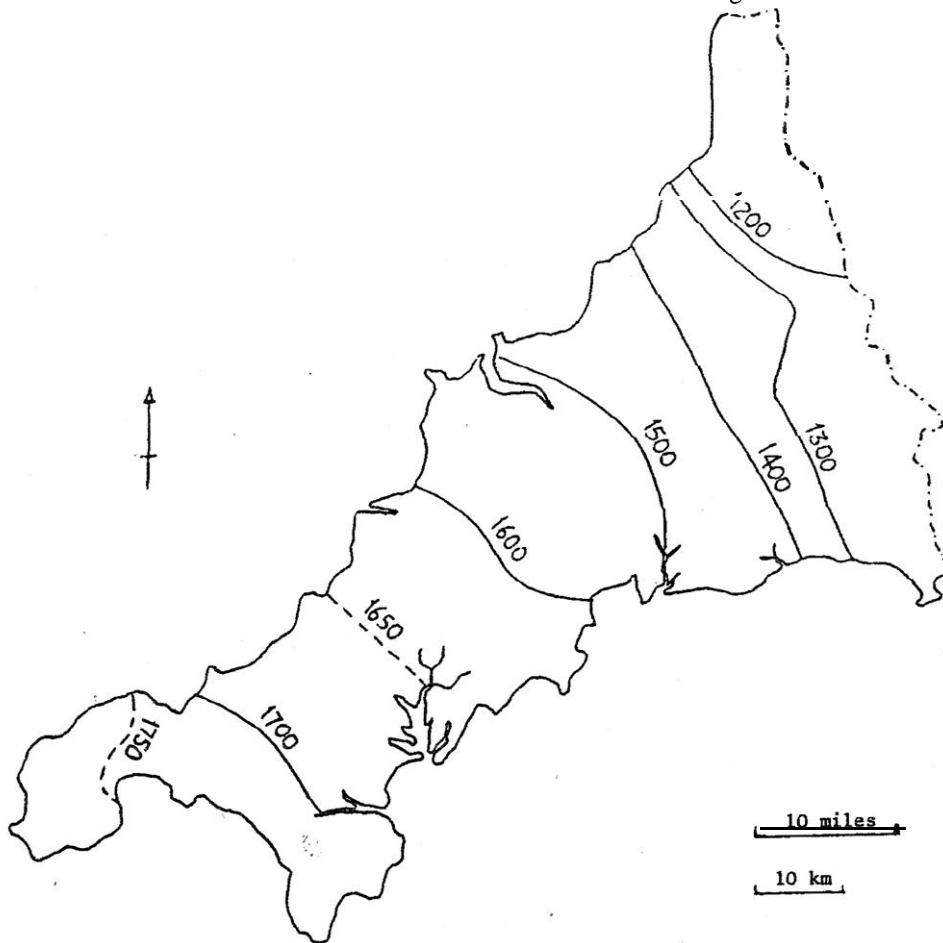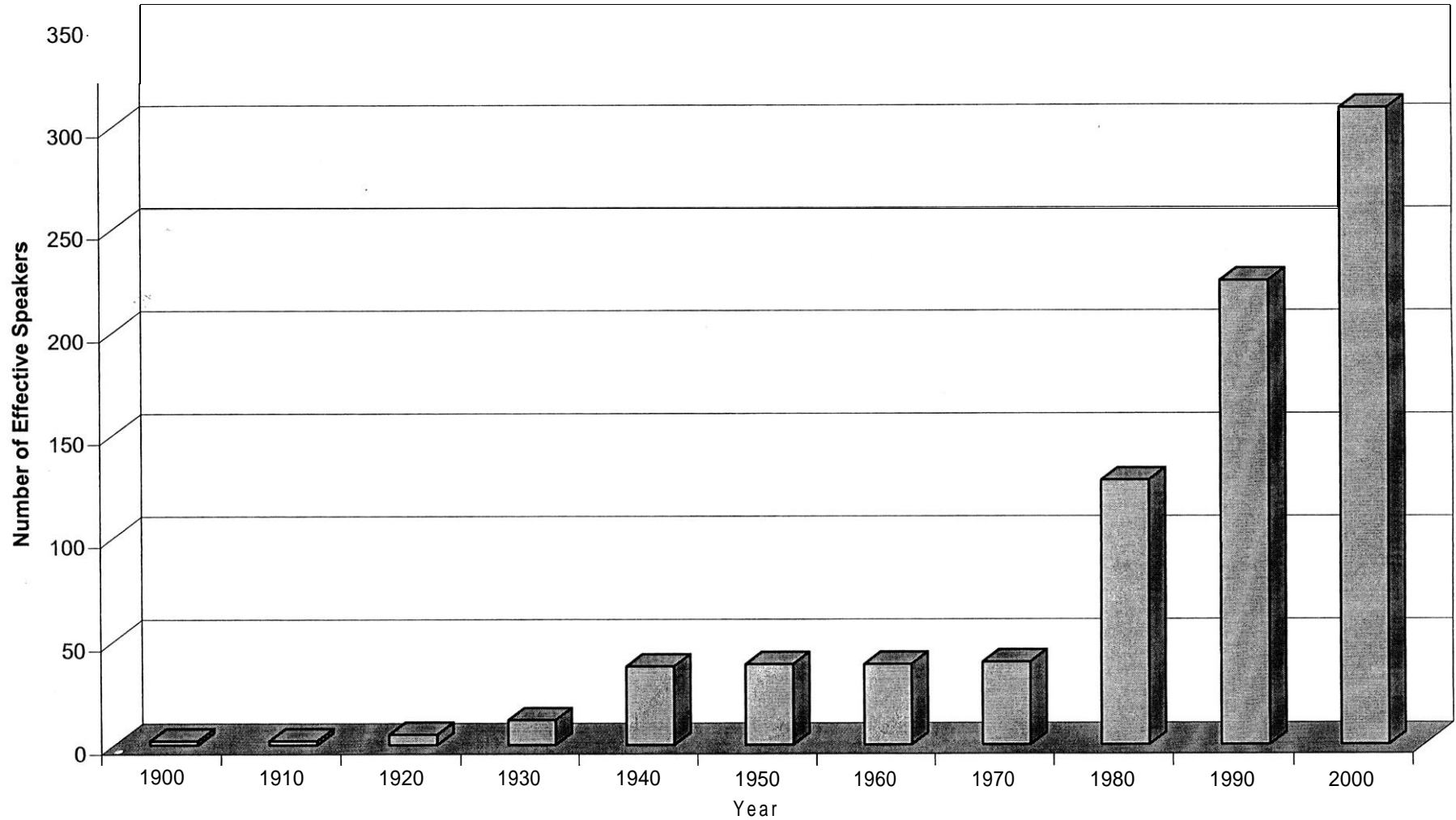

Fig. 2   THE RETREAT OF CORNISH

The western part of this map is based on contemporary statements; the eastern part on a conference paper by Holmes (1979).

Source: Ken George (1986) 'How many people spoke Cornish traditionally?',
in Cornish Studies 14.(1986) pp. 67 - 70. (With author's permission).

FIGURE 3: THE REVIVAL OF CORNISH IN THE 20th CENTURY

Sources: AS D Smith (1947) The Story of the Cornish Language, Camborne pp12-14
P Berresford Ellis (1974) Cornish Language and Literature, London pp152-170
Treeve Cargo - Gorseth Kernow archives; Jane Ninnis State of Language statistics

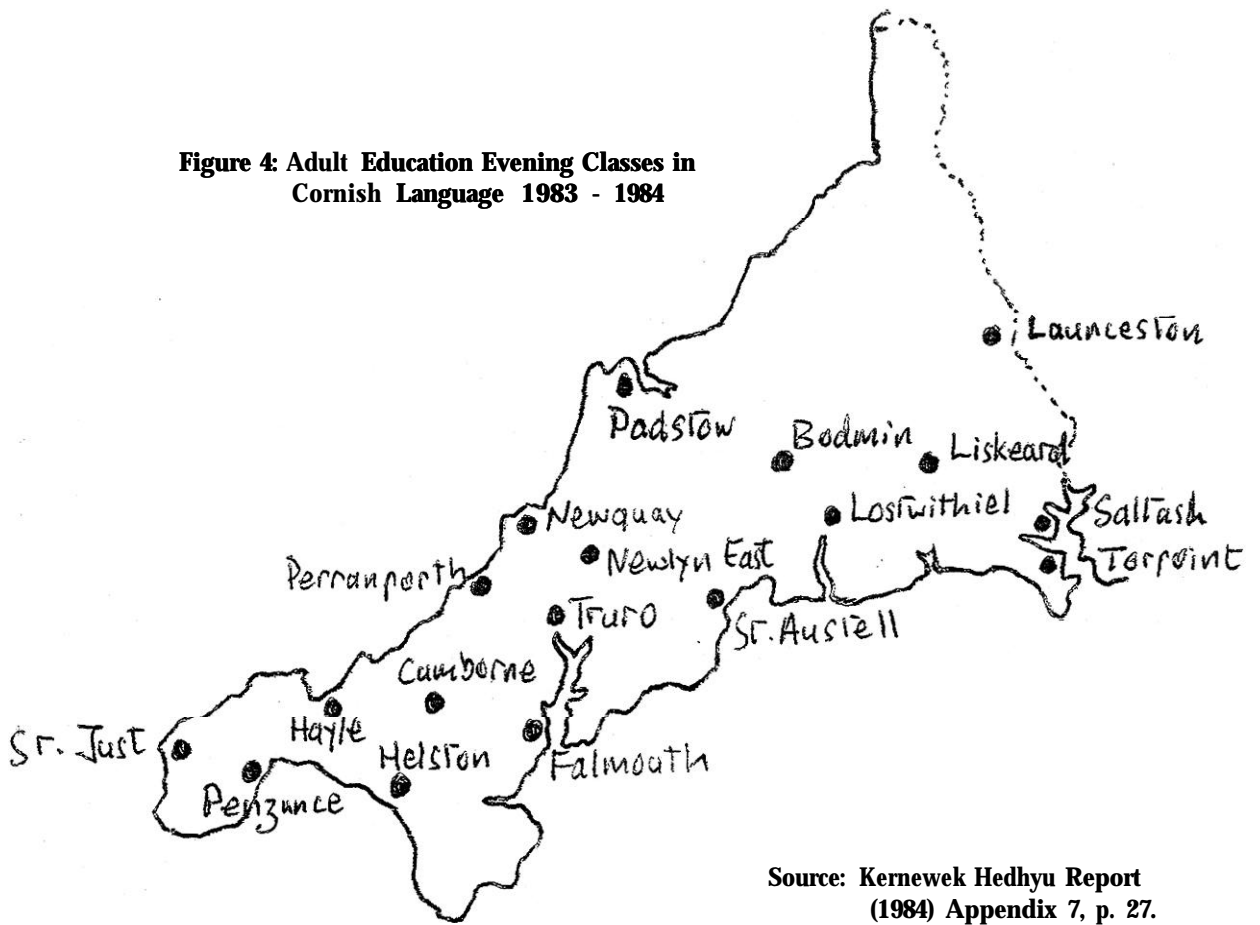**Figure 4: Adult Education Evening Classes in Cornish Language 1983 - 1984**

Source: Kernewek Hedhyu Report
(1984) Appendix 7, p. 27.

Figure 5: Adult Education Evening Classes in Cornish Language 1999 - 2000

Unified	●
Kemmyn	✳
Late/Modern	☐

source: Loveday Jenkin, Jane
Ray Chubb, Neil
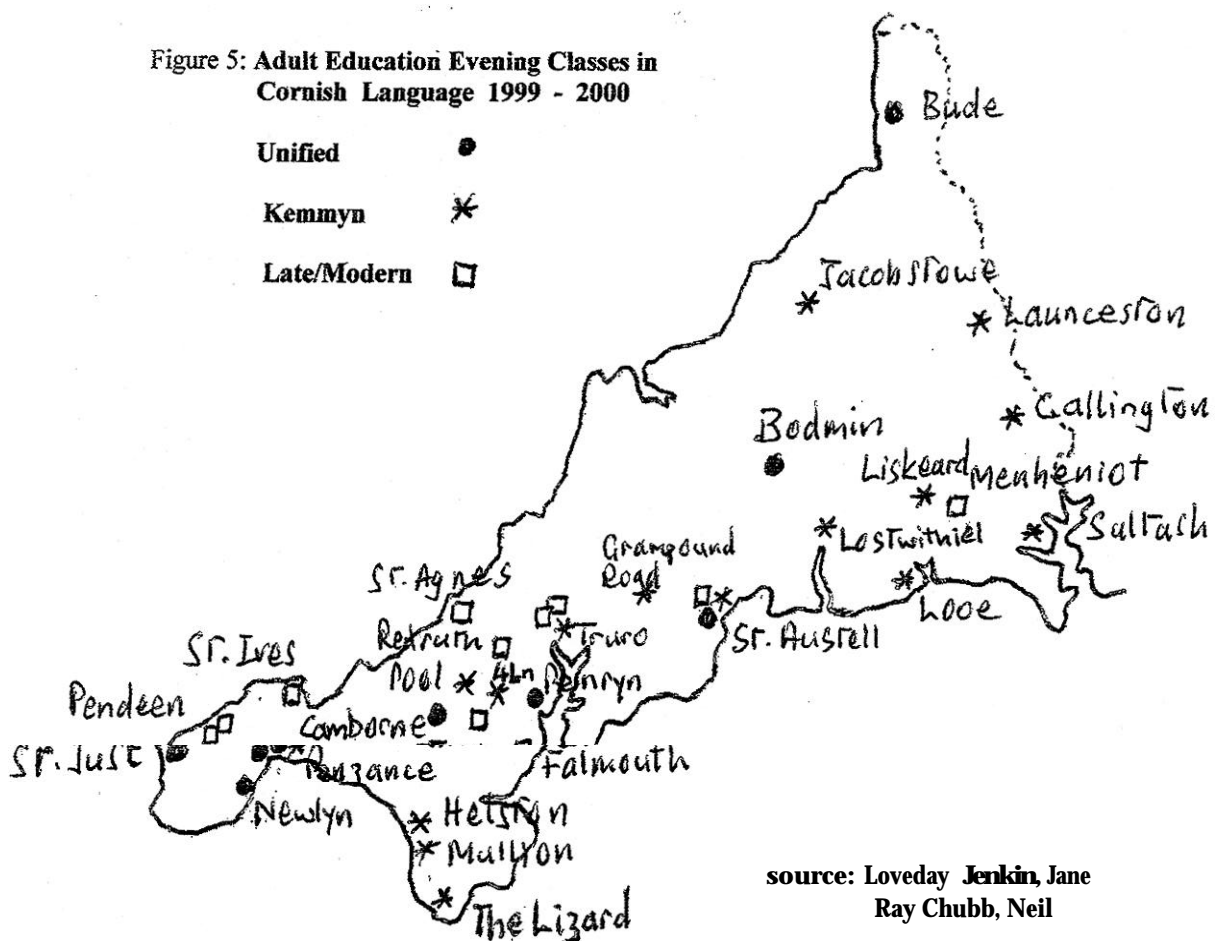
Figure 6: Schools with Cornish-language classes or Clubs 1983 - 1984

Primary   ●

Secondary   ◇

Bodmin ●

Liskeard ◇

Sr. Stephens ●   ● Saltash

Camborne ◇ ● Troon
●

Source: Ken George (1984) in 'Kernewek Hedhyu Report.
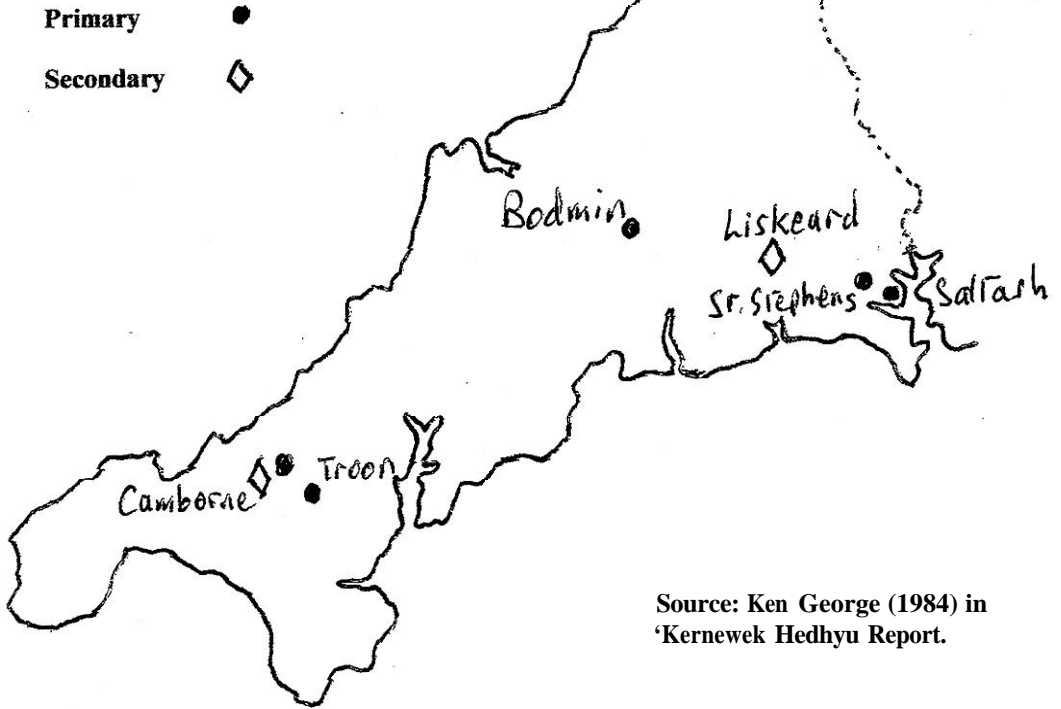
Figure 7: Schools with Cornish-language classes or clubs 1999 - 2000

Primary   ●

secondary   ◇

Coad's Green ●

Sr. Neot ●

◇ Liskeard

Newquay ◇ Tretherras

Saltash ●

Trevew ● ◇ Truro

Weeth ● ◇ Pool

Ludgvan ● ● Roskear

Godolphin ● ◇ Sr. Mawes

Heamoor ● ● Wendron

● Boskenwyn

Helston ●
Sr. Michael's

Source: Geoff Griggs (2000) Modern Languages Advisor, Cornwall Education Authority
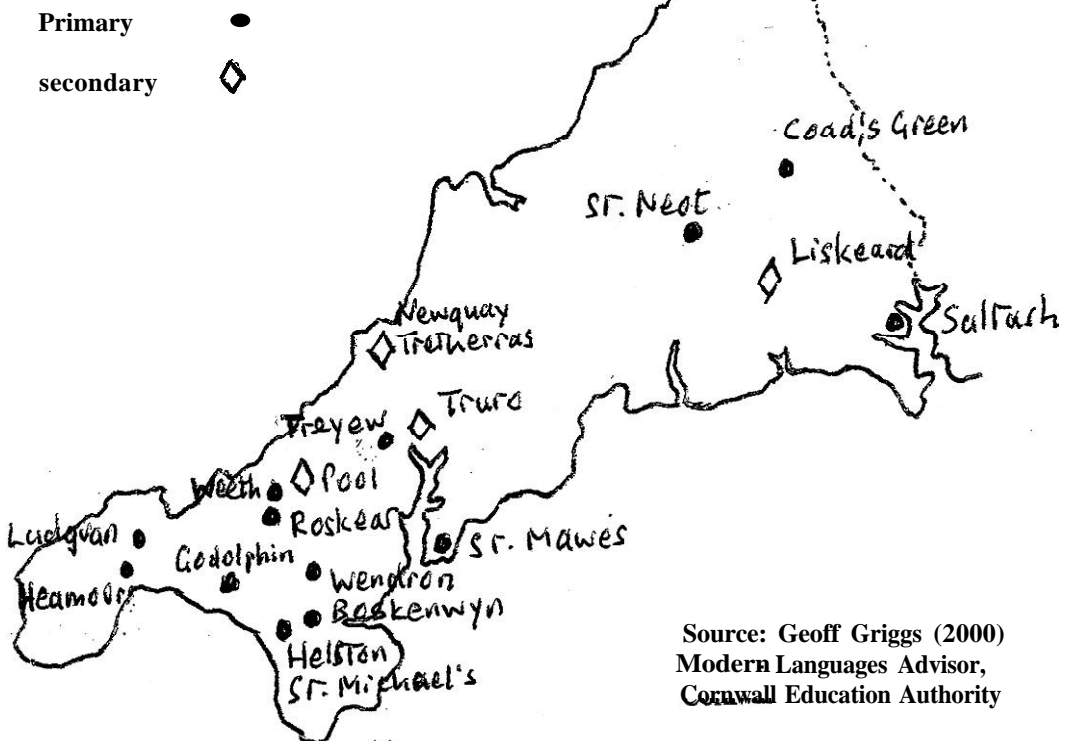
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