The Promotion of Cornish:
Establishing strategies in view of the Basque experience in Trebiñu

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DECLARATION

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"*Nescimus hungarice loqui (we do not know Hungarian), we are not able to speak in our own mother tongue, we will only have to learn it*"

Inaugural address in Latin by Professor Miklós Révai at the University of Pest, Hungary, in 1802 (Margócsy, 2015: 33)

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the situation of Cornish and strategies that could be applied in order to restore it as a community language in Cornwall and Scilly. The first step undertaken was to determine the position and usage of Cornish in public and private domains, and speakers and non-speakers' attitudes towards the promotion of the language. A questionnaire was designed to elicit information from the population of Cornwall and Scilly in relation to key areas. Interviews, observation and consultation of censuses and other studies were also employed to enable a wider perspective on the topic. The results show that the low level of fluency in Cornish, often due to it being considered an identity marker rather than as a communication tool, remains the main factor affecting Cornish speaker attitudes and language use. The study also highlights the division between Cornish nationals, often favourable to the promotion of the language, and non-Cornish, who are generally apathetic or opposed to such promotion. Trebiñu, in Spain, was proposed as a model for language revitalisation. In this region, Basque was totally substituted by Spanish in the late 1700s. However, nowadays, approximately half of the population are Basque speakers. Rather than a comparison of the two cases, an identification of strengths and weaknesses as well as successful strategies employed in Trebiñu were identified in order to adapt them to the Cornish context. In Trebiñu, evidence shows how a community can be influential in recovering and maintaining a language, despite continued lack of support from official institutions. The Cornish speaking community may find a similar approach beneficial in order to make their language not only a living reality but also an actual tool for communication.

ABBREVIATIONS/GLOSSARY

Euskaldun: Basque speaker.

Euskal Herria: All the Basque territories in Spain France.

Euskara: The Basque language.

Euskara Batua: Unified Basque. Official spelling used by governments and education institutions.

FSS: *Furv Skrifys Savonek* (Standard Written Form). Variety of Cornish spelling introduced in 2008 as a compromise orthography. It is the only spelling used by Cornwall Council and it is also used by the main language organisations alongside other spellings.

Ikastola: A Basque medium school.

Kernewek: (also *Kernowek*) The Cornish language.

KK: *Kernewek Kemmyn* (Common Cornish). Variety of Cornish spelling proposed by Ken George in 1986.

KN: *Kernuack Nowedga* (Late Cornish). Variety of Cornish spelling based on the last stages of written traditional Cornish proposed by Richard Gendall in the 1980s.

KS: *Kernowek Standard* or *Kernowak Standard* (Standard Cornish). Variety of Cornish spelling first published as a draft proposal in 2007 (KS1) and as a practical orthography in 2012 (KS).

KU: *Kernewek Unyes* (Unified Cornish). Variety of Cornish spelling developed by Robert Morton Nance in the 1930s.

KUA: *Kernowek Unys Amendys* (Unified Cornish Revised). Variety of Cornish spelling proposed by Nicholas Williams in the 1990s.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a sociolinguistic investigation to link findings on language use in Cornwall with findings on language attitudes of both Cornish-speakers and non-Cornish speakers. As such, it joins a small but growing body of work on the process of revitalisation of the Cornish language. The aim of carrying out such a study was to map the linguistic position of Cornish, to determine the reasons for this, and to consider strategies based on the example of the Basque-speaking region of Trebiñu in Spain, which may be adapted and applied, in order to continue promoting the Cornish language and increase its use in society.

From a theoretical point of view, this study adds to the discussion in two significant areas. Firstly, it contributes in terms of the steps needed to successfully revive dead or quasi-dead languages in a western-industrialised context. Secondly, the findings on language policy and strategies from this study provide some guidance with regard to the implementation of strategies that could help governments, organisations and individuals to reinforce their sense of community and strengthen their need to preserve their language without conflicting with the needs of industrial and social development in their countries and regions.

0.1 CONTEXT FOR THE STUDY

According to recent research, more than a half of the approximately 6,000 languages spoken nowadays may disappear during the twenty-first century (Harrison, 2007: 7). Although some of these languages are only spoken by a handful of people in remote areas in some countries and islands, others have developed a substantial body of literature and are still spoken by thousands or even hundreds of thousands of individuals, showing that language endangerment may rapidly affect almost any language. On the other hand, for languages such as Nahuatl or Hebrew to mention two examples, history has run in the opposite direction. For a time, they were either moribund or no-longer spoken languages. However, due to ideals involving rights and identity, and to the implementation of certain key strategies, they have been brought back to life. Nevertheless, the process is not an easy one. In order to revitalise a language, there must be an effort to counteract both the circumstances that undermined the vitality of the language in the past and those that may impede the language to progress in its new life.

There is no mathematical formula to achieve success in language revitalisation. In fact, as Appel and Muysken point out, sociolinguistics is not like chemistry, and when two languages are put together the same thing does not always happen (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 5). People, attitudes and circumstances vary depending on governments, policies and other mainly-human factors. Nevertheless, since language revitalisations are not isolated cases and good intentions are not enough, it is important for language planners and for other individuals attempting the revitalisation of the Cornish language, to study the revitalisation of other languages that exist under relatively similar circumstances.

0.2 THE CHOICE OF CORNISH AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY

Due to his Celtic heritage, the researcher decided to learn Cornish during the 1990s. After a while, he realised that the Cornish speaking community was not like the other minority/regional language speaking communities that he knew. For a long time, he had seen how in Spain, non-Castilian languages had reappeared in public life gaining more and more domains despite the still rather negative views from many people and political parties. Some languages had become official in the autonomous communities where they are spoken, while others had received some recognition and many people and some local authorities and companies had started to use them. Therefore, in a once centralist country where all the languages except Spanish had been almost hidden for decades, it became absolutely normal to hear Catalan on television or to see publicity written in Asturian-Leonese. The same was true in other countries with minority languages, where the researcher has been living, such as Hungary, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan and others. However, that was not the case for Cornish in a country with a stronger democratic tradition than most of the countries in the world. Despite having hundreds of students and not being forbidden, Cornish was literally invisible in Cornwall until the early 2000s. This situation raised several questions in the mind of the researcher. The first one was '*why?*'. Why after a hundred years of revitalisation Cornish is not widely spoken? Who or what is to blame? How proficient are Cornish speakers? And the most important, how can Cornish get the necessary strength to become a language spoken by a noticeable percentage of the inhabitants of Cornwall and maybe Scilly? Undoubtedly, having the answer to these questions may be the first step in improving the situation of Cornish. It was evident that, in order to change the situation of Cornish, it was necessary to do an in-depth, large study. It would also be necessary to look for a successful model of language revitalisation where to find ideas. This model was identified in the Enclave of Trebiñu. How the study was designed and the reasons to choose Trebiñu are explained in Chapter 2.

This thesis, therefore, focuses on two languages spoken in two different geographical areas, the first one is situated in the south-west of the United Kingdom, namely in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. The second one is located in the Enclave of Trebiñu, in northern Spain. The following section will provide the reader with some insight into both languages and areas.

0.3 CORNISH, CORNWALL AND SCILLY

0.3.1 THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

The Cornish language (*Kernewek* or *Kernowek*) is one of the three living members of the Brythonic family, the other two being Welsh and Breton. The appearance of Cornish as a distinct language dates to about 600 AD as a result of the evolution of the Brythonic language spoken in the south-western region of Great Britain. Its closest relative, however, is not Welsh, but Breton, since both languages were mutually comprehensible for centuries. Moreover, there are many duplicate names in Cornwall and Brittany, with one of the most obvious examples being *Kernow*, the Celtic name for Cornwall, which is also a region in Brittany, *Kerne*. This close linguistic relationship facilitated frequent contacts

between Cornwall and Brittany until at least the sixteenth century and helped to maintain the language in certain contexts. Cornish remained the daily language for most of the Cornish population for about a thousand years, when it was gradually replaced by English. The last reported monoglot, Dolly Pentreath, died in 1777, although the last reported speaker of traditional Cornish was John Davey, who died in 1891 (Dalby, 1998:113).

0.3.2 CORNWALL AND THE ISLES OF SCILLY

Cornwall, *Kernow*, is situated at the tip of the southwestern peninsula of the isle of Great Britain while the Isles of Scilly, *Syllan*, lie only 28 miles from the westernmost part of Cornwall's mainland (Figure 0.1). In 2011, the population of the whole area was approximately 532,000 inhabitants (Hale & Löffler, 2012: 489). Despite its long history as a separate entity within Britain, neither Cornwall nor Scilly are currently constituent countries of the United Kingdom but counties of England. Nevertheless, there is a relatively strong devolutionist movement in the county which has won some small battles, such as the recognition of Cornish as a minority within the United Kingdom (Cornwall Council, 2014: 11).
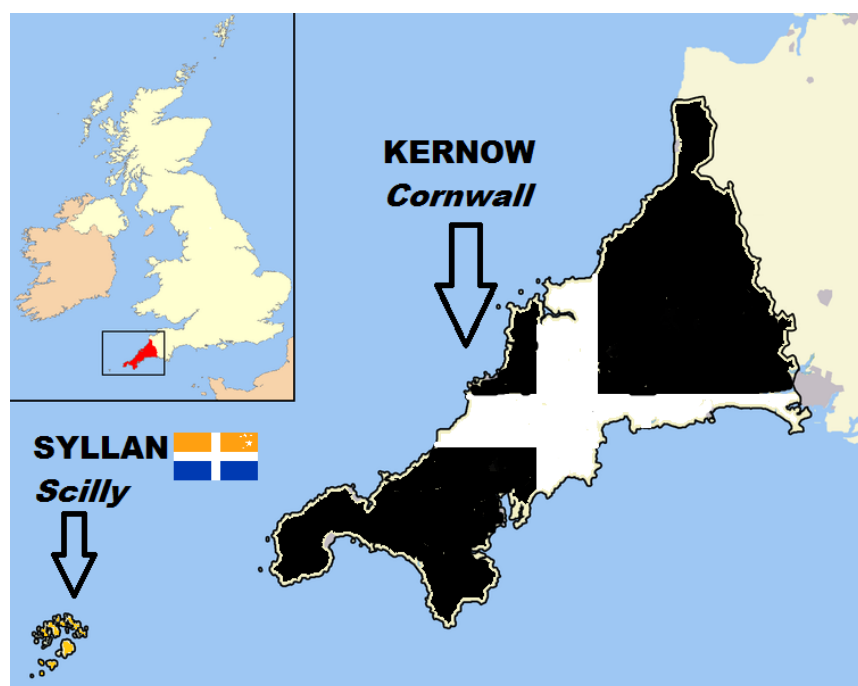
Figure 0.1. Location of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly (based on map by Richard B - Creative Commons)

0.3.3 LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom is a multilingual society. In addition to English, there are at least five other autochthonous languages, namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots (including Ulster Scots) and Cornish, and a large number of foreign languages spoken in the country. Estimates indicate that over four million people in the United Kingdom do not have English as their first language (Office for National Statistics, 2013: 1). Due to a number of

historical circumstances, English became the main language in the east and the central areas of Great Britain during the Middle Ages. It expanded later to Scotland, Cornwall and finally to Ireland and Wales. During the Middle Ages, with the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the invasion of the Normans, English and French joined Latin as the languages of power and of culture in the British Isles. Speakers of the non-English British languages shifted from their languages to English. By the second half of the nineteenth century, some of the British languages had already died while most of the others were in a critical state since they had neither been accorded a role in the classroom, nor in any other official domain. The religious domain was one of the last where they had some prestige. Therefore, with different justifications, the policy adopted by successive British governments was the same as that in place in the previous centuries: in both cases English enjoyed the privileged official status, whereas other British languages were marginalised and even banned from official domains such as education.

The situation started to change in the nineteenth century however with the development of European nationalism (Smith, 2009: 82; Anderson, 1991: 68). The wave arrived in Cornwall in 1904, when Henry Jenner published a book entitled *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*. In clear contrast with previous works about the ancient language of Cornwall, the *Handbook* was '*principally intended for those persons of Cornish nationality who wish to acquire some knowledge of their ancient tongue, and to read, write, and perhaps even to speak it*' (Jenner, 1904: ix). According to Jenner, even though the local Celtic language was not really useful, and its literature was scanty and derivative, there was still a powerful reason to encourage people in Cornwall to learn it: '*because they are Cornishmen*' (Jenner, 1904: xi). While interest in Cornish steadily grew during the first decades of the twentieth century, the language was still mainly used in its written form and mostly by scholars (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 46). The second half of the twentieth century saw a change in the conception of British education and in general in the way other British languages were perceived. Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic started to appear in prestigious domains such as government and education. The overall impact of this move should be in theory to allow the minority of British children whose first language is different from English to have the right to speak and be heard in the classroom and, consequently, to enjoy learning. Although languages such as Welsh achieved a certain degree of stability and prestige, others like Cornish continued to be institutionally marginalised in a society where English remained as the dominant language. Being a revived language, often considered a dead language, continued to deprive Cornish of capital value in mainstream societal markets, jeopardising again its future.

0.3.4 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON REVIVED CORNISH

Through the twentieth century, the relatively few scholars who had some interest in Cornish almost invariably focused on topics related to the language itself, such as syntax, vocabulary, and phonology. In fact, the first sociolinguistic data about revived Cornish appeared almost 90 years after the beginning of the revitalisation process. One of the first academic papers dealing with the sociolinguistics of revived Cornish was that of George & Broderick (1993). Although the paper did not include much statistical data, such as the use of Cornish in general domains, the number of speakers, etc., it provided a necessary review

of the situation and the recent publications and strategies to promote the language. A revised edition of the same work, edited by Ball and Müller, was published in 2009, in which George and Broderick added some more recent details about the promotion of Cornish, such as its recognition by the British Government as a British language falling under Part II (Article 7) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (George & Broderick, 2010: 753–760). Another milestone study was carried out by SGRÙD Research (2000). This was the first paper to offer some hints based on a scientific investigation about the use of Cornish and the number of speakers, which was established at about 300 individuals including some living in London (SGRÙD Research, 2000: 20). Recognition as a British language by the British government in 2002 allowed Cornish to be protected by the authorities, in contrast with the situation during previous decades, when the language was only supported by volunteers and enthusiasts. Five years after this historical advancement, PFA Research (2007: 102–105) included a few general questions related to the knowledge of and attitudes towards the Cornish language, in a survey entitled, *A Report to the Cornwall Strategic Partnership: Quality of Life Tracker Survey*. According to this study, most people in Cornwall were aware of the existence of the Cornish language, to which almost 50 percent of the respondents were rather indifferent. During subsequent years, the Cornish Language Partnership (now Cornish Language Office) undertook a series of surveys mostly among Cornish speakers (Burley, 2008; Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b) and employees of the Cornwall Council (Cornwall Council, 2013a). These reports stated that the skills in Cornish of most speakers were very limited and only 16 percent of the speakers were fluent speakers (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013a: 8). In 2011, the British Census provided an approximation of the number of fluent Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Scilly, since almost 500 individuals in the area stated that Cornish was their 'main' language (Office for National Statistics, 2013: 7–8). A recent piece of research, *Cornish Language Strategy 2015–25 Evaluation and Development Report*, was carried out by Ioan and Jones (2015). It is mostly based on consultations with language organisations and interviews with relevant individuals in order to evaluate the progress of the Cornish Language Strategy 2004 and to develop a new strategy for 2015-2025. Although it contains some positive points, it emphasises the weak state of Cornish in education and in official contexts. The same year, Croome (2015) published an interesting study about teachers' attitudes towards the Cornish language which depicts a somewhat positive approach towards the incorporation of Cornish in the school curriculum.

For more than a century, Cornwall and Scilly had lived in a situation of English monolingualism. This provoked the stagnation in the promotion of Cornish for many decades until the early 2000s, when some steps started to be taken.

0.4 THE BASQUE LANGUAGE AND TREBIÑU

0.4.1 THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

Basque or *Euskara* has traditionally been considered a mysterious language. It is regarded as the only European language with no known linguistic relatives (Lakarra, 1996: 190). Some of the earliest known accounts of Basque society are those of the Greek and Roman

geographers that mention four different tribes living in the area of the Gulf of Biscay. After a long period of darkness in terms of documentation related to the Basque language, the sixteenth century finally sees a timid renaissance of the language. From that period, there are some brief texts such as songs, poems, prayers, epitaphs and personal letters. A few years later, in 1545 appeared the first book printed in Basque, a collection of poems by the Low-Navarrese Bernat Etxeparre. The first dictionary was compiled by the Italian Niccolò Landucci in 1562, and the first translation of the New Testament appeared in 1571. Another important work from a linguistic viewpoint, published during that period is *Refranes y Sentencias* (1596), a collection of proverbs written in archaic Biscayan dialect (Trask, 2008: 8). Despite this timid activity, Basque continued its regression and in 1800 it was no longer spoken in many of the areas where it once had been, including Trebiñu.

0.4.2 THE ENCLAVE OF TREBIÑU

The Enclave of Trebiñu, in Basque *Trebiñuko Enklabea* is the largest Basque region of Spain that does not belong to either the Basque Autonomous Community or Navarre, but to the Castilian province of Burgos (Figure 0.2). The area is divided into two municipalities, Trebiñuko Konderria, or *Condado de Treviño* in Spanish, and Argantzun, or *La Puebla de Arganzón*. Its population is officially about 2,100 inhabitants although a number of individuals may be living in the region despite being registered in the Census of Araba or Burgos (Basque Government, 2012: 11). The inhabitants of the small region asked for their integration into Araba in 1646, 1880, 1919, 1938, 1940, 1958, 1980, 1998 and 2014 without any success (Vega & Izarra, 1998). Both municipalities of Trebiñu have some influence in issues such as language and culture; however, all the main decisions are either passed or rejected by the regional government of Castile and León. Basque was the language spoken here until the eighteenth century. The language was completely substituted by Spanish until its revitalisation in the 1980s.
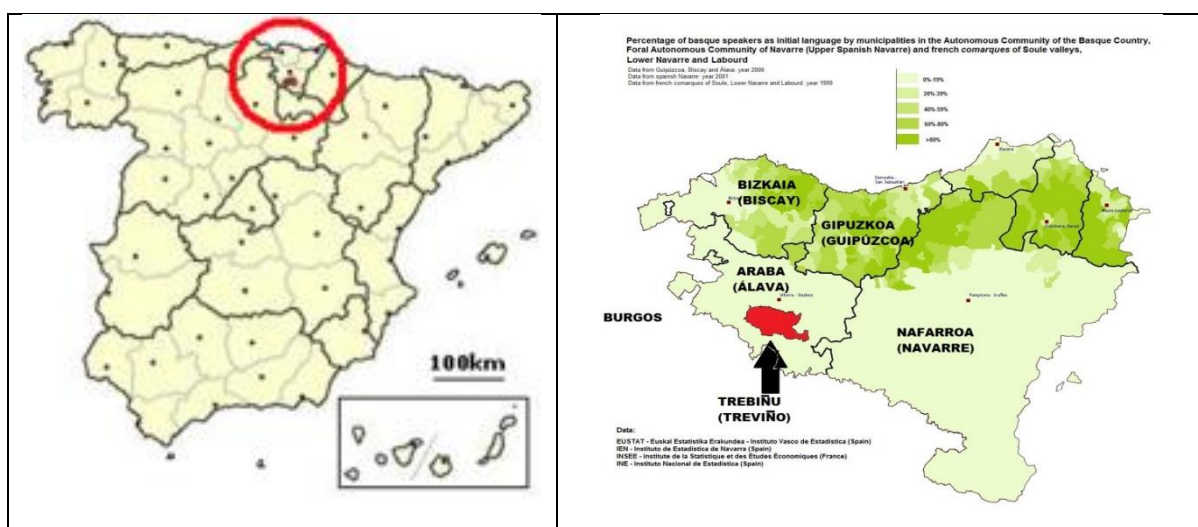
Figure 0.2. Location of the Enclave of Trebiñu within Spain and the Basque Country (Image on the left based on map by Daniel Csörföly, GNU Free Documentation License; image on the right based on map by Andrew Champs, Public Domain)

0.4.3 LANGUAGE POLICY IN SPAIN

Spain has several times changed its approach towards the different languages spoken in its territory since it was constituted as a federation of kingdoms in 1492. By that time, Castilian and Catalan had leading roles. After the arrival of the Bourbons in the eighteenth century and the creation of a centralised country, non-Castilian languages were abolished in most official domains, such as education and administration. This approach continued to be the standard for centuries until the change of regime in 1978. Under this new political arrangement, each autonomous community has the right to decide its official languages. However, the system is not perfect, and some non-Castilian areas were included in Castilian speaking communities, where their languages are not official, and their speakers are compelled to use Spanish in almost every situation. Trebiñu is one of those areas.

0.4.4 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON REVIVED BASQUE IN TREBIÑU

Despite the general indifference towards Basque in Trebiñu by the provincial government of Burgos and the regional government of Castile and León, there are some studies which describe partially the language situation in both municipalities of the Enclave, Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun. The most recent studies are *Estudio Sociolingüístico en el Enclave de Treviño* and *Trebiñuko enklabea, azterketa soziolinguistikoa*, both of them published by the Basque Government (2007 and 2012), based on extensive surveys answered by 76.3% (2007) and 74% (2012) of the total population of the Enclave of Trebiñu. According to these surveys, the number of fluent speakers grew by 2012, from 150 individuals in 2002, to more than 400, besides 300 other people with some skills in Basque. This accounts for 38% of the population of Trebiñu (22% fluent bilinguals and 16% passive or limited bilinguals), including 5% of the population who are Basque native speakers (Basque Government, 2007: 13; 2012: 21, 25). Most of the Basque speakers, 79%, state that they are more competent in Spanish, however, this is not an obstacle for most of them, who use the language in their daily routines, such as socialising with friends, whilst at work or online (Basque Government, 2012: 22, 27, 32).

0.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

While often the focus of sociolinguistics research is to measuring the health of a language, the focus of this study is multiple and required a series of methodological approaches to attain them. Rather than stating the number of speakers and proposing a series of general socio-political recommendations, this study seeks to provide Cornish with a clear route to continue the revitalisation project, with specific goals and strategies according to its current situation. Therefore, the first necessary step of this study was to explore the state of the revived Cornish in the area of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly in the United Kingdom, where it was originally spoken until the 1800s. For this reason, the first research question was:

- What is the current situation of Cornish?

A second step focused on the identification of a successful language revitalisation model based on circumstances similar to those of Cornwall and Scilly. After examining a number of cases of language revitalisation in Europe, the researcher chose the Enclave of Trebiñu. Although the process for selecting Trebiñu was complex, it was necessary to prove whether it was the most appropriate for this investigation. For this reason, the second research question was:

- Is Trebiñu a valid model for a successful language revitalisation?

The differences between the language situation in Cornwall and Trebiñu led to the third research question:

- How have each country's language strategies affected the current situation of both languages and the attitudes of the population?

Finally, after having clear ideas of both the situation of Cornish and what has created a successful revitalisation project in Trebiñu, the last research question was eminently practical:

- Which strategies can be adapted to the revitalisation of Cornish based on the example of Trebiñu?

The answers of these questions and the methodology employed to obtain them are crucial, not only for the Cornish revitalisation project in the British context, but also for a number of other projects of language revitalisation in Europe and situations of language endangerment.

0.6 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into three major parts namely; part I which comprises this introduction which highlights the main lines of investigation. The next chapter, Chapter 1, deals with the theoretical frameworks of language perspectives, language death, language attitudes and models of revitalisation which are used in the thesis and Chapter 2 describes the main elements of the mixed-method's approach adopted for the study. Part II, presents the major findings of the study about language use and attitudes towards Cornish and Basque (Chapters 3 and 4). This is followed by the final section of the study, Part III. This consists of Chapters 5 and 6 which examine the reasons of the current state of both languages in their respective geographical areas and develops a number of strategies for Cornish based on the example of Trebiñu.

CHAPTER 1:

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Language is a vital element in the construction and maintenance of any human society. This is not only due to its role as a tool for communication, but also as a symbol of identity (Bailey, 2007: 341). For this reason, language, bilingualism and multilingualism are not only phenomena studied by scientists in the fields of linguistics, psychology and sociology but also by scholars who try to unfold their relationship to power, status structures and social political systems (Baker, 2011: 374). This complex situation of the practical side (as a tool) and the ideological side (as a symbol) often loses its balance and provokes cases of language imposition, language shift, attrition and abandonment that may result in a final demise and consequential death (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 8).

The existence of contact between two or more language groups all over the world produces reactions not only within the community, but also by the different governments. In fact, a link between power and language is present in almost all societies. For this reason, the first part of this chapter starts analysing the subject of language contact, the ideologies that emanate from this situation, and the scenarios that language policies adopted under such ideologies may create. The second part of the chapter continues with an overview of the factors that play a role in language maintenance. When language maintenance is not accomplished, the most probable consequence is language death. Thus, the third part is devoted to the analysis of this phenomenon, including a framework on the causes of language death. Although very often, language contact may provoke the loss of the weaker varieties, in some cases the process can be reverted. The fourth part of this chapter analyses the different models of language revitalisation that are currently being implemented in different communities. The theoretical background provided in this chapter sets the scene for the detailed analysis of the current situation of Cornish which is developed in Chapter 3. This information will serve as the fundament to design appropriate language policies to ensure its survival.

1.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language contact has been a natural situation for centuries in almost every region of the world. It is undeniable that this situation has had very positive results, one of the most notable being the interchange of knowledge amongst different cultures. Nowadays, historical linguists may track the unwritten history of nations by examining the traces of foreign culture left in vocabulary, grammar and sometimes, even pronunciation of many languages (Szathmári, 1988: 197-198). However, language contact has also had negative consequences for human culture. The most widely spread negative effect is language shift namely the substitution of one language or dialect in favour of a more prestigious or stronger variety. This in turn, may end in the abandonment of the weaker language, producing what is called language loss or death (Aikhenvald, 2019: 241). The reasons

behind each outcome are strongly related to language ideologies which could be divided into three main categories:

- Identity
- Survival
- Modernisation

Identity refers to how people understand their relationship to the world (Norton, 1997: 410). This is also one of the most powerful ideologies affecting both, language shift and language maintenance (Hornsby, 2015: 125). On the one hand, a strong group, in order to establish its identity, may compel other groups to speak their language (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 23). When one group aggressively imposes its language on a weaker group, the language of the latter becomes usually threatened. It may start first losing some its own features, such as case endings, particles, etc. Afterwards, many of its speakers may gradually lose the capacity to fully communicate in the language and choose to use the dominant language in a process called language shift (Aikhenvald, 2019: 241). On the other hand, a subjugated group may use their identity or distinctness, language usually being one of the main characteristics, to claim a state, a territory or some kind of political autonomy (Gal, 2006: 15).

The concept of *survival* is, in many cases, closely linked to that of identity. In order to survive, a community must establish its own characteristics in front of the rest of communities (Myhill, 2004: 69). The continuity of a language through the centuries may be perceived as the successful continuity of a culture, while the death of a language may be regarded as the end of a certain community (Pálóczi Horváth, 1996: 28). When a language is not spoken anymore, it is not unusual to promote it in ceremonial settings in order to preserve a community's identity (Layton, 2000: 1-2). In other instances, survival may produce a totally opposite result, namely language shift. In extreme cases, members of a community may demise their language in order to avoid extermination by the ruling oppressive group (Crystal, 2000: 76). In some societies, members of minorities with not much power in any particular field may decide to switch language in order to simply getting a job. This is particularly true of many individuals or groups of individuals living away from the language community, such as refugees and immigrants (Aikhenvald, 2019: 241).

The last concept, *modernisation*, is linked to the previous one, *survival*. A language may be regarded as a symbol of success and culture and its speakers may want to strengthen it and even to force it onto other communities. However, other languages may start to be perceived as retrograde, old fashioned or simply useless in the modern world. Due to this perception, their speakers may decide to switch to other varieties with more prestige or directly associated with the idea of better education or economic progress (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 32, 45).

The above-mentioned ideologies and their consequential perspectives on languages and dialects are the root of different linguistic policies created and implemented by governments around the world. In order to implement such policies, laws can be passed to instil certain attitudes amongst a population which can directly influence how it should

perceive a language or dialect, be it a local or a foreign one. This, in turn, may provoke an increase in the use or study of a favoured language, or conversely the rejection of a language that is not recognised and encouraged by the authorities.

Ruiz (1984: 17) proposes three basic political dimensions on how languages are regarded, namely, language as a problem, as a right, or as a resource. Even if such viewpoints may not exist at the conscious level, they may be internalised by language planners and politicians (Baker, 2011: 375).

Language as a problem: according to this view, multilingualism resulting from languages being in contact can lead to lack of unity within a country and can create ethnic conflict amongst different groups of speakers. In general, minority (or sometimes foreign) languages can be associated with social disadvantages, poverty and other negative characteristics (Malik, 2000). The case of post-revolutionary France is an example of how languages and dialects other than the preferred one by national authorities, in this case Parisian French, have been persecuted, discouraged, ridiculed and often denied any official presence in public life in the name of the progress, unity and the desire to promote social cohesion (Ager, 1996: 41-42).

Language as a right: According to this perspective, an individual should be able to participate in society through the use of his own language, which may require the provision of several resources and facilities such as education (Perna, 2006: 32). An example of this is found in Finland, where the authorities encourage the study and use of Swedish (as a regional language), the local Saami languages, Finnish Romani and Finnish sign language (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi, 2005: 125).

The final perspective, *language as a resource*, instead of pursuing the domination or assimilation of minority language communities, regards them as sources of expertise which may help society as a whole. It is also the perspective behind the teaching of foreign languages in most countries (Baker, 2011: 375; Sallabank, 2011: 284).

1.2. SITUATION OF LANGUAGES WITHIN SOCIETY

The implementation of different language policies may vary according to the vitality and official status of a language for example, the knowledge of the population and its perception of it. Moreover, as happens with almost every topic related to human behaviour, when the combination of factors and modifying forces is applied to actual language situations, the number of resulting scenarios can be very varied, although most could be considered peculiarities and variants of more general cases (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 5).

This section analyses the four most general settings or situations in which language policies are applied. Any other combinations may be considered variants of these four:

- Stable situation
- Language repression
- Language imposition
- Pidgins and creoles

1.2.1 STABLE SITUATION

This is the case in monolingual societies, in which only one language is spoken and learnt in all domains. The same would apply to societies in which a language is regarded as the national one, while other languages may be considered foreign and only used in a few situations, such as English in Sweden. In both cases, the national language is used as the main (or even sole) communication tool and enjoys full support, represented by green arrows with (+) symbols in Figure 1.1, from both, institutions and from people in general. As a result, all three levels of society namely, institutional, social and personal, are fully competent and regular users of the national language.
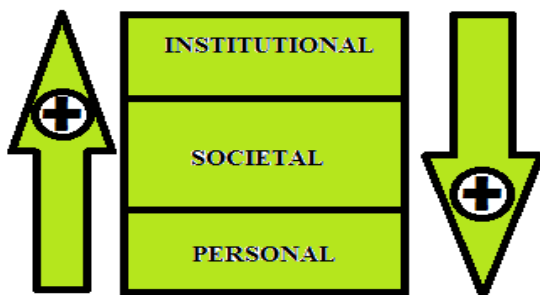
Figure 1.1. Language in society: Stable situation

1.2.2 TRANSITIONAL SITUATION 1. LANGUAGE REPRESSION

Figure 1.2 represents a stage in which a language enjoys relatively good health within the personal domain. However, its vitality is negatively affected in the societal domain due to a lack of use and negative attitudes, mostly emanating from the institutional domains, represented with a red arrow and the negative symbol in it (-). These negative attitudes by the authorities may be considered either overt repression (prohibition, persecution, etc.) or covert pressure (lack of recognition and support). Sometimes, when the base (personal domain) is strong enough due to relatively high competence in the minority language and especially due to the strong identification of the community within it, the speakers may create a counterforce in the language's favour to confront the negative attitudes from the institutional domain. This was the case of Catalan in Spain during the fascist dictatorship (1939-1975). Although Catalan was the native language of most Catalans, it was banned or/and discouraged by the authorities. The speakers maintained their position which produced strong pressure in favour of Catalan. This culminated in the restoration of most of their language rights after passing a new constitution in Spain in 1978 (Appel & Muysken, 2005: 47; Webber & Strubell, 1991: 15). Other times, speakers may accept the government rules about language and join it in avoiding their mother tongue in favour of the one promoted by the government, as is the case of the local varieties of German in Austria, which are being replaced by Standard German, the only variety promoted by the government (Davies, 2010: 266).
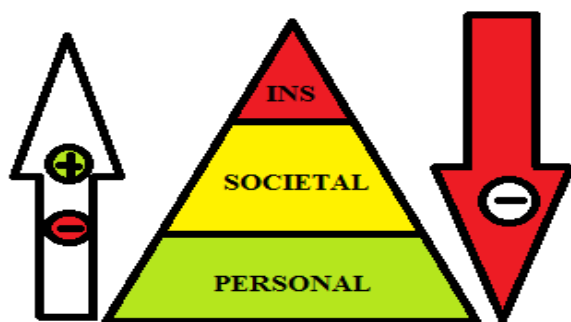
Figure 1.2. Language in society: Language repression

1.2.3 TRANSITIONAL SITUATION 2. LANGUAGE IMPOSITION

Language repression, as seen in the previous point, is always accompanied by another situation, namely language imposition, in order to substitute the popular language with another chosen in the institutional domains. The shape to define this second transitional case would be that of an inverted pyramid (Figure 1.3) in which the base (personal domains) is weak due to the lack of self-identification and/or competence in the imposed language, while the top (institutional domain) is strong. The strong influence, represented by a green arrow and a positive sign (+), of the institutional domains over the rest may produce different reactions. In the societal domain, however the most common result is an increase in the use of the new language. This could be due, amongst other factors, to a relatively positive (or non-negative) response from the people, a reaction to avoid sanctions, or the impossibility to establish otherwise necessary communication with the authorities (in colonial governments, for example). The adoption of Spanish and the abandonment of the native languages in most countries of South America can be considered a consequence of this situation. The originally Aztec, Maya, Aymara, etc. speakers, had to switch to Spanish due to pressure exercised by both the Spanish Crown and many post-colonial governments. Nowadays, most of the indigenous languages are in a very fragile situation while Spanish continues to flourish (Flores Farfán, 2010: 34). On the other hand, people may react negatively to this imposition and proceed as described in the previous section (Transitional Situation 1. Language Repression).
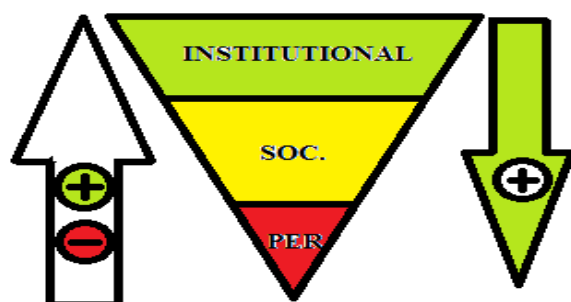
Figure 1.3. Language in society: Language imposition

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1.2.4 TRANSITIONAL SITUATION 3. PIDGINS

Another transitional situation is that of pidgins and to a certain extent, creoles. In general, pidgins are widely used in daily life mainly due to their role as *lingua francas*, provisional codes of inter-group communication, for example when there are two or more language groups inhabiting the same region. Institutions, such as governments, do not generally use pidgins, and instead, they address the public either in one of the local languages or in a colonial language. Moreover, individuals do not use them with those who speak their languages. Since pidgins are *provisional* codes, there is generally no intention to implement language policies in their favour, represented by the empty arrows in Figure 1.4.

After some time, some pidgins may become creoles (pidgins with native speakers) which may produce a different situation such as the one described in *Transitional situation 1* (Figure 1.2), when speakers may start a process of full recognition of their varieties which may finally become established languages, as is the case of Papiamento in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

Figure 1.4. Language in society: Pidgins and creoles

Language contact, a natural phenomenon throughout history, may be considered the source of both positive consequences such as interchange of knowledge and negative effects such as language loss. These different outcomes are often related to language ideologies, including three main categories: identity, survival and modernisation. These ideologies have a strong influence on how languages are perceived, namely as a problem, as a right or as resource (Ruiz, 1984). Depending on these perspectives, the consequences for languages can be very different. Four scenarios have been described, a stable situation and three transitional stages, namely, language repression, (usually paired with language imposition), and the situation of pidgins. Although these transitional situations may serve to introduce or even to create languages, sometimes the outcome can be fatal for some varieties, producing difficulties to maintain them as communication tools. The following section examines this concept in greater depth; its causes, and how this affects modern societies.

1.3 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

As previously discussed, in situations of language contact, the weaker variety may experience some difficulties to survive. This section discusses the theoretical background to the study of language maintenance. It introduces key factors and different concepts and arguments namely language use factors and language attitudes.

There are several approaches to the assessment of language vitality and the implementation of language maintenance based on a number of factors and how they affect languages. A very comprehensive framework is that of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) which identifies three types of structural variables which interact, thereby affecting ethnolinguistic vitality:

- Status
- Demography
- Institutional support

Conklin and Lourie (1983) also propose three categories of factors required to help preserve a language:

- Political
- Socio-demographical
- Cultural

Another approach is Fishman's (1991) 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' or GIDS based on his theory of reversing language shift (RLS). RLS theory is intended to 'locate' the functional disruption of language 'X' in social space in order to suggest some stages of reversing language shift (Fishman 2001: 465-467). Fishman proposes eight stages.

- Stage 8: Speakers are mostly old and have few opportunities to interact in the language.
- Stage 7: Most speakers are beyond child bearing age.
- Stage 6: This is a critical stage for language revitalisation: the language is transmitted and used especially in informal domains.
- Stage 5: There is literacy within the community, but sometimes there is no government support.
- Stage 4: Formal compulsory education in the minority language is available.
- Stage 3: There is some usage of the minority language in less specialised work areas.
- Stage 2: There are lower government services and media available in the minority language.
- Stage 1: The minority language is used in higher education, central government domains and national media.

One of the most recurrent tools to discern the vitality of languages is the UNESCO's (2003) 'Language Vitality and Endangerment' or LVE. This assessment is the one employed in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, the most recent

version at the time of writing being the online version edited by Moseley 2010, an extensive work which compiles information on many of the endangered languages around the world. LVE divides language according to their vitality into six categories and grades.

- Safe (grade 5): the language is used by all age groups.
- Unsafe (grade 4): the language is used by all children mostly in limited domains.
- Definitively endangered (grade 3): Speakers are mostly the parental generation and up.
- Severely endangered (grade 2): Speakers are mostly the grandparental generation.
- Critically endangered (grade 1): There are very few speakers, most or all of them belong to the oldest generation.
- Extinct (grade 0): There are no speakers.

Although the aforementioned frameworks employ different approaches to deal with the issues of language maintenance, shift and death, all are based on the identification of factors or variables which may implement or discourage the use of a language. The present study identifies a number of factors and divides them into two main categories:

A) Language use factors

B) Language attitude factors

Language use factors are those signs of use of a language which are evident in a community, such as its use in street signage, in shops, by people on the street, etc. On the other hand, *language attitude factors* may not be evident to most people. They include disposition to learn and use a language, language activism, etc. In a figurative way, the '*use factors*' would be similar to the parts of the body, such as heart, lungs, brain, etc., while the '*attitude factors*' would be those other necessary components which make the body move, such as nutrients, oxygen, etc.

This classification does not intend to be a rigid tool. Results can never be exact, since social changes may happen in a very short period of time and some details may be invisible to researchers. Nevertheless, the combination of factors, often from different points of view, can provide a generally sound picture of the maintenance of any given language.

1.3.1 LANGUAGE USE FACTORS

This group, as stated earlier, includes all the evident signs of language use. It provides a clear picture of how languages are actually used in a given community, area, etc. Following the model proposed by Spolsky (2004: 186), this category consists of three key elements:

- Personal factors
- Socio-demographic factors
- Institutional factors

1.3.1.1 PERSONAL FACTORS

Personal factors are the variables which affect each speaker *individually*, independently of any other factors. A language can be forbidden or even extinct in the rest of the community, but even last speakers can use it, for example, to write personal notes, to meditate or to pray. In this category, *competence* or *degree* is the only aspect involved (Mackey, 1962: 52). Fishman (1991) identifies this variable in stages 6, 7 and 8 of GIDS (Fishman, 1991: 88, 92, 94). The importance of competence is easily discernible from a logical point of view: if a person does not know a language, no matter how important and prestigious it may be, he or she will not speak it. On the other hand, the more competent he or she is, the greater is the number of options for the language to be used whenever there is any possibility.

1.3.1.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Despite the high level of fluency that some individuals may have in a certain language, the possibilities to use it are strongly linked to demography and social settings. If the body of speakers is formed of only one or a few individuals with few opportunities to interact with each other, the use that those speakers can make of the language in their everyday life may be minimal. On the other hand, when the number of speakers within a community is larger, the possibilities to use the minority language increase. Nevertheless, the demographic factors are not solely limited to the number of speakers, which although important is not definitive (Harrison, 2007: 4), but to other variables. In this study a total of seven factors have been taken into consideration:

- Total number of speakers
- Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Density of members of the minority within the community
- Proportion of speakers within the minority group
- Social distribution of speakers
- Language transmission (Generational distribution of the speakers)
- Rate of social use of the language

Probably the most evident socio-demographic factor is the total number of speakers. In general, a small speech community may be exposed to more risk than a big one, since it is generally more vulnerable to decimation by disease, warfare or natural disaster. UNESCO (2003) also points to the fact that small groups are more prone to merge with a neighbouring group, thereby losing their language and culture (UNESCO, 2003: 9). However, some languages may enjoy good health despite being spoken by relatively few individuals, even when they constitute a minority, due to a number of other factors. The first is the proportion of speakers within the minority group. When this proportion is relatively high, the language may be used in daily life in general. On the other hand, when the percentage of speakers is low, their members may obviate this key feature of their identity, substituting it with other characteristics, such as their religious affiliation or skin colour (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 313). This is strongly linked to the density or the proportion of members of the minority group within a certain community. Obviously, when the minority

group members are more concentrated, the possibilities to use their language also increase. Moreover, it also produces a feeling of usefulness, which in turn helps to maintain the language, or at least to attenuate its loss (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 313). A high concentration of a minority which has a high proportion of speakers elevates the proportion of speakers within the total population. Fishman (1991: 92) sees concentration of speakers within a community as a key factor since it provides minority language speakers with additional vital opportunities to make their language one of community interaction. Giles *et al.* (1977: 313) also underline the importance of this factor since a high proportion of a minority language speakers within a large diverse community may produce a different inter-group relationship than that when the minority language passes unnoticed by the larger community.

Whereas, the number of members of minority speakers and their concentration are important, nevertheless, the social distribution or the socioeconomic position of speakers may also have a deep impact on the survival of a language (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 310). In ideal conditions, the social distribution of speakers would be as similar as possible to the general social distribution of the whole community. Otherwise, stereotypes linking the language with certain social classes or professions can result in rejection amongst some members of the rest of society (Miskolczy, 2015: 72; Gorenburg, 2005: 3-4; Grenoble, 2003: 72). Equally important as the social distribution is the generational distribution of the speakers. The idea of language transmission as one of the most important factors in assessing language vitality and securing language maintenance has been developed by several scholars, most notably by Fishman (1991), who considers language transmission to be at the very centre of any language revitalisation process, particularly on Stage 6 of GIDS (Fishman, 1991: 6). The notion is included in the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework as 'Factor 1' (UNESCO, 2003: 7, 8). Other authors such as Giles *et al.* (1977) and Conklin and Lourie (1983) do not specifically mention language transmission as a factor involved in language maintenance, but rather as a consequence depending on a number of other factors, such as prestige of the language, strong link between ethnicity and the language, institutional use, etc. It would be difficult for a language to survive if it is not passed to the following generations either from speaking parents to their children or by means of education in the minority language, since transmission usually keeps the language alive at least in some domains. However, if newer generations of native speakers do not use it socially, a language's usefulness may become affected, and more and more individuals may consider breaking transmission to their children. Finally, when a minority language becomes a language of only the older generation, its prestige is finally destroyed within a 'modernism-versus-retrograde' paradigm. For this reason, the rate of social use of the language, which helps to influence the rest of the population, is also a factor to assess the level of vitality of a language (Fishman, 1991: 91).

1.3.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The factors included in this category refer to the degree of formal support that a language receives from different institutions of a nation, region or local community. It may have a profound impact on language communities since nation-states show clear preferences

towards certain individuals or communities based on their language. In fact, speakers of dominant languages or dialects have an advantage over other individuals who speak other languages or dialects, since they are usually in control of major areas of administration including education and the economy (Shohamy, 2006: 30). For this reason, it is important for minority languages to have a share in these higher domains. Otherwise, the language or dialect may be reduced to home-use and will finally be substituted by a more prestigious variety or language. The following paragraphs describe six key domains in which minority languages need to be used in order to ensure their maintenance:

- Unified spelling
- Official Use
- Education
- Mass media and new Technologies
- Religion, beliefs and ideology
- Economy

Particularly since the spread of movable type printing systems in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the written form has acquired a vital role in the survival of most of the world's languages. Written forms are used to spread better knowledge of a language amongst its speakers and to teach it to non-speakers (Barandiaran, 2010a: 11). To that end, as Conklin and Lourie (1983: 71) state, a standardised spelling system becomes vital. Such a system may be one of the most important features to introduce a language in the education system since books, workbooks and other materials must follow the same orthographic, grammatical and syntactical rules to be effective and understood by all children. A standardised spelling system also allows a language to be present in official communications and on the internet (Agirrezabal Pertusa, 2009: 63). On the other hand, the use of different alphabets and/or orthographies would be counterproductive. It would make it difficult to understand the messages of speakers who may decide, in turn, to switch to a widely known foreign or classical language in order to produce written messages.

Most academics agree that government active support through official use is a key factor in language maintenance which is specifically mentioned in GIDS Stages 1 and 2 by Fishman (1991: 105, 107) and in UNESCO's LVE framework as Factor 7, 'Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use' (UNESCO, 2003: 13), It is also cited by Giles *et al.* (1977) amongst the institutional factors and by Conklin and Lourie (1983) amongst the political, social and demographical factors. The importance of this factor resides in the fact that language is a main marker of the nation-state which is the most widely spread geo-political system (Shohamy, 2006: 26). When a language enjoys official status or, at least, some privileges as a semi-official language, its ability to be used in more domains usually multiplies.

Education is a factor that sits between culture, which is its natural domain, and politics (Shohamy, 2006: 33). UNESCO (2003) labels it as *essential* in language maintenance, a point that is also shared by Grenoble and Whaley (2005: 32), who describe education as the *most obvious relevant* aspect in language revitalisation. Other authors also refer to the key importance of education as a cultural factor (Conklin & Lourie, 1983), a *crucial* feature within the group of institutional factors (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 316), or as a factor to

reinforce literacy, which is directly linked with social and economic development (UNESCO, 2003: 12; Fishman, 1991:95). Language learning amongst children has proved to be effective, even when the target language does not play any relevant role in society (Paradis, 2007: 24-25).

In general, mass media is the most common way for any community to be in contact with the rest of the world (Barandiaran, 2010b: 14). According to Fishman's GIDS, mass media in the minority language is a factor that appears in the final stages of language revitalisation, namely in Stages 1 and 2 (Fishman, 1991: 95). It is, therefore, an indication of higher possibilities for survival. However, since the general spread of the Internet in the 1990s, contact with the world has not only been established through newspapers, television or radio, but also through websites, mobile phones, computer programs and applications, affecting the life of both majority and minority groups (Buszard-Welcher, 2001: 343). This new dynamic may have two effects on minority-language communities with access to technology. On the one hand, it may have a negative effect by expanding the power of the dominant language since, when the minority language cannot adapt to new challenges, it becomes increasingly irrelevant and stigmatized (UNESCO, 2003: 11). On the other hand, the adaptation to new technologies by a minority language may produce the opposite effect by allowing members of dispersed linguistic communities across the world to communicate with each other, thereby gaining new domains (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 10, 191).

Religion has traditionally had a strong link with language (Fishman, 2006: 14-15). Through history, different religious ideologies have been associated either with a particular language, such as Roman Catholicism with Latin and Islam with Arabic. Nowadays, however, religion is often overlooked in discussions on language revitalisation (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 41-42), most probably due to secularist ideals (an echo of the Enlightenment) which are dominant in the western world (Miskolczy, 2015: 72). Nevertheless, the diminished influence of established religion in some societies does not imply total lack of belief amongst individuals (Lerner, 2006: 71). Some secular ideologies and models such as nationalism, democracy, Marxism, etc. share many points with religious devotion (Anderson, 1991: 10). In fact, some encounter groups, socio-political movements and political attitudes have been usefully analysed as though they were religious sects (Barker, 1985: 38-39; Bellah, 1976: 77). Therefore, whenever religion does not play any important role in a certain culture, the use of languages in key secular ideologies must be considered as quite an equivalent in this category.

In GIDS Stage 3, Fishman (1991) points out how a language can improve its status when its speakers control at least the lower spheres of the economy (Fishman, 1991: 103). Giles *et al.* (1977: 310) refer to the economy amongst what they called 'language status factors'. According to them, one of the factors that may help a community to survive is its control of economic life. Despite these well-established viewpoints, in this thesis, 'economy' is considered an institutional factor rather than a 'language status' or 'social factor'. The reason for this relocation resides in the fact that although speakers of an *X* language may control certain industries, it should be that industry as an institution, the one that promotes the language. For example, languages such as Hindi, Urdu or Punjabi are not in a in a good state in London, despite their speakers may own a very high percentage of shops, since

commerce, as an institution, works and promotes English only (Reynolds & Verna, 2007: 302). However, the situation changes when the economic institutions (factories, supermarkets, local chambers of commerce, airlines, etc.) support the promotion of a language by public signing, customer attention or other methods, even when their owners may be non-speakers or even foreigners. Then the minority language becomes an asset or resource, which often implies economic benefits for speakers and an accepted communication tool for every member of the institution and its customers (Sallabank, 2011: 284).

To summarise, in this thesis the researcher classifies the 'language use' factors as follows in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1. Language use factors

Personal factor	*Competence*
Socio-demographic factors	*Total number of speakers*
	Proportion of speakers within the total population
	Density of members of the minority within the community
	Proportion of speakers within the minority group
	Social distribution of speakers
	Language transmission: Generational distribution of the speakers
	Rate of social use of the language
Institutional factors	*Unified spelling*
	Official Use
	Education
	Mass media and new technologies
	Religion, beliefs and ideology
	Economy

This section has described how the use of a minority language depends on and should be supported by both, speakers and the community in which they live. However, it has been found that the use of a language may decline even when all or most of the language use factors are favourable. The answer to this paradox must be searched in the attitudes of speakers and the community. The following section analyses which are the factors involving language attitudes and how they affect the maintenance of a minority language.

1.3.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES FACTORS

According to Cohen (1964: 138), '*attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs*'. Moreover, more recent research has provided strong evidence on the relationship between the three components of an attitude namely, cognition, emotion and behaviour (Edwards, 1992: 83). In fact, people's sociolinguistic behaviour may be predicted to a great extent by the attitudes that they display (Ladegaard, 2000: 214-215, 229). Language attitudes, although mostly invisible and often unexpressed, act as modifying forces that lead a language towards different situations (Garrett *et al.*, 2003: 2). A positive language attitude contributes to maintaining and increasing the rate of use of a given language. On the other hand, even when a language may be currently employed in a number of domains, if the attitude towards it is negative, it may produce a situation in which it starts losing domains in favour of another language. If the situation continues and attitudes do not change, it may end in language rejection (Baker, 2011: 3). As in the factors of language use, language attitudes may also be divided into three main categories:

- Personal attitudes
- Social attitudes
- Institutional attitudes

Language attitudes can have two sources, the personal domain, emanating from the individual, and the institutional domain, emanating from governments and organisations. In both cases the forces move towards the opposite pole, either from a 'personal domain' base through the 'social domain' to the 'institutional domain' (top), or the other way around. Activists' and government's objective is to produce an effect in the social domain that would modify attitudes towards a language (Spolsky, 2004: 186). For example, activists may want to influence the government to allow education in their language. On the other hand, in situations of language imposition, governments seek to influence people to abandon their language through policies favouring another language.

1.3.2.1 PERSONAL ATTITUDES

Personal attitudes depend solely on the individual and one's disposition to learn and use a language, one's views about it and identification with it. Positive personal attitudes may have a positive effect in society. However, in some cases, negative attitudes, such as shame, dislike for the language or repulsion to be identified as a member of the minority group may erase the use of the language in public even when the circumstances for its speakers may be favourable. The following paragraphs identify four factors of personal attitudes to support language maintenance:

- Disposition to learn/improve a language
- Disposition to use a language
- Self-identification with a minority language
- Perception of a language

A crucial step in the maintenance and revitalisation of a language is the positive attitude of the individual to learn it or to improve their knowledge of it. This factor is also closely related to *'Language transmission: Generational distribution of the speakers' co*nsidered in Section 1.2.1.2 (UNESCO, 2003: 7, 8; Fishman, 1991: 6). When a language is viewed as useless or not as important as other language(s), older generations become usually become reluctant to teach it to their children while the youth become apathetic to learn it. When only a minority are still interested in learning their language, it may enter a downward spiral and may end in extinction.

However, knowing a language is not enough to save it; secondly, a positive disposition to use it, a factor related with the concept of '*function*' is also vital (Mackey, 1962: 52). This, though, may not be easy. Minority language speakers may often find themselves in a situation whereby they wish to use a language but are [almost] totally unable to do so. This may be due to lack of speakers in the area, or to negative attitudes of the rest of speakers, who may refuse to use the minority language (Ladegaard, 2000: 230). In either case, the minority language loses most of its usefulness since another language occupies its place, making it a curiosity or an '*object which seems to be better suited for museum showcases than for everyday usage by everyday people*' (Austin & Sallabank, 2011:18). This, in turn, provokes a general attitude of reluctance to use the language in public, which may later provoke its final abandonment (Mac Gréil & Rhatigan, 2009: 83). The opposite is also true. When minority language speakers use their language in public, this can influence other speakers in a personal level to use the minority language. The rest of the community, those who do not belong to that group, may also realise that there is a close association between the group and the language. Some may even wish to learn the language to communicate with members of the group in their mother tongue (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001: 40).

The next factor, self-identification with the minority language, does not imply knowledge and/or use of a certain language; therefore, it may be considered a passive factor. Nevertheless, it is an important variable since there are more possibilities for an individual to engage himself in learning a language if he/she has a degree of identification or affection towards it (Fishman, 1991: 299).

The fourth factor in this section, perception of the minority language, is closely related to '*social*', '*socio-historical*' and '*language status*' factors described by Giles *et al.* (1977) and to the '*cultural*' factors of the framework by Conklin and Lourie (1983). The possibilities of using a language increase when the individual perceives it as beautiful, a symbol of a glorious past (or present) of a strong culture or any other positive feature (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 311-312; Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998: 13).

1.3.2.2 SOCIAL ATTITUDES

This factor may be also referred to as '*language activism*'. This includes both popular support of a local language by a minority group and all the informal (or unofficial) activities and initiatives organised by them in order to safeguard and/or promote their language rights or to fill the gaps in the promotion of the minority language (Ager, 2003:

43). UNESCO (2003) identifies this factor as '*Community members' attitudes towards their own language*'. One of the aims of activists is to engage young non-speakers learn and improve their competence in order to ensure its revitalisation and normalisation once more (Grinevald & Bert, 2011: 54).

1.3.2.3 INSTITUTIONAL ATTITUDES

Since many formal domains are not in the hands of governments, this factor includes formal attitudes by governments as well as other institutions, such as religious and political bodies, education institutions, media and commerce. It is, therefore, more extended than UNESCO's Factor 7, '*Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use*' (UNESCO, 2003: 13). Nevertheless, formal attitudes and formal use are not equivalent. Sometimes there may be a positive attitude towards a minority language, but it is not institutionally used due to different variables, such as a lack of speakers, lack of literacy by speakers, etc. The opposite may also be found. Some governments and institutions may use the minority language in order to communicate with speakers, although there may be no intention to protect or respect that language.

To summarise therefore, in this thesis, language attitudes will be classified as follows in Table 1.2:

Table 1.2. Language attitudes factors

Personal attitudes	*Disposition to learn/improve a language*		
	Disposition to use a language		
	Self-identification with a minority language		
	Perception of a language		
Social attitudes	*Language activism*		
Institutional attitudes	*Institutional attitudes*		

This section has described how attitudes towards a minority language, when they are positive, may increase its usage or, in the opposite case, may diminish it, even when there is a considerable body of speakers. Deficiency in language use factors and lack of strong positive language attitudes may provoke the death of a language. The next section analyses the role of language death in modern society, which also includes a framework detailing the causes of this phenomenon. This in turn, will help identify not only the reasons that provoked the extinction of Cornish in the 1800s, but also the factors that may be barring its revitalisation in the twenty-first century.

1.4 LANGUAGE DEATH

Language death has been defined as '*the loss of a language due to gradual shift to the dominant language in language contact situations*' (Campbell, 1994: 1961). It is, therefore, the final step of a process starting from monolingualism in language *A*, followed by a diglossic stage of bilingualism in *A* and *B*, resulting in monolingualism in language *B* (Janse & Tol, 2003: ix; Fishman, 1965: 31). Denison (1977: 21) illustrates language shift in the following formula:

$$\textbf{1. } A \rightarrow \textbf{2. } AI / BII \rightarrow \textbf{3. } BI / AII \rightarrow \textbf{4. } B$$

In the above formula, *A* and *B* represent different languages and the Roman numeral I indicates a higher language competence than II. At this point, language *A* could be considered a dead language, since it has ceased its function as a communication tool, which means that nobody speaks it any longer because regular communication is carried out in language *B*. This death could produce two possible scenarios. In some cases, language *A* could continue as a dormant language, with a very limited life such as a liturgical language (Crystal, 2000: 1, 11). The second case, also called 'language extinction', would be the total disappearance of *language A* in all domains, as has happened with many languages which have died without leaving any written or sound records, thereby making it impossible to revitalise them (Grenoble, 2011: 38).

1.4.1 MAGNITUDE OF MODERN LANGUAGE DEATH

Today, approximately 6,800 languages are spoken worldwide (Brown & Ogilvie, 2009: xvii). In terms of speakers, the vitality of these languages varies greatly. Approximately 85 percent of the world's population are native speakers of one of the top hundred languages. On the other hand, approximately 5,000 languages are spoken by fewer than 100,000 speakers (Eberhard *et al.*, 2020; McWhorter, 2003: 257). This lack of balance makes some linguists predict the unprecedented extinction of more than a half of the currently spoken languages before the end of this century (Grenoble, 2011: 27; Brown & Ogilvie, 2009: xvii; Harrison, 2007: 3; Graddol, 2006: 60; McWhorter, 2003: 258).

1.4.2 CAUSES FOR LANGUAGE DEATH AND LANGUAGE DECLINE

A language dies when nobody speaks it anymore (Crystal, 2000: 1). As happens with humans and other creatures, if there is an intention to save or even to revive a language, the reasons which cause language shift, attrition 'illness' and death must be studied, otherwise, linguists may be administering an incorrect 'medicine' with probably no productive results (Baker, 2011: 51).

Due to the huge and unnatural percentage of endangered languages, a number of studies about language death and its causes have been published since 2000, such as that of Nettle and Romaine (2000), Graddol (2006), and Austin and Sallabank (2011). In general, it can be established that most languages die when the binomial '*usefulness-prestige*' fails. This failure can be attributed to different causes, as different scholars point out. Crystal (2000:

70-76) categorises the factors for language shift in two groups, namely those which put the people in physical danger, in which natural hazards, pandemics, famines, invasions and wars are included, and those which change peoples' culture, such as urbanisation, economic factors and political reasons. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 92) divide reasons for language loss into three groups, population loss, forced shift and voluntary shift. Finally, Austin and Sallabank (2011: 5) propose four factors, namely natural catastrophes, war and genocide, overt repression, and cultural, political and/or economic dominance.

In this thesis, a framework based on previous works will be used in order to determine and explain accurately the causes of language decline, which often provoke language death. This framework is based on the concept of language as a human tool which reflects human features and characteristics. Humans die due to three main causes, or their combination, which may also be divided into several sub-causes: aging, physical causes including illnesses and violence, and mental or psychological causes such as depression. Languages, in turn, die due to three main causes:

- 0. Evolutive causes
- 1. Physical causes
- 2. Social causes

Each of these causes is divided into a number of sub-causes that are examined in this section. When a combination of at least two sub-causes affects a language, the consequences may be lethal (Crystal, 2000: 70; Dorian, 1981: 69). For example, the overt repression of a community may provoke tensions which lead to war and genocide, or the decimating of a population due to an earthquake may bring a community to economical submission by another group, thus opening the way to a language shift.

The first point of this framework, *evolutive causes (0.)*, deals with factors by which usually small changes transform a language into another. These factors may affect either usefulness (when fewer individuals understand the original form of the language) or/and prestige (when new varieties become linked to power, etc. become fashionable, and the original form becomes associated with a retrograde way of life). *Evolutive causes* encompass:

- 0.1 Language change
- 0.2 Pidginisation and creolisation
- 0.3 Standardisation issues

Language change (0.1) refers to, through small changes, a language becomes another through history. A widely studied case is that of Latin. Nowadays, Latin is usually considered a dead language. However, Latin never actually died but experienced a series of small transformations through the centuries which turned it into several different languages including French, Catalan and Italian (Powell, 2006: 640).

The second point, *pidginisation and creolisation (0.2)* can be perceived in the case of contact varieties. Pidgin languages emerge when people who speak different languages come into sustained contact. These new languages, which are created by incorporating

elements of the original languages of the communities, sometimes are used on a daily basis although the original languages may be still used in private domains. However, when new generations grow up using pidgin as their first language, such as happens with Papiamento in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, it receives the name 'creole' (Garrett, 2000: 96; Siegel, 2008: 1, 3).

The third point in this category deals with *standardisation (0.3)*. Although standardisation may have very positive effects in a language, it can be lethal for some varieties of that very same language. An example of it is found in Italy and the cantons of Ticino and Graubünden in Switzerland, where the overwhelming majority of people traditionally lived in a situation of diglossia, speaking the local dialect and writing literary Italian. Nowadays, standard Italian has been widely adopted in daily speech as well. Despite the fact that linguistic regional differences still exist, most Italian dialects have been diagnosed terminally ill and on the point of demise (Lepschy & Lepschy 2006: 548; Lüdi & Werlen, 2005: 40).

The following category, *physical causes (1.)*, is related to the physical death of people, or community who speak a certain language. These circumstances attack directly the *usefulness* of the language, which may be regarded as a valueless tool due to the disappearance of a community. Physical causes are subdivided into:

- (1.1) Man-made physical causes
- (1.2) Natural physical causes

Man-made physical causes of language death are also divided into several points:

- (1.1.1) Genocide
- (1.1.2) War
- (1.1.3) Deportation
- (1.1.4) Relocations:
  - (1.1.4.1) voluntary
  - (1.1.4.2) circumstantial
  - (1.1.4.3) mass migration

Genocide (1.1.1). According to the online version of Cambridge Dictionary (2022), the term genocide is applied to '*the murder of a whole group of people, especially a whole nation, race, or religious group*'. One infamous example is that of the Aboriginal tribes of Australia. For centuries, the European settlers were not interested at all in sharing lands with the Australian tribes and aboriginal rights were not considered since the tribes were regarded almost like animals. One of the tribes (or group of tribes), the Tasmanians, were shot whenever they were found, hunted and moved into prison camps where they died due to miserable conditions. The Tasmanian languages were thus destroyed along with most its people (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 121).

An evident case of how *war (1.1.2)* affects languages is when two communities fight and in the conflict a part of the population is killed, undermining the future of its language, especially when that community suffers a defeat. Since it is improbable that all the population who speak a language die in a war, this factor is often accompanied by others,

such as deportation, genocides or/and social/economic/cultural/religious dominance of another linguistic group. One example to illustrate the catastrophic consequences of war over language is that of the uneven war that confronted a Californian tribe, the Yana, and the European settlers in California, USA. Between 1848 and 1967 the Yana population was reduced from 1,900 to about 100 individuals. The last Yana speaker from the Yahi tribe, died in 1916 after having lived for years hidden in the mountains (Thornton, 1990: 110).

Deportation (1.1.3), or the expulsion of a group from their land and their forced relocation in another place, is another main factor to undermine the vitality of a language. A clear example of this is found in the case of the Crimean Tatars. Deported and scattered through several Soviet republics, most Tatars lost their language. More than five decades after the deportation, or *Sürgün*, there are no more than 100,000 Crimean Tatar speakers while the overwhelming majority of the community feel more comfortable speaking Russian than any other language (Smith, 2006: 502; Uehling, 2004: 18).

In contrast to deportation, *relocation (1.1.4)* does not imply the expulsion from one's land and the obligation to live in an assigned place. Relocation is, to a certain extent, the intentional move and settling in another place due to different causes. It may be voluntary or forced by circumstances (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 10). Relocation often implies language contact. In some cases, the minority group may decide to switch to the majority language in order to increase their opportunities of better jobs, avoid discrimination or other reasons.

An example of *Voluntary relocation (1.1.4.1)* are the Gypsies (also called Roma in some countries). Their migratory history has provoked not only the division of Romany, their original language, into a number of languages (Mayall, 2003: 80), but also the loss of a high percentage of Romany speakers due to their shift to majority languages in the areas where they live (Halwachs, 2004: 1).

Different circumstances may impel individuals to resettle in other places, *circumstantial relocation (1.1.4.2)*. In Europe, one of the main causes of the final decline of Irish as a community language and even the death of some Irish dialects was the so-called *An Gorta Mór*, the 'Great Famine', between 1845 and 1849 and the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Irish in English speaking countries (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005: 100-101). Nowadays, there are approximately 33 million of Irish-Americans, but only 22,279 reported speaking Irish Gaelic at home in 2010 (US Census Bureau, 2010).

A good example of how *mass migration (1.1.4.3)* can change the language panorama in some countries can be found all over the American continent. The US state of California was a territory in which the majority of the population spoke Native-American languages. The arrival of Europeans changed that equilibrium and Spanish and then English became the most spoken and interethnic languages. Nowadays, native Californian languages are spoken by less than 500 individuals in all but four Californian counties (Siebens & Julian, 2011: 4).

Physical causes that affect the vitality of language may be also natural (1.2). Natural disasters may have two consequences for communities, namely the extinction of the

community by destroying their habitat, or the annihilation of the speakers. For this reason, in this thesis, natural causes of language death are divided into two categories:

- (1.2.1) Earthquakes, tsunamis, floods
- (1.2.2) Epidemics and pandemics

Earthquakes, tsunamis, floods (1.2.1). Although some natural catastrophes may exterminate a whole community, it is not necessary to reach that point to kill a language. Throughout history, natural disasters have decimated communities, destroying their unity and dispersing them, which has often provoked, among other disorders, language shift among the survivors. Crystal (2000) illustrates this circumstance with the case of the destruction by a tsunami of a number of villages in Papua New Guinea. The survivors were moved to other locations were other languages are spoken. Having passed some years after the tsunami, with a reduced and displaced population living among other ethnic groups, it is impossible to know whether the languages of the four villages are still in use or are only spoken by the survivors of the disaster, all of them adults (Crystal, 2000: 71).

Epidemics and pandemics (1.2.2) constitute the other natural danger for languages. When, about 500 years ago the Europeans arrived, settled and expanded in the Americas, they released a wave of epidemic disease which killed millions of Native Americans. In only 200 years after the arrival of Christopher Columbus, it is thought that imported diseases had killed over 90 percent of the local population (Crystal, 2000: 72). This extreme decline would evidently provoke the extinction of many unattested languages and dialects (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 90).

The third category of causes of language decline and death encompasses all the *social causes (2.)* or reasons why a community, where the lives of its members are not threatened by human or natural forces, decides to switch to another language (Crystal, 2000: 77). This group of language decline causes attack the *prestige* of a language in general. Three are the main reasons, also divided into a number of sub-reasons:

- (2.1) Overt repression
- (2.2) Covert pressure
- (2.3) Voluntary abandonment

As its name indicates, *overt repression (2.1)* is a visible pressure often carried out in the name of national unity, on a language community in order to produce a shift to another language. Although this pressure is often applied in ways which do not openly threaten the life of the minority-language speakers, it may also include drastic measures, such as deportations and imprisonment (Austin & Sallabank, 2011: 5). Unfortunately, there are uncountable examples of overt repression on minority or regional languages even in countries which declare to respect the freedom and basic rights of its citizens. Probably, the most obvious in Europe is found in France, where uniformity is one of the ultimate objectives of the Republican ideals. The case of Brittany illustrates well this point since, for centuries, the majority of the inhabitants of western Brittany were Breton speakers, most of them Breton monoglots. After the French Revolution, politicians and authors such as Bertrand Barère (1794), Abbé Gregoire, (1794), Anatole de Monzie (1925) publicly encourage the elimination of the so-called regional languages (Moal, 2001: 35). Even in

the 1950s there were warning signs in the schools of Brittany warning in French '*no spitting on the ground or speaking Breton*' (Ar Mogn & Hicks, 2003: 4). After centuries of persecution, Breton is only spoken by less than ten percent of the population, most of them elderly (Bouroulleg & Vallerie, 2007: 13-14).

In some cases, the pressure over a minority language can be exercised by a majority-language group in a covert manner using economy, religion or other means as the following sections show. This is identified as *covert pressure (2.2)* in the framework used in this thesis. Cover pressure may be exercised from different perspectives:

- (2.2.1) socioeconomic
- (2.2.2) sociocultural
- (2.2.3) political
- (2.2.4) religious

Rhydwen (1998) states that physical wellbeing is a top priority. Therefore, when basic needs such as shelter, food are unmet, language maintenance seems irrelevant and a luxury (Crystal, 2000: 104). Therefore, due to socioeconomic reasons (2.2.1) some people and even communities may decide to abandon a language in favour of another. This is the case of many languages in Equatorial Guinea, where the need to speak Spanish and French is jeopardising the future of many small local languages (Eberhard *et al*., 2020).

Sociocultural reasons (2.2.2) or cultural dominance that may provoke the extinction of a language may include education through the medium of another language only and folklorisation of a minority language (Austin & Sallabank, 2011: 6). Asturian-Leonese, also called Asturian, Leonese and Mirandese, is spoken in the regions of Asturias and León in Spain and in the area of Miranda do Douro in Portugal. Although it had been spoken by most inhabitants in the area until the nineteenth century, during the twentieth century Asturian-Leonese was confined to texts based on folklore, becoming an 'inferior' language, only valid to sing old songs or to talk about cattle, crops and superstitions (García Gil, 2008: 19). As a result, many Asturian-Leonese speakers started a shift towards Spanish or Portuguese. Currently, it is still reduced to the rural areas of the regions mentioned and often regarded as a folkloric feature (Llera Ramo & San Martín Antuña, 2005: 37).

Political reasons (2.2.3) to enhance the unity of some states or even to save a threatened language may make other languages spoken in the area sink and die as illustrates the example in Kazakhstan. The Republic of Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic country hosting 125 nationalities (Smailov, 2011: 19). Although all groups are recognised as 'national', only two languages enjoy official recognition, Kazakh and Russian. As a result of this policy, Russian remains unaffected by the measure, the knowledge of basic Kazakh continues slowly growing in some parts of the country, while the rest of the languages are in clear decline (Aminov *et al*., 2010: 2).

Religion or *religious reasons (2.2.4)* can be a major force to accept or to abandon a language. The case of Egypt illustrates how a new religious doctrine can threat a language and even kill it. In 642 AD, the Arabs invaded the country and brought about a period of strong Islamisation and Arabisation. In contrast with what happened in other Muslim

countries such as Turkey and Persia (Iran), the ancient Egyptian or Coptic language became identified with Christianity and therefore widespread rejected by Muslims, who adopted the Arabic language. Coptic was only preserved by the Christian minority that completely switched to Arabic during the sixteenth or seventeenth century, maintaining Coptic as a liturgical language (Ishaq, 1991: 604-605; Layton, 2000: 1-2).

Very often, minority-language communities that enjoy freedom may feel that progress requires assimilation to a bigger, dominant or more developed culture in a process of *voluntary abandonment (2.3)*. Often, adults give up their languages and teach their children the national or dominant language, since they suppose that it will help them advance in the future (Harrison, 2007: 14). In that case, the dominant culture does not consciously repress the minority; it is the minority that voluntarily accepts the foreign culture and language (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 91). In view of this, voluntary abandonment can be divided into three sub-factors:

- (2.3.1) Post-traumatic abandonment
- (2.3.2) due to vocabulary fossilisation and/or loss of usefulness in general
- (2.3.3) due to loss of prestige in life

Sometimes a language may end its days 'voluntarily' in a process of *post-traumatic abandonment (2.3.1)* after a chain of traumatic events when there is no persecution or pressure to do so and there may be official support to maintain it. In the modern Republic of Ireland, Irish Gaelic is an official language and a compulsory subject for all the children. However, although there are also all kind of technological and media support to make of Irish a normal modern language, its situation and perspectives are not good. After almost one century of promotion of the Irish Gaelic only about one tenth of the Irish seem to be using it as a real-life language, basically the same proportion of speakers that was reported in the Irish Census of 1901 (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005: 111, 201). Most of the families who were compelled to shift to English have not returned to Irish despite the favourable conditions.

Due to a variety of reasons, a language may become a living 'fossil' and their speakers may perceive it as a relic of the past, only valid to talk about certain [retrograde] subjects, such as agriculture or peasantry, but useless in the modern world (Clague, 2009: 170). Therefore, due to *fossilisation* and/or *loss of usefulness in general*, speakers may opt for a voluntary abandonment of the old language in favour of a 'modern' one. This may be the case of Rhaeto Romance in Switzerland. Although, it is represented in all possible domains including education, media and administration, the percentage of Romansh speakers has decreased from 40% in 1880 to only 14% of the total population of Graubünden, where German has become the strongest language (Darms, 2006: 893; Lüdi & Werlen, 2005: 9, 14). Romansh speakers may think that teaching their children German may help them to have better possibilities in the future in general or in other regions of Europe where German is the main language (Elmiger & Foster, 2005: 18).

Due to different reasons, a language or dialect may *lose its prestige (2.3.3)*. Therefore, the activities which used to be done in certain linguistic variety are now carried out in another without a direct pressure to do so. This would be the case of the Paraguay. Guaraní or

avañe'ẽ used to be the language in which the Spanish Crown subdued the population. It was used to teach the Catholic religion and almost everything that was required by the colonial power. Nowadays, bilingualism is almost universal in Paraguay and Guaraní acts as low (L) language while Spanish is the high (H) language (Adelaar, 2006).

To summarise, in this thesis the researcher classifies the causes for language decline and death as follows in Table 1.3:

Table 1.3. Causes for language decline and language death

0. Evolutive causes	1. Physical causes (mainly affecting '*usefulness*')	2. Social Causes (mainly affecting '*prestige*')
0.1 Language change	**1.1 Man-made physical causes**	**2.1 Overt repression**
0.2 Pidginisation and creolisation	*1.1.1 Genocide, massacres*	
0.3 Standardisation issues	*1.1.2 War*	**2.2 Covert pressure**
	1.1.3 Deportation	*2.2.1 Socioeconomic reasons*
	1.1.4 Relocation • *1.1.4.1 Voluntary* • *1.1.4.2 Circumstantial* • *1.1.4.3 Mass migration*	*2.2.2 Sociocultural reasons*
	1.2 Natural physical causes	*2.2.3 Political reasons*
	1.2.1 Earthquakes, tsunamis, floods	*2.2.4 Religious reasons*
	1.2.2 Epidemics and pandemics	**2.3 Voluntary abandonment**
		2.3.1 Post-traumatic abandonment
		2.3.2 due to vocabulary fossilisation and/or loss of usefulness in general
		2.3.3 due to loss of prestige in life

1.4.3 CONSEQUENCES OF LANGUAGE DEATH

Multilingualism is often blamed on problems such as divisions amongst people, hatred, wars and other catastrophes (Crystal, 2000: 27). The history of the world, however, has proved this idea totally erroneous. Although it is true that there have been terrible atrocities during clashes between two or more language groups, history is also full of thousands of documented calamities in which the majority of both sides spoke the same language, such as the war in Nicaraguan Revolution or the Spanish Civil War in 1930s, just to mention two (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 19). In fact, language death cannot be considered the panacea which will end most problems. The death of a language not only may affect the community which loses it, but it may also affect human culture in general.

Language is often related to identity. It is usually more evident than any other characteristics such as physical, local customs, beliefs, rituals, etc. and is, therefore, the primary index, symbol or register of identity (Crystal, 2000: 39-40). This makes the

members of a community recognizable to other communities (Fishman, 1991: 4; Austin & Sallabank, 2011: 9). Therefore, losing a language may lead to *losing community identity*, as was the case of the Cumans in Hungary during the seventeenth century (Pálóczi Horváth, 1996: 28).

All the cultures of the world have unwritten literature consisting of stories, poetry, epic tales, jokes, riddles or similar. Taking into account that most languages have never acquired a written form, the death of any of them implies the death of all the art and knowledge expressed in the oral literature (Harrison, 2007: 17). That knowledge is intrinsic to each language, and although a nation may substitute their daily communication by adopting another, possibly dominant, language, the local culture cannot be substituted or adapted because it was based on a particular way of seeing the world through the lost language (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 14). Languages are also the best witnesses of the history of nations (Brenzinger, 2007: ix). By its vocabulary, syntax and often its phonology, a language may indicate where a nation originated, who its neighbours were, what was important for the group, and many other details. The loss of language often supposes the loss of the history of a group (Crystal, 2000: 40).

Unfortunately, traditional knowledge is often dismissed unless it makes an economic contribution to the western world. Thus, it is generally believed that the only useful knowledge comes from nations where majority languages such as English, French, German or Mandarin Chinese are spoken. Nevertheless, history proves that this concept is not true. For Inuits, the knowledge of the types of ice and snow that could support the weight of a man, a dog, or a kayak was vital, so they were named individually. Nowadays, the knowledge encapsulated in those Inuit words may be used by explorers and by people working in the Artic regions. As illustrated by this example and since no human possesses universal knowledge in all topics, the key to new scientific advancement may well be in any of thousands of dying languages around the world (Batibo, 2005: 49; Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 16).

Technology and ideas travel around the world based on accurate descriptions of the issues because, without language, there is no transmission of culture. Linguistic science, therefore, is one of the pillars of modern society. Odum (1986) declares that the diversity of living things is apparently directly correlated with stability and that variety may be a necessity in the evolution of natural systems. The same principle applies to linguistic science, whose success depends on the multiplicity of languages and the knowledge of linguistic diversity (Newman, 2003: 1).

Finally, as Crystal (2000: 54) states, languages are interesting in themselves, and not only to linguists. Languages are the source of art, such as literature, poetry, songs, etc., and can be a source of economic profit. Major languages move a billionaire industry around the world, but minor and even extinct languages also attract the attention of millions who buy T-shirts with Egyptian hieroglyphics printed on them, books to learn how to write Tibetan, and some nations like Outer Mongolians and Hungarians try to recover their ancient alphabets to enhance even more their sense of nationhood. We humans are fascinated by languages; for that reason, their death is always a loss for humankind.

1.4.4 ACCEPTANCE OF LANGUAGE DEATH AND OPPOSITION TO LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

There are, however, some scholars who do not perceive any problem in language death. In fact, some consider language diversity as a '*headache*' and some others even deny the status of '*language*' to those that have only a few hundred speakers, calling them '*secret codes*' (McWhorter, 2009; Malik, 2000). The reasoning behind this point of view is based on premises such as 1) languages are *only* tools for *wider* communication (McWhorter, 2003: 255; Malik, 2000); 2) language death has been present almost from the beginning of the world's history (McWhorter, 2003: 253); 3) language repression is only a part of social repression; 4) most languages die due to situations which have nothing to do with repression; and 5) no language can be considered 'special' (Malik, 2000).

This aseptic vision of world multilingualism tends to ignore the fact that languages are not mathematical formulae but part of the intricate human mind which stands against the first point mentioned considering languages simply as tools for wider communication. Languages, in fact, play a considerable role in individual and group self-identification, independently of the number of speakers and are, therefore, special for their speakers. The Welsh, for example, call their language *Cymraeg* or '[the language] of our comrades' while English, the majority language in Wales, continues to be *Saesneg*, '[the language] of the Saxons', while for the English, the word Welsh derives from a term which means 'foreign', or '[the language] of the foreigners'. It is true that language death has existed for millennia; however, it has never so strong as nowadays. In any case, its long existence does not justify it, such as long existence of racism, sexism and other types of oppression make them permissible.

In any case, it is evident that most scholars and speakers do not want their languages to vanish. The pandemic that affects half or more of the languages spoken nowadays has provoked an increased awareness of the problem which, in turn, is making it possible to design and implement strategies to promote language revitalisation, of which Cornish is a notable example. The following section analyses the different models of revitalisation according to different possibilities of respective community and language groups.

1.5 MODELS OF LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

Revitalising a language often signifies an enormous change in that society. For this reason, the process is not an easy one and often requires the employment of several strategies. Chin and Benne (1969) propose three main steps in order to operate the necessary changes in society:

1. Empirical-Rational strategy
2. Normative-Re-educative strategy
3. Power-Coercive strategy

The first one, *empirical-rational* strategy consists on providing the necessary information and letting people work accordingly. Once this is accomplished, a *normative-re-educative*

strategy may become the main force to continue the revitalisation process. This supposes that the members of the society that attempts a language revitalisation will start to learn and use the language once they see others doing so. Finally, authorities may start regulating by law, *power-coercive* strategy, how the language has to be employed, for example in education.

The implementation of any of these strategies in order to be successful, however, cannot be done in an automated or standard way. When a community intends to revitalise its language, there are several possible approaches one could consider. Grenoble and Whaley (2005) divide into six categories the various programmes that deal specifically with increasing local language knowledge and use which can be found world-wide, depending on factors such as the approach, the type of community to which they are addressed and the goals regarding the language and the community. They recognise, however, that there may be other important factors to complement the linguistic part of each programme, such as fund-raising, political lobbying, legal work, and/or community relations efforts (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 50). Some of these models of revitalisation are related totally or mainly to education since it is the factor on which most communities have chosen to focus. However, a number of models also involve the whole community.

1.5.1 TOTAL-IMMERSION PROGRAMMES

For most linguists and educators, total-immersion programmes are the most appropriate solution to revitalise a language. They are based on the idea that the best way to learn any language is to create an environment in which the target language is constantly used in all possible domains. Those programmes depend on three necessary key elements, namely:

- *the existence of living speakers* in order to serve as a base for creating the immersion in the minority language;
- *widespread community support* since the revived language must have some domains outside the classroom in which to be used; and
- *financial resources*, necessary to create didactic materials for total-immersion programmes at school.

Nevertheless, it must be taking into consideration that the fulfilment of these points is neither a guarantee of the implementation of the programme nor of its success. When an established system of compulsory education in a majority language is already working in the community, a minority-language immersion programme can act as an alternative. However, for that alternative to succeed, external investment, ideally from national or regional governments, and minimal intrusion are necessary. Unfortunately, in many cases, immersion programmes face difficulties due to non-supportive or even hostile legislation.

1.5.2 PARTIAL-IMMERSION PROGRAMMES

Partial-immersion programmes, also called bilingual programmes, are those in which some classes are conducted in the local language and some others in the majority language.

These programmes may be appropriate in a number of situations. These may include situations where either funds are insufficient, there is a lack of speakers, there is not widespread support for the revitalisation programme within the community, or when laws limit education in local languages.

One of the advantages of partial-immersion programmes resides in the fact that they can be applied to situations when students have at least a colloquial command of the minority language but also need to master a language of wider communication, or when students have a very limited or no knowledge of the minority language. In the first case, the goal of the programme may be developing fluency in a language of wider communication. Those programmes work, therefore, as a bridge for children until they know enough of the language of wider communication to function fully in it.

When children with limited command of the local language and good skills in a language of wider communication are taught in partial-immersion programmes, the local language is most often taught as a second or foreign language. Moreover, very often new materials must be produced, since old materials may have been written at a time when children of the minority still spoke their local language fluently.

The approach to teaching a local minority language as a foreign language may be carried out in two different ways. The first one is designed to begin revitalisation with adult generations, since languages are best learned when spoken and learnt in the home. In this case, parents learn the minority language and they teach it to their children, who may also study it at school. This line of action offers advantages to both parents and children. On the one hand, parents do not become a lost generation. When the local language is spoken by all group ages, the creation of domains to use it is done in a natural way because the language is much more than a school subject. However, there are some disadvantages as well. Learning a language and attaining fluency is something that may take months and even years for an adult. Moreover, those adult parents are usually working and rearing children, therefore finding time to learn a new language may be a challenge. For this reason, the second line of action focuses on creating a new speaking generation with children by introducing the language, for example, at school.

An alternative to these bilingual programmes is the formulaic method where isolated words and phrases such as some greetings and some basic exclamations in the local language are used intermingled with the language of wider communication. When students have mastered those simple phrases, new and more complex expressions can be introduced. This technique is supposed to help students become comfortable using the new language. This methodology has proved to be useful in situations where there is no body of speakers or there is no opportunity to talk or to be taught by fluent speakers (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 56; Amery, 2000: 209–212).

Despite their advantages, partial-immersion programmes are not positively regarded by some language activists and linguists. According to them, those programmes often develop into transitional or bridge programmes to help children command a wider communication language rather than the local-minority language, which in many cases is accommodated as a foreign language within the school curriculum (Kipp, 2000: 3). However, although this point may be true in some instances, it is also true that this model of revitalisation may be

the only opportunity available for some communities, and it is often the only way to teach children their ancestral language. Although most of these children may not become effective speakers of the minority language, some of them will be, changing the status of a dead or moribund tongue into a language with speakers in the younger generations, thus with more possibilities to have a future.

1.5.3 COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES

In contrast with total-immersion and partial-immersion programmes, which are centred on the classroom and education, community-based programmes deal with the community as a whole. In many communities, people are used to learning their culture through observation, and not in a classroom. This point of view often conflicts with a learning style designed around an educational system, since language is often deeply tied to other local cultural manifestations. In such cases, a more compatible method is necessary in order to increase the likelihood of revitalising a minority language.

Usually, community-based programmes are focused on the domains where the language may be used, such as shopping, participating in traditional activities or sports, etc., instead of on language instruction in a classroom. By participating in activities where the language is spoken, individuals learn in a natural way, since the language is an intrinsic part of the activity itself. The advantage of these programmes is that the challenge of finding domains where the minority language can be used is automatically solved. In order to continue developing skills in the local language, some communities may opt for implementing any of the programmes based on education, such as total-immersion or partial-immersion. One of the better-known community-based programmes is the master-apprentice programme implemented in California, where learners of local Native American languages and fluent speakers are paired for a period of three years, using the native language together for 10-20 hours every week (AICLS, 2015).

1.5.4 LANGUAGE RECLAMATION MODELS

Language reclamation, resuscitation or awakening models refer to revivals of languages that are no longer spoken (Amery, 2000: 17). These models differ from language revitalisation because there are no native speakers who may serve as consultants or teachers of the language that is being revived. Hebrew is commonly cited as the most successful example of language reclamation. In order to revive a language, some basic documentation is needed, such as a rudimentary grammar and some basic lexicon. Obviously, the greater the documentation, the more likely the reclamation is to have some chance of success.

Critics of this model argue that the resurrected language will not be the same as the one which died some time ago. It is true that communities that opt for this model must be realistic and accept that, without any native speakers, one cannot possibly hope to reclaim the language in exactly the same form as it was spoken by the last generation of speakers.

This revitalisation model is, therefore, one which requires tremendous commitment and collaboration from the community.

The models listed above are the most common in language revitalisation. Although total-immersion programmes seem to be the most effective, very few communities have the resources to implement them. Many language groups, therefore, may prefer partial-immersion programmes being implemented within the community. Other groups opt for teaching the language to adults, while others teach it through old songs and sayings in order to acquire some fluency in an often dead or quasi-dead language. Communities are also involved when the language is taught by the often-aged speakers to the non-speakers in order to transfer the language with its original pronunciation, idioms, etc. to a newer generation. It also helps create real-life domains in which learners can use the traditional language. The election of one or another model must be done by taking into consideration the *specific* circumstances of each community and its language. This may include a number of variables, such as the effective number of speakers, the support of the community, the support of local and national governments and the state of the language itself (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 50, 51).

1.6 CONCLUSION

Investigating the sociolinguistics, maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages at the start of the twenty-first century requires a carefully-considered approach on the part of the researcher. The recent awareness about the fragile situation of an increasing percentage of languages around the world has compelled different academics not only to highlight this situation but also study the underlying reasons for it. In this chapter, a theoretical background to the study of language policy, maintenance and revitalisation has been provided. This is important to avoid unnecessary language policies that may be of little use to help an endangered language and to design effective strategies adapted to each particular situation, language and language group. The chapter started detailing the phenomenon of language contact and the ideologies and perspectives resulting of that situation, which in turn produce four main situations or scenarios for languages. Only one of the four situations analysed represents certain stability for a language. In the rest, weaker language varieties may struggle to survive. Therefore, based on previous works of organisations and scholars, such as UNESCO (2003), Fishman (1991), Conklin and Lourie (1983) and Giles *et al.* (1977), the researcher identified a number of language use factors and attitudes which may help a language to survive despite some unfavourable circumstances.

Unfortunately, despite the above-mentioned works, it is a fact that language death still exists. In order to have a clearer understanding of this phenomenon and to deepen into the history of Cornish and its current situation, the researcher identified and organised into a framework all the different factors that may result in language death. This will serve to identify not only the causes that provoked the death of Cornish in the early nineteenth century but also the circumstances that may affect the language during its revitalisation.

Finally, Cornish is not the first language to be revitalised. The experience of other communities in this regard may serve as a model for the project. For this reason, the

various models for language revitalisation according to Grenoble and Whaley's (2005) framework were also listed. This discussion sets the context for the analysis of the current situation of Cornish, as detailed in Chapter 3, and the suitability of Basque in Trebiñu as a model for the Cornish situation, as analysed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 2:

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter outlining the design of the research study consists of three sections. Section one is an introductory section providing an overview of the chapter and lists the objectives of the study and a review of some ethical issues. The second section outlines the methodologies employed in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly and includes details of sampling, participant selection and the reasons for their inclusion. This is followed in the final section by a discussion on the choice of Trebiñu as one of the most similar places in Europe where a successful process of language revitalisation is being carried out. This includes the different methods used to investigate the language situation and the strategies to promote Basque in this region, a detailed description of the sampling and the manner in which participants were selected.

This study looked in depth at the difference in language use and language perception of three specific groups in Cornwall and Scilly, namely:

1) Cornish speakers of Cornwall and Scilly;
2) Individuals who do not speak Cornish, but live in Cornwall or Scilly and identify themselves as Cornish/Scillonian nationals; and
3) Individuals who do not speak Cornish, but live in Cornwall or Scilly and do not identify themselves as Cornish/Scillonian nationals.

Two groups were identified in Trebiñu:

1) Basque speakers of Trebiñu
2) Total population of Trebiñu

The inclusion of a third group in Trebiñu encompassing only the individuals with Basque national identity, whether or not they speak Basque, was discarded. Contrary to what happens in the United Kingdom where, besides British identity, the Government recognises different national identities, such as Welsh, Scottish, Irish, Cornish and English, the Spanish law, as stated in Article 2 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, does not recognise any national identity besides Spanish within the country. The so-called regional identities are applied to all the individuals who live in each region independently of their language, ancestry or self-identity. In addition, in Spain, any regional national identity is mostly used as a declaration of political activism and ideology instead of a description of a cultural fact. For these reasons, none of the previous studies carried out in the area have ever considered individuals who identify themselves as Basque and its weight within the population would be based only on estimations which may provoke biased results (Cohen *et al.*, 2018: 212).

In order to obtain the necessary data from all of these groups, a series of processes were designed. These processes, and their application, are described in some detail in sections 2.3 (for Cornwall and Scilly) and 2.5 (for Trebiñu). The level of detail included was deemed necessary in order to provide an understanding of the context in which data were

gathered. It may also help in the possible replication of this particular methodology in future studies concerning language revitalisation cases.

2.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research was designed to be carried out using a variety of methods including the preparation of a questionnaire to be filled by individuals over the age of 16 living in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, and several interviews in Cornwall and in the Enclave of Trebiñu. Before proceeding with any further steps, a number of methodologies were considered with regard to their ethical implications. This consideration was based on several publications, such as *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* by BERA (2018), *Research Methods in Education* by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018), *Doing Your Research Project* by Bell and Waters (2014) and *Projects in Linguistics* by Wray and Bloomer (2006), *Research for Development: A Practical Guide* by Laws, Harper and Marcus (2003), and *A guide to language use observation: Survey Methods* by Altuna and Basurto (2013).

One of the main ethical issues surrounding this research focused on ensuring that all participants were fully aware of the purpose of the research and that they understood their rights (BERA, 2018: 9). Participants were also assured that their identity would remain anonymous and therefore, nobody would know what their personal opinion on the issue is. Therefore, confidentiality had to be guaranteed. In order to accomplish this, the following steps were taken:

- Making the survey available on the Sogo Survey website (www.sogosurvey.com). This website does not track visitors, or provide the researcher with any email address or the Internet Protocol number (IP) of those who participate in the survey.
- Preparing a printable document, in case somebody had difficulty using the online survey. In this document, participants were also advised not to write any name or other detail which may have provided evidence of their identity.
- Preparing a brief explanation of the research and its purpose in the first part of the questionnaire and also ensuring the confidentiality of the participants and explaining that they may withdraw at any point without giving any reason.

The questionnaire included a number of questions required for statistical and analytical purposes, such as gender, age, location or nationality. No name, email address or other details that may reveal the identity of the participant were requested. Therefore, the researcher had no knowledge of the identity of the participants in the questionnaire.

As for the interviews, the issue of confidentiality was different because the researcher was aware of the identity of the interviewee. For this reason, a statement describing the aims of the interview was written to be read before the interview. Interviewees were asked whether the researcher could use his/her name in the study. If they did not wish for their name to be included, they were assigned a number to be referred to as 'interviewee number *X*'.

The project outline, sample questionnaires and consent form were submitted to the University of Wales Trinity Saint David's Ethics Committee and approved on 17 August, 2016.

All the data collected for this study were stored offline in two removable memory cards. One of the cards was used during analysis while the second one was kept as a backup. In order to maintain the participants' privacy, nobody had access to the raw data except the researcher.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this research was to study a very complex topic with different subtopics. On the one hand, this was a study to assess the position and usage of the Cornish language in public and private domains, and to research the inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly's attitudes towards the promotion and use of Cornish as a community language along with English. On the other hand, as detailed in Section 2.4, the researcher identified the case of Trebiñu as a model for language revitalisation in conditions similar to those in Cornwall. Therefore, research on the state of Basque in Trebiñu was carried out, as well as an analysis of the language strategies implemented by the local government. Once the data was collected, the next step included an identification of strengths and weaknesses as well as realistic possibilities to adapt and apply successful strategies employed in Trebiñu to Cornwall and probably Scilly.

The complexity of this topic called for an appropriate approach, namely *triangulation* or *multi-method*, defined as '*the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour*' (Cohen *et al.*, 2018: 265). This process was selected because it is generally less vulnerable than any single method-approach due to the fact that it is possible to see the same thing from different perspectives in order to confirm or challenge the findings obtained by each single method. In fact, in any mismatch between single methods, triangulation may help to determine the reason for these differences, whether they are mistakes, or they are related to the people's different perceptions of similar phenomena (Laws *et al.*, 2003: 281). The combination of methodological approaches was also linked with the need to avoid any possible researcher bias. Although a researcher must be objective and non-partisan, he/she may have his/her predilections. Moreover, the truth is not always what the researcher takes it to be (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 17) Since this fact seems unavoidable, Denscombe (2014: 154) suggests that triangulation may reduce bias in the research, provide a 'practical, problem-driven approach to research' and enable compensation between strengths and weaknesses of research strategies.

That said, obviously, triangulation is not a perfect approach. One key problem or difficulty is the large amount of time required to examine all data and mismatches. Moreover, the researcher may have to depend on other people's schedules in order to conduct interviews, or it may be difficult to find participants for questionnaires or interviews (Bell & Waters, 2014: 120-121). The way such difficulties were overcome for this investigation is explained in the following sections.

The adoption of triangulation in this study encompassed three main methodologies:

- *Quantitative methods*: In Cornwall and Scilly, this methodology was used by creating and distributing a sociolinguistic questionnaire and by the use of primary and secondary sources such as censuses and previous studies. In Trebiñu no

questionnaire was prepared, and most raw data was extracted from censuses and previous studies carried out by the Basque Government. The employment of this methods was particularly useful to explain and chart social situations in the two regions under study (Altuna & Basurto, 2013: 29).

- *Phenomenological methods*: direct observation of the language situation in both countries by considering, for example, the language employed in street and commercial signage, on the Internet, etc. This enabled the researcher to see how the topic under study appeared *directly* to his eyes rather than through the eyes, experience or filters created by other people (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 20-21). In addition, some other primary and secondary sources were used, namely visual material including photographs and videos which allowed the researcher to reach inaccessible persons or subjects. It was also very useful in seeing how situations have evolved over time (Martin, 2018: 325).
- *Qualitative methods*: In order to clarify some social behaviours, some interviews with some key individuals were conducted and a number of comments from interested people were collected (Bell & Waters, 2014: 9).

These three methods were used independently. The final analysis was based on the data obtained by each of them. This enabled the researcher to have a more complete perception of the language situation in both, Cornwall and Scilly and in the Enclave of Trebiñu. The investigation was carried out during 2016 and 2018 with some additions in 2020 (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Timeframe of the research

Cornwall and Scilly		Trebiñuko Enklabea	
Methodology	*Dates*	*Methodology*	*Dates*
Quantitative methods: *Questionnaire	October-December, 2016	*Quantitative methods*: *Questionnaire	No questionnaire
Quantitative methods: * Use of primary and secondary sources such as census and surveys	2016-2020	*Quantitative methods*: *Use of primary and secondary sources such as census and surveys	2016-2020
Phenomenological methods: *Observation	2017-2018	*Phenomenological methods*: *Observation	2016
Phenomenological methods: *Use of primary and secondary sources such as photographs and videos	2016-2020	*Phenomenological methods*: *Use of primary and secondary sources such as photographs and videos	2016-2020
Qualitative methods: *Interviews and comments	January-February, 2017 and May 2020	*Qualitative methods*: *Interviews	January-February, 2017

2.3 STUDY IN CORNWALL AND THE ISLES OF SCILLY

2.3.1 QUANTITATIVE METHODS: QUESTIONNAIRE

One of the goals of the research was to acquire information about the population's knowledge and attitudes towards the Cornish language. However, the accomplishment of this objective encountered three key difficulties:

- the scarcity of studies dealing with the knowledge of Cornish by its speakers;
- the insufficient data regarding attitudes of the general population towards the implementation of Cornish; and
- the potential noticeable differences that may be between current data and those obtained before the recognition of Cornish as a minority language in the United Kingdom in 2002, and particularly since the implementation of the Standard Written Form (FSS) in 2008.

In order to proceed, several methods were considered, and it was decided that the distribution of a questionnaire would be the best way of attaining the research goals. This would ensure the researcher could gather a considerable amount of data in a short period of time and analyse it in a relatively easy manner (Wilson & McLean, 1994: 3). However, surveys are not free of methodological limitations and, accordingly, some steps were necessary to overcome these difficulties. One of these limitations is the possible unreliability of some answers. Some participants' answers may not reflect what they do, but what they believe they do, while some others may even openly lie or try to give what they consider a correct answer (Wray & Bloomer, 2006: 154-155). Therefore, to collect a reliable number of valid answers which could minimise the effect of false answers, a survey with at least 95% of confidence level and 10% of margin of error was designed. The sample expected according to these parameters, as calculated with SurveyMonkey's '*Sample Size Calculator*' (https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator/) was as follows:

- Cornish speakers (estimated pre-survey population: maximum of 3,000 individuals): 94 valid answers.
- Cornish non-speakers (estimated adult population: approx. 500,000 individuals): 97 valid answers.

Since how the questions are formulated and the choice of answer may lead the respondents to give certain answers, neutrality on the part of the researcher was accomplished in different ways:

- By establishing a neutral idea behind the survey, namely determining the state of the Cornish language, instead of basing it on a preconceived judgement such as how good or bad it may be.
- By carefully wording each question, often based on other questionnaires such as the *2004 Welsh language Use Survey* (Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2006), *The Cornish Language Survey* (Burley, 2008) and *A Report on the Cornish Language Survey* (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b).

2.3.1.1 DESIGNING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Only one questionnaire was prepared to be distributed amongst Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speakers. Some questions were aimed specifically at Cornish speakers; however, these particular questions always could be skipped or be answered with 'I don't know', 'I

don't speak Cornish' or equivalent. Although the research dealt with Cornish-English bilingualism, the questionnaire was designed exclusively in English in order to facilitate participation and understanding. A bilingual version was discarded since the monolingual version was already a four A4 page document. Therefore, the equivalent of an eight-page-long document would have seemed too long for most participants and could have led to individuals abandoning the questionnaire half way through or deciding not to answer at all (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 500-501). Moreover, since the same questionnaire was to be distributed to all the participants, seeing a Cornish translation may have affected the neutrality of the answers received. A translation into Cornish would have implied for some people that the researcher was a Cornish speaker and thus favourable to the promotion of the language which, in turn, could provoke either positive answers in favour of the Cornish language or the withdrawal of some individuals. (Bell & Waters, 2014: 163-164). Another reason to proceed in this way was linked to the different Cornish spellings still in use. Between the implementation of the Standard Written Form (FSS) and this study, there were only conjectures about the percentages of people who employ each Cornish spelling. As it will be discussed below, writing in a certain variety may have provoked the refusal of some of those who employ other forms to participate, and even problems of understanding.

The final version of the questionnaire comprised twenty-six closed-ended questions, some of them divided into several sub-questions. There were eight sections in total (Appendix 1: Questionnaire).

'Section 1'. This section comprised only one question, Question 1 informed the potential participants of the nature and purpose of the research and requested the necessary permissions from participants to employ the data obtained. Since information about the research and previous direct approval by each respondent was a *sine qua non* for the investigation, it was required that respondents answered Question 1. Only those who answered '*Yes*', confirming that they had understood the purpose of the survey and had given their consent to use the input data, were able to continue with the survey. Had anyone answered '*No*' or tried to skip this question, he or she would not have been able to proceed with the rest of the questionnaire.

'Section 2'. From Question 2 to Question 9, the participants provided some personal information for statistical and analytical purposes. Those details included age, gender, place of inhabitancy (as a child and current), national identity, and the sector in which the respondent either worked at the time of the survey or used to work. Answering this set of questions was mandatory, otherwise it would have been impossible to analyse the rest of the results appropriately. Apart from practical research related reasons, these items were placed at the beginning of the questionnaire due to the fact that most people feel comfortable talking about themselves and, since respondents know all the answers without much effort, they feel more encouraged to continue with the survey (Youngman, 1987: 20). All participants were reminded not to provide any other personal details, such as name, email address, etc., which may have identified them.

'Section 3' dealt with specific attitudes about the official promotion of Cornish and its possible employment in education. In order to explore these points, this section consisted of two main questions, Question 10 '*Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about the promotion of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly*', and Question 11,

'*Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about education*'. In both questions, the participants found a series of concrete proposals related to each topic. Therefore, in Question 10, respondents had to give their opinion on whether or not Cornish should be an official language, on its use in street signage, and on the appropriateness of promoting the language officially. Question 11 proposed different scenarios, such as the introduction of Cornish in the curriculum as a school subject, the transformation of the schools into English/Cornish bilingual schools, and the possible effects of the introduction of Cornish in relation to English and other foreign languages. The participants were able to answer using a five-degree Likert scale from the highest acceptance (strongly agree) to the lowest acceptance (strongly disagree). This grading allowed the participants to qualify their opinions instead of declaring total agreement or total disagreement which may have produced distorted results.

'Section 4' explored the social perception of the Cornish language. It was composed of Questions 12 and 13, which were very similar but formulated from two different points of view. Question 12 enquired about the respondent's views of hearing someone speaking Cornish in certain situations while Question 13 enquired about the respondent's perception of how other people may view him/her if he/she were heard speaking Cornish in the very same situations. Therefore, Question 12 provided answers in terms of how each individual perceived the language and its speakers, while Question 13 focussed on how he or she believed that the language and its speakers are perceived by others. The results may reveal not only the participants' perception of the language, but also whether it may be an obstacle for people to learn it or for local governments to promote it. The creation of these questions to explore social attitudes was preferred over other methods, such as voice or video recordings to be listened to or shown to the participants, such as Lambert's Matched-guise Technique (Lambert, 1967; Edwards, 1994: 98). This was because of two reasons. According to previous research such as SGRÙD Research (2000) and PFA Research (2007), the number of Cornish speakers constituted a very small minority. As confirmed by some participants, this means that most inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly may have never heard or very seldom spoken Cornish, which may have affected their ability to recognise it. This, therefore, would invalidate the results of the experiment. In addition, amongst the small community of Cornish speakers, the probability that the listeners may recognise the speaker was high, which again would invalidate the results.

'Section 5', Questions 14, 15 and 16, dealt with the promotion of Cornish and how people might perceive it. The answers to these questions were useful to tailor specific strategies to promote Cornish since they provided a wide view of how individuals saw the situation of the language and how they reacted to different actions related to its promotion. Question 14 enquired about the availability of Cornish in different domains, such as technology, education, services, and others. Question 15 asked about the role of local government and its position in the promotion of Cornish. Finally, Question 16 proposed eight strategies to promote the Cornish language in society and asked how much they agreed with them. All these questions were to be answered using a five-degree Likert scale. However, since the same questionnaire was provided to speakers, who may be relatively well acquainted with the use of Cornish in different domains and the steps taken to promote it by the authorities, as well as non-speakers, who may be totally unaware of many such details, the possibility of answering 'I don't know' was added to Question 14 and Question 15. Question 16 did

not require any competence in Cornish, but besides the strategies proposed, there was also an option to answer 'Nothing. There is no need for Cornish' which may have been appropriate for those who were not in favour of the language being used.

'*Section 6*' comprised of Question 17 to Question 21. This part was specifically designed to serve three key purposes, namely 1) determining the Cornish speakers' active and passive competences, 2) determining the success of the recently and officially implemented Standard Written Form (FSS) and 3) determining the number of Cornish speakers living in Cornwall and Scilly. In order to map the respondents' skills in Cornish, a Likert scale was provided for Questions 17 and 18. The possibilities to answer about competence in Cornish mirrored those employed in previous studies, dividing speakers into native/nativelike, fluent, conversational and those who only knew some words and phrases (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b; Burley, 2008). The word *Kernow* (Cornwall) is widely employed in businesses and in social services, such as NHS Kernow. A number of other Cornish words such as *tre* (farm, town), *chy/chi* (house), *porth* (harbour), or *ynys* (island) are found in place names and are also used by some companies. Therefore, since it would be almost impossible to find anybody who did not know a single word in Cornish, the option 'basically nothing' instead of simply 'nothing' was also added for those who did not consider that their knowledge of a few widely known words implied any actual knowledge of Cornish. Even for those who are fluent in two or more languages, there may be one which is dominant. For this reason, Question 20 enquired about which language respondents felt most comfortable speaking.

For decades, the Cornish language process of revitalisation was divided into several, often antagonist factions, each one favouring its own orthography. In 2008, The Cornish Language Partnership (now Cornish Language Office), an official entity associated with Cornwall Council, decided to adopt a new spelling form for official use and for formal education, the Standard Written Form or *Furv Skrifys Savonek* (FSS). Question 19 inquired, for the first time in a survey, about the use of each spelling by the speakers including the official Standard Written Form (FSS). Besides the official form, all the four main spellings proposed during the twentieth century and another possibility labelled as 'other' were provided as possible answers. The name of every spelling system was given in English and Cornish to avoid confusion.

Question 21, '*What do you consider your main language (as answered in the 2011 Census)?*', was designed to be used along with Question 17a, '*Can you speak Cornish?*', and the figures obtained by the 2011 Census. This provided an excellent threefold perspective to determine the approximate number of Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Scilly.

'*Section 7*' had only one question, Question 22: '*Please, say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about the Cornish language*'. Its objective was to provide some insight on direct opinions on the Cornish language, such as its perceived difficulty, usefulness, or the respondents' views on learning it. It was intended for both speakers and non-speakers, since it did not imply any actual knowledge of Cornish.

'*Section 8*'. Questions 23 to 26 were designed to compile data about the actual use of the language in different situations and domains. Three of the questions dealt with real

situations: '*How often do you speak Cornish with other people of your locality?*', '*What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life?*' and '*What language do/did you use in the following* [ten] *situations?*', which included both past and present situations such as the language used at home as a child, or currently with friends, on the Internet, etc. The data collected from the answers to this group of questions enabled the researcher to evaluate the actual use of Cornish as well as other important points, such as whether native speakers may also use the language or whether speakers transmit it to their children. Nevertheless, Cornish speakers might have found themselves in a special situation since they may have been fluent speakers willing to use Cornish but unable to do so due to the possible lack of other speakers. For this, Question 24 was shaped in a hypothetical setting, '*How often would you like to use Cornish?*'. Despite the fact that hypothetical questions may be a source of wrong or misleading information (Bell & Waters, 2014: 163-164), it was considered necessary to include it since it provided data about how engaged speakers and learners were to use Cornish, despite adverse circumstances. Those who were not Cornish speakers were given the possibility of avoiding answering or to answer 'I don't speak Cornish'.

2.3.1.2 PILOT STUDY

After finishing the design of the questionnaire, in order to identify and anticipate any mistakes and/or difficulties, a pilot study was conducted (Wray & Bloomer, 2006: 12). Results and comments from the participants enabled the researcher to be able to resolve any issues in the most appropriate manner before the commencement of the main study.

2.3.1.3 PILOT STUDY: PARTICIPANTS

For the purpose of the pilot study, approximately 40 individuals amongst members of the Cornish diaspora were contacted through *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek*, *Agan Tavas* and through the *yeth an werin* groups of London and Cardiff. Twenty-five individuals returned the questionnaires. Of these, one was discarded because the participant did not identify him/herself as Cornish and had never lived in Cornwall or Scilly. All the rest had been living in Cornwall or Scilly during, at least, their childhood, but during the time when the research was conducted 18 of them were living in England, while four others were living in the rest of the United Kingdom, and two more in other countries.

2.3.1.4 PILOT STUDY: AMENDMENTS

The feedback was mostly positive and gave insight into the participants' possible [mis]interpretation of some of the items in the questionnaire. In fact, one contributor recommended other pilot participants to complete the questionnaire, since he considered it useful and '*not onerous*'. However, a few observations highlighted some inaccuracies or grounds for confusion, which indicated that there was room for minor adjustments.

Two of the comments referred to typos in some questions. One of them in Question 16c, which read '*street singing*' instead of '*street signing*'. The other one was spotted in Question 14 where one of the options for answering read '*fairy good*' instead of '*fairly good*'. Both errors were amended in the revised version.

Only one participant stated that the general wording of the questionnaire was difficult to understand for people without an academic background. Obviously, it is entirely possible that some participants may have experienced some difficulties with the content. However, all the questions were formulated free of jargon and technical terminology, and their wording mirrored that of previous surveys, such as the *2004 Welsh language Use Survey* (Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2006), the language related questions of the British censuses, or both editions of *A Report on the Cornish Language Survey* (Burley, 2008 and Cornish Language Partnership, (2013b). Despite this, after a re-examination of every question, some minor changes were made which may, hopefully, have helped ensure greater clarity, such as substituting phrases, i.e. '*oral*' by '*spoken*' or '*acquire*' by '*learn*'.

Another comment was in relation to Question 19 which enquired about the version of revived Cornish that the respondents normally used. A total of five versions were offered as possible answers, and two other options: 'None, I don't speak Cornish' and 'Other [version]'. A participant pointed out that '*Kernowek Standard*' (Standard Cornish or KS), a variety of revived Cornish first published as a draft proposal in 2007, was not listed amongst the versions proposed. After considering the possible inclusion of another orthography, the proposal was rejected. Adding *Kernowek Standard* would have required a longer list with a number of other orthographic versions, such as '*Kernowak Standard*' (or KS1), Lhuyd Spelling, Manuscript spelling(s), Saunders' spelling (George & Broderick, 2010: 756) or even hybrids constructed using different variants. It was considered that the option '*Other*' would perfectly serve to declare the employment of any other version of Cornish not listed in the questionnaire.

A third request suggested the inclusion of an extra question dealing with the respondents' knowledge of other languages besides English and Cornish. There is no doubt that this question could have provided some interesting insights on topics such as foreign language learning/acquisition, possible benefits of bilingualism and attitudes towards language education. However, at this point, it was important to focus on the object of this research, namely the promotion of Cornish, a *non-foreign* language of Cornwall and Scilly, as a community language. The inclusion of such a question would fall far from the original research and, therefore, it was not included.

2.3.1.5 PILOT STUDY: CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the pilot study was to experience and evaluate the questionnaire that had been prepared. Despite previous assumptions that it would be difficult to find participants, the response rate was very high, with 24 valid responses out of 25 questionnaires received. In addition, the participants showed a high degree of engagement and provided useful advice in relation to improving the original questionnaire. This, in turn, paved the way towards distributing the survey more widely.

2.3.1.6 SURVEY SAMPLING

Cornish speakers living in Cornwall or Scilly, specific members of a relatively small minority, and representatives of the general population of Cornwall and Scilly, regardless their skills in Cornish, were invited to fill the same questionnaire. For this reason, it became necessary to use different sampling strategies as described in the following sections.

2.3.1.7 SURVEY AMONGST CORNISH SPEAKERS

One of the objectives of the survey was to collect information about the use of Cornish by the Cornish speaking population living in Cornwall and Scilly, and to enquire about their attitudes towards the promotion of the language. Based on previous research, the estimation of the number of speakers ranged from 300 to 3,000 individuals which was, in any case, less than one percent of the total population of the area (PFA Research, 2007; Cornwall Council, 2004; SGRÙD Research, 2000). Since there would be little benefit in seeking a random sample when most potential participants (general population of Cornwall and Scilly) would have no knowledge of Cornish and would be unable to comment on matters of their personal use of the language, a purposive sample became vital. This means that the cases to be included in the sample were handpicked on the basis of their, at least, minimal skills in spoken Cornish. Although the results were neither representative nor generalisable to the total population of Cornwall and Scilly, they enabled the researcher to acquire in-depth information from those who were in a position to provide it (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 218-219).

According to previous research, about one third of Cornish speakers were members of or were somehow associated with language organisations (Burley, 2008: 8). These organisations usually promote new research about the language and spread the news amongst their affiliates by newsletters, their websites and/or email lists. Therefore, it was considered that a convenient way to reach Cornish speakers was by sending a brief explanation of the research and invitations to participate to those organisations. The following organisations were contacted:

- Agan Tavas
- Akademi Kernewek
- Cussel an Tavas Kernôwek
- Gorsedh Kernow
- Kesva an Taves Kernewek
- Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek

In addition, there were many speakers who were still studying the language as well as some others who wanted to improve their proficiency and attended *yeth an werin* meetings. For this reason, another way to reach some Cornish speakers was by sending invitations to the public addresses of the eight *yeth an werin* groups of Cornwall (at that time there was no group in Scilly):

- Sen Austel (St Austell)
- Gwynnyer (Gwinear)
- Lannstevan (Launceston)
- Porthkellys (Portkellis)
- Turu (Truro)
- Porth Ia (St Ives)
- Hellys (Helston)
- Egloshallow (Illogan)

Moreover, the Cornish Language Office was also informed of the research. Consequently, an announcement was published in *Kevren*, the official newsletter of the Office (Cornish Language Office, 2016: 3). Some other organisations were also contacted, such as '*Movyans Skolyow Meythrin*' (education) and '*Radyo an Gernewegva*' (media) in order to invite their employees to participate in the survey.

2.3.1.8 SURVEY AMONGST THE GENERAL POPULATION OF CORNWALL AND THE ISLES OF SCILLY

Contrary to what happened with the sampling of the Cornish speaking population, the survey amongst the general population was conducted using a probability sample or, more specifically, a simple random sampling; that is to say, all the participants were chosen randomly from the wider population living in Cornwall and Scilly, as detailed in the next paragraph. The only condition required was being over 16, since many questions, especially those dealing with language policy, required the opinion of mature individuals. This approach enabled the researcher to acquire a general perspective of the situation due to the representativeness of the wider population (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 214-215).

In order to reach people of the wider population, several individuals as well as a number of social, educational (including the three higher education institutions operating in Cornwall), political, administrative and governmental organisations and companies were invited to participate. Their addresses were obtained via their websites (when available) or their public email addresses. All the invitations were sent by email, specifying in English the nature of the research, and attaching a link to the survey. In addition, some individuals as well as a number of local councils and organisations announced the research and provided the necessary details to participate either on their websites or by forwarding emails to their members, associates and friends. The following is a list, divided into several categories, of the organisations directly contacted by the researcher and invited to participate in this study:

Government:

- Councillors (of all political persuasions) and staff of Cornwall Council
- Councillors (of all political persuasions) and staff of Council of Scilly
- The council of the city of Truro and the councils of all the towns and rural parishes of Cornwall

- Local branches of British (non-Cornish) political parties
- Cornish local political parties and politicians

Educational institutions:

- University of Exeter-Institute of Cornish Studies
- Falmouth University
- Cornwall College
- 25 public and private schools (all in Cornwall) including teachers and administration
- The Five Islands Academy in the Isles of Scilly

Media:

- BBC Cornwall
- St Ives TV
- My Cornwall
- Cornwall Today
- Radio Scilly

Companies:

- Cornwall Chamber of Commerce
- The local chambers of commerce of Cornwall
- Cornish Pirates – *An Vorladron Gernewek* (Rugby team)
- Companies of all sectors based in Cornwall (approx. 300) and Scilly (20)

This intended to ensure the participation of people with different views about the Cornish language and its promotion, including Cornish nationals with no knowledge of the Cornish language, and people who lived in Cornwall and Scilly but who did not consider themselves either Cornish or Scillonian. It must be admitted, though, that many of those who decided to answer the questionnaire may have been people with clear opinions on the issue, either favourable or contrary. This may have eclipsed the existence of a probably larger percentage of apathetic individuals with no interest in the language. For this reason, the results obtained must be considered a clear indication of the attitudes of the different groups, rather than exact percentages.

2.3.1.9 DELIVERING QUESTIONNAIRES

The revised questionnaire was uploaded to the online platform www.sogosurvey.com. Volunteers were directed to this website in order to participate in the survey. The online survey method was appropriate due to two main factors, namely place and time. Respondents were able to participate from the place they wanted at the most suitable hour for them. An online platform fulfilled all these basic needs of accessibility from hundreds of respondents from all regions of Cornwall and Scilly. In addition to the already mentioned advantages, Sogosurvey provides researchers with quick and easy access to the

answers and provides participants with the necessary degree of anonymity. Additionally, individuals who may have had a problem accessing the online survey were given the possibility of participating by email, using PDF or DOC documents. These documents explicitly advised the participants not to write their name or any detail that may reveal their identity. None of the participants chose this option to submit their responses.

2.3.1.10 CORNISH SPEAKING PARTICIPANTS

A total of 220 individuals with Cornish language skills participated in the survey. Male and female participants were present in similar percentages. Only one participant was located in the Isles of Scilly, while the rest were living in Cornwall. One hundred and sixty-two Cornish speakers declared Cornish nationality only or along with another nationality (Figure 2.1).
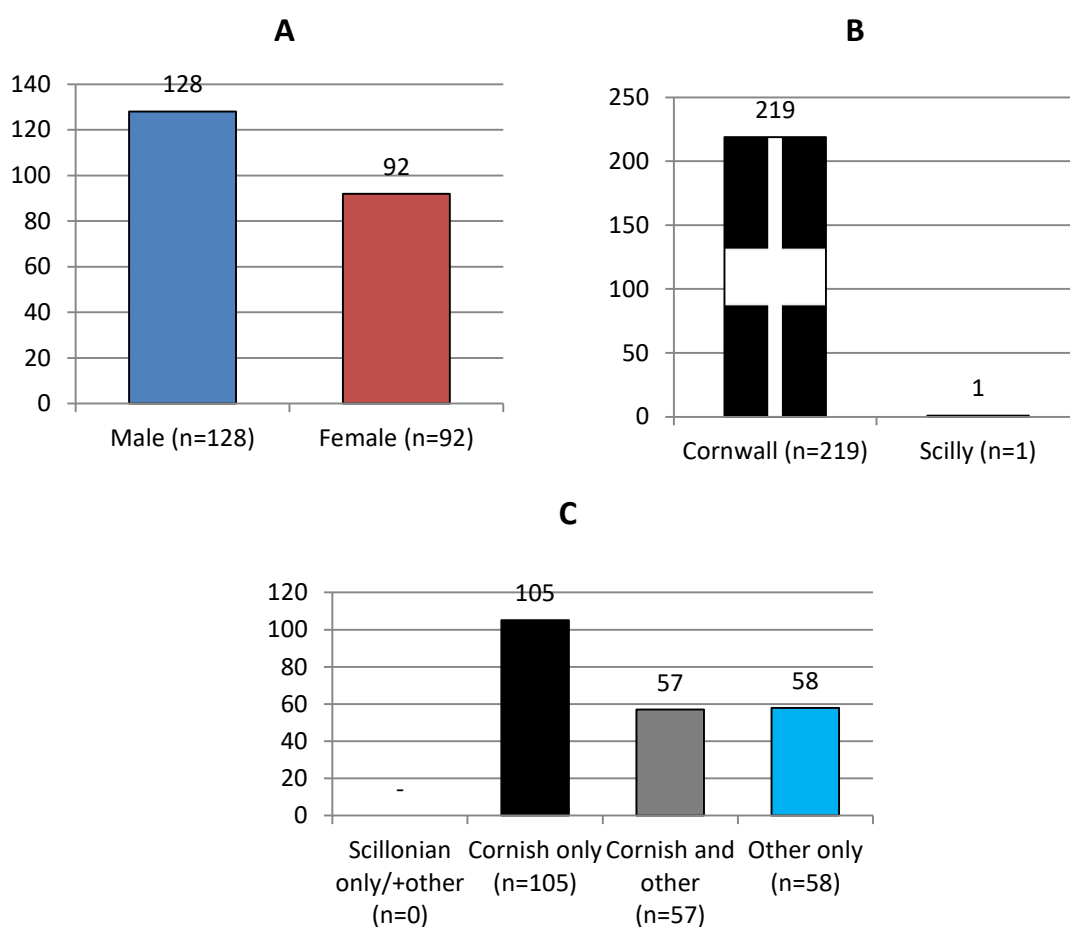
Figure 2.1. Total numbers of Cornish speaking participants according to A) gender, B) location, and C) national identification

2.3.1.11 NON-CORNISH SPEAKING PARTICIPANTS

A total of 147 non-Cornish speaking individuals participated in the survey. Male and female participants were present in similar percentages. The overwhelming majority of the participants, 143 individuals, were based in Cornwall and four others in the Isles of Scilly.

The participants represented all three possible national identities in the area, Scillonian, Cornish, and Other, including British and English. Most respondents reported no knowledge of Cornish however, 13 individuals declared very limited command of written Cornish (Figure 2.2).
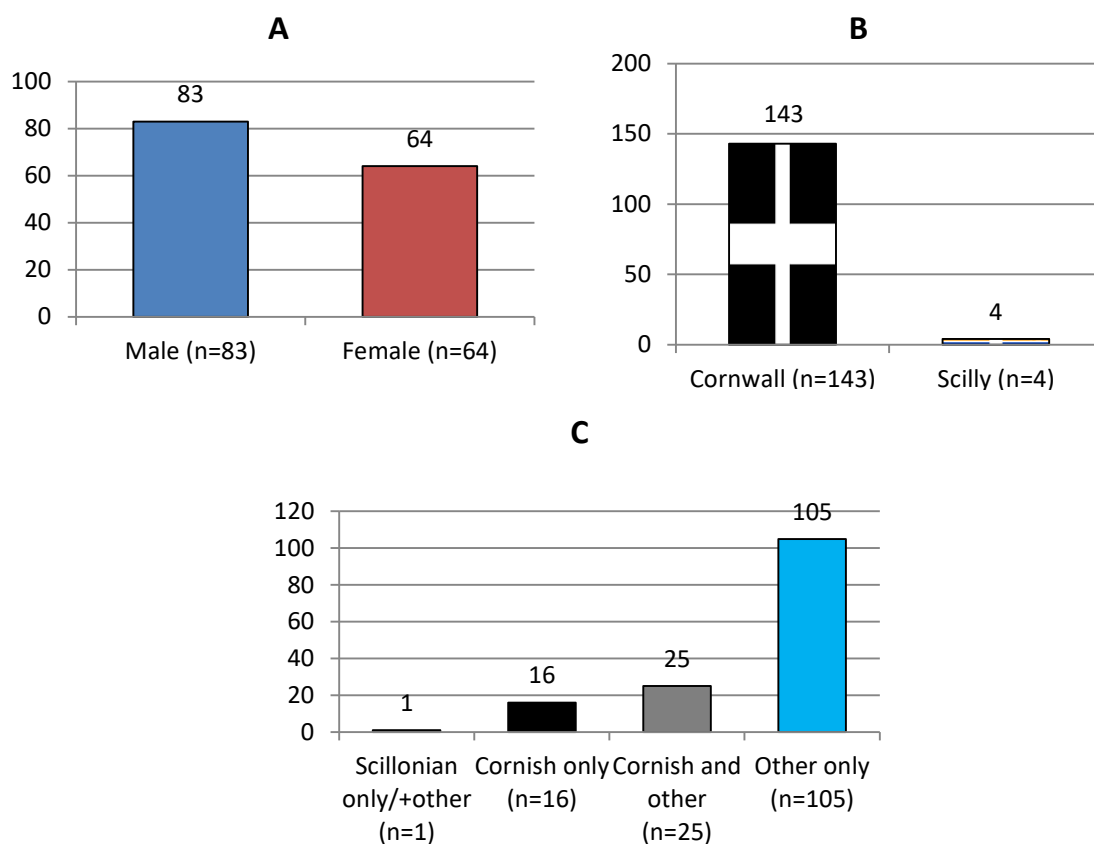
Figure 2.2. Total numbers of non-Cornish speaking participants according to A) gender, B) location, and C) national identification

2.3.2 QUANTITATIVE METHODS: USE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Research on language attitudes towards Cornish is still extremely scarce, fragmented and definitively insufficient, being basically three research projects. The only one of them encompassing the *general* population of Cornwall is found in the answers to one question included in *A Report to the Cornwall Strategic Partnership: Quality of Life Tracker Survey* (PFA Research, 2007). A more complex study was conducted by Cornwall Council, but it only included members of the Council's staff (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013a). The most recent study to date was published by Croome (2015) analysing attitudes of head teachers of primary schools located in Cornwall.

Competence in Cornish has been monitored by some studies such as *The Cornish Language Survey* (Burley, 2008) and *A Report on the Cornish Language Survey* (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b). As for the number of speakers, it has been mostly conjectured (SGRÙD Research, 2000: 20). More recently, the 2011 Census addressed the same question, but only partially, since it enquired about the respondents' *main language*,

while those with Cornish as an additional language remained invisible (Cornwall Council, 2013a).

2.3.3 PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHODS: DIRECT OBSERVATION AND USE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Observation was a valuable tool to determine the state of Cornish in Cornwall. This methodological approach was mostly employed to determine the use of Cornish in a number of public domains, including street signing, commercial signing and advertising, media, and education. Observation was not only important in the fields listed above, but also in the so-called virtual world. The use of Cornish in new technologies may play an important role in language promotion. Therefore, a careful scanning of the use of Cornish on websites, social media and mobile telephony was necessary to evaluate not only the current behaviour of the language in those fields, but also the implications that it may have for the future. In addition, using primary and secondary sources allowed the researcher to carry out a work of diachronic observation. This became a key method to perceive how the use of Cornish has evolved mostly through the last two decades. These sources mostly included photographs and videos.

2.3.4 QUALITATIVE METHODS: INTERVIEWS AND COMMENTS

Interviews conducted in Cornwall played a significant role in this investigation, particularly to clarify some data collected mostly from the survey, but also from documentation and observation (Cohen *et al.*, 2018: 33, 223-224). However, the application of this methodology was not free from a number of obstacles. The researcher had to be flexible in order to help individuals participate, as in terms of time and method such as written or oral, on the telephone, video calls, email, together with language, namely Cornish or English (Bell & Waters, 2014: 187-188). Moreover, interviews are open to bias since each of them reflects the opinion of only one person, which may not be representative of that of the whole group under study. For this reason, the researcher conducted a series of interviews with individuals from different backgrounds and positions, as detailed in the following paragraphs. Although each opinion was not *per se* a universal truth, it is maintained that the comparison of all the answers and the application of the rest of the methodological approaches helped to picture a more accurate image of the actual situation of Cornish. Another difficulty linked to conducting interviews is possible researcher bias. Although as a social scientist, the researcher must be objective, as a human being, he may have his preferences. Since this fact seemed unavoidable, what made the difference was the researcher's attitude towards the participants. Therefore, he did not push his own views and personal perceptions (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 64). Although it was intended that a minimum of ten interviews be held and, as detailed below, several invitations were sent, only eight individuals were interviewed. Due to the maturity required to have a clear insight on the topic, all the interviewees had to be adults. Therefore, lack of time on their part due to their responsibilities may be counted as the main reason for falling short in this respect. However, in addition to the information provided by the interviewees, some

people who knew about this research project also wrote interesting comments about their points of view on the revitalisation and promotion of Cornish. These comments were also used as a valuable source of information to support the investigation (Appendix 2). At this point, it is also important to underline that any of these comments were received in the same document as the responses to the survey. Therefore, there was no breach that may have revealed the identity of any of the participants in the survey, as detailed in Section 2.3.1.1.

2.3.4.1 SAMPLING

The interviews discussed some specific details on the state of the Cornish language and its revitalisation. However, according to previous research (PFA Research, 2007), not everybody in Cornwall or Scilly is acquainted with these topics. For this reason, in order to acquire the necessary information, the researcher had to handpick the cases to be included in the sample in what is called a non-probability, purposive sample (Cohen *et al.*, 2018: 218). Following this method of sampling, interviews were conducted with representatives of the following categories:

- *Cornwall Council Members*: Having the opinion of Cornwall Council Members from different political views was necessary to have an appropriate insight into how the highest authorities of Cornwall viewed the issue of the language. These individuals are, after all, the ones who propose and sanction laws which affect the promotion of the language.
- *Representatives of Cornish language organisations*: For decades, independent language organisations were the only promoters of the language. They were the ones which established the different orthographies for revived Cornish, published dictionaries and grammars and created curricula and established classes to teach Cornish. Moreover, most of the positive pressure to promote the Cornish language officially originated within these organisations.
- *Specialists in Cornish language education*: Education has been described as the *most obvious relevant aspect* (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 32), *essential* (UNESCO, 2003: 12), and *crucial* (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 316) factor in language revitalisation. For this reason, the opinion of specialists in Cornish language education was not only appropriate but absolutely necessary to assess the state of Cornish and to explore ways in which it may be further implemented in this key domain.
- *Representatives of the wider population*: Since Cornish is a language intended to be used in Cornwall, and probably in Scilly, as a community language, it was important for some aspects to be clarified by members of the general population.

2.3.4.2 STRUCTURE OF THE INTERVIEW

A semi-structured interview was considered the most suitable in this case. It initially consisted of a core of six open-ended questions which allowed the respondents to answer

according to their views and in their own words. However, depending on the circumstances and position of some interviewees, fewer or additional questions were formulated. The first two questions intended to put Cornish in the United Kingdom context, along with the other native minority languages, such as Welsh and Scottish Gaelic. Question 1 requested the opinion of the participants on the promotion of these languages. This linked with Question 2, which specifically enquired whether the Cornish language should be given the same opportunities as the aforementioned native British languages. The answers to these questions allowed the researcher to establish whether any positive or negative attitudes on the part of the participants were linked to Cornish in particular or to minority languages in general. Question 3 intended to establish whether there was any perception of the social use of Cornish, in this case the speaking of Cornish informally on the street. Question 4 focused on the support for Cornish in education, one of the key fields to teach and learn languages in modern societies. The promotion of Cornish may have practical effects; therefore, Question 5 enquired about how a positive language policy may affect the Cornish economy, some local services, and people's daily activities. The answers served to provide some insight about the perception of the usefulness of Cornish. A final question, number 6, was also provided for any other comments about the Cornish language and its promotion.

2.3.4.3 FINDING PARTICIPANTS

The participants for the interviews were contacted directly by sending to their public address or their organisations a short description of the research project and an invitation to participate in a short interview. As discussed in Section 2.3.4, several options were offered to facilitate participation (Bell & Waters, 2014: 187-188).

Fourteen members of Cornwall Council were contacted. In order to interview representatives of language organisations, four organisations were contacted, namely *Akademi Kernewek*, *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek*, *Agan Tavas* and *Kesva an Taves Kernewek*. There were at least two schools and playgroups in Cornwall where Cornish was taught, therefore an invitation was sent to each of them to participate in the research. Finally, five businesses within the area of Redruth-Camborne, one of the places with more Cornish speakers in Cornwall according to the 2011 Census, were randomly contacted asking for volunteers to undertake an interview.

2.3.4.4 OVERVIEW OF THE INTERVIEWS IN CORNWALL

In total, eight full interviews were conducted with inhabitants of Cornwall and five comments were received from participants in the survey. All the interviewees requested the questions in a written document to be submitted by email. The answers were also sent by email. Although some of them were fluent Cornish speakers, all the participants decided to answer in English in order to avoid misunderstandings.

Two interviews were conducted with councillors of the Cornwall Council. One of them, Cllr Loveday E.T. Jenkin (Interview 2), is a fluent Cornish speaker and member of *Mebyon*

Kernow-The Party for Cornwall. The other councillor who agreed to be interviewed, and requested that his/her name not be used, belonged to the opposite political spectrum (interview 3). Jori Ansell (interview 4) was interviewed due to his position as chairman of *Akademi Kernewek*, and Clive Penwith Baker (interviewee 8) as Chairman of *Agan Tavas*. Two other interviews (interviews 5 and 6) were conducted with experts in Cornish education in order to evaluate the state of Cornish, especially in primary education, and the possibilities of being taught in more schools. Finally, two interviews were also conducted with members of the general population (interviews 1 and 7).

2.4 CHOICE OF TREBIÑU

In order to find a case of language revitalisation that may share the maximum number of similarities to that in Cornwall, there were important linguistic, economic, cultural, demographic and geographic differences that had to be taken into consideration. Although it would be absolutely impossible to find two language groups that share exactly the same characteristics, there were some points that facilitated an effective exploratory work. In order to accomplish this purpose, the following series of filters were used:

- Linguistic background
- Societal background
- Juridical situation of the minority language.

2.4.1 FIRST FILTER: LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Although as Indo-European languages, Cornish and English are very distant relatives, it is almost impossible for English speakers to understand any Cornish unless they have some previous knowledge of the language. Therefore, the most adequate language revitalisation process for this study had to fulfil the same premise namely dealing with two languages with no mutual intelligibility. For this reason, most of the revitalisation processes in Europe where both languages share a high number of grammar rules and vocabulary, such as Mirandese/Portuguese, Elfdalian/Swedish or Russian/Belarussian had to be discarded.

2.4.2 SECOND FILTER: SOCIETAL BACKGROUND

Although English and Cornish belong to different ethnic backgrounds, namely Germanic and Celtic, their differences are relatively minimal since both of them share the same cultural-religious tradition (western Christianity), racial background (white Indo-European) and way of life (sedentary). Therefore, the revitalization model for Cornwall had to be carried out in a country where both ethnicities shared similar cultures. Although this is the case in most countries, it excludes some nomadic minorities such as the Sami in Scandinavia and Russia who have values very different to those of the majority.

2.4.3 THIRD FILTER: JURIDICIAL SITUATION OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE

During the time when this research was carried out, Cornish was not an official language in Cornwall or Scilly. It was generally not taught at school nor was it part of the official school curriculum. Although officiality or government recognition does not guarantee *per se* the survival of any language in a certain region, it helps its maintenance via education, existence of official notes, documents or/and services in it. In this regard, the model to be employed in this study had to be one where the minority language were not official, thus excluding cases such as Wales, Scotland, Luxemburg and others.

2.5 STUDY IN THE ENCLAVE OF TREBIÑU

After applying the filters discussed above, the Enclave of Trebiñu, a region in northern Spain, was identified as a suitable candidate to serve as a model of language revitalisation. As introduced in the introductory chapter of this thesis, both areas, Cornwall and Trebiñu, share many common characteristics. These include being part of bigger geo-political entities, England and Castile respectively, with widely spoken major languages, being generally considered remote, rural and economically weak, and having lost their indigenous local languages which are unrelated to the majority languages.

2.5.1 QUANTITATIVE METHODS: USE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

The research about the situation of Basque in Trebiñu required extensive analysis and use of documentary evidence. The use of official sociolinguistic studies and census reports enabled the researcher to access large samples. Moreover, these primary and secondary sources were useful not only to reach less accessible persons, but also to know how situations have evolved since the time when Basque started to be promoted in Trebiñu, with a particular emphasis on the last two decades (Martin, 2018: 331).

In contrast with what happens with the rehabilitation of other languages, such as Hebrew or even what happened with the Basque language in the Basque Autonomous Community or in Navarre, the information published about the language situation in the Enclave of Trebiñu at the time was still limited. Due to the fact that Trebiñu is *officially* a monolingual Castilian county, its language situation is unknown by many scholars, and it was even ignored by the Council of Europe's language specialists working in Spain in 2012 (Council of Europe, 2012: 4). At the time of carrying out this research, there were only a small number of works in which the historical use of Basque in the region is analysed, the most notable being *Trebiño: Claves para un contencioso inacabado* by González de Viñaspre (1999).

In order to assess the current situation of Basque in Trebiñu, a survey would have been an appropriate instrument. However, there were several obstacles which made a reliable survey an unattainable task for a single researcher. The first one was linked to the scattered

population of the Enclave. The total population ranges between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants scattered in more than 40 villages distributed over 280 square kilometres. Even if one visited every single house, there would be little chances of finding most of its inhabitants since the overwhelming majority study or work in other villages, in Araba or in other areas of Burgos. An online survey may have served to avoid these problems, but the rather low population of the Enclave may have required a very high turnout to have a sufficient number of answers to provide an accurate idea of the situation. In order to overcome this difficulty, the researcher decided to use primary and secondary sources. Between 2002 and 2012, the Basque Government published three studies (2002, 2007 and 2012) based on extensive surveys in both municipalities of the Enclave of Trebiñu. A fourth sociolinguistic survey was planned to be carried out in 2020. However, the conditions resulting from the COVID pandemics have postponed this project and, by the time of writing this thesis, the Basque Government has not set any alternative date. Although these studies were not official censuses, an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants participated in each of the surveys. In fact, the 2007 survey was answered by 76.3% (Basque Government, 2007: 1) and the 2012 survey was responded to by 74% of the total population of Trebiñu (Basque Government, 2012: 7). Moreover, since they were carried out periodically every five years, they not only provided information about the language situation in the year in which they were conducted, but also allowed the researcher to observe the evolution of the revitalisation process during almost two decades. Analysing these reports was, therefore, essential to determine some data, such as the approximate number of Basque speakers, their ages, and to a certain extent, their competence. Besides the already mentioned surveys, more data was collected through extensive research in local media and the compilation of graphic material, such as photographs.

2.5.2 PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHODS: DIRECT OBSERVATION AND USE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Another phenomenological method used in Trebiñu was direct observation. This was particularly useful due to the fact that it offers to produce more authentic data than indirect methods (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 542-543; Wray & Bloomer, 2006: 168). The collection of data by this method focused on providing answers to the issues raised by the framework for language maintenance found in Section 1.2 of this thesis.

Online and onsite observation was employed to determine the use of Basque in public domains in Trebiñu. The online observation was based on an in-depth scanning of how Basque and Spanish were used on official and commercial websites, official communications and in the local media. The onsite observation focussed on checking the languages employed in official street signage, commercial signing and advertising in shops, banks, restaurants and other establishments, as well as the language employed in informal conversations of people in the street. In addition, other primary and secondary sources were also used. These included photographs and videos which provided some evidence of the use of Basque especially during the last two decades.

2.5.3 QUALITATIVE METHODS: INTERVIEWS

Another step for determining the situation of Basque in Trebiñu and the strategies used in its promotion was based on interviews. This helped to clarify responses and to enable participants to discuss their interpretations of the situation under analysis based on their own opinions and on the data compiled through the other methods, namely use of primary and secondary sources and observation (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 506-507; Bell & Waters, 2014: 178).

The application of this methodology had to deal with almost the same problems as in Cornwall (Section 2.3.4), including the difficulty of finding participants amongst a relatively small population and the minimisation of bias from both the interviewees and the researcher. In this case, the interviews were designed as a way of obtaining descriptive information without any of the participants being compelled to adopt any political or personal positions. Therefore, questions such as '*Why would it be better for Trebiñu to be counted as a Basque county instead of being a remote region of Burgos?*' were avoided. On the other hand, questions such as '*How much Basque can you hear on the streets?*' or '*Do you perceive any opposition to the promotion of Basque in Trebiñu?*' can be equally answered by pro-Basque, neutral, and anti-Basque participants without revealing the researcher's point of view (Cohen *et al*., 2018: 64).

2.5.4 SAMPLING

From the point of view of the investigation, it was important that the interviewees had some knowledge about the Basque revitalisation project. This perspective led to the election of a non-probability, purposive sample, according to the following three categories:

- *Representatives of the authorities*: Not being an autonomous community nor a province, Trebiñu is ruled by the councils of the municipalities of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun. However, they are under the jurisdiction of the province of Burgos and, ultimately, under the control of the regional Government of Castile and León. Since the positions of local, provincial and regional authorities are very different, the researcher looked for the collaboration of all three;
- *Specialists in education*: Due to the essential role of education in the implementation of languages, the views of local specialists in education were necessary to explore its influence in the revitalisation of Basque in the area (UNESCO, 2003: 12);
- *Other members of the general population of Trebiñu*: The point of view of specialists and authorities was valid in official and strategic domains. However, the population who were not involved in government and promotion of the language may perceive the situation from a different angle. Interviews with individuals residing and/or working in the Enclave provided opportunities to confirm or deny assumptions and strategies emanating from the official and formal domains.

Unfortunately, only five, one of them with two participants together, of the ten interviews expected were held. However, the researcher accomplished his objective of interviewing local individuals from the three groups which had accepted to participate in the investigation (Cohen *et al.*, 2018: 512). In addition, it is safe to say that their answers were coherent with large amounts of data gathered from the use of the other methodologies applied in this study.

2.5.5 STRUCTURE OF THE INTERVIEW

A short semi-structured interview was considered the most suitable in this case (Appendix 3). Although some questions were common to all the participants, each interview was specifically prepared taking into consideration the respondents. All the interviews consisted of five open-ended questions which allowed the respondents to answer according to their views and in their own words (Cohen *et al*. 2018: 511).

The interview with the language officer consisted of five main questions. The first four questions intended to link the revitalisation of Basque to three issues namely, usefulness, Basque identity, and political ideology, allowing another question for 'other reasons'. Question 5, which was divided into three subquestions, inquired about strategies implemented in Trebiñu to overcome some difficulties that the Basque language revitalisation may experience in the area. These difficulties or obstacles were identified as apathy of the people to learn and use Basque, lack of funds from the government of Castile and León and lack of a Basque-speaking environment. The answers to Question 5 provided first-hand information from a reliable source about how the local language policy dealt with obstacles that are common to many other countries and regions where minority languages are implemented.

The interview with the rest of participants was slightly different. Question 1 was divided into three points and enquired about the reasons, namely, usefulness, Basque identity, and reasons why people learn Basque in Trebiñu. Question 2 enquired about the perception of people's attitudes towards the language, whether it is or not considered a positive feature. The next question dealt with the social use of Basque in the Enclave, in particular with the possibility of hearing Basque spoken in the streets. Question 4, related to Question 2, explored the perception of negative attitudes or particularly, opposition towards the implementation of Basque. A final question, Question 5, was also provided for any other comment that interviewees wished to add about the topic.

2.5.6 FINDING PARTICIPANTS

The Basque Language Office of Trebiñu, along with some cultural associations recently launched a website, *Euskara Trebiñun*, which was used to contact possible participants. In a similar way, all three schools of the Enclave, the Ikastola Argantzon (Basque school), CEIP Condado de Treviño (Spanish/English school) and Trebiñu Haur Eskola (Basque/Spanish kindergarten) have either websites or public addresses and telephone numbers which were useful to invite their representatives for an interview. The provincial

government of Burgos was contacted through the official online form found on their website. The only unionist political party of Trebiñu, Partido Popular, People's Party, was contacted through its branch in Burgos by its public email. Finally, some representatives of the rest of the population were reached by the public addresses or telephones of the local companies and shops. In order to facilitate participation, different possibilities were offered, such as choice of times, methods, such as Skype, online (chat, email), telephone, etc., and languages, namely Basque or Spanish (Bell & Waters, 2014: 178). As stated in Section 2.5.4, the take up was low. This could be explained by, first, the small population of Trebiñu. As happened in Cornwall, some people who received the invitation may not have had the time to fill it, and obviously, some others may not have answered due to ideological or personal views.

2.5.7 OVERVIEW OF THE INTERVIEWS IN TREBIÑU

All the interviewees requested the questions in a written document to be submitted by email. The answers were also sent by email. Sending their answers in an email enabled the participants to have time to write and revise their opinions as much as needed. However, it is also true that this may have been an obstacle to formulate some additional questions that may have arisen from some answers. In order to overcome this, all the interviewees accepted to be contacted further in order to clarify any points. However, this was not necessary due to the generally long and well-structured answers to the questions provided. Although all of them were Basque speakers, all participants decided to answer in Spanish in order to facilitate communication. Unless stated otherwise, the interviewees provided written permission to use their names in the research.

The first interview was conducted with the Basque language officer for the municipalities of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun. After contacting the Ikastola Argantzon, another interview was arranged with one of its teachers, Ekaitz Lotina Arana. His answers provided a clear insight on the state of education in the Enclave, as well as the attitudes of those who have learnt Basque at school.

Thanks to the collaboration of the Ikastola Argantzon, two other interviews were conducted, one of them with two individuals together. All the participants were Basque speakers with different professional backgrounds, namely a businesswoman, Pilu, an official at the council of Argantzun who did not consent to use his/her name, and two medical doctors who were interviewed together, Galder Naberan Oñarteetxebarria and Iratxe García De Eulate Urdangarain. The opinion of these individuals became a key factor in understanding the perception of how the Basque language is being revitalised in the Enclave.

The Diputación Provincial de Burgos, Provincial Government of Burgos, declined to participate in the investigation since, in private communication informed the researcher that the promotion of Basque in the area is carried out by the Arabako Foru Aldundia, the Provincial Government of Araba, which is represented by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu.

The Office of Cultural Policy of the Government of Castile and León requested the interview by email. However, they never completed the document. Despite being invited on several occasions, the researcher did not receive any answer neither from the People's Party nor from the CEIP (Public Primary School) Condado de Treviño.

The following two chapters describe the situation of Cornish and Basque according to this investigation. This is the first step to identify the effectiveness of the language strategies currently implemented in Cornwall and Trebiñu.

CHAPTER 3:

SITUATION OF CORNISH IN CORNWALL AND SCILLY

This chapter has been designed to provide a comprehensive report of the results obtained in relation to the use and attitudes towards the Cornish language in Cornwall and Scilly. This is primarily based on the answers that the Cornish speakers, and other languages' speakers living in Cornwall and Scilly provided in the survey; however, documentation based on previous studies such as Burley (2008), the Cornish Language Partnership (2013a&b), the British Census of 2011 and graphic material also played a key role, especially in the section devoted to language use in institutional domains. This descriptive analysis answers the first research question in relation to Cornish: '*What is the current situation of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly?*'.

The first part of the chapter focuses on the results about the use of Cornish. In accordance with the framework 'Language Use Factors' (Table 1.1, Section 1.2.1.3.), the analysis was done according to personal, socio-demographic and institutional factors. Personal factors encompass competence and understanding of the language. In order to decipher whether variables such as gender and place of residence play any role in the fluency, the results were analysed from these perspectives. The section about the socio-demographic factors starts with an analysis to determine the number of Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Scilly. This point, along with the social distribution of the speakers, offers an approximation of how possible it is to use Cornish in social contexts. Other factors analysed here include the extent of language transmission and the extent to which Cornish is used in daily life. The third aspect, use of Cornish in institutional domains, offers an overview of the existence of a unified spelling, the official use of the language by governments and in education, and the use of Cornish by companies, the media and in religious and political contexts.

The second part of the chapter analyses personal, societal and institutional (official) attitudes towards the Cornish language according to the framework 'Language Attitudes Factors' on Table 1.2 (Section 1.2.2.3). Special emphasis has been placed on the attitudes of those who are theoretically more committed, namely those who claim to have some knowledge of Cornish and those who state they are of Cornish or Scillonian nationality. In addition, the analysis also included those who do not speak Cornish and who claim no Cornish or Scillonian nationalities. Since they constitute a clear majority of the population in the area, these individuals may have a strong influence on the success or failure of policies implemented in order to make of Cornish a community language.

The information given in this chapter provides an accurate perspective of the actual use of Cornish and how it is perceived by its speakers and by the rest of the population of Cornwall and Scilly. This, in turn, establishes the base for developing strategies that may help the promotion of Cornish in a more effective manner.

3.1 USE OF CORNISH

3.1.1 PERSONAL FACTOR: COMPETENCE

This aspect takes into consideration the language and its relationship with the individual, despite other circumstances, such as its use in society or its support by governments, education and/or the media. This section provides a clear view of how strong this base is in Cornwall and Scilly.

A higher degree of fluency or competence in a given language is of particular importance and may help it survive because this increases the possibility of using it in different domains (Fishman, 1991: 88, 92, 94). According to the responses received from the survey, Cornish is not in a very favourable position since fluency is generally low amongst those with any knowledge of the language. These results are in line with those obtained by the Cornish Language Partnership in 2013 (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b: 8).

As shown in Figure 3.1A, based on Question 17a of the questionnaire, '*Can you speak Cornish?*', 132 participants (60%) with any knowledge of Cornish (*n=220*) said that they were not able to hold a conversation in the language, since they only knew a few words and phrases. Only 42 individuals (19%) stated that they were fluent Cornish speakers. Of them only seven individuals (3%) considered themselves native or to have achieved a nativelike level in the use of language. The remainder, 46 participants (21%), although not fully fluent, were able to hold short conversations in Cornish.

Self-reported competence in Cornish was not homogeneous since noticeable differences between male and female speakers were observed. In general, male Cornish speakers (*n=128*) claimed higher competence in Cornish than their female counterparts (*n=92*). Approximately half of the male speakers, 60 individuals (47%), stated they could, at least, hold short conversations in Cornish while the proportion amongst the female Cornish speakers only reached 28 individuals (30%). Native or nativelike speakers were very few in both genders. In a similar way, the percentage of those who considered themselves fluent and those who were able to hold short conversations in Cornish was also slightly higher amongst men (Figure 3.1B).

A similar contrast was also observed amongst urban (*n=49*) and rural speakers (*n=171*). Urban speakers claimed higher competence in Cornish than rural speakers. In fact, 26 urban speakers (53%) reported capacity to, at least, converse in Cornish, while only 62 rural speakers (36%) stated to be in the same level. Native and nativelike capacity was very low in both categories (Figure 3.1C).
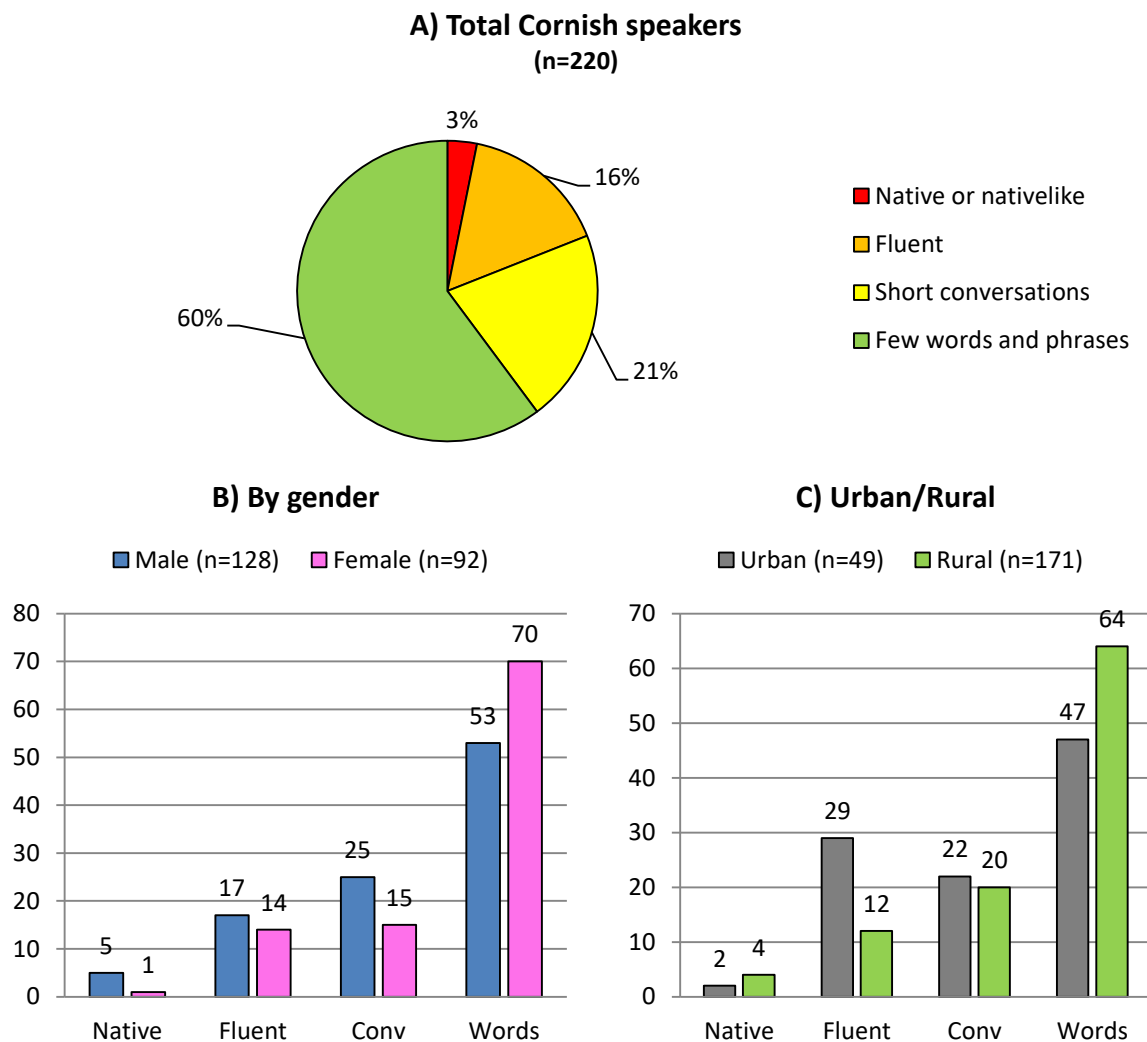
Figure 3.1. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants by competence according to their answers to Question 17a '*Can you speak Cornish?*'

In order to collect more details about the actual competence in Cornish, Question 20 enquired about the language in which the speakers felt more comfortable. Finally, the responses to Question 21, '*What do you consider your main language?*' provided information about the Cornish speakers' main language. This question was formulated with a similar wording to the one included in the 2011 Census.

The answers to these questions indicate that Cornish is in a very weak situation. In fact, although seven individuals (3%) stated they had native or nativelike command of Cornish and another 35 (16%) were fluent speakers, only two speakers considered Cornish the language in which they felt more comfortable speaking, and 15 speakers (7%) said they felt equally at ease in Cornish and English (Figure 3.2A). The proportion of male speakers (*n*=128) who felt at least equally comfortable in Cornish as in English was twice as high as that of female speakers (*n*=92), 13 individuals against four respectively (Figure 3.2B). An unexpected result came from the comparison between urban (*n*=49) and rural speakers (*n*=171). Although urban speakers had previously stated they were more competent speaking Cornish, the proportion of those who declared to feel at least equally comfortable

in Cornish as in English was more than twice as high amongst the rural speakers, 15 individuals (9%), against only three individuals amongst urban speakers (Figure 3.2C).

A) Total Cornish speakers
(n=220)

B) By gender

C) Urban/Rural
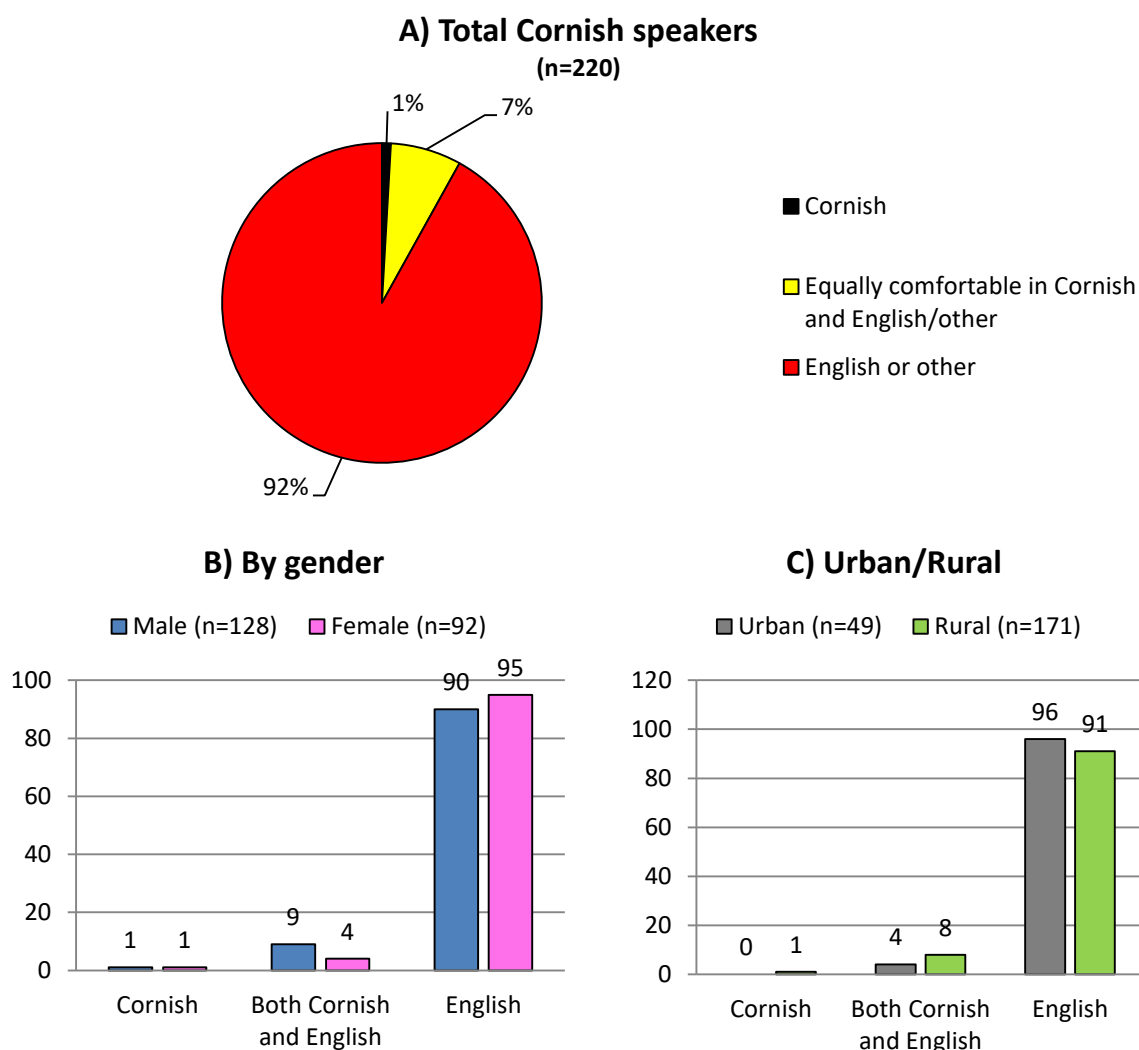
Figure 3.2. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Question 20 '*What language is easier for you to speak?*'

There is a high degree of attachment to the language amongst those who stated that they felt more comfortable in Cornish, or as comfortable in Cornish as in English. As Figure 3.3A shows, the percentage of those who considered Cornish their main language, 8% or 18 individuals, generally coincides with the sum of the percentages of those who felt at least equally at ease in Cornish as in English (Figure 3.2A, above). The equivalence, however, is not complete, and there are minimal differences. For example, it was observed that male and urban Cornish speakers were more likely to consider Cornish their main language than female and rural Cornish speakers, even if they were more competent in English, as results from comparing Figures 3.2B (above) and c and Figures 3.3B and C.

A) Total Cornish speakers
(n=220)

Cornish
8%

English/other
92%

B) By gender

Male (n=128) Female (n=92)

Cornish	12 / 2
English	88 / 98

C) Urban/Rural

Urban (n=49) Rural (n=171)

Cornish	12 / 7
English	88 / 93
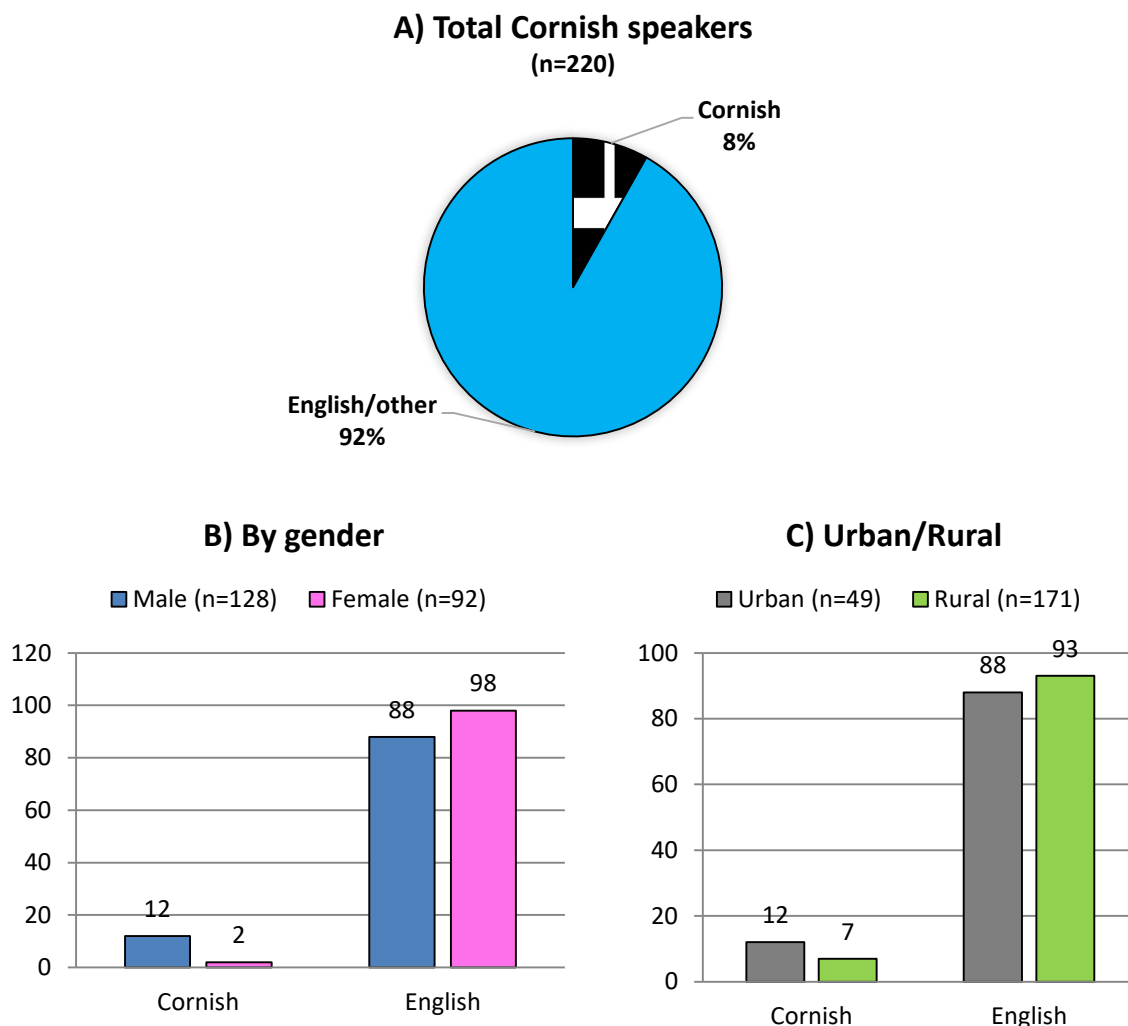
Figure 3.3. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Question 21 '*What do you consider your main language (as answered in the 2011 Census)?*'

Although being able to speak is vital to maintain a language, being capable of understanding what is said by others is also essential to use it as a communication tool. In the case of understanding Cornish, the speakers' answers to the survey (*n=220*) became highly polarised, since the percentages of those who stated they could understand at least general ideas and those who could understand only a few words or even nothing was very similar, 101 individuals (46%) against 119 individuals (54%). This shows that a percentage of Cornish speakers could understand Cornish much better than they could speak, while others who could speak a little would not be able to understand Cornish well or at all (Figure 3.4A).

The differences in understanding spoken Cornish between male (*n=128*) and female speakers (*n=92*) were also evident. There were more male speakers who stated they could understand everything or most of it in Cornish than females, 42 individuals (33%), and 19 individuals (20%), respectively (Figure 3.4B). The same happened with urban (*n=49*) and rural speakers (*n=171*). There were 19 urban Cornish speakers (39%) who stated they had a good understanding of Cornish, while only 43 individuals (25%) of the rural Cornish speakers stated the same (Figure 3.4C).

A) Total Cornish speakers
(n=220)

Legend:
- Everything
- Most of it
- Some general ideas
- A few words and phrases
- Almost nothing

B) By Gender

Male (n=128) · Female (n=93)

C) Urban/Rural

Urban (n=49) · Rural (n=171)
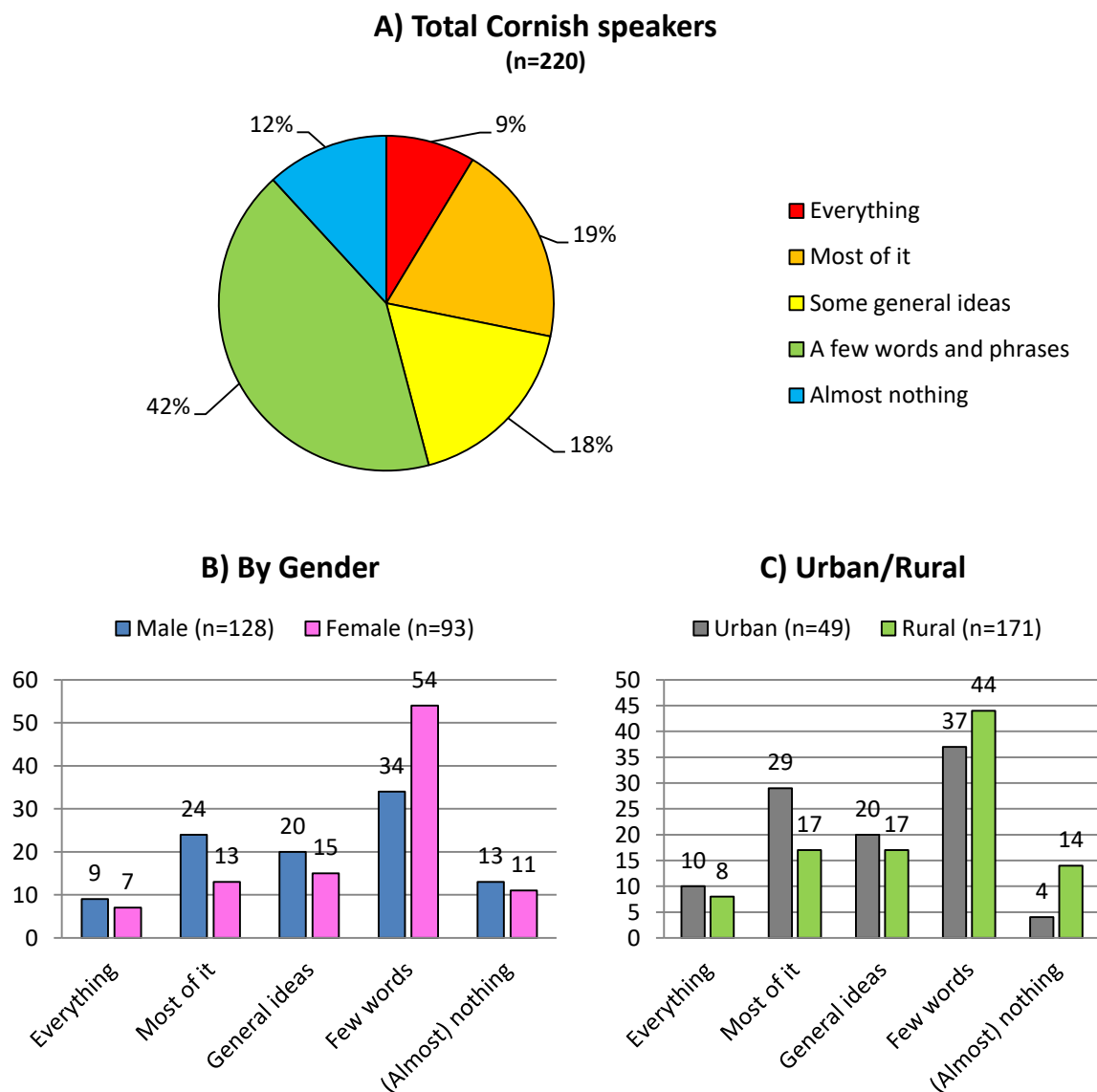
Figure 3.4. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Question 18a 'Can you understand spoken Cornish?'

3.1.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

A language's strength in society can help speakers to use it with other people and can create the circumstances to pressure governments, the education system, media, religious life, etc. to adopt it, while weak social use may release a language to a status of 'home language', almost totally unable to gain new domains (Fishman, 1991: 92; Giles *et al.*, 1977: 313). The following paragraphs analyse the state of Cornish according to demographic indicators, such as:

- Number of speakers;
- Proportion of speakers (amongst the population and amongst those who identify themselves as Cornish nationals);
- Speakers' distribution in society according to their work and age; and
- Social use of the language in informal societal domains, including the family circle, friends, etc.

These factors provide a perspective of the strength of Cornish in settings, such as the speakers' daily life and how they interact with other Cornish speakers and with the rest of the population.

3.1.2.1 TOTAL NUMBER OF CORNISH SPEAKERS

The number of people with at least some knowledge of Cornish has not been fully determined and, depending on different sources, it has been estimated in between 300 to as many as 300,000 individuals (Cornwall Council, 2004: 6; SGRÙD Research, 2000: 20). In contrast to what happens in the countries of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and in Crown dependencies such as the Isle of Man or the Channel Islands, there have not been any questions regarding competence and use of the local language in Cornwall in any of the British Censuses for Cornwall, including the most recent one in 2011.

Despite this, a very important point which helps determine the actual number of Cornish speakers comes from the Census of 2011 which included the question '*What is your main language?*'. In Cornwall, a total of 464 individuals stated that Cornish was their main language (Office for National Statistics, 2013: 7, 8). The figure *per se* must not be regarded as *the* number of Cornish speakers since it did not include those who could speak Cornish but did not consider it their *main* language. Nevertheless, the figures reported in the Census and the results of Question 21 of the questionnaire designed for this research, '*What do you consider your main language (as answered in the 2011 Census)?*', as noted below, provide a very realistic approximation of the number of Cornish speakers in the area.

Out of the 220 answers from individuals with some skills in Cornish living in Cornwall and Scilly, only 18 (8.2% of the total) mentioned Cornish as their main language *as answered in the 2011 Census*. They represented approximately half of the 42 fluent Cornish-speaking participants. Therefore, if we consider the 464 individuals who stated that Cornish was their main language in the 2011 Census as half of the fluent Cornish speakers, there may be an approximate total number of *c*. 1,000 fluent speakers. They represent 19% of the total of Cornish speakers. There may be other *c*. 1,100 individuals (21% of the speakers) who may be able to have short conversations, and yet another group of *c*. 3,100 individuals (60% of the speakers) with knowledge of only some words and phrases. Therefore, the total number of people with some knowledge of Cornish may be close to 5,200 individuals (Figure 3.5).
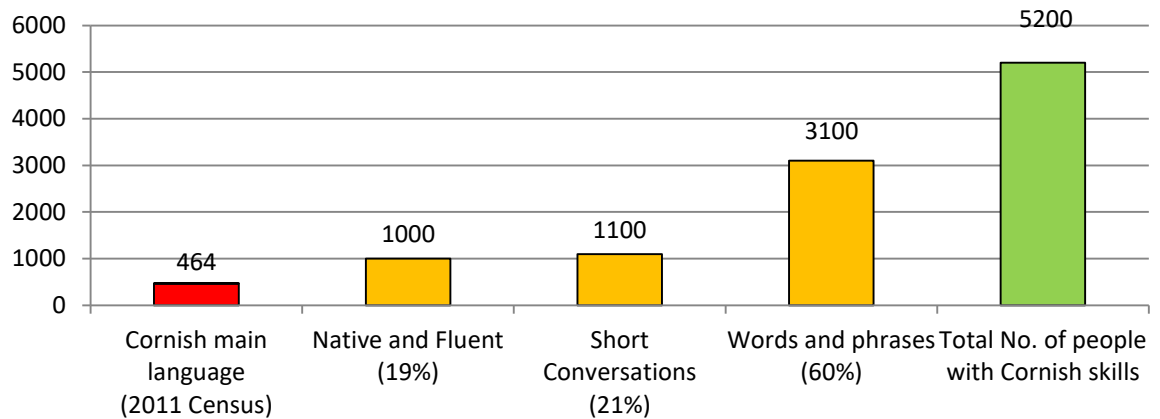
Figure 3.5. Estimated number of Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Isles of Scilly age 16 or over

3.1.2.2 PROPORTION OF CORNISH SPEAKERS WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION

Since minority languages are often exclusively used by the minority group within an extended multilingual/multi-ethnic community, it is not common for these languages to become a majority or interethnic language. Cornish was for centuries a majority and community language in Cornwall and Scilly and different ethnic groups, such as the Saxons, Flemish and Bretons often used Cornish to establish communication with each other (George & Broderick, 2010: 489). However, nowadays, according to the results of this study, Cornish is only known to a certain extent by a tiny minority of about one percent of the population, approximately 5,200 individuals. Of these, as considered in the previous section, only a minority of 0.2% (*c.*1000 individuals) may be able to speak Cornish fluently.

3.1.2.3 DENSITY OF MEMBERS OF THE MINORITY WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION

The minority are usually more attached to their language than the rest of the population. Therefore, in order to promote the Cornish language as a community (which may include inter-ethnic) language, it would be important to have a noticeable percentage of the population who identify themselves as Cornish. Despite the simplicity of this statement, it is difficult to establish accurately the actual percentage of people who are Cornish or Scillonian by ethnic origin, heritage or by considering themselves of Cornish nationality. During about one millennium of political union with England, the line between Cornish and English ethnicities has become blurred in many senses. On the one hand, Cornwall is not considered a *British country* but an *English county* in which people are officially considered English. The Isles of Scilly are in a similar situation since, after centuries being one of the *Keverangow Kernow*, Hundreds of Cornwall, sharing language, culture, history and ethnicity with the other Hundreds, they are nowadays a detached English county.

Family reasons also play a role. Many inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly have mixed backgrounds and a number of them may identify themselves with only one of their heritages. Moreover, the English language has dominated life in the area for centuries, and since the eighteenth century, it has been the only community language. These facts may help individuals of Cornish origin to view themselves as English (and/or British) living in Cornwall rather than as a different national group. Finally, the feeling of belonging to a place is not always related to the individual's background, language, religious affiliation and other variables, but to the individual him/herself (Anderson, 1991: 9 *et seq*.).

In order to produce an approximate calculation of the population who viewed themselves as Cornish from a national perspective, this study considers two main variables, namely:

1) Statement of Cornish nationality by the respondents, as answered in Question 7 '*How do you define your nationality?*'
2) Cornish ethnical origin or heritage, as answered in Question 5 '*Where is your family from?*'

Figure 3.6 shows the percentages of answers to both questions given by non-Cornish speakers, who account for approximately 99% of Cornwall and Scilly's population. The percentage of inhabitants of Cornwall who declared themselves of Cornish nationality in this survey was almost identical to the result obtained by PFA Research (2007: 23), 27%, 40 respondents, the equivalent of approximately 150,000 individuals when extrapolating the percentage to that of the total population. The percentage of those who stated they had at least one Cornish parent was slightly higher, reaching to 34%, 50 individuals, or, if we extrapolated the percentage to the actual population of the area, it would give approximately 185,000 individuals. Based on these results, the Cornish national/ethnic population ranges between one quarter and one third of the total population of Cornwall and Scilly, constituting the largest minority in the area.
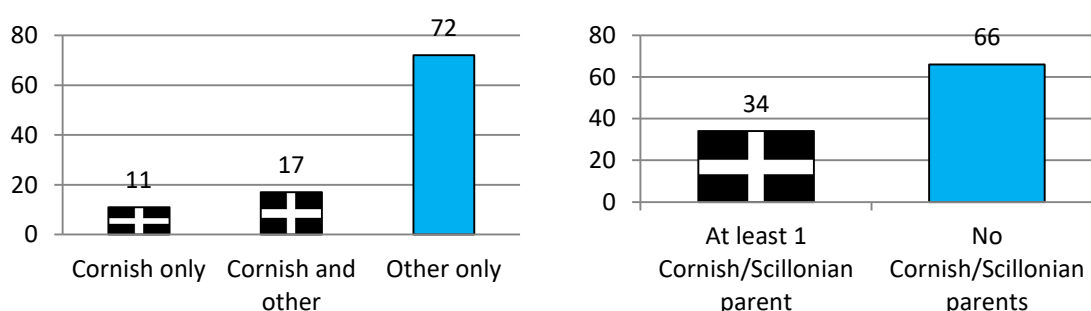
Figure 3.6. Percentages of non-Cornish-speaking participants (*n*=147) by national identity according to Questions 7 '*How do you define your nationality?*' (left) and 5 '*Where is your family from?*' (right)

3.1.2.4 PROPORTION OF CORNISH SPEAKERS WITHIN THE MINORITY GROUP

A high proportion of minority language speakers in a given community may produce a different inter-group relationship than that of a minority with few speakers (Giles *et al*.,

1977: 313). This study has established the number of people with some skills in Cornish is approximately 5,200 individuals aged 16 or older. Moreover, in the area of Cornwall and Scilly, the percentage of the population who identify themselves with the Cornish nationality may be approximately 27% (approximately 150,000 individuals) of the total. This supposes that, in the best case, Cornish is a language known by less than 4% of the members of the minority group. Therefore, although the Cornish are a very noticeable minority in Cornwall, since the percentage of Cornish speakers amongst them is very low, it may be concluded that the language may be a very marginal characteristic to define the Cornish identity.

3.1.2.5 SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CORNISH SPEAKERS

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most Cornish speakers belonged to lower social classes. People often associated them with the capture and sale of fish and smuggling activities. For this reason, in the mind of most Cornishmen and women, the language was not any longer a feature of the local culture but something with negative connotations (George, 2010: 532; Mills, 2010: 200; Dorian, 1981). Consequently, this negative image was one of the factors that alienated the people from their ancient language, and they substituted it with English, a language which was perceived more positively and was linked to modernity, progress and education. Despite being a key point, no study had previously investigated the social distribution of the speakers of revived Cornish. The lack of data about this factor has led people to express unfounded opinions about the language which may have hindered its implementation, labelling it as a language of 'middle-class children' and 'London hippies' (Cornwall24, 2010). In order to acquire a clear and accurate social image of the group of people who claim some competence in Cornish, this study focused on three variables: gender, employment and residence.

Gender: The majority of the 220 Cornish speaking participants who completed the questionnaire were men, accounting for 128 individuals (58%). However, it does not necessarily mean that this was the actual male/female ratio amongst Cornish speakers. In order to have a more realistic view of the gender distribution of the speakers, the results were matched with the results of the non-Cornish speaking participants. Figure 3.7 shows how amongst the participants of the general population represented by the non-Cornish speakers (*n*=147), 82 individuals (56%) were also men, a very similar percentage as those amongst Cornish-speakers. This implies that the gender distribution amongst Cornish speakers may be basically the same as amongst non-speakers, therefore, there would be no reason to label Cornish as a men's or women's language. This aspect is of particular importance, since the objective of the revitalisation of Cornish is to make of it a community language, it should be spoken by a population that shares as many points in common with the general population of the area, divided almost symmetrically between male and female.
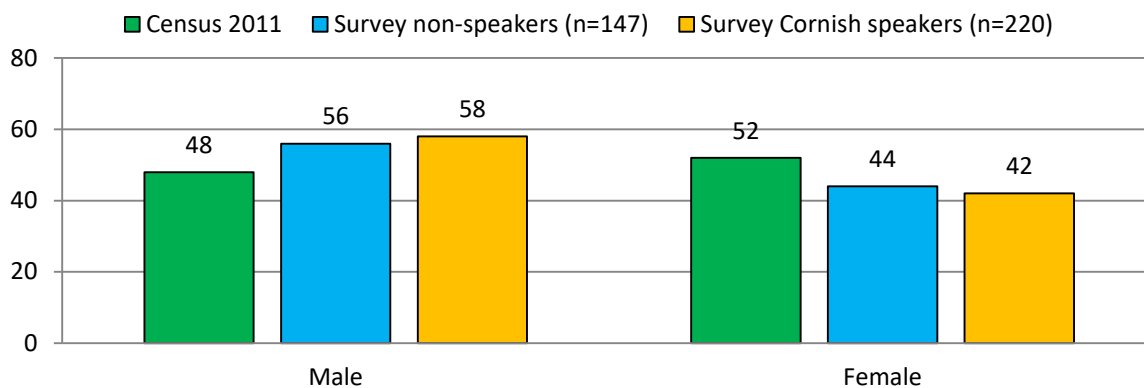
Figure 3.7. Percentages of participants by gender (Question 3)

Employment: Question 8 enquired regarding the respondents' employment. Mirroring the wording of the British Census of 2011, seven possibilities including all three economic sectors and main economic activities present in Cornwall and Scilly were provided as possible answers and several responses per individual were allowed (Cornwall Council, 2013b: 20).

Contrarily to what happened during the eighteenth century, the responses to the survey showed that nowadays there are Cornish speakers in all economic sectors. When compared with the group of non-Cornish speakers who responded to the survey, the number of Cornish speakers in some prestigious activities, such as 'health, education and other professionals' and 'government and army' was slightly higher than amongst non-speakers. This may imply that many Cornish speakers had been educated to a high level. It is also important to mention that the percentage of Cornish speakers in traditional activities such as agriculture or fishing, was also higher than within the non-Cornish speaking population. The industries where the number of Cornish speakers was lower were 'accommodation and food services' and those labelled here as 'other', which included the transport industry along with artists and students who had never worked. According to these results, Cornish is not a language employed primarily by certain social classes, economic sectors or industries. The language has become socially and economically transversal (Figure 3.8).
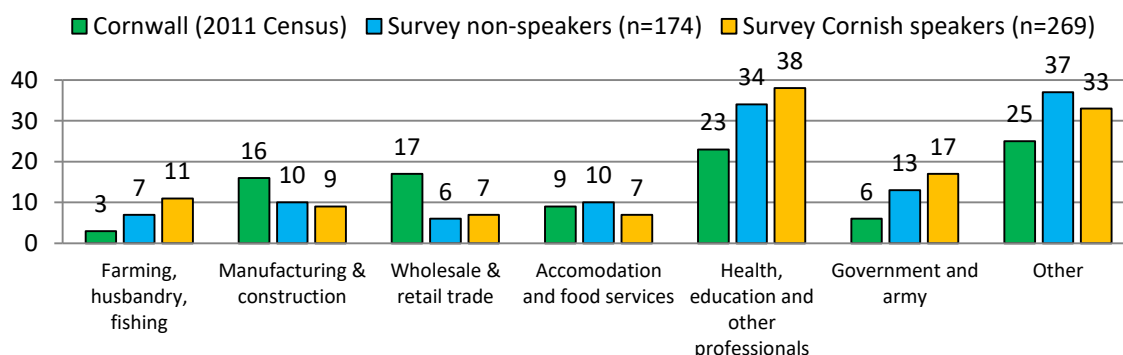
Figure 3.8. Percentages of participants by employment according to Question 8 (several answers allowed)

Residence: During the centuries that led to its abandonment, Cornish had become a language of villages, while, in the bigger towns, the majority of the people had already switched to English (George, 2010: 491). In order to determine whether Cornish is still associated with a rural style of life, Question 9 asked the participants to state where they usually lived. Several options were available with an urban settlement, defined as any town or city with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants, and rural environment defined as any town or village under 10,000 inhabitants along with isolated farms.

In the survey conducted for this research (*n*=220), 171 Cornish speaking respondents (78%) stated they lived in rural settlements. However, once again, these percentages must not be considered definitive. This was very similar amongst the non-Cornish speaking participants (*n*=147), since 118 individuals (80%) also stated that they lived in rural settlements, a percentage much higher than the one provided by the 2011 Census for Cornwall and Scilly, which is approximately 63%. Therefore, it is interesting to see how the urban/rural distribution amongst Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speakers can be considered equivalent (Figure 3.9). This fact should be viewed as an indication that Cornish speakers follow the same habitation pattern as the rest of the population, which in turn may help avoid negative clichés similar to those associated with the language in previous centuries.
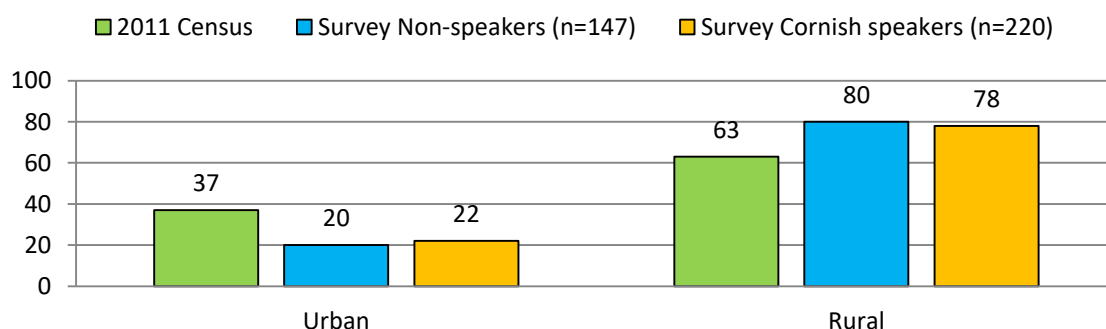
Figure 3.9. Percentage of participants by residence according to Question 9

3.1.2.6 LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION: GENERATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CORNISH SPEAKERS

The idea of language transmission is recognised by several scholars as one of the most important factors in assessing language vitality and in securing language maintenance (Fishman, 1991: 6; UNESCO, 2003: 7, 8). However, most frameworks created to assess language vitality, such as Fishman's GIDS (1991), UNESCO's (2003) Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) and a number of others, have been designed from the most common perspective of a language losing ground within society. One of the most visible effects of this process is the lack of language transmission. The panorama that results from this situation is a larger group of speakers amongst the older generations and fewer speakers and/or users amongst the younger ones. Revived languages, such as Cornish, do not usually follow that pattern. Since Cornish used to be a dead/dormant language, most of its speakers are supposed to be L2 users; people who learnt Cornish after learning another language (generally English). Therefore, older speakers should not be considered

representatives of the last generation of native speakers, but another age-group of new speakers. Despite these differences between the process of revitalisation of Cornish and those of languages which are still spoken by the older generations, the age of the speakers is still important. Obviously, the younger the new speakers are, the more possibilities the language has of being interiorised and becoming the language to be transmitted to new generations. In addition, intergenerational language transmission continues to play a central role in the process. For this reason, it is important to monitor the language behaviour of the Cornish speaking parents. It may provide indications on 'the attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement', as defined by Fishman (1991) in Stage 6 of his framework Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1991: 6, 92).

In order to establish the distribution by age of the Cornish speakers, all the participants were divided into four age groups, namely, those aged between 16 and 30, those between 31 and 45, participants between 46 and 59, and finally, all participants aged 60 and over. There were no participants under 16, since due to the nature of the research, it was necessary a certain level of maturity. Although the exact percentages were not equivalent to those of the same groups extracted from the 2011 Census, the patterns were very similar, especially when comparing Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speaking participants in the survey (Figure 3.10). These percentages enabled the researcher to perceive some important points about the age factor amongst the Cornish speakers when comparing Cornish speaking and non-Cornish speaking participants, as representatives of the general population of Cornwall and Scilly.

Out of the 220 Cornish speaking participants, only 13 (6%) were individuals aged between 16 and 30, the smallest of all the age groups, followed by the second youngest group, those aged from 31 to 45, who accounted for 26 individuals (12%). This should not be a surprise, since these age groups are also the least numerous in Cornwall and Scilly according to the 2011 Census. However, when establishing a reference point based on the non-Cornish speaking participants (*n*=147), it becomes clear that the proportion of young individuals amongst the Cornish speakers is notably lower than that of the general population of Cornwall and Scilly. In total, 37 non-Cornish speaking participants (25%) were aged under 46, in contrast with the 39 Cornish speakers (18%) of the same age. This was also indirectly confirmed by Cornish Language Class Survey 2022 report, since only 6% of the students attending Cornish classes were aged under 26 while 39% were aged 60 or over (Cornwall Council, 2022: 5). Although not a sign of slow extinction, as it would be in the case of moribund languages, the relative shortage of younger speakers is an issue that must be addressed since this may be an indication that Cornish is only viewed as a second language by adults, rather than as a language that can be learnt since childhood.
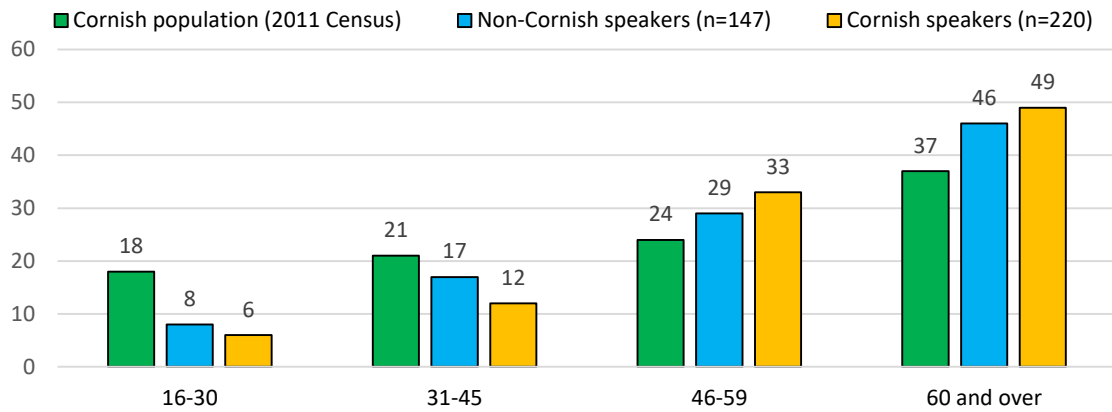
Figure 3.10. Percentage of participants by age according to Question 2

Another field in which the lack of a strong fluent native speaking cohort is clearly discernible is found in Figures 3.11A and B. In response to Question 26a, only four individuals amongst those with high or medium skills in Cornish (*n*=71), and four others amongst those with low skills (*n*=122) stated that they had used some Cornish to converse at home as a child, but mostly as an auxiliary language (Figure 3.11A). As for Question 26b, '*what language did/do you use with your parents/guardians?*', five medium/high command Cornish speakers, and two individuals of those with minimal skills in Cornish, answered that they used some Cornish, but only as a second language (Figure 3.11B). Finally, 11 fluent or almost-fluent Cornish speakers (16%) stated that they use/used some Cornish to talk to their siblings. The percentage among those with basic skills was very low, four individuals (3%). None of the non-Cornish speakers who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41) stated that they had used Cornish in any of the described situations, except three individuals who used a few words embedded in their English conversations (Figure 3.11C).

Similar low results were observed in the answers to Question 26e, '*what language do/did you use with your children?*'. Nineteen participants (30%) amongst those with high/medium competence (*n*=71) and only four individuals who only knew some phrases and words in Cornish (*n*=123) stated that they use or had used at least some Cornish with their children. Obviously, none of those who identified themselves with Cornish nationality but did not speak any Cornish (*n*=41) was able to use the language with their children, however three individuals stated that they inserted some Cornish words into their English discourse when talking to them (Figure 3.11D).

A) As a child

Native/Fluent/Conv. Cornish speakers (n=71)
Word/Phrases Cornish speakers (n=122)
Non-speaking Cornish nationals (n=41)

Cornish only: 0, 0, -
Cornish mostly: -, -, -
Same Cornish and English: 1, -, -
English mostly: 4, 3, -
English with Cornish words: 32, 24, 8
English only: 63, 73, 92

B) With parents or guardians

Native/Fluent/Conv. Cornish speakers (n=71)
Words/Phrases Cornish speakers (n=123)
Non-speaking Cornish nationals (n=39)

Cornish only: 0, 0, 0
Cornish mostly: -, -, -
Same Cornish...: -, -, -
English mostly: 7, 2, -
English with...: 28, 20, 8
English only: 65, 78, 92

C) With siblings

Native/Fluent/Conv Cornish speakers (n=71)
Words/Phrases Cornish speakers (n=121)
Non-speaking Cornish nationals (n=41)

Cornish only: -, -, -
Cornish mostly: -, -, -
Same Cornish and English: 3, -, -
English mostly: 13, 3, -
English with Cornish words: 20, 21, 8
English only: 64, 76, 92

D) With sons and/or daughters

Native/Fluent/Conv. Cornish speakers (n=63)
Words or phrases Cornish speakers (n=117)
Non-speaking Cornish nationals (n=38)

Cornish only: 2, -, -
Cornish mostly: 3, -, -
Same Cornish and English: 5, -, -
English mostly: 20, 3, -
English with Cornish words: 30, 30, 5
English only: 40, 67, 95

Figure 3.11. Percentages of participants according to Questions 26a '*What language did/do you use at home?*'

3.1.2.7 SOCIAL USE

In order to have some visibility, which may also help a language (and in fact, their speakers) to acquire rights, such as officiality, availability of services, etc., the language must not be used only in private circles, but also publicly. This, in turn, may help inspire the rest of the population to follow their example (Fishman, 1991: 91). In order to explore this point, Question 23 enquired about the frequency of the use of Cornish with other people in the Cornish speakers' locality. As Figure 3.12 shows, only 22 individuals (10%) amongst the Cornish speakers (*n*=220) stated that they used the language daily and another 33 participants (15%) said that they used it weekly. On the opposite side of the spectrum there were those who never or rarely (less than once a month) used Cornish, 125 (57%) Cornish speaking participants (*n*=220). Most in this category were individuals with a low command of Cornish. However, this group also included 13 individuals who were fluent or

semi-fluent Cornish speakers. Another 24 Cornish speakers stated that they did use Cornish, but only in classes or *yeth an gwerin* groups.
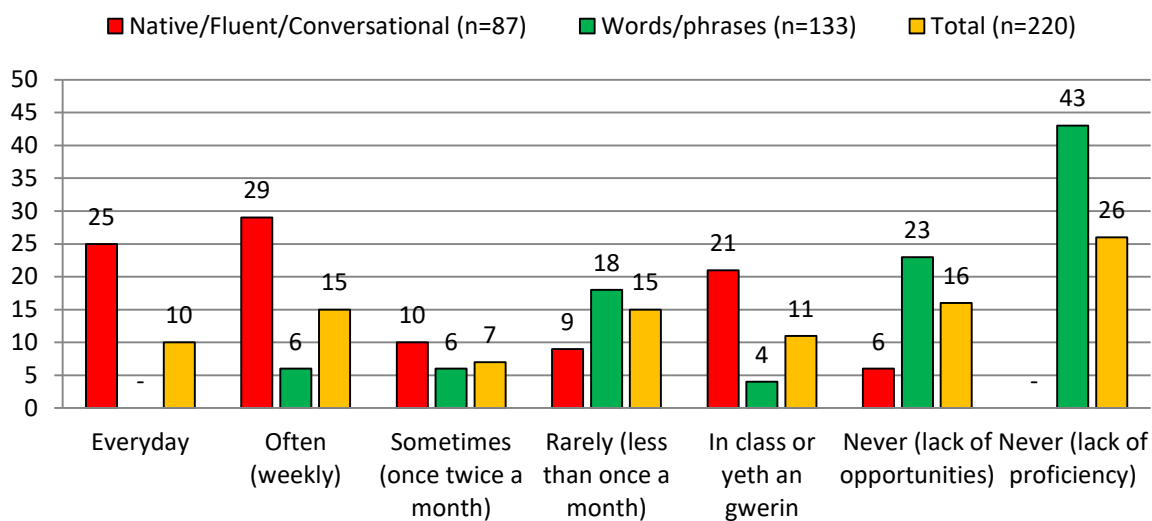
Figure 3.12. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Question 23, '*How often do you speak Cornish?*'

Question 26 of this survey explored the use of Cornish in different domains. Cornish-speaking participants were asked about how much Cornish they used in their conversations with friends, at school or work, and with strangers. Fifty-eight participants, slightly more than a quarter of those with competence in Cornish (*n*=210), stated that they used Cornish in conversations with friends (Figure 3.13A). In other contexts, where the relationship with people may not be so close, the use of Cornish diminished. Only 26 individuals, (13%) (*n*=201), said they spoke Cornish at work or school (Figure 3.13B). When the one listening was a stranger, such as when asking for directions, 160 participants (75%) of the 213 respondents, stated that they did not use any Cornish, avoiding even the insertion of Cornish words such as *dydh da*, 'hello', or *meur ras*, 'thank you' (Figure 3.13C). The use of Cornish in different domains, such as the ones described in this section, is strongly linked to the competence of the speakers in the language. In all three cases it was observed that the higher the skills in Cornish, the more it was used in all situations.

A) With friends

B) At school/work
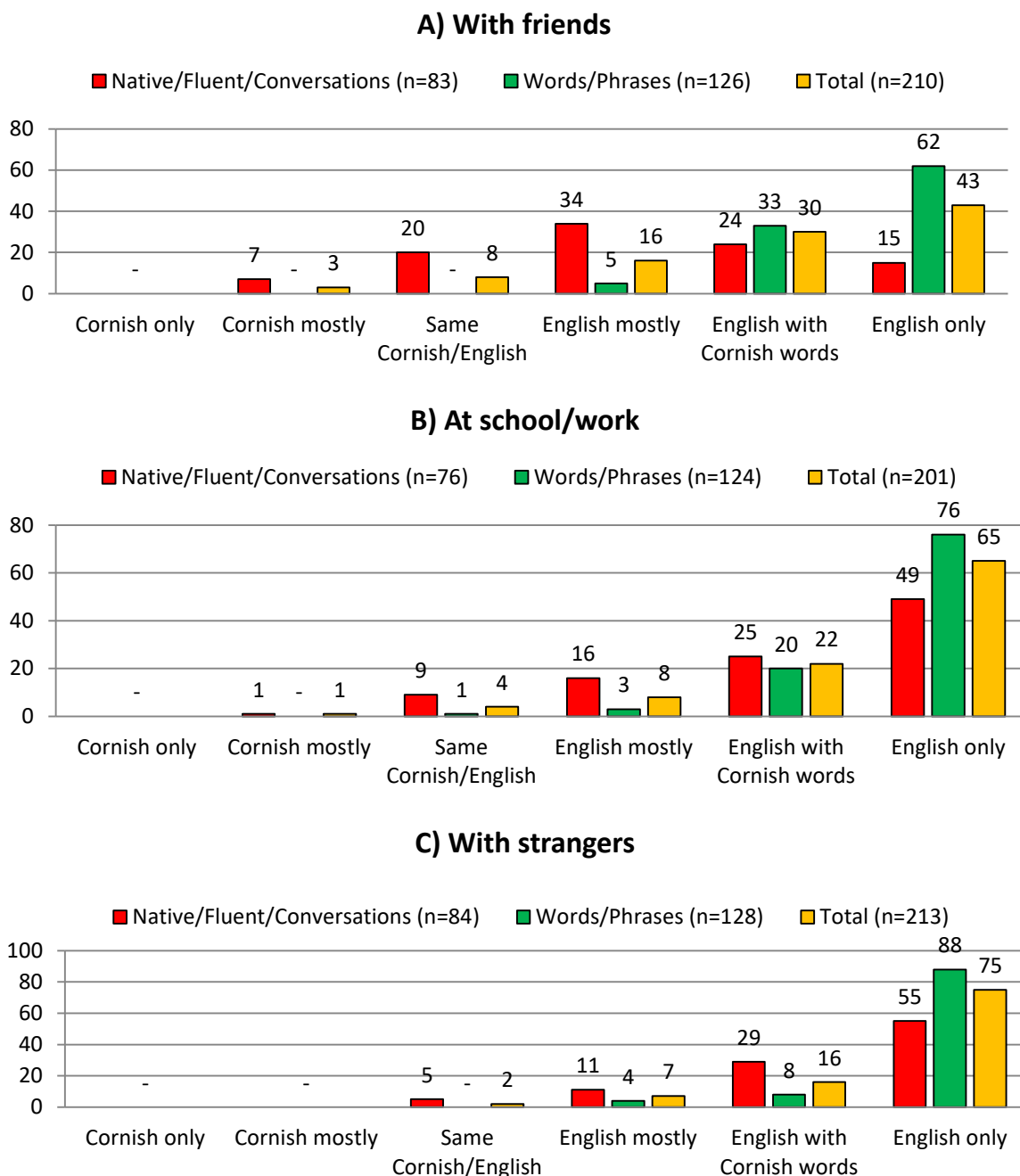
C) With strangers

Figure 3.13. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Questions 26f '*What language do you use with friends?*', 26g '*at school/work?*', and 26j '*to talk with strangers?*'

3.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

How Cornish is used in institutional or formal domains may have a profound impact on the community, since it may provide its speakers an opportunity to speak and write it in a similar fashion as English, the dominant language (Shohamy, 2006: 30). This section describes how Cornish is being used in a number of related domains, starting with a discussion of the written language or orthography (unified spelling) and, subsequently, an account of other formal domains, such as government, religion, education, economy and media and technology.

3.1.3.1 UNIFIED SPELLING

In general, the written forms are used to spread a better knowledge of the language amongst the speakers and to teach it to non-speakers (Barandiaran, 2010a: 11). It is also a key piece for communications between authorities and citizens, the advertising of products, and transmission of ideas. For this reason, Conklin and Lourie (1983: 71) state that a unified spelling system is vital for the appropriate use of a language, which can also affect its survival in modern societies. The Cornish situation has experienced a number of obstacles related to its orthography. Between the 1980s and 2008, Cornish speakers lived immersed in what has been called a 'spelling war', with different organisations supporting different orthographies (Payton, 2006). This prevented the language from being used officially by the government, in education and other key domains. After two years of discussion, Cornwall Council, through the Cornish Language Partnership (now Cornish Language Office), ratified the proposal for a new official spelling, the Standard Written Form or, in Cornish, *Furv Skrifys Savonek*, often shortened in Cornish as FSS. This change opened the way for Cornish to be used officially. However, the Standard Written Form (FSS) was not conceived as an exclusive orthography, but as one primarily for official use and for formal education. Cornish speakers and some organisations have continued using an orthography with which they feel most comfortable.

In order to determine the current use of the Standard Written Form (FSS) and the rest of the spelling systems, Question 19, '*Which variety of revived Cornish do you use?*', enquired about the orthography or orthographies that speakers employed. Since some Cornish speakers may use different spelling systems, several answers were allowed and a total of 239 were received. In general, the most used orthography was still Common Cornish or *Kernewek Kemmyn* (KK), an option chosen 118 times (49%), followed by the Standard Written Form (FSS) 94 times (39%). However, the situation was different amongst those with medium or high command of Cornish (*n*=143). More than half of them, 82 responses, were active users of the Standard Written Form (FSS) over the rest of spelling systems, including Common Cornish (KK), which was placed second with 74 answers. Common Cornish (KK) was the most popular orthography amongst those with a low command of Cornish (*n*=96) since it received almost half of the responses, 46 answers, of the Cornish speakers of this category. The Standard Written Form (FSS) followed it in second place, with only 20 answers (21%). In all cases, the rest of spelling systems, namely Unified Cornish/*Kernewek Unyes* (KU), Unified Cornish Revised/*Kernowek Unys Amendys* (KUA), Late Cornish/*Kernuack Nowedga* (KN) and any other or combinations were far behind the Standard Written Form (FSS) and Common Cornish (KK) (Figure 3.14).
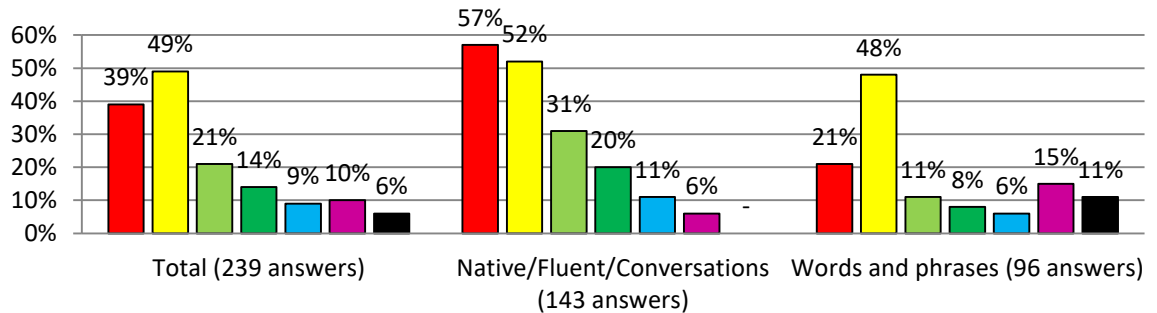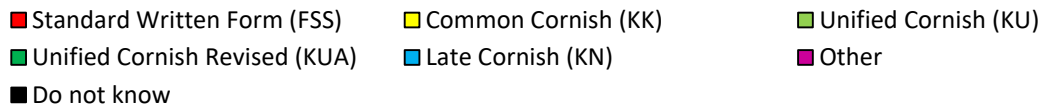
Figure 3.14. Percentages of users of different Cornish spellings amongst those who state to be able to write Cornish according to Question 19, '*Which variety of revived Cornish do you use?*' (several answers allowed)

3.1.3.2 OFFICIAL USE

In 2002, when Cornish received recognition by the British Government as falling under Part II (Article 7) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the language became an object of protection by the authorities (Ferdinand, 2013: 216). In November 2009, Cornwall Council adopted a new language policy regarding the use of Cornish (Cornwall Council, 2009). This recognition took a number of forms.

1) Implementing a system of bilingual signage for street and place names and providing new and replacement signs.
2) Including the language in all future Council publications and promotional literature, such as the Council website.
3) Ensuring the availability of Cornish language material to the public.
4) Considering additional ways to incorporate Cornish in the different departments of the entity.

This section shows how the Cornish language is used in those fields.

***Bilingual signage*:** Cornish is currently displayed along with English on most sign-posts on the borderline between Devon and Cornwall, including the Tamar Bridge where the inscription *Kernow a'gas dynergh* appears under the English translation 'Welcome to Cornwall' (Figure 3.15A). In a similar fashion, a number of towns, such as Penzance and Liskeard have also placed signs with welcome messages both in English and Cornish. In addition, the use of Cornish in street signing has become evident all over Cornwall. In many streets or/and squares, when a monolingual sign becomes deteriorated, it is substituted by a bilingual one (Figure 3.15B). However, according to the experience of the researcher, bilingual street signs appear still relatively rare. In some official buildings, Cornish has been introduced along with English. One notable example is the police station located in Castle Rise, Truro/*Truru*, where a bilingual sign by the entrance displayed instructions for appointments in Cornish and English (Figure 3.15C). Another type of

institutional signage is also found on some local buses where one side displayed the message '*Kernow Kewgh – Agas Gonis Kyttrin Leel*' and the other the same message in English, 'Cornwall Go – Your Local Bus Service' (Figure 3.15D). Nevertheless, no signs in Cornish in railway stations, bus stations, ports and Cornwall (Newquay) airport were identified by the researcher in 2019.

a) Bilingual sign on roads of access to Cornwall from Devon (image: Google maps)

b) Bilingual street name sign in Penryn (Image by Jaggery under Creative Common Licence)

c) Bilingual signs at the Police station located in Castle Rise, Truro (image: Google maps)

d) Local bus with Cornish signs (Image by Geof Sheppard under Creative Common Licence)

Figure 3.15. Examples of signage in Cornish

There are also bilingual signs in some highly symbolic places, such as Truro/*Truru* cathedral and Land's End or '*Penn an Wlas*'. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that the large bilingual sign in Land's End which in 2008 displayed the British flag, the coat of arms of Cornwall and St Piran's flag (Cornwall's flag) was removed and replaced with a sign written in English only with no reference to Cornwall (Figure 3.16). This may be interpreted as a proof of lack of cultural autonomy of Cornwall to defend its symbols and language whenever they are not of the interest of the British government.

2008. Image by David Jones under Creative Common Licence

2017. Image by Adventures of a London Kiwi under Creative Common Licence

Figure 3.16. Land's End Tourist Centre in 2008 and 2017

Cornish in official websites and publications: After 2015, Cornish began to be used on Cornwall Council's website. However, by the time of writing this thesis in 2022, the option is still only available from the section 'Leisure and Culture' which leads to another section entitled 'Cornish Language'. This last section contains a number of pages in Cornish and English about the language itself, such as the history of the language, where to learn, an online dictionary and a number of links to other sites and organisations. The rest of the website, with information about job openings, taxes and other services is only available in English. A few local parishes and town councils' websites consulted for this research also use Cornish but mostly in a symbolic way, such as in bilingual headings, as is the case of Redruth/*Resrudh* (Figure 3.17), Helston/*Hellys*, Callington/*Kelliwik* and Liskeard/*Lyskerrys*.
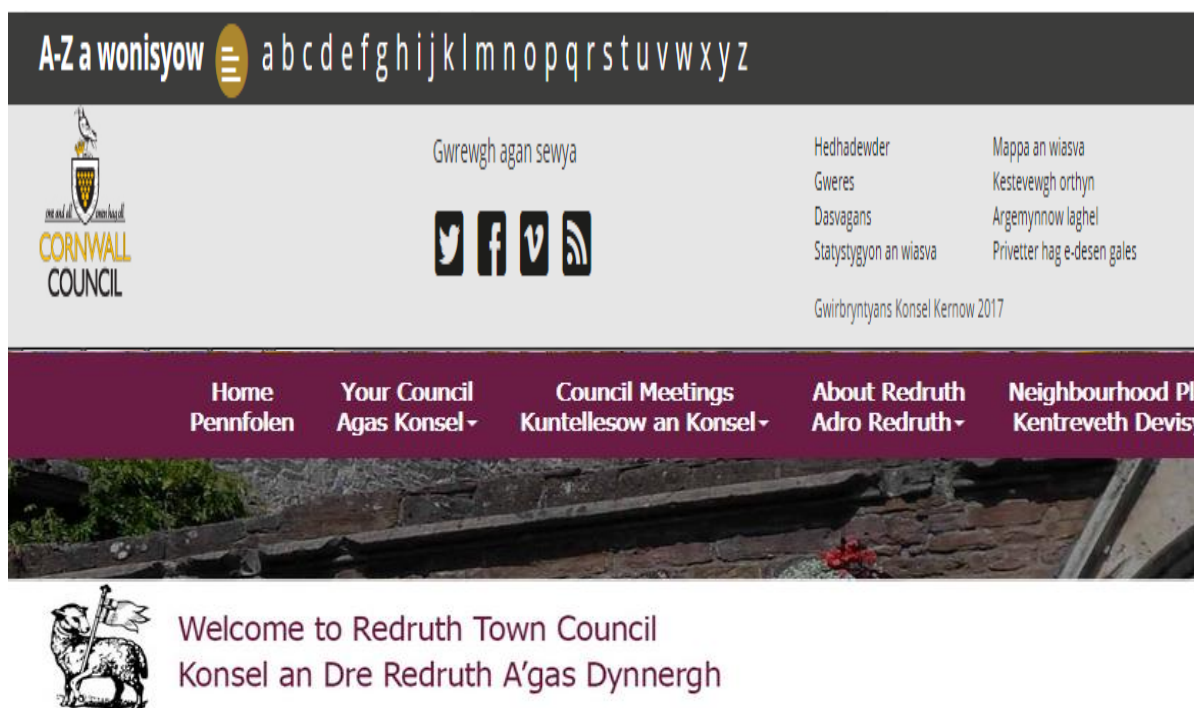
Figure 3.17. Examples of how Cornish is used on official websites

In 2012, the Cornish Language Partnership (now Cornish Language Office), established by Cornwall Council, started publishing a bilingual English/Cornish newsletter with articles related to the promotion of Cornish. Cornish was also used in the agendas of *Dalva an Yeth Kernewek* (Cornish Language Forum) and partially in some reports about activities related to the language itself. Besides these examples of publications related to the language, the researcher found very few examples of official information or documents written in Cornish. One of the few exceptions to this rule was the short article '*Konsel Kernow a dhynergh deklaryans an Governans mayth aswon an Gernowyon avel minoryta kenedhlek*', published also in English with the title 'Cornwall Council welcomes Government's decision to recognise the Cornish as a national minority' (Cornwall Council, 2018). There are no Cornish versions of any official book, brochure or leaflet, such as those related to services, taxes, tourism, etc., with the exception of the use of some isolated words and

phrases. There are no official forms, such as tax payment forms, driving licence application forms, etc., available in Cornish.

Cornish language material available to the public: There are some printed materials in Cornish published by the Cornish Language Office. They include some dictionaries, school vocabularies and short grammars. Some of those publications are available free of charge at the Cornwall Council's official website.

Other official uses of Cornish: There is no possibility of using Cornish in any official procedure due to the lack of Cornish speaking staff and Cornish forms. In April 2018, when the researcher requested information in Cornish at the information point of Cornwall Council, none of the staff was able to understand. Nevertheless, after making the enquiry, one of the staff greeted the researcher in Cornish and advised him of the Cornish Language Office.

3.1.3.3 EDUCATION

During the school years 2020-2021 and 2021-2022, when this thesis is being written, the use of Cornish in education continues to be extremely limited or non-existent in most of Cornwall, and totally absent in Scilly. As part of the *Taves an Tir* project, *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek* produced an education and resources pack in 2016 which was made available free of charge to every school in Cornwall. The pack focused not only on the language itself, but also on various aspects of the Cornish culture, such as history and the medieval Cornish mystery plays. The aim of the project was to encourage students to find out more about the Cornish language which is daily around them in place names and family names. The Cornish Language Office also prepared material intended for schools, such as a simplified School Cornish-English Dictionary. The following paragraphs describe more in detail the situation of Cornish in education during the period 2020-2022.

Pre-school education: The only institution where Cornish is used in pre-school education is *Skol Dy Sadorn Kernewek*, in Camborne/*Kammbronn*. The objectives of this initiative include teaching Cornish to children through play as well as teaching the basics to parents in order to reinforce their children's learning. This bilingual play group has been set up by *Movyans Skolyow Meythrin*, 'Nursery Schools Movement', an organisation which intends to spread the knowledge and use of Cornish amongst children and their families (Sayers *et al*, 2019: 15; *Movyans Skolyow Meythrin,* 2014).

Primary education: between 2021 and 2022, about 30 primary schools in Cornwall were offering some activities in Cornish to their students. Most of them had Cornish as an extracurricular activity carried out by volunteers. The researcher is only aware of two primary schools where Cornish is taught in regular school hours, namely, Pensans Primary School, in Penzance/*Pennsans* and Treloweth School in Redruth/*Resrudh*.

Secondary education: GCSE in the Cornish language ceased to be available in 1996 due to the low take up. Twenty years later, in 2016, the Camborne/*Kammbronn* and Redruth/*Resrudh* MP George Eustice expressed his intention to re-establish those Cornish examinations. However, in this investigation the researcher found no secondary or vocational schools offering Cornish as a subject. Nevertheless, the Cornish Language

Office regularly organises some sessions and extracurricular activities to bring Cornish to a few institutions.

Higher education: Cornish is not taught or used as a teaching medium in higher education. However, the *Fondyans Studhyansow Kernewek*, 'Institute of Cornish Studies' at the University of Exeter offers postgraduate supervision on topics related to Cornwall, including the Cornish language (Sayers *et al.*, 2019: 26-27). From the academic year 2021-2022, the University of Exeter is offering a new 30 credit undergraduate module called 'Cornish for Beginners' to teach the basics of the language. It is also possible to learn some Cornish at Cornwall College in Saltash/*Essa* in one uncredited course labelled as a 'leisure course'.

Probably, the most recent advancement in Cornish education is the fact that, from 2017, the WJEC (Welsh Joint Education Committee) started to offer an Entry Level language qualification in Cornish. This possibility is only available for students living in England (obviously including Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly).

3.1.3.4 MASS MEDIA AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

According to previous research carried out during the first decade of the 2000s, Cornish was spoken and/or understood by only a few hundred people (Cornwall Council, 2004: 6; SGRÙD Research, 2000: 20). This may be a reason why the number of publications in the language was very limited. However, after 2010, the Cornish media industry became a growing phenomenon which included magazines, books, websites and digital publications, as well as radio and television programmes. The following paragraphs illustrate the use of Cornish in the media and new technologies, especially between 2010 and 2021.

Magazines and newspapers: There are at least three magazines published only or mostly in Cornish. The most widely distributed one is *An Gannas*, 'The Ambassador', a monthly magazine in Common Cornish (KK) published by *Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek*. Its articles range from local and international news to short stories and material for beginners. The magazine is available in paper format, but older issues are also available online at the website of Kowethas an Yeth Kernewek. *An Gowsva*, 'The Talking Place', is published quarterly by *Agan Tavas* mostly in Unified Cornish (KU), Unified Revised Cornish (KUA) and English. *Cussel an Tavaz Kernuak* publishes *An Garrak*, 'The Rock', intended for learners of Cornish who use Late Cornish (KD). Cornish also appears in some sections of English publications. Among them is *My Cornish Magazine,* which runs a series of Cornish lessons for beginners entitled *Dyskyn Kernewek!*, and *Cornwall Today,* which works to produce a Cornish language page every month. There is no newspaper published in Cornish, however, it is not unusual to find letters or short articles in Cornish in some local newspapers.

Radio and Television: The most important radio station of Cornwall in terms of resources and audience, BBC Cornwall, uses Cornish in *An Nowodhow*, 'The News', a review of the week's news broadcast every Sunday evening. An internet-based radio station, *Radyo An Gernewegva*, also broadcasts every week a Cornish-only programme including music, interviews, short reports and news for Cornish speakers. The programmes are available

online and on some local radio stations. KMF Radio, an internet led community radio station from Redruth/*Resrudh*, broadcasts a thirty-minute long programme, *Cornish with Clive*, to teach the basics of the language to English speakers. Radio Scilly does not broadcast any Cornish, but it announced the Speak Cornish Week in June 2017 and uploaded a leaflet with some basic vocabulary and phrases in Cornish compiled by a Cornish speaker from Scilly (Radio Scilly, 2017). Cornish is not used by any major British television broadcaster, such as BBC or Sky. However, some local stations, such as St Ives TV offer monthly TV programmes in Cornish. *Radyo an Gernewegva* produces one monthly TV show, *An Mis* 'The Month'. In 2018, the same station started to produce a daytime TV show called *Jaqi ha Jerry*, 'Jaqi and Jerry'. These programmes are available online and have an average of approximately 2,000 views on Youtube and Facebook.

Films: The local film industry started to produce some works in Cornish, especially after 2000. One of them, *Hwerow Hweg*, 'Bitter Sweet', by the Hungarian film director Antal Kovács, was premiered at the House of Commons in 2002. However, most of the films in Cornish seem to be created for children, such as *Konin ha Pryv* about the adventures of a rabbit and a worm or the short-film series about Cornish legends *Mazed*. Moreover, there is also an annual award for Cornish language films at the Cornwall Film Festival. *Govyn Kernewek* is awarded each year to a film maker to finance the production of a short film in Cornish.

New technologies: Despite its rather low number of speakers and users, Cornish is used in the domain of new technologies. A simple search on Google combining the words *Kernewek* and the Cornish auxiliary verb *gwra,* 'do' or 'does', provided more than 30,000 results in March 2021. Most of the websites in Cornish are about topics, activities and publications related to the language itself, such as '*GoCornish*', the Cornish Language Office website, or the official site of Akademi Kernewek. On the other hand, it is also possible to find Cornish on other types of websites too, such as literature blogs, news, politics, tourism, etc., as noted below.

Very few businesses have introduced Cornish on their websites. Moreover, when there is any Cornish, it was often in a symbolic way and all information is available in English only. Cornish, however, is employed in a number of non-commercial local websites. Some examples include *Visit Redruth*, which offered information in Cornish along with four other languages. The Duchy of Cornwall has a bilingual website. Although the Cornish version is notably shorter than the English one, the language is used at a level that cannot be considered simply tokenistic (Figure 3.18).

Screenshot of the official website of the Duchy of Cornwall (2019)

Screenshot of Visit Redruth (2019)

Image 3.18. Examples of how Cornish is employed on local websites

Wikipedia, one of the most popular sites on the Internet, available in more than 300 languages, also includes Cornish. The Cornish version, entitled '*Wikipedya – An Godhoniador Rydh*', contains almost 5,200 articles in January 2022. There is only one international web search engine, *DuckDuckGo*, where it is possible to use a Cornish interface (Figure 3.19). However, with the exception of the aforementioned examples, none of the main websites such as *Google*, *Yahoo*, *Youtube*, *Facebook* or *Twitter* uses any Cornish.
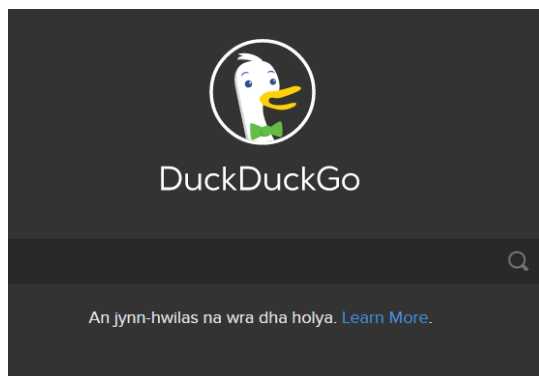
Screenshot of the browser DuckDuckGo (2019) in Cornish

Screenshot of the online encyclopaedia Wikipedia (2019) in Cornish

Figure 3.19. Examples of employment of Cornish on international websites

Other modern tools where Cornish is used include a few computer and mobile applications. Most of these applications are dictionaries, practice exercises and language courses such as *uTalk Cornish*. In 2022, there are still just a few applications in Cornish. They include *Bibel Kernewek*, a translation of the Bible by *Kesva an Taves Kernewek* using Common Cornish (KK) and *Magi Ann Kernewek*, the Cornish version of a Welsh application to teach the children the basics of the language, and *Word Tango*, a high-quality word puzzle game. The Bible in Cornish is also available in other applications such as YouVersion. Interestingly, Google Maps does not have an interface in Cornish, but recognises most place-names in Cornish such as *Kernow*, 'Cornwall', *Pennsans*, 'Penzance', *Resrudh* 'Redruth', *Syllan*, 'Scilly', and others.

3.1.3.5 RELIGION AND IDEOLOGY

After the Church of England was established in the sixteenth century, one of the most important factors which led to the extinction of Cornish concerned its usage in the religious (ideological) domain. The language was rapidly displaced due to a number of reasons, such as the lack of a version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in Cornish, and all the religious services focused on English. After the revitalisation project started in 1904, religion has played a relatively significant role in the promotion of Cornish. During the research work, it was observed that the Church of England along with some Methodist chapels conduct regularly certain religious services in Cornish. Those services are mostly held to celebrate key festivities, such as St Piran's Day, Christmas, Easter or St Samson's Day (Figure 3.20, left). The translation of the Bible into Cornish has been an important milestone therefore in ensuring the return of Cornish to the religious domain. The first translation of the New Testament in [Unified] Cornish (KU) was published by Nicholas Williams in 2002. The whole Bible, also in Unified Cornish, entitled 'An Beybel Sans', was published in 2011. In 2004, there appeared another translation of the New Testament entitled 'An Bibel Kernewek', using Common Cornish (KK). The project was run under the auspices of Kesva an Taves Kernewek, 'The Cornish Language Board', and the Bishop of Truro's Ecumenical Advisory Group for Services in Cornish. In 2018, 59 Bible books of 'An Bibel Kernewek' were already translated and available in paperback and online (Figure 3.20, right). Besides the described domains, Cornish is not officially used by other Christian denominations, nor by other religions present in Cornwall and Scilly, such as Islam or Hinduism.
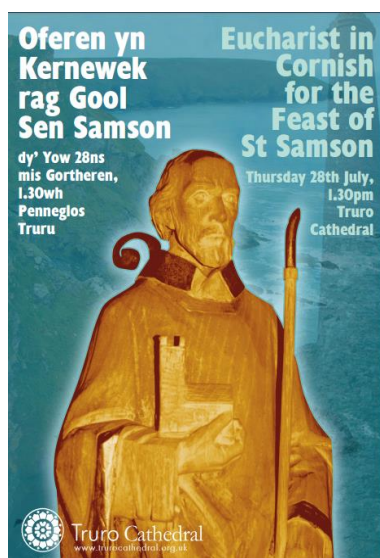
| Service in Cornish in Truro Cathedral | Screenshot of Ragdres an Bibel Kernewek, 'The Cornish Bible Project' (2022). |

Figure 3.20. Examples of use of Cornish in the religious domain

The Cornish language occupies a very marginal and often only tokenistic role in politics. As observed by the researcher, all the political parties of Cornwall, including nationalist groups such as *Mebyon Kernow*, 'Sons of Cornwall', *Senedh Kernow*, 'Cornish Constitutional Convention' and *An Parti Kenethlegek Kernow*, 'The Cornish Nationalist

Party', use English as the only language for communications on their websites. Only *An Kesunyans Keltek*, 'The Celtic League', makes regular use of Cornish along with the other five living Celtic languages, namely Welsh, Breton, Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic, and some non-Celtic languages spoken in the Celtic countries, such as English, French and Spanish in their publications, website and communications (Figure 3.21).
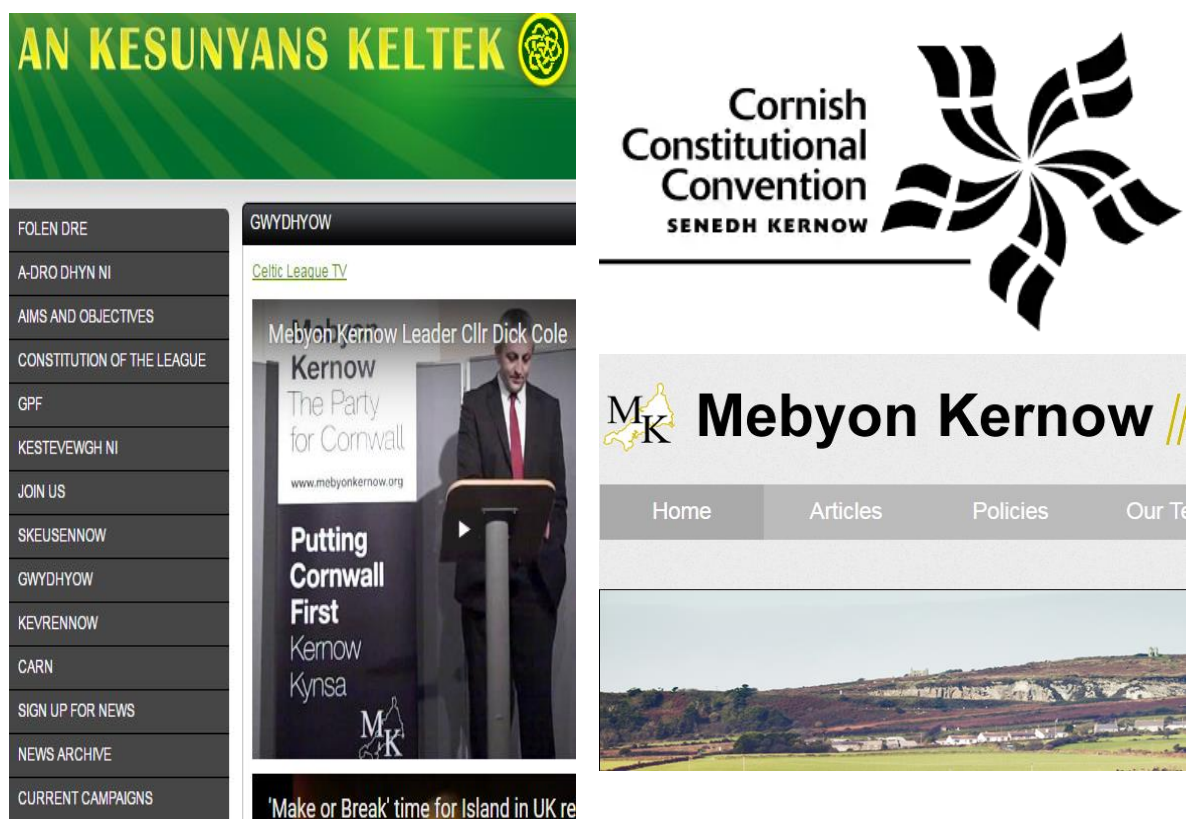
Screenshot of Celtic League's website (2019)

None of the main Cornish nationalist organisations, such as Senedh Kernow (2018) and Mebyon Kernow (2019) use Cornish on their websites

Figure 3.21. Examples of the use of Cornish in the political domain

3.1.3.6 ECONOMY

The presence of Cornish in the economy is equally very limited still in 2022. Some Cornish words, such as *gwerthji blewjen*, 'flowers shop', *korev*, 'beer', *kygva*, 'butcher's' or *bosti*, 'restaurant' appear in very few of the local businesses. Some shops and small companies include the word *Kernow*, 'Cornwall', or some other toponyms in Cornish and a few of them, such as hotels and B&Bs are named after the Cornish name of the house where they are located. Some supermarkets, such as Tesco in Penzance and Asda in Hayle also include some messages and slogans in Cornish. However, the most notable use of Cornish in economy came from an ice-cream company, Kelly's, which produced a brochure with some Cornish words and phrases related to their business, and the first TV advert entirely in Cornish in 2018 (Figure 3.22). Moreover, as confirmed on *Radyo an Gernewegva* on 30 March 2019 by Mark Trevethan, Cornish Language Lead at Cornwall Council, the airline Flybe started to use a welcome recording in Cornish for its flights from London Heathrow to the airport of Newquay Cornwall from March 2019.

Figure 3.22. Examples of Cornish employed in different industries. Lower images from Google Maps (2019)

3.1.4 CONCLUSION

After approximately a hundred years since the beginning of its revitalisation, Cornish cannot be considered a dead language. This study has shown that by the time of writing this thesis, between 2016 and 2022, there are approximately 5,200 individuals with some skills in Cornish, 1,000 of them fluent, living in the area of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. These speakers are as homogenously distributed, by gender, location and economic activity as the rest of the population but are slightly older than the non-speakers. The majority of them have learnt the language as a second or foreign language, although there are also a few native speakers. Since most of the speakers are not fluent and the group represents a very low percentage of the total population, they encounter several difficulties using the language in social settings. Nevertheless, some of them speak Cornish with their friends, family and in other contexts. The local government, some companies, and religious bodies have also started to use Cornish, however, this was still very limited (Table 3.1).

In order to have a full picture of the situation of Cornish, the following section discusses the results of attitudes towards Cornish by the population of Cornwall and Scilly including both Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speakers.

Table 3.1. Summary of the state of Cornish

Personal factor	*Competence*	Generally low. Only 19% of the Cornish speakers are fluent (Section 3.1.1)
Socio-demographic factors	*Total number of speakers*	Approximately 5,200 (Section 3.1.2.1)
	Proportion of speakers within the total population	Very low. Approximately 1% (Section 3.1.2.2)
	Density of members of the minority within the community	Medium. Between 27% (nationals) and 34% (heritage) (Section 3.1.2.3)
	Proportion of speakers within the minority group	Very low. Between 3 and 4% (Section 3.1.2.4)
	Social distribution of the speakers	Basically, equivalent to the non-Cornish speakers' social distribution (Section 3.1.2.5)
	Language transmission – Generational distribution of the speakers	Very low. Most people have learnt Cornish as adults. A few (less than 5% of the speakers) used some Cornish as home as children (Section 3.1.2.6)
	Rate of social use of the language	Very low. Almost half of the speakers never or very seldom use Cornish (Section 3.1.2.7)
Institutional factors	*Unified spelling*	One official orthography used by 40% of the speakers. Several other accepted orthographies (Section 3.1.3.1)
	Official Use	Low. Some usage by Cornwall Council and some towns and villages. The UK government recognised Cornish as a minority language but does not use it in any domain (Section 3.1.3.2)
	Education	Almost inexistent. There is no formal education through the medium of Cornish at any level. Some schools teach Cornish as an optional activity (Section 3.1.3.3)
	Mass media and new technologies	Low but appropriate to the number of speakers. There are some TV and radio programmes as well as written press (Section 3.1.3.4)
	Religion, beliefs and ideology	Low but appropriate to the number of speakers. The main religious bodies of the area support Cornish by using it in some services and by translating the Bible and some religious literature. Very low. There is very limited use (often tokenistic) in the political domain (Section 3.1.3.5)
	Economy	Very low. The use of Cornish in economy is almost inexistent, with the exception of a few companies (Section 3.1.3.6)

3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CORNISH LANGUAGE BY THE POPULATION OF CORNWALL AND SCILLY

This second section analyses personal, societal and institutional (official) attitudes towards the Cornish language according to the framework 'Language Attitudes Factors' on Table 1.2 (Section 1.2.2.3). This complements the previous section since people's sociolinguistic behaviour may be predicted (or understood) to a great extent by the attitudes that they display (Ladegaard, 2000: 214-215, 229; Edwards, 1992: 83).

3.2.1 PERSONAL ATTITUDES

3.2.1.1 DISPOSITION TO LEARN OR IMPROVE CORNISH

When a language is spoken by a minority, a first insight in determining whether revitalisation is attainable should include a study of both its speakers' disposition towards improving their language skills, and the non-speakers' attitudes towards learning it (UNESCO, 2003: 7, 8; Fishman, 1991: 174). In order to explore this in Cornwall and Scilly, participants were asked to express their opinion in relation to a direct statement in Question 22a, '*I want to learn/improve Cornish*'. This was later contrasted with another statement, Question 25d, '*What prevents you from speaking Cornish?*', which included the answer '*Lack of interest in learning and using it*'.

Figure 3.23A shows how most of those who claimed some knowledge of Cornish (*n=219*) seemed to be very engaged in pursuing their study of the language. Approximately half of them, 105 individuals (49%), 'strongly agreed' with the possibility of improving their competence in Cornish, and 64 others (29%) 'agreed' with this statement. On the opposite side, only 28 Cornish speaking participants (13%) denied any interest in improving their Cornish skills. A similar pattern but slightly less positive was repeated when Cornish speakers (*n=220*) were asked whether a lack of interest was a reason for preventing them from using Cornish (Question 25d). A clear majority of 141 individuals (64%) expressed again their interest in the language, while only 48 individuals (22%) recognised that lack of interest on their part was an impediment for using Cornish (Figure 3.23B).

The answers of the non-Cornish speakers who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n=41*) show an almost symmetrical division between those who declared at least some interest in learning Cornish, 16 individuals (39%) and those who rejected the idea, 17 individuals (41%) (Figure 3.23A). The almost perfect symmetry between acceptation and rejection to the possibility of learning Cornish within this category contrasts with their answers to Question 25d. As shown in Figure 3.23B, only 12 individuals (30%) reaffirmed their interest in the Cornish language, while 24 (58%) stated that they had no real interest.

Cornwall Council initiated in 2008 a process in order to make Cornish a community language in Cornwall. This implies that not only should Cornish nationals be able to use it, but, to a certain extent, everyone living in Cornwall. For this reason, the answers to Question 22a, '*I want to learn Cornish*' became particularly important. The results of the survey show that the interest in learning amongst the respondents who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (*n=106*) may be rather low. In fact, only 18 individuals (17%) answered that they were willing to learn Cornish, but 78 others (74%) denied such a

possibility. These figures are supported by the almost equivalent percentages of answers to Question 25d, where 74 non-Cornish nationals (70%) stated they had no interest in learning Cornish, and 17 others (16%) responded positively.

A

■ Cornish speakers (n=219)
■ Cornish nationals non-speakers (n=41)
■ Non-Cornish nationals non-speakers (n=106)

B

■ Cornish speakers (n=220)
■ Cornish nationals non-speakers (n=41)
■ Non-Cornish nationals non-speakers (n=106)
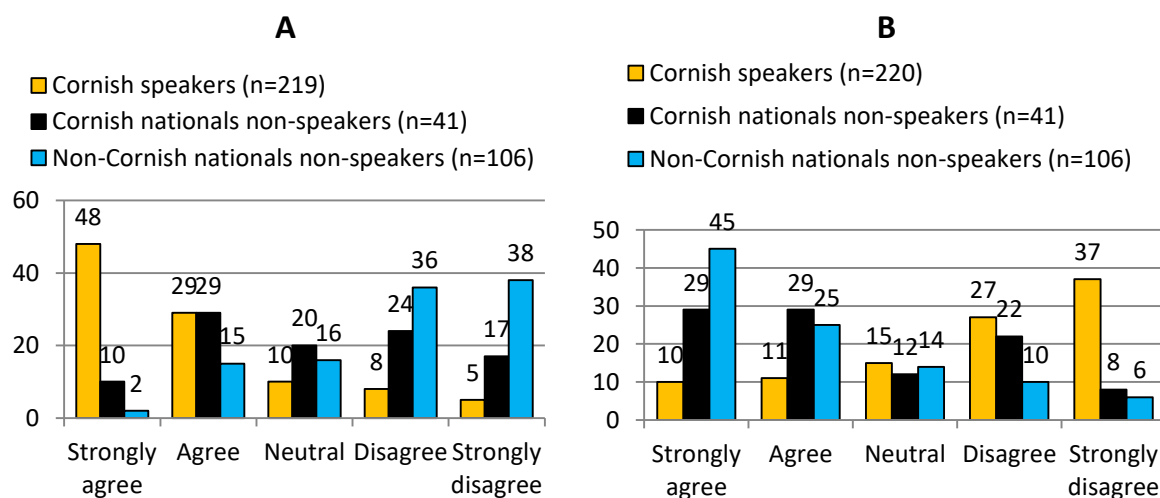
Figure 3.23. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 22a, '*I want to improve my Cornish*', and B) Question 25d, '*What prevents you from speaking Cornish?... Lack of interest in learning and using it*'

The analysis of the three groups' answers to Questions 22a and 25d exposes three different realities but also a relatively positive personal attitude amongst the inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly, since the percentage of individuals who declared some interest was much higher than the number of speakers. On the one hand, a clear majority ranging between 64 and 77% of those who claimed any knowledge of Cornish were favourable towards continuing their studies of Cornish and of acquiring higher competence. The attitudes of the non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals were very different. Although approximately one third of the participants in this category expressed positive attitudes towards the possibility of learning Cornish, a half of the total declared themselves as not having any real wish to study the language. Finally, relatively few non-Cornish participants, namely 16%, claimed an interest in learning Cornish. Obviously, it must be taken into account, as stated in Chapter 2, that the research may have attracted the attention of many non-Cornish speakers who hold either positive or negative views on the language, hiding an important percentage of uninterested individuals. In any case, it is evident that the attitude of those who did not identified themselves as Cornish nationals or Cornish speakers was much more hostile.

3.2.1.2 DISPOSITION TO USE CORNISH

The use of a language in society depends on many factors, a number of them totally out of reach of the speakers since, very often, some may find it impossible to use their language due to lack of other speakers, prohibitions, etc. In the case of Cornish, it is important to determine how much both Cornish speakers and those non-Cornish speakers who identified themselves as Cornish nationals would be disposed to use the language. Good

disposition to use the minority language may attract non-speakers to learn the language to communicate with the speakers in their mother tongue (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001: 40), while the opposite, lack of willingness to speak, may provoke the extinction of the language (Mac Gréil & Rhatigan, 2009: 83).

Figure 3.24, based on the answers to Question 24, '*How often would you like to speak Cornish?*', depicts radically different attitudes between Cornish speakers and non-speaking Cornish nationals. The responses of those who claimed any knowledge of Cornish (*n=218*) reflected very positive attitudes. Almost half of these participants, 105 individuals, stated their willingness to use Cornish in a balanced way along with English. There were also 89 individuals (41%) who would like to use Cornish as their main language, including seven Cornish speakers, who would opt for speaking only in Cornish.

When asked how often they would like to use Cornish, 18 (44%) non-speaking Cornish nationals (*n=41*) showed negative attitudes either by denying the possibility of speaking Cornish or by stating their lack of knowledge of the language. Approximately one third of the participants in this category, 14 individuals, answered that they would use mostly English although they would not neglect the use of Cornish. Those who would use Cornish in a similar way as English accounted for eight individuals (20%) and only one person said that he/she would be willing to use Cornish as his/her main language.

As for those who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (*n=106*), relatively few would be happy to use Cornish in a similar fashion to English. Interestingly, even in the case of being able to speak Cornish, only a minority of 30 participants (28%) would use it, though in most cases only as an auxiliary language to English. It is also true that some non-Cornish-speaking respondents may have misunderstood the question thinking that, since they were not able to speak Cornish, they would not be able to use it in a hypothetical future. In any case, the differences between Cornish nationals and those who did not declare any Cornish nationality were evident and suggest that the disposition to speak the language, if they knew it, was notably stronger among those who identified with Cornish nationality.
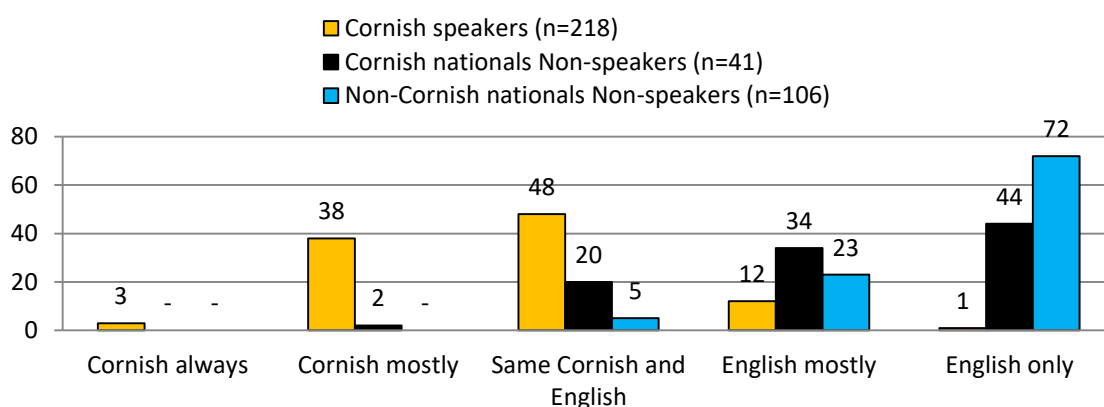
Figure 3.24. Percentages of participants according to Question 24, '*How often would you like to speak Cornish?*'

3.2.1.3 SELF-IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

There are usually more possibilities for an individual to engage him/herself in speaking a certain language if he or she has a degree of identification or affection towards that particular language (Fishman, 1991: 299). Interestingly, as shown in Figure 3.25, the answers to the statement shown in Question 22b '*Cornish is related to my national/ethnic identity*' were very similar amongst Cornish speakers (*n*=219) and non-speakers who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41). Approximately three quarters of both groups, 155 Cornish speakers (71%) and 30 Cornish nationals (74%) agreed with the statement. There were, however, some differences in the *degree* of attachment, since Cornish speakers usually showed a stronger level of identification with the language than non-speaking Cornish nationals.

The language was not considered a cultural characteristic belonging to the heritage of most individuals with no-Cornish nationality (*n*=106). In fact, 92 of them (87%) stated that it had nothing to do with their national or ethnic identity. A number of the relatively few non-Cornish national participants who related the language to their heritage saw themselves as Celts and some others Welsh.
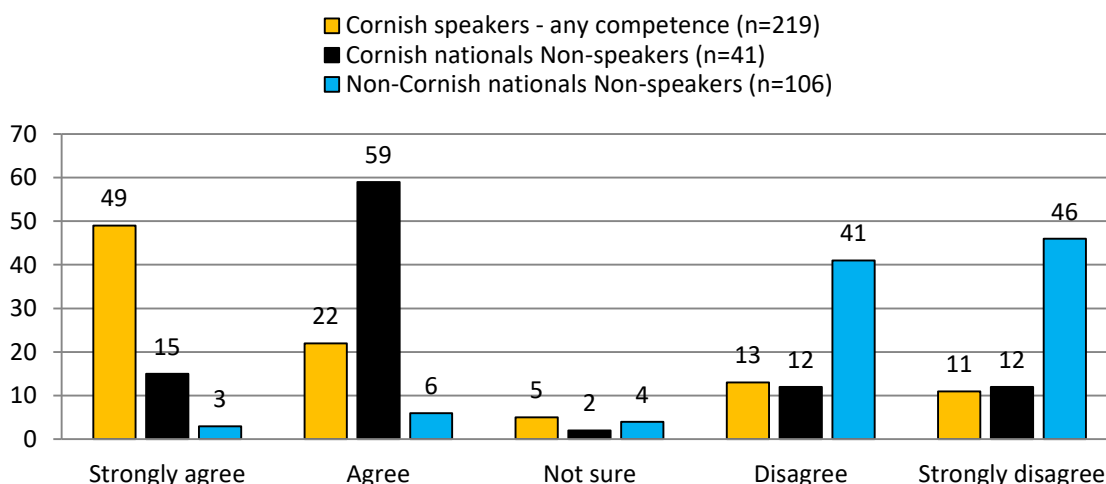
Figure 3.25. Percentages of participants according to Question 22b, '*Cornish is related to my national/ethnic identity*'

3.2.1.4 PERCEPTION OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

The perception that a group may have of their language (which often also implies its speakers) enhances its use or, if that perception is negative, its abandonment or the reduction of domains in which it may be used. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Cornish people had a very negative perception of their language and about its last speakers, which was one of the reasons which led to its final demise (George, 2010: 532; Mills, 2010: 200). In this research work, Questions 12 and 13 inquired about current perceptions of Cornish. The questions were designed to mirror each other, one asking about the opinion of the respondent when hearing somebody else speaking Cornish and the second, what the respondent believed that others would think about him/her if heard speaking Cornish.

Economic status of the speakers: Cornish is not linked to higher income. All the groups under study tended to disagree with the idea that a Cornish speaker usually may earn more than a non-speaker: 128 participants (59%) amongst Cornish speakers (*n*=217), 20 individuals, exactly half of the Cornish nationals (*n*=40), and 71 individuals (56%) amongst non-Cornish nationals (*n*=102). In the similar way, more than half of the participants of the three groups did not believe that others may associate the Cornish language with higher incomes (Figures 3.26A and B). This could be a reflection of some centralist socio-political ideologies, in which local or regional languages and dialects are regarded as *patoises* or inferior or impure languages spoken only by illiterate or less influential and mostly rural people (Brnardić, 2015: 127).

A   **B**
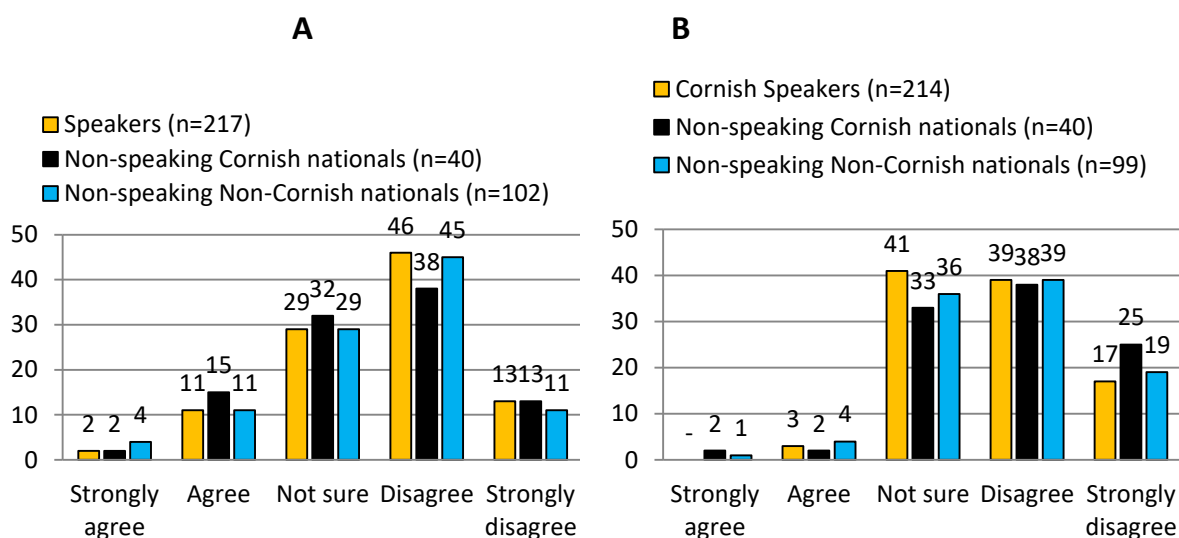
Figure 3.26. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably his/her salary is over the average?*', and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, what do English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think you earn more than them*'

Education/culture/social position: Although Cornish was traditionally associated with low culture and low social levels, according to the results of the survey prepared for this investigation, the situation has changed towards a rather neutral position. When hearing somebody speaking Cornish, Cornish speakers (*n*=216) and Cornish nationals (*n*=40) were almost equally divided on whether his/her education was higher or not than that of the average inhabitant of Cornwall and Scilly (Figure 3.27A). This point may indicate a detachment between language learning and the acquisition of a certain cultural level, that is to say, an individual may not need to be highly educated to learn another language. However, 55 individuals (54%) of those who did not speak Cornish and did not identify themselves with Cornish nationality (*n*=102), disagreed on thinking that a Cornish speaker may have higher level of education than the average. Interestingly, when asking what others may think of the respondent if he or she were seen speaking Cornish, the image was more negative. Almost half of Cornish speakers, 103, (48%) (*n*=214) stated that others would not consider speaking Cornish to be proof of being better educated than the average. Similar percentages were registered amongst the two groups of non-Cornish speakers (Figure 3.27B). Moreover, just for being Cornish speakers, people were not automatically

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assigned any degree of higher importance in society, and Cornish speakers did not have any feeling of superiority (Figure 3.28). This cannot be considered a consequence of old clichés such as Cornish being the language of peasants, poor fishermen and fish sellers. As Figure 3.29 show, very few participants associated the idea of Cornish speakers with uneducated rural people. Therefore, the results must be interpreted as a proof that, in Cornwall and Scilly, the social class and intellectual level of each individual does not depend on the language that he or she speaks.
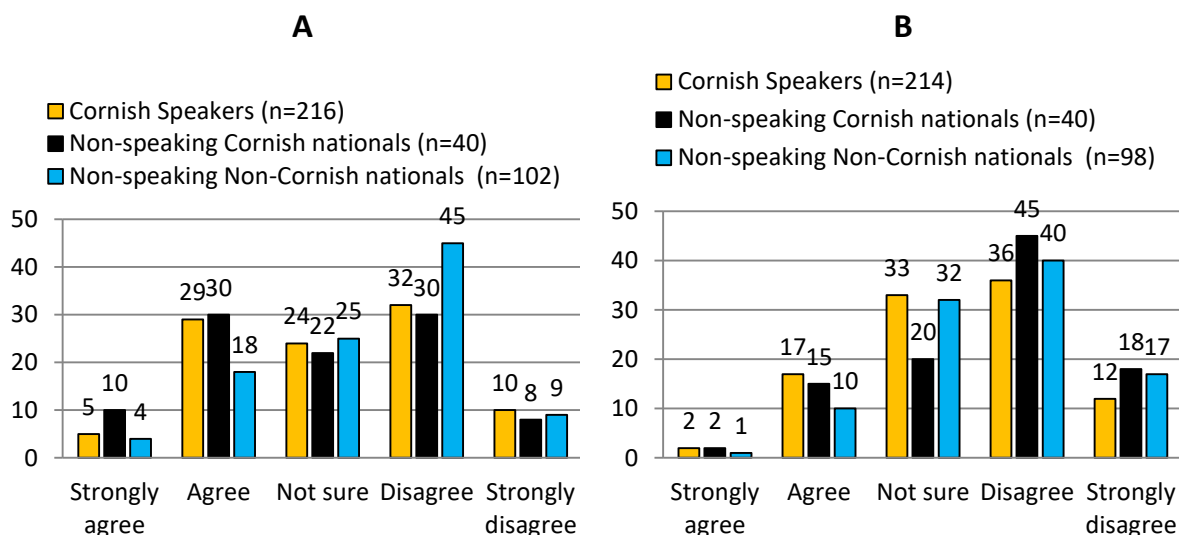
Figure 3.27. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably his/her income is over the average?*'; and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think you have better education*'
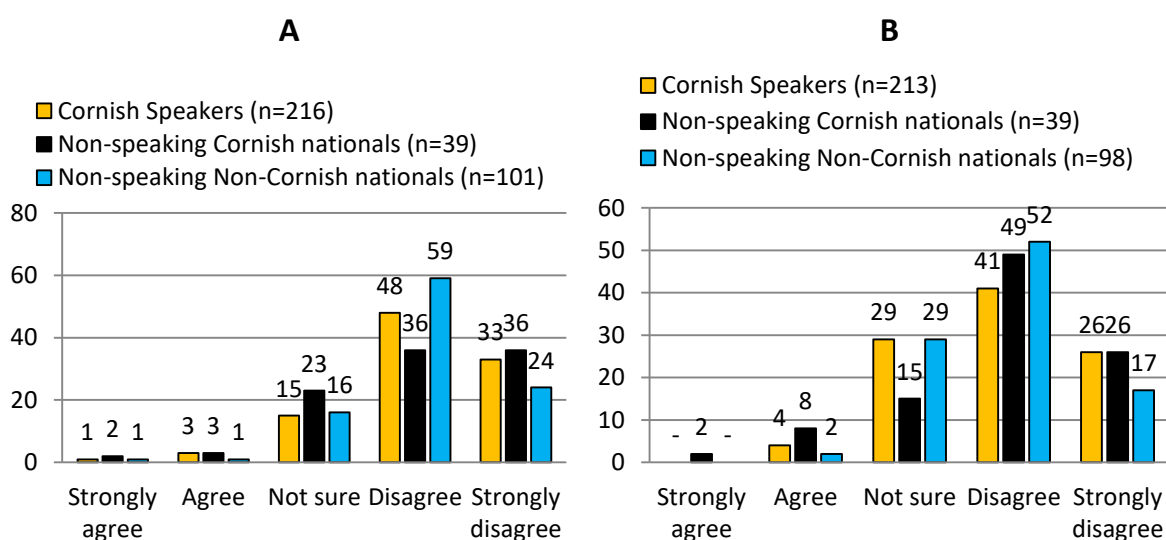
Figure 3.28. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably he/she is somebody important?*'; and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think you are somebody important*'
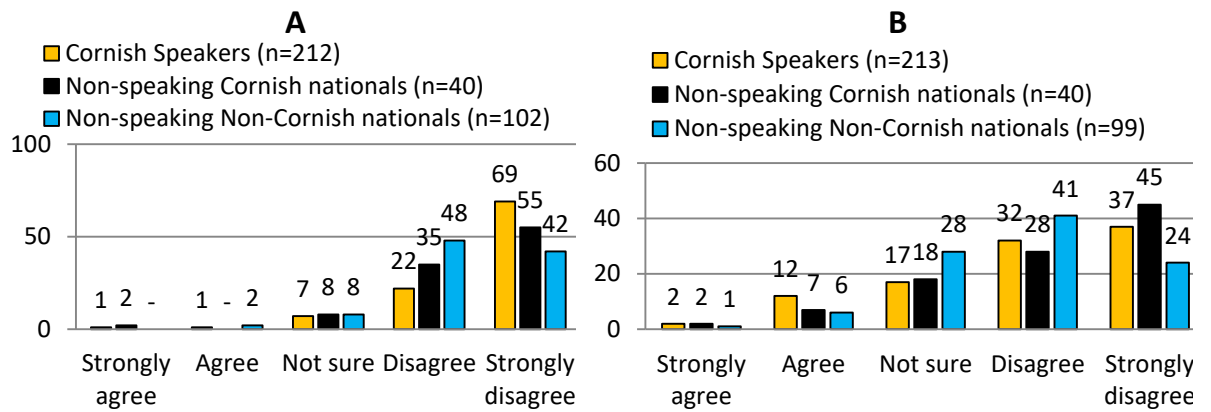
Figure 3.29. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably he/she is a peasant?*'; and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think you are a peasant from a small village*'

Politics/nationalism: This was, probably, one of the most controversial findings in the survey. Half of the Cornish speakers (*n=215*) rejected the idea that anyone who speaks Cornish may be a Cornish nationalist (Figure 3.30A). However, 128 individuals (59%) stated that other people may associate the idea of Cornish speakers with Cornish nationalism (Figure 3.30B). The non-Cornish-speakers were almost symmetrically divided between those who saw the link between language and politics and those who did not. Namely, 12 individuals (29%) of the Cornish nationals (*n=40*), and 34 individuals (34%) amongst the non-Cornish nationals (*n=101*), considered that there is a link between language and politics, while 15 Cornish nationals (38%) and 28 non-Cornish nationals (28%) rejected the idea (Figure 3.30A). However, when asked about the possible opinion of the rest of the population, a clear majority of 24 individuals (59%) of the Cornish nationals (*n=41*), and 58 (58%) of those who did not identify themselves with Cornish nationality (*n=100*) were convinced or very convinced that if they spoke Cornish in public, people would consider them Cornish nationalists (Figure 3.30B). The answers to this question may be directly linked to the next point.
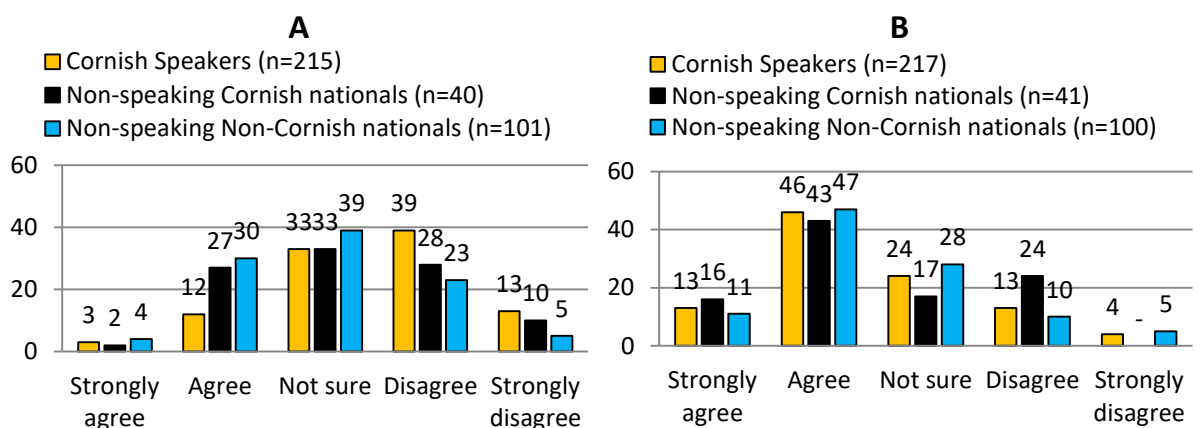
Figure 3.30. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably he/she supports secessionist ideas*', and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, what do English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think you are a Cornish nationalist*'

Cornishness: Interestingly, according to the answers to Question 12, the largest percentage of people who perceived some relationship between language and national/ethnic identity were those who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=103), namely 59 individuals (55%). This viewpoint was shared by only 17 (42%) Cornish nationals (*n*=40) and 89 (41%) Cornish-speaking respondents (*n*=217) (Figure 3.31A). This apparent contradiction may be explained by the combination of a number of factors. On the one hand, the sentiment of being Cornish does not depend solely on the language spoken, but on the convergence of different factors such as heritage, music, cuisine, etc., which may be different for each individual. For this reason, the non-Cornish-speaking participants who identified with Cornish nationality may not see the language as a determinant feature of their nationality. On the other hand, Cornish speakers may understand that they constitute a minority and thus, besides learning Cornish, there are other ways to express people's attachment to Cornwall. However, the degree of identification of the Cornish language as a sign of Cornishness may be stronger than the answers reviewed. When asked about what other people may perceive if they spoke Cornish in Question 13f, approximately half of the participants of each of the three groups under study, 118 Cornish speakers (54%) (*n*=219), 23 individuals (56%) of the Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 49 non-Cornish nationals (49%) (*n*=99), agreed or strongly agreed that they would be assigned a higher degree of Cornishness by their listeners (Figure 3.31B).
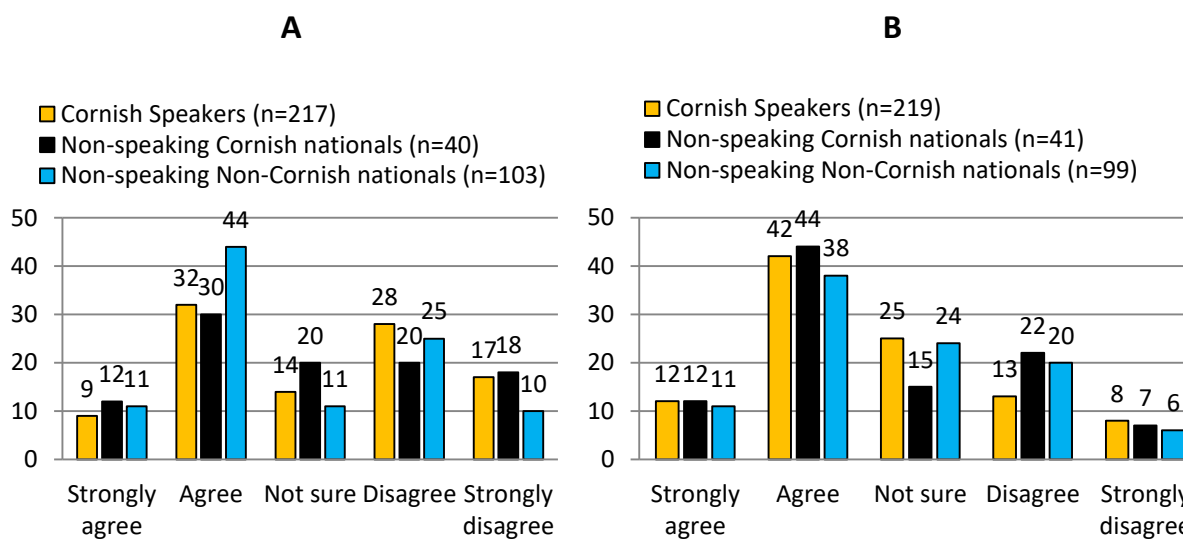
Figure 3.31. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 12, '*If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do you think that most probably he/she is 'more Cornish' than the average*', and B) Question 13, '*If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, what do English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think that you are 'more Cornish' than the average*'

Two other factors which led to the death of Cornish were its loss of prestige (Subfactor 2.3.3) and its loss of domains due to fossilisation of vocabulary (Subfactor 2.3.2) as detailed in Section 1.3.2 (George, 2010: 532; Mills, 2010: 200). However, in contrast with the situation of past centuries, Cornish speaking participants showed themselves very supportive of the language by almost unanimously considering it an interesting language, 208 participants (95%) (*n*=219) (Figure 3.32A), and 190 (86%) (*n*=220) denying it to be a

low-class language (Figure 3.32B). Both groups of non-Cornish speaking participants held similar views of the language as the ones expressed by the Cornish speakers. The majority of them also agreed that Cornish is an interesting language, 31 individuals (80%) of those who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 62 individuals (58%) of those who identified themselves as non-Cornish (*n*=106) (Figure 3.32A). Similarly, 73% of both groups, 30 Cornish nationals and 79 among those not identifying with Cornish nationality, denied that Cornish is a low-class language (Figure 3.32B).
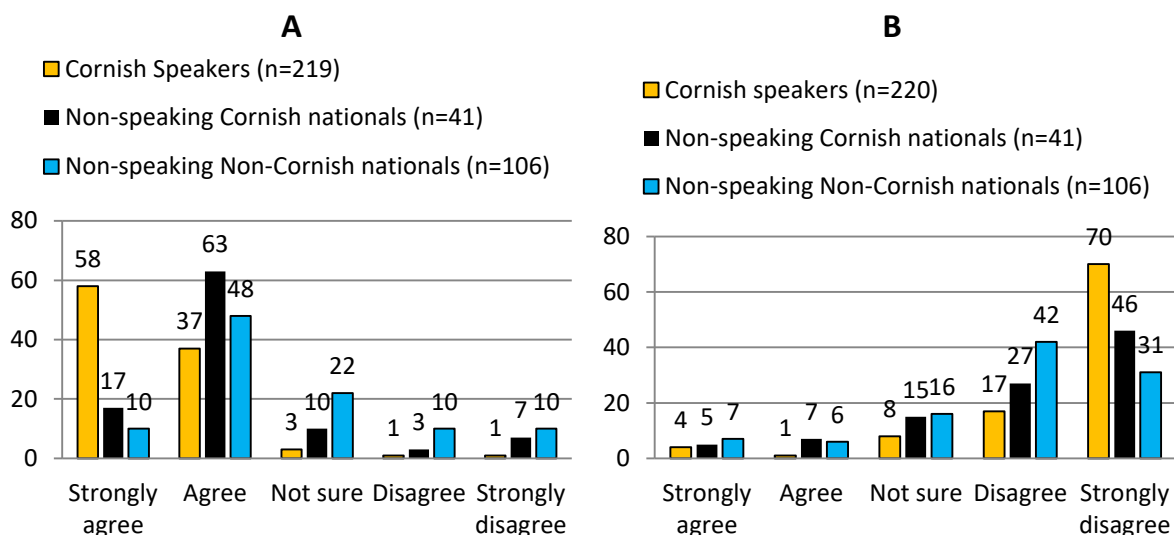
Figure 3.32. Percentages of participants according to Question 22d, '*Cornish is interesting*' and B) Question 22f, '*Cornish is a low-class language*'

3.2.2 SOCIAL ATTITUDES: LANGUAGE ACTIVISM

Language activism could be defined as the informal (or unofficial) activities and initiatives organised by speakers in order to safeguard and/or promote their language rights (UNESCO, 2003: 15). With regard to this point, despite the lack of an extensive Cornish speaking community, Cornish seems to be achieving significant success, especially after 2000.

For decades, the Cornish language has been a main feature in a number of festivals, such as Golowan, St Piran's Day, the annual *Gorsedh Kernow* ceremonies, and in cultural events, such as the Cornwall Film Festival or the music festival *Kan rag Kernow*. Moreover, some organisations have been promoting the language in various forms such as publishing and selling publications, informing students and parents, and organising an increasing number of evening classes and *yeth an werin* groups. In 2019, there were 28 organised onsite classes for different levels and seven *yeth an werin* groups registered by the Cornish Language Office.

These and other similar efforts to promote the language began to show some progress when in 2002 the British Government announced its decision to recognise Cornish as an autochthonous minority language of the United Kingdom, which supposed a measure of official status for the language for the first time in history. The new status for the Cornish language also opened the way in 2004 to the development of the first *Strategy for the*

Cornish Language designed by Cornwall Council and some language and cultural organisations. Some other personal initiatives in favour of Cornish also included that of some of the MPs for Cornwall who swore their Oaths of Allegiance in Cornish (Cornish Language Partnership, 2010: 3). Cornish language activism made also some headlines in the British national press when a couple was denied their rights to get married because they wanted a ceremony celebrated in Cornish only (BBC News, 2021).

Besides these forms of language activism, the several sub-questions found in Question 10 explored the support by the population of Cornwall and Scilly to these actions in favour of the language. The first sub-question, Question 10a, enquired about the support for the official status of the Cornish language. None of the groups answered unanimously, however, the support was clear amongst Cornish speakers (*n*=220), 161 individuals (73%). Twenty participants (49%) who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41) were of the same opinion. However, it should be noted that there was relatively high opposition amongst the latter, since 14 individuals (35%) disagreed with the proposal. The answers provided by Cornish speakers and the lukewarm support by Cornish nationals may be an indication of the role of the Cornish language within Cornish identity. The language seems to be regarded as an important piece of Cornish identity, but not a *sine qua non* element due to, for example, the relatively low number of speakers.

The position of those who did not consider themselves Cornish nationals (*n*=106) was also clear since 60 individuals (57%) were undoubtedly against granting Cornish official status. Only 22 participants in this category (21%) supported the officiality of the language. Having taken into account the generalised lack of cultural ties between this group and the Cornish language (Figure 3.25), Cornish is totally irrelevant for most in this group and from their point of view, it would be superfluous to officialise a language that they do not want to learn and use (Figure 3.33) and that few people speak.
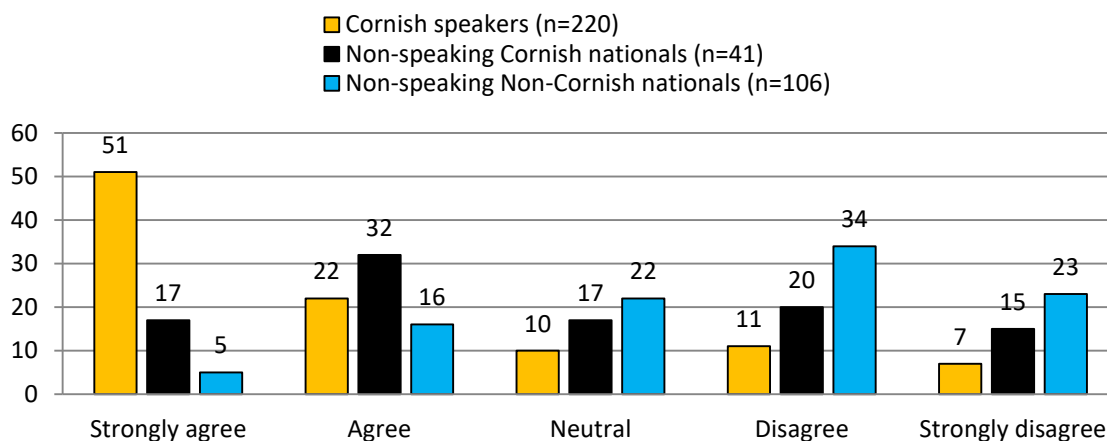
Figure 3.33. Percentages of participants according to Question 10a, '*Cornish should be made official*'

Cornish has gained visibility by being used in street signage in towns and villages all over Cornwall. According to the answers to Question 10b, '*street signing must include Cornish*', this action was widely approved by most of the Cornish speakers (*n*=220) and those who declared themselves to be of Cornish nationality (*n*=41). In fact, approval was at

180 Cornish speakers (82%) and 23 non-speakers of Cornish nationality (56%) either agreed or strongly agreed. The third group, those who did not considered themselves Cornish nationals (*n*=106) were more reticent about this strategy. More than half of them, 60 individuals, expressed their opposition to employing Cornish in street signing, and only 27 participants (26%) were in favour (Figure 3.34).
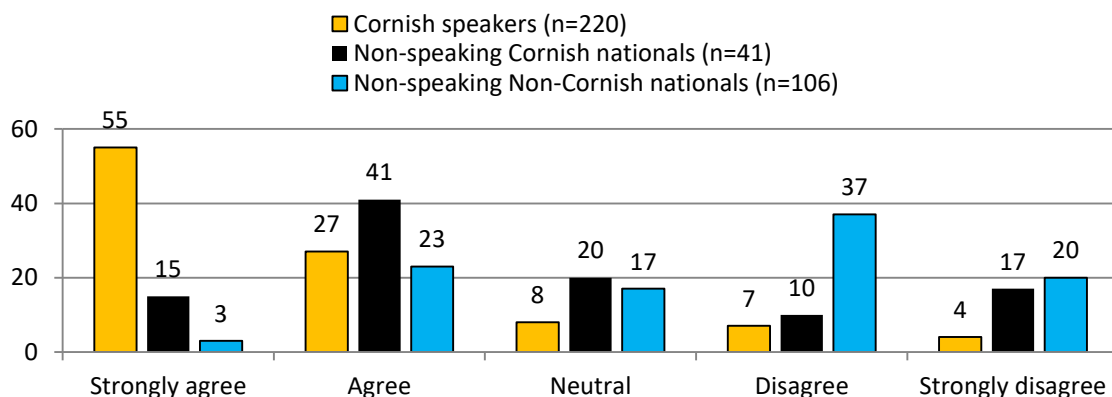
Figure 3.34. Percentages of participants according to Question 10b, '*Street signage must include Cornish*'

Social support of a language usually demands the involvement of the authorities in the process. The results to the statement '*authorities must promote the use of Cornish*' in Question 10c were strongly related to the support (or lack of it) for official recognition of Cornish, since it received almost the same percentage of agreement as Question 10a, '*Cornish should be made official*'. The support to involve the authorities in the promotion of Cornish was very strong amongst the 220 Cornish speaking respondents, namely 174 individuals (79%). Twenty individuals (49%) of those who did not speak Cornish but who viewed themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41) were of the same opinion. The other group, those who did not speak Cornish and did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=106) were not so supportive. Only 16 of them (15%) wanted the authorities to promote Cornish, with 53 individuals (50%) clearly against such a possibility (Figure 3.35).
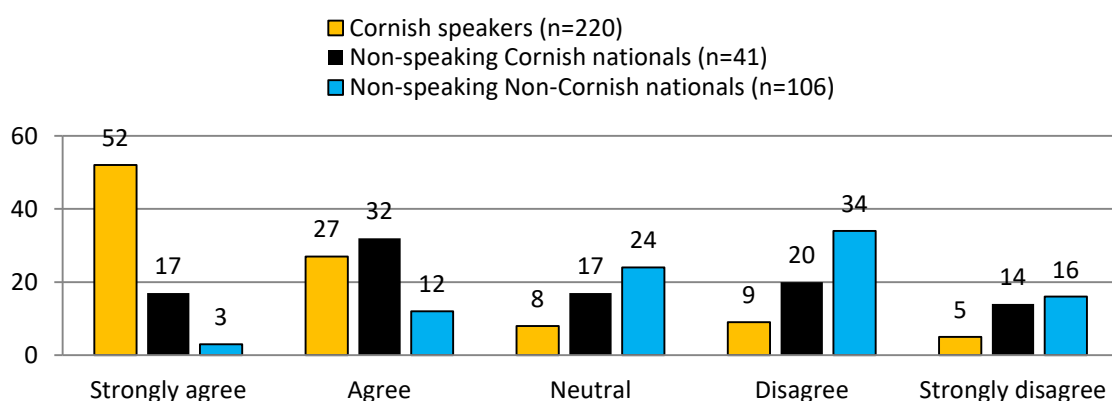
Figure 3.35. Percentages of participants according to Question 10c, '*Authorities must promote the use of Cornish*'

At least, part of the opposition to making Cornish official, to use it in street signing or to be openly supported by the authorities may be linked to the perceived waste of resources in this strategy. In fact, the British media has published regularly some articles in which organisations and individuals declare the promotion of Cornish to be a waste of money or, at least, a questionable investment (Bayley, 2016; Thornhill, 2015; BBC News, 2005). In order to explore this perspective, Question 10d enquired about the extent of this kind of opinions amongst the population of Cornwall and Scilly. A clear majority, 188 individuals (86%), of the Cornish speakers (*n*=219) disagreed with the statement '*promoting Cornish is a waste of resources*'. The response of the non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=41) was not so overwhelming, however, 23 individuals (56%) thought that investing in Cornish is definitely not a waste of resources. On the other hand, 52 individuals (49%) of those who did not identify with the Cornish nationality (*n*=106) agreed that the promotion of Cornish is a waste of resources, while only 32 of them (30%) considered the language a cultural feature worthy of investment (Figure 3.36). These results clearly confirm that one of the big obstacles to the promotion of Cornish is the reticence of people to invest on it.
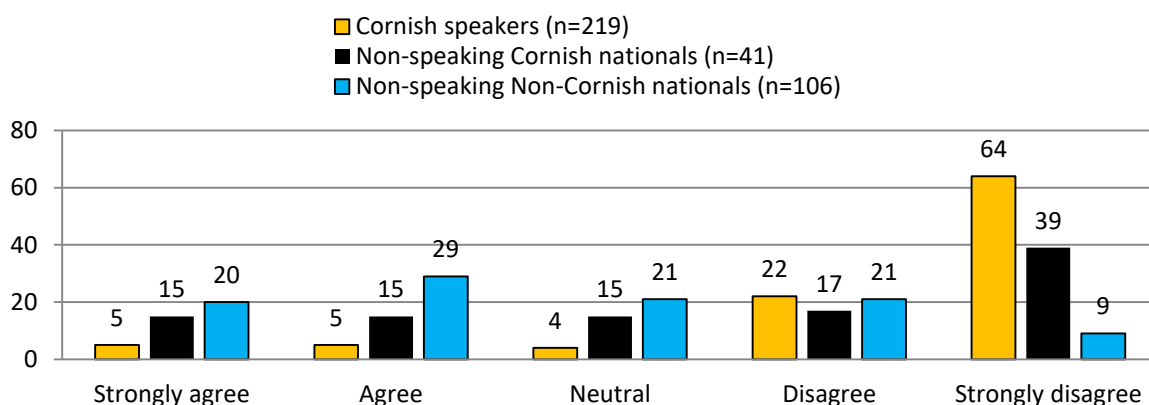
Figure 3.36. Percentages of participants according to Question 10d, '*Promoting Cornish is a waste of resources*'

3.2.3 INSTITUTIONAL ATTITUDES

After 1497, defeat in warfare (Subfactor 1.1.2; Section 1.3.2) and massacres of Cornish people (Subfactor 1.1.1) contributed to the decline of the Cornish language. The English rulers, however, did not only employ violent repression against Cornwall, but also exercised political pressure to ensure its rule in the region by limiting the power of local institutions (Subfactor 2.2.3) (Mills, 2010:197). This section describes the current situation of the Cornish language regarding its use by the authorities and/or in formal contexts.

Politics and government. Cornwall is still considered a county of England in contrast with Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, which are considered nations within the United Kingdom. On the other hand, Cornwall Council, the highest local government, has received some devolved powers in some areas such as culture. This led to the adoption of a new language policy in November 2009. With this decision, Cornwall Council recognised the Cornish language as a unique cultural asset and accepted responsibility for safeguarding and promoting it in accordance with the principles laid down in the European

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Cornwall Council, 2009). Cornwall Council provides a regular fund of £30,000 every year to promote the Cornish language (Sky News, 2015). Some other authorities also fund the promotion of the language in their locality with smaller amounts of funds or assistance. This budget is employed to maintain the Cornish Language Office. It also helped create *Akademi Kernewek*, the Cornish Language Academy, the responsible body for corpus planning for the Cornish language. Cornwall Council and other minor local authorities work, either directly or through other organisations, in the promotion of Cornish in different domains, such as by displaying bilingual signage, by employing Cornish in some ceremonies, by using the language in some sections of their websites, or by organising scholarly conferences such as *Skians* and *Dalva an Yeth Kernewek*, the Cornish Forum.

However, as for areas that still come under the British Government, such as education, the armed forces and others, Cornish is neither employed nor encouraged. Moreover, the annual funding of £150,000 to promote Cornish that had been supplied since 2003 was stopped in 2016 (BBC News, 2016; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015; Miles, 2014). After that moment, the British government did not support the Cornish language in any visible way. In 2019, the government announced a new £200,000 funding to help promote the Cornish language, heritage and culture (Gov.uk, 2019). Therefore, according to the data collected for this research, political reasons (subfactor 2.2.3; Section 1.3.2), due to the irregularity and unreliability of support, are one of the factors which still deter the progress of the Cornish language.

Religion. The establishment of the Church of England in Cornwall during the sixteenth century resulted in English being imposed on religious services and teaching, and the banning of Roman Catholic institutions which had played the role of guardians of the Cornish language, such as *Kollji Glasneth*, 'Glasney College' (Subfactor 2.2.4; Section 1.3.2) (Spriggs, 2003: 249). The situation is very different nowadays. The two main religious bodies of Cornwall, namely, the Methodists and Church of England, are clearly favourable to the promotion of Cornish. Both denominations celebrate regular services in Cornish and supported the translation of the Bible into Cornish. Moreover, the Church of England has published a version of the Book of Common Prayer. More recently, in 2019, a number of language classes were carried out in spaces belonging to the Methodist movement. Other denominations do not show any negative attitude towards Cornish but do not use it in their services or communications.

Economy. The end of the commercial partnership with Brittany during the sixteenth century meant Cornish was an ineffective language in terms of economic matters relating to commerce (Subfactor 2.2.1; Section 1.3.2) (Hicks, 2005: 11). The researcher found that Cornish is still either ignored or only used purely in a symbolic manner by almost all the companies established in Cornwall and Scilly. Moreover, the researcher found no evidence of companies using Cornish regularly, except for a few exceptions, such as the bookshop Kowsva in Redruth, Kelly's of Cornwall, Flybe, and some local shops.

Table 3.2 offers a summary of the attitudes towards Cornish according to the different factors analysed in this research work.

Table 3.2. Summary of attitudes towards the Cornish language

Personal attitudes	*Disposition to learn or improve the Cornish language*	A noticeable minority of approximately 20% of the non-Cornish speakers stated that they were interested in learning some Cornish (Section 3.2.2.1)
	Disposition to use the Cornish language	The Cornish speakers were favourable to use Cornish as much as possible. However, only a minority of the non-speakers would like to speak Cornish. There were noticeable differences between those with Cornish nationality and those without (Section 3.2.1.2)
	Self-identification with the Cornish language	Approximately 75% of the Cornish nationals said that Cornish was related to their nationality/ethnicity (Section 3.2.1.3)
	Perception of the Cornish language	Cornish is perceived by all groups as a mark of Cornishness which may be linked to political ideologies. None of the groups considered it a low-class language, although its speakers were not considered to be in a more favourable situation than the English speakers (Section 3.2.1.4)
Social attitudes	*Language activism*	Big differences amongst groups. Cornish speakers are very supportive; however, they are a tiny minority. Half of the Cornish nationals are supportive, but opposition is also noticeable. Non-Cornish nationals are mostly apathetic or contrary (Section 3.2.2)
Formal attitudes	*Institutional attitudes*	Cornwall Council and some towns and parishes actively support Cornish, although in an insufficient way. The British government is very irregular in its support, which is only proved by granting some funds, but never using the language (Section 3.2.3)

3.3 SUMMARY OF USE OF CORNISH AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROMOTION OF CORNISH

In recent decades, the existence of the Cornish language has become more evident. Figure 3.37 illustrates the findings in response to the first research question of this study, '*what is the current situation of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly?*'. The slim red bands represent the weak situation in personal, institutional and particularly in social/demographic domains. This, in turn, provokes a weak pressure from the speakers to support their language and a rather mild pressure from authorities and other institutions to promote Cornish in society.
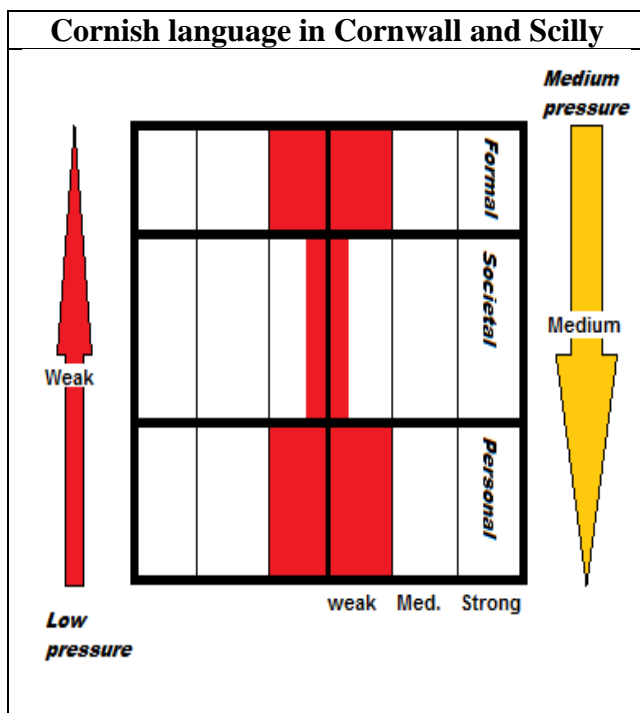
Figure 3.37. Situation of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly

However, despite problems such as a relatively low number of Cornish speakers, most of them with low competence, and lack of education through the medium of Cornish, there are some positive points that should be taken into consideration in promoting the language. They include the existence of speakers in all age groups, and almost an equivalent social and habitational distribution of speakers and non-speakers. In addition, Cornish has been moderately introduced into prestigious and modern domains, such as religious services, media and technology.

Attitudes towards Cornish have also changed in comparison with previous centuries when it was viewed as a retrograde low-class language (Subfactor 2.3.3; Section 1.3.2). In fact, in many domains, the data compiled points towards a relatively advantageous state for the Cornish language. Despite the fact that relatively few Cornish nationals are able to speak Cornish, a noticeable percentage of non-Cornish speakers agree to give more concessions to the language and its speakers in different ways. This active support in favour of the language is often expressed in a few festivals and events.

This situation not only helps deconstruct outdated viewpoints which may lead to prejudices against the Cornish language and its speakers, but also clearly establishes a revised, current foundation on which effective language policies must be based. These points will be analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.

The following chapter analyses the current situation of Basque in Trebiñu and the attitudes of the local population towards this language. This will help to notice confluences and divergences in both processes of language revitalisation which may enable create language strategies to be applied in Cornwall.

CHAPTER 4:

SITUATION OF BASQUE IN TREBIÑU

This chapter offers a comprehensive analysis about the current language situation in the Enclave of Trebiñu. Basque ceased to be a spoken language in the region approximately two centuries before language revitalisation was attempted by 1980. This analysis aims to show that the example of language revitalisation there can be used as an appropriate model to find successful ideas to promote the use of Cornish, as specified in the second research question, *is Trebiñu a valid model for a successful language revitalisation?* To this end, the use and attitudes towards Basque have been considered in personal, societal and institutional domains according to the framework 'Language Use Factors' (Table 1.1, Section 1.2.1.3).

The first section of the chapter discusses the use of Basque. It starts with an analysis of personal factors, which encompass competence and understanding of the language. The second section, on the socio-demographic factors, begins with a description of the Basque speaking population of Trebiñu, including the total number of speakers, their critical mass or percentage amongst the population of the area, age and social distribution. The analysis concludes with some remarks about how much the language is actually used in daily life. In these two sections, some raw data were extracted from the official statistics provided by the Spanish *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (2020) and the most recent sociolinguistic studies carried out by the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community, namely *Estudio Sociolingüístico en el Enclave de Treviño* (Basque Government, 2007) and *Trebiñuko enklabea, azterketa soziolinguistikoa* (Basque Government, 2012). Both sociolinguistic studies are based on surveys of 76.3% (2007) and 74% (2012) of the total population of the Enclave of Trebiñu. Another survey was planned for 2020, but it has been postponed as long as the COVID-19 pandemic continues. In order to have reference to recent years, more contemporary data from Araba has been used, since both regions have followed similar patterns in the progression of Basque during, at least, the last two decades (Basque Government, 2016). This third aspect, use of Basque in institutional domains, discusses the existence of a unified spelling, the official use of the language by local and regional governments and in education, and the use of Basque by local companies, the media and in religious and political contexts. Observation by the researcher also played a key role in the investigation in order to see how Basque is actually used. All these data were compared and contrasted with the answers to the interviews carried out in the Enclave.

The final section of this chapter analyses personal, societal and institutional attitudes towards the promotion of the Basque language according to the framework 'Language Attitudes Factors', discussed in Section 1.2.2.3. This analysis is of particular importance, since it enables the researcher to understand the source of the demand for Basque in Trebiñu, despite not being an official language, and how these attitudes are shaping the language strategies implemented in the area.

4.1 USE OF BASQUE

4.1.1 PERSONAL FACTOR: COMPETENCE

Since the Enclave of Trebiñu is located in a theoretically monolingual province of Spain, there are no official details about the knowledge of Basque in the area, such as in the Spanish censuses. Therefore, the most accurate data must be found in the sociolinguistic surveys carried out by the Basque Government. In 2012, 22% of the population of Trebiñu, or 57% of those with competence in Basque were fluent Basque speakers (Basque Government, 2012: 22). As shown in Figure 4.1, more recent data from Araba suggests that the percentage of fluent Basque speakers in Trebiñu may have continued to be slightly over 50% of the total speakers after 2012 (Basque Government, 2016: 4). Therefore, despite the dominance of the Spanish language in the region, it can be assured that the level of fluency in Basque is relatively high, enabling the speakers to be able to use the minority language in a variety of situations.
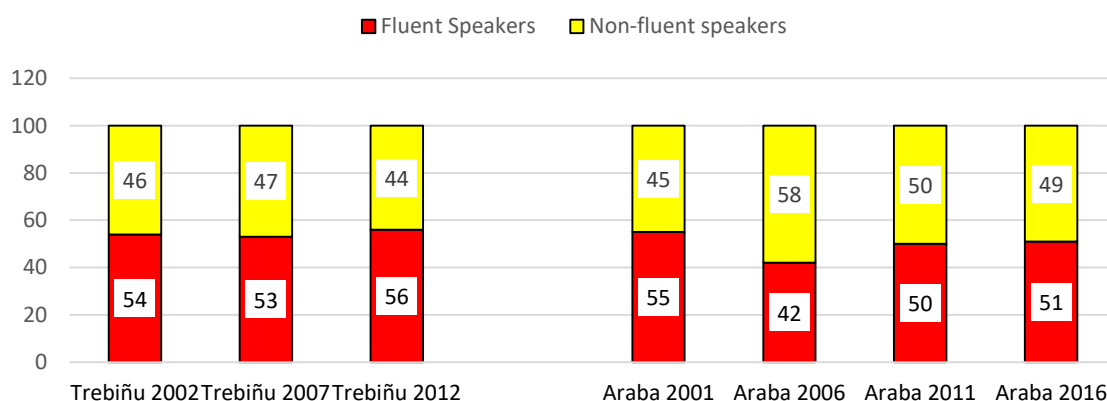
Figure 4.1. Percentage of fluent and non-fluent Basque speakers in Trebiñu and Araba (Basque Government, 2012: 22; Basque Government 2016: 4)

4.1.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Having illustrated a relatively strong level of proficiency amongst most of the speakers, this set of factors shows how Basque is used in society according to the demography of the Enclave of Trebiñu. It considers the number of Basque speakers, the proportion of speakers amongst the population and amongst the Basques, and the degree of usage in informal societal domains, including friends and family.

4.1.2.1 TOTAL NUMBER OF BASQUE SPEAKERS

According to *Estudio Sociolingüístico en el Enclave de Treviño* (Basque Government, 2007: 13) and *Trebiñuko Enklabea, azterketa soziolinguistikoa* (Basque Government, 2012: 21), the number of fluent speakers has continually grown from *c.*150 fluent Basque speakers in 2002 to slightly over 500 individuals in 2012. In addition to the fluent/native

speakers, in 2012 there were another 400 individuals with knowledge of Basque but unable to speak fluently (Figure 4.2).

Fluent & Native Speakers ■ **Non-Fluent Speakers** ■
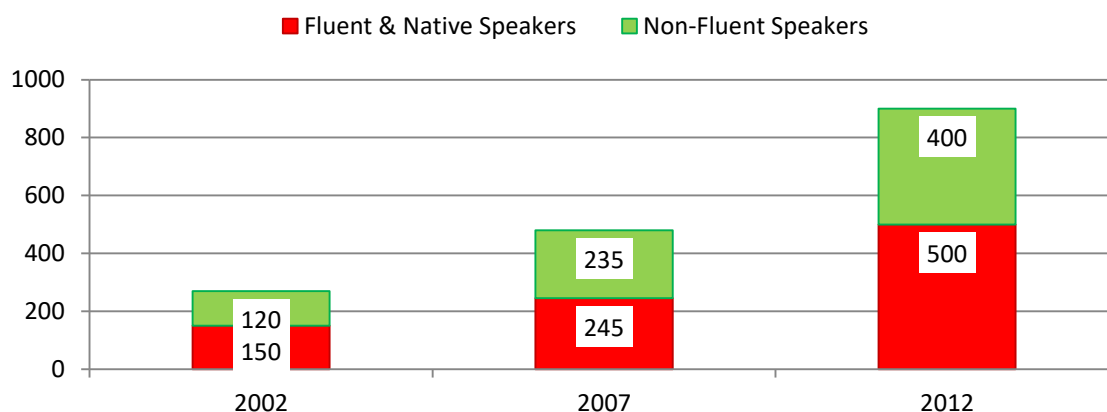
Figure 4.2. Absolute number of Basque speakers and passive bilinguals in Trebiñu (Basque Government, 2012: 21)

4.1.2.2 PROPORTION OF BASQUE SPEAKERS WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION

According to official details, the population of Trebiñu in 2011 accounted approximately for 2,000 people, namely 1461 inhabitants in the municipality of Trebiñuko Konderria and over 517 in Argantzun (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2020). As discussed above, there were approximately 900 individuals with Basque skills in 2012, which means that Basque was spoken to some degree by about 40% of the population (Basque Government, 2012: 21) This percentage was very similar to that of Araba in 2011, namely 33.6%. In 2016, the percentage of Basque speakers in Araba had reached 37.6% of the population (Figure 4.3). Therefore, it is very possible that the percentage of Basque speakers living in Trebiñu is still 40% or higher. This percentage enables speakers to be able to use the language in their normal life, as confirmed by Ekaitz, a teacher of the Ikastola Argantzon: '*what is quite clear is that nowadays all the Basque speakers of Trebiñu more or less know each other and relate naturally in Basque when they meet*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). These facts seem to indicate that the critical mass has been reached, so that the rate of adoption of Basque has become self-sustaining and is creating further growth. Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that the population is scattered across approximately 50 villages and a number of isolated farms and cottages, which may make it difficult for some isolated speakers to use Basque.
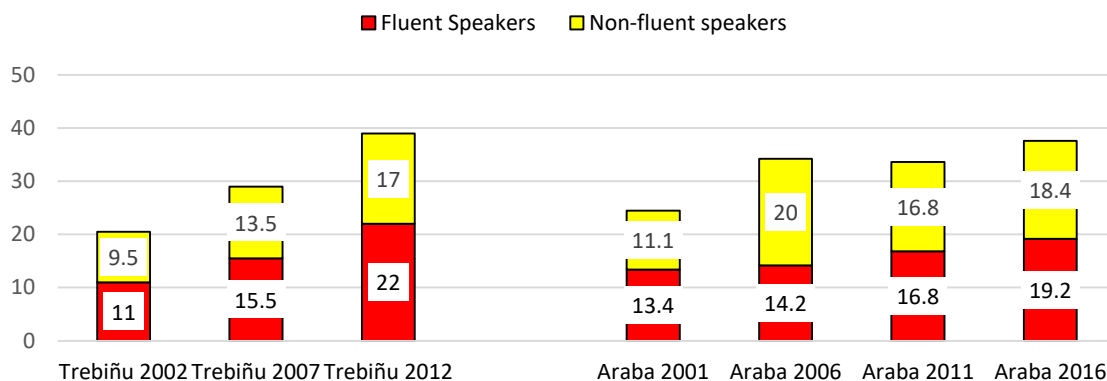
Figure 4.3. Percentage of Basque speakers in Trebiñu and Araba divided by competence (Basque Government, 2012: 22; Basque Government 2016: 4)

4.1.2.3 DENSITY OF MEMBERS OF THE MINORITY WITHIN THE TOTAL POPULATION

Due to the lack of recognition of different national groups in Spain, it is not possible to establish an actual percentage of Basque-nationals and non-Basques in Trebiñu. However, a hint that aids an approximate view of the national identity of the inhabitants of the Enclave is found in the 2019 local elections to elect mayors and councillors in the two municipalities. As in every election in Trebiñu, secession from Castile and union with Araba was a key issue, with pro-Basque parties and pro-Castilian parties. Candidates with pro-Basque ideology received 77% of the votes, while those with pro-Castilian ideology received 18% of the votes. Finally, only 5% of the votes were either blank or invalid ballot papers (Figure 4.4A). It is reasonable to assume that some voters of Basque options may have been influenced by simply practicality, instead of identity and some voters of the Castilian options may have acted in a similar way. However, these results are an almost identical reflection of the place of birth of the inhabitants of the region. As shown in Figure 4.4B, 77% were born either in Trebiñu or in the Basque Country while only 23% were born either in Burgos, in the rest of Spain or abroad (Basque Government, 2012: 13). Therefore, in this regard, the Basque seem to account for about three quarters of the population of the Enclave.
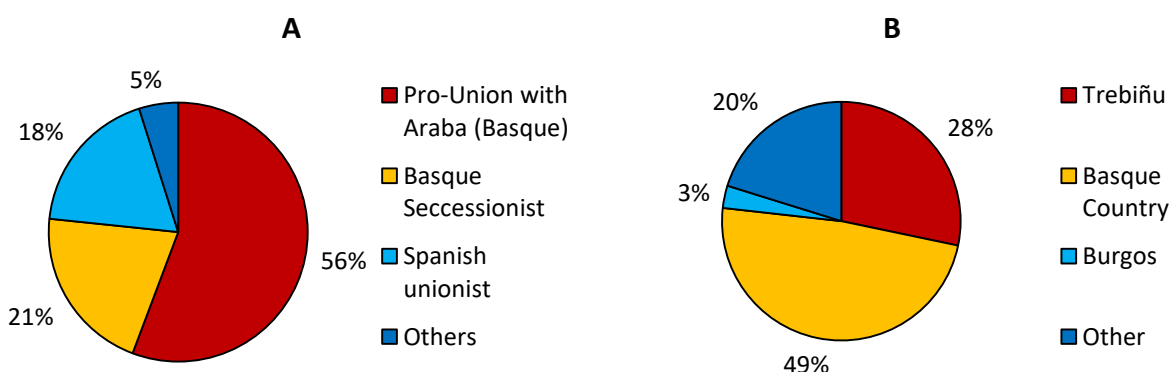
Figure 4.4. A) Political ideology according to ballots cast in the elections in 2019, and B) place of birth of the inhabitants of Trebiñu

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4.1.2.4 PERCENTAGE OF BASQUE SPEAKERS WITHIN THE MINORITY GROUP

More than half of the Basque population in the region are also Basque speakers since the number of people with Basque identity in Trebiñu is approximately 1,500 individuals and, according to their place of birth, 800 Basque speakers are also Basque. It is also interesting that approximately 100 Basque speakers were born either in Spanish-speaking regions of Spain or abroad which could be interpreted as a noticeable proof of the attractiveness of the Basque language in Trebiñu (Basque Government, 2012: 24).

4.1.2.5 SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BASQUE SPEAKERS

Basque speakers in Trebiñu enjoy a similar or even slightly higher social position than the Spanish speakers due to having more formal education than the Spanish speakers (Basque Government, 2012: 24). Their better education and knowledge of Basque usually helps speakers to access better-paid or more prestigious jobs such as those in government, especially in Araba (Basque Government, 2012: 16). This was also pointed out by Ikastola's teacher Ekaitz in his interview when stating that '*in Araba, which surrounds the Enclave, the Basque language is official, and it is considered and taken into account (to a certain extent) when it comes to opting for the majority of jobs related to administration. In education, for example, it is almost essential, since the demand on the part of families for linguistic models that are not taught in Basque is rather minimal*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). The fact was also confirmed by another interviewee who stated that '*the data show that the percentages of Basque-speakers in positions where the language is required are much higher than in positions where it is not required*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

Basque, therefore, is neither a marginal nor an elitist language in Trebiñu. Its speakers are distributed amongst the general population of the Enclave, especially amongst the younger generations and those with more education Basque Government (2012: 24).

4.1.2.6 LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION: GENERATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BASQUE SPEAKERS

Language transmission is considered one of the pillars of language revitalisation (UNESCO, 2003: 7, 8; Fishman, 1991:6). In the last few decades, the situation of Trebiñu has changed radically from being a Spanish monolingual society to become a bilingual community. Some of the Basque speakers are native speakers, especially children, as Ekaitz confirmed when commenting that '*There are some families, or at least one of the parents, that do speak [Basque] with their children*' (Interviewee 2; Appendix 3). This was also confirmed by the results of the Basque Government (2012: 25) which show that 19% of the fluent Basque speakers, approximately 5% of the total population, are Basque native speakers who have learnt the language at home. Interestingly, in Araba, the percentage of Basque native speakers augmented from 5% in 2011 to 7% in 2016, which can be an indication of the situation in Trebiñu between 2012 and 2022, where the percentage of native speakers may have also grown (Basque Government, 2016: 9) Moreover,

approximately half of the Basque speakers, including native and non-native, stated in the same study that they use the language at home (Basque Government, 2012: 25, 31).

4.1.2.7 PROPORTION OF SOCIAL USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

According to the opinion of some Basque speakers from Trebiñu interviewed, '*the Basque language is heard more and more frequently in the street, in everyday life*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). Since most fluent speakers are young people and children (Basque Government, 2012: 29), the interviewees of Trebiñu commented that members of this age group are also the main users: '*Those who use [Basque] the most are children and young people, people who have spoken Basque at home or at the ikastola since childhood*'. The use of Basque within the family was also mentioned: '*There are some families, or at least one of the parents, that do speak it with their children. Recent studies in the Basque Autonomous Community reported that the use of Euskara increased in situations where there were children around. Sometimes it is spoken by children and other times by adults who speak to them (although those same adults do not use Basque afterwards to talk with other adults). I think this also happens in Trebiñu*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). Adult Basque speakers are also users of Basque and some interviewees stated that they '*have [every time] more bilingual conversations with people who are not fully competent in Basque*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). These comments confirm the results published by the Basque Government (2012: 32). The report stated that Basque is used by most of the fluent speakers in their daily life, especially to communicate with friends and siblings.

4.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The following paragraphs describe the use of Basque by the local and regional governments, the different religious and political groups, the three local schools, shops, restaurants and other businesses, as well as the media available in the Enclave. The use of Basque in institutional domains is particularly important in Trebiñu. Being an area where Basque disappeared approximately two hundred years before initiating its revitalisation, the employment of Basque by these organisations and bodies may provide the speakers with excellent opportunities to practise their language skills and to regard it as a language of equal status as Spanish (Shohamy, 2006: 30).

4.1.3.1 UNIFIED SPELLING

The Basque language is divided into a number of different but mutually intelligible dialects. Traditionally, the inhabitants of Trebiñu probably spoke a sub-dialect of *Bizkaiera* (Biscayan), the western dialect spoken between the city of Bilbao and the municipality of Bergara. However, after the death of Basque in Trebiñu, the local sub-dialect vanished completely. Nowadays, the councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun, the three schools and a few local businesses use *Euskara Batua*. This dialect and orthography is also used officially in the Basque Autonomous Community, in Navarre, in Iparralde (also called

French Basque Country) and, to a certain extent, by the European Union. It is also the medium to teach Basque in universities around the world.

4.1.3.2 OFFICIAL USE

Most major official matters of Trebiñu are decided either by the provincial government, *Diputación Provincial de Burgos*, or by the regional government of Castile and León. This is a big obstacle for Basque, since Article 5 of the regional constitution (*Estatuto de Autonomía de Castilla y León*) deals with the region's language heritage, but it only mentions Spanish (Castilian), [Asturian-]Leonese and Galician. With no recognition by any provincial and/or regional authority, the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu confirms that '*the funds for the revitalization of the Basque language come only from the Basque Government and [the provincial government of] Araba*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). This was also confirmed by the Provincial government of Burgos in private communication with the researcher. Despite this adverse situation, the municipalities of Argantzun and Trebiñuko Konderria have some limited power in education, environment, urban planning and local facilities, which they use to promote the Basque language.

Street signage: As observed by the researcher, street signage is bilingual in both municipalities including some small villages, such as Añastro (Figure 4.5). There are also bilingual signs and panels in certain landmarks, such as mediaeval churches and some natural spots. Nevertheless, Basque is not extended to all public buildings, since there is no signage including Basque in some key places such as the public swimming pool of Trebiñu. The other governments with legislative powers in the region, namely Burgos, Castile and León, and Spain, do not use Basque in signage, for example on roads or local police stations.

Figure 4.5. Examples of the use of Basque in street signing in Añastro (left) and Argantzun (right) (Images: Google Maps)

Use of Basque for communicating with the citizens: Basque is used in a very limited way by both local councils. Most of the information is exclusively published in Spanish. However, both municipal councils, Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun, have sections on their websites written in Basque and some official announcements are issued in both

Basque and Spanish (Figure 4.6). In order to meet the needs of the Basque speakers, both councils have established *Euskara Zerbitzua Trebiñuko Barrendegia*, 'The Basque Language Office of Trebiñu'. In addition, the Language Office along with a number of local organisations launched a totally bilingual website called *Euskara Trebiñun* where the citizens of the Enclave may find information about events, activities, courses and other cultural news. The Provincial Government of Burgos and the Regional Government of Castile and León do not use any Basque in their communications with the inhabitants of Trebiñu.

Figure 4.6. Use of Basque by the Municipal Councils of Trebiñuko Konderria (left; image ABC), and Argantzun (right)

Use of Basque in official procedures: Due to being an officially monolingual region, Spanish is the only language in which most local, provincial and regional procedures are undertaken. However, there are very few bilingual official forms, such as the one to enrol children in the kindergarten (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7. Bilingual form of the Council of Trebiñuko Konderria

Culture: Both municipalities promote the Basque language as an integral part of the local culture. Therefore, they organise regular Basque language courses, groups to practice the language, and activities in which Basque is used (Figure 4.8). They also offer support and help to coordinate the activities of several cultural associations which use Basque.

Figure 4.8. Use of Basque to promote local culture in Trebiñuko Konderria (left) and Argantzun (right)

4.1.3.3 EDUCATION

The councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun have very limited power in terms of education. In fact, it is the regional government of Castile and León which settles and decides the curricula to be taught in Trebiñu. The Basque language is not included in the Castile and León regional educational plans. In total, there are three education centres in the small region. One is a kindergarten and the other two are early education centres. Basque is represented in all three, however, their approach to the language and culture is very different, depending on the policy of the funding institutions.

Trebiñu Haur Eskola is a small kindergarten situated in Armentiako Bentak, a village five kilometres away from the main settlement of Trebiñuko Konderria. It offers Basque/Spanish bilingual education to children aged up to the age of three. The school publicises its services in Basque and Spanish on the website of the council of Trebiñuko Konderria.

Argantzon Ikastola is situated in the town of Argantzun. There are about 50 students up to the age of six who receive early education through the medium of Basque. The centre is funded by the organisation *Euskal Herriko Ikastolak*, 'Basque Schools of the Basque Country', and by the Council of Argantzun. All the teachers need to be fluent in Basque (minimum C1 level according to the CEFR) and certified in the subject they teach.

CEIP Condado de Treviño is situated in the town of Trebiñuko Konderria. Approximately 50 children aged between three and six attend this early education centre. It is funded by the regional government of Castile and León and offers Spanish/English bilingual education. Basque is only used as an extra-curricular activity. The lack of education in Basque makes a high percentage of local families send their children to other schools where Basque is taught.

There are no centres for primary, secondary, vocational or higher education in Trebiñu. For this reason, all the children aged over six have to continue their studies out of the Enclave. The lack of Basque in the schools of Castile impels most parents to send their children to the Basque Country, mostly to Araba, where three out of four children study (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Interestingly, the overwhelming majority of these children belong to Spanish speaking families, since the percentage of adult fluent euskaldunak (Basque speakers) in Trebiñu is still very low (Basque Government, 2012: 23). In order to solve this problem, in 2017, Argantzon Ikastola requested funds from the provincial government of Burgos to build a centre for primary education (for children from six to twelve). The request was not approved. However, the funds finally arrived from the *Euskal Herriko Ikastolak* of the Basque Country on condition that the centre was opened in the Basque Country. The place chosen for this new school was the village of Manzanos, already within the territory of the Basque Autonomous Community, five kilometres away from Argantzun (Burdain, 2018). Slightly different curricula in Castile and León and in the Basque Autonomous Community are not an obstacle, since both of them fulfil the requirements of the Spanish Education Ministry and are recognised everywhere in Spain and the European Union.

The councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun are also involved in adult education. They organise short courses in Trebiñu or collaborate with organisations from Araba. Courses are carried out in Spanish and/or Basque.

4.1.3.4 MASS MEDIA AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Magazines and newspapers: There are newspapers and magazines in Basque and in bilingual formats available in Trebiñu, although there is no local newspaper in the Enclave. The Basque-only magazine *Alea*, published in Araba, has regular sections of news and reports from Trebiñu. Some newspapers from the Basque Country, such as *El Diario Vasco* and *El Correo* also publish news about Trebiñu in Basque and in Spanish (Figure 4.9). The newspaper *Berria* regularly publishes news about Trebiñu in Basque only. Some other newspapers also publish local information about Trebiñu in Spanish, such as *Noticias de Álava* (from the Basque Country) or *El Correo de Burgos* (from Castile).

Figure 4.9. Examples of how Basque is employed by the press in Trebiñu (2019)

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Radio and television: Due to its geographical situation, Basque broadcastings from *Euskal Telebista* (television) and *Euskadi Irratia*, and *Hala Bedi* (radio) are easily accessible in Trebiñu (Figure 4.10). All these stations are situated in the Basque Country or Navarre, since there is no local radio or TV station in the Enclave.

Figure 4.10. Example of employment of Basque in Trebiñu by TV and radio stations (2019)

New technologies: Basque is well developed on the Internet with websites including news sites, government sites, supermarkets, sport clubs, religious sites, hotel booking sites, etc. In addition, many of the most popular foreign (non-Basque) portals and websites such as *Google*, *Facebook*, *Wikipedia* or *Youtube* to mention but a few, offer their contents in Basque. The researcher identified only about ten websites designed exclusively in Trebiñu. Of these, some contain information in Basque, such as *Euskara Trebiñun,* the website of the *Argantzun Ikastola*, the websites of the municipalities of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun and some local businesses (Figure 4.11).
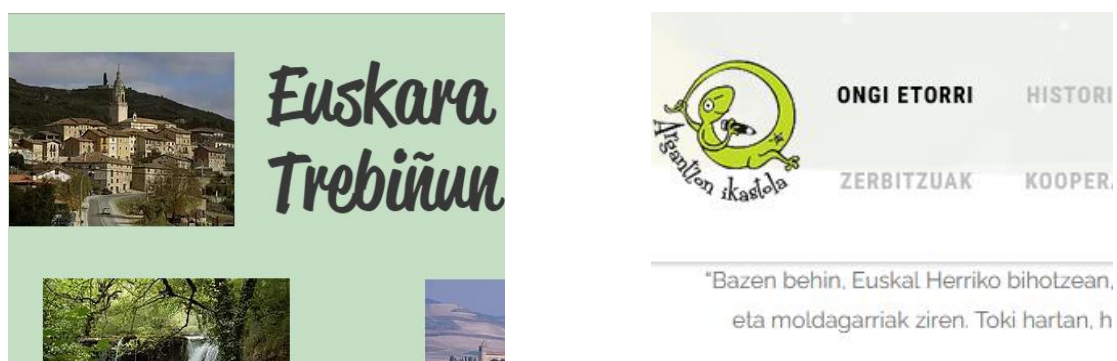
Figure 4.11. Examples of websites in Basque created in Trebiñu (2022)

4.1.3.5 RELIGION AND IDEOLOGY

Roman Catholicism has been the main religion in Trebiñu for centuries. In spite of being a Castilian region, Trebiñu Catholics belong to the Basque Diocese of Vitoria-Gasteiz, which may have influenced the decision to install Basque signs in some Catholic churches.

However, Basque is not regularly used in any religious services. The Diocese of Vitoria-Gasteiz itself does not use Basque in its general communications, and when used, it is mostly in a symbolic way, such as the insertion of some sentences or words within a Spanish text. A small minority of people belong to other religions. Of those, only Jehovah's Witnesses use Basque in their ministry according to the interlocutors' preferences, although not in their services, which are not celebrated in the Enclave but in Vitoria-Gasteiz and Miranda de Ebro (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12. Use of Basque by (left) the Roman Catholic Diocese of Vitoria Gasteiz (Image: Gasteizko Elizbarrutia), and (right) Jehovah's Witnesses (Image: JW.org)

In a similar way, the use of Basque is extremely limited in the political domain. A few political parties with representatives in Trebiñu, such as EH Bildu, Basque Nationalist Party (EAJ), or the People's Party (PP) use Basque regularly in the Basque Autonomous Community and in Navarre but only to a very limited degree in Trebiñu, even when some of them support the promotion of Basque (Figure 4.13). The researcher found no evidence of the use of Basque by other local political associations.

Figure 4.13. Use of Basque by political parties of Trebiñu

4.1.3.6 ECONOMY

Trebiñu is a rural community half way between Vitoria-Gasteiz in the Basque Country and Miranda de Ebro in Burgos. The combination of these two factors has particular

significance for the local economy. On the one hand, agriculture is still of key importance, although is in clear decline. On the other hand, being equidistance between two major regional centres has led to the creation of a number of small industries and companies mostly based on accommodation and food services. As they are usually small companies, the use and/or availability of Basque depends more on the tenders and customers' skills in Basque rather than on official policies. The data below was obtained in 2020, a few months before the COVID-19 pandemic in Europe. Due to several lockdowns, some of the businesses in Spain closed indefinitely. However, there is no official confirmation of this in Trebiñu, since the municipal registers available on the municipalities' websites have not been changed. Therefore, by sectors, the use of Basque was as follows:

Hotels and B&Bs: According to the registers of the councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun, there are at least eight hotels in the Enclave. Two of them have their name in Basque. Three hotels have launched their own websites and one of them has contents in Basque.

Restaurants: The websites of the councils list 14 restaurants and bars. Some of them have their name clearly in Basque, such as *Urgora Jatetxea* and *Trebiñu Sagardotegia*, while most of the remainder use the word *taberna*, which is spelled the same in Basque and in Spanish. Two restaurants have their own websites and one of them has its contents in Basque along with Spanish. There are menus written in Basque in at least two restaurants.

Other services: There are some other businesses in the Enclave, most of them small shops. The use of Basque and Spanish depends solely on the competence of their owners. There are also three bank offices, *Vital Kutxa*, *CaixaBank* and *Caja Rural de Burgos*. *Vital Kutxa* is a bank from the Basque Country which uses Basque at the office in Trebiñuko Konderria and on its website. *CaixaBank* is a Catalan bank. All its services in the office in Trebiñu are in Spanish, but its website has the option to carry out any procedure in Basque. *Caja Rural* is based in Burgos and does not use Basque. The other main company in Trebiñu is the furniture store *Dax Etxea* (Figure 4.14). Despite its Basque name, all the services and signage are in Spanish only.

Figure 4.14. Use of Basque by businesses in Trebiñu (Images: Google Maps).

4.1.4 CONCLUSION

According to the details compiled by the researcher and confirmed by data published by the Basque Government (2007 and 2012), it can be concluded that the position of the Basque language is generally positive especially in the personal domain. Data show that in 2012 there were approximately 900 Basque speakers in the Enclave of Trebiñu, which accounted for 40% of the total population. Moreover, more than half of these individuals, 22% of the total population, stated that they were fully proficient in both Basque and Spanish. According to more recent data from Araba, the situation may have improved between 2012 and 2022.

Basque is generally learnt by children either at home due to Basque speaking parents or/and at school. However, the number of Basque speakers over 30 years of age is relatively low. Nevertheless, according to observations by the researcher and responses to interviews carried out for this research, the use of Basque in society generally is not as strong as in personal domains. The population is scattered into approximately 50 villages, which causes difficulties for speakers to meet with each other. On the other hand, the officiality of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre helps the language to be widely used in new technologies and media. The researcher identified approximately 10 websites designed in Trebiñu, half of them with some contents in Basque. The language is also used in education but is almost totally absent in domains such as economy and political ideology. Table 4.1 summarises the different factors relating to the state of Basque in Trebiñu according to this research.

Table 4.1. Summary of the state of Basque in Trebiñu

Personal factor	*Competence*	Generally high. More than half of the speakers consider themselves fluent (Section 4.1.1)
Socio-demographic factors	*Total number of speakers*	Approximately 900 (Section 4.1.2.1)
	Proportion of speakers within the total population	Medium. Approximately 40% (Section 4.1.2.2)
	Density of members of the minority within the community	High. It may be close to 75% of the total (Section 4.1.2.3)
	Proportion of speakers within the minority group	Medium-High. Almost half of them can speak Basque (Section 4.1.2.4)
	Social distribution of the speakers	Basically, equivalent to the non-Basque speakers' social distribution (Section 4.1.2.5)
	Language transmission: Generational distribution of the speakers	Low. Most people have learnt Basque as adults. Some are native speakers. Most speakers are still young with no children (Section 4.1.2.6)
	Proportion of social use of the language	Low. Basque is used at school or at home, but apparently not much in the street (Section 4.1.2.7)
Institutional factors	*Unified spelling*	The use of Euskara Batua is general. No example of any other orthography (Section 4.1.3.1)
	Official Use	Medium-Low. Some usage by the local governments. The Spanish and Castile and Leon governments do not recognise Basque in Trebiñu and do not use it in any domain (Section 4.1.3.2)
	Education	High. Most families opt to send their children to study through the medium of Basque (Section 4.1.3.3)
	Mass media and new technologies	High. There are some TV and radio programmes as well as written press, mostly from the Basque Country (Section 4.1.3.4)
	Religion, beliefs and ideology	Religion: low. The main religious bodies of the area support Basque, but it is not used in services. Only some religious literature. Political ideology: very low. There is very limited use (often tokenistic) in the political domain (Section 4.1.3.5)
	Economy	Medium-Low. Basque is used in some restaurants, one bank, and probably some other shops where the owners were Basque speakers. Most businesses used Spanish only (Section 4.1.3.6)

4.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS BASQUE IN TREBIÑU

The section below seeks to map and analyse the attitudes of the inhabitants of Trebiñu towards the Basque language and its promotion. This assessment is necessary since attitudes often act as precursors of behaviour and may lead the language towards different situations (Baker, 2011: 3; Cohen, 1964: 138; Edwards, 1992: 83). The section is structured into three parts, namely personal, societal and institutional attitudes. Although

previous research, such as the surveys carried out by the Basque Government (2007 and 2012), has been used, most of the details have been extracted from the answers to the interviews and from observations by the researcher.

4.2.1 PERSONAL ATTITUDES

4.2.1.1 DISPOSITION TO LEARN/IMPROVE BASQUE

The disposition to learn Basque is high in the Enclave, as confirmed by the representative of the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu in an interview for this research: '*the knowledge of Basque has increased notably over the past two decades*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). This perception is also supported by the statistics provided by the Basque Government, which indicate that the percentage of fluent Basque speakers rose from 11% of the population in 2002 to 15.5% in 2006 and 22% in 2012. The percentage of non-fluent Basque speakers grew from 9.5% in 2002, to 13.5% in 2006, and 17% in 2012 (Basque Government, 2012: 22).

Most of the new speakers are young people and children who study or have studied totally or partially in Basque at school. The positive disposition is perceptible not only in the age of the learners, but also in the fact that, since the Government of Castile and León does not allow Basque to be taught in the official curriculum of the local public school, '*more than three quarters of the children of the Enclave of Trebiñu go to Araba to study through the medium of Basque*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

The local councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun organise regular Basque language courses for adults. However, according to Ekaitz, '*there are not many non-Basque speaking adults who decide to enrol in Basque courses. In this moment, I don't think there are more than a dozen*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). This can be interpreted not as lack of interest in the Basque language, since most families send their children to Basque-medium schools, but as other personal circumstances, such as lack of time or difficulty to learn languages.

4.2.1.2 DISPOSITION TO USE BASQUE

There are some obstacles which hinder a more generalised use of Basque in Trebiñu. These include a population scattered over more than 50 villages, the Basque language not being understood by most of the Enclave's inhabitants, and a culture of respect towards those who are not able to understand Basque, favouring the employment of Spanish on most occasions (Interview 5; Appendix 3). However, as observed by the researcher, there are some other indications which suggest a very positive disposition towards the use of the language. The most notable is the elevated participation in popular events where the Basque language is a main feature. These include *Euskararen Eguna Trebiñun*, 'The Day of the Basque Language in Trebiñu' and the Programme for Language Transmission within the Family. Trebiñu also participates in the organisation of Basque national events, such as *Korrika*, an exhibition race organised to promote the Basque language and to raise funds

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for *Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea* (AEK), an adult Basque-language teaching organization. In 2011, the starting point of *Korrika* was in Trebiñu. The event continued all over through the Basque Country with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people.

The positive disposition towards the use of Basque is also noticeable in the results of the most recent local elections in 2019, where the political parties favouring the promotion of Basque collected almost 80% of the votes. As expressed by one member of the Council: '*on the part of the local political parties, there are no impediments, although there are different levels of motivation. The parties from Burgos do try to hinder the process of revitalisation of Basque*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

4.2.1.3 SELF-IDENTIFICATION WITH THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

Self-identification with the Basque language is very strong in the Basque speaking areas of Spain, as the results published by Martínez de Luna (2013: 56-57) suggest. According to his study, the strongest factor in terms of social opinion towards the Basque language is the so-called *Euskaltzale* (national/ethnic) factor. As Amorrortu, Ortega, Idiazabal and Barreña (2009: 262) maintain, the main reason why people want to learn Basque in regions such as Arabako Lautada, a rural district bordering Trebiñu, is because it is '*their language*'. The Basque Language Office of Trebiñu stated that the situation is quite similar in the Enclave: '*The identity factor has had an important weight in the last decades, especially in adult Basque-speaking. The role of identity has a plus in Trebiñu, where the Basque language is not official, and the language has been minoritised to alarming numbers. The language has been a clear link with the Basque Country. In spite of this, the revitalisation of the language, above all of the new generations, has been carried out in a much more natural way and not so linked to the ideological field*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

Interviewee No. 4, an official from Argantzun who did not wish his/her name to be used, recognised the key importance of identity in the revitalisation of Basque in the Enclave. Moreover, identification and language worked in a reciprocal way, namely, identification helped learning the language, and speaking the language reinforced identification: '*This is another important element. The identity factor is key in the motivation to learn Basque. In the south of the Basque Country, that is, in Araba and Navarre, the most Spanish-speaking areas, being an Euskaldun* (Basque speaking) *is an element which reinforces considerably the sense of [Basque] identity*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

The reinforcement of Basque identity by its connection with the language was also mentioned by a local businesswoman, Pilu, who stated that '*if you show your interest for the Basque language, your Basque identity becomes evident*' (Interview 3; Appendix 3).

Ekaitz, from his perspective as a teacher at the Ikastola Argantzon, also noticed how identification has an important role not only for each individual, but also in the education provided for their children: '*Undoubtedly, other families come to the Basque language because they believe that it is important for their sons and daughters to learn the language, motivated by their identification as Basques*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).

Finally, for Galder and Iratxe, Basque speaking doctors from Trebiñu, the link between language and identity in Trebiñu has been clear for centuries. This strong link between the people and their language also affects many people who do not know the language, but who are actively involved in its revitalisation. As they tell in their joint interview: '*The inhabitants of Trebiñu are and have been Basque throughout history. We did have, and we still have our culture, language and our way of being. Politically speaking, before the kingdoms came into existence, we were already Basques. We were constituted as Navarrese to become Castilians, but we never stopped being Basques. We were united by a language which was different to the rest of neighbouring areas, but it was lost due to various factors such as romanisation, commercial relations, Latin-Castilian imposition, religion ... Now we are recovering the language, which is our identity, with various initiatives such as Basque classes, the Ikastola, summer camps in Basque, extracurricular activities in Basque, music, sports... [...] The Basque speakers have an inherent self-identification as Basques. However, many people who consider themselves Basque do not know the Basque language. Nevertheless, they help and actively participate in its promotion. The difficulty of learning Basque must be taken into account*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3).

The answers of the participants in this research corroborate the findings of previous investigations which assign to self-identification as Basques a key factor in choosing to learn the Basque language. This self-identification is also important in choosing the language for the education for their children, and also the promotion of the language, even amongst individuals who are not Basque speakers.

4.2.1.4 PERCEPTION OF BASQUE

For a long time, Basque was considered a rural and retrograde language, a language of *basserritarrak* or peasants and people living on farms. However, after the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975), an increasing number of people living in the Basque regions started to consider it an interesting language with nothing to do with illiterate peasants (Amorrortu *et al*., 2009: 268-269). Trebiñu seems to share a similar opinion on the subject since it is generally perceived as a positive cultural aspect there. According to one local official, '*the majority of the population consider [Basque] their own language, as happens in Araba. In recent years, I also believe that a positive attitude is becoming widespread and it is expanding*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3). This opinion was also shared by Ekaitz, who commented during the interview that '*undoubtedly, for the majority of the population, the Basque language is a positive feature. I would say that there are very few who may see it as negative. Another thing is the importance that the inhabitants give to this topic in the day to day, which in my opinion is not excessive. But when asked if one is in favour of the Basque language or not, I think that 'yes' would overwhelmingly win*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).

For Galder and Iratxe, the positive perception of the Basque language is also evident. This is reflected in the local language policy and the increasing use of Basque in informal conversations: '*In general, we think that it is perceived as a positive feature in the Enclave. The Basque language is heard more and more frequently in the street, in the everyday life.*

Most of the municipal signage (posters, street signs, pamphlets ...) are bilingual, and this generates some illusion in most of the inhabitants. Comments are heard in a funny way, such as 'it is the only village in Burgos with official posters in Basque''. Nevertheless, they also recognised that this perception is not universal since some people view the language as a political tool: '*Anyway, we must also say that there are people and organisations in the Enclave, often politically related to the Spanish right-wing ideology, that see the Basque language as a Basque secessionists' and nationalists' deadly weapon to achieve their goals. Our job is to convince them that this is not the case, that it is a native language. You just need to see all the Basque toponymy of the area.*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3).

Therefore, a characteristic which may be considered negative due to the division it may create within the population of the Enclave, is the association of the Basque language with only some political ideologies. As stated by the Basque Language Office representative: '*it is undeniable that the Basque language has always been and will be related to a certain political ideology. The Basque language has been and still is a minority language and its speakers have not had and still do not have their linguistic rights guaranteed. This situation has created an inevitable link with certain political ideologies that defend these rights against those who violate them*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

Another factor that linked the language to political ideologies is the position of Trebiñu as a county of Burgos instead of as a *kuadrilla* (traditional county) of Araba: '*Trebiñu being a part of Burgos is but a historical anomaly. It does not represent the will of the majority of its citizens nor of its two councils*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). The association of the language with politics does not seem something that Basque speakers perceive positively, as stated in the interviews: '*Unfortunately, the linguistic issue is totally politicised throughout the Basque Country. Basque language knowledge is linked to certain political ideas. [...] Today, the issue is totally politicised. Therefore, when we want to introduce the Basque language in new domains, we must act very tactfully*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

'*We believe that a language should always be a point of union for those of us with different political points of view, and this is where we believe the future should be. However, this is not the current situation. [...] In Araba, the Basque language is official, but in Burgos it is not. Surely, as long as Trebiñu does not get the right (because de facto already is) to be a department of Araba, the Basque language will never be official along with Spanish in the Enclave.*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3).

'*The language is the main element of any Basque identity, whatever its social, political or ideological tendency. It is very important to differentiate the ideological field from the linguistic one and keep in mind that, above all political thought, the revitalisation of a minority language must be the main point*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

In order to overcome this problem, education occupies a central role in the local policy. Most members of the new generations have been already educated in Basque and for them, the language is something natural since most individuals are fully bilingual. As declared by a local official: '*It would be a great achievement, little by little and with the help of new generations, to overcome these political clichés so that people of all political tendencies may naturally speak Basque*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

4.2.2 SOCIAL ATTITUDES: LANGUAGE ACTIVISM

Language activism, as informal activities and initiatives organised by the speakers in order to safeguard and/or promote their language rights, is clear in the Enclave of Trebiñu. In spite of difficulties such as lack of officiality and indifference/opposition by the government of Castile and León, Basque speakers and supporters exhibit a high degree of commitment towards the Basque language.

Bilingual street signage policy is one of the strategies that makes Basque visible in Trebiñu to both residents and tourists. Some interviewees commented how bilingual municipal signage '*generate some illusion* (or happiness)' in most of the inhabitants of the Enclave (Interview 5; Appendix 3). Moreover, as observed by the researcher in numerous places, this support for the Basque language to be displayed in street signing is not passive. Road signage depends on the governments of either Spain or Castile and León and, in these cases, the name of the villages is written in Spanish only. This has led some people to regularly vandalise and re-write those signs (Figure 4.15). These results confirm previous research in which most people from Trebiñu expressed their wish to see Basque used in street signs (Basque Government, 2012: 44).

Figure 4.15. Vandalised signs in Trebiñu (Image on the left: EFE; Image on the right: L. Rico at elpais.es)

Another example of language activism is evident in the fact that '*more than three quarters of the children of the Enclave of Trebiñu go to Araba to study through the medium of Basque*', as commented by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu (Interview 1; Appendix 3). This confirms the results published by the Basque Government (2012: 18, 41) stating that, in 2012, 74% of the children from Trebiñu studied in the Basque Country in order to have education through the medium of Basque. This requires some additional sacrifices for the families in terms of time and money since, when it is available, the Basque Country schools charge a fee for school transportation from Trebiñu, while in some other cases, students of all ages, from primary to further and/or higher education, may have to use regular bus routes or even private transportation paid by their families.

In addition, there are also regular events, language courses, activities and festivals to promote the Basque language which enjoy high levels of participation from both Basque speakers and Spanish speakers. This popular support produces positive feedback from the local municipalities of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun, where authorities generally support the promotion of the language and create opportunities to use it. This also confirms the results of the sociolinguistic study carried out in 2012, where the majority of the population expressed their support for education and extracurricular activities for children, totally or partially in Basque (Basque Government, 2012: 41, 43).

In general, opposition to the promotion of Basque in the Enclave seems to be minimal, as Ekaitz declared: '*I do not perceive any opposition from […] the inhabitants of the Enclave to the promotion of the Basque language*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). However, not everybody agrees with the steps in favour of the language, as Galder and Iratxe pointed out: '*there has always been and there will be such opposition. […] [T]here are some people in the Enclave that exercise this opposition*'(Interview 5; Appendix 3). Nevertheless, this minority opposition cannot be regarded as opposition from *non-Basques*, but from some individuals/organisations unrelated to any specific ethnicity. In fact, a number of non-Basques support the promotion of the Basque language, even when they are not fluent: '*We are also accomplishing seeking to involve people who came from non-Basque regions and who appreciate the Basque language as an asset, even though they cannot speak it. The final goal will not be achieved only by the Basques, but also with the other people who are living here*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3).

4.2.3 INSTITUTIONAL ATTITUDES

The overt repression by the Spanish government (Subfactor 2.1; Section 1.3.2) became a key factor to eradicate the Basque language from Trebiñu in the eighteenth century. In the twenty-first century, Spain is no longer organised as a centralist country, as happened between the eighteenth and the end of the twentieth century. For this reason, when discussing formal attitudes towards the promotion of the Basque language in the Enclave of Trebiñu, it is necessary to differentiate between the local institutions based *in the Enclave* and the provincial, regional and national ones.

The institutions based in the Enclave are generally positive towards the revitalisation and promotion of the Basque language, as all the interviewees agreed. This provokes the creation of strategies to promote and protect Basque in several domains, such as in street signage, official communications or the creation of Basque courses for adults, amongst others. However, the position of the provincial government of Burgos and the regional government of Castile and León is not perceived in such a positive way by the interviewees. An interesting fact noted by the representative of the Basque Language Office was that '*the funds for the revitalisation of the Basque language come only from the Basque Government and Araba*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Another participant stated that '*Burgos doesn't support [the promotion of the Basque language] at all*' (Interview 3; Appendix 3).

Three interviewees mentioned education as a specific case to show the lack of support from the provincial and regional governments:

'*Basque is not taught at the public school of Trebiñu. […] The parties from Burgos do try to hinder the process of revitalisation of Basque*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

Galder and Iratxe provided more details about the issue when stating that '*the government of Castile and León does not subsidize the ikastola because it is a Basque medium school and yet, in other provinces, they are subsidizing German and French educational centres... They established the public school of Trebiñu in a Spanish/English bilingual model without having any school subject in Basque. Most of the children of the Enclave study in educational centres with model D (Basque medium), but they have to do it outside the Enclave*'.

Besides this topic, they also pointed out the role of the strong presence of Guardia Civil, a Spanish military force with police duties: '*there are sectors of the public administration such as the state security forces with two barracks for two municipalities. This is disproportionate, if we compare it with other municipalities. They impose Spanish in their daily work*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the lack of Basque-speaking priests was considered one of the factors which contributed to the demise of Basque in Trebiñu (Subfactor 2.2.4; Section 1.3.2). This illustrates the importance of language usage in ideological domains, such as religion and, after the wide spread growth of secularism in Europe, the secular/political ones.

As discussed in Section 4.1.3.5, the two main religious bodies present in Trebiñu do not discriminate against the Basque language but are, in fact, very supportive of it. Religion does not have the strength that it enjoyed some decades ago in Trebiñu. Its central role has been largely diverted to secular ideologies such as politics. In this sense, as mentioned by a local official: '*on the part of the local political parties, there are no impediments, although there are different levels of motivation*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3). Therefore, as happens in the religious domain, the lack of adult speakers provokes a deceleration in the usage of Basque in Trebiñu, since most parties and associations prefer to use the language which is understood by all the inhabitants, namely Spanish, rather than using Basque.

Landázuri (1798) attributed the geographical location of Trebiñu as a transit area between Castile and the Basque provinces as contributing to the degradation of the local Basque dialect (Subfactor 0.2; Section 1.3.2) which impelled people to switch to Spanish (Uribarrena & González de Viñaspre, 2003: 491). In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the geographical situation of the Enclave continues to play a similar role, but, contrary to what had happened in the eighteenth century, the Basque language has taken advantage of it. As the representative of the Basque Language Office declared, '*The geographical inertia that the inhabitants of Trebiñu have with Araba brings along a natural bond of new generations with the Basque language. The social and political movements have managed to overcome the geographical/administrative barriers in several fields, such as education, a basic element in the revitalisation of the language*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

The table below (Table 4.2) offers a summary of the attitudes towards Basque according to the different factors analysed in this thesis.

Table 4.2. Summary of attitudes towards the Basque language

Personal attitudes	*Disposition to learn/improve the language*	Most families send their children to study through the medium of Basque. There are also adults learning Basque (Section 4.2.1.1)
	Disposition to use the language	There are some difficulties in using Basque due to the dispersion of the population. However, some use it with their families, and there are many activities where people join to use Basque (Section 4.2.1.2)
	Self-identification with the minority language	There are strong links between language and Basque identity (Section 4.2.1.3)
	Perception of the language	The use of Basque is perceived positively by most of the population (Section 4.2.1.4)
Social attitudes	*Language activism*	Most people are supportive. The participation in festivals and activities where the language is a central issue is very elevated in general. Some Spanish-only signs are vandalised to include Basque (Section 4.2.2)
Formal attitudes	*Institutional attitudes*	The local councils are supportive of Basque but have no power on curriculum design for education and other central issues. The national and regional governments neither recognise nor support Basque in Trebiñu. In general, Basque is not used in religious services, political events or the economy (Section 4.2.3)

4.3 SUMMARY OF USE OF BASQUE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROMOTION OF BASQUE IN TREBIÑU

The Basque language was reintroduced in Trebiñu in the 1980s after a period of more than two centuries of silence. After reviewing the use and attitudes factors in this chapter, it is safe to say that Basque has strengthened its status and the population of Trebiñu can be considered a bilingual society despite lack of resources and support from the Castilian authorities. In response to the second research question '*Is Trebiñu a valid model for a successful language revitalisation?*', this proves that the Basque revitalisation process in the area is a suitable candidate to mirror and adapt in order to promote Cornish in Cornwall and, eventually, in Scilly.

As illustrated in Figure 4.16, Basque is a language which enjoys a highly favourable situation in personal domains, where more than a half of the speakers are fluent, some of them native speakers with better competence in Basque than in Spanish. In general, negative views towards Basque, such as its lack of prestige (Subfactor 2.3.3; Section 1.3.2), were amongst the factors identified as a cause for the inhabitants of Trebiñu to switch to Spanish in the eighteenth century, culminating with the death of Basque in the area during the late 1700s or early 1800s. Nowadays, in contrast, Basque enjoys a certain prestige and is considered a visible mark of Basqueness. The language has become an integral part of the life of the community. Although due to different circumstances, such as the relative isolation of some speakers and lack of competence in Basque of most of the

adult population, the language is not used in the societal domain as much as in the personal one. However, people from Trebiñu consider the language something that must be learnt and do their best to help their children to become *euskaldunak* or Basque speakers. Moreover, as in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre, Basque is generally regarded as an asset to get better jobs and as a mean to intellectual enrichment. This indirectly creates a force for language promotion (represented by a green arrow in Figure 4.16) from the individuals and from society as a group, so that the promotion of the language continues with the support of the authorities and other institutions. In return, the response from the formal or institutional domains is generally positive. Basque is also used by the local councils and by some local companies. This situation creates a positive disposition to continue the promotion of the language by supporting education in Basque and creating opportunities to use the language. However, this support or pressure, cannot be considered strong, due to the passive or/and negative attitudes of the provincial and regional governments and institutions.

Figure 4.16. Situation of Basque in Trebiñu

Chapters 3 and 4 have revealed profound differences between the current situation of Cornish on the one hand and Basque in Trebiñu on the other despite having started from similar backgrounds and conditions. The next chapter encompasses an analysis of how language views and current language strategies implemented in each country may have shaped the situation described in the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 5:

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION OF BASQUE AND CORNISH

This chapter provides an in-depth description and analysis of the reasons behind the current situation, which proves that not only people's circumstances and views about the Cornish language, but also the language policy applied in Cornwall, may be accountable.

In order to demonstrate the role of different language policies in revitalisation processes and their influence on language views, data has been taken from the survey and interviews as well as from external sources. They show how views about the minority language can shape speakers' linguistic behaviour and practices. This chapter also includes a detailed analysis of data from the promising language situation in Trebiñu, where almost half of the total population are either fluent speakers or at least have working knowledge of Basque after a revitalisation process with close analogies to that of Cornish in Cornwall (Basque Government, 2012). These analyses answer the third research question, '*How have each country's language strategies affected the current situation of both languages and the attitudes of the population?*'.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first part focuses on the reasons behind the success in the revitalisation of Basque in Trebiñu. The second part deals with the generally low use of Cornish based on the results of the survey and interviews conducted in Cornwall and Scilly. In both cases, the analysis is divided in four main points, namely:

1) language background of Spain/United Kingdom,
2) personal domains, such as perceived difficulty of the language, lack of competence of the speakers, lack of time to study and language background of the individuals,
3) language situation in social domains
4) language situation in institutional domains.

The results of these analyses will enable the researcher to identify not only where some problems may be, but also some clues as to how to overcome them.

5.1 THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN TREBIÑU

After approximately 200 years of having lost its language, Basque was reintroduced in Trebiñu during the 1980s. Despite this relatively short time frame and general apathy from the regional authorities, according to the most recent official data provided by the Basque Government (2012: 21), 22% of the total population claim to be fluent in the language and almost another 20% claim to be able to understand and to speak some Basque. Moreover, most parents in Trebiñu make efforts to have their children taught in Basque. Therefore, the contrast between Trebiñu and Cornwall, where only one percent of the population can speak some Cornish, is marked. The factual analysis of the reasons for the success of

revitalising Basque in Trebiñu as outlined below, will be referred to in the recommendations section (Chapter 6), as a model to implement certain language strategies in Cornwall.

5.1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND OF SPAIN

Spain is one of the European countries with the lowest index of success in foreign language learning. The most widely spoken foreign language in Spain is English, which is studied by almost all the children. However, only 22% of the population can speak it. Moreover, their level is the lowest compared with the other countries of the European Union (Cambridge UP, 2016: 98). Other foreign languages are spoken by less than 10% of the population (European Commission, 2012: 21). However, language learning is different in most autonomous communities and provinces where so-called regional languages, such as Basque, Catalan, Occitan or Galician, are official. This fact has to be interpreted within a Spanish context. For centuries, Basque was considered a 'low language' with regards to Latin or some Romance languages, such as Occitan, French and Spanish but it continued to be spoken by the majority of the population, with the exception of the higher classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the population had abandoned it adopting Spanish or French in order improve their chances for better jobs or social position (Woodworth, 2007: 28, 108; Juaristi, 2015). For the Basque nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, the Basque language was a secondary element to the '*Old Laws*' and the '*Basque race*' (Montero, 2013). That was not the case in the economically and culturally strong Catalonia. In all the region, including Spain's more important metropolis, Barcelona, Catalan, and not Spanish, was the daily language of both the bourgeoisie and the lower classes. The language or more precisely the active usage of Catalan constituted the most evident element to describe the Catalan idiosyncrasy (Webber & Strubell, 1991: 14).

During the second part of the twentieth century, and particularly after 1975, concepts such as the '*Old Laws*' and the '*Basque Race*' became outdated or at least not so popular. On the other hand, Catalonia became both a *relatable* and *prestigious* model for all those looking for national and even regional recognition within Spain. In fact, as the researcher has heard several times in Spain, whenever there is any advancement in the promotion of a local language such as Asturian-Leonese, detractors often say that local governments are playing or pretending '*to be Catalans*'. This new view provided Basque speakers with a strong boost into a society in which not only knowing but also *using* a language is a main identity marker. This change of view was the event that reinforced Basque in the regions where it was still spoken and *re-instated the tradition* of learning Basque to speak it in regions where it had been lost. Therefore, although previously absent in many Basque regions for centuries, the language is no longer considered a foreign or strange element, but a key part of the collective identity. For this reason, nowadays, in Araba, that had almost completely lost Basque in the 1800s, 34% of the population have competence in Basque and 6% are native speakers (Basque Government, 2013: 69, 79, 84). This re-instated tradition has made of Basque a useful language that is spoken by individuals of all social classes and ages in their daily life.

As results show, the feeling that language is something that belongs to the individual and to the community, rather than something imposed, helps people in some areas of Spain to become ready to learn and *use* some languages. In addition, in Trebiñu, the promotion of Basque does not only focus on its value as an identity mark, but also on the benefits of bilingualism, as the representative of the Basque Language Office declared: '*[We carry out] campaigns for the recognition of the value of bilingualism, and to underline the value and contribution of the linguistic educational models in Basque*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

5.1.2 PERSONAL DOMAINS: VIEWS ON DIFFICULTY AND USEFULNESS

The two languages spoken by natives of Trebiñu, Basque and Spanish, differ in syntax and vocabulary, although Basque and the Spanish dialect spoken in northern Spain share a relatively similar pronunciation. Nevertheless, the pronunciation is not very helpful for Spanish speakers to learn Basque, as some interviewees commented '*[…] many people who consider themselves Basque do not know the Basque language. […] The difficulty of learning Basque must be taken into account*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). Perceived difficulty may also be a reason why approximately four out of ten individuals who knew Basque in 2012 did not consider themselves bilingual (or fluent) (Basque Government, 2012: 21). Despite the fact that Basque is perceived as a difficult language by many Spanish speakers, there is no doubt that the revitalisation project carried out in Trebiñu has accomplished notable success. One of the key elements of this success appears to have been the introduction of Basque in education. This was confirmed by the local Basque Language Office: '*the knowledge of Basque has increased notably over the past two decades*' and the reason given for this is '*because of schooling of children in Basque language models. More than three quarters of the children of the Enclave of Trebiñu […] study through the medium of Basque*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Education may not only be a medium to learn the language, but as the example of Ekaitz illustrates, a way to create a bond between the language and the new speakers. As he declared, his love for the Basque language started '*thanks to my parents, who despite not being fluent in Basque, became interested in the language and decided to enrol me in an ikastola. This instilled a great bond between me and the language*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).

Education in Basque created the need for material for children and for adults who decided to study the language. In this case, Trebiñu is in a privileged position, since Basque is also spoken by hundreds of thousands beyond its borders. There are TV, radio and online programmes, mostly produced in the Basque Autonomous Community and in Navarre, for different levels of speakers. In addition, there are some series of books, such as novels, tales, reports, etc. about different topics in '*Euskara errazean*' or simplified Basque, from level A1 to C2 of CEFR for both young and adult learners. This way, less proficient or new learners do not have to study with material prepared for native speakers, and adults do not have to use books for small children in order to acquire vocabulary. Moreover, since a lack of time to learn a language may have also been a considerable obstacle amongst the adults of Trebiñu, due to their work either in the Basque Country or in Burgos, the Councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun regularly organise language courses for adults, especially for parents who send their children to Basque medium education schools. In

addition, both councils collaborate with *Arabako Euskara Zerbituak*, the Basque Language Services of Araba, in order to offer more possibilities to those who want to learn or improve Basque. Finally, both councils publicise some distance and online courses which can be followed at the most convenient time for the student.

The high percentage of speakers and students in the area made the researcher think that the usefulness of Basque may play an important role. However, this is a topic on which the interviewees were divided. Pilu, a local businesswoman, commented that '*except for the ikastola, the knowledge of Basque is not valued for working in the Enclave*' (Interview 3; Appendix 3). A similar opinion was expressed by Ekaitz, from the Ikastola Argantzun: '*Within the Enclave the Basque language's usefulness for getting a job is very limited. It is reduced to a few places where it would be necessary: The ikastola, the nursery school of Trebiñu and [some] summer camps*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). Following a similar approach, Galder and Iratxe said that '*besides the public administration, the companies related to education value it. Nowadays, the rest, I believe, do not pay much attention [to the language], but this will change for the better, or so we hope*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). When asked about the usefulness of the Basque language in Trebiñu, the representative of the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu stated that '*as for the usefulness, it is difficult to make a real assessment. Spanish is the predominant language in most families and in the streets of Trebiñu. A key factor is the lack of official Basque language in Trebiñu, which means that all public administration and basic services are not bilingual*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

The answers of the interviewees reveal that, despite the lack of official status for Basque in Trebiñu, there are a few domains, such as education and local government, where the language is considered an asset. In addition, when the Enclave of Trebiñu is placed in its wider social and geographical contexts, the situation acquires a totally different perspective: '*Most of us, the inhabitants of the Enclave, go shopping, to school, to work... to Araba, and many of them work for the Basque Government. In the Basque public administration, it is a merit to have a Basque language qualification so, in this respect, it would be advantageous or useful. [...] Today it is more and more often said that many parents enrol their children in a Basque-speaking [school] model so that they may have more opportunities to work in the public sector*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). This is also confirmed by the Basque Language Office: '*in the educational or health area, the majority of inhabitants of Trebiñu go to Vitoria-Gasteiz, where it is possible to use Basque in public services. When we speak about the usefulness of the Basque language, it is often linked to the need to access the labour market, since in most public positions it is an essential requirement*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). The officiality of Basque in the nearby Araba was also mentioned by Ekaitz, who also saw a link between it and the usefulness of Basque for the inhabitants of Trebiñu: '*However, in the official territory of Araba, which surrounds the Enclave, the Basque language is official, and it is considered and taken into account (to a certain extent) when it comes to opting for the majority of jobs related to administration. In education, for example, it is almost essential, since the demand on the part of families for linguistic models that are not taught in Basque is rather minimal. In other areas related to the government, I think it is valued, but it is not required or considered to the same extent when accessing jobs (health, administration, ...), but I don't know*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).

Despite the doubts of some interviewees, it is safe to state that usefulness contributes to the success of the Basque revitalisation in Trebiñu. On the one hand, a few speakers have positions in Trebiñu where Basque is an asset. Others have the possibility of working or being in receipt of high-quality education in the nearby Basque Country, where depending on their position or studies, Basque is often necessary. Finally, all the speakers have the opportunity to be informed, to enjoy cinema and exclusive television and internet contents, and to interact face-to-face or online in Basque both in Trebiñu or in any other Basque speaking region.

5.1.3 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DOMAINS

Despite the relatively strong presence of Basque in personal domains, the sociodemographic domains do not exhibit such a strength, and its presence may be considered between low and intermediate. There are hundreds of fluent Basque speakers in the Enclave, however, most interviewees agreed that Basque is not easily heard in informal conversations in the streets, even though as Ekaitz commented, '*I do not perceive any opposition from [...] the inhabitants of the Enclave to the promotion of the Basque language*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). The reasons for this are suggested below:

- Lack of 'street life' and relative isolation of the speakers: As Ekaitz illustrated, '*what is quite clear is that nowadays all the Basque speakers of Trebiñu more or less know each other and relate naturally in Basque when they meet. However, it is not too easy to 'meet' in an 'accidental' way, since the Enclave consists of more than 50 villages*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). It is therefore easy to agree with the words of the interviewee who stated that '*these are not villages with a lot of life in the street* (people do not spend much time shopping, playing in the street, etc. in the villages)*, and the truth is that Basque is heard very little on the street*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).
- Limited number of speakers: Pilu stated that '*since [the Basque language] is not spoken by everybody, it is more difficult to use it*'. She also added that, '*we usually leave [the Basque language] in 'the background'*', an idiom to explain that most Basque speakers prefer to speak Spanish since this way, they can be understood by everyone (Interview 3; Appendix 3).
- Lack of self-confidence: '*In the street it is not easy to hear Basque. It is spoken amongst those who know how to speak it fluently, because, as in the rest of the Basque Country, the number of those who are fluent and those who know some Basque is very different. Many people who know it do not dare to speak for lack of fluency, shyness, fear of speaking incorrectly...*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).
- Respectful attitude to the people who cannot understand Basque: '*Like in the rest of Euskal Herria and always out of respect, there is a tendency to speak in Spanish whenever there is a person in the group who does not know the language. Steps are being taken to push the opposite trend*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). Ekaitz illustrated this with a practical case: '*In a context or situation in which seven people meet, of them six know Basque and one does not. The most usual thing is that after a while, the conversations end up being in Spanish, since all the speakers of Basque language know also Spanish, but the Spanish speaker does not know the Basque*

language. In this way, people lose domains for speaking Basque, they lose the habit of speaking it and they may also lose their capacity' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).

- Perceived links between the Basque language and Basque nationalist political ideologies: as stated by the Basque Language Office representative: '*It is undeniable that Basque has always been and will be related to a political ideology. The Basque language has been and still is a minority language and its speakers have not had and still do not have their linguistic rights guaranteed. This situation has created an inevitable link with certain political ideologies that defend these rights against those that violate them*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Interviewee 4 shared a similar viewpoint: '*Unfortunately, the linguistic issue is totally politicised throughout the Basque Country. The Basque language knowledge is linked to certain political ideas*' (Interview 4; Appendix 3).

There are a few factors that explain the *apparent* absence of Basque in the streets of Trebiñu. Taking into account that many of the speakers are people under 30, most of them students, Ekaitz suggested that children studying through the medium of Basque do speak Basque in their oral interactions and Basque is naturally spoken in the Ikastola (Interview 2; Appendix 3). In addition, as confirmed by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu, '*more than three quarters of the children of the Enclave of Trebiñu go to Araba to study through the medium of Basque*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). This situation implies that Basque speaking children and teenagers who are also Basque speakers use Basque in their conversations, however, this may be 'invisible' in the Enclave due to the fact that most of them only meet at school.

Besides the use of Basque at school, some interviewees commented on another characteristic of the population of Trebiñu: '*Most of us, the inhabitants of the Enclave, go shopping, to school, to work... to Araba, and many of them work for the Basque Government*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). This was also confirmed by the Basque Language Office: '*The geographical inertia that the inhabitants of Trebiñu have with Araba, brings along a natural bond of the new generations with the Basque language. The social and political movements have managed to overcome the geographical and administrative barriers in several fields, such as education*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). The need to go to Vitoria-Gasteiz to engage in public activities that cannot be done in the villages of the Enclave, such as going shopping, to the cinema, to hospital, university, etc. provokes again a situation of invisibility in terms of Basque in Trebiñu. Although speakers may use Basque, it is not perceived by the rest of the population.

Some speakers use Basque within the family, especially when they have children who are also Basque speakers: '*There are some families, or at least one of the parents, that do speak it with their children. [...] Recent studies in the Basque Autonomous Community reported that the use of Euskara increased in situations where there were children around. Sometimes it is spoken by children and other times by adults who speak to them (although those same adults do not use Basque afterwards to talk with other adults). I think this also happens in Trebiñu*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3). These comments are confirmed by the fact that approximately 6% of the fluent Basque speakers of Trebiñu had learnt the language at home from their parents or guardians (Basque Government, 2012: 25). Evidently, the use of Basque by these families is mostly invisible to the rest of the population, especially

when Basque-speaking adults who feel more comfortable speaking Spanish switch to Spanish whenever children are not present.

These points, however, do not indicate a total absence of Basque in the public life of Trebiñu. In fact, Basque is used in some fields, as pointed out by the Basque Language Office, such as '*the majority of festivities or events are held in Basque-speaking environments. All the programmes of the leisure area organized by the local councils aimed at children are carried out in Basque. And finally, the Ikastola of Argantzon has brought with it the opening to a broad and consistent* (has created a strong) *Basque-speaking environment*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3).

5.1.4 INSTITUTIONAL DOMAINS

As described in Chapter 4, the domains in which the Basque language encounters the most difficulties in Trebiñu are the institutional ones. This could be explained by two main reasons:

- Lack of support by the provincial and the regional governments. As confirmed by the Basque Language Office representative, '*a key factor is the lack of official Basque language in Trebiñu, which means that all public administration and basic services are not bilingual*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Other interviewees also perceived this problem in a key domain, namely education: '*I do perceive opposition to the provincial government of Burgos. For example, they not only refuse to support (subsidise) education in Basque because it is in this language, but also, they do not allow the Basque Government to directly subsidise it*' (Interview 2; Appendix 3).
- Scarcity of adult speakers. Approximately 75% of the Basque fluent speakers are still children or young adults (Basque Government, 2012: 23). Therefore, a lack of a strong body of speakers amongst the adult generations hinders the use of Basque in most formal domains, such as politics, business, etc. Nevertheless, whenever the services, such as education or summer camps, are targeted at children, Basque is used. In the private sector, shops and other local businesses do not see the need to use the minority language when only very few customers can speak it.

In order to overcome this situation as far as possible, the councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun are implementing a number of language strategies.

1) As much as possible, both municipal councils are setting an example through their use of Basque: both municipalities use Basque in their logos, websites and in some of their communications to the citizens.
2) There is strong collaboration between the municipalities of Trebiñu and the governments of Araba and the Basque Autonomous Community. This has enable Trebiñu to receive some economic funding and other support.
3) Both councils are very conscious of providing services in Basque for young people, including education and summer camps.
4) All the inhabitants have access to the services of a Basque language officer located in Trebiñu.

5.1.5 SUMMARY OF THE REASONS

The language situation in Trebiñu may be described as hopeful despite having some initial points of concern, such as the difficulty of the language, revitalisation of a language without native speakers, and the lack of support by provincial, regional and national authorities. The first cause of this success is the Spanish context in which Trebiñu is situated. Although the Basque language used to be an important symbol for Basques, it was losing ground. However, it was the switch to a view in which *using* a language is what determines the speaker's identity. The language became both, an identity mark and a living communication tool of all the people living in *Euskal Herria*, helping to *re-instate the tradition* of learning and speaking it, even in regions where it had been lost for centuries. Nevertheless, its promotion is not an easy matter, as this research has revealed. Basque is perceived as a difficult language by the inhabitants of Trebiñu. Nevertheless, many children have learnt it in a natural way either at home from their parents or guardians or at school. In addition, there is a rich variety of materials at different levels for learners and multiple possibilities for adults to learn the language not only in the Enclave, but also nearby in Araba or in distance learning courses. The councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun have created a few positions, mostly in administration and education, where Basque is either desirable or even mandatory. However, a factor to add to usefulness is the officiality of Basque in Araba, where most people from Trebiñu go shopping or studying. Despite the evident objection to the implementation of Basque language policies by the provincial government of Burgos and the regional government of Castile and León, opposition to or active discouragement from learning the language does not seem to be very strong in the Enclave.

The most formal domains are not exempt from difficulties. The rejection of collaboration and the degree of opposition exerted by the provincial and regional governments make a more effective language policy in the area impossible. In addition, lack of adult Basque speakers impedes the use of the language in banks and businesses amongst other fields. However, the two town councils of Trebiñu are involved in the promotion and maintenance of the Basque language, which is helping to overcome many of the described difficulties (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1. Reasons affecting the use of Basque in Trebiñu and strategies employed to overcome them

Obstacle	Notes on Strategies
Minority languages in context	
Strong presence and pressure of the Spanish language	Due to the relatable and prestigious influence of Catalonia, minority languages in Spain are perceived as both, strong marks of identity and tools for communication. Basque in the rest of the Basque Country has become prestigious and often necessary. This influences the views of Basque in Trebiñu.
Personal domain	
Difficulty	• Primary education in Basque • Graded material for adults
Usefulness	• Creation of employment where Basque was necessary • Creation of opportunities for Basque speakers to use the language
Personal circumstances (lack of time)	• Creation of courses of different levels at different times • Collaboration with Araba to increase the possibilities for adults to study Basque
Social domains	
Dispersion of speakers	• Organisation of regular events free from political ideology in which speakers can meet each other
Perceived links between the language and some political ideologies and/or social clichés	
Institutional domains	
Lack of funds	• Collaboration with Araba, the Basque Government and some private organisations
Opposition/indifference from the provincial and regional governments to Basque language education	• Councils' active support for Basque education (Ikastola Argantzun and Trebiñuko Haur Eskola) • Campaigns highlighting the value of bilingualism
Lack of adult speakers	• Creation of Basque courses for adults • Services in Basque (education and leisure) for young people • Some official services available in Basque

5.2 THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

5.2.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Languages usually play a central role as an identity marker in most communities and Cornwall is not an exception. In contrast with the situation in Spain, the British context lacks a good example of a minority language enjoying a strong and prestigious position in an economic and cultural national or international motor. In other words, there is no '*Catalan effect*' in the United Kingdom. In fact, in the nations of the British Isles, minority languages are generally perceived in terms of symbolic identity or/and political markers rather than actual communication tools, with the exception of Welsh, spoken in the not so economically strong Wales (Ager, 2003: 56-60). In this case, relatability plays against the natural self-identification of Cornwall with foreign examples of language revitalisation and/or maintenance, such as Catalan in Spain or Flemish in Belgium. The general population of Cornwall are not aware of the historical, political and social situations in those countries. Therefore, an unknown and not-understood model cannot be a model. Moreover, it is necessary to remember that Cornish had been in recession from *c*. 900 CE to its death in *c*. 1800. The Cornish language was totally absent as a communication tool in Cornwall's daily life for a hundred years. Since its revitalisation, only a low percentage of

the population has learnt it and very few have transmitted it to their children. The responses to the survey prove that very few individuals may have heard fluent Cornish as children in the home or at school (Section 3.1.2.6). Therefore, based on the results of this investigation, it safe to state that the Cornish language is no longer a central mark of Cornish identity. As Rhydwen (1998: 101) mentions, '[language loss is] intimately connected with people and it cannot be treated simply as an intellectual puzzle to be solved'. The language role in Cornwall has been largely substituted by the local variation of English, or as pointed out by one of the participants in the survey, '*nearly all 'Cornish' people use dialect as opposed to language. This is one of the reasons the language is not used as much as it could be*' (Comment 3; Appendix 2). Therefore, a working knowledge of Anglo-Cornish words may provide sufficient proof of the individual's Cornishness, making the Cornish language superfluous or, in the best case, simply symbolic (Edwards, 1994: 144). Moreover, Cornish identity does not depend exclusively on the language spoken. Some have suggested other characteristics of the Cornish culture that may serve to establish a certain level of distinctiveness, such as the Methodist branch of Christianity (Interview 1; Appendix 2). In view of this, the first Cornish interviewee declared that '*Cornish should have the same [opportunities as other languages] – not for a novelty – but we need to generate pride in the language*' (Interview 1; Appendix 2). Obviously, it is not in the hand of any single individual to change the background of language education of a country or to generate pride in a language. Once again, an appropriate language policy for Cornwall may help in shaping new attitudes towards the language and *re-instating the tradition* of speaking Cornish.

In addition, the United Kingdom shares some similarities with Spain with regard to foreign language learning. According to the European Commission (2012: 23), the British foreign-language learning system is one of the least successful in Europe. As corroborated by previous research, the overwhelming majority of Cornish speakers acquired their language knowledge as adults in classes, correspondence courses, using books or social media and other ways to learn second and/or foreign languages (Cornish Language Partnership, 2013b: 20). For this reason, it should be concluded that Cornish is technically a second or foreign language for most of its speakers. Therefore, the British lack of success in learning foreign languages may also shape the mentality of some Cornish learners who may perform lower than expected and rarely acquire the fluency that is expected to use the language in daily life (Reynolds, 2007: 477). This idea was supported by on the interviewees, who stated that '*many Cornish language learners I have encountered seem to think that adult evening classes are the most important way of developing the language and people seem happy to ghettoise the language; making it a hobby or a retirement past time*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2).

5.2.2 PERSONAL DOMAINS

The Cornish language cannot yet be considered a community language, that is, a language tool employed for general communication in Cornwall and Scilly. However, it is interesting that, according to Question 22a (Section 3.2.1.1), a noticeable percentage of the non-Cornish speaking respondents to the survey, 16 individuals (39%) of the Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 18 individuals (17%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=106),

stated that they would have some interest in learning Cornish. This contrasts with real life, where only approximately one percent of the general population have some knowledge of Cornish (Section 3.1.2.2). Additionally, according to Question 17a (Section 3.1.1) only 42 individuals (19%) of those with any Cornish knowledge (*n*=220) stated that they were either fluent or native speakers. Another fact that illustrates this weak situation is the low number, namely 17 Cornish speakers (8%) of the sample, who responded to Question 20 (Section 3.1.1) saying they feel at least equally comfortable in Cornish and in English.

In order to determine the reasons for the lack of knowledge of the language and the low fluency amongst those who know some Cornish, the following paragraph analyses two types of reasons:

1) personal views on the language, namely difficulty and usefulness;
2) personal circumstances, competence in Cornish and perceived opposition.

5.2.2.1 PERSONAL VIEWS ON THE LANGUAGE: PERCEIVED DIFFICULTY

When two languages are closely related, such as Scots and English or Galician and Portuguese, the process of acquisition and attaining enough level of competence may be easier and faster than when the two languages differ in grammar and/or vocabulary. This is the case of Cornish and English, two languages with very few common points to share, since they differ in vocabulary, grammar and phonology. In fact, in 1935, Caradar, one of the leading figures of the Cornish revitalisation, historically, pointed out this problem in relation to Cornish in a short satirical poem reproduced by Parry (1946: 265) along with a translation into English:

Ny-allaf vy kewsel Kernewek,	I cannot speak Cornish,
Ny-allaf vy y scryfa na-whath,	I cannot write it either,
Re gales yu tavas mar uthek,	Such a terrible language is too hard,
Prydery anodho a-m-lath!	It kills me to think about it!

The enormous differences between Cornish and English are therefore one of the factors to take into account in this research to explain the general low use of Cornish. In fact, almost a century after the beginning of the revitalisation of Cornish, the views about the language in this regard have not changed much. Question 22e enquired about the level of agreement to the statement '*Cornish is difficult for me*'. Interestingly, 110 Cornish speakers (*n*=220) stated that the language is difficult for them (Figure 5.1). This should be considered actual difficulty, since all of these participants were able to use the language to different levels.

The non-Cornish speakers who identified themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=41) were also very clear about their views on the difficulty of Cornish. Thirty-three of them (80%) agreed that Cornish is difficult. In addition, 61 non-Cornish speakers who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (58%) (*n*=106), also perceived Cornish as a difficult language. Since none of these participants had any knowledge of Cornish, their answers could be interpreted not as 'Cornish is a difficult language (because of its grammar, vocabulary, etc.)', but as 'I cannot understand Cornish, therefore it has to be a difficult language'. As Taylor and Mardsen (2014: 904) point out, this view has been already

observed amongst a large number of British students from school with regard to the study of foreign languages. The researchers also list a number of reasons to explain this, including ineffective teaching methodologies and the implementation of fruitless measures in the education system. Whenever somebody has no knowledge of a language, it would be difficult for him/her to state whether that language is 'easy' or 'difficult'. However, only five Cornish nationals (n=41) answered that they were unsure of the difficulty of Cornish. This was probably due to the need to state an opinion about something related to their own culture. Those with no Cornish nationality (n=106) however, were relatively free from this self-imposed load, and 38 individuals (36%) stated that they did not know about the difficulty of Cornish.
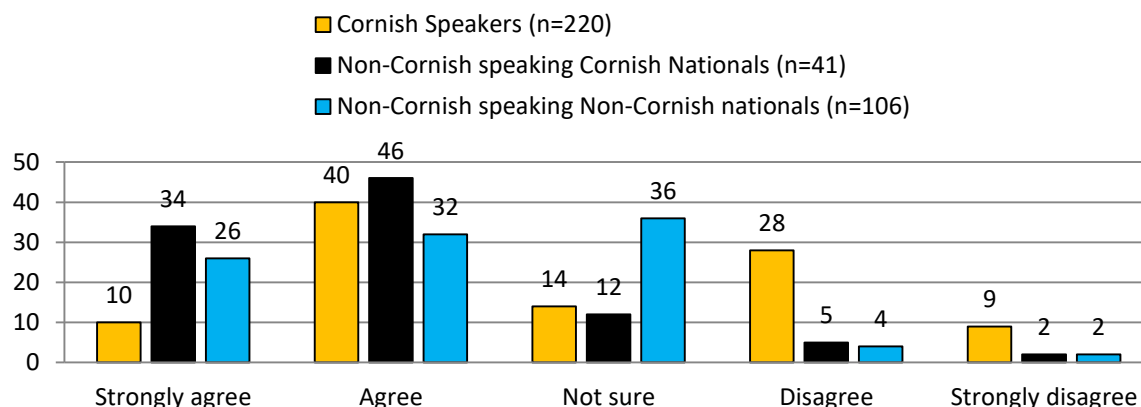
Figure 5.1. Percentages of participants according to Question 22e, '*Cornish is difficult*'

5.2.2.2 VIEWS ON THE LANGUAGE: PERCEIVED USEFULNESS

Another obstacle that may hinder the progress of the student is the language's lack of usefulness. When a language is useful, such as for being kept informed, being able to purchase something in a shop, having chats with friends, on holiday, etc., the motivation to improve or learn becomes stronger, since it becomes an aspect of a number of different domains. However, when it is a mere intellectual exercise, the student's motivation may decrease as the first objectives, such as curiosity or self-identification, are fulfilled (Ryan & Dörnyei, 2013). In the case of a revived language, such as Cornish, the role of local governments is especially important since they have the chance to provide opportunities to use the language in key domains, such as education, communication with authorities, etc. On the other hand, lack of protection may lead to invisibility and an inability to use Cornish in any public domain. In order to explore the perception of usefulness of Cornish, Question 22c requested the participants state how much they agreed with the statement '*Cornish is useless in my town*'. The Cornish-speaking participants' opinion (n=220) was divided into two almost equivalent groups. Those who considered that the language had some usefulness accounted for 97 individuals (44%) and those who disagreed were 99 individuals (45%). Those who identified themselves as Cornish nationals but did not speak Cornish (n=41) were clearer about this issue, since 28 individuals (68%) did not consider Cornish a useful language, in contrast with only 10 participants (24%) who saw at least

some usefulness in it. Finally, only 17 of the participants (16%) who did not view themselves as Cornish nationals (*n=106*) perceived some usefulness in Cornish, while 79 (75%) considered it a superfluous language (Figure 5.2). In view of these results, Cornish cannot be considered an asset yet. As Interviewee No. 7 stated, '*[...] we currently don't have the infrastructure to [have the same opportunities to use Cornish as Welsh]. It's going to be a long time before certain jobs require bilingual candidates for example*' (Interview 7; Appendix 2). In fact, this was confirmed by two different interviewees who mentioned that '*people do not see the economic advantage of learning Cornish compared to another language*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2) and that '*learning something like Mandarin for doing business globally in the future would surely be a better use of their time*' (Interview 3; Appendix 2).
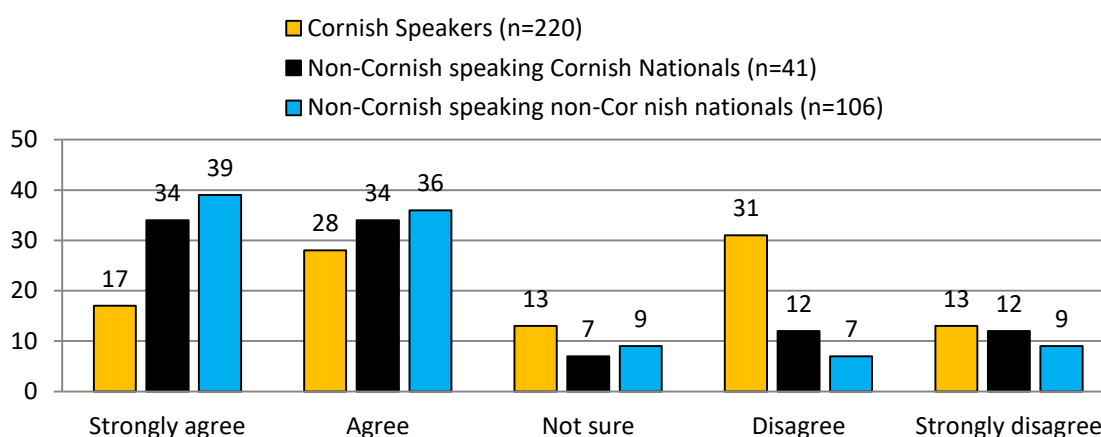
Figure 5.2. Percentages of participants according to Question 22c '*Cornish is useless in my town*'.

5.2.2.3 PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES: LACK OF COMPETENCE AND HABIT OF SPEAKING ENGLISH

Lack of competence can be viewed from different sides. It can be a lack of actual knowledge of Cornish or it can be viewed as the lack of capacity to speak Cornish despite knowing the language due to, for example, the habit of using another language. Since only 42 Cornish speaking participants (19%) (*n=220*) stated that they were fluent speakers, one can assume that lack of fluency may be an important obstacle in terms of the low use of Cornish. In order to explore this hypothesis, Question 25, '*What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life?*', included the option (25c) '*my own lack of fluency [prevents me from speaking Cornish]*'. This was definitely agreed by 145 participants (66%) Cornish speakers (*n=220*) and it was considered a possible reason by another 35 (16%). Lack of fluency was not a problem for 35 Cornish speakers (18%) (Figure 5.3A). The results were, therefore, very similar to the distribution of the speakers by competence in Cornish, according to Question 17a (Section 3.1.1). This proves that most speakers do not feel at ease speaking Cornish and may have chosen to speak English in order to be able to express themselves in more situations.

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Cornish is a second or even a foreign language for most of its speakers and only a tiny minority of no more than 8% considered it their main language or a language in which they felt at least as comfortable as in their native language (Section 3.1.1). Within these circumstances, it may be expected to find a percentage of speakers who might be so used to speaking another language, that they might neglect Cornish. Question 25e provided an opportunity for the Cornish speakers (*n*=220) to express how much they agreed with the statement '*I cannot change my habit of speaking English*'. Interestingly, 112 of them (51%) denied this impediment in their lives. However, there was a considerable minority of 55 individuals (25%) who admitted the problem and another 53 (24%) who gave some consideration to it (Figure 5.3B). These results can easily be linked to the ones indicating lack of fluency amongst the Cornish speakers. Many of them only or mostly used English in most domains due to their lack of language skills, therefore their vocabulary about most topics may be essentially English. This in turn may have made them more confident in continuing to use English when discussing those topics and some of them may have been unable to switch to Cornish, even when the speaker or learner may have been able to do so. Both obstacles analysed in this short section should be, at least partly, linked to a common problem involving the lack of opportunities to speak the language, which in turn prevents the progress of the students, dragging them into a state of continuous insecurity which finally make many of them avoid using Cornish even when there are opportunities to speak Cornish.
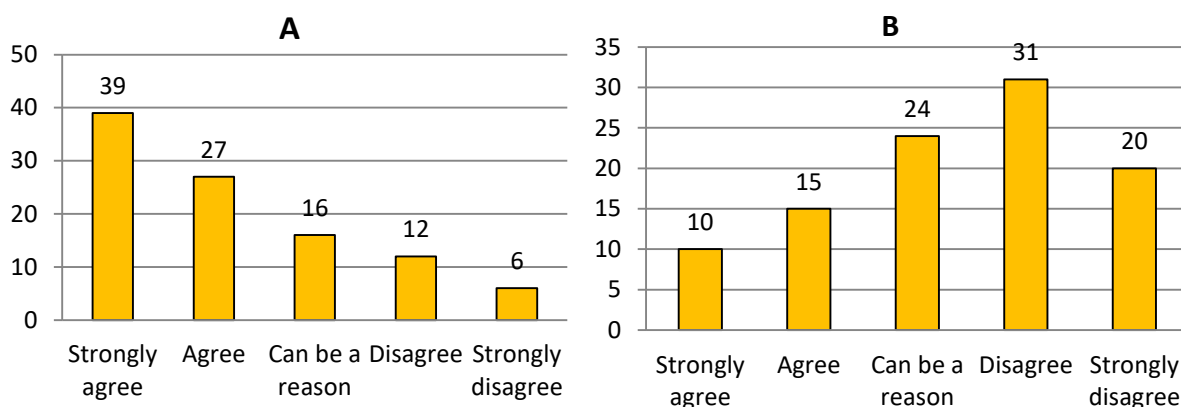
Figure 5.3. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to A) Question 25c '[Not speaking Cornish due to] *lack of fluency*', **and B) Question 25e '[not speaking Cornish due to]** *not being able to change the habit of using English*'

5.2.2.4 PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES: LACK OF TIME

All the participants in this survey were adults living in Cornwall or Scilly. Most of them worked or/and studied full time. Studying a language requires a considerable investment of time and effort, which must be usually taken from spare time, especially after working or studying at school or university. Therefore, lack of time for studying may also be considered a reason for not achieving a higher command in Cornish. This fact, however, was not considered to be an obstacle by most Cornish speaking participants, since 128 individuals (58%) (*n*=220) did not agree with the statement found in Question 22f '*I have no time to improve my Cornish*'. On the other hand, another 53 participants (24%) did view

lack of time as an impediment to continue their progress. The percentage of neutral answers was also relatively high, 39 individuals (18%) (Figure 5.4).

On the other hand, amongst the participants who identified themselves as Cornish nationals with no knowledge of the Cornish language (*n*=41), lack of time to learn was an important issue, since 24 of them (59%) considered it one main obstacle for learning. Finally, 78 participants (74%) based in Cornwall and Scilly who did not consider themselves of Cornish nationality (*n*=106) agreed that they had no time to learn the language. The results may be interpreted in two different ways. On the one hand, many may be happy to learn some Cornish, but, literally, they did not have time to devote to such matters. On the other hand, some other individuals may have implied that they did not have time to 'waste' to start learning something in which they had no real interest. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the percentage of people who thought one way or the other. However, lack of time to learn may be considered a real obstacle for a high percentage of respondents.
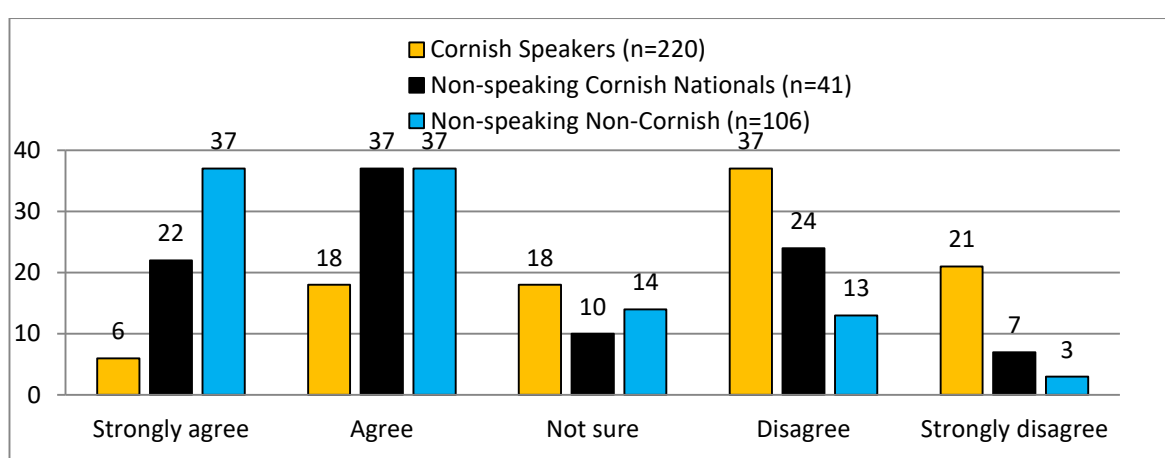
Figure 5.4. Percentages of participants according to Question 22f '*I have no time for learning/improving Cornish*'

5.2.3 SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DOMAINS

Besides personal use, what shows that a language is a community language is its use in society. According to the answers received for the present investigation, 218 individuals out of the total 220 Cornish speaking participants declared themselves to be willing to speak at least some Cornish if they had the opportunity. Twenty-three (56%) non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=41), and 30 (28%) others amongst those who did not identify themselves with the Cornish nationality (*n*=106) shared the same opinion (Section 3.2.1.2). However, this research has also identified a notable lack of Cornish usage in society, as confirmed by some interviewees (Interviews 3, 6 and 8; Appendix 2) or as one participant commented stated, '*my parents are in their 60s, my grandparents are in their 80s and have lived in the heart of Cornwall all of our lives and have never, ever heard two people having a conversation in Cornish*' (Comment 4; Appendix 2). In fact, 92 (42%) Cornish speaking participants (*n*=220), did not ever use the language. Another 73 (33%) used it only in classes, language groups or no more than once a month. Both possibilities placed Cornish in a situation of invisibility/inaudibility in society, especially because only 55 participants (25%) stated that they used Cornish at least weekly (Figure 5.5A). In view

of these results, Question 25 enquired about the reasons that prevented speakers from using Cornish in their daily life. When asked how much they agreed with the statement found in Question 25a, '*I can speak Cornish all the time*', 172 individuals (78%) considered that there were issues that impeded them speaking Cornish in their daily routine (Figure 5.5B). This means that the lack of use of Cornish depends very often not on the willingness of its speakers, but on the opportunities available to them to speak it.

A
(n=220)

B
(n=219)
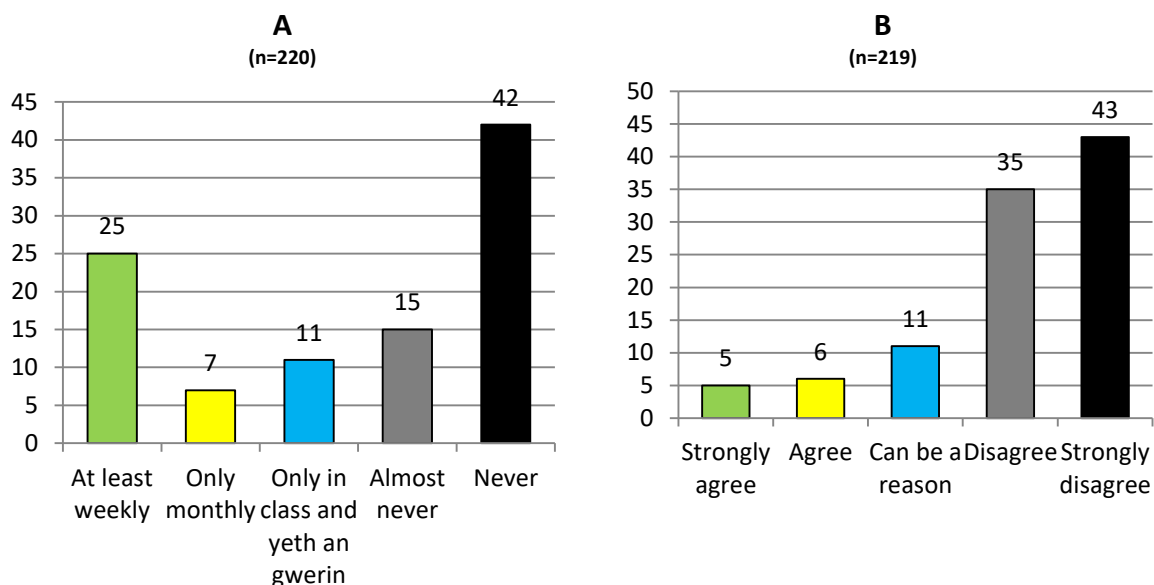
Figure 5.5. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to A) Question 23, '*How often do you speak Cornish with other people of your locality?*', and B) Question 25a. '*Nothing restrains me from speaking Cornish. I can speak Cornish all the time*'

The following paragraphs consider the reasons for the lack of Cornish in everyday life focusing on the lack of opportunities to speak Cornish, and social pressure restricting the use of Cornish.

5.2.3.1 LACK OF OPPORTUNITIES

In order to use a language in society, there must be at least two people who can speak and understand it. The body of Cornish speakers is much more numerous than two people but the possibility of not finding other speakers is real. Question 25 enquired '*What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life?*' One of the possibilities listed, 25b, was '*lack of opportunities (most people do not speak it)*'. In this regard, the result offered no doubt. The overwhelming majority of the Cornish speakers, 180 individuals (82%) (*n*=220), definitively agreed that lack of opportunity was an important obstacle in terms of speaking Cornish. Only a small group of eighteen Cornish speakers (8%) did not consider this point a hindrance (Figure 5.6).

The answers to Question 25b by non-speaking Cornish nationals and those with no Cornish nationality may be interpreted as a reason for not learning the language. The behaviour of both groups was very similar and, in general, their answers corresponded quite similarly to those provided by the Cornish speakers. The first important detail that emerged from the

analysis is that a clear majority of 32 individuals (79%) of non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=41), and 89 individuals (84%) of those who did not consider themselves Cornish nationals (*n*=106) did perceive the lack of Cornish speakers as an obstacle to speak or learn Cornish.
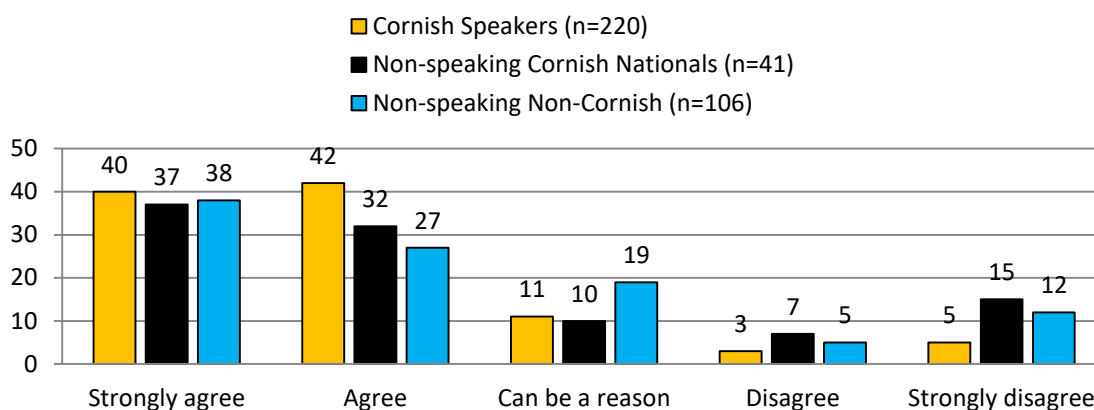
Figure 5.6. Percentages of participants according to Question 25b, '*Not using Cornish due to lack of speakers*'

Lack of opportunities to speak Cornish may be also linked and strongly based on another fact: dispersion of speakers. Currently, there is not any ward, parish, town or village in Cornwall in which the Cornish language is known by a majority or even by a large percentage of the population. Figure 5.7 illustrates the dispersion of Cornish speakers in Cornwall and Scilly according to the results of 2011 Census. Only eight wards reported more than ten individuals who considered Cornish their main language, while the majority only had between one and five speakers. The results suggest there are slightly larger concentrations of speakers in a few towns, such as Penzance/*Pennsans*, Bodmin/*Bosvena* and the area of Camborne-Redruth/*Kammbronn-Resrudh*. However, as suggested in Section 3.1.2.1, even if the number of fluent speakers were twice as high as the figures reported by the 2011 Census, they would only represent a tiny fraction of the population, therefore, there is not a critical mass that enables Cornish speakers to use their language. These results confirm that all the Cornish speakers are almost continually surrounded by a strong non-Cornish environment and they are compelled to use English with most of their colleagues, acquaintances, neighbours, etc. in a situation of diglossia. Fluent and non-fluent speakers and particularly language students see themselves almost unable to use any Cornish due to the environment where they live and the absolute impossibility of traveling to any Cornish speaking area. Moreover, when those who know some Cornish are deprived of opportunities to communicate with others in Cornish, they become 'invisible' or almost invisible to other speakers, as confirmed by some Cornish speakers (Interviews 5 and 6; Appendix 2). In fact, Clive Baker stated that he did hear Cornish spoken '*fairly regularly but by the same small group of people*' (Interview 8; Appendix 2). In turn, those who did not speak Cornish, such as Interviewee No. 3 concluded that Cornish is not a 'spoken' language (Interview 3; Appendix 2).
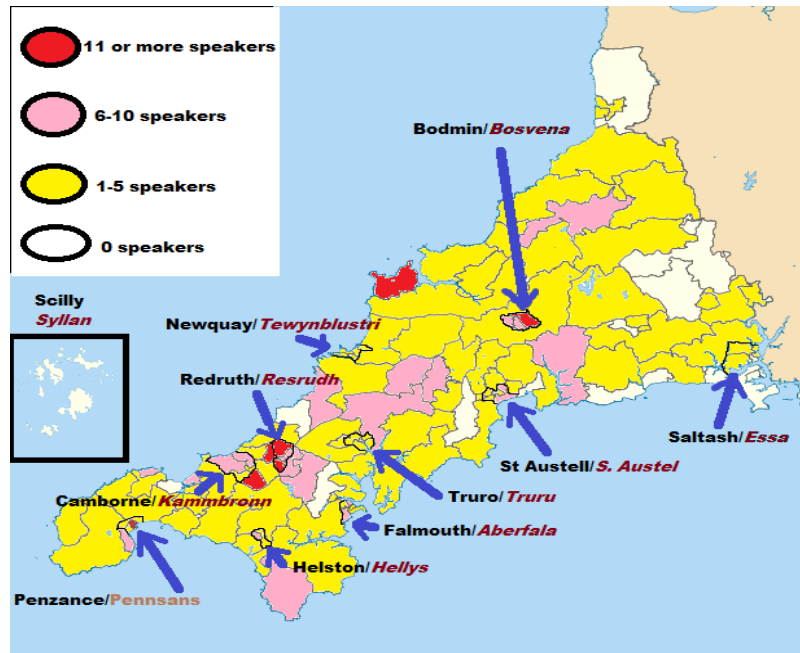
Figure 5.7. Distribution of '*Cornish main language*' speakers according to 2011 Census

5.2.3.2 SOCIAL PRESSURE

As Bartram (2006: 51-52) states, negative perceptions of peer attitudes have a strong influence on learners. The societies of Cornwall and Scilly have historically accepted and promoted different political, religious and cultural views. However, Question 25f explores whether social pressure against the Cornish language could be considered a deterrent for speaking or learning Cornish. For the participants who had at least some competence in Cornish (*n=220*), social pressure was not a generalised problem. Only 31 individuals (14%) mentioned that this was a problem. The non-Cornish speaking participants perceived the situation in a similar manner. Twenty-three (56%) participants who did not speak Cornish but considered themselves Cornish nationals (*n=41*), and 10 (9%) of those who did not identify as Cornish nationals (*n=106*) perceived some opposition to learn or speak Cornish (Figure 5.8). This shows that Cornish society continues to be open to different cultural views and that, in general, the use of Cornish is not considered something that must be obliterated or concealed.
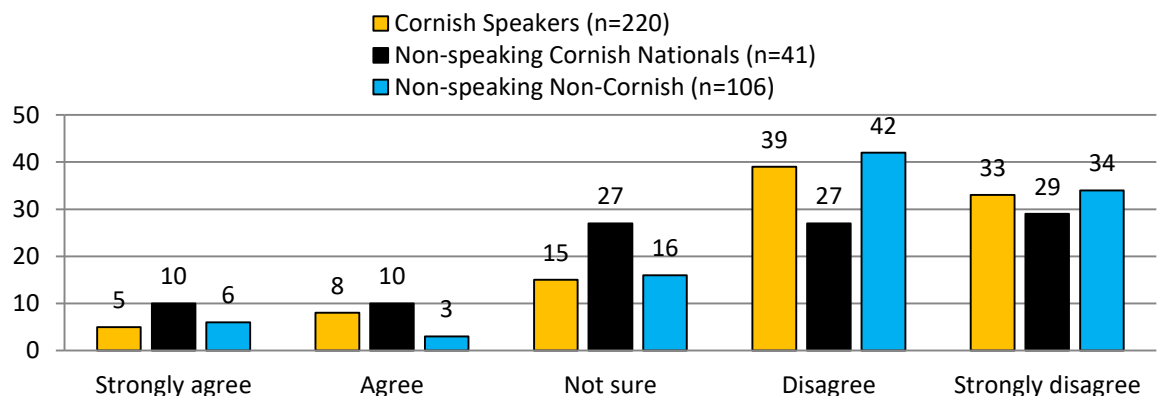
Figure 5.8. Percentages of participants according to Question 25f, '*Not using Cornish due to discouragement from others*'

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A language may be associated with positive features, such as modernity, leadership, education, wealth or culture. This fact often creates at least a certain positive attitude amongst the non-speakers to learn it, and amongst the speakers to use and to maintain it. However, the opposite could be also true, especially when the language is associated with some other qualities, such as certain socio-political ideologies which may be perceived as negative by the majority, together with low social stereotypes (Fishman, 1991: 196). This is discussed in the following paragraphs.

5.2.3.3 POLITICAL STEREOTYPES

Being a local language spoken only in Cornwall, where there is an increasing demand for devolution, the researcher considered that political stereotypes may have a role in the learning or use of Cornish. If the Cornish language is considered a tool used by devolutionists and nationalists, a person with different or opposite views or those who do not want to be involved in politics may reject it. The first step to explore this point was the inclusion of Option 13c in Question 13, which establishes whether people perceive any link between the language and Cornish devolutionists or nationalist ideologies. Amongst the participants in the survey, 128 (59%) Cornish speakers (*n*=217), 24 (59%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 57 of those who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (*n*=100) stated that speaking Cornish may be an indication of being a Cornish nationalist for many people (Figure 5.9A). A second step to explore the effect of political ideologies is provided by the answers to Option 25g included in Question 25, which enquired directly whether political views may be an obstacle for learning or using Cornish. Despite the link that participants saw between the language and political views, only 33 (15%) of those with any knowledge of Cornish (*n*=220) stated that politics was amongst their reasons for avoiding Cornish sometimes. One may think that this is because most Cornish speakers may share those nationalist/devolutionist political views, however this was not the case, as the responses by the non-Cornish speakers prove.

In fact, both, Cornish nationals and those with no Cornish nationality, considered Cornish to be related to politics to a certain extent, however very few rejected not speaking or learning Cornish due to political reasons. Only nine (22%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 15 (14%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=106) showed reticence to learn Cornish due to political reasons, very similar percentages as those found within the Cornish speakers (Figure 5.9B). Interestingly, Cornish nationals were the group who were more affected by the perceived political influence on the language. A person who thinks of himself/herself as Cornish may not want to be regarded as an extremist or, as expressed by Cllr Loveday E.T. Jenkin, he or she may feel '*worried about upsetting others*', which may be a reason for the low support for Cornish in some fields (Interview 2; Appendix 2).

A

- ☐ Cornish Speakers (n=217)
- ■ Non-speaking Cornish Nationals (n=41)
- ☐ Non-speaking Non-Cornish (n=100)

B

- ☐ Cornish Speakers (n=220)
- ■ Non-speaking Cornish Nationals (n=41)
- ☐ Non-speaking Non-Cornish (n=106)
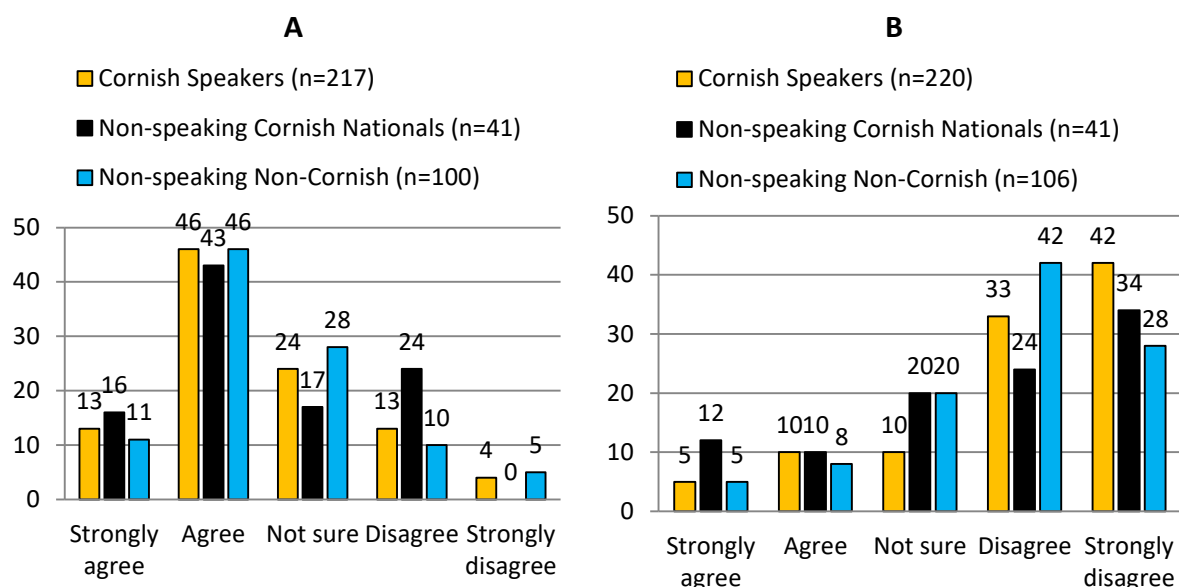
Figure 5.9. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 13c, '*If you speak Cornish people may think that you are a nationalist?*', and B) Question 25g. '*[Not speaking Cornish due to] its links with political ideology*'

5.2.3.4 SOCIAL STEREOTYPES

For centuries, Cornwall was immersed in a situation of bilingualism and diglossia (Fishman, 1967: 31) in which English was the high language, usually associated with ideas of education, wealth and power and Cornish was considered the language of the lowest social classes, a factor which strongly contributed to its abandonment as a community language in Cornwall and Scilly (George, 2010: 532; Mills, 2010: 200). The death of Cornish changed the sociolinguistic panorama and then, poor and rich, educated and illiterate, all of them spoke the same language, English. The researcher considered that the return of Cornish may have awoken old prejudices and for this, he included in Question 22g the statement '*Cornish is a low-class language*', to which the participants had to say how much they agreed. As illustrated in Figure 5.10A, 191 (87%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220) did not agree with the above-mentioned statement. The position of the non-Cornish speaking participants was very similar. In both cases, clear majorities of 73%, 30 Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 77 of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=106), denied that they considered Cornish to be a low-class language.

Despite the clear results, the researcher considered that some people may have provided what they believed was 'a correct answer'. Therefore, in order to deepen our understanding on the role of social prejudices, Question 25h asked whether the respondent avoided speaking or learning Cornish in order to evade negative social stereotypes. Once again, the results offered no doubt and a clear majority of 178 (81%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220) did not agree with this statement. The case was similar with the two non-Cornish speaking groups. Clear majorities of 24 (58%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 77 (73%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=106) did not view social stereotypes as obstacles for learning Cornish. (Figure 5.10B). This indicates that old prejudices linking the Cornish language with uneducated people are no longer valid. New speakers are perceived by themselves and

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by others as simply citizens of Cornwall (or Scilly) and are not judged by the language they use.

A

■ Cornish Speakers (n=220)

■ Non-speaking Cornish Nationals (n=41)

■ Non-speaking Non-Cornish (n=106)

B

■ Cornish Speakers (n=220)

■ Non-speaking Cornish Nationals (n=41)

■ Non-speaking Non-Cornish (n=106)
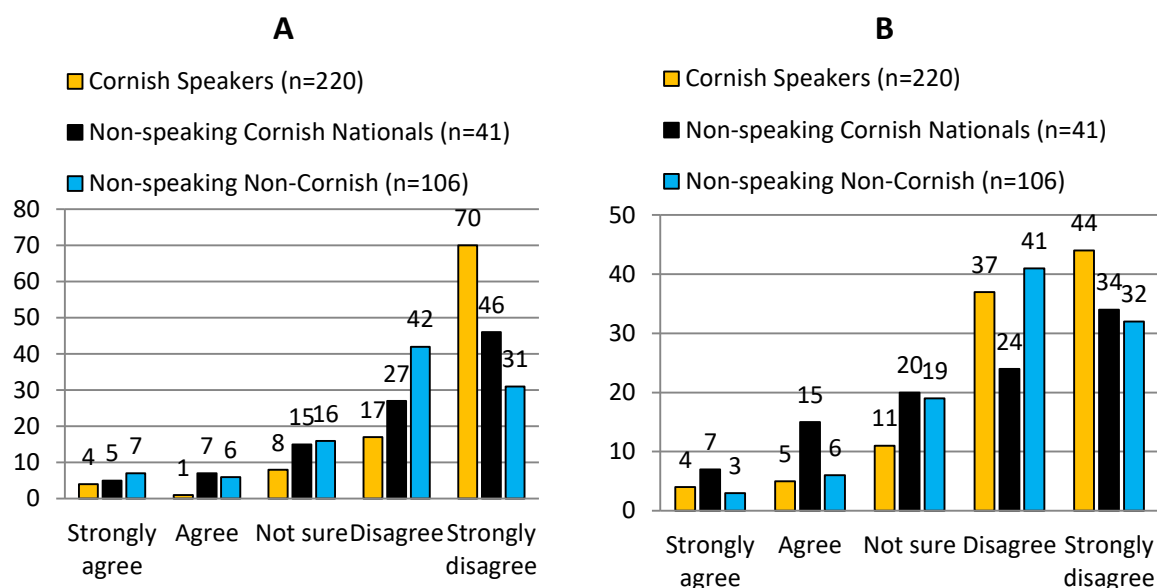
Figure 5.10. Percentages of participants according to A) Question 22g, '*Cornish is a low-class language?*', and B) Question 25h. '[*Not speaking Cornish in order to] avoid social stereotypes*'

5.2.4 INSTITUTIONAL DOMAINS

As detailed in Section 3.1.3, the development of Cornish in institutional domains is not homogeneous. In a few fields, such as religion or street signage, the use of Cornish is relatively advanced while in most others, such as media, economy and education, its presence is barely symbolic. This section analyses specific domains, namely governmental support, education, media and economy and commerce which ascertains the causes of the generalised low use of Cornish.

5.2.4.1 GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT: FUNDING

The promotion of a language requires funds for paying teachers, translators, designing street signs, etc. The Council of the Isles of Scilly does not contribute any money for the promotion of Cornish and the British Government offers irregular funding since, after cancelling any monetary support in 2016, Communities Minister Lord Bourne announced in June 2019 a new funding of £200,000 to support the Cornish language (Whitehouse, 2019). As for Cornwall Council, it provides a regular fund of £30,000 every year to promote the use of the language (Sky News, 2015). This amount of money accounted for about 0.012% of Cornwall Children, Families and Adults Directorate's budget in 2017 (Brown, 2017: 3). Altogether, the funding to support the Cornish language in 2019 was the equivalent to approximately 7% of the Five Islands Academy, the school of the Isles of Scilly budget, £3,138,647 for 2015-2016 (Council of the Isles of Scilly, 2016). If £230,000 would not be enough for maintaining a small school for fewer than 300 students living in Scilly, it seems difficult to accept that it could be enough to promote and maintain a

language spoken by approximately 5,000 individuals in Cornwall. Inadequate funding, therefore, must be counted as one of the main causes which still restricts an appropriate usage of Cornish in formal and official domains.

5.2.4.2 EDUCATION IN CORNISH

The presence of Cornish in formal education is almost non-existent. There are no Cornish or bilingual primary, secondary or vocational schools and it is impossible to study through the medium of Cornish in higher education. Cornish is only taught by very few institutions mostly as an extracurricular activity (Sayers *et al.*, 2019). Lack of education in Cornish may be a reflection of different variables, such as lack of demand by parents and students, lack of will by the authorities or lack of capacity to introduce the language.

In order to elucidate how these variables affected the field of education, the first step was acquiring some knowledge on the awareness of education in Cornish. For this reason, Question 14a asked the participants to state how good the availability of Cornish-medium education is for Cornish speakers, according to their knowledge[1]. Cornish speakers (*n*=219) were more aware than the rest of the groups, since only 31 participants (14%) answered they were not informed. However, only 39 individuals (18%) considered Cornish-medium education to be '*very good*' or '*fairly good*'.

Non-Cornish speakers showed a very low rate of awareness of education in Cornish as proves the number of participants who marked the answer '*I don't know*', namely 16 (39%) non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 49 (52%) non-Cornish nationals (*n*=94). Interestingly, amongst those who stated that they were aware, only seven (17%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and seven (7%) participants with no Cornish nationality (*n*=94) stated that the availability is appropriate (Figure 5.11).
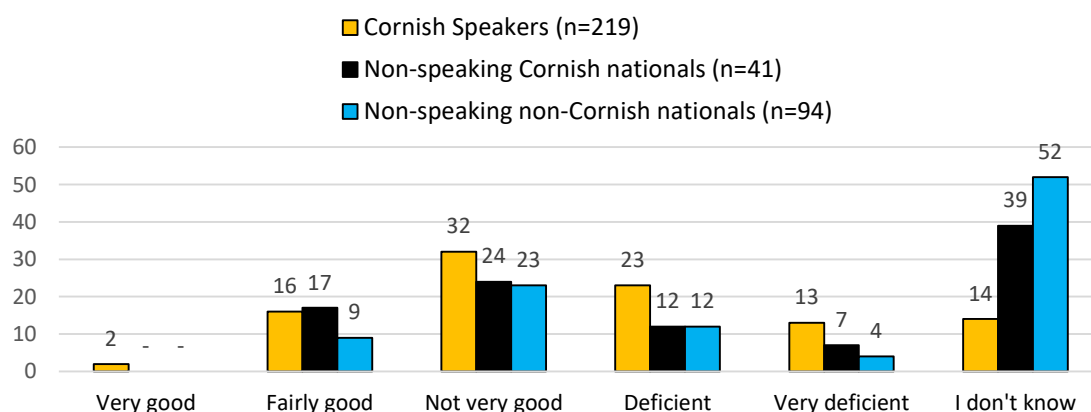
Figure 5.11. Percentages of participants according to Question 14a, '*How good is the availability of Cornish in education?*'

[1] Some of these respondents, particularly the Cornish speakers, may have well considered not only about schools and universities, but also the variety of evening classes, online and short Cornish courses

School is the main means of learning foreign languages in Europe (European Commission, 2012: 101). Therefore, the described lack of Cornish language education must be considered a pivotal issue affecting both, the speakers' language competence and the lack of interest/awareness by the non-Cornish speakers. Being exposed to Cornish since childhood would help students develop their skills and competence through the years. This would allow at least some of them to become proficient speakers as proves the fact that about 19% of the British report to be able to have conversations in French, although only 0.3% of the population are native speakers (European Commission, 2012: 21; Office for National Statistics, 2013: 3). Nevertheless, a lack of education in Cornish must not only be blamed on the lack of will of some authorities or simply insufficient funding. According to this research, there are two other main factors:

- *Lack of teachers and materials*. Even if the government decided to introduce Cornish in education, it would be impossible to implement it. Jori Ansell, chairman of the *Akademi Kernewek*, the official academic body responsible for the development of the Cornish language, commented that he was not informed of how many teachers may be able to teach Cornish or through the medium of Cornish (Interview 4; Appendix 2). However, Interviewee No. 5, a specialist in education, stated that '*there will possibly be enough people who would like to teach Cornish in primary school, but they will not be suitably qualified, especially to work with children of a younger age*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2). As for the educational material, there are some books which may be used to teach Cornish to children, such as Graham Sandercock's (2003) *The First Thousand Words in Cornish* or Harry Styles' (2014) *Kynsa Mil Er yn Kernewek*, both published by Kesva an Taves Kernewek. Moreover, the Cornish Language Office have made available a vocabulary document entitled *Gerlyver Skol* (2012) which is intended to be used by teachers and by young students. It includes the most frequent Cornish words, vocabulary specific to education, such as school subjects, and a few notes of usage, history or curiosities about certain terms. These works, as indicated, are mostly devoted to teaching vocabulary and there is not any Cornish course aimed specifically at children which could be used in school, or books about other subjects published to be taught through the medium of Cornish.
- *Weak public pressure*. When there is not a continuous and strong request for education by the speakers of a certain language, governments may conclude that it is not necessary (Fishman, 1991: 241). According to Question 16i, '*Cornish should be used in education to enhance its usage*', 179 (82%) Cornish speakers (*n*=218) agreed that this may be a necessary step. This percentage however, did not imply active support. Interviewee No. 5, describing his thoughts as an education specialist, stated that: '*[…] the Cornish language community do not see the need of introducing the language to very young children and that this should be a priority. Many Cornish language learners I have encountered seem to think that adult evening classes are the most important way of developing the language […]*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2). Many non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=39) also declared themselves supportive towards introducing Cornish in education since half of them, 19 individuals, expressed positive attitudes. On the other hand, the opposition within this group was also noticeable, accounting for 12 individuals

(31%). Those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=94) expressed their opinion in the opposite way. More than half of the respondents, 51 participants, were opposed to the idea of using Cornish in education while 28 people (30%) were favourable (Figure 5.12). A similar scenario was already observed by Lambert and Taylor (1986) who found that members of the majority culture tend to be favourable to the maintenance of heritage languages but do not support instruction in languages other than the majority language (Casanova, 1991: 21). Therefore, this would create (or maintain) a situation of diglossia, where the majority language is used in key domains, education in this case, while the minority language is only used with those of one's own group, family, etc. (Fishman, 1991: 110).

■ Cornish Speakers (n=218)
■ Non-speaking Cornish Nationals (n=39)
■ Non-speaking Non-Cornish nationals (n=94)
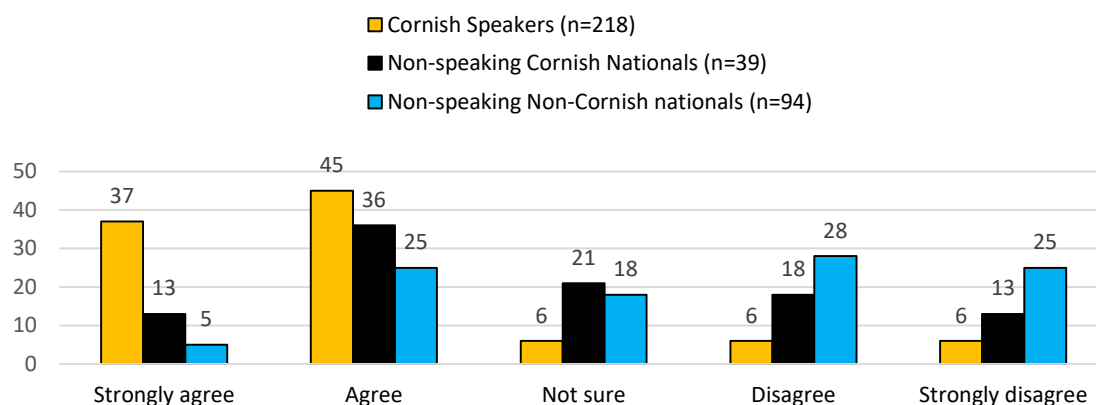
Figure 5.12. Percentages of participants according to Question 16i, '*Cornish must be taught in school*'

5.2.4.3 MEDIA

The primary objective of media is communicating thoughts to listeners, readers and/or viewers. Therefore, these thoughts must be expressed in a code that the public understand without difficulties. There are approximately 5,000 individuals in Cornwall and Scilly with at least some knowledge of Cornish (Section 3.1.2.1). However, according to the answers of the Cornish participants to Question 18 of this research (*n*=220), only one third of them had little difficulty in understanding spoken Cornish, 62 individuals, or written Cornish, 64 individuals, while most of the rest acknowledge that they could only understand some general ideas or only a few phrases. 26 Cornish speakers (12%) stated that they did not understand anything in spoken Cornish and 44 (20%) stated they did not understand anything in written Cornish (Figure 5.13). This low competence in understanding Cornish along with total fluency in English by all the speakers put media in Cornish in a difficult situation.
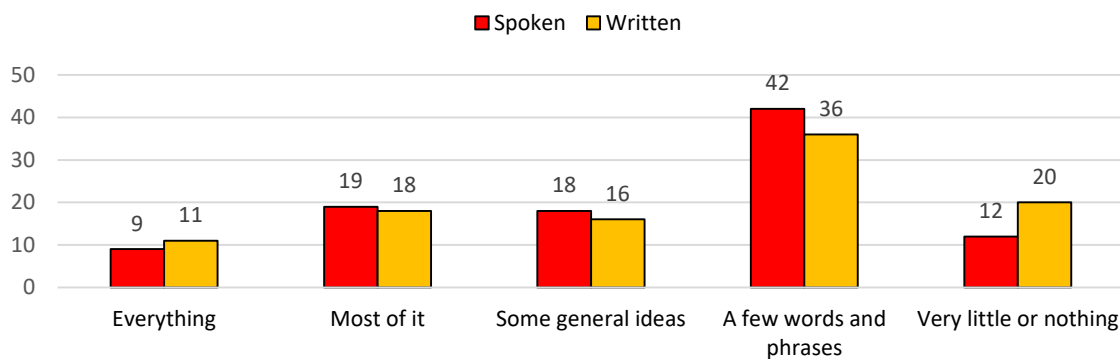
Figure 5.13. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants (n=220) according to Question 18, '*How well do you understand Cornish?*'

5.2.4.4 ECONOMY AND COMMERCE

The use of Cornish in the economy, including local commerce, is very low. Only a few shops and companies use Cornish, and in many cases, it is mostly in a symbolic way, a few words or phrases written to provide the product or company with a distinctive or/and local flavour. The reasons behind this situation may be closely related to the low percentage of Cornish speakers in Cornwall and the language competence of its speakers (Figure 5.13). This makes publicity and commercial signage in Cornish somewhat redundant. Moreover, the avoidance of Cornish in commerce in order not to upset potential English-speaking customers should not be ignored (Interview 2; Appendix 2). This situation makes it very difficult for any Cornish speaker to use Cornish while shopping or even requesting information about products.

5.2.5 SUMMARY OF THE REASONS

This section has considered the reasons behind the generally low use of Cornish in most domains. Depending on whether the domain was personal, social or institutional, the reasons for neglecting Cornish were slightly different, although all of them seem to be linked (Table 5.2) and embedded into a vicious cycle. The first point of concern is the position of Cornwall in a British context, where no language community enjoys a clearly favourable and prestigious situation, (Welsh being the most developed), that can serve as a role model for other communities. This fact, along with the generalised lack of Cornish for at least two centuries, has helped to substitute Cornish by the local variety of English as an identity marker.

Another of the most noticeable problems is the relatively low number of people with any knowledge of Cornish, with no community, ward, town or village where these speakers constitute at least a noticeable minority. This, in turn, provokes a chain of difficulties that affects the promotion of the language. One of the most evident is that many speakers and language students struggle to find opportunities to speak Cornish which hinders their opportunities to improve their competence, making of it an invisible/inaudible and almost useless language in daily life. This invisibility and apparent uselessness discourages the

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media and commerce from using Cornish, except for a very few incidences where it is used to infuse a certain local flavour into the product/company. In addition, the lack of pressure by Cornish speakers and supporters to introduce Cornish in education is limiting not only the creation of a new generation of speakers but also the production of material in Cornish and the preparation of qualified teachers of Cornish or individuals able to teach through the medium of Cornish. A final obstacle to add to this list is the low funding from the local government and the irregular support from the British government.

Therefore, the Cornish language faces a number of difficulties which may provoke, if not addressed properly and punctually, its second extinction. Since evolutive causes (Factor 0 of the framework of causes for language decline and language death, found in Section 1.3.2) and physical factors (Factor 1) seem improbable today, it would be important to focus on the covert pressure (Subfactor 2.2) emanated from socioeconomic (Subfactor 2.2.1), sociocultural (Subfactor 2.2.2) and political (Subfactor 2.2.3) reasons. This would also help speakers and learners not to fall into voluntary abandonment (Subfactor 2.3) due to a loss of usefulness (Subfactor 2.3.2) and prestige in real life (Subfactor 2.3.3). These conditions would help create a stronger body of speakers. This setting would be the base to re-create the tradition of speaking Cornish in Cornwall as a daily communication tool, which, in turn, would attract more new speakers from all age groups, making the idea of Cornish as a community language more attainable.

Table 5.2. Reasons affecting the use of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly

Obstacle	Comments
Minority languages in context	
Lack of any strong and prestigious example of minority language use in the British context	Traditionally, minority languages have been regarded as symbolic/political marks, rather than as communication tools. Moreover, no-minority language of the British Isles is in any position of superiority over English.
Personal domain	
Difficulty	At least 50% of the Cornish-speakers in the survey and between 56% and 80% of the non-Cornish speakers considered Cornish a difficult language
Usefulness	45% of the speakers and between 68% and 75% of the non-speakers considered Cornish definitely of no value in daily life.
Personal circumstances (lack of time, discouragement from others)	This affected only a minority of the speakers. However, about one third of the Cornish nationals and more than half of those with no Cornish nationality said this was an obstacle to learn
Social domains	
Lack of speakers	80% of the Cornish speakers declared it a valid reason and 10% a possible reason. About 80% of the non-speakers considered it an obstacle to start learning Cornish
Dispersion of speakers	There is no Cornish speaking majority in Cornwall and very few speakers in Scilly. It affected the identification of possibilities to use Cornish
Lack of proficiency	More than 80% of the speakers considered it either a valid reason or a possible reason
Link between the language and political ideologies and/or social clichés	Only a maximum of about 20% of the participants saw this as a problem
Institutional domains	
Lack of funds	Regular annual funding for Cornish was equivalent to four months of funding for Early Years education in the Isles of Scilly, according to its 2015-26 budget. Funds from the British government were provided on an irregular basis
Lack of Cornish Language Education	This affected the number of young speakers and the quality of Cornish in all the speakers
Lack of teachers and educational material	The infrastructure was insufficiently established to implement Cornish in fields such as education
Lack of strong pressure in favour of Cornish education	Only about one third of Cornish society advocated for the introduction of Cornish in education. Almost half of the population were against this measure
Lack of speakers	There were not enough Cornish speakers to use the language more often in the media or in commerce

5.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how Cornwall and Trebiñu share many common obstacles in the promotion and use of their native languages. These obstacles continue prohibiting the growth of Cornish, which is still a language spoken by a tiny minority in Cornwall and Scilly. In both, Trebiñu and Cornwall, Basque and Cornish are regarded as their ancestral languages and an identity mark. However, Basque has already reached a critical mass and it is now a community language, since it is known by approximately 40% of the population of Trebiñu, including a noticeable number of native speakers, while in Cornwall the percentage of people with some knowledge of Cornish is minimal. The differences observed between the two areas under study can be well explained by the two different national contexts in which they are situated. Trebiñu shares many characteristics with the rest of the minorities of Spain, where, following the example set by Catalonia, knowing

and using the so-called 'regional' languages occupy the top positions among identity markers. Moreover, Basque is also viewed as a prestigious language and a real communication tool. In Trebiñu, this has opened the way to positive attitudes towards Basque which influence the implementation of appropriate language strategies by the authorities. In Cornwall, however, the lack of a strong and prestigious role model of regional language has placed Cornish, and particularly *fluency* in Cornish, in a marginal category amongst all the markers of Cornishness. This fact provokes a marked slowdown in the language revitalisation, which in turn produces low language conscience and reticence by some inhabitants to support the implementation of more ambitious language policies in Cornwall. Moreover, it is important to consider the majority of the population who view themselves as English or British, in contrast with Cornish. Many of the participants belonging to this category expressed their opposition to the promotion of Cornish due to cultural and ideological/political reasons (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003: 81). The following chapter analyses the viability of some of the strategies already in use in Trebiñu and explores ways to adapt them into the Cornish context.

CHAPTER 6:

PROMOTION OF CORNISH IN CORNWALL: RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter considers whether actions that are being implemented in Trebiñu could also be applied in Cornwall. It aims to answer the research question '*Which strategies can be adapted for the revitalisation of Cornish, based on the example of Trebiñu?*'. However, it must not be assumed that the present chapter consists of a long list of proposals or '*an amalgam of political ambition and bureaucratic-technical expertise*' (Williams, 2017: 1). As Appel and Muysken (2005: 5) emphasise, since linguistics is not a precise science like chemistry, and what may be of use in one location may not work in another, all the strategies examined here are also based on the attitudes, positions and points of view of the participants previously mentioned in the survey and interviews. The implementation of these strategies follows the theory proposed by Chin and Benne (1969) which consists of three key steps to produce behavioural and, social change, namely:

1) the provision of information, otherwise entitled the 'Empirical-Rational strategy'
2) the conditioning of people to act in accordance with the behaviour of others, i.e. the 'Normative-Re-educative strategy';
3) the use of legislation to regulate the use of Cornish, namely, the 'Power-Coercive strategy'.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first establishes the three key steps required in the promotion of Cornish according to the current situation of the revitalisation project, while the rest of the chapter develops the recommendations based on these three main steps. These recommendations are aimed at three different audiences, namely the Cornish speaking community and civil society in general, Cornwall Council and other local authorities, and the British government. While some recommendations may be addressed by different authorities and/or groups, some others may be the responsibility of a single group. The time when these points should be implemented also depends on several factors. This will also be indicated in the chapter.

6.1 STEPS IN THE PROMOTION OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE

As considered in Chapter 4, Basque enjoys a status that Cornish has not achieved yet. The authorities and the Basque language community have succeeded in re-instating the tradition of learning the lost language for use in their daily lives. A key factor has been identified as the situation of Trebiñu within Spain, in which Catalonia and Catalan are a relatable model for the rest of national and regional groups of how a minority language can be both an identity mark and a prestigious communication tool even in cosmopolitan cities and countries. Cornish should aim for a similar goal. However, in contrast with Trebiñu, Cornwall lacks of a relatable Catalan-like model to boost its revitalisation process. This

means that, in order to acquire such a perspective, it is important to create a model within Cornwall itself; an initially small but strong and visible nucleus of active speakers. In any case, it is true that the process of language revitalisation in Cornwall has already started and has already accomplished different goals. For this reason, the promotion of Cornish must consider three different steps: namely, reinforcing the goals which have already been accomplished, focusing on those which are attainable, and developing some tools which may be employed in a number of language strategies (Table 6.1). Some of these points are in accordance with those proposed in the Cornish Strategy 2015-2025, although the Strategy does not provide any route on how to proceed (Cornwall Council, 2017).

Table 6.1. Steps in the promotion of Cornish

Strengthening already accomplished goals	Attainable goals	Increasing the usage and development of multi-use tools
Support for adult speakers • Creation of opportunities • Simplified Cornish **Support from authorities** • Official use of Cornish • Funding the revitalisation project • Street and public signage	• Creation of a new generation of speakers • Increasing the number of adult speakers	• Investment in media • Investment in technology • International collaboration

6.2 STRENGTHENING ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED GOALS

After more than a hundred years since Henry Jenner initiated the revitalisation of Cornish, organisations, individuals and, more recently, some authorities have accomplished some objectives towards making it a living language. This section discusses these objectives. Despite these advancements, Cornish continues to be in a very weak situation. Therefore, in addition, some guidance is offered in order to reinforce what has already been attained, enabling the revitalisation project to continue by acquiring further strength and impetus, thereby avoiding the risk of falling into a period of stagnation (Fishman 2001: 465-467).

6.2.1 SUPPORT FOR ADULT CORNISH SPEAKERS

6.2.1.1 CREATION OF OPPORTUNITIES

The most powerful way to re-instate the tradition of having Cornish as a language is by hearing people speaking in daily life. For many people, if the language is not heard, it does not exist. For this reason, the creation of opportunities to use Cornish must be a key factor in promoting it, as is also specified in Point 2 '*Language Use Planning*' of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 (Cornwall Council, 2017: 14). The responsibility for creating these opportunities cannot fall solely on the speakers, who often may not know each other, therefore *urgent* external help is also required by public and, if possible, private institutions. Trebiñu's language policy may offer some guidance in this respect as well. The municipalities of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun have a Basque Language Office whose services are advertised in the main menu on both councils' websites with the

heading '*Euskara*' (Basque Language). In that section, there is information in both Basque and Spanish about events, news, communications, classes, as well as a link to the website '*Euskara Trebiñun*', the website that the Basque Language Office shares with a number of private and cultural organisations, where the inhabitants of the Enclave can find information in and about Basque. This helps speakers to be informed about opportunities to use Basque in the region. Moreover, as confirmed by the Basque Language Office, '*the majority of festivities or events are held in Basque-speaking environments. All the programmes of the leisure area organized by the local councils aimed at children are carried out in Basque*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Very often, those events attract people not only from all the villages of the Enclave but also from the Basque Autonomous Community and from Castile, many of them non-Basque speakers. Moreover, the possibility of carrying out some official procedures through the medium of Basque also helps speakers use the language in formal domains.

Basque speakers in Trebiñu usually know who is also a speaker in their village and use Basque when socialising with each other (Interview 2; Appendix 3). Since it is not an official language, there is no compulsion to have Basque speaking staff or for signage in Basque in local businesses, as happens in some cases in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre. However, some businesses have decided to place information in Basque either on their websites or in their physical places, so that other Basque speakers may feel free to speak the language there. These businesses are assisted by the Basque Language Office.

Following a similar pattern to Trebiñu, the other main resource already available which should be employed to boost the promotion and use of Cornish is the relatively large group of adults who have knowledge of the language. However, despite being composed of approximately 5,000 individuals, this group has an important flaw which has to be addressed, namely, a widespread lack of fluency (Section 3.1.1). This usually provokes a domino effect in different fields. Amongst those who are parents, their lack of capacity to form sentences and to communicate thoughts makes them unable to transfer the language to their children who, in turn, may not consider Cornish their native language. People without the minimum capacity required to establish communication in Cornish would not usually dare to initiate conversations in Cornish, which provokes issues such as the inaudibility of the language since, apparently, 'nobody' is perceived as being able to speak it. Moreover, inaudibility produces negligence by the authorities, shops, private companies, etc. which perpetuates the 'tradition' of speaking English only. In order to overcome this problem, two main points must be addressed; namely, the creation of opportunities to speak Cornish and the production of learning material for different levels of speakers, which should include the creation of a simplified version of Cornish for learners.

According to the responses to two questions found in the survey, a clear majority of Cornish speakers (*n*=220) stated that they were unable to use Cornish due to a lack of opportunities. In Question 23, '*How often do you speak Cornish with other people of your locality?*', 68 (31%) Cornish speakers gave answers such as less than once a month, '*never*' or '*almost never*' in part due to the lack of opportunities (Figure 3.12, Section 3.1.2.7). In a similar way, in response to Question 25b, '*What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life? Lack of opportunities (most people do not speak it)*', 180 (82%)

Cornish speakers (*n=220*) confirmed they did not speak as much Cornish as they would like due to lack of opportunities (Figure 6.1). It is, therefore, evident that a plan to protect and promote the use of Cornish must strongly focus on creating opportunities for those who already have some knowledge of the language. For this reason, this is the most necessary and urgent point to be implemented, even in the current situation, when the Cornish speaking population is not large or totally fluent. In this regard, there are three main potential promoters: 1) the government, represented by Cornwall Council and local authorities such as city and town councils; 2) private institutions and companies, 3) the speakers themselves.

Cornish speakers (n=220)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Value	40	42	11	3	5
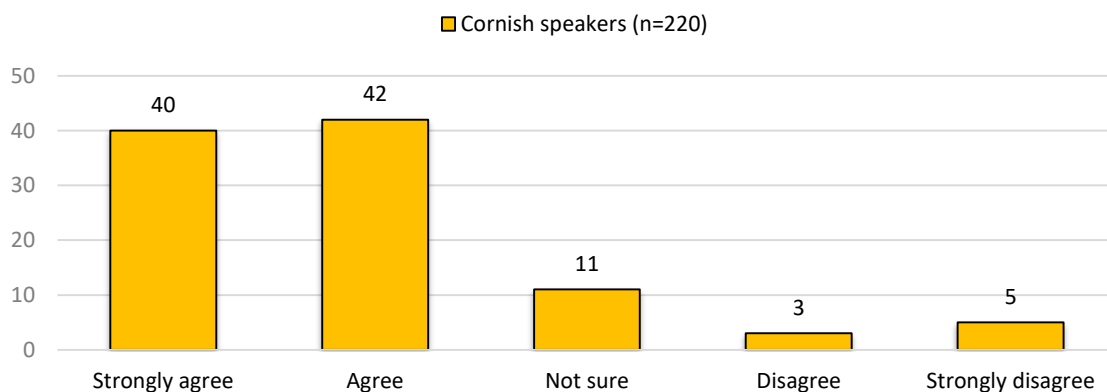
Figure 6.1. Percentages of Cornish-speaking participants according to Question 25b, '*What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life? Lack of opportunities (most people do not speak it)*'

In Question 15e, respondents were asked to evaluate the performance of the authorities with regard to the creation of opportunities to use Cornish. Two of the most visible conclusions extracted from the results are that 1) a considerable percentage of the participants, namely 20 (9%) Cornish speakers (*n=218*), eight (20%) Cornish nationals (*n=40*), and 36 (34%) of those with no-Cornish nationality (*n=104*) did not know about any official strategy to help speakers use Cornish, 2) only a minority of individuals of the three groups under study approved the authorities' work in this area (Figure 6.2).

■ Cornish speakers (n=218)
■ on-speaking Cornish nationals (n=40)
■ Non-speaking Non-Cornish nationals (n=104)

	I don't know	More than necessary	A lot	Enough	Not much	[Almost] nothing
Cornish speakers	9	3	2	12	43	30
on-speaking Cornish nationals	19	8	8	10	39	15
Non-speaking Non-Cornish nationals	34	10	2	19	21	15
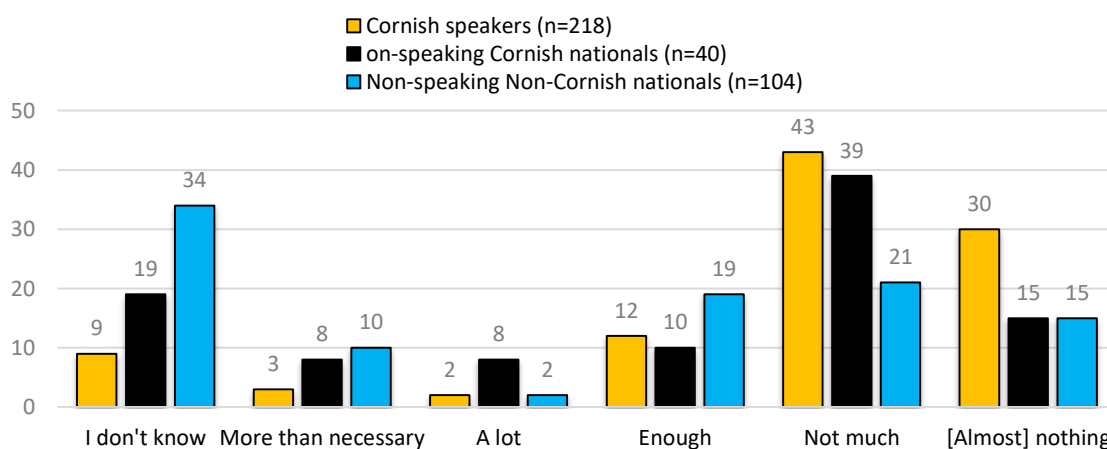
Figure 6.2. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 15e '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Creation of opportunities to use the language*'

One of the most evident ways to perceive the official attempts to increase the opportunities to use a minority language is in the services offered in that language, which is also listed in point SA 3.1, '*to increase the use of Cornish by Cornwall Council*', of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 (Cornwall Council, 2017: 14). These may include information in the minority language, bilingual official forms, the possibility of carrying out official procedures in the language, etc. Question 14f required participants to evaluate governmental services in Cornish. Interestingly, relatively large percentages of the participants, 40 (18%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220), 16 (39%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 47 (50%) non-Cornish nationals (*n*=94) stated that they were not aware of any official provision in Cornish. As for the remainder, only a small minority of the three groups considered them either very good or fairly good (Figure 6.3).
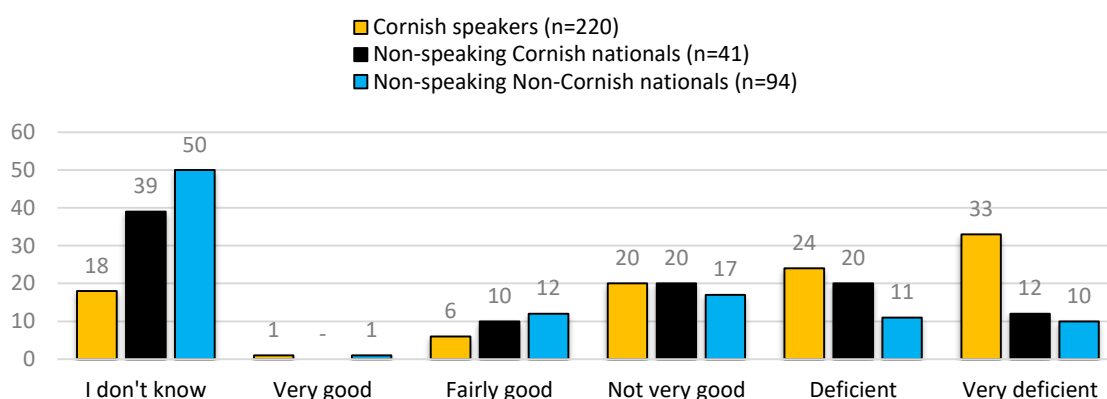
Figure 6.3. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14f '*How good is the availability in Cornish in the following fields? Governmental services*'

Question 14g of this study enquired about the perception of non-governmental, private services available in Cornish. This is directly linked to the objective described in point SA 3.2 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25, namely, '*to increase the use of Cornish by other public bodies, voluntary organisations and their networks*' (Cornwall Council, 2017: 20). The results show that the situation in this field is almost identical to the one described in the previous section about the public sector. Once again, a lack of awareness was generally high, namely 41 (19%) Cornish speakers (*n*=218), 17 (41%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41), and 48 (51%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=94). The rate of satisfaction on the part of those who answered either '*very good*' or '*fairly good*' was minimal in all groups (Figure 6.4).
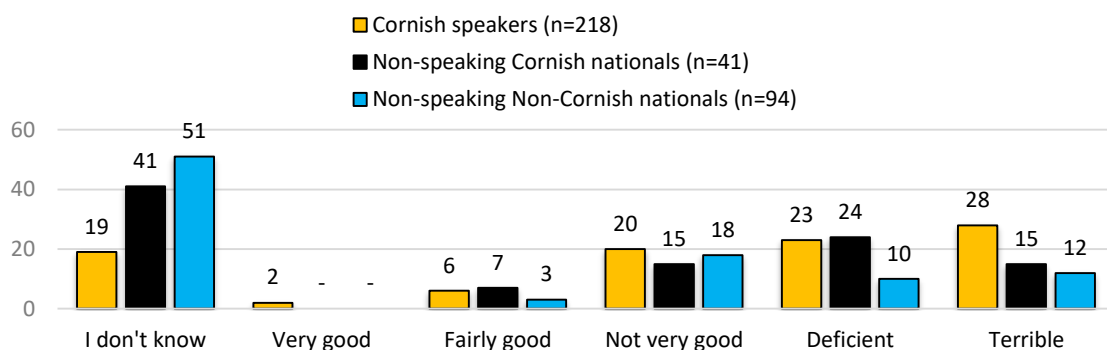
Figure 6.4. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14g '*How good is the availability in Cornish in the following fields? Private services*'

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In many cases, the use of a certain language in private institutions is linked to the language policies implemented in the area. For this reason, participants were asked in Question 15c, about how they perceived the actions of the local government towards the promotion of Cornish in commerce, which is a key economic sector in Cornwall and Scilly. Interestingly, the percentage of participants who were not aware of any action in favour of Cornish in commerce was generally very high. It accounted for 41 (41%) individuals amongst those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=103), and 11 (27%) individuals amongst those with Cornish nationality (*n*=41). The rate of approval for the authorities' performance in this field was very low in all groups. Cornish speakers stated that they were more informed than the general population and were also the most critical with 161 individuals (74%) considering that the authorities do either '*[almost] nothing*' or '*not much*' (Figure 6.5).
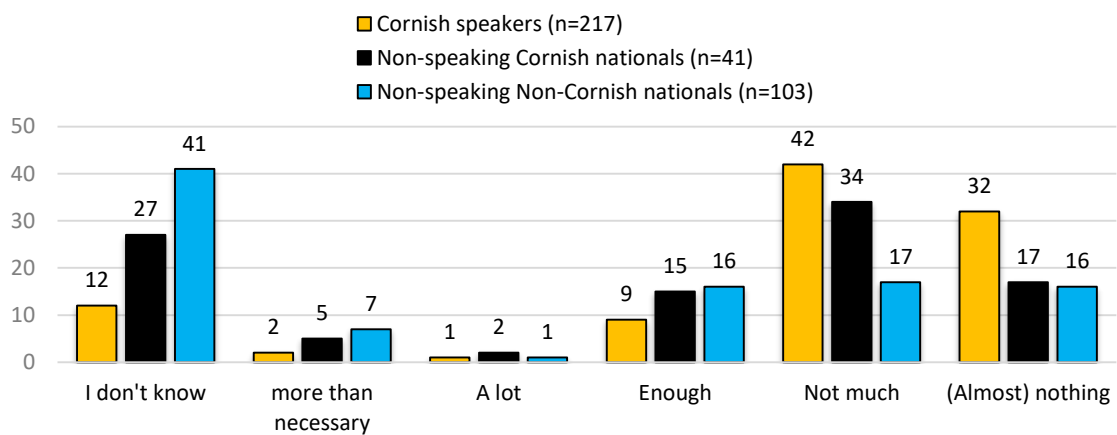
Figure 6.5. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 15c '*In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the Cornish language in the following fields? Commerce*'

Cornish speakers have the responsibility of using their language as much as possible. However, they consist of a very small percentage of the population scattered all over the area of Cornwall and Scilly, an area large enough for the speakers not to know each other. These circumstances make the development of some points of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25, such as SA 2.1, '*to increase the number, variety and location of settings where Cornish can be spoken socially*', and SA 2.2, '*to foster the development of geographic locations where Cornish can be increasingly used within the community*', very difficult to accomplish (Cornwall Council, 2017: 14). Therefore, some special strategies may be advisable. Question 16h enquired about the possibility of using badges for Cornish speakers to identify each other. This measure was considered appropriate by 93 individuals, 43% of the Cornish speaking participants (*n*=213). The rest of the participants were almost equally divided between those who were not sure, 58 individuals, 27%, and those who did not agree with this strategy, 62 individuals, 29% of the group. Interestingly, almost half of those with no competence in Cornish and, therefore, not affected by this proposal, declared themselves to be against it (Figure 6.6). This may be interpreted in several ways. One of them is the negation of the bilingual nature of Cornwall, thinking that

English should be the only language used in society. However, it is also possible that some individuals may feel that using badges may create a 'linguistic apartheid', with people classified by their language.
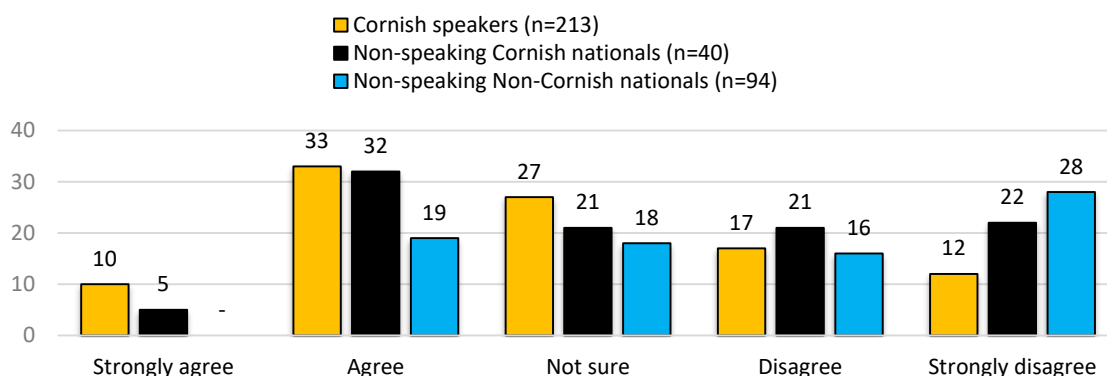
Figure 6.6. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16h '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Use of badges by Cornish speakers*'

This section has shown how lack of visible opportunities and lack of knowledge of opportunities to speak Cornish restrains the usage of the language among a high percentage of speakers. Trebiñu's language policy may offer some guidance in this respect as well. The region has a Basque Language Office whose services are prominently advertised in the main menu on both councils' websites. This helps speakers to be informed about opportunities to use Basque. Moreover, many events organised in Trebiñu are conceived not only for Basque speakers, but as general festivities. This perspective helps speakers avoid isolation. In addition, the possibility of undertaking some official procedures through the medium of Basque also helps speakers use the language in formal/official domains. Although Basque is not an official language and there is no compulsion to have Basque speaking staff in local businesses or to have signage in Basque, some businesses have placed information in Basque, so that other Basque speakers may feel free to speak the language there. Following a similar procedure, ways of increasing the number of opportunities to use Cornish by the speakers should also be considered and implemented as soon as possible, as specified in SA 2.1 of the Language Strategy 2015-25: '*to increase the number, variety and location of settings where Cornish can be spoken socially*', SA 2.2, '*to foster the development of geographic locations where Cornish can be increasingly used within the community*' and 2.4, '*to increase and develop the usage of Cornish in relation to entertainment and the creative arts*' (Cornwall Council, 2017: 18):

- There are several events related to the Cornish language that occur every year such as *Pennseythun Gernewek*, but attendance at them is relatively low. One of the reasons for this may be the lack of awareness of their existence. In fact, many of them are publicised by the often-small language organisations on their websites or on difficult-to-find links on the Cornwall Council website. Local governments and language and culture associations should, therefore, publicise the occasions related to the Cornish language in more prominent places, such as easy-to-find internet banners. This should be done in English, since most people are unable to understand written Cornish. This would also help break the isolation of the speakers

by opening such events to non-Cornish speakers, making them popular festivities.

- In the area of Cornwall and Scilly, not all speakers naturally know each other as previously noted. Therefore, another way to promote the language would be by encouraging Cornish-speaking officials at government offices, clerks in shops, and employees working in various businesses to identify themselves as Cornish speakers. A voluntary identification would help avoid most negative reactions by those opposed to this strategy, but at the same time would allow speakers to use Cornish in places and domains which may be previously neglected. This may be done with badges, posters or any other appropriate sign, and should become a permanent feature, as happens with in offices where foreign and/or sign-languages are spoken.

6.2.1.2 SIMPLIFIED CORNISH AND AVAILABILITY OF APPROPRIATE MATERIAL

Basque is a language spoken in different areas of Spain, France, and North and South America. For this reason, the authorities of the Enclave of Trebiñu have benefitted from materials and strategies already in use in those countries. One of them is the use of '*Euskara Errazean*', a form of simplified Basque appropriate for learners of different ages. This helps students in different ways, including learning new vocabulary and internalising some grammar structures according to their level, thus reducing the learners' anxiety and enabling a sense of accomplishment. Then, in a gradual way, they may improve their competence leading to fluency. Similar strategies are also being applied in the promotion and teaching of languages with a high number of second language learners, such as English, Norwegian or Finnish.

SA 1 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 deals with the increase of Cornish adult and young speakers (Cornwall Council, 2017: 12). In fact, one of the main problems concerning the Cornish-speaking community is the lack of fluency of the majority of its members. Very often, people who have studied Cornish for years are not able to hold conversations. One reason that may explain this situation is the perceived difficulty of the language. In fact, as many as 50% of those participants with some competence in Cornish (*n*=220) considered it a difficult language (Section 5.2.2.1).

Although for many, the language may have some identity links, it is a fact that for almost all the speakers, Cornish works as a foreign language. For this reason, a way to improve the competence in Cornish amongst adults may be accomplished by designing appropriate material for learners. However, the situation of the Cornish language seems to be very underdeveloped in this sense. There is no graded material for different levels of Cornish speakers but only vague labels such as '*suitable for…*' or '*not so difficult*'. In fact, out of the 34 non-grammar books advertised on *Kowsva*'s website, http://www.cornish-language.org/Cornish-language-books.html, there was only one book labelled '*suitable for beginners*' and another 16 books with vocabulary and topics for children, as consulted in September 2018. Something similar applied to the publications available at *Agan Tavas* on www.agantavas.com/category/stories-in-cornish, with only four books suggested for beginners and 26 for children out of 55 books (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Total number of titles available in Cornish in two book shops according to linguistic level (4 September, 2018)

Kowsva	1	2	3	16	2	9
Agan Tavas	4	0	0	26	0	25

This implies that, when somebody is not a competent Cornish reader, the opportunities for using written material to improve his or her level are extremely limited, often depending on a number of titles of children's literature, which may not be attractive for adult readers. Lack of material may also make it harder for those who are learning Cornish to pass official examinations. For example, in 2019, for those who intended to sit the beginner and intermediate *Kesva* examinations, only a few grammar books were recommended as '*suitable texts*'.

There is also an almost total scarcity of audiovisual material graded for learners. *Radyo an Gernewegva* produced a number of short radio programmes in 2017 called *towlennik*, in slow Cornish with some hints in English. Due to the lack of funds and other difficulties, this was discontinued and by now, *Radyo an Gernewegva* only offers radio and TV programmes in regular Cornish. The rest of the material is basically aimed at children.

In Trebiñu, people consider Basque a difficult language and about half of those with skills in Basque are not fluent speakers yet. In order to improve their competence in Basque, learners have plenty of material, often produced in the Basque Country or Navarre. Cornish is also perceived as a difficult language, and most Cornish speakers have very low competence in the language. This situation suggests an urgent need to increase the level of *fluency* of the speakers and the *number* of people who can speak Cornish. Obviously, this should be supported by the creation of opportunities for using the language. In order to develop the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 SA 4 dealing with the development of Cornish as a modern language that can be used for a full range of purposes in all fields of human activity (Cornwall Council, 2017: 22), the following points should be considered and gradually implemented, starting from levels aimed at the less proficient speakers, in order to create a solid base:

- The creation of a form of simplified Cornish in the shape of the Basque '*Euskara Errazean*'. This should be developed by specialists supported by Akademi Kernewek and Cornwall Council. This form of simplified Cornish would allow those with low skills in Cornish, such as new students, to express themselves in a range of situations even with low competence. For those who want to pursue their study of the Cornish language, simplified Cornish may also serve as the most appropriate platform from which to acquire higher competence.
- The preparation of material specifically aimed at different levels according to the rules of simplified Cornish.
- The introduction of international standards to label language levels, such as those described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, from

A1 to C2. This would help students and others, such as authorities, employers, etc. to determine the actual level of the speaker. In addition, it may also serve as a reference to create new resources based on graded material in other languages.

6.2.2 SUPPORT FROM AUTHORITIES

6.2.2.1 OFFICIAL USE OF CORNISH

The regional government of Castile and León and the provincial government of Burgos do not recognise Basque as an autochthonous language spoken in Trebiñu or, as commented by one of the interviewees, '*Burgos does not support [the promotion of the Basque language] at all*' (Interview 3; Appendix 3). Moreover, according to some interviewees, other non-Basque institutions often hindered the use of the language, such as the Guardia Civil, a Spanish military force with police duties, and the education department of Castile and León (Interviews 4 and 5; Appendix 3). In contrast with the attitudes of the regional and provincial authorities however, the institutions based in the Enclave are generally quite positive towards the revitalisation, promotion and use of the Basque language. Both local councils use Basque in street signage, in some communications and even in some official forms. Moreover, both promote education in Basque.

During recent years, mostly since its recognition as a British language falling under Part II (Article 7) of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Cornish has become an object of protection by both, local and national authorities. This has been accomplished from the perspective of providing the speakers with rights that belong to them as citizens, or *language as a right* as defined by Ruiz (1984: 21). As the strategy for the Cornish Language 2015-2025 proposes, it is considered important to continue the official protection and promotion of the Cornish language (Cornwall Council, 2017: 15). However, in order to accomplish new goals in this regard, it is essential to remember that every decision must be made by taking into account the sociocultural characteristics of Cornwall and Scilly and the opinions of their inhabitants.

Question 15d of the questionnaire prepared for this research was designed to acquire some information regarding the current population's perception of the local and national authorities' general work in favour of the Cornish language. As illustrated in Figure 6.7, only 48 (22%) Cornish speaking participants (*n*=219) approved the work done by the authorities, while 147 (67%) thought that the authorities were not doing much for the language. A lack of awareness was relatively high amongst those with no Cornish skills, since only three quarters had any knowledge of official actions in favour of the Cornish language. Moreover, the rate of approval of the authorities' actions in favour of the language was also low, being only approximately one quarter of the non-Cornish-speaking Cornish nationals and the non-Cornish nationals. Interestingly, 13 (13%) of those participants who did not declare any Cornish nationality stated that authorities do too much for the language, while only three (7%) Cornish nationals shared the same opinion.

Figure 6.7. Percentages of participants according to Question 15d, '*In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the official recognition, defence and use of the Cornish language?*'

Two other questions helped to map the actual support for a visible increase in the protection and promotion of the language. These questions, 10a, *Cornish should be made official*, and 16d, *Need of Cornish to access government and public jobs* focused on two maximalist strategies. Both were, in fact, rejected by a large percentage of the non-Cornish speaking respondents to the survey. According to Question 10a, 161 (73%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220), and 20 (49%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41), and 22 (21%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=106) supported the official status for Cornish (Figure 3.33; Section 3.2.2). The need to speak Cornish to access government jobs was rejected by 113 (52%) Cornish speaking participants (*n*=218), 30 (73%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41), and 78 (82%) individuals with no Cornish nationality (*n*=95), as shown in Figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8. Percentages of participants according to Question 16d, '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Need of Cornish to access government and public jobs*'

In view of the previous results, the rather low rate of approval of how authorities are managing the promotion of Cornish could not be considered a general claim for more

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supportive language policies, as it was also considered in Section 3.2.2 (see Figure 3.35). Cornish society is divided into two main groups with very different views about the language, those who see themselves as Cornish and those who see themselves as inhabitants of an English county. Obviously, many may be favourable to the promotion of Cornish and, therefore, think that authorities must 'do more'. However, many others are opposed to the introduction of Cornish in public domains and, therefore, any step taken to favour the language may be regarded as 'too much effort' for an undesirable or useless project. This rather strong apathy or/and opposition may be enough to discard, at least in the short term, some proposals, as was also pointed out by one of the interviewees: '*Consideration will need to be given to how Cornish could be introduced. It may lead to some resentments developing towards the language amongst those people who do not see the benefit of the language*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2).

6.2.2.2 FUNDING THE REVITALISATION PROJECT

The lack of recognition and official status of Basque by the governments of Burgos and Castile and León provoked a total lack of funding by these institutions. As acknowledged by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu, '*the funds for the revitalisation of the Basque language come only from the Basque Government and Araba*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Besides this, much of the economic support for the promotion of Basque, especially in education, came from local families and individuals through their endorsements of the ikastola or/and some events.

The Cornish language also experiences a difficult situation. On the one hand, funds from the British government are not provided regularly, and funds offered by the local government are insufficient. According to this research, the overwhelming majority of the population of Cornwall and Scilly consider Cornish an interesting language, with no negative connotations (Figure 3.32A, Section 3.2.1.4). However, on asking about the usefulness of funding the development and promotion of the language, the opinions are not very positive despite the support of 188 (86%) Cornish speaking participants (n=219) and 23 (56%) Cornish nationals (n=41). As shown in Figure 3.36 (Section 3.2.2), 52 (49%) individuals who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals (n=106) and 12 (30%) Cornish nationals considered investing in the promotion of the Cornish language a waste of resources. Therefore, although an increase of funds would be desirable, it would be important to proceed according to a well-planned strategy in order to avoid growth in opposition from tax-payers.

The situation in Cornwall and Scilly shares some similarities with that of Trebiñu, where the support for Basque is notable, but apathy and opposition from the provincial and regional authorities must not be ignored. For this reason, the local authorities of Trebiñu avoid maximalist measures in the promotion of Basque. Nevertheless, a number of other strategies are being implemented, such as the using of Basque along with Spanish by the councils and requesting Basque speakers for certain positions. In the United Kingdom, national authorities cannot be considered strong supporters of the Cornish language (Section 3.2.3). Regarding the promotion and funding of the Cornish language, Cornish authorities, therefore, may find it useful to follow a similar strategy to Trebiñu. This will

support Strategic Aim (SA) 3.1 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 which states that there is a need '*to increase the use of Cornish by Cornwall Council*' (Cornwall Council, 2017: 22). The following points describe some ways to make use of Cornish.

- Despite not being an official language, Cornish should be displayed along with English as much as possible in general communications, advertisements, internet banners, etc. by the local and national authorities acting in Cornwall. In addition, Cornish and links to Cornish sections must be more evident on the websites of official administrative bodies, such as Cornwall Council. The section devoted to the Cornish language on the Cornwall Council's website was found on a tab titled in English only '*culture and leisure*' along with a number of other topics. This may make it very difficult for visitors to the site to realise that a Cornish-language section exists.
- Authorities, in particular the local ones, should gradually assign the Cornish language some value when opening positions in which interaction with both English and Cornish speakers may take place on a daily basis, such as advisors, police officers or information assistants. Cornish would be employed in a similar fashion to British Sign Language, since all the Cornish-speaking officials would be able to carry out all their responsibilities in English as well. In the short term, it may be advisable to avoid creating positions aimed only at the Cornish-speaking population, such as information officers in Cornish only or a body of official translators of Cornish. This would serve to help the Cornish language without upsetting unnecessarily the high percentage of the population who feel that supporting the language is a waste of resources.
- Another rather inexpensive means of promoting Cornish consists of creating bilingual forms for different purposes. Besides respecting the rights of the speakers of both English and Cornish, this strategy would accomplish the goal of making Cornish more visible to the general population without interfering in their preference of language use.

6.2.2.3 STREET AND PUBLIC SIGNAGE

The municipalities of the Enclave of Trebiñu have completed a campaign of street and public signage using both Basque and Spanish. The support for this strategy amongst the local population is very strong, reaching 71% according to the most recent data (Basque Government, 2012: 44). This was also confirmed by Iratxe and Galder, who stated that '*most of the municipal signage (posters, street signs, pamphlets ...) is bilingual, and this generates some illusion in most of the inhabitants*' (Interview 5; Appendix 3). However, the fact that 27% of the population were not in agreement meant that both municipal councils chose not to adopt maximalist measures, such as removing Spanish from signage or insisting businesses use Basque signage. Finally, it is important to mention that the signs displayed in all the streets of Trebiñu have been designed using traditional materials, colours and in many cases, Basque fonts (Section 4.1.3.2).

One of the domains in which the promotion of Cornish is more evident and successful is in the work to ensure a certain visibility for the language by using it, for example, in public

signage, such as in streets signs and in some government buildings. In fact, almost nine out of ten respondents to the survey were aware of the work done by the authorities in this field (Figure 6.9). The approval rating, i.e. the feeling that authorities do 'enough' or 'a lot', was relatively high in all three groups, namely 114 (52%) Cornish speakers (*n=219*), 21 (51%) Cornish nationals (*n=41*) and 38 (38%) amongst those with no Cornish nationality (*n=101*). On the other hand, the percentage of those who were not happy because they considered that the authorities are doing '*more than necessary*' was also noticeable amongst both non-Cornish speaking categories. Besides those who may be opposed to the specific use of the Cornish language, other reasons included aesthetics and heritage, as mentioned by one participant: '*I am horrified to see all our lovely old street signs removed in our community, with no planning permission or consultation with the local community (doubtless they'll re-emerge in some vintage shop at vastly inflated prices) and replaced with plastic street signs, as part of Cornwall Council's effort to promote bilingualism*' (Comment 1; Appendix 2).
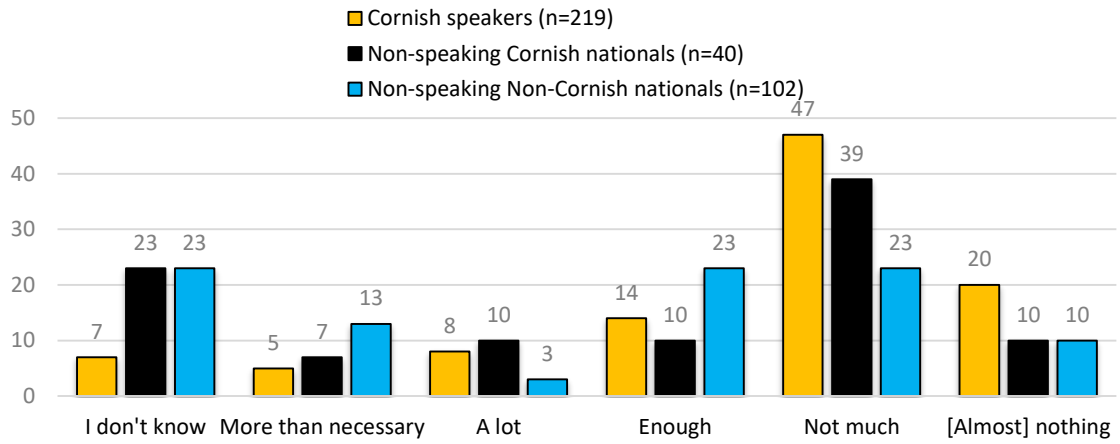

Figure 6.9. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 15a '*In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the Cornish language in the following fields? Visibility of the language (such as in street signing)*'

Despite the moderately high degree of approval for the current language policy to promote the visibility of the language amongst Cornish nationals and Cornish speakers, and the considerable percentage of the same opinion amongst those who do not identify themselves as Cornish, it is important to consider the opinion of the population about possible steps ahead in this field. In this regard, the participants in the survey were given the option to express their viewpoints about signage in three settings: streets, public buildings, and shops and private businesses.

Street signing is one of the most evident ways to make the language visible. According to Question 10b, *street signing must include Cornish*, this action counted with the explicit support of 180 (82%) Cornish speaking participants (*n=220*), 23 (56%) Cornish nationals (*n=41*) and 29 (27%) participants who did not view themselves as Cornish nationals (*n=106*) (Figure 3.34, Section 3.2.2).

Some public buildings, such as *Lys Kernow*, the meeting place of Cornwall Council, display English/Cornish bilingual signs. According to the answers to Question 16c, '*In*

your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Bilingual signing in public buildings', this action received a similar approval as to street signage including Cornish. In fact, Cornish speakers (*n=215*) and Cornish nationals (*n=40*) declared themselves clearly in favour, 167 (76%) and 23 (57%) individuals respectively. However, 52 (54%) participants of those not of Cornish nationality (*n=96*) rejected the idea (Figure 6.10).
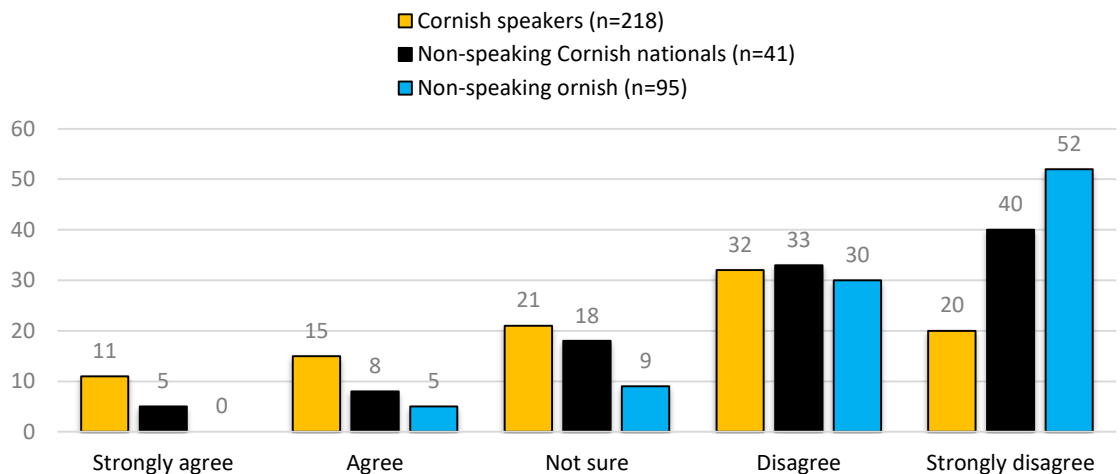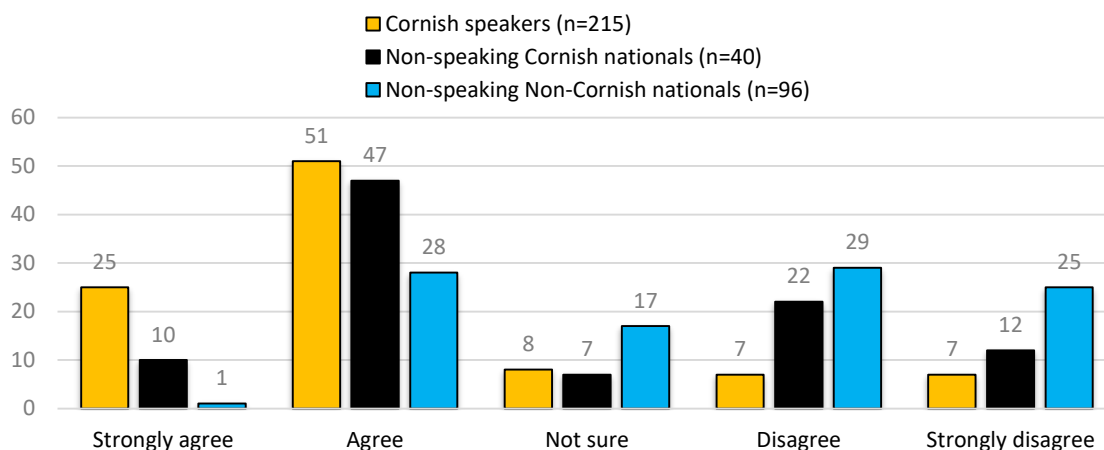

Figure 6.10. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16c '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Bilingual signing in public buildings*'

In some places world-wide where the local language is spoken by a high percentage of the population, such as Quebec or Catalonia, the law *compels* businesses to have signs in the local languages, namely French or Catalan respectively. When this was suggested for Cornwall and Scilly in Question 16b, it was rejected by all groups, including Cornish speakers. In fact, 108 (50%) Cornish speakers (*n=216*), 20 (50%) Cornish nationals (*n=40*) and 77 (80%) participants not of Cornish nationality (*n=96*) were definitely against it (Figure 6.11).
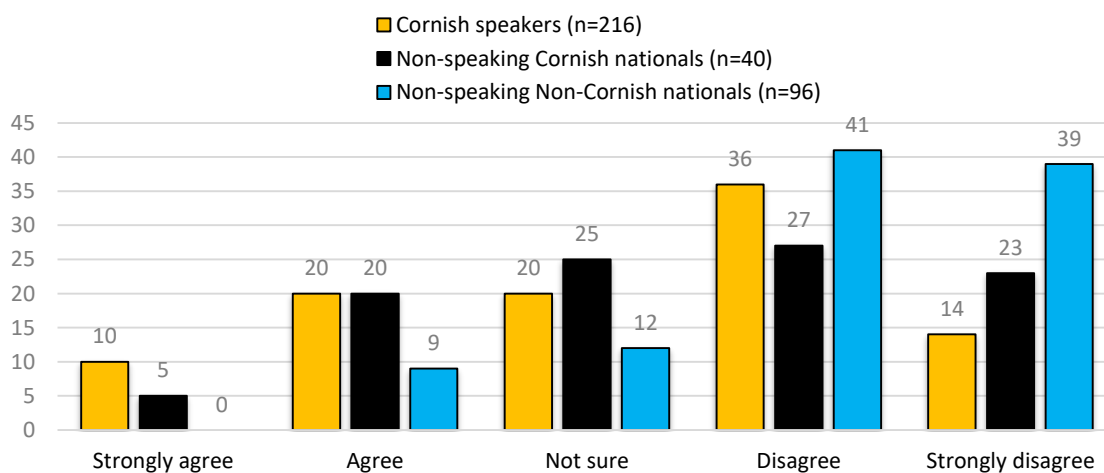
Figure 6.11. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16b '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Compulsory bilingual signs in shops and other private businesses*'

As described in this section, street and public signage, such as in official buildings and some businesses, has become one of the milestones in the promotion of both Basque and Cornish. Seeing the language in different signage boards, buildings, etc. help people to get used to it, even if they are not speakers, and to know that it exists in real life. In Cornwall, approximately half of the participants not identifying with Cornish nationality and more than a quarter of those who do identify with Cornish nationality were reluctant to see Cornish in signs. However, this is one of the few domains in which some power-coercive strategies may be already applied. According to SA 3.1, '*to increase the use of Cornish by Cornwall Council*', and SA 3.4, '*to maintain and increase public interest and support for Cornish*', of the Strategy 2015-25 (Cornwall Council, 2017: 20), it is necessary to continue developing a policy of visibility of the language. The following points are recommendations on how this policy could be carried out.

- As it is already being carried out by the Cornwall Council, the installation of new street signs including Cornish should occur only as a means of replacing deteriorated old signs. In this manner, the introduction of Cornish would not create any additional economic burden on the taxpayer, and would avoid criticism as much as possible.
- In cases where the old sign had been conceived as a traditional or artistic manifestation, the new sign should respect the old design in shape, material, colour and fonts as much as possible. This would help to avoid criticism or the blaming of the language for new (sometimes unwanted) modern sign designs.
- In the public sector, such as in national and local government buildings, local (non-private) libraries, police stations, etc., bilingual signs could be made compulsory. This would show consideration towards the speakers of the two traditional languages of Cornwall and would not suppose any obstacle in communication or any additional use of funds.
- Maximalist measures, such as the compulsory use of signs in Cornish in the private sector must continue to be avoided. However, businesses and shop owners should always be informed about the possibility of introducing Cornish in their permanent signage, and given linguistic and financial assistance to do this.

6.3 ATTAINABLE GOALS

Attainable goals are those which had not been accomplished by the time of this research but, after the application of a number of recommendations, may be totally or partially accomplished. The accomplishment of at least some of these goals may signify a tremendous advancement for the language revitalisation project.

6.3.1 THE CREATION OF A NEW GENERATION OF SPEAKERS

During the 1980s, the situation of Basque in Trebiñu was very fragile. Most speakers were second language adult learners who had acquired at least some competence in Basque at school in Araba or in evening classes. For this reason, it was not possible to entrust the families with the continuity and transference of Basque. It required external help. One of

the ways to provide that help was through formal education. As commented by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu, this strategy became '*a basic element in the revitalisation of the language*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). However, due to the geo-political situation of Trebiñu as a Spanish-speaking Basque region assigned to a Castilian province, the implementation of education through the medium of Basque did not have an easy beginning and it is still somewhat difficult nowadays due to the passiveness and/or opposition of the regional (Castile and León) and provincial (Burgos) governments (Arabako Euskara Zerbituak, 2018).

These obstacles have been partially overcome by the work of the local councils and the population of the Enclave. Both the Ikastola and the Haur Eskola (kindergarten) are private organisations, but have the support and some funding from the councils. The rest of the support comes from parents, other people involved with the situation of Basque in Trebiñu, and indirectly from the Basque Autonomous Community. Usually, Basque speaking professionals, including teachers, study in the Basque Country, and it is also there where teaching materials are produced.

The Cornish revitalisation project began in a similar way as the one described in Trebiñu, namely with a body of a few, non-native adult individuals. Obviously, in order to be considered or to have the possibility of being used as a tool for general communication, a language should be ideally known by people of all range of ages. Unfortunately, the results of this investigation show that many Cornish speakers are adults of the older generations with generally low language skills, while the number of young people and children may be very low (Section 3.1.2.6). For this reason, the acquisition of Cornish by children, in order to create a new generation of speakers, as proposed by the current language strategy (Cornwall Council 2017: 16), cannot be solely entrusted to families. As in Trebiñu, education must play an important role in the creation of a new generation of speakers. Whilst the British government which sets the National Curriculum has overall responsibility for education, parents and local authorities, especially Cornwall Council, can have a strong influence on urging the national government to proceed in an appropriate direction.

It was previously discussed how 81% of the Cornish speaking participants in the survey (*n*=218), approximately half of the Cornish nationals (*n*=39) and 27% of those with no Cornish nationality accepted the inclusion of Cornish in education in order to promote the language (Figure 5.12, Section 5.2.4.2). Related to this point, Question 15b required one to evaluate the authorities' work in favour of the Cornish language in primary and secondary education. Only a minority of the respondents, namely 24 (11%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220), 11 (27%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 18 (18%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=102) approved the current approach by the government. Cornish speakers were particularly critical, since 168 individuals (77%) stated that the authorities do either not much or [almost] nothing. It is also interesting to notice that the level of unawareness about any work to promote Cornish in primary and secondary education was high amongst those with no skills in Cornish (Figure 6.12).
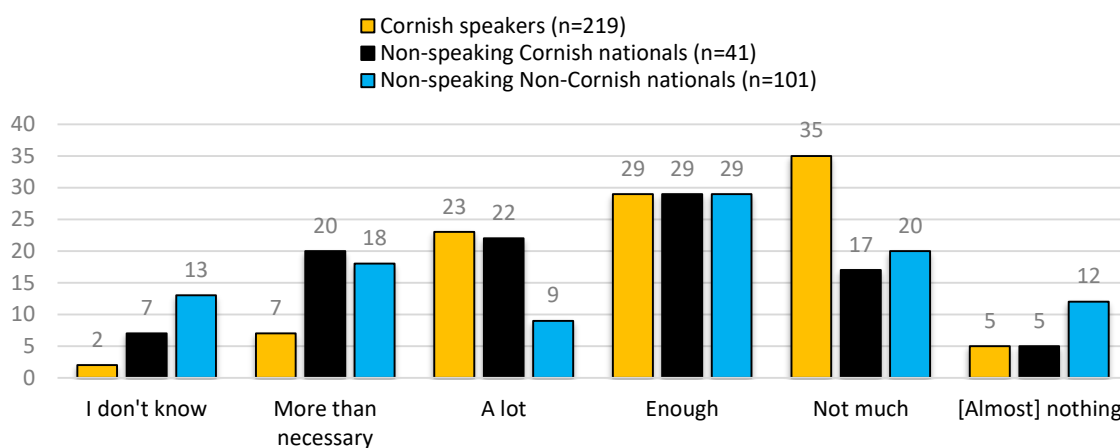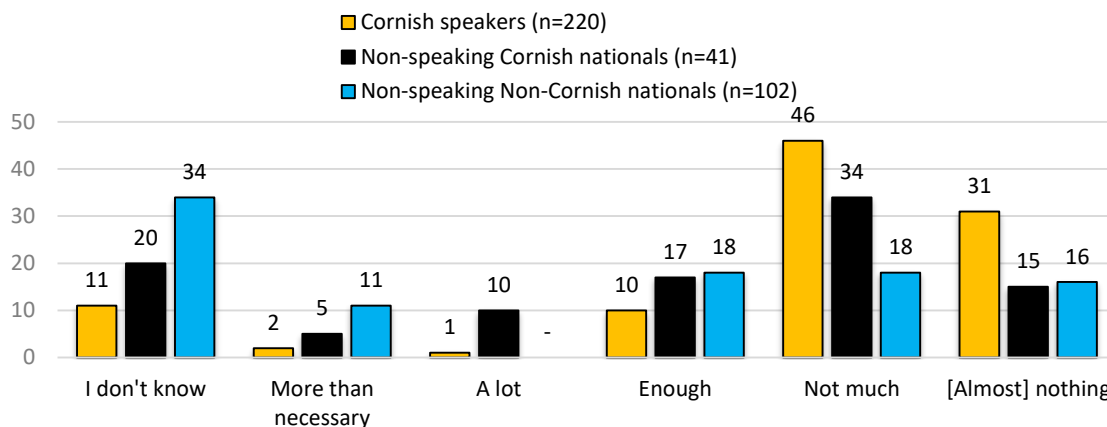
Figure 6.12. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 15b '*In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the Cornish language in the following fields? Primary and secondary education*'

At least some of the answers which seem to denote certain criticism towards the local authorities may be provoked by motives other than actual discontentment. Question 14a enquired about the respondents' opinions on the availability of Cornish language education and Cornish-medium education. When compared to the previous question, the ratio of unawareness was much higher. Approximately half of those with no Cornish skills stated not being aware of education in Cornish. This means that some of those who responded to Question 15b, '*In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the Cornish language in the following fields? Primary and secondary education*', were not really aware of the availability of the language in education. In addition, only minorities of the three groups thought that the availability in Cornish was either '*very good*' or '*fairly good*' (Figure 5.11, Section 5.2.4.2).

When participants were offered concrete possibilities of how the authorities could introduce Cornish in education, Question 11b proposed the conversion of the current monolingual schools into Cornish-English bilingual schools. This was rejected by high percentages of all three groups under study, namely 105 (48%) Cornish speakers (*n*=219), 27 (67%) Cornish nationals (*n*=40) and 91 (87%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=105) (Figure 6.13). The reasons for these results may be different depending on the views of the language by the different groups. Obviously, many non-speakers, particularly amongst those who did not identify themselves as Cornish-nationals, may reject bilingual schools because they are not in favour of the promotion of Cornish in general. Other reasons may include the fear of an increase of the tax load or a lack of funding for other necessary projects in order to implement bilingual education, while other people may see the setting of bilingual schools as a too ambitious project that may wait until some other goals are accomplished. Finally, especially amongst the Cornish speakers, a wish for inclusivity, avoiding too radical measures, may explain some of the opposition to this strategy.
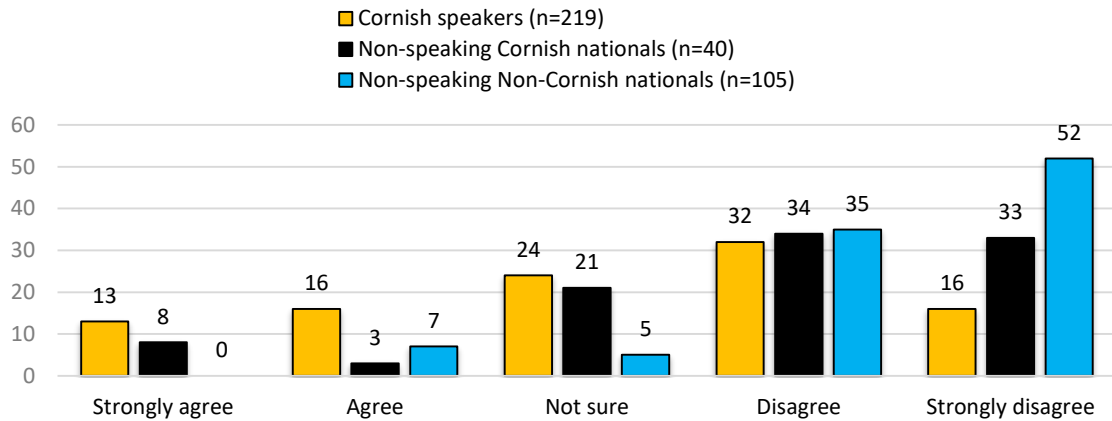
Figure 6.13. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 11b '*Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about education: Schools in Cornwall and Scilly must be bilingual*'

Another question, 11a, approached the introduction of Cornish as a core school subject in the same fashion as foreign languages are taught in all the schools of the United Kingdom. Although 108 (49%) Cornish speakers (*n*=220) stated they were in favour of this proposal, clear majorities of Cornish nationals (*n*=40), 24 individuals (60%), and those with no Cornish nationality, 87 individuals (83%) rejected this point (Figure 6.14). This, however, did not signify a total rejection of Cornish at school, since, as declared by one participant '*I have nothing against promoting Cornish as a* choice *in schools etc.*' (Comment 1; Appendix 2), which may be an indication of the appropriate first steps to follow regarding this point.
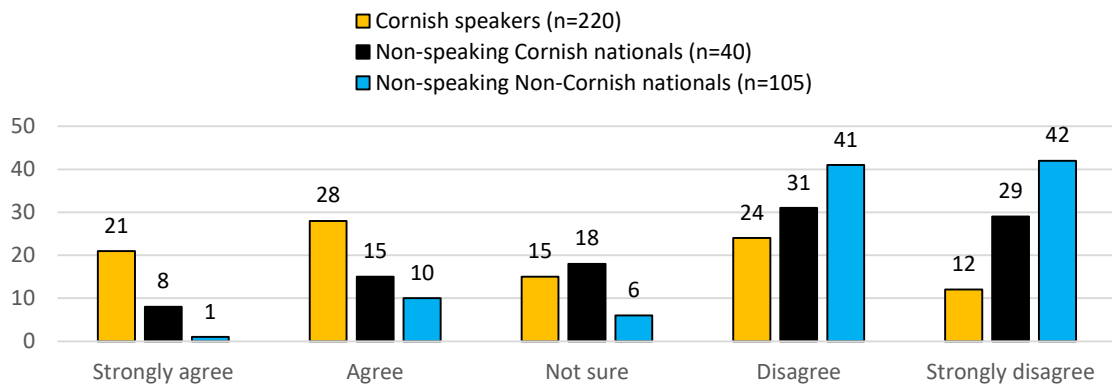
Figure 6.14. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 11a '*Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about education: A Cornish language subject should be required for all students in Cornwall and Scilly*'

Especially during the nineteenth century, but also during the twentieth century, some prominent scholars stated that if children learnt a minority language such as Welsh or Irish, they would not acquire enough competence in English which, in turn, would interfere with their career prospects (Davies, 2014: 64). Laurie (1890: 15) stated that '*if it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His*

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intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be doubled, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances'. In a similar fashion, Thompson, (1952: 367) stated that '*there can be no doubt that the child reared in a bilingual environment is handicapped in his language growth. One can debate the issue as to whether speech facility in two languages is worth the consequent retardation in the common language of the realm*'.

In order to explore whether this idea may have been behind the rejection of the introduction of Cornish at school, Question 11c requested how much the respondents agreed with the statement '*If children study Cornish, they'll never learn English properly*'. This statement was rejected by majorities of the three groups under study namely, 206 (94%) Cornish speakers (*n=219*), 28 (69%) Cornish nationals (*n=40*), and 73 (70%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n=104*) (Figure 6.15). However, it is also interesting to note how the historical perception of a second language interfering with the development of the native language is still considered to be valid by a minority of both, Cornish nationals and those who did not identify as Cornish nationals in similar percentages. This may suggest that the reason for this particular view may be cultural, rather than political.

Legend:
- Cornish speakers (n=219)
- Non-speaking Cornish nationals (n=40)
- Non-speaking Non-Cornish nationals (n=104)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Cornish speakers	1	2	4	30	64
Non-speaking Cornish nationals	3	14	13	34	35
Non-speaking Non-Cornish nationals	2	9	17	41	29
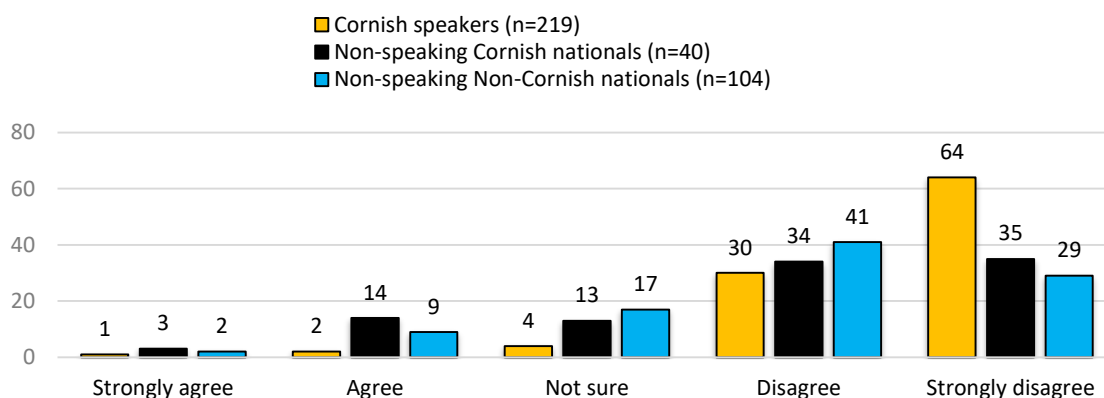
Figure 6.15. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 11c '*If children learn Cornish, they'll never learn English properly*'

Another reason to reject education in Cornish may be found in the lack of use that students may make of it, both internationally and locally. Question 11d required the respondents to state how much they agreed with the statement '*French or German should be learnt instead of Cornish*'. To this, 145 (66%) Cornish speakers maintained that Cornish should be learnt first. However, the viewpoint of the non-Cornish speakers was clearer; approximately half, 20 Cornish nationals (*n=41*), and 72 (68%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n=106*) were clearly in favour of learning foreign languages rather than Cornish (Figure 6.16). The generally high percentage of respondents who stated that foreign languages should be learnt rather than Cornish probably reflects the perceived need to learn languages that can be a tool for social mobility or used at work and travelling. Cornish, however, seems to be regarded as a language that does not fit in any of these contexts. For them, Cornish is not a resource (Ruiz, 1984).
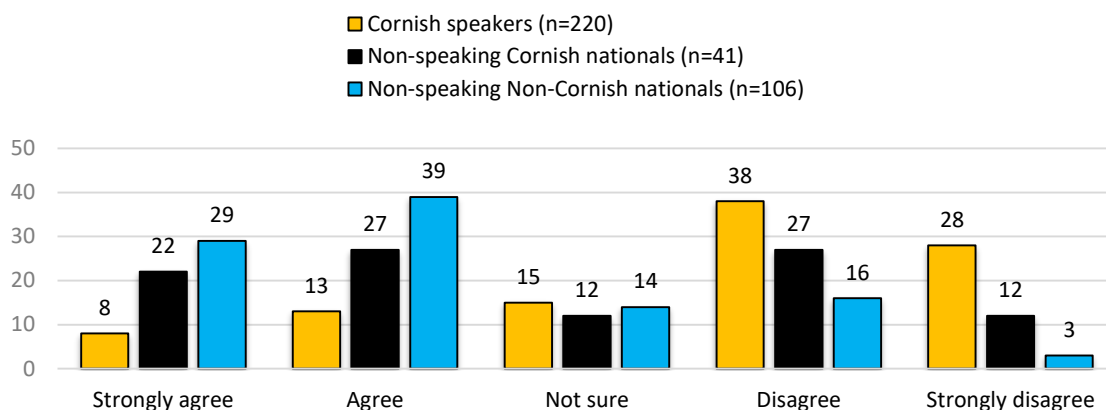
Figure 6.16. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 11d '*French or German should be learnt instead of Cornish*'

In Trebiñu, Basque education, supported only by the local councils and assisted by the Basque Government, is identified by most interviewees as the key to the success of the promotion of the language, especially amongst the youngest generations (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Since relatively few parents in Cornwall and Scilly are able to transmit Cornish to their children, the introduction of Cornish into education by the British government may be a key factor in order to create a new generation of speakers (Cornwall Council 2017: 16). The above results detailed in this section show that there is a widespread lack of awareness about topics related to education in Cornish. Those who stated that they were informed, considered the availability of education in Cornish to be generally insufficient. However, there was not any consensus on how to improve it, since most Cornish nationals and Cornish speakers' points of view were often different to those of the participants with no Cornish nationality and who represent the majority of the population of Cornwall and Scilly. The most obvious reason to explain these differences is identity. Therefore, while most Cornish speakers and Cornish nationals perceived the language as part of their culture, those who did not view themselves as Cornish, although living in Cornwall, may view it as a dissonant note in their perception of their community, namely England or Britain, united by only one language, as suggested by Thompson (1952: 367) when using the phrase, '*the common language of the realm*'. In fact, rushing in introducing Cornish in education may produce a strong rejection effect amongst a large percentage of those who are not openly favourable. Therefore, a gradually implemented and very balanced strategy is necessary to satisfy those who expect an increase of education in Cornish and those who are opposed to most measures to accomplish this need. In other words, those who see the use of Cornish in education as a right and those who perceive it as a problem (Ruiz, 1984). In any case, before this can be implemented, two basic issues should be considered.

- *Teachers*. Strategic Objective (SO) 1.1.3 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 states that it is necessary '*to establish and develop provision for the training and accreditation of teachers in terms of language awareness, their own language skills in Cornish and their ability to teach Cornish to pupils*' (Cornwall Council, 2017: 16). This step cannot be accomplished in a short period of time. Therefore, it would be necessary to equip already qualified teachers to teach Cornish with the required

skills, and also design programmes or modules to help university students become Cornish teachers as an *additional* skill to the other subjects they had chosen.

- *Material*. Cornish, being a language spoken only in Cornwall, cannot depend on material prepared in other countries or regions. Moreover, teaching a language at school requires specific material which may be substantially different from the books and courses prepared for evening classes or for independent learners. However, this does not mean that Cornish education specialists should be totally on their own. Many ideas could be extracted from material prepared for other languages promoted under similar circumstances, such as Basque, Welsh, or Manx Gaelic.

Nevertheless, none of these proposals would be successful if the Cornish language were not already in use in school to a certain extent. It seems logical to assume that very few university students would be willing to be enrolled on a module to become Cornish teachers if they did not see it utilised in their future careers. In fact, in 2014 and 2015, Cornwall College delivered a short ten-week course for early-years workers who would like to introduce Cornish into the setting, but, as confirmed by the organizer, '*numbers have been fairly low*' (Interview 5; Appendix 2). Equally unsuccessful would be the creation of material for school children if the language were not to be studied at school. These points, therefore, should run parallel with the actual promotion of the language in the schools of Cornwall (and possibly in the school on the Isles of Scilly). However, this must be done according to a carefully planned strategy in order to be successful and to prevent it being considered an imposition by the majority of the population who do not favour this action. In this regard, it would be advisable to proceed according to the following recommendations.

- *Too ambitious and even intermediate goals should be avoided for the time being*. Most of the participants in this investigation, including many Cornish speakers, did not see the introduction of a compulsory Cornish language school subject as a sensible move. However, even if the majority were favourable to this measure, there would be several basic deficiencies, such as the aforementioned lack of teachers and material, which would make it impossible.
- *Cornish should be introduced as an* optional *subject in a number of schools*. At the time of writing this thesis, Cornish was taught as an extracurricular activity in a few schools and as a regular subject in a few schools such as Pensans Primary School in Penzance. Very often, it has to compete against other languages or even other core subjects, which hinder the likelihood of it being chosen by parents and students. This situation is almost identical to that of Basque at the school CEIP Condado de Treviño, the public school of Trebiñuko Konderria, where Basque is only an extracurricular activity with no academic value. In contrast with that strategy, Cornish should be introduced as an optional regular school subject according to an approved official curriculum. It should be offered during the regular class time as an alternative to other similar subjects, such as a second (or even third) language or other activities.
- *It is necessary to continue the organisation of language tasters*. The promotion of Cornish at school as a regular subject should be done gradually. It is necessary to

produce enough material, to prepare enough teachers and to make such measures known to all the parents and students. For these reasons, it may take years until a considerable number of schools may be able to offer Cornish. In the meantime, all these schools must have the possibility of having special sessions or even extracurricular activities related to the language. Cornish language learning materials should also be available at these centres and parents informed of the opportunity for their children to learn Cornish. Parents should also have the option to request Cornish classes for their children. The schools, in turn, should contact the authorities in order to be able to fulfil the parents' demands as much as possible.

- *Information about the scientific research on the benefits of bilingualism on children's performance in school should be distributed to parents and guardians.* This would show that learning Cornish is not only valid in local contexts but also in the development of the child and in increasing his/her general capacities, such as being able to learn other languages easily, helping to develop the children's creativity, and even as a protection to help preserve their mental capacity when growing old (Baker, 2000: 2; Keegan, 1996: 2-3).

6.3.2 INCREASING THE NUMBER OF ADULT CORNISH SPEAKERS

Most speakers in the Enclave of Trebiñu are people under 30 who have learnt Basque either at school or at home from their parents, but the number of adult *euskaldunak*, Bascophones, is relatively low, accounting for only 13% of those aged 35 and 49 and less than 5% amongst those older than this age. (Basque Government, 2012: 23). The Basque Language Office of Trebiñu is aware of this issue and, in order to increase the number of adult Basque speakers, it prepares '*campaigns for the recognition of the value of bilingualism, and to underline the value and contribution of the linguistic educational models in Basque ...*' (Interview 1; Appendix 3). These campaigns are mostly addressed to parents who, on learning Basque, could help their children at school, thus turning Ruiz's (1984) perspective of 'language as a right' to 'language as a resource' (Ruiz, 1984: 25). There are also activities to help people appreciate the value of the Basque language which, in turn, may encourage them to start learning it. The Basque speaking areas of Spain and France use different techniques to produce successful campaigns which may attract people of all backgrounds. As shown in Figure 6.17, some of them include short slogans in Basque (Image 1), use of Basque short rhymes (Images 2 and 4) or use of Basque words that even Spanish-speaking people adopt in their daily life (Image 3). Despite the importance that political ideology has in the promotion of Basque in the whole of the Basque Country, these campaigns do not appeal to secessionism or an anti-Spanish/French feeling, but to the benefits of knowing another language and the local identity of the potential students.

1) Campaign to advertise Basque language courses for adults. It is introduced by a short slogan in Basque: *Merezi du!* 'It is worth it!' (Enclave of Trebiñu and Araba)

2) Poster of exhibition and activities with an easy-to-remember rhyme: *Badu, bada* 'if so, then' (Enclave of Trebiñu and Araba)

3) Campaign to advertise the Basque language as a component of the traditional Navarrese culture. The Spanish slogan uses '*kiliki*', a local Basque word from Navarre (Community of Navarre)

4) Campaign to promote Basque and language diversity introducing a Basque rhyme easy to remember *ekin, ukan, ekin!* 'come on, let's go!' (Basque Autonomous Community)

Figure 6.17. Campaigns in favour of the Basque language

The increase in the number of adult speakers is a point also proposed in the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-2025 (Cornwall Council, 2017: 16). This is because creating a strong body of adult speakers would help increase not only the transmission of the language within the family in a natural way, but also the use of Cornish in some domains such as commerce, religious life, social life, etc. The responses to Question 22a, '*I want to learn Cornish*' show that 32 (22%) non-Cornish speaking participants (*n*=147) were willing to learn at least some Cornish. Slightly over a half of them, 17 individuals, did not consider themselves of Cornish nationality (Figure 6.18).
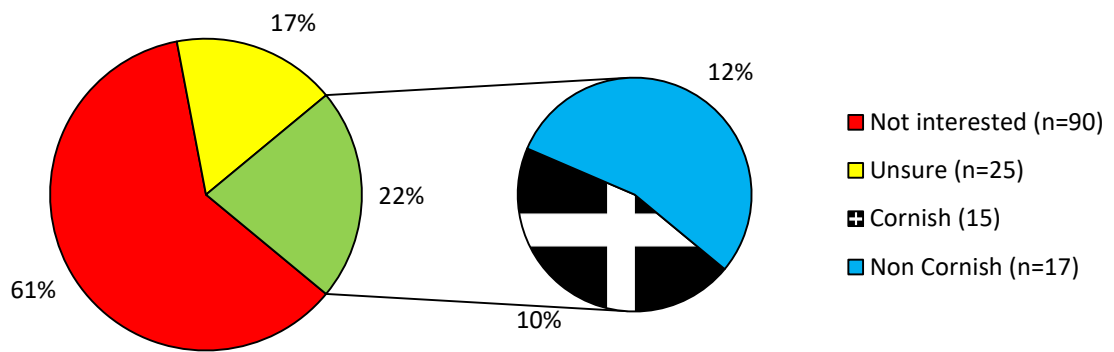
Figure 6.18. Percentages of non-Cornish-speaking participants according to their answers and nationality to Question 22a 'I want to learn Cornish'

Despite this noticeable percentage of people willing to learn some Cornish, only less than 1% had already taken this step. Although other reasons, such as the difficulty of the language and the lack of time have already been discussed (Section 5.2.2.1), it is a fact that a very high percent of the population is not aware of any strategy in favour of Cornish. This can produce apathy in terms of learning the language.

As confirmed by the Basque Language Office of Trebiñu, the use of campaigns can contribute to the increase in the number of adult speakers (Interview 1; Appendix 3). Following the recommendations found in SA 3.4 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25, 'to maintain and increase public interest and support for Cornish', Cornwall Council has recently carried out some campaigns to publicise the language (Cornwall Council, 2017: 20). However, according to the answer to several questions in this research, most of those initiatives seemed to have been invisible to the high percentage of the population who stated that they were not aware of any government support for the language. Future campaigns carried out by local authorities and organisations to promote the learning of Cornish should have some similarities with those employed to promote the Basque language. Those initiating such campaigns should consider the following recommendations.

- Due to the concern about the use of funds to promote Cornish, some campaigns could be carried out mostly via the internet. This would reduce expenses and would reach thousands of individuals all over Cornwall and Scilly.
- Official campaigns should be evident to the whole population, not only to the people who are already interested. For this reason, internet advertisements and banners should be displayed in prominent places on the websites of the Cornwall Council, local councils and/or language and cultural organisations. In the case of printed material, it should be placed in public places in official buildings and offices which are accessible to all visitors.
- Language campaigns must be free from any political ideology. In this case, the emphasis could be placed on the language as an asset and/or as part of the heritage of the area, independently of people's political views. Other approaches, such as learning Cornish due to the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, should also be used

to attract new adult students and to show parents how studying a local language such as Cornish is also beneficial.

- Campaigns to promote Cornish could use easy-to-remember Cornish slogans, songs or words. AS shown in Figure 6.19, these may include:

    1) Widely known Cornish words used in the Anglo-Cornish dialect, such as *bal* (mine), *oggy* (pasty), *wheal* (place of work, mine) or others;

    2) Cornish words which have survived in expressions or place names, such as *tre* (farm, town), *lan* (church), *avon* (river)*, chi* (house) or *porth* (harbour);

    3) Easy slogans or rhymes in Cornish, such as '*Eus keus?*' (Is there [any] cheese?) in the manner that other rhymes are employed in other languages, such as '*hoffi coffi*' (I like coffee) in Welsh or '*ekin, ukan, ekin*' (come on, get started!) in Basque. In this case, a translation or an auxiliary message must also be included in order to make the message and purpose clear to non-Cornish speakers;

    4) Slogans in English.

Welsh/Cornish singer Gwenno wearing a T-shirt with the slogan '*Eus Keus?*', Cornish for 'Is there (any) cheese?' (Image from Gwenno's Facebook)	*Oggy*, an Anglo-Cornish word derived from the Cornish word *hogen* (Image from the *Oggy, Oggy – The Pasty Company*'s official website)

Figure 6.19. Use of Cornish slogans and Cornish words in the Anglo-Cornish dialect

6.4 INCREASING THE USAGE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI-USE TOOLS

There are some other tools and strategies that may be useful in different activities and domains, and that are necessary for Cornish speakers and learners. This section focuses on how some of these tools or resources may continue/start to be used, and how others may be included in order to strengthen the revitalisation project.

6.4.1 INVESTMENT IN MEDIA

Traditional media, including radio, television and the written press still play a key role in most western societies. The Enclave of Trebiñu is not an exception to this rule and a wide range of newspapers, magazines, radio and television channels is available in the area. Most of these publications and programmes are in Spanish, but the availability in Basque is very notable, including the magazine *Alea*, some newspapers, such as *Berria*, *El Diario Vasco* and *El Correo*. Basque broadcastings from the Basque Country, such as those by *Euskal Telebista*, *Euskadi Irratia* and *Hala Bedi* are also easily accessible in Trebiñu.

In Cornwall and Scilly there is a wide range of newspapers, magazines, radio and television channels. Since most of these publications and programmes are exclusively in English, Question 16g explored the need for more use of Cornish in radio and television to enhance its use, as proposed by SA 2.3 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25, namely '*to increase and develop the use of Cornish on all broadcast and social media platforms*' (Cornwall Council, 2017: 14). The answers show that 164 (76%) Cornish speakers (*n*=216) were clearly in favour of the proposal. In addition, 20 (52%) Cornish nationals (*n*=39) had the same opinion. However, only 22 (24%) non-Cornish nationals (*n*=93) expressed any support (Figure 6.20).
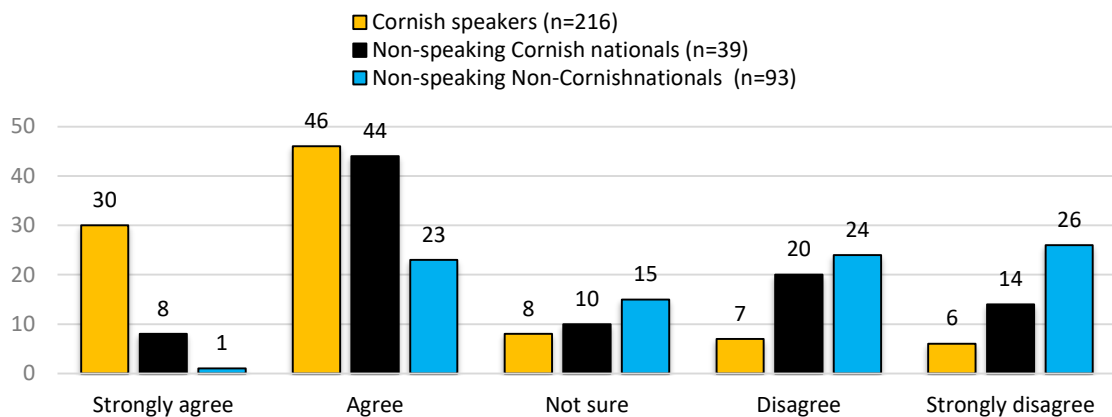
Figure 6.20. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16g '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? More use of Cornish on TV and radio*'

Despite the support amongst Cornish speakers and Cornish nationals for more Cornish in the media, nevertheless, according to Question 14b, noticeable numbers of non-speakers, 14 (34%) Cornish nationals (*n*=41) and 42 (44%) of those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=96) stated that they were not aware of the existence of any publications, television or radio programmes in Cornish. The level of unawareness was much lower amongst Cornish speaking participants (*n*=218). Of those with knowledge about media in Cornish, only a few of each group stated that the availability of Cornish was either '*very good*' or '*fairly good*' (Figure 6.21).
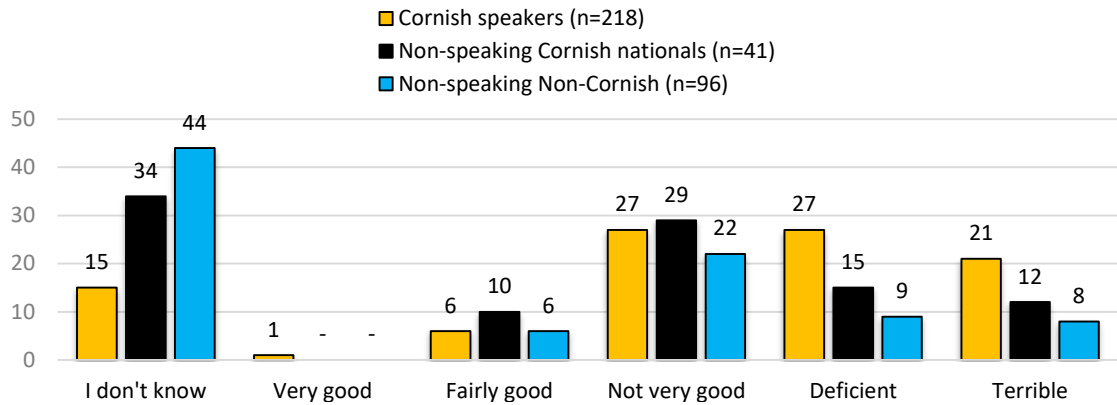
Figure 6.21. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14b '*How good is the availability in Cornish in the following fields? Media*'

Question 16f enquired whether celebrities speaking some Cornish on television or radio may be a good way to enhance the use of Cornish in the same way that Welsh, Irish or Scottish Gaelic are sometimes heard on national programmes in the United Kingdom, or Basque in national programmes in Spain and France. The objective of this would be to provide audibility for the language. Cornish speakers (*n*=216) were supportive of this, since 147 (68%) participants considered this proposal to be appropriate. Approximately half, 19 of the Cornish nationals (*n*=40) opted for the same answer; however, only 19 (20%) individuals with no Cornish nationality (*n*=94) approved of this, while 49 (52%) were opposed to it (Figure 6.22).

Figure 6.22. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16f '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Celebrities speaking Cornish on TV*'

Basque media in Trebiñu is quite developed. This had been accomplished by working in terms of collaboration with the Basque media of the Basque Country instead of working independently. Creating sections about Trebiñu in newspapers, radio and television programmes has solved the problem of a lack of funds and the need for technical assistance.

In 2017, some individuals campaigned for a BBC station in Cornish, *BBC Kernow*, in the same manner as there are some other national BBC stations in non-English languages, such

as *BBC Radio Cymru* in Wales and *BBC Alba* in Scotland. The creation of this new station would require not only a strong investment for a very small speech community, but also a high number of qualified Cornish speaking staff, including news readers, script writers, translators, and others. Both requirements make the proposal almost totally impossible. The approach to using Cornish in the media, as suggested in SA 2.3 of the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 (Cornwall Council, 2017: 18), should be through the avoidance of maximalist goals but rather, from a balanced and realistic perspective, as is done in Trebiñu.

In the written press, national and local authorities and even private companies and individuals may help increase the presence of Cornish by:

- Supporting the already existing publications in Cornish, such as *An Gowsva* or *An Gannas*, by providing material, such as photos, information, and, if possible, some economic support;
- Promoting the regular insertion of columns, articles and/or pages in Cornish in local newspapers and magazines and websites, such as BBC Cornwall.

It is also necessary to increase the visibility and/or audibility of Cornish in the audiovisual media. This can be accomplished by focusing on the points detailed below.

- Promoting the regular creation and broadcasting of short programmes in local television and radio stations, such as BBC Cornwall's *An Nowodhow*.
- Supporting the growth of *An Gernewegva* (radio and television) in order to become a web television with a variety of programmes and contents. The Basque speaking areas of Spain and France are, in this regard, much more advanced due to the role of the Basque public broadcaster. However, examples such as the one proposed could be found within other European communities whose language is not recognised as official, such as Brittany's *Brezhoweb* and *Òc Tele* and *Aué TV* in the Occitan speaking areas of France and Catalonia respectively. This could be achieved by providing technical support, material and economic support if possible.
- Promoting the creation of films, cartoons, etc. in Cornish.
- Promoting and supporting the translation of short films, cartoons, etc., especially for children as the youngest Cornish speaking generation. These kinds of cartoons should not contain much spoken language, which would ease the translation and allow the message to be understood by viewers with a minimum knowledge of Cornish. The translated programmes could be added to *An Gernewegva*.
- Promoting and facilitating the creation of other internet radio and television stations and the production of films.

6.4.2 INVESTMENT IN TECHNOLOGY

Basque is a language fully developed on the Internet. Nowadays, there are websites totally or partially in Basque including international platforms, such as Wikipedia, Facebook and others. In addition, the availability of applications (apps) and computer programs, such as Windows, is also very high. Therefore, Trebiñu is profiting from a privileged situation.

This makes it possible for learners and speakers to study online, to be able to read and listen to Basque and to be able to live almost entirely in Basque in the online domain. However, this does not mean that all the achievements are due to favourable circumstances. Basque technological tools have to compete with two widely spoken languages, namely French and Spanish, and very often with English. In order to balance the situation, authorities, universities and private companies and organisations work together to advertise and promote the creation of websites, mobile applications, computer programs and contents in Basque (Azkue Fundazioa, 2018).

In Cornwall and Scilly, the situation is very different from the one described above. Due to the new strategies employed in education and the importance of technology in everyday life, the development of new technologies is especially required to engage new generations in the study and use of Cornish as a modern language. A series of questions enquired about the perception of the availability of contents on the internet (Question 14c), on mobile telephony (Question 14d) and online apps and computer programs (Question 14e). Interestingly, there is a generally high degree of unawareness about these key fields. In fact, answering to Question 14c, 37 (17%) Cornish speakers (*n*=218), and more than 40% of the non-Cornish speakers stated that they did not know anything about Cornish being used on the internet. Those who considered that the availability of Cornish in this domain is appropriate ('*very good*' or '*fairly good*') only accounted for 57 (26%) Cornish speakers and small percentages of non-Cornish-speaking participants (Figure 6.23).
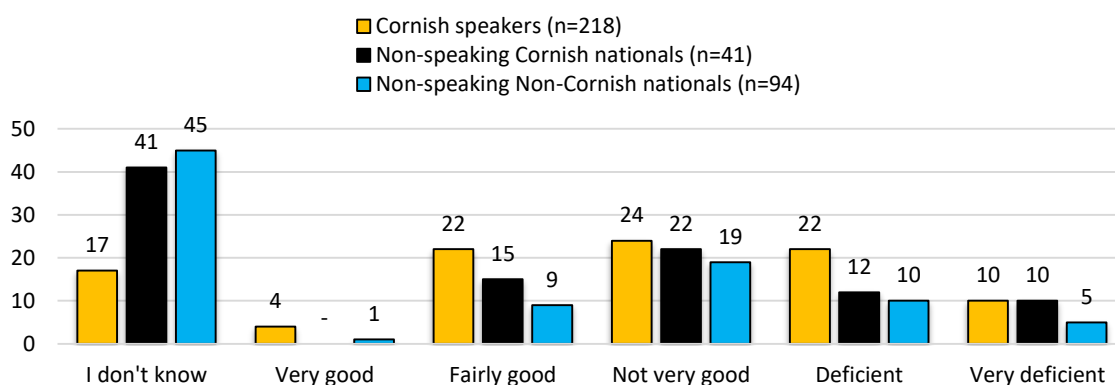
Figure 6.23. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14c '*How good is the availability in Cornish on the internet?*'

The perception of the use of Cornish in mobile telephony was even lower, as answered in Question 14d. Once again, the lack of knowledge on the topic was relatively high amongst Cornish speakers (*n*=216), namely 52 (24%), and affected almost half of the non-Cornish speaking participants. Moreover, only a very small minority of nine Cornish speakers, two Cornish nationals, and four other individuals with no Cornish nationality, considered the availability of Cornish appropriate (Figure 6.24).
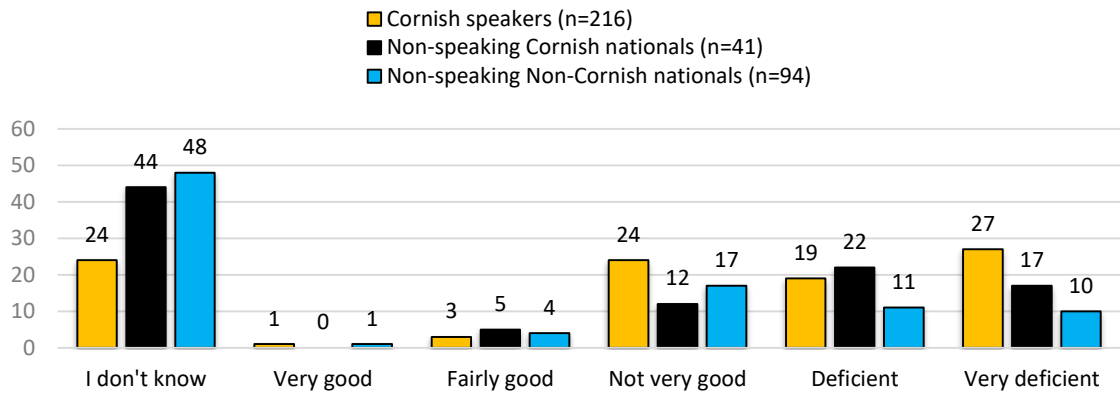
Figure 6.24. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14d 'How good is the availability in Cornish in mobile telephony?'

Finally, the answers to Question 14e about the perception of use of Cornish on applications and computer programs repeated a similar negative view. Amongst Cornish speakers (*n=219*), 46 individuals (21%) stated not being aware of any tool in this field. The same was true of 17 (41%) Cornish nationals (*n=41*) and 44 (47%) participants with no Cornish nationality (*n=94*). Of those who stated that they were aware, only 26 (12%) Cornish speakers, four Cornish nationals and four individuals with no Cornish nationality stated that the number and variety of these programs was appropriate (Figure 6.25).
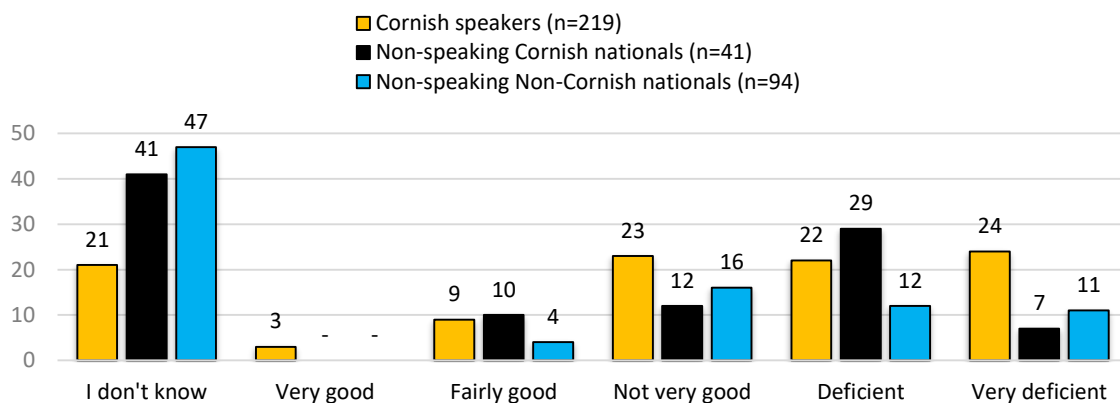
Figure 6.25. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 14e 'How good is the availability in Cornish in online applications and computer programs?'

Besides the relative scarcity of websites, applications, computer programs where Cornish is available, the reason for some of the negative answers could be also found in the world's language situation. Due to the leading role of English in technology, the use of Cornish in this domain could be perceived in a distorted light. Obviously, since basically all the Cornish speakers are also English speakers, the amount of Cornish used in new technologies may be regarded as negligible or at least insufficient. For this reason, Question 16e explored the viewpoint of the respondents regarding whether the creation of websites, applications and computer programs would be an asset in order to promote the use of Cornish. The group who was more involved in the revitalisation of Cornish, namely Cornish speakers (*n=216*), clearly agreed, since 147 (68%) individuals stated that the

creation of these technological instruments is necessary. However, it is interesting to note that this percentage is considerably lower than the one in favour of more Cornish in traditional media, such as radio and television (Figure 6.20). This is probably a consequence of the low percentage of young Cornish speakers, who rely more on modern technologies than on traditional media. This point of view was not so clear amongst the other two groups under study. Non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals (*n*=40) were almost identically divided, 15 individuals (37%) in favour and 16 individuals (39%) against. Those with no Cornish nationality (*n*=92) were mostly opposed, 42 individuals (46%) against and only 24 (26%) in favour (Figure 6.26).
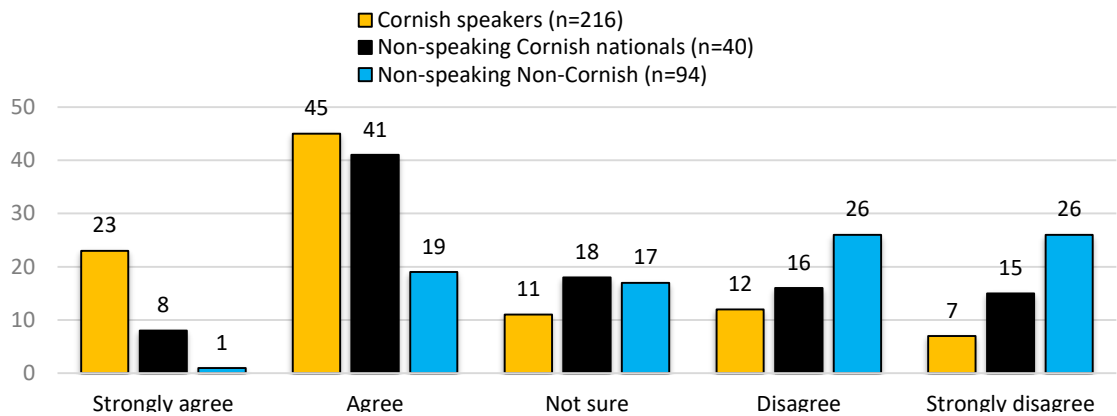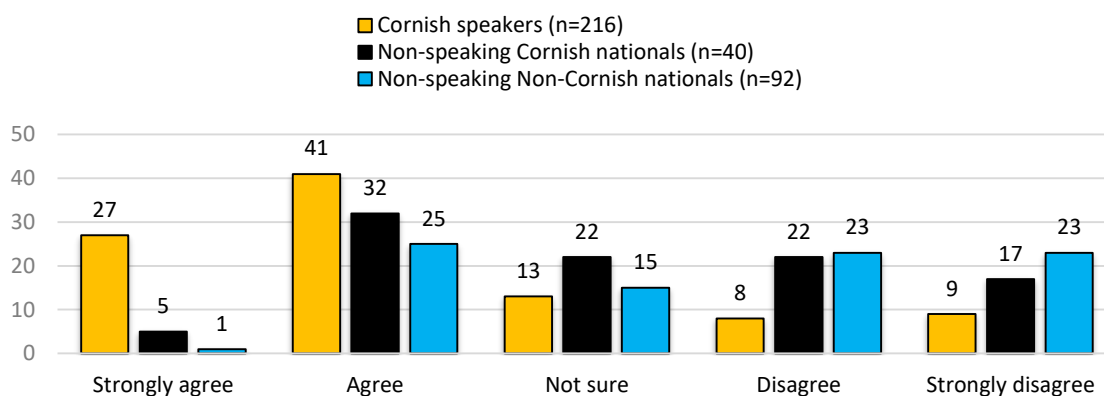

Figure 6.26. Percentages of participants according to their answers to Question 16e '*In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish? Creation of applications, programs and websites in Cornish*'

Written and audio-visual media are still an important domain in the maintenance of languages. To this must be added the domain of new technologies, such as the internet, mobile telephony and mobile/computer programs and applications. The situation of Cornish in the media and new technologies has been described as weak and, in fact, high percentages of inhabitants of Cornwall and Scilly are unaware of the use of the language in these domains. Although approximately 40% of the Cornish nationals and 25% of those who did not identify as Cornish nationals stated that they supported the use of more Cornish in the written press, on radio, television and new technologies, an even higher percentage of respondents showed their lack of interest or even their opposition.

This brings to the fore, once again, the role of cultural or/and national identity. It is natural that most speakers and learners want to hear and read Cornish on television, on the internet, etc. This would not require any funding or obligation from those who do not support the language's revitalisation; however, the visible existence of the Cornish language may be unacceptable for many people who view Cornwall as a part of England, united by the English language. This would impel many people to reject the language in order to save their vision of the nation. Therefore, in such a situation, the increase of Cornish in these key domains must follow a firm but balanced approach that shows respect for the rights of Cornish speakers. In any case, not being an official language and being spoken by only a few thousands, it cannot be easy for the Cornish language to attain the same level of achievement as Basque in technology. However, there are some strategies which need to be implemented without delay, as detailed below.

- Developers of many mobile and computer applications which are available in English, such as weather applications, calendars and games, often request the help of volunteers to make them available in more languages. Cornwall Council, local governments, language organisations and proficient speakers should take profit of this situation in order to provide the Cornish language with a place in the digital world in a totally inexpensive way.
- Cornish-speaking developers and companies should be encouraged to create applications which include Cornish.
- Companies established in Cornwall should be encouraged to offer at least some of the contents of their websites in Cornish along with English or any other language.
- A public directory of applications, programs and websites with contents in Cornish to help speakers and learners to use them would be a valuable initial step.
- Language organisations and Akademi Kernewek should try to publicise in a visible way any new Cornish language developments in the field of new technologies.

6.4.3 INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Cornwall is not the first or only community that intends to revitalise a language. Although each community is responsible for its language and culture, collaboration with international organisations and universities with experience in language revitalisation may be beneficial to solve or avoid some problems that may arise during the process. Cornwall Council is already a member of the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD), which puts it in contact with authorities and academics from several European countries. This may help authorities to contact other governments, organisations and universities with more experience in language revitalisation in order to receive technical assistance in creating teaching material or implementing bilingualism in education, amongst others. Direct agreements with other organisations and universities may be also necessary in order to prepare teachers, translators, language officers, etc.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has been focused on identifying some strategies already in use in the promotion of Basque in the Enclave of Trebiñu and exploring some suggestions which may be useful in promoting Cornish in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, authorities have been actively involved in the revitalisation of Cornish, for the first time in history. Thanks to this, the Cornish language has already accomplished several goals. These achievements have ensured considerable advancement from inactivity to the consideration of Cornish as a living minority language in the United Kingdom. Therefore, it is important to strengthen the status already acquired in order not to become stagnant and start losing domains and rights again.

This research has also revealed that the different groups living in Cornwall and Scilly display very different attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. Although the relatively small community of Cornish speakers and a considerable percentage of those

who viewed themselves as Cornish nationals were mostly positive in their views, most of those who did not identify themselves as Cornish nationals, which constitute the majority of the population, were indifferent or even opposed to Cornish gaining domains. Several reasons have been proposed to explain this behaviour. On the one hand, the tradition to learn Cornish to be used as a communication tool, besides being an identity mark, is practically absent in Cornwall and Scilly. Therefore, most people may not consider learning the language something that must be done, since it is neither necessary for their lives nor the only symbol of Cornish identity. Some others may opt for learning a few words in Cornish without deepening their knowledge, which is enough to satisfy their identity views, but relatively few may be progressing and using Cornish as an actual language. A second reason is a lack of knowledge about almost everything related to the language. All the participants were aware of the existence of the language but very few knew about education, media, or other domains where Cornish is used. Obviously, this situation may lead some to think that investing in a language that '*nobody*' uses is a waste of time and resources. Finally, another group adopting a predominantly assimilationist viewpoint and ideology may perceive the existence of the Cornish language as a threat to their vision of Cornwall as a part of England, a country united by a language, English.

The strategies given in this chapter are based on the idea that gradually re-instating the tradition of learning the language to use it as a communication tool is the first obstacle that must be overcome. This is primarily the responsibility of the speakers (Crystal, 2000, 154), however, it will require the support of national and local authorities, as well as private companies and organisations. As experience shows, the funding and support from the authorities is often unreliable and subject to political situations and interests. Moreover, Cornish speakers are the only ones who can speak publicly to each other, who can use the language with their family and friends, and they are also the ones who should use it to request information from government agencies, in businesses, etc. If Cornish speakers start using Cornish as a real and regular communication tool, the language will become something evident for all the population. This step provides the base to adjust people's perception of Cornish as a real language spoken by local people, and not simply as an ancient language learnt as a hobby by a few nationalistic individuals. Thus, Cornish may become a more important characteristic of Cornishness and people may be attracted to it in order to speak it, that is, language will become *a resource* (Ruiz, 1984). This has already been proved by the experience not only in Trebiñu, but also in the rest of the Basque Country (both in Spain and in France), in Israel with Hebrew (Spolsky, 2014: 256-257), and in Hungary with Hungarian (Margócsy, 2015: 33), just to mention a few.

Fortunately, the revitalisation project has already accomplished a number of other objectives. For this reason, it is important to continue the language policies already implemented, such as the adoption of bilingual street-signing, while avoiding maximalist objectives in the short term which my upset the majority of the population. This does not imply that the process of revitalisation must be slowed down. On the contrary, there should be an increase in the use of Cornish.

Having reached this point, national and local authorities would be in a position to begin their empirical rational strategies to promote the language and help making it more visible.

This could be accomplished in relatively inexpensive ways such as providing the citizens, for example, with bilingual official forms.

An increase in the number of speakers could be accomplished in two ways, education for the younger generations and promotion of the language amongst adults. Due to the lack of parents who are fluent in Cornish, education may be the best way to teach children the language, a step that must be taken by the British government as the main body for the development of the national curriculum. Despite the preference for total immersion programmes by many communities all over the world, in the case of Cornish, a partial immersion programme would seem more appropriate (Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 56; Amery, 2000: 209-212). As described in this chapter, there are not enough resources, including funds, material and teachers, available to proceed with a maximalist implementation such as in the setting up of bilingual schools. Moreover, most participants in the survey were opposed to this proposal. This situation calls for careful and gradual introduction of Cornish in education. It would have to be started with an informative or empirical-rational strategy, initially by informing parents about the cognitive, social and economic benefits of bilingualism and how their children can benefit from it by studying the two local languages, namely English and Cornish. The preparation of suitable material and capable teachers while at the same time developing a gradual introduction of the language in each school depending on the demand by the families seems the most appropriate next step in the strategy. Children would benefit from bilingual education and many employees, including teachers, translators and others would have the opportunity to progress in their careers, thanks to their knowledge of Cornish (Baker, 2011: 375). The same would apply to adults. Despite being spoken by a tiny minority; Cornish is considered a positive cultural asset for most of the three groups under study. This favourable situation may be used to promote the language by launching, free from political implications, campaigns which may also emphasise the benefits of bilingualism for adults, and the link between the language and the local heritage (such as in place names and traditions).

These new Cornish speakers must also be supported. Most participants in the survey stated that Cornish is a difficult language which cannot be used very often. For this reason, language organisations and authorities should facilitate opportunities to use Cornish in some procedures. Another suggestion is the creation of a simplified form of Cornish which would help students to start speaking in a relatively short time.

The employment and development of a number of tools such as the use of Cornish in the media and technology have been also considered. This would help Cornish to be recognised as a language that may be used in the modern world and would allow speakers and students to enjoy some useful tools to develop their knowledge.

Finally, language organisations and local authorities such as Cornwall Council should look for international support and cooperation. This could enable them to contact other governments, organisations and universities with more experience in language revitalisation in order to receive technical assistance to implement some strategies, such as creating teaching material, and training language teachers.

Strategies such as those suggested in this chapter would help change the current language policy of Cornish 'as a right' of the Cornish speakers and a symbol of Cornishness into Cornish as 'a resource' for all the inhabitants of the area of Cornwall (Ruiz, 1984: 25). This would release much of the ethnic and political weight of the language which, in turn, may attract more people to learn and *to use* it. Cornish would become a general communication tool. This way, the process of folklorisation, in which a language with no actual value in daily life is learnt as a relic of the past, would be avoided. In addition, the application and development of these basic strategies may help put Cornish in a new situation in which more people including children would speak or learn the language because that would be the norm in a bilingual society (Chin & Benne, 1969).

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSIONS

In a period when thousands of languages are threatened, and many are disappearing on a monthly basis, Cornish is moving gradually in the opposite direction, from being a dead language to becoming a living community language. This study suggests a number of strategies which may be employed in the difficult process of the revitalisation of Cornish in Cornwall. Due to their heritage, dependence and proximity to Cornwall, the Isles of Scilly were also included in this research work.

The sociolinguistic situation of the United Kingdom has been shaped by language policies which have traditionally favoured the national standard, RP English, by marginalising regional dialects and minority languages such as Cornish. Nevertheless, after a period of approximately one hundred years of silence, the Cornish language became a spoken language again by the beginning of the twentieth century. The rise of timid language activism in Cornwall has led to a number of claims concerning the relative vitality of Cornish, and academic research has suggested that the language may be less obsolescent than previously believed. As such, one of the necessary initial steps for this study was to identify the Cornish speech community and investigate their language practices as well as their attitudes towards their language. This was required because, with the presence of a strong language in the region such as English, Cornish speakers find themselves in an area of diglossia, in a broad sense of the term, which obviously affects their lives and points of view. As a language undergoing revitalisation, Cornish has also been the subject of competing written forms, a competition which this study highlights as still in progress and, although it would appear that the Standard Written Form (FSS) orthography is gaining ground, this continues to be questioned by some. This study has investigated these issues as well; particular attention has been paid to the areas of language use, attitudes and perceptions, and language proficiency.

Due to the relative obscurity of Cornish in the public consciousness, the thesis began with an outline of the language's sociolinguistic origins and its status prior to this research work. As a descendant of common Celtic, Cornish developed on the fringe of the Brythonic dialect continuum and, with the rise of English to the status of national language, it fell victim to the proscriptive language policies of the Tudors and the establishment of the Church of England during the sixteenth century. Along with the other non-English British languages, Cornish was denounced as a 'non-proper language', a stigma that sullied it in the minds of the general population and even the speech community itself. The language was definitively abandoned in the early 1800s. The cultural and often political revolutions that occurred during the nineteenth century gave rise to language activism and efforts to revitalise obsolescent linguistic varieties. In Cornwall, language activism began in 1904 with the publication of *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*, by Henry Jenner (1904). Since that time, interest in Cornish, both cultural and academic, has waxed and waned. The so-called spelling wars during the 1980s and 1990s led to a split in student numbers and a relative stagnation in the process of

revitalisation, only to be revived in the early 2000s. Similarly, academic research into Cornish grew in quantity and scope throughout the last two decades. The aims of these early studies have, broadly speaking, been to situate Cornish as an authentic living language with legitimate roots in the sociolinguistic situation of the United Kingdom. A relatively large proportion of these studies have been conducted by individuals or organisations who have some personal interest in Cornish and the topics investigated tend to be motivated by activism or revitalisation, for example; The Cornish Language Partnership (2013a&b), Burley (2008) and SGRÙD Research (2000). Other researchers such as George and Broderick (2010) have spent time investigating linguistic descriptions.

Before providing any proposal to continue the promotion of Cornish, it became necessary to consider the current language use and attitudes of both Cornish speakers and the non-Cornish speaking population of Cornwall and Scilly. To effectively investigate the study's research questions, a questionnaire was developed. Due to the nature of the community, it was felt that a questionnaire was the most efficient means of collecting the required data; however, the disadvantages inherent in this method raised concerns, particularly the type of data questionnaires tend to obtain. Previous studies in the field of Cornish tended to rely on qualitative data, often obtained by interviews and conversations with language activists, whereas the claims of some of the activist organisations seemed to be based on quantitative data. Due to the fact that certain of these studies' findings seemed to contradict each other, the researcher felt it essential to attempt to collect both qualitative and quantitative data in the same study. Logistical and pragmatic constraints meant that a questionnaire remained the most feasible method for collecting data in Cornwall and Scilly. The informants themselves were mostly contacted through Cornish language organisations and *yeth an werin* groups. In total, 220 Cornish fluent and non-fluent speakers submitted their responses to the questionnaire. The attitudes of the rest of the population were determined by the same questionnaire. After contacting all the councils of Cornwall and Scilly, as well as companies, schools and other organisations, 147 non-Cornish speaking respondents participated in the survey. In order to have a clearer perspective of the situation of the language, the researcher also consulted primary and secondary sources, undertook direct observation and carried out a series of interviews and interchanges of emails with some individuals. Therefore, although the questionnaire was designed to obtain primarily quantitative data, ignoring the qualitative and observational data which the study has also uncovered would be a mistake, and so, in this study, there are references to both.

In response to the first research question, *what is the current situation of the Cornish language?*, the results of the investigation reveal that there are approximately 5,000 adults in Cornwall and Scilly with at least some knowledge of Cornish. However, their level of fluency in Cornish is generally low, since most respondents stated they were only able to speak a few words and phrases, while only about one fifth were fully competent. Moreover, only fewer than one tenth of the speakers considered feeling at least equally at ease in Cornish and English. There are Cornish speakers in all genders, socio-economic groups and geographic settlements in similar percentages as the rest of the population (Section 3.1.2.5). Moreover, there are speakers in all economic sectors represented in Cornwall and Scilly. Three quarters of the Cornish speaking participants declared themselves to be of Cornish nationality (Section 2.3.1.10). Those who lived in towns over 10,000 inhabitants and male speakers appeared to be the most active and proficient in

using Cornish (Section 3.1.1). Cornish is relatively rare in social domains and even more in certain official or institutional domains (Sections 3.1.2.7 and 3.1.3). Nevertheless, the language is used in some contexts, such as religious services (Section 3.1.3.5) and media and technology (Section 3.1.3.4). On the other hand, in other key domains including education (Section 3.1.3.3), official use (Section 3.1.3.2) and the economy (Section 3.1.3.6), Cornish is almost non-existent.

The findings of this study depict a situation in which all the three groups under study namely, Cornish speakers, non-Cornish speaking Cornish nationals and those with no Cornish nationality living in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, consider the language an interesting cultural asset (Section 3.2.1.4). Cornish has some capacity to reflect Cornishness and a certain degree of political ideology (Section 3.2.1.4). Therefore, in view of the described situation, it is fair to state that old clichés about the language, as spoken by uneducated people, are no longer valid. Although, relatively few Cornish nationals are able to speak Cornish, based on the results of this study, a relatively high percentage of them agree to give more concessions to the language and its speakers in different ways. These include supporting official recognition for the language, using Cornish in street signing, using Cornish in education, and supporting the promotion of the language by the authorities (Section 3.2.2). This active support in favour of the language is often expressed in festivals and events. On the other hand, those who claim no Cornish nationality mostly exhibit apathetic or even negative views towards the language, although the viewpoints expressed by most participants implied that the extremely negative perceptions about it in past centuries are not applicable to the twenty-first century.

A second phase of this study was to present a successful model of language revitalisation in similar circumstances as those in Cornwall and Scilly. Rather than comparing the results of both cases, this step would help determine a number of successful language strategies in the European context which could be applied in the process of revitalisation of Cornish. Trebiñuko Enklabea, the Enclave of Trebiñu, a region in Spain where the Basque language has been recovered after approximately two centuries of its extinction in the area was identified. Common points between Trebiñu and the area of Cornwall and Scilly include the fact that both regions are part of bigger geo-political entities (England and Castile) with widely spoken languages who are traditionally not very likely to accept multilingualism within their borders. Both areas are also considered remote, rural and economically weak. Moreover, the languages promoted in both regions are apparently unrelated to the majority languages. The differences between the two areas, such as the state of the revived languages by the beginning of their respective revitalisation processes, the origin of the current population and the differences of total population were also considered in the thesis.

The second research question therefore focused on confirming whether Trebiñu could be considered a positive model for language revitalisation. In order to investigate the situation of the Basque language and the attitudes of the inhabitants of Trebiñu, the researcher consulted primary and secondary sources such as the sociolinguistic studies carried out by the Basque Government (2007 & 2012) and carried out a series of interviews and direct observation of the onsite and online language use by public institutions and businesses. In contrast with the situation described by the Cornish speaking community and the

population living in Cornwall and Scilly, the situation of Basque in Trebiñu was found to be much more favourable. After having been abandoned by, apparently, all the inhabitants of Trebiñu during the late 1700s or early 1800s due to negative attitudes such as its lack of prestige, Basque was reintroduced in the 1980s. The once widespread negative attitudes have disappeared, and Basque is generally perceived as a positive asset (Section 4.2). According to previous research and confirmed by this investigation, most inhabitants of Trebiñu support the use of Basque in public signage and education (Section 4.2.2). Approximately 40% of the population has become *euskaldunak* or Basque speakers, more than half of them fluent (Section 4.1.1). Basque, therefore, enjoys a relatively favourable situation in personal domains, which also provokes a strong pressure to be used in social and institutional domains. In addition, it is also used by local governments and by some local companies, which creates a certain positive disposition to continue the promotion of the language despite the negative attitudes of the provincial and regional governments. This positive situation has been achieved due to the effort of speakers, supporters and local authorities. All this makes Trebiñu a suitable model of language revitalisation for consideration in different contexts.

In response to the third research question, '*How have each country's language strategies affected the current situation of both languages and the attitudes of the population?*', some key points were identified. In the personal domain, most respondents see Cornish as a difficult and not so useful language (Section 5.2.2.1). A lack of fluent speakers and the disparate nature of them, are amongst the most prominent reasons why the use of Cornish in society is neglected (Section 5.2.2.3). These same reasons, along with scarcity of funds, lack of public pressure in favour of the language and lack of education in Cornish are behind the very limited use of Cornish in institutional domains (Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4). Moreover, the process of revitalising Cornish should be considered within a British Isles context, where non-English languages are generally viewed as identity tools rather than as communication tools, Welsh being the exception to this rule (Ó Riagáin, 2007: 235-236). For many new speakers of these languages, the command of a few words and expressions, rather than fluency, is enough to express their national or ethnic identity. In contrast with this situation, Trebiñu was helped by the strong, positive and relatable example of Catalonia, where it is the language that the person uses, what determine who he or she is, making of Catalan a communication tool rather than a lifeless symbol. Nowadays, even though many Basque speakers of Trebiñu experience similar circumstances as those found amongst Cornish speakers, such as language difficulty or lack of speakers, general support from society, including both Basque speakers and Spanish speakers, and the positive approach of the local authorities to overcome difficulties, has resulted in a region where the language is regarded as an asset in which many families are willing to invest their time, efforts and very often, a portion of their money.

Finally, in response to the fourth research question, '*Which strategies can be adapted to the revitalisation of Cornish based on the example of Trebiñu?*', a key point was identified as the base for further steps to revitalise Cornish: *it is necessary to re-instate the tradition of learning Cornish to speak it*, as was done in previous centuries. None of the examples of language revitalisation in the United Kingdom has produced a strong and lasting boosting effect in Cornwall as Catalan had in the Basque Country and Trebiñu, therefore, conditions to accomplish such effect must be created within Cornwall itself. For this reason, it is

absolutely necessary to have a strong, active and visible community of Cornish speakers. Based on this idea the three general points detailed below were identified to be developed urgently.

- *Visibility/audibility of the language*: Cornwall Council has been working on making Cornish visible in street and official building signage. However, it is the responsibility of the speakers to use Cornish while speaking, while requesting official information, in giving a name to their houses or businesses.
- *Strong support for the speakers and interested people*: The favourable authorities and all the language organisations and charities should work together in order to inform and create opportunities where people may see the value of the revived language. The promotion of a form of simplified Cornish was also considered as a way to increase fluency, mostly amongst adults.
- *Financial support*: As much as possible, financial support should depend on independent sources, such as speakers, supporters, etc. Nevertheless, this point would not exclude the need for requesting funds from the authorities.

The creation or even the process of creating of this strong community can change the perception of the language by those who do not speak it. This would make of Cornish an actual communication tool. Non-speakers may begin to see it as a *real* language that some of their neighbours speak. This in turn would lead to the development of other strategies, such as the two detailed here.

- *Introduction of Cornish in education*: This step, which would require the approval of the British government, would create a new generation of speakers, some of them fluent who would be able to employ Cornish naturally in different domains.
- *External collaboration*: Particularly Cornwall Council, but also some Cornish language organisations, should look for the maximum number of differents points of view from language revitalisation experiences around the world. This would enable the Cornish process to always have a number of resources to hand with different circumstances and problems.

Some of these points partly coincide with some aims expressed in the Cornish Language Strategy 2015-25 (Cornwall Council, 2017). However, this thesis has taken things a step further. It has identified the root of the problems that the Cornish language is still experiencing and, according to this particular situation, it has provided a set of realistic objectives and a detailed route on how to attain these goals. The application of these recommendations should lead to reinforcing the role of Cornish as an actual communication tool while avoiding maximalist objectives, which may position most of the population strongly against the process. This view includes some specific steps such as the creation of bilingual forms for different official procedures. The policy of street signage implemented by Cornwall Council must also be continued; however, it would be important to follow the recommendation based on some citizens' opinions of respecting designs and material of the old signs for the new ones. Another way to proceed is the gradual introduction of Cornish in the national curriculum, which would also ensure the creation of a new generation of fluent speakers. Despite the preference of total immersion programmes by many communities all over the world, in the case of Cornish, a partial immersion

programme would seem more appropriate (Amery, 2000: 209-212; Grenoble & Whaley, 2005: 56). This should be done in parallel with the preparation of material and training of teachers, since there was a lack of both of them at the time when this research was conducted.

The support for adult speakers requires some measures such as the creation of appropriate material for them and the introduction of a simplified form of Cornish language by Akademi Kernewek. Moreover, the continuity and increase of non-aggressive and free-from-politics language campaigns mostly by local authorities may attract more adults to learn some Cornish. Finally, the use and development of a number of tools such as the use of Cornish in the media and technology were also considered to be useful for helping speakers develop their skills in Cornish.

These recommendations provide a new perspective towards the language, moving from the current policy of Cornish as a *right* of the Cornish speakers to becoming a *resource* for all the inhabitants of the area (Ruiz, 1984). This would detach the language from any political or ethnic perspective, probably attracting more individuals who do not identify themselves as Cornish nationals, as well as enabling the language to become a tool to access more jobs to help support the learning a third language more easily, etc.

This research will contribute to the understanding of the current situation of Cornish in Cornwall (and Scilly). Moreover, it will help provide a clear perspective of how all members of Cornish society, including speakers, non-speakers, Cornish nationals and those who do not identify themselves with the Cornish nationality, perceive the language and its process of revitalisation. It is also hoped that this study will help to promote the Cornish language as a real communication tool and a cultural characteristic which unites all the inhabitants of Cornwall, instead of an imposed element that creates divisions amongst them.

7.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This study of course, like most studies, has potential limitations. The first one is the fact that, rather than a definitive comparative study, the research was a deep exploration of the state of two minority languages spoken in two different countries. Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to be in both locations for long periods of time. This may have affected the number of participants in each location. After a higher than expected participation in the questionnaire, only eight interviews and five comments were achieved in Cornwall and five interviews in Trebiñu. This might be due to the fact that some people/organisations were not interested in participating in such research due to their personal, political or national identification, or did not have the time to complete the questionnaires. Moreover, most interviewees were either Cornish or Basque speakers, which may put the languages and their revitalisation in a more positive light than is the case in reality. This potential weakness was well balanced by the use of other methodological approaches, such as the survey, use of primary and secondary sources and direct observation, all of them involving hundreds of individuals including Cornish speakers and non-Cornish speakers. For this reason, in future studies where interviewees

are involved, it would be advisable to consider the usage of other methodologies, such as consented informal conversations. This may create a more relaxed atmosphere in which the participants do not feel the weight of being part of a study. Another concern was the relatively short period of time in which the languages were monitored. The revitalisation of a language may take decades to be achieved. Therefore, the trends observed may change drastically and/or the projections may not be fulfilled as supposed. In order to have a wider view of the situation, the use of primary and secondary sources became of utmost importance. This way, the monitoring of the Cornish language included both the years in which this research was carried out (2016-2020) and also the previous two decades. Obviously, this does not exclude the need for continued monitoring of the situation in the future. In any case, it is safe to say that this study presents the most accurate portrait we have of the current situation of the prospects for Cornish language vitality.

7.2 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Any reasonably long sociolinguistic project will produce much more data than can be analysed in the course of a single study, and the approximately 400 participants of this project were no exception. The current research has identified the need for a balanced approach towards the promotion of Cornish and this could be extended further by paying greater attention to exactly how languages operate in minoritised situations and how they influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers, learners and other people living in the same area. There is a need, therefore, to continue monitoring the situation of the Cornish language, as well as possible changes in its perception within society due to the different strategies implemented to promote it.

The research has also shown that, the whole concept of 'community' as related to language appears problematic in general. Several, even opposing viewpoints about the minority language may be supported by members of the same 'group', while a percentage of those who do not specifically belong to that group, for example by ethnicity, background, etc., may also want to participate in the process of revitalising and using a minority language. A more in-depth study on these particular dynamics may help understand what prevents some and what attracts others to the language. Equally important would be the exploration of attitudes towards Cornish by those who apparently either show no interest or view themselves as 'neutral' actors in this issue. As previously pointed out (Section 3.2.1.1), this research may have attracted an unproportionate number of supporters and opposers, leaving the group in the middle with little voice. This group represent a large percentage of the population, as suggested by PFA Research (2007: 102–105), therefore their attitude may become a '*game-changer*' for the language. This, in turn, will help to address the issue of how to involve all the members of a community in a process of language revitalisation according to their needs and viewpoints. The results can be beneficial for the language, which may attain the objective of being a common tool of communication, and for the community as a whole, which will be culturally enriched, will strengthen its sense of community and will not perceive any imposition or threat in the existence and usage of a minority language.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. I am a PhD student at the University of Wales Trinity St David in Lampeter. I am inviting individuals over 16 and companies of the Isles of Scilly and Cornwall to fill a questionnaire (27 short questions; 10-15 minutes) about the attitudes and use of the Cornish language.

Either if you support the language or you are against it, either you speak Cornish, or you don't know a single word, your opinion is very welcome in any case. It is important since it may serve authorities to implement certain language policies in your hometown. Therefore, if you decide to fill the questionnaire, do it sincerely, it is absolutely anonymous. Should you have any question, you can write to me at siarl.research[at]yahoo.com.

Thank you very much for your collaboration in this project

C. Ferdinand

1) I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3) I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team.

4) I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.

5) I agree to take part in the above study.

Yes
No

2. How old are you? (please write your age in the box provided)

3. Are you male or female? (Please tick. One box only)

4. Where did you [mainly] live during your childhood (between 0 and 16)?

Cornwall	Isles of Scilly	Other

5. Where is your family from?

At least one parent from Cornwall	At least one parent from Scilly	Other

6. Where do you live most of the time? (Please tick. One box only)

Cornwall	Isles of Scilly	Other

7. How do you define your nationality? (Please tick. One box only)

Scillonian only	Scillonian and other	Cornish only	Cornish and other	Other

8.In which sector do/did you work? (Please tick. multiple answers allowed)

Farming, husbandry, fishing
Manufacturing, construction
Wholesale and retail trade
Accommodation and food services
Health, education and other professionals (doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers…)
Government and army
Student (no working experience)
Other

9.Do you live in… (Please tick)

A town/city over 10,000 inhabitants? (like Camborne, Truro, Penzance, etc.)
A town between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants? (like Liskeard, Hayle, St Ives…)
A small town or village (less than 5,000)? (like St Mary, Mousehole...)
A farm?

10. Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about the promotion of Cornish in Cornwall and Scilly

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Cornish should be made official					
b) Street signing must include Cornish					
c) Authorities must promote the use of Cornish					
d) Promoting Cornish is a waste of resources					

11. Please, say whether you agree with the following statements about education

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) A Cornish language subject should be required for all students in Cornwall and Scilly					
b) Schools in Cornwall and Scilly must be bilingual					
c) If children study Cornish, they'll never learn English properly					
d) Languages like French or German should be learnt instead of Cornish					

12. If you identify Cornish as the language spoken by a stranger, do YOU think that most probably...?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) His/her income is over the average					
b) His/her education is over the average					
c) He/she supports secessionist ideas					
d) He/she is a peasant					
e) He/she must be somebody important					
f) He/she is 'more Cornish' than the average					

13. If you spoke Cornish with a friend on the street, what do English speaking strangers who identify the language would most probably think about you?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) You earn more money than them					
b) You had better education					
c) You are a Cornish nationalist					
d) You are a peasant from a small village					
e) You are someone important					
f) You are a 'real Cornishman/woman'					

14. How good is the availability in Cornish in the following fields?

	I don't know	Very good	Fairly good	Not very good	Very deficient	Nothing or almost nothing
a) Education						
b) Media						
c) Internet						
d) Mobile telephony						
e) Online applications and programmes						
f) Governmental services						
g) Private services						

15. In your opinion, how do local authorities work in favour of the Cornish language in the following fields?

	I don't know	They do more than necessary	They do a lot	They do enough	They do not do much	They do (almost) nothing
a) Visibility of the language (such as in street signing)						
b) Primary and secondary education						
c) Commerce						
d) Official recognition, defence and use of the language						
e) Creation of opportunities to use the language						

16. In your opinion, which measures would be more convenient to enhance the use of Cornish?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Nothing. There is no need for Cornish					
b) Compulsory bilingual signs in shops and other private businesses					
c) Bilingual signing in public buildings					
d) Need of Cornish to access government and public jobs					
e) Creation of applications, programmes and websites in Cornish					

f) Celebs speaking (some) Cornish on TV					
g) More use of Cornish on TV and radio					
h) Use of badges by Cornish speakers					
i) Cornish must be taught in school					

17. Can you speak/write Cornish?

	Native or nativelike	Fluent user	Short conversations/texts	A few words and phrases	Basically nothing
a) Speak					
b) Write					

18. Can you understand Cornish?

	Yes, everything	Yes, most of it	Some general ideas	A few words and phrases	Very little or nothing
a) Spoken Cornish					
b) Written Cornish					

19. Which variety of revived Cornish do you use?

Standard Written Form (*Furv Skrifys Savonek*)
Common Cornish (*Kernewek Kemmyn*)
Unified Cornish (*Kernewek Unys*)
Unified Cornish Revised (*Kernewek Unys Amendys*)
Late Cornish (*Kernuack Nowedga*)
Other

20. Which language is easier for you to speak? (Please tick only one box)

Cornish
English
Equally comfortable in both
Other

21. What do you consider your main language (as answered in the 2011 Census)?

Cornish	English	Other

22. Please, say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about the Cornish language:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) I want to learn (or improve) Cornish					
b) Cornish is related to my national/ethnic identity					
c) Cornish is [almost] useless in my town					
d) Cornish is interesting					
e) Cornish is difficult for me					
f) I have no time for learning/improving Cornish					
g) Cornish is a low-class language					

23. How often do you speak Cornish with other people of your locality? (please tick only one box)

Never. I don't speak Cornish
Never or almost never. I know Cornish but I have no opportunities to use it
Only or mostly in class or in *yeth an gwerin* groups
Rarely (less than once a month)
Sometimes (maybe once or twice a month)
Often (at least weekly)
I speak it every day

24.How often would you like to use Cornish?

I would like to speak English only
I would like to speak mostly in English
I would like to speak equally English and Cornish
I would like to speak mostly in Cornish
I would like to speak always Cornish

25. What prevents you from using Cornish in your daily life? (Please, say how much you agree)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) Nothing, I can speak Cornish all the time					
b) Lack of opportunities (most people do not speak it)					
c) My own lack of fluency					
d) Lack of interest in learning and using it					
e) I cannot change my habit of speaking English					
f) Discouragement from others					
g) Association of the language with political ideas					
h) Association of the language with certain social stereotypes					

26. What language do/did you use in the following situations?

	Not applicable	Cornish only	More Cornish than English/oth	Same Cornish and English/oth	More English/oth than Cornish	English with some words in Cornish	English/oth only
a) At home as a child							
b) With your parents/guardians							
c) With your siblings							
d) With your husband/ wife / partner							
e) With your children							
f) With your friends							
g) At work/school							

h) On social networks, the Internet, sms						
i) In your daily activities						
j) To talk to strangers informally (asking the time, an address …)						

INTERVIEW 1

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

***If you decide to answer these questions, your name will not appear in my PhD dissertation or in any presentations, reports or articles related to this study unless you give your consent here:**

_____

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Nationality: British   **Any competence in Cornish:** I can recognise some words written

***What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?**

They are important for our heritage and identify where English comes from. English is the most spoken language – its roots need to be recorded.

***In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?**

YES. The Cornish language needs to be encouraged. Sadly, there is more interest in the language from <u>NON</u>-Cornish than native. Like Aborigine, Maori – The culture had a language which needs promoting.

***Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?**

YES

***Based on the survey that I carried out, why do you think that the support for using Cornish in education is relatively low although most people think that it is an interesting language?** (See Image)

A1) Cornish is interesting Non-Cornish nationals

Strongly disagree 10%
Disagree 10%
Not sure 22%
NA 0%
Strongly agree 10%
Agree 48%

A2) Cornish is interesting Cornish nationals

Strongly disagree 7%
Disagree 3%
Not sure 10%
Strongly agree 17%
Agree 63%

A3) Cornish is interesting Total

Strongly disagree 10%
Disagree 8%
Not sure 18%
Strongly agree 12%
Agree 52%

A1) Cornish must be used in education to enhance its use. Non-Cornish nationals

NA 13%
Strongly disagree 21%
Disagree 24%
Not sure 16%
Agree 21%
Strongly agree 5%

A2) Cornish must be used in education to enhance its use. Cornish nationals

Strongly disagree 12%
NA 5%
Strongly agree 12%
Agree 34%
Not sure 20%
Disagree 17%

A3) Cornish must be used in education to enhance its use. Total

NA 11%
Strongly disagree 19%
Disagree 22%
Not sure 17%
Agree 24%
Strongly agree 7%

Details about Cornish for the interviews

NO ANSWER

*If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, do you think it may affect…

-Cornish economy? Increasing our identity by promoting the language. More visitors spending into local economy

-Cornish/British policy? Language has to be the most fundamental as we have no unique physiological identity.

-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? NO ANSWER

-People's daily activities? If recognised, people would use it more; a spiral effect

*Have you got any other comment about this issue?

An example is the importance placed on the Gipsy Romany language/culture in UK. Cornish should have the same – not for a novelty – but we need to generate pride in the language.

There is not enough definition of what is 'being Cornish'. It needs to more than speaking the language (I speak Spanish but do not claim to be Spanish). Methodist religion is Cornish based!

True Cornish families should be engaged to promote their heritage, NOT incomers.

INTERVIEW 2 (LOVEDAY E.T. JENKIN)

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

***If you decide to answer these questions, your name will not appear in my PhD dissertation or in any presentations, reports or articles related to this study unless you give your consent here: ___Loveday E.T. Jenkin_____**

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Nationality: Cornish   **Any competence in Cornish:** Fluent

***What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?**

They have more support at all levels of government than Cornish does and have the benefit of devolved administrations to create the strategic plan and bid to Westminster.

***In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?**

Yes – particularly in Education at pre-school level and primary. Without this there is no opportunity for new generations to speak the language.

***Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?**

Yes – much more now than when I was growing up

***Based on the survey that I carried out, why do you think that the support for using Cornish in education is relatively low although most people think that it is an interesting language? (See Image)**

Because people don't believe it is possible from a capacity and financial perspective. They also worry about upsetting others and the standard of education

***If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, do you think it may affect…:**

-Cornish economy? Positively – studies have shown that Cornish culture (and language) is a positive impact on the economy from branding to highlighting quality and difference.

-Cornish/British policy? Yes – it will shame Westminster into fulfilling their obligations

-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? Yes – people will understand that the language belongs to them

-People's daily activities? Yes – more opportunities to speak and use the language

***Have you got any other comment about this issue?**

It might be useful to research people's attitudes to linguistic rights as well as education. People may feel that others have a right to a bilingual education even if they don't want it for themselves or their children.

INTERVIEW 3

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

If you decide to answer these questions, your name will not appear in my PhD dissertation or in any presentations, reports or articles related to this study unless you give your consent here:

_____

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Nationality: British   **Any competence in Cornish:** No

What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?

The curriculum is already crowded. I think our young people should be learning another language but don't believe Cornish would be the best help to them in their future careers.

In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?

No, but then I don't feel that the emphasis on Welsh is in the best interests of our young people either. The Cornish language is not going to be the first language for anybody in the future. Technological changes mean that, at best, it will be a hybrid language with English words having to be used throughout. I believe there are already at least three different versions with no agreement on which is the official one.

Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)? No.

Based on the survey that I carried out, why do you think that the support for using Cornish in education is relatively low although most people think that it is an interesting language? (See Image)

When there is pressure on funding for all services, this does not seem the best use of limited resources. This is partly because of the pressure on the curriculum and partly on the benefit for the students in the future. Learning something like mandarin for doing business globally in the future would surely be a better use of their time. I have no problem with people learning Cornish if they do it at their own expense and in their own time.

If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, do you think it may affect…:

-Cornish economy? No.

-Cornish/British policy? No.

-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? Only adversely by taking up time in the school day and cost.

-People's daily activities? No.

*Have you got any other comment about this issue? No.

INTERVIEW 4 (JORI ANSELL)

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

*If you decide to answer these questions, your name will not appear in my PhD dissertation or in any presentations, reports or articles related to this study unless you give your consent here: _____ **I consent: Jori Ansell**

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Nationality: **CORNISH** Any competence in Cornish: **4TH GRADE IN C.L.B. EXAMS**

*What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?

My knowledge is limited on this subject, but have noted recent problems with Irish in NI. Welsh appears to be progressing under the devolved government.

*In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?

We are obviously way behind Welsh in our development but should have appropriate opportunities, such as specification under Part III of the European Charter.

*Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?

YES

*Based on the survey that I carried out, why do you think that the support for using Cornish in education is relatively low although most people think that it is an interesting language? (See Image)

Perception of limited resources being taken up

* How many teachers would be available (especially for primary education) to teach Cornish in regular schools?

I have no idea: hopefully the current teaching staff would be interested in learning Cornish.

*If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, do you think it may affect…:

-Cornish economy? Yes: beneficially

-Cornish/British policy? Yes: making the Cornish more self-confident and able to demand more devolution

-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? NO ANSWER

-People's daily activities? NO ANSWER

*Have you got any other comment about this issue? NO ANSWER

INTERVIEW 5

This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD. I really appreciate this opportunity since the answers of (I believe) one of the leading personalities in Cornish education would be very important for the investigation and for the Cornish revival.

*If you decide to answer these questions, your name will not appear in my PhD dissertation or in any presentations, reports or articles related to this study unless you give your consent here:

_____

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Nationality: Welsh   **Any competence in Cornish?** Yes - conversational

*What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?

The native languages should be protected and promoted

*In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why or why not?

Yes, it would be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities, with the exception that native speakers should be given greater opportunities and because this only really applies to Welsh, this would mean some differences.

*Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?

Yes, but infrequently

*Based on the survey that I carried out, why do you think that the support for using Cornish in education is relatively low although most people think that it is an interesting language? (See Image)

People do not see the economic advantage of learning Cornish compared to another language. Also the language is still marginalised in society.

* You are one of the main supporters of the idea of introducing Cornish in education. Do you think there would be enough qualified teachers to help students to learn Cornish (especially in primary education)?

Not at all. There will possibly be enough people who would like to teach Cornish in primary school, but they will not be suitably qualified, especially to work with children of a younger age.

* Is there any strategy to increase the number of teachers?

I have designed and I have delivered over the last two years a short 10 week course for early years workers who want to introduce Cornish into the setting where they work, but numbers have been fairly low (10 in total so far).

* How do you think that the promotion of Cornish may affect…:

-Cornish economy? Will boost the economy

-Cornish/British policy? I am not sure what this means, but consideration for its use will need to be given

-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? Consideration will need to be given to how Cornish could be introduced. It may lead to some resentments developing towards the language among those people who do not see the benefit of the language.

-People's daily activities? It depends if the implementation of Cornish was voluntary or forced. The implementation needs to be gradual and sensitive.

*Have you got any other comment about this issue?

Over the years I have felt increasingly frustrated that the Cornish language community do not see the need of introducing the language to very young children and that this should be a priority. Many Cornish language learners I have encountered seem to think that adult evening classes are the most important way of developing the language and people seem happy to ghettoise the language; making it a hobby or a retirement past time.

INTERVIEW 6

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Thank you very much for your collaboration

* Would you be happy if I quote your name in the thesis, reports, articles, conferences, etc.? YES [ ] NO [x]

If you answered YES, by which name should I quote your words?_____

If you answered NO, you will be quoted as '*Interviewee No. X*'

* Nationality: British **Any competence in Cornish?**: Yes, near fluent

* What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?

Very important

* In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?

Yes, for Cornish identity.

* Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?

No

* If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, how do you think it may affect…:

A-Cornish economy? beneficail especially to tourism and more need for businesses to be based in Cornwal'

B-Cornish/British policy? helps devolution

C-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? better sense of identity

D-People's daily activities? not much

* Have you got any other comment about this issue?

Most important is to start with the young e.g. skolyow meythrin

INTERVIEW 7

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

Thank you very much for your collaboration

* Would you be happy if I quote your name in the thesis, reports, articles, conferences, etc.?   **YES [ ]**   **NO [x]**

If you answered YES, by which name should I quote your words?_____

If you answered NO, you will be quoted as '*Interviewee No. X*'

* Nationality: British **Any competence in Cornish?**: Fluent speaker/ teacher

* What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)?

Why haven't you included Cornish in this list? It does have status as a minority language.

The other languages are promoted far more, but they have the support of devolved governments in Scotland and Wales, and inclusion in the GFA in Northern Ireland. It could be argued that Ulster Scots is only being promoted for political reasons by the unionist parties.

* In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not?

Yes, although we currently don't have the infrastructure to do so. It's going to be a long time before certain jobs require bilingual candidates for example. However, Cornish can be taught under the primary national curriculum

* Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)?

Yes, many times

* If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, how do you think it may affect…:

Cornwall Council does support the language and promotes its use.

A-Cornish economy? It already has a positive effect on the economy. More and more Cornish businesses are using the language as part of their branding.

B-Cornish/British policy? Cornwall won't get a devolved government, unlikely even as part of a greater SW, but we do have presence on the British-Irish Council.

C-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? The council language office is working hard to increase the use of Cornish in local education.
NHS is a national organisation. It seems there is less autonomy for local trusts. At the moment there is not the need for translation services in the health sector as all Cornish speakers speak English.

D-People's daily activities? Many people already use Cornish in their daily activities and there is a growing movement to do so.

*) **Any other comment about this issue?**

INTERVIEW 8 (CLIVE PENWITH BAKER)

*This is an interview to complement a survey carried out during November and December 2016 about people's attitudes towards the Cornish language and its promotion. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation at the University of Wales TSD.

*You can express your opinion in your own words

*You can answer (or skip) the questions that you consider

* Please, send the document back to [email address]

Thank you very much for your collaboration

* Would you be happy if I quote your name in the thesis, reports, articles, conferences, etc.? **YES [X]** **NO [   ]**

If you answered YES, by which name should I quote your words? Clive Penwith Baker

If you answered NO, you will be quoted as '*Interviewee No. X*'

* Nationality: Cornish **Any competence in Cornish?**:Fluent

* What is your opinion on the promotion of the native UK languages other than English (namely Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots)? ....They all achieve a huge amount of financial support compared with Cornish

* In your opinion, would it be appropriate to give Cornish the same opportunities as, for example, Welsh in Wales? Why/Why not? Absolutely YES....Language is the root of all culture and no-one has the right to destroy another's culture

* Have you ever heard Cornish spoken by people on the street (informally)? Fairly regularly but by the same small group of people

* If Cornwall Council decides to go on with the promotion of Cornish, as happens in Wales with Welsh, how do you think it may affect…:

A-Cornish economy? My opinion is that it will improve the economy, driving forward new attitudes of pride in our language

B-Cornish/British policy? whilst Cornwall is first a part of Great Britain, it is kept down as the English race are not educated regarding our position as a country within Gt. Britain like Scotland Wales etc. They falsely believe we are a part of England.

C-Local services, such NHS, education, etc.? Total recognition of Cornwall's position may well do much to alleviate the second class position currently held with less money spent here on the NHS, education etc per head of Capita

D-People's daily activities? Again I see the people with their heads held high with pride and not cowed down before big brother

* Any other comment about this issue? Cornwall's future success and growth, depending on something other than the holiday industry where the profits are taken out of our home to be spent elsewhere, can be achieved with the growth in our language and all its offsprings

COMMENTS FROM PARTICIPANTS IN CORNWALL

COMMENT 1

Sent: Thursday, 20 October 2016, 9:21
Hi,

As a non-Cornish/person speaker I have just filled in your survey, from a non-/invested POV. However, I'd take issue with your format. As someone who think it's good to have a bit of culture, but thinks however that as a virtually dead language largely resurrected by non-Cornish at the outset, efforts to expand its usage within Cornwall Council is a costly mistake, and not just refunding. I have nothing against promoting Cornish as *choice* in schools etc. But your survey is loaded to show my responses as wholly anti the language, which clearly is not the case. It afford no opp for positive response, it's all or nothing. Now while my POV might not be what you want to hear, your survey will actually record an incorrect attitude from a responder like myself. There are lots of me's. Esp. those who have an interest in Local Gov & know how stretched funds are.

Let me demonstrate: as a local Cllr, and someone who spends much of my time devoted to looking after the concerns of a Conservation Area, I am horrified to see all our lovely old street signs removed in our CA, with no planning permission or consultation with the local community (doubtless they'll re-emerge in some vintage shop at vastly inflated prices) and replaced with plastic street signs, as part of Cornwall Council's effort to promote bilingualism. Available funds should be focussed on artistic and cultural uptake…not used to replace old street signs.

COMMENT 2

20 Oct 2016 at 18:30

Hello,

I started to answer this, but found the questions increasingly silly and lacking in credibility. In relation to questions 12 and 13 (which is as far as I got), the fact is that non-one speaks Cornish apart from a tiny number of people who cannot possibly use it on a day to day basis. I have lived in Cornwall for many years and have never met anyone who speaks fluent Cornish (or indeed never met anyone who knows someone who speaks fluent Cornish). On this basis, how is it possible to answer these questions?

Just thought I'd let you know in case you were under the impression that people actually speak the Cornish language in the real world!

Kind regards

COMMENT 3

October 22, 2016 at 12:09

Hello, may I point out nearly all 'Cornish' people use dialect as opposed to language. This is one of the reasons the language is not used as much as it could be. Different geographical areas use different dialects. West Penwith has a totally different set if words to the North Coast. Maybe this needs to be taken into consideration as it has a huge bearing on your results. I consider myself Cornish, my maternal family came over in 1025 from Brittany and the whole family tree has been researched and documented.

Regards

COMMENT 4

Sent: Tuesday, 4 October 2016, 11:33
Hi,

Thanks for your email, I have completed your survey, however, I feel that I should advise you that your research may be slightly flawed in that the questions would perhaps be more suited to speakers of the Welsh language in Wales.

The last person who genuinely spoke Cornish as a first language everyday at home died quite sometime ago. My parents are in their 60s, my grandparents are in their 80s and have lived in the heart of Cornwall all of our lives and have never, ever heard two people having a conversation in Cornish which makes it quite difficult to answer the question on how I would regard a Cornish speaker.

Just some friendly advice which I hope is helpful.

Best wishes,

COMMENT 5

Sent: 18 Mar 2017 at 17:41

Welsh is a living language and still spoken. Cornish is a completely phoney language MADE UP by the Institute of Cornish studies or some such name - DURING MY LIFETIME. IT IS NOT A LIVING LANGUAGE and never will be. They have stolen words from welsh and gaelic. It is an interesting academic exercise. My mother and all her ancestors were Cornish and I went to school in Truro.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEWS IN TREBIÑU

INTERVIEW 1 (BASQUE LANGUAGE OFFICE OF TREBIÑU)

ORIGINAL IN SPANISH

*Esta es una entrevista realizada para una investigacion doctoral en la Universty of Wales TSD sobre la reabilitacion del Euskara en Trebiñu y del Cornico (Kernewek) en Cornualles.

***Si decides contester las preguntas, que nombre y cargo debe aparecer con tus declaraciones? (indica si prefieres contester anonimamente):** Servicio de Euskera de los Ayuntamientos de Condado de Treviño y La Puebla de Arganzón.

_____

*Puedes expresar tu opinion con tus propias palabras **en EUSKARA, castellano o ingles**

*Puedes contestar u obviar las preguntas que tu consideres

Eskerrik asko! / Muchas gracias!

1) Que papel juega la _utilidad_ en la reabilitacion del Euskara en Trebiñu? Supongo que lo conoceras, pero junto a este cuestionario te envio el estudio sociolingüístico del Gobierno Vasco realizado en 2012 para el Enclave de Treviño.

El conocimiento de la lengua se ha incrementado notablemente en dos decadas. La mayor diferenciación surge de una generación a otra, con la escolarización de niños/as en modelos lingüísticos euskaldunes. Más de tres cuartas partes de los/as niños/as del Enclave de Treviño acuden a Álava para estudiar en euskera.

En cuanto a la utilidad es dificil hacer una valoración real. El castellano es el idioma predominante en la mayoria de las familias y en las calles de Treviño. Un factor clave es la no oficialidad del euskera en Treviño, lo cual condiciona que toda la administración pública y servicios básicos no sea bilíngüe. Pese a ello, en el ámbito educacional o sanitario, la mayoría de habitantes de Treviño acude a Vitoria, donde si es posible utilizar el euskera en servicios públicos.

Cuando hablamos de utilidad del euskera, muchas veces se vincula con la necesidad de esta para acceder al mercado laboral, ya que en la mayoría de puestos públicos es requisíto indispensable. Además de ello, el saber euskera o pertenecer al colectivo euskaldun, trae consigo un estatus sociocultural que también se podría vincular con el termino _utilidad._

2) Que papel juega la _identidad_ en la reabilitacion del Euskara en Trebiñu?

El factor identitario ha tenido un peso importante en las últimas decadas, sobretodo en la euskaldunización de adultos. El papel identitario tiene un plus en Treviño, donde el euskera no es oficial y la legua ha sido minorizada hasta unos números alarmantes. La lengua ha sido un claro vínculo con el País Vasco. Pese a ello, la revitalización de la lengua, sobretodo de las nuevas generaciones se ha realizado de manera mucho más natural y no tan unida al ámbito ideológico.

3) Hay algun otro factor para explicar el exito del renacimiento del Euskara en Trebiñu?

La inercia geográfica que los habitantes de Treviño han tenido con Álava, ha traido consigo un vínculo natural de las nuevas generaciones con el euskera. Los movimientos sociales y políticos han logrado superar las barreras admisnitrativas en varios aspectos como el de la educación, elemento básico en la revitalización de la lengua.

4) Para muchas personas, el idioma se relaciona con la politica y las lenguas minoritarias con ideologias revolucionarias que causan division y rompen estados. Esta la reabilitacion del Euskara relacionada con algun tipo de ideologia politica? O estan los hablantes motivados por una possible independencia de Euskal Herria?

Es innegable que el euskera siempre ha estado y estará relacionada con una linea política. El euskera ha sido y es una lengua minorizada y sus hablantes no han tenido y no tienen sus derechos lingüísticos garantizados. Esta situación ha creado un vínculo inevitable con ciertas linea políticas que defienden dichos derechos, contra las que lo vulneran. Pero, en la revitalización del euskera, el distinguir el valor de la lengua y toda ideología política es uno de los elementos más importantes. La lengua es el principal elemento de toda identidad vasca, sea cual sea su tendencia social, político o ideológica. Es muy importante distinguir el ámbito ideológico del lingüístico y tener en cuenta que por encima de todo pensamiento político debe prevalecer la revitalización de una lengua minotiraria.

5) Desde un punto de vista practico. Que se esta haciendo en Trebiñu para solucionar problemas como:

-Apatia de la gente para aprender y usar Euskara? Campañas de concieciación del valor del bilingüismo, valor y aportación de los modelos lingüísticos educacionales en euskera... Todos estos ámbitos se trabajan especialmente con las nuevas generaciones.

-Falta de fondos del gobierno de Castilla y León? Los fondos para la revitalización del euskera solamente provienen del Gobierno Vasco y Álava.

-Falta de un ambiente euskaldun? Aunque es innnegable que el ambiente predominante en Treviño es castellano-hablante, hay un sector muy amplio euskaldun. Las mayoria de fiestas o actos se realizan en ambientes euskaldunes. Todos los programas del ámbito de ocio organizados por los Ayuntamientos dirigidos a niños/as se realizan en euskera. Y por último, la Ikastola de La Puebla de Arganzón a traido consigo la apertura a un entorno euskaldun amplio y consistente.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

*This is an interview for a PhD Research at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David (Wales) about the revitalisation project of Basque in Trebiñu and Cornish in Cornwall.

*If you decide to answer the questions, what name and occupation can I use for the report (please, tell whether you prefer to remain anonymous): **Basque Language Office of the councils of Trebiñuko Konderria and Argantzun**.

*Please, feel free to express your opinion in your own words in Basque, Spanish or English

*You can answer or skip any of the questions

Thank you very much! / Eskerrik asko!

1) What role does utility play in the reabilitation of Euskara in Trebiñu? I suppose you will know, but next to this questionnaire I send you the sociolinguistic study of the Basque Government made in 2012 for the Enclave of Trebiñu.

The knowledge of the language has increased notably in two decades. The greatest differentiation arises from one generation to another, with the schooling of children in Basque language models. More than three quarters of the children of the Enclave of Trebiñu come to Araba to study in Basque.

As for the utility, it is difficult to make a real assessment. Castilian is the predominant language in most families and in the streets of Trebiñu. A key factor is the lack of official Basque language in Trebiñu, which means that all public administration and basic services are not bilingual. In spite of this, in the educational or health area, the majority of inhabitants of Trebiñu go to Vitoria-Gasteiz, where it is possible to use Basque in public services.

When we speak about the usefulness of the Basque language, it is often linked to the need to access the labour market, since in most public positions it is an essential requirement. In addition, knowing Basque or belonging to the Euskaldun collective, brings with it a sociocultural status that could also be linked to the term utility.

2) What role does identity play in the revitalisation of Euskara in Trebiñu?
The identity factor has had an important weight in the last decades, especially in adult Basque-speaking. The role of identity has a plus in Trebiñu, where the Basque language is not official, and the language has been minorised to alarming numbers. The language has been a clear link with the Basque Country. In spite of this, the revitalization of the language, above all of the new generations, has been carried out in a much more natural way and not so linked to the ideological field.

3) Is there any other factor to explain the success of the rebirth of Euskara in Trebiñu?
The geographical inertia that the inhabitants of Trebiñu have had with Araba, has brought with it a natural bond of the new generations with the Basque language. The social and political movements have managed to overcome the admissions barriers in several aspects such as education, a basic element in the revitalization of the language.

4) For many people, language is related to politics and minority languages with revolutionary ideologies that cause division and break states. Is the reactivation of Euskara related to some kind of political ideology? Or are the speakers motivated by a possible independence of Euskal Herria?
It is undeniable that Basque has always been and will be related to a political line. Euskera has been and is a minority language and its speakers have not had and do not have their guaranteed linguistic rights. This situation has created an inevitable link with certain political lines that defend these rights, against those that violate it. But, in the revitalization of the Basque language, distinguishing the value of language and all political ideology is

one of the most important elements. Language is the main element of any Basque identity, whatever its social, political or ideological tendency. It is very important to distinguish the ideological field from the linguistic one and keep in mind that, above all political thought, the revitalization of a minority language must prevail.

5) From a practical point of view. What is being done in Trebiñu to solve problems such as:

- Apathy of the people to learn and use Euskara? Campaigns for the recognition of the value of bilingualism, value and contribution of the linguistic educational models in Basque ... All these areas are worked especially with the new generations.

- Lack of funds from the government of Castile and León? The funds for the revitalization of the Basque language come only from the Basque Government and Araba.

- Lack of an Euskaldun environment? Although it is undeniable that the predominant environment in Trebiñu is Spanish-speaking, there is a very broad Basque-speaking area. The majority of parties or events are held in Euskaldun environments. All the programs of the leisure area organized by the Town Halls aimed at children are carried out in Basque. And finally, the Ikastola of Argantzun brought with it the opening to a broad and consistent Euskaldun environment.

INTERVIEW 2 (EKAITZ LOTINA ARANA)

ORIGINAL IN SPANISH

*Esta es una entrevista realizada para una investigación doctoral en la Universty of Wales Trinity Saint David (País de Gales) sobre el bilingüismo en el Enclave de Treviño y en Cornualles.

*Por favor, expresa tu opinión con tus propias palabras, tan largo o corto como pienses

*Puedes contestar u obviar las preguntas que tu consideres

Muchas gracias! / Eskerrik asko!

* **Nombre (opcional):** Ekaitz Lotina Arana

* **Profesión (para la estadística): Profesor de la Ikastola de Argantzun**

* **¿Puedes conversar en euskera? (elige una):** Sí **x** / Limitado □ / [Básicamente] No □

* **1 de 5) Hoy en dia, casi la mitad de la población del Enclave dice tener conocimientos de euskera...**

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>utilidad</u> (como por ejemplo la posibilidad de mejores trabajos) en ésto?

1-Dentro del Enclave la utilidad del Euskara cara a obtener trabajo es muy limitada. Se reduce a unos pocos lugares en los que sería necesario: La ikastola, La escuela infantil de treviño (0-3 años) y colonias de verano.

Sin embargo, en el territorio oficial de Álava, que rodea al enclave, el Euskera es oficial y es considerado y tomado en cuenta (en distinta medida) a la hora de optar a la mayoría de puestos de trabajo relacionados con la administración. En educación, por ejemplo, es casi imprescindible, pues la demanda por parte de las familias de modelos lingüisticos que no se impartan en Euskera es bastante minonitaria.

En otros ámbitos relacionados con la administración, creo que se valora, pero no se exige ni puntua en la misma medida la hora de acceder a puestos de trabajo (salud, administración, ...), pero lo desconozco.

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>autoidentificación</u> [como vasco] en ésto?

Son distintos los motivos que impulsan a la gente a acercarse al Euskara.

Hoy en día, relacionado con la pregunta anterior, la mayoría de la gente ve que el **Euskera es util para trabajar** en el futuro y al margen de su conocimiento del idioma, opta por el modelo D (integramente en Euskara) a la hora de matricular a sus hij@s en la Escuela. En este momento solamente la Ikastola ofrece esa opción dentro del Enclave (hasta los 6 años), aunque son númerosos los niños que son recogidos en el Enclave en autobús para

ser transportados a la Álava oficial para estudiar en una escuela de modelo D de carácter público (gratuita). No es posible, principalmente por falta de voluntad de Burgos, que ningún centro del enclave, imparta la educación en Euskera y que sea gratuito.

Indudablemente, otras familias se acercan al Euskara porque creen que es importante que sus hijos e hijas aprendan la lengua, motivados por su sentimiento como vascos.

No son muy numerosos, dentro del Enclave, los adultos que sin conocer el idioma opten por matricularse en cursos de Euskera para aprenderlo. Creo que no superarán la docena en la actualidad.

Hay que reseñar, que gran parte de la población actual del Enclave, se ha acercado dese la Álava oficial a vivir en él, por lo que son necesariamente vascos y se sienten así.

- ¿Qué papel tienen los <u>puntos de vista políticos</u> (Álava ≠ Burgos; Euskadi ≠ España) en ésto?

Que Treviño pertenezca a Burgos en la actualidad no es sino una anomalía histórica, que en la actualidad no representa la voluntad de la mayoría de sus ciudadanos ni de sus dos ayuntamientos.

* 2 de 5) En tu opinión ¿el euskera se percibe como una característica positiva en Treviño?
Indudablemente, para la mayoría de la población el Euskera es positivo. Diría que son muy pocos quienes lo pueden ver como negativo.

Otra cosa es la importancia que los habitantes dan a este tema en el día a día, que a mi juicio no es excesiva. Pero ante la pregunta de si se está a favor del Euskera o no, creo que ganaría de manera aplastante el sí.

* 3 de 5) ¿Los vascoparlantes usan el euskera en su vida cotidiana en Treviño? ¿Cuánto euskera se puede escuchar en las calles?

Yo me encuentro condicionado por el entorno en el que trabajo (en la Ikastola) y estoy seguro de que mi realidad diaria no se corresponde con la que existe fuera de la Ikastola.

En la calle no es fácil escuchar Euskara. Se habla entre los que saben hablarlo con facilidad, pues como sucede en el resto de Euskal Herria, es muy distinto el número de conocedores del Euskera y el de hablantes. Mucha gente que lo conoce, no se atreve a hablar por falta de fluidez para hablarlo, timidez, miedo a hablar de manera incorrecta, ...

Hay algunas familias que si lo hablan, o al menos uno de los progenitores con los hijos. Lo que es bastante claro es que hoy en día todos los euskaldunes de Treviño se conocen más o menos entre ellos y de manera natural se relacionan en Euskara cuando se encuentran (no es demasiado fácil "encontrarse" de manera "accidental", el enclave se compone de más de 50 pueblos).

Recientes estudios en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca reseñaban que la utilización del Euskara aumentaba en las situaciones en las que había niños alrededor. A veces hablado por los niños y otras veces por adultos que se dirigían a ellos (aunque esos mismos adultos

no utilizasen despúes el Euskera para hablar con otros adultos). Creo que en Trebiño también pasa eso.

La situación es bastante similar a la de otras comarcas de Álava.

De todas formas, no puedo dar una visión demasiado real, pues la mayoría de mi tiempo en el enclave lo paso en la Ikastola (vivo en Vitoria, Álava Oficial, a 18 kilómetros de Argantzun).

* 4 de 5) ¿Percibes alguna oposición a la implementación del euskera en Treviño (considerando que pertenece a Burgos)?

Por parte de los habitantes de Trebiño o de sus ayuntamientos no percibo ninguna oposición a la implementación del Euskara en el Enclave.

Sin embargo, sí percibo oposición por parte de la administración Burgalesa, que por ejemplo, no permite que el Gobierno Vasco subvencione de manera directa la enseñanza en Euskera y al mismo tiempo se niega a subvencionarla precisamente por ser en Euskera. Obviamente, el Euskera no es oficial en el Enclave.

Creo también que el Gobierno Vasco tendría margen de mejora en cuanto al impulso del Euskera en Treviño.

Hay que decir también que la Diputación de Álava subvenciona el sueldo a media jornada de un "Técnico de Euskera" para el cuidado del Euskara y su fomento en el enclave, al igual que hace en el resto de "cuadrillas" (comarcas) de Álava.

* 5 de 5) ¿Algún otro comentario que te gustaría agregar?

je,je, (risas)...como habrás observado he ido introduciendo varias cosas para "acompañar" a mis respuestas.

Quienes trabajamos o vivimos en el Enclave y al mismo tiempo amamos el Euskera, seguimos adelante motivados precisamente por ese cariño hacia nuestro idioma.

Aunque pudiera parecer, que contamos con una situación privilegiada si miramos a otros lugares del mundo en los que existen lenguas minoritarias, a nosotros nos parece que siempre se puede hacer mucho más y por ello no nos cansamos de dirigirnos a las instituciones para que no olviden a Trebiño y que recuerden que es muy complicado que el Euskara.

A continuación te describo mi trayectoria personal respecto al Euskera, que creo que puede coincidir con la de bastante gente de mi generación y posteriores dentro de la provincia de Álava (Trebiño incluido).

Por último, como profesional, habitante de Álava desde mi nacimiento y conocedor del Euskara gracias a que mis padres (que prácticamente no lo hablaban) se interesaron por el idioma, me matricularon en una Ikastola y me inculcaron un gran vínculo afectivo hacia él.

El proceso que yo he vivido respecto al Euskara, ha sido el de aprenderlo desde muy pequeño, primero en casa de forma bastante básica debido al escaso nivel de mis padres (en casa de mis padres se hablaba normalmente en castellano).

Después pasé a la Ikastola, donde hablaba en Euskara con mis profesores, pero generalmente en castellano con mis amigos. Siempre mantuve un vínculo con el Euskera y no perdí fluidez pero algunos de mis compañeros, debido al escaso uso del idioma si la perdieron.

Después, aproximadamente al llegar a la Universidad fui dándome cuenta de la importancia del Euskera y decidí que quería que jugase un papel fundamental en mi vida.

Lo fui hablando cada vez más, y hace ya muchos años que lo domino completamente en cualquier situación.

Con lo anterior quiero decir, que este proceso que yo he vivido puede ser el de muchos jóvenes de mi generación, quienes durante unos años no han sido conscientes de la importancia del idioma, incluso algunos lo han tenido "dormido" para recuperarlo y volverlo a usar con total consciencia de la importancia que tiene desde el punto de vista identitario como vascos y diferenciador respecto al resto del Estado Español. No diremos que somos mejores ni peores. Tenemos nuestra cultura y nuestra lengua, la amamos y queremos que perdure para las siguientes generaciones.

Como anécdota, mi hijo mayor de tres años y medio, no conoce prácticamente el castellano aunque vive en una ciudad de 250.000 habitantes en la que predomina el castellano y el Euskara lo hablan habitualmente un pequeño porcentaje de sus habitantes, aunque son muchísimos más los que lo conocen. No dudo que mi hijo aprenderá con gran facilidad el castellano de poco a poco.

Para finalizar, añadir solamente un fenómeno que influye en la gran diferencia entre el conocimiento y la utilización del Euskera: pondré una situación como ejemplo.

En un contexto o situación en el que se juntan 7 personas de las cuales 6 conocen el Euskera y uno no lo conoce, lo más habitual suele ser que tras un rato, las conversaciones acaben siendo en castellano, puesto que todos los hablantes de Euskera conocen también el castellano, pero el castellano hablante no conoce el Euskera.

De este modo, la gente pierde espacios de habla del Euskera, pierde costumbre de hablarlo y puede tambien ir perdiendo capacidad.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

*This is an interview for a PhD Research at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David (Wales) about bilingualism in the Enclave of Trebiñu and Cornwall.

*Please, feel free to Express your opinion in your own words, as long or short as you need

*You can answer or skip any of the questions

Thank you very much! / Eskerrik asko!

* **Name (optional):** Ekaitz Lotina Arana

* **Occupation: Teacher at Ikastola de Argantzun**

* **Can you speak Basque?** Yes **x** / Limited □ / No □

* **1 of 5) Today, almost half the population of the Enclave says they have (at least some) knowledge of Basque ...What is the role of usefulness (such as the possibility of better jobs) in this?**

Within the Enclave the Basque language's usefulness in getting a job is very limited. It is reduced to a few places where it would be necessary: The ikastola, the Trebiñu nursery school (0-3 years old) and summer camps.

However, in the official territory of Araba, which surrounds the Enclave, the Basque language is official, and it is considered and taken into account (to a certain extent) when it comes to opting for the majority of jobs related to administration. In education, for example, it is almost essential, since the demand on the part of families for linguistic models that are not taught in Basque is rather minimal.

In other areas related to the government, I think it is valued, but it is not required or considered to the same extent when accessing jobs (health, administration, ...), but I don't know.

- What is the role of self-identification [as a Basque] in this?

The reasons that move people to approach Basque are different. Nowadays, related to the previous question, most people see that the Basque language is useful for having a job in the future and regardless of their knowledge of the language, they opt for the D model (through the medium of Basque only) when registering to his children at the school. At this moment only the Ikastola offers that option within the Enclave (up to 6 years old), although there are numerous children who are picked up in the Enclave by bus to be brought to Araba to study in D-model public schools (free of charge). [In Trebiñu] it is not possible for any centre to offer free education through the medium of Basque, mainly due to lack of willingness of Burgos.

Undoubtedly, other families come to the Basque language because they believe that it is important that their sons and daughters learn the language, motivated by their identification as Basques.

In the Enclave, there are not many non-Basque speaking adults who decide to enrol in Basque courses. In this moment, I don't think there are more than a dozen.

It should be noted that much of the current population of the Enclave has arrived to live here from Araba, so they are necessarily Basques and feel that way.

- What is the role of political points of view (Araba≠Burgos; Basque Country≠Spain) in this?

Trebiñu being a part of Burgos is not but a historical anomaly. It does not represent the will of the majority of its citizens nor of its two councils.

* 2 of 5) In your opinion, is the Basque language perceived as a positive feature in Trebiñu?

Undoubtedly, for the majority of the population, the Basque language is a positive feature. I would say that there are very few who may see it as negative.

Another thing is the importance that the inhabitants give to this topic in the day to day, which in my opinion is not excessive. But when asked if one is in favour of the Basque language or not, I think that 'yes' would overwhelmingly win.

* 3 of 5) Do Basque speakers use Basque in their daily life in Trebiñu? How much Basque can you hear on the streets?

I am conditioned by the environment in which I work (in the Ikastola) and I am sure that my daily reality does not correspond to the one that exists outside the Ikastola.

In the street it is not easy to hear Basque. It is spoken among those who know how to speak it fluently, because, as in the rest of the Basque Country, the number of those who are fluent and those who know some Basque is very different. Many people who know it do not dare to speak for lack of fluency, shyness, fear of speaking incorrectly...

There are some families, or at least one of the parents, that do speak it with their children. What is quite clear is that nowadays all the Basque speakers of Trebiñu more or less know each other and relate naturally in Basque when they meet (it is not too easy to 'meet' in an 'accidental' way, since the Enclave consists of more than 50 villages).

Recent studies in the Basque Autonomous Community reported that the use of Euskara increased in situations where there were children around. Sometimes it is spoken by children and other times by adults who speak to them (although those same adults do not use Basque afterwards to talk with other adults). I think this also happens in Trebiñu. The situation is quite similar to that of other regions of Araba.

Anyway I cannot give a very real vision, because most of my time in the Enclave I am in the Ikastola (I live in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Araba, 18 kilometres from Argantzun).

* 4 out of 5) Do you perceive any opposition to the promotion of Basque in Trebiñu (considering that it is a part of Burgos)?

I do not perceive any opposition from the local councils or the inhabitants of the Enclave to the promotion of the Basque language.

However, I do perceive opposition from the provincial government of Burgos. For example, they not only refuse to support (subsidise) education in Basque because it is in this language, but also, they do not allow the Basque Government to directly subsidise it. Obviously, Basque is not an official language in the Enclave.

I also think that the Basque Government would have room for improvement in terms of the promotion of the Basque language in Trebiñu.

We must also say that the Provincial Government of Araba subsidises the part-time salary of a Basque language officer to care of the language and its promotion in the Enclave. They do the same in the rest of '*kuadrillak*' (districts or counties) of Araba.

* 5 out of 5) Any other comments that you would like to add?

As you will have observed I have been introducing several other things to 'accompany' my answers.

Those of us who work or live in Enclave and at the same time we love the Basque language, we go ahead motivated precisely by that love for our language.

If we look at other places in the world where there are minority languages, it might seem that we have a privileged situation. However, it seems to us that there is much that can be done. For this reason, we do not give up going to the institutions so that they do not forget Trebiñu and remember that the situation of the Basque language is very complicated here.

Here, I describe my personal trajectory regarding the Basque language, which I think may coincide with that of many people of my generation and later in the province of Araba (Trebiñu included).

I am a professional, inhabitant of Araba from my birth and fluent in Basque. It is so thanks to my parents, who despite not being fluent in Basque, became interested in the language and decided to enrol me in an ikastola. This instilled a great bond between me and the language.

The process that I have lived with respect to the Basque language started learning it from a very young age. First, it was at home at home, in a very basic way due to the low level of my parents (at home we usually spoke Spanish). Then, I went to the ikastola, where I use to speak Basque with my teachers, but generally Spanish with my friends. I always maintained a link with the Basque language and I did not lose fluency. However, some of my classmates, due to their scarce use of the language, they lost it.

Then, after arriving at the university, I realized the importance of the Basque language and decided that I wanted it to play a main role in my life.

I started to use it more and more. Now, it has been many years that I have become totally fluent in any situation.

With this, I mean that this process that I have lived, may be that of many young people of my generation. There are many who, for a few years have not been aware of the importance of the language. Some have even had it 'dormant' before recovering it and returning to use it with full awareness of the importance it has from the point of view of Basque identity and in contrast with the rest of the Spanish State. We do not say that we are better or worse. We have our culture and our language, we love it and we want it to last for the next generations.

As an anecdote, my eldest son, who is three and a half years, practically does not know Spanish although he lives in a city of 250,000 inhabitants in which Spanish predominates and Basque is usually spoken by a small percentage of its inhabitants (although there are

many more who have some knowledge of it). I do not doubt that my son will learn Spanish with great ease little by little.

To finish, add only one phenomenon that influences the great difference between the knowledge and the use of the Basque language. I will put a situation as an example.

In a context or situation in which seven people meet, of them six know Basque and one does not. The most usual thing is that after a while, the conversations end up being in Spanish, since all the speakers of Basque language know also Spanish, but the Spanish speaker does not know the Basque language. In this way, people lose domains for speaking Basque, they lose the habit of speaking it and they may also lose their capacity.

INTERVIEW 3 (PILU)

ORIGINAL IN SPANISH

*Esta es una entrevista realizada para una investigación doctoral en la Universty of Wales Trinity Saint David (País de Gales) sobre el bilingüismo en el Enclave de Treviño y en Cornualles.

*Por favor, expresa tu opinión con tus propias palabras, tan largo o corto como pienses

*Puedes contestar u obviar las preguntas que tu consideres

Muchas gracias! / Eskerrik asko!

* **Nombre (opcional):** Pilu

* **Profesión (para la estadística):** comercial

* **¿Puedes conversar en euskera? (elige una):** Sí X / Limitado □ / [Básicamente] No□

* **1 de 5) Hoy en dia, casi la mitad de la población del Enclave dice tener conocimientos de euskera...**

La gente mayor menos, los niños y jóvenes de menos de treinta años casi todos

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>utilidad</u> (como por ejemplo la posibilidad de mejores trabajos) en ésto?
En el enclave no está valorado el conocimiento del euskara para trabajar. Solo en la ikastola

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>autoidentificación</u> [como vasco] en ésto?
Si nuestras interés por el euskara está clara tu identidad vasca

- ¿Qué papel tienen los <u>puntos de vista políticos</u> (Álava ≠ Burgos; Euskadi ≠ España) en ésto?
Trebiño ≠ burgos diría yo

* **2 de 5) En tu opinión ¿el euskera se percibe como una característica positiva en Treviño?**
Si

* **3 de 5) ¿Los vascoparlantes usan el euskera en su vida cotidiana en Treviño? ¿Cuánto euskera se puede escuchar en las calles?**
Muy poco. Al o ser conocido por todos es más difícil utilizarlo

* **4 de 5) ¿Percibes alguna oposición a la implementación del euskera en Treviño (considerando que pertenece a Burgos)?**
Por parte de Burgos apoyo cero. Las instituciones vascas tampoco apoyan mucho

* **5 de 5) ¿Algún otro comentario que te gustaría agregar?**

El euskara tanto en Trebiñu como en araba necesita mucho apoyo institucional y mucha ayuda para que la situación. Pueda normalizarse. Hay mucho trabajo por hacer por parte de todos, los euskaldunes los primeros, deberíamos hablarlo más, pero al ser un idioma q muchos desconocen pues lo dejamos en segundo plano.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

*This is an interview for a PhD Research at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David (Wales) about bilingualism in the Enclave of Trebiñu and Cornwall.

*Please, feel free to Express your oppinion in your own words, as long or short as you need

*You can answer or skip any of the questions

Thank you very much! / Eskerrik asko!

* Name (optional): Pilu

* Profession (for statistics): businesswoman

* Can you converse in Basque? (choose one): Yes x / Limited □ / [Basically] No □

* 1 of 5) Today, almost half the population of the Enclave says they have (at least some) knowledge of Basque ...

Older people less, children and young people under thirty almost all of them.

- What is the role of usefulness (such as the possibility of better jobs) in this?

Except for the ikastola, the knowledge of Basque is not valued for working in the Enclave.

- What is the role of self-identification [as a Basque] in this?

If you show your interest for the Basque language, your Basque identity becomes evident.

- What is the role of political points of view (Araba≠Burgos; Basque Country≠Spain) in this?

Trebiñu ≠ Burgos, I would say

* 2 of 5) In your opinion, is the Basque language perceived as a positive feature in Trebiñu?

Yes

* 3 of 5) Do Basque speakers use Basque in their daily life in Trebiñu? How much Basque can you hear on the streets?

Very little. Since it is not spoken by everybody, it is more difficult to use it.

* 4 out of 5) Do you perceive any opposition to the promotion of Basque in Trebiñu (considering that it is a part of Burgos)?

Burgos does not support it at all. The Basque institutions do not support much either.

* 5 out of 5) Any other comments that you would like to add?

The Basque language in both, Trebiñu and Araba, needs a lot of institutional support and a lot of help to accomplish a stable language situation. There is a lot of work to be done by everybody, firstly from the Basque speakers, since we should use it more. Since it is an unknown language for many, we usually leave it in 'the background'.

INTERVIEW 4

ORIGINAL IN SPANISH

*Esta es una entrevista realizada para una investigación doctoral en la Universty of Wales Trinity Saint David (País de Gales) sobre el bilingüismo en el Enclave de Treviño y en Cornualles.

*Por favor, expresa tu opinión con tus propias palabras, tan largo o corto como pienses

*Puedes contestar u obviar las preguntas que tu consideres

Muchas gracias! / Eskerrik asko!

C. Ferdinand (si necesitas más información: [email address])

* **Nombre (opcional):**

* **Profesión (para la estadística):** Funcionario

* **¿Puedes conversar en euskera? (elige una):** Sí X / Limitado □ / [Básicamente] No □

* **1 de 5) Hoy en dia, casi la mitad de la población del Enclave dice tener conocimientos de euskera...**

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>utilidad</u> (como por ejemplo la posibilidad de mejores trabajos) en ésto?

Evidentemente el factor de la utilidad es un elemeto directo e indispensable en la motivación de los nuevos euskaldunes. Como medida de política lingüística la obligatoriedad en el ámbito laboral es una medida clave. Los datos demuestran que los porcentajes de euskaldunización en puestos con obligatoriedad son mucho mayores que en los puestos donde no están obligados. En Treviño se dan las mismas cifras que en el resto de Álava.

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>autoidentificación</u> [como vasco] en ésto?

Este es otro elemento importante. El factor militante o identitario es clave en la motivación para aprender euskera. En el sur de Euskal Herria, es decir, en Álava y Navarra, en las zonas más castellano hablantes el ser euskaldun es un elemento que refuerza considerablemente el sentido identitario.

- ¿Qué papel tienen los <u>puntos de vista políticos</u> (Álava ≠ Burgos; Euskadi ≠ España) en ésto?

Por desgracia el tema lingüístico está totalmente politizado en todo EH. Se vincula el saber euskera con ciertas ideas políticas y sería un gran logro poco a poco y con las nuevas generaciones superar esos clichés políticos y que gente de todas las tendencias políticas hablará euskera con normalidad. Hoy día está totalmente politizado. Por eso, cuando queremos insertar el euskera en terrenos donde todavía no está inmerso hay que actuar con mucho tacto.

* **2 de 5) En tu opinión ¿el euskera se percibe como una característica positiva en Treviño?**

Si. La gran parte de la población lo tiene como un idioma propio al igual que en álava. Los últimos años además creo que se esta generalizando y expandiendo una actitud positiva.

* **3 de 5) ¿Los vascoparlantes usan el euskera en su vida cotidiana en Treviño? ¿Cuánto euskera se puede escuchar en las calles?**

Algunos/as si. No son pueblos con mucha vida en la calle y la verdad es que el euskera se oye muy poco en la calle.

* **4 de 5) ¿Percibes alguna oposición a la implementación del euskera en Treviño (considerando que pertenece a Burgos)?**

Si. La escuela pública de Treviño no enseña euskera a los/as niños/as. Por parte de las formaciones políticas locales, no hay impedimentos, aunque si que hay niveles de motivación diferentes. Las formaciones de Burgos si que ponen impedimentos para la normalización.

* **5 de 5) ¿Algún otro comentario que te gustaría agregar?**

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

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*Please, feel free to express your opinion in your own words, as long or short as you need

*You can answer or skip any of the questions

Thank you very much! / Eskerrik asko!

* Name (optional):

* Profession (for statistics): Official at the council

* Can you converse in Basque? (choose one): Yes □ / Limited □ / [Basically] No □

* **1 of 5) Today, almost half the population of the Enclave says they have (at least some) knowledge of Basque ...**

- What is the role of usefulness (such as the possibility of better jobs) in this?

Obviously, the utility factor is a direct and indispensable element in the motivation of the new Basque speakers. As a language policy feature, making the knowledge [of Basque] compulsory in employment is a key measure. The data show that the percentages of Basque-speakers in positions where the language is required are much higher than in positions where it is not required. In this regard, Trebiñu shows the same figures as in the rest of Araba.

- What is the role of self-identification [as a Basque] in this?

This is another important element. The identity factor is key in the motivation to learn Basque. In the south of the Basque Country, that is, in Araba and Navarre, the most Spanish-speaking areas, being an Euskaldun (Basque speaker) is an element which reinforces considerably the sense of [Basque] identity.

- What is the role of political points of view (Araba≠Burgos; Basque Country≠Spain) in this?

Unfortunately, the linguistic issue is totally politicized throughout the Basque Country. The Basque language knowledge is linked to certain political ideas. It would be a great achievement, little by little and with the help of new generations, to overcome these political clichés so that people of all political tendencies may naturally speak Basque. Today, the issue is totally politicized. Therefore, when we want to introduce the Basque language in new domains, we must act very tactfully.

* 2 of 5) In your opinion, is the Basque language perceived as a positive feature in Trebiñu?

Yes. The majority of the population considers it their own language, as happens in Araba. In recent years, I also believe that a positive attitude is becoming widespread and it is expanding.

* 3 of 5) Do Basque speakers use Basque in their daily life in Trebiñu? How much Basque can you hear on the streets?

Some of the do. These are not villages with a lot of life on the street and the truth is that Basque is heard very little on the street.

* 4 out of 5) Do you perceive any opposition to the promotion of Basque in Trebiñu (considering that it is a part of Burgos)?

Yes. Basque is not taught at the public school of Trebiñu. On the part of the local political parties, there are no impediments, although there are different levels of motivation. The parties from Burgos do try to hinder the process of revitalisation or Basque.

* 5 out of 5) Any other comments that you would like to add?
NO ANSWER

INTERVIEW 5 (GALDER NABERAN OÑARTEETXEBARRIA AND IRATXE GARCIA DE EULATE URDANGARAIN)

ORIGINAL IN SPANISH

*Esta es una entrevista realizada para una investigación doctoral en la Universty of Wales Trinity Saint David (País de Gales) sobre el bilingüismo en el Enclave de Treviño y en Cornualles.

*Por favor, expresa tu opinión con tus propias palabras, tan largo o corto como pienses

*Puedes contestar u obviar las preguntas que tu consideres

Muchas gracias! / Eskerrik asko!

* **Nombre (opcional):** **GALDER NABERAN OÑARTEETXEBARRIA**

IRATXE GARCIA DE EULATE URDANGARAIN

* **Profesión (para la estadística): Médicos**

* **¿Puedes conversar en euskera? (elige un):** Sí x / Limitado ☐ / [Básicamente] No

* **1 de 5) Hoy en dia, casi la mitad de la población del Enclave dice tener conocimientos de euskera...**

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>utilidad</u> (como por ejemplo la posibilidad de mejores trabajos) en ésto?

Trebiño es el enclave rodeado por parte de un Territorio Historico del Pais Vasco, es la isla Alavesa. Sus habitantes a lo largo de la historia han sido vascos y han dominado su lengua materna (por eventos históricos han perdido durante unos 200 años este dominio).

La mayoria de los habitantes del enclave realizamos la vida en Alava (compras, escuelas, trabajo, ...) y muchas de ellas trabajamos para la administración vasca. En la adminitración publica vasca es un merito tener titulación de euskera por lo que a este respecto sería ventajoso o util. Aq la mayoría de los que sabemos y utilizamos el euskera no lo hemos aprendido por la ventaja q nos pueda prestar en el trabajo. Hoy en dia se escucha cada vez mas que muchos padres/madres matriculan a sus hijos en un modelo euskaldun para que tengan mas opciones para el trabajo en la función publica.

Nosotros en concreto trabajamos en Osakidetza, el servicio vasco de salud y piden como maximo a los trabajadores un titulo de euskara que es el PL2 que es una titulación insuficiente ya que con este nivel del idioma no queda garantizado que puedas atender a los pacientes de forma fluida en euskera.

Fuera de la administración publica las empresas relacionadas con la educación tb lo valoran el resto creo q hoy por hoy poco pero cada vez irán en aumento o eso esperamos.

Otra de las utilidades: Se consiguen hacer entre los que hablamos el euskera, relaciones mas estrechas ya no solo por el idioma en si, sino pq normalmente es la gente mas inquieta,

participativa, que realiza actividades para su impulso, realiza actividades culturales... y eso hace q esta unión sea mas solida.

- ¿Qué papel tiene la <u>autoidentificación</u> [como vasco] en ésto?

Los habitantes de Trebiño somos y hemos sido vascos a lo largo de la Historia. Hemos tenido y tenemos nuestra cultura, idioma y nuestra forma de ser. Politicamente hablando, antes de que existieran los reinos ya eramos vascos. Fuimos fundados como Navarros para pasar a ser Castellanos, pero nunca dejamos de ser vascos. Nos unia un idioma diferente al resto de territorios adyacentes que se fue perdiendo por diversos factores (romanización, relaciones comerciales, imposición latino-castellana, la religión...).

Ahora estamos recuperando el idioma, q ha sido nuestra identidad, con diversas iniciativas como las clases de euskara, la ikastola, las colonias de verano en euskera, actividades extraescolares en euskara, musika, deportes...

En todo esto tb conseguimos cada vez mas que se comprometan personas que han llegado desde fuera de Euskal Herria y que, aq no saben el idioma, lo valoran como un bien

pero que el objetivo final no lo conseguiremos solo los vascos, si no tb con la gente llegada de fuera que esta viviendo.

Los vascoparlantes llevan inherente la autoidentificación de vasco pero tb mucha gente que se considera vasco desconoce el idioma, el euskera. Pero ayudan y participan activamente para su impulso. Hay que tener en cuenta la dificultad del aprendizaje del euskera.

- ¿Qué papel tienen los <u>puntos de vista políticos</u> (Álava ≠ Burgos; Euskadi ≠ España) en ésto?
Creemos q un idioma siembre debería ser punto de unión para los que tenemos diferentes puntos de vista politicos y ahí es donde creemos debe ir el futuro. Hoy en dia esta no es la realidad. En Euskal Herria tenemos 3 idiomas oficiales: euskara, castellano y frances. Nadie tendría poner trabas a la hora de utilizar cualquiera de los 3 idiomas en el dia a dia. Pero esta no es la realidad pq existen impedimentos a nivel administrativo (2 paises soberanos como España y Francia, y sus diversas provincias y departamentos, a nivel casi local). En Alava el euskara es oficial y en Burgos no. Seguro q hasta conseguir por derecho (porque de facto ya es) que Trebiñu sea administrativamente parte del territorio alaves el Euskara nunca será idioma cooficial en el Enclave.

* 2 de 5) En tu opinión ¿el euskera se percibe como una característica positiva en Treviño?
En general a nosotros nos parece que se percibe como una caracteristica positiva en el enclave. Cada vez se oye con mas frecuencia el euskera en la calle, en el dia a dia. La mayoría de la señalización municipal (carteles, callejeros, panfletos...) está en bilingüe y en la mayoría de los habitantes esto genera cierta ilusión. Se oyen comentarios en tono gracioso como "es el único pueblo de Burgos con carteles oficiales en euskera".

Eso si, también hemos de decir que hay diversos sectores en el enclave, politicamente afines generalmente a la derecha española que ve el euskera como arma mortífera de los

independentistas y nacionalistas vascos para conseguir su objetivos. Nuestra labor será convencerlos de que no es así, de que es un idioma propio. No hay mas que ver toda la toponimia euskaldun de la zona...

* 3 de 5) ¿Los vascoparlantes usan el euskera en su vida cotidiana en Treviño? ¿Cuánto euskera se puede escuchar en las calles?
Los vascoparlantes usamos el euskera en la vida cotidiana de Trebiño generalmente para comunicarnos con otros vascoparlantes, como en el resto de Euskal Herria.

Los que mas lo usan son los niños y los jovenes (gente que ha mamado el euskera en casa o en la ikastola desde la infancia).

Cada vez tenemos mas conversaciones bilingües con personas que no dominan el idioma en su totalidad y como en el resto de Euskal Herria, y siempre por respeto, existe la tendencia de hablar en castellano siempre que haya una persona en el grupo que desconozca el idioma. Se están dando pasos para impulsar la tendencia contraria.

* 4 de 5) ¿Percibes alguna oposición a la implementación del euskera en Treviño (considerando que pertenece a Burgos)?
Siempre ha habido y habrá dicha oposición. Como hemos dicho antes, existe en el enclave diversos sectores que ejercen esta oposición.
Desde el gobierno de Castilla y León no subvencionan la ikastola por ser un centro que imparten las clases en euskera y sin embargo en otras provincias están subvencionando centros educativos alemanes, franceses...

Mantienen el colegio publico de Trebiño en modelo bilingüe (castellano e ingles) sin tener ninguna asignatura en euskera. La mayoría de los niños del enclave estudian en centros educativos con modelo D (integro en euskera) pero lo tienen que hacer fuera del enclave.

Sectores de la adminitración publica tales como las fuerzas de seguridad del estado con dos cuarteles para dos ayuntamientos. Desproporcionado si lo comparamos con resto de municipios, imponiendo el castellano en su labor diaria.

* 5 de 5) ¿Algún otro comentario que te gustaría agregar?

Queremos agradecerte el trabajo que realizas y el estudio de nuestra lengua, el tesoro mas preciado de los habitantes de Euskal Herria, a nivel mundial un territorio muy pequeño pero con un gran valor sobre todo humano.

Para cualquier aclaración, comentario... no dudes en contactar con nosotros.

Eskerrik asko bene beneta eta laster arte.

Diolch eich gweld yn fuan.

ENGLISH LITERAL TRANSLATION

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*Please, feel free to Express your oppinion in your own words, as long or short as you need

*You can answer or skip any of the questions

Thank you very much! / Eskerrik asko!

* Name (optional): Galder Naberan Oñarteetxebarria and Iratxe Garcia De Eulate Urdangarain

* Profession (for statistics): Medical Doctors

* Can you converse in Basque? (Choose one): Yes □ x / Limited □ / [Basically] No □

* 1 of 5) Today, almost half the population of the Enclave says they have (at least some) knowledge of Basque ...

- What is the role of usefulness (such as the possibility of better jobs) in this?

Trebiñu is the enclave surrounded by a Historical Territory of the Basque Country. It is the Araba's Island. Throughout history, its inhabitants have been Basque and have mastered their mother tongue. Due to historical events they lost it for about 200 years.

Most of us, the inhabitants of the Enclave, go shopping, to school, to work... to Araba, and many of them work for the Basque Government. In the Basque public administration, it is a merit to have a Basque language qualification so, in this respect, it would be advantageous or useful. However, most of us who know and use Basque have not learned it because of the advantage it can give us at work. Today it is more and more often said that many parents enrol their children in a Basque-speaking [school] model so that they may have more opportunities to work in the public sector.

We work at *Osakidetza*, the Basque Health Service. They require from workers a PL2 {C1} Certificate in Basque Language, which is an insufficient qualification, since it does not ensure enough level to be able to treat patients in a fluent Basque.

Besides the public administration, the companies related to education value it. Nowadays, the rest, I believe, do not pay much attention [to the language], but this will change for better, or so we hope.

Another point about usefulness: Among those who speak Basque, we are able to establish closer relationships with each other. This is not only because of the language itself, but also because they are usually more active people, participative people, who carry out activities for their promotion, perform cultural activities... And that makes this union more solid.

- What is the role of self-identification [as a Basque] in this?

The inhabitants of Trebiñu are and have been Basque throughout history. We have had and we still have our culture, language and our way of being. Politically speaking, before the kingdoms came into existence, we were already Basques. We were constituted as Navarrese to become Castilians, but we never stopped being Basques. We were united by a

language which was different to the rest of neighbouring areas but it was lost due to various factors such as romanisation, commercial relations, Latin-Castilian imposition, religion ...

Now we are recovering the language, which is our identity, with various initiatives such as Basque classes, the ikastola, summer camps in Basque, extracurricular activities in Basque, music, sports...

We are also accomplishing seeking to involve people who came from non-Basque regions and who appreciate the Basque language as an asset, even though they cannot speak it. The final goal will not be achieved only by the Basques, but also with the other people who are living here.

The Basque speakers have an inherent self-identification of Basque. But many people who consider themselves Basque do not know the Basque language. Nevertheless, they help and actively participate in its promotion. The difficulty of learning Basque must be taken into account.

- What is the role of political points of view (Araba≠Burgos; Basque Country≠Spain) in this?

We believe that a language should always be a point of union for those of us with different political points of view, and this is where we believe the future should be. However, this is not the current situation. In Euskal Herria we have three official languages: Basque, Spanish and French. No one would have to put obstacles when using any of the three languages on a daily basis. But this is not the reality because there are impediments at administrative level (two sovereign countries, namely Spain and France, with their various provinces and departments, at almost local level). In Araba, the Basque language is official, but in Burgos it is not. Surely, as long as Trebiñu does not get the right (because de facto already is) to be a department of Araba, the Basque language will never be official along with Spanish in the Enclave.

* 2 of 5) In your opinion, is the Basque language perceived as a positive feature in Trebiñu?

In general, it seems to us that it is perceived as a positive feature in the Enclave. The Basque language is heard more and more frequently in the street, in the everyday life. Most of the municipal signage (posters, street signs, pamphlets ...) is bilingual, and this generates some illusion in most of the inhabitants. Comments are heard in a funny way, such as 'it is the only village in Burgos with official posters in Basque'.

Anyway, we must also say that there are people and organisations in the enclave, usually politically related to the Spanish right-wing ideology that sees the Basque language as a Basque secessionists' and nationalists' deadly weapon to achieve their goals. Our job is to convince them that this is not the case, that it is a native language. You just need to see all the Basque toponymy of the area...

* 3 of 5) Do Basque speakers use Basque in their daily life in Trebiñu? How much Basque can you hear on the streets?

We, the Basque speakers, use Basque in daily life in Trebiñu, generally to communicate with other Basque speakers, as in the rest of Euskal Herria.

Those who use it the most are children and young people, people who have spoken Basque at home or at the ikastola since childhood.

Every time we have more bilingual conversations with people who are not fully competent in Basque. Like in the rest of Euskal Herria and always out of respect, there is a tendency to speak in Spanish whenever there is a person in the group who does not know the language. Steps are being taken to push the opposite trend.

* 4 out of 5) Do you perceive any opposition to the promotion of Basque in Trebiñu (considering that it is a part of Burgos)?

There has always been and there will be such opposition. As we said before, there are several sectors in the Enclave that exercise this opposition.

The government of Castile and León do not subsidize the ikastola for being a Basque medium school and yet in other provinces they are subsidizing German, French educational centres...

They established the public school of Trebiñu in a Spanish/English bilingual model without having any school subject in Basque. Most of the children of the Enclave study in educational centres with model D (Basque medium) but they have to do it outside the Enclave.

There are sectors of the public administration such as the state security forces with two barracks for two municipalities. This is disproportionate, if we compare it with other municipalities. They impose Spanish in their daily work.

* 5 out of 5) Any other comments that you would like to add?

We want to thank you for the work you do and the study of our language, the most precious treasure of the inhabitants of Euskal Herria, a very small area of the world but with a great value, especially human.

Thank you very much and see you soon (in Basque and in Welsh)