

UNIVERSITY OF  
NEWCASTLE



UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

**CRE**  
CENTRE FOR RURAL ECONOMY

**LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE  
AND CORNWALL**

**Andrew Donaldson**

**Centre for Rural Economy Working Paper Series**

**Working Paper 42**

**December 1999**

**LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:**

**A CASE STUDY OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE AND  
CORNWALL**

Andrew Donaldson\*

**Abstract**

As a result of the political and social processes of state-building, many regions throughout Europe are now home to linguistic minorities. It is proposed that minority languages and their associated cultural systems may be used as resources for endogenous rural development, both in a conventional sense and as a source of alternative meanings for the development process. In order to study linguistic minorities and their cultural worldviews within the development process, a semiotic approach (based on applied anthropology and Actor-Network Theory) is described. The concept of cultural literacy is proposed as a means of describing the connection between language skills and knowledge of a particular culture, in a particular place. Cultural literacies may provide a basis for alternative forms of development specific to a region. A case study of Cornish language revival and Cornish identity illustrates the role language plays in a nationalist cultural literacy and demonstrates the possibility of competing cultural literacies within a region.

\*Research Student, Department of Agricultural Economics and Food Marketing, University of Newcastle upon Tyne

## **1 Introduction**

The emerging concept of a 'Europe of the Regions' has raised the need to better understand cultural diversity within the EU's Member States and how this contributes to regional identity and development. The most obvious of the culturally distinct regions are marked by the survival of a minority, or regional, language. The European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) has identified over 40 autochthonous European languages which exist as minorities within one or more European States (<http://eblul.org/>). Eleven of these are also the official language of another member state and therefore are official languages of the European Union. A rise in regionalist politics has led to an increasingly important role for language in the definition and promotion of regional identities. This new regionalism is often a response, by peripheral and rural regions, to the failure of exogenous development policies.

This paper seeks to consider the role of linguistic minorities in rural development. It is proposed that the resulting problematic can then be explored through the ethnographic study of a region that is home to a linguistic minority: Cornwall. The methodology involved is therefore that of applied anthropology: the use of 'anthropological insights' to provide a dynamic critique of development (Gardner and Lewis, 1996, p.2) and aid in the solution of development problems. Actor-network theory (ANT) has proved useful in understanding the rural economy and the relationships between the local and extra-local in rural development (Murdoch, 1994; Lowe et al., 1995). This paper presents a further usage of ANT as a descriptive and analytical tool to be applied to cultural theory and ethnographic data.

## **2 Reconstituting Rural Development?**

Rural development is under consideration here not simply as a field of practice into which minority languages can be introduced, but rather as a subject which can be expanded by the study of language and culture. Therefore it is not the intent of this introductory section to define rigorously what is meant by 'rural development'. Nevertheless it is important to note which aspects of the field have influenced the formulation of the current study, which is ultimately intended to provide practical returns for both the study and practice of rural development.

Under the classic exogenous model of rural development, the problems of rural areas were seen as being a result of their peripherality. The key to successfully developing these peripheral areas was therefore seen to be in their integration with economically robust core areas. The 1970s witnessed a perceived failure of this model - and the approaches to development that it dictated - in the face of economic and ecological limits, resulting in a turn toward an endogenous model (Lowe et al., 1998). The endogenous model is territorial rather than sectoral and dictates approaches to development that are based on the resources - human, natural and (most important in this study) cultural - specific to an area (Van der Ploeg and Van Dijk, 1995).

Lowe et al. (1998) identify two sources of endogenous development ideas which are significant here: regionalist movements and rural sustainability. Regionalist movements in development were a response to the failure of previous policies and sought to provide more locally focused development, less dependent on extra-local policy and capital. Linguistic minorities often exist within defined regions of a state; the political

aspects of minority language movements have often brought a greater regional autonomy within nation-states. The decentralist politics of Spain are an example of this phenomenon.

Rural areas have seen perhaps the greatest conflicts between the need for economic development and the need for environmental protection. The concept of sustainability, as it has evolved in the EU, goes beyond simply attempting to resolve this conflict. There has been a growing recognition within policy formulation that sustainability must have a strong social element; that is that the rural environment must remain socially viable if, as the endogenous approach suggests, the inhabitants of an area are to manage the local resources in a sustainable fashion. Thus sustainability brings with it a concept that has taken on great importance in rural development: participation. The participation of the inhabitants of a territory or locality in the development process has become a means of securing a strong social commitment and viability. The promotion of participative approaches in the EU has drawn strongly on the development methodologies designed for former colonial territories in the South (see Midgely et al., 1986).

Ray (1999) has demonstrated how the shift towards an endogenous model of development brings the construction of territorial identity “to the forefront of the development process”. A minority language is a strong cultural marker, an indicator and central referent of a potentially distinct regional identity. It may be possible to utilise a minority language and its attendant cultural system as a resource for the socioeconomic development of an area. Ray also indicates the tendency of ethnic nationalist movements to portray a minority language as containing an “alternative value set”, with regards to human and environmental aspects

of development. The worldviews associated with minority languages and cultures - and promoted by nationalist movements as embodying a people and place - may be able to offer new strategies for development. The assumption implicit in the nationalist rhetoric is that these strategies may be more sustainable than development strategies arising from the dominant Western worldview. These are the issues under consideration throughout this paper.

### **3 Minority Languages, Nations and States**

Europe's minority languages are described by EBLUL as "some of the oldest languages in the Western World" which also have "rich cultural, literary and folk traditions" (EBLUL, <http://eblul.org/>). These languages belong to nations which have been termed "Fourth World" (Griggs, 1995), that is ethnic groupings which predate the formation of the current state boundaries and now exist with varying degrees of political, cultural and linguistic autonomy within established states. Encroachment of the state is seen as a key factor in the decline of many minority languages by Williams (1991), who terms these linguistic communities "stateless nations".

The term nation has become, to a great extent, coincident with the term state due to the preponderance of the nation-state as a unit of socio-political organisation. Where state denotes a political and legislative community, a nation is based principally on common descent and culture. Nation also invokes the concept of ethnicity. Ethnicity can be best understood as a boundary condition of identity; the symbolic line which separates members of one nation from another. Language is a strong cultural marker, that is, a good indicator of a discrete cultural system, or

nation. By talking in terms of linguistic nations, rather than simply minority languages, one can more readily begin to comprehend the various social, political and cultural aspects that are attendant to the languages in question.

The model of the contemporary state is based on those which were consolidated in Europe throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Young, 1976). Young has studied state formation, based on this model, in the post-colonial South. The withdrawal of European government, left the former colonies to function as states within boundaries that were a result of European annexation. Traditional states had hazy boundaries and Young describes the way in which European influence in the colonisation of the South drew these boundaries into a sharper focus. The process of state building proceeds through a number of complex factors of politics, economics and warfare; consequently state territories are not necessarily coterminous with the territories of traditional (ethnic) nations. The borders of a state may divide a formerly unitary national territory or annexe it completely. Territoriality is one of two principal features of state building, the other is sovereignty (Young, 1976). Sovereignty is the right and ability of the state to exert its influence throughout its territory. According to Young, the ultimate requirement of a state is to create acceptance of sovereignty throughout the territory by engineering the "coincidence of nation and state" (Young, 1976). The governing body of a state needs to create an 'ethnic' identity to encompass all those nations within the state's borders. Williams (1991) has called this process "the national construction of social space"; by treating its territory as "distinctive and historic" a state may extend its political reach - its sovereignty - throughout its territory. Historically, this process has involved the designation of an official state language.

The maintenance of a language has much to do with issues of power. Fishman (1985a) states that there are three possible outcomes when one language invades the territory of another: the intrusive language survives and the indigenous is lost; the intrusive language is lost and the indigenous language survives; both languages survive on relatively equal footing. In the case of successful state building, the official state language can be considered the intrusive one, and the outcome is that the intrusive language survives at the expense of the indigenous. The position occupied by linguistic minorities would seem to be an interim stage, not having reached any of the conclusions Fishman posits. Although a minority status would tend to indicate that ultimately a language will be lost, there is the possibility that language resurgence might lead to either of the other two outcomes. By way of two examples, Fishman draws attention to the fact that language legislation by itself is apparently insufficient to determine the outcome of linguistic conflict. The USA has relatively little and fairly lax language legislation; English is not mandatory nor are prohibitions in place against other languages. Nevertheless English is the dominant language. Conversely, following the French Revolution a law was brought into force which “abolished” the regional languages of Occitan, Alsatian, Catalan, Breton and Basque. All of those languages remain in evidence today.

As legislation alone demonstrably fails to account for the dominance of a state language, Fishman turns to social and cultural factors. Speakers of an indigenous language can be rendered socially dependent on the official state language. The state must be able to offer rewards (these may be economic or educational in nature, for example) to those who choose to adopt the new language. The official state language becomes the “language of economic and social mobility” (Fishman, 1985a) and

thereby practically eclipse indigenous languages. Once a pattern of social dependency is established, new cultural patterns emerge within indigenous groups. Fluency in the language of the state becomes a “marker of Modernisation” (Fishman, 1985a) amongst indigenous language communities. The indigenous group proceeds to transmit the state language amongst its own, ‘modernising’ their outlying members and redefining their ethnic identity.

Williams (1991) describes the ways in which the articulation of state power in Europe has created the present status of many languages within the Union. Apart from the legislative measures described above, cultural minorities that wished to maintain their traditional way of life were portrayed as backward. Little or no effort was made to integrate difference, the emphasis was on the creation of a rationalised, homogenised state territory. The theme of ‘modernisation’ is common in the creation of what Young terms a “comprehensive cultural myth” (Young, 1976). Drawing on earlier work by Fishman (1972), Young highlights the state's need for a single symbolic ideology that can be institutionalised within its official language. This idea draws together the need to treat the territory as historically distinct and the need to provide a set of aspirations for the future, to draw minority speakers into the state project. Ultimately, this cultural myth may come to represent a set of common referents for individual identities; a new ethnicity leading to the consolidation of a nation-state.

Young goes on to demonstrate that cultural solidarity is dependent on a community’s political mobilisation. When a culture is perceived to be under threat political mobilisation and awareness increase. Williams (1991) posits that warfare has played a role in creating national identities

for the European nations, and that conscription has been a tool of language spread and a way of nationalising a diverse population.

There is one further point that needs to be made regarding the nature of multicultural states. The core-periphery model is often used to describe the dynamic of economic and political processes within the territory of a state (for a specific example see Payton, 1992). This concept illustrates the asymmetrical relationship between the controlling core and the outlying periphery, and may be applicable to cultural flows as well as economic or political flows (Hannerz, 1991). Internally, the state's own institutions form the cultural core, able to effect cultural flow to the periphery by means of their position of higher political and legislative power. This model describes the homogenising influence of state ideology in the formation of nation-states, during which (as shown above) cultural asymmetries exactly matched the asymmetries of economic and political power. It is conceivable that the use of language and culture as a resource for development by a peripheralised linguistic nation may require a reversal or nullification of the core-periphery situation. This, to some extent, is the intention of those who wish to create a Europe of the Regions. Zetterholm (1994) notes that the EU's focus on a Europe of culturally based regions is a means of weakening the 'hegemony' of state cultures, which are a perceived barrier to integration. More intriguingly, as Hannerz considers the relationship of political and economic asymmetries to cultural asymmetry to be complex and unpredictable, a reversal of the cultural core-periphery situation may result in unpredictable changes within the political dynamic.

## **4 Language and Worldview**

An empirical basis for supposing that linguistic nations can offer alternative world views has been provided by ethnographic studies of indigenous cultures and the rhetoric of various ethnic nationalist movements. However, the theoretical basis rests in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (SWH). The basic assertion of the SWH is that "the structure of our language to some extent determines the way we perceive the world" (Trask, 1999, p.169). In section 2 it was posited that alternative worldviews associated with linguistic minorities may be able to offer new strategies for sustainable development. To assess this possibility it is necessary to gain some understanding of the ways in which modern/Western concepts such as development and sustainability are portrayed within an alternative worldview. This section of the paper sets out a possible approach to understanding the connections between language and worldview.

The ideas contained by the SWH can be traced as far back as Herodotus (Fishman, 1985b), however the hypothesis gained currency during the 20th century with the work of Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf. It is Whorf's catalogue of works that has provided impetus for the study of language and worldview in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fishman (1985b) suggests that rather than refer to Whorf's hypothesis, we should use the plural hypotheses; varying interpretations of Whorf's work provide two commonly explored, significantly different hypotheses. Firstly there is the linguistic relativity hypothesis which posits that lexical or grammatical differences between languages will produce differing abilities to describe aspects of the world between their speakers. Secondly, there is the linguistic determinism hypothesis, which posits that

lexical and grammatical difference between languages will actually result in differing patterns of behaviour between speakers.

The SWH has proven contentious, with evidence seemingly stacked up equally on each side, this paper is not intended to rehearse those arguments. Rather than attempt to come to any conclusion about the reality of Whorf's first two hypotheses, we can follow Fishman (1985c) as he describes a third hypothesis that can be found in a broader consideration of Whorf's work. Whorf's third hypothesis proposes simply that a world filled with linguistic and cultural variation is a world filled with different viewpoints that can enrich individual and social existence (Fishman, 1985c).

The great diversity of human languages is the area which Steiner (1998) attempts to cover by the exploration of translation. It is a common assertion that the SWH cannot be true because translation between languages occurs on a regular and functional basis. According to Steiner, the wealth of meaning that is attached to words is such that translation occurs between individual 'ideolects' before the level of translation between languages is reached. An ideolect is a linguistic concept which can best be explained as an individual 'dialect' - the meanings and uses of words which are specific to an individual. As Steiner explains, "...aspects of every language-act are unique and individual" and as a result, "inside or between languages, human communication equals translation" (p.49). Although, on this basis, Steiner appears to disregard the SWH, he only contests the fact that it is structure which is seen to be the element of language most important in determining the 'thought world'. Steiner's propositions are firmly in line with Fishman's description of Whorf's third hypothesis; Steiner, himself

multilingual, supports the idea that knowledge of more than one language can enrich an individual's thought and speech.

The existence of *idiolects* - and translation within languages - places the emphasis of studying language and worldview on meaning, rather than structure, which opens the way for the influence of culture, "a vast terrain of 'partial transformation'" (Steiner, 1998). Steiner's recommendations for language study also have much to offer when considering worldview as a product of language:

"There is room (...) for an approach whose bias of interest focuses on languages rather than Language; whose evidence will derive from semantics (with all the implicit stress on meaning) rather than from 'pure syntax'".(Steiner, 1998, p.112)

Approaches to culture and language which rely on the interpretation of symbols and the ways in which meaning is socially constructed are referred to as *semiotics* or *semiology*. *Actor-Network Theory (ANT)* is a form of semiotic analysis that arose from the discipline of science studies (Latour, 1999), an attempt to understand the laboratory environment and the production of scientific knowledge through the use of ethnographic methodology. ANT is a non-dualistic approach; that is it does not distinguish between human and nonhuman actors; all may be bound together into a network by the process of translation (Callon, 1986). Translation is the process by which a 'token' (Latour, 1986) or actor is transformed by its interaction with other actors in a network – the way in which actors modify and control their associations (Latour, 1999). Translation enables action taken in one part of the network to “fix the identity” of other parts of the network (Murdoch, 1994). Under ANT,

power becomes a result of associations within the network (Latour, 1986) emerging as the network stabilises. As actors become bound together toward a common purpose ('enrolled' into the network) the distinction between them becomes blurred and a group may come to represent a single actor, with a single agenda. ANT provides a method of following the networks which exist beneath the surface of a people and their worldview.

The conclusions that one can reach with regard to language, culture and worldview are far from clear-cut. What does seem clear is that it may not be possible to ascertain which elements of worldview are a direct result of the generative aspects of language e.g. grammar, categorisation, syntax (the aspects which Whorf (1956) considered to be the prime constituents of different 'thought worlds') and which ones are socially constructed within the cultural surrounds of the language. By looking to the meaning that people attach to the symbolism of their language and the ways in which this meaning is articulated in various contexts, the generative aspects of language become less important to this study. Following Steiner, one can investigate semantics rather than syntax; in particular the specific meanings attached to the concepts of development and sustainability. ANT's concept of translation suggests that networks formed during the process of language maintenance and promotion, may enrol a variety of actors with different initial agendas and ideas about the language. The outcome of these enrolments and translations will not be obvious until the network stabilises; a language movement might generate, deliberately or otherwise, new meanings and worldviews as it progresses. In practical rural development terms it is of greater interest whether or not a linguistic nation can offer alternative paths for

development, than where exactly in the spectrum of language and culture such paths may have originated.

## **5 The Cultural Context**

So far this paper has demonstrated that indigenous European linguistic minorities exist as the result of territorial boundary changes and the political and cultural process of state building. It has also been shown that to comprehend fully the wealth of meaning invested in these languages (and in the fact of their minority status) and the world views arising from that meaning, language cannot be divested of its cultural context. The purpose of this section is to consider further some elements of contemporary cultural theory in order to provide a framework for the study and analysis of linguistic minorities, their culture and worldviews, and their place in development.

In anthropological terms a regional linguistic and cultural system can be said to embody local knowledge. The anthropological critique of development provided by Hobart et al. (1993) demonstrates that Western development methodology applied in the South has consistently failed, due to a lack of understanding and utilisation of local knowledge. This is an indication that development is a culturally located concept, rather than an 'objective state' (Gardner & Lewis, 1996). Gardener and Lewis note the origins of development rhetoric in the notion that linear progression of societies occurs, the North is advanced and the South "locked into static traditionalism" and requiring modernisation. It is these roots in colonialist tendencies which have led to a 'post-modern' critique and deconstruction which has declared development to be a dead concept (Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

Anthropology has not been left untouched by the postmodernists (Hubinger, 1996). The discipline has its roots in the colonial stage of European history, in other words firmly in the modern/Western metaculture whose notions of development and sustainability are questioned here. The foundations of anthropology created a legacy of theoretical problems which have concerned contemporary anthropologists; the most relevant here are issues surrounding the concept of culture. According to Pasquinelli (1996) the concept of culture allowed the early moderns to conceive of all forms of “otherness” from which modern society distinguished itself. This notion was rooted in the popular evolutionary paradigm which led to the concept of cultural progress, whereby cultures evolved toward a more rational and reasoned state, exemplified by Western society. These ideas are strongly associated with the work of Tylor (Pasquinelli, 1996) but were robbed of some of their strength by Boas’ introduction of historical analysis – cultural similarities, rather than being a result of evolution, may have ‘diffused’ across cultures through human interaction (Pasquinelli, 1996). Nonetheless evolutionary ideas are still evident in some contemporary theory, such as Giddens’ description of the transition from traditional (premodern) society to (traditional) modernity and late modernity – the present (Giddens, 1994).

Despite these circumstances Gardner and Lewis (1996) propose that now is the time for anthropology to engage with development and steer it clear of its failing dualisms, such as modern versus traditional and developed versus undeveloped. In doing so anthropology may find a new, and politically engaged, way forward.

The move toward nondualistic theories represents a movement in social sciences which Latour (1991, 1999) has dubbed nonmodernism. Nonmodernism is a response to the perceived failure of modernism that led to the 'postmodern crisis'. A criticism levelled at ANT is its lack of critical faculty (Murdoch, 1997) - ANT is based solely around the description of networks. However, Latour (1991) gives his version of ANT a political/critical position with his extension of the nondualistic principles underlying ANT into the concept of nonmodernism. Essentially, Latour argues that modernism has proceeded through its dualistic categorisations of what is natural and what is not (society). It is this 'modernist settlement' that has led to problems such as the notion that only modern society can have knowledge about the world; traditional or premodern society has only beliefs about the world (Latour, 1999). ANT has always followed instead the formation of hybrids (networks): mixtures of the human and nonhuman (Latour, 1991). Latour (1999) proposes the term "collective" to describe the associations between humans and nonhumans. It is from this collective that the concepts of nature and society are separated. A collective represents a human culture inextricably linked to a nonhuman context. The meanings imparted to the associations within the collective can be described as worldviews.

Anthropology has entered what Pasquinelli refers to as the "symbolic phase"; this is characterised – some would say defined (Barrett, 1996) – by the work of Geertz. Geertz describes culture as a semiotic concept; man is "suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" Geertz "take[s] culture to be those webs" (Geertz, 1973). Geertz proposes the methodology of "thick description", ethnography as an interpretive science "in search of meaning" not an experimental science "in search of law" (Geertz, 1973). Cohen (1985) focuses on the 'symbolic construction

of community' as a cultural artefact, providing an example of the semiotic analysis of culture. What appear to be the objective and unchanging manifestations of a particular community (or culture) are symbolic in nature. These manifestations of group identity are referred to as 'forms', common elements of behaviour. Although these forms may be passed fundamentally unchanged through generations, each individual ascribes their own meaning to them. Rapport (1997) further qualifies this by describing the forms' apparent consistency as an example of their plasticity, they are constantly reinvented and reinterpreted by every member of each new generation. Rapport describes a culture as a "fund of behavioural forms". Rapport's contention would seem to be that culture is equally as important as language in communications and in the way individual worldviews are created:

"society [exists] through a continuous process of the exchange of homogenous cultural objects and the construction of individual worlds of meaning in the same interactions at the same time."(Rapport, 1997, p.192)

One further contribution to this paper from a development of ANT is the concept of 'ontological politics' (Mol, 1999). Mol uses the concepts of performance and intervention to describe the interaction of actors in the creation of a specific and individual view of reality. Mol suggests that as reality is enacted and not merely observed by actors that action can create multiple ontologies. In Mol's work (studies of health care and the ways in which different methods of diagnosis actually lead to patients with different symptoms being diagnosed with the same condition) the decisions affecting a given situation always appear to be located elsewhere within the network, leading Mol to ask the question "are the crucial moments not those where [we] act as an agent, but rather where

[we] are defined, measured, observed, listened to, or otherwise enacted?" (p.87).

The intention of this section was to provide an analytical framework for the study of linguistic minorities in development. Toward that end I wish to propose the concept of cultural literacy. Cultural literacy describes the skills and knowledge necessary for an individual to be able to perform and experience a particular culture. This concept involves not only the appropriate language skills but a knowledge of the specific forms and symbols that are understood by that culture. The concept of the collective suggests that any particular cultural literacy will be bound to a nonhuman context, which may be a specific territory or landscape, for example. Thus, obtaining a cultural literacy is not merely a key to understanding a people, but also a means of understanding the place in which they live and their connections to it.

The nonmodern position allows us to accept that any number of equally valid cultural literacies might arise, from different human (cultural) and nonhuman contexts. It is possible - in fact likely - that actors, through being enrolled in networks, will encounter and learn more than one cultural literacy. This allows for the possibility of individuals making choices between cultural literacies in the performance of their identities, or more importantly, having elements of their identity proscribed by the performances and interventions of others (as has happened during the consolidation of nation states). This raises the important issue of symbolic boundaries - multiple cultural realities may be represented by a group seen as a single cultural/national entity from the outside. The placing of boundaries becomes as much a product of extra-cultural actors as it does those within the cultural community. The performance of

culture and language as a resource may have profound consequences for the creation of new forms and the position and strength of boundaries (based on Donaldson, 1998).

This study aims to utilise the concept of cultural literacy in an applied anthropological case study. This involves consideration of whether or not the political and cultural situation of the linguistic minority provides or precludes opportunities for development, and what form this development might take. On a larger scale this implies a critique of the dominant cultural literacy of development, embodied here by EU policy, on the basis that equally valid alternatives may exist in regions that do not have the political autonomy necessary to implement their own development policies. The following section details a region which is home to a linguistic minority that might offer new possibilities for development.

## **6 Case Study: Cornwall**

Cornwall is 'different': it perfectly embodies the concept of a linguistic nation or 'stateless nation'. The degree of difference embodied in Cornish culture has been the point of departure for the discipline of Cornish Studies during the past century. The establishment of the Centre for Cornish Studies (part of Exeter University, jointly funded by Cornwall County Council) in Truro in 1970 was the first step toward demonstrating to academia that there were unique circumstances worthy of study in Cornwall; although it was not until the 1990s that social studies of contemporary Cornwall were begun in earnest (Payton, 1993a).

The current situation of language revival in Cornwall provides an excellent basis for a case study of language development and politics in a

comparatively early stage. Cornish is the least recognised of the surviving Celtic languages, except perhaps for Galeo, (the others are Welsh, Irish, Scots Gaelic, Manx and Breton) and the only one not to receive government recognition. The relatively small number of Cornish speakers gives this language a strong claim for the title 'minority'. Cornish was, for a time, a dead language; after a lapse of around a hundred years, native speakers are finally re-emerging. Revived Cornish, although based on traditional Cornish, is a reconstructed language and cannot claim direct continuity from its earlier forms. Several different versions of the language exist (see following section) and are promoted by a number of different groups. These groups draw on different symbolism from within Cornish culture in their promotion of the language, possibly inventing new interpretations of 'Cornishness' as they proceed (the reinterpretation of forms outlined by Rapport and detailed in the previous section). One of the groups is engaged in forward looking language planning, searching for means to establish the language firmly in the next century. As was posited in section 4, these differing agendas may result in each language group constructing a network which portrays a worldview best suited to the group's purpose.

The landscape of Cornwall is recognised as having particular value, a large area of the region is designated as an AONB. The region has a strong rural and post-industrial character, coupled with an increase in tourism and in-migration, making it an ideal study ground for issues relating to rural development and sustainability. There is a strong tradition of antimetropolitanism in Cornwall which can be mobilised to resist large scale developments in rural areas. Mebyon Kernow suggest that development in Cornwall should be designed to better accommodate this aspect of the Cornish character.

Cornwall may be the oldest surviving geopolitical entity in western Europe, being firmly established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century when the Saxon king, Athelstan, set the river Tamar as the border between Celts and Saxons (Payton, 1992). The Duchy of Cornwall has been in existence since March 1337. Between these times Cornwall had been a relatively autonomous earldom. However the real history of the Cornish people may be marked by a resistance to the oppression of their difference, a result of constant existence on the periphery of one political body or another (Payton, 1992). Now that the other Celtic nations of mainland Britain have received greater political recognition (in the form of the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly) Cornish regionalism may have reached a new phase. Whether the improved circumstances of their Celtic neighbours will offer hope for, or further anger, Cornish activists remains to be seen. Cornwall's principal hope for increased political and cultural recognition until this point has been the regionalist agenda of the EU (Deacon, 1993). Both the language movement and the nationalist political movement have begun to network with other similar movements across Europe. These factors seem to indicate a turning point in Cornwall's history, where it may be possible to reverse the linguistic, cultural and economic conditions that are seen to have resulted from Cornwall's existence as a peripheral, English county. This factor more than any seems to recommend Cornwall as object for this study.

Research objectives for the Cornish case study include:

- A study of the generation of identity and meanings for sustainability and development by national language and political movements – the creation of cultural literacy.

- To draw conclusions, based on the case study, about the possibilities that minority languages can offer for rural development practice and policy.
- To draw conclusions, based on the case study, about possible further study of cultural diversity and regional development in the EU.

The case study methodology will be ethnographic in nature using such techniques as: depth interviews, archival research, observation and participant observation. The applied anthropological nature of the study precludes the more usual ethnographic technique of working within a specific locality (a settlement for example) or taking a representative sample of a population. Instead, utilising the concept of networks, the study will focus on three principal groups of actors:

- The Cornish Language movement (organisations including Agan Tavas, the Cornish Language Board, the Cornish Language Advisory Service) - to be investigated through interview observation and participant observation;
- nationalist political activists as represented by Mebyon Kernow ('Sons of Cornwall'), the Party for Cornwall – to be investigated mainly through interview;
- rural development workers under the aegis of the Cornwall Rural Community Council – to be investigated through interview, observation and participant observation.

The key focus of the interview technique will be to draw out and collect individual opinions and perceptions regarding their identity (Cornish or otherwise) and issue of language and development (in particular the interface between development and the environment). These personal

opinions and perceptions will provide some insight into the meaning that is applied to the more general cultural symbolism of Cornwall. General observation will be used at all times to determine the broader symbolism in the cultural system surrounding and within the groups under study. This broader cultural symbolism will represent the common forms to which individuals apply their own meanings. The exact techniques will be tailored to individual situations, less formal interview techniques being used with those actors outside of a professional context.

The main focus of participant observation will be as a language learner, through the researchers participation in language classes and events. This process provides both an opportunity for first-hand experience of the language and an opportunity to broaden the researchers contact with language users in general and, perhaps more importantly, language learners. The reasons why people choose to learn the language, and any change doing so effects in them, may prove a useful corollary to the ideas of established speakers and activists (i.e. is there a common ideology behind language learning and nationalist politics, for all concerned?).

Analysis will involve description of the networks formed by differing groups of actors, with their associated agendas and systems of meaning. Ultimately this approach will be used to document the characteristics of Cornish cultural literacy. Is there, for instance, a common set of symbols which represents a single cultural literacy, or is there a dominant literacy that could mobilise development? What form exactly would that development take, and would it be specific to the local (nonhuman) context or influenced by extra-local and extra-cultural factors?

## **7 Cornish Language and Identity**

Cornish is a Brythonic Celtic language, a remnant of the Brythonic tongue which was once spoken throughout Britain. The Roman occupation of Britain drove the Celts to the North and the West; the Roman army stopped its westward advance in the south at Exeter, never crossing the river Tamar. Similarly the Romans were never able to control what are now Wales and Scotland. The language of those remaining in Roman-occupied Britain became diluted with Latin. When the Roman occupation ended the Anglo-Saxon tribes began to invade. Large groups of Brythonic Celts fled invasions and plague in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries, settling on the Armorican peninsula to form Brittany, and in Galicia in what is now Northern Spain. At this time the Brythonic tongue was the same throughout Wales, Cornwall, Brittany and Galicia – although the more northerly speakers were being overtaken by Goidelic Celtic (now differentiated into Irish, Manx and Scots Gaelic). Increased geographic isolation allowed the languages to differentiate, but it was still the 9<sup>th</sup> century before any recorded evidence of a language that could be distinguished as Cornish emerged (Ellis, 1998). In medieval times Cornish and Breton (which are still the closest of Celtic languages) were still mutually intelligible, due mainly to a strong seafaring tradition between the two nations (Payton, 1992). Due to the prominence of the Celtic Church, Cornwall became the maritime centre of the Celtic world, maintaining links with both Wales and Ireland (Payton, 1992).

The Catholic Church gradually gained prominence over the Celtic Church, but retained many of the elements of Celtic Culture important to worship (Payton, 1992). Records exist which name many priests who were licensed to preach mass in Cornish prior to 1533 and the onset of

the Reformation (Ellis, 1998). At this time most of eastern Cornwall was inhabited by monoglot English speakers, the west by monoglot Cornish speakers with the rest of the Duchy being bilingual (Ellis, 1998). The Reformation left Cornwall without its monasteries as a source of Cornish learning (Payton, 1992) and the introduction of the English Book of Common Prayer in 1547 saw the beginning of a decline in the use of the Cornish language (Ellis, 1998). The introduction of an English Protestant service the following year led to a rebellion (Ellis, Payton) which was defeated. This marked a change in Cornwall's relations to the rest of the Celtic World. Catholics in Cornwall became a persecuted minority, ending the centuries of intercourse between Catholic Brittany and the now Protestant Cornwall. These circumstances undoubtedly served to increase the linguistic isolation of Cornish.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century saw several Cornish scholars attempt to preserve aspects of the language through the production of a "rich" literature – this had been an important factor in the survival of neighbouring Welsh (Ellis, 1998). Ultimately their attempts accomplished little at the time, but did provide written records of Middle Cornish to fuel this centuries revival (see below). The 18<sup>th</sup> century was the last in which Cornish saw any kind of use as a first language (in 25 parishes around Lands End) and there are no records to indicate that any monoglot Cornish speakers still existed. Importantly the gentry no longer spoke Cornish. The expansion of industry toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and particularly in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century brought with it increased movement and communications, with the installation of new roads and rail links. Under the pressure of increased links to the English speaking core, Cornish appears to have died out as a native language toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Even then it is unlikely that the native speakers were completely fluent (Ellis, 1998).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cornish was to all intents and purposes a dead language. Its revival during this century is largely attributed (at least in its beginnings) to the work of a few key ‘Revivalists’. Ellis (1998) provides a useful summary of their work.

In 1904 Henry Jenner published *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*, stating therein the simple reason why the people of Cornwall should learn their language: because they are Cornish. Jenner had spent much of the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century collecting together what he could of the grammar and vocabulary of Cornish, becoming fluent in Cornish and Breton. In 1901 he founded *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak*, the Celtic Cornish Society. In that same year the *Breton Gorsedd* (a body of Celtic Bards) was founded, to which Jenner was admitted as a member. In 1903 Jenner made an application for Cornwall to be admitted into the Celtic Congress, and despite some opposition this was passed. Jenner achieved further success by obtaining the right for Cornish speakers to join the *Welsh Gorsedd*.

In 1909 Jenner began correspondence in Cornish with Robert Morton Nance, born in Wales to Cornish parents, who had learned Cornish through Jenner’s first book. Jenner and Nance were to become the central figures in a group which revived the art of conversational Cornish and, after the *Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak* ceased to exist during the First World War, they went on to found the first *Old Cornwall Society* in 1920 (there are now 33 *Old Cornwall Societies* in existence). The Society aimed to preserve the remnants of everything that was Celtic in Cornwall, particularly the language. The Society was to prove successful in generating a surge of interest in all things Cornish, prompting Jenner to

set up the Cornish Gorsedd in 1928. The Gorsedd met for the first time on 21<sup>st</sup> September of that year and has done every year since.

In the year following the establishment of the Gorsedd, Nance was to publish a volume which marked a major change in the revived language. Nance and others had felt that the spelling of revived Cornish contained many inadequacies, due to its phonetic spelling. Nance's *Cornish For All* introduced the spelling system of Unified Cornish which was adopted for teaching thereafter. Between them, Nance and ASD Smith - a linguist, teacher and Welsh Bard from Sussex - would produce a number of texts aimed at improving the teaching of Cornish, including Nance's 1935 *Cornish-English Dictionary* (published the year after he succeeded Jenner as Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorsedd). These formed the basis for anyone wishing to learn the language, an opportunity taken up in uncertain numbers. One indication of the extent of interest in the revival is the fact that people from 12 different countries took out subscriptions for Smith's all Cornish periodical, *Kernow*.

Payton and Deacon (1993) attribute the initial success of the Revivalists to a profound confusion of identity in Cornwall at the time. Amongst the first regions to deindustrialise, Cornwall was already approaching a post-industrial phase at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed this identity crisis had been the motivation for Jenner's work (Ellis, 1992). The Revivalists were reaching back to a half-forgotten Celtic-Catholic past, the use of middle Cornish literature in the construction of Unified Cornish was a conscious effort to bring back not only the language but some sense of a lost golden age. Those engaged in the Revival prior to the Second World War were predominantly middle-class émigrés. Payton and Deacon view this involvement as romanticism and stress the

lack of connection with the working classes. This was to change in the post-war period.

The language movement after the war became increasingly politicised in reaction to a number of new socioeconomic issues: increased economic management by government, tourism, branch-plant factory development and massive in-migration (Payton, 1992; Payton and Deacon, 1993). The formation of Mebyon Kernow in 1951, as a political pressure group, preceded a rising politics of anti-metropolitanism within Cornwall. Despite its political involvement, Mebyon Kernow was firmly rooted in the Revival, with the result that Cornish teaching in state schools was high on its agenda (Payton and Deacon, 1993). With Mebyon Kernow's move into the party-political arena in 1964, a number of other organisations arose throughout the 1970s and 1980s to fill the need for pressure groups, including: Cornwall Conservation Forum, Cornish Alternatives to the Structure Plan, the Campaign for a Cornish Euro Constituency and the Cornish Social and Economic Research Group. Language promotion was central to none of their agendas, but remained important as a sign of Cornwall's 'difference' (Payton and Deacon 1993). The language movement continued with the formation of Kesva an Tavas Kernewek (the Cornish Language Board) in 1967. The Language Board took on responsibility of all aspects of the movement, including conducting exams up to GCE level. In 1979 the Board formed Cowethas an yeth Kernewek (The Cornish Language Fellowship) which took over publishing of An Gannas, a monthly magazine entirely in Cornish (Ellis, 1998).

The 1980s brought a very different political climate, with many of the pressure groups lapsing and the Kesva pursuing an essentially apolitical

language policy. The language issue became effectively depoliticised. CoSERG's (Cornish Social and Economic Research Group) 1988 publication 'Cornwall At The Crossroads' is particularly representative of this approach; language is considered only as a minor (but essential) part of an agenda which focuses on environment, identity, self-reliance, development and tourism. Payton and Deacon (1993) view this lack of nationalist agenda as the main reason that the numbers of language learners began to drop off after a peak in 1985; the increased numbers of learners until that point had been a result of increased interest in nationalist politics brought on by the successes of such movements in Wales and Scotland. Perhaps as a result of this decline, 1987 saw the formation of Agan Tavas (Our Language/tongue) specifically to promote the language amongst young people. The 1980s also saw the foundations laid for the problems which currently face the language movement.

During the 1970s the language movement saw a shift toward spoken, conversational Cornish rather than written language (Dunbar and George, 1997). Payton and Deacon acknowledge that the examination figures which seem to show a decline in speakers could be a reflection of this shift, as the new generation of advocates of spoken language gradually overtook the older literary generation. With the change in emphasis, many Cornish speakers began to "question the accuracy " of the pronunciation endorsed by Unified Cornish (Dunbar and George, 1997). These concerns were voiced by Tim Saunders, a graduate in Celtic Studies from Aberystwyth (Ellis, 1998). Additionally the changing political climate allowed the criticisms of academics (linguists and Celticists) from outside of Cornwall to be more readily heard by the Cornish language movement (Payton & Deacon, 1993). Once again Ellis

provides a useful summary of the effects these factors had on the changing language movement.

In the early 1980s Richard Gendall, author of the text book *Living Cornish*, made representation to An Kesva about the possibility of researching these claims and was largely ignored, leading to his apparent exit from the movement. Nonetheless others were working on the same ideas and in 1986 Ken George published the results of his study *Pronunciation of Revised Cornish*. George's work involved detailed computer analysis of the phonological structure of Middle Cornish, resulting in a revised phonemic orthography known as *Phonemic Cornish* and later as *Common Cornish* (*Kernewek Kemmyn*). In 1987 Kesva an Tavas Kernewek adopted *Kernewek Kemmyn*, much to the dismay of the large body of advocates for *Unified Cornish*. This decision was further ratified in 1989 when the Gorsedd agreed to accept submissions in both *Common* and *Unified Cornish*. At this time Gendall returned from his apparent exile with his own revised Cornish. Based on *Late Cornish* (the language as it was used from the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century until its demise), Gendall's system was known as *Traditional Cornish*.

The competition between the various forms of revived Cornish was exacerbated by a change in the way An Kesva was organised. In 1985 a constitutional change had given *Cowethas an Yeth Kernewek* the power to select the majority of the 20 members of An Kesva, and the 1989 election left supporters of *Unified Cornish* out of the selection, cementing the position of *Common Cornish* (Payton & Deacon, 1993). Fuelled by a perceived lack of willingness to compromise on the part of *Common Cornish* advocates, the supporters of *Unified* came together under the

aegis of Agan Tavas, effectively changing the remit of the society to that of ensuring the survival of Common Cornish (Ellis, 1998).

1995 saw the publication of *Cornish Today*, the first external study of all three versions of revived Cornish, written by Nicholas Williams – a professional Celtic scholar (Ellis, 1998). Williams concluded that Common Cornish was based too heavily on Welsh and Breton phonology (George is a graduate of Brest, fluent in both Cornish and Breton and with a working knowledge of Welsh (Payton & Deacon, 1993)). Williams also dismissed Traditional Cornish as somewhat pointless, given that Late and Middle Cornish were essentially the same language (Ellis, 1998). Williams concluded that with few amendments, Unified Cornish was the best choice of the three. The members of Agan Tavas, pleased at this apparently objective approval of their work, published a new grammar for Unified Cornish in 1997. Of this document Ellis states “it is hoped that this will eventually become a focus of compromise for the whole of the Cornish Language Movement.” (Ellis, 1998, p.32).

1997 also saw the publication of George’s response to Williams’ criticisms, *Kernewek Kemmyn – Cornish for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, written in conjunction with Paul Dunbar, himself a member of *Mebyon Kernow*, *An Kesva* and a *Gorsedd Bard*. Although this document presents a great deal of well ordered information on the linguistic methodology behind Common Cornish, it also adds to and illustrates a tendency toward polemic that has become attached to the language movement. The backing of *An Kesva* would seem to give Common Cornish some momentum, despite Ellis’s hopes for compromise over Unified. George feels that the future of Cornish lies in the continuing ‘spiral’ improvement of *Kernewek Kemmyn*, through repeated feedback from the Cornish

speaking community (Dunbar & George, 1997). Further weight must be added by George's assertion that whilst the Celticists engage in philological comparison, his field is practical language planning (Payton & Deacon, 1993).

Earlier sections have detailed the strength of language as a cultural marker and in maintaining identity. This chapter has indicated the importance that Cornish has had in the development of a new nationalist/regionalist agenda; first as a means of mobilising culture and later politics, until language itself may be mobilised as a cultural asset in a wider nationalist agenda. This political and cultural movement, though, has been confined to specific groups within Cornwall, rarely reaching the level of popular culture and general Cornish identity (e.g. Deacon, 1993; Deacon et al., 1988). The cursory study of Cornish identity conducted by The Local Government Commission (The Future Local Government of Cornwall, Draft Recommendations, 1994; Final Recommendations, 1995) asked respondents to rate how strongly they felt they belonged to different aspects of their locality, beginning at the level of village or neighbourhood and working up to the County of Cornwall. The highest percentage of respondents who rated their belonging to Cornwall as very or fairly strong, was in the district of Penwith. The overall pattern indicates a strength of belonging which approximates the state of the language during its later period, Cornish identity (as expressed by a feeling of belonging to Cornwall) is strongest in the west, weakening progressively to the east. Although this data can perhaps link the decline of language and a sense of Cornish identity (persisting most strongly where the language was last spoken to any extent) it makes little sense to try and link the two factors at this level in contemporary Cornwall. Deacon et al. (1988) place little value on language as a factor of identity,

referring instead to ‘modern’ factors more associated with the 19<sup>th</sup> century: close communities (originally based on occupation e.g. mining) and family ties; Methodism; a sense of informality; a sceptical disregard for authority; political radicalism. Language, dialect and accent are merely more visible, as are such things as pasties and saffron buns. These are all seen as elements of ‘classical’ Cornish popular culture, now under threat from a massive number of in-migrants, which cannot be assimilated within the culture. Deacon et al.’s treatment of Cornish identity, however, is in the context of their polemic CoSERG report (see above). Deacon (1993) provides a more academic assessment of the current state of Cornish identity.

Deacon begins by noting that many academics do not recognise any degree of separateness, regarding Cornish Identity; Deacon takes the position common to Cornish Studies and sets about illustrating what the popular perceived difference may be. Importantly, Deacon notes that identity does not arise directly from day-to-day practices, but is mediated by them and by historical precedent. The work of McArthur (an MSc dissertation which is considered important by the Cornish Studies body as it collected a valuable ethnographic sample) indicates that although most are aware of the Celtic past of Cornwall, it is interpreted in different ways. The distinctive elements of Cornish identity are entirely subjective. There is however a “readiness [amongst] Cornish people generally to self-identify as ‘Cornish’” (Deacon, 1993, p.203).

The impressions of non-Cornish people are equally important. The main representations to outsiders take the form of guide-books and tourist marketing, with a tendency to overemphasise a romantic past and sense of ‘mystery’ – ideas not commonly found amongst the contemporary

Cornish (Deacon, 1993). Nevertheless, within this field the Cornish have the distinction of being a 'named group', a fact which enhances a sense of difference, reinforcing the symbolic boundary of Cornishness.

Deacon posits that there are currently not enough Cornish speakers to lend the language any strength as a cultural 'core value'. Cornish has symbolic value – it indicates that 'Cornishness' exists – but the language alone cannot account for the strength of the Cornish identity. Payton, (1992) clarifies this position, by stating that the very existence of the language illustrates difference and affords Cornwall a status within the emerging discourse of minority linguistic nations in the EU (Payton deems the fact of Mebyon Kernow's existence to fit the same pattern, having high value despite its lack of electoral success). The most likely candidate for a core value would seem to be territory. Territorial issues have produced the strongest mobilisation. Payton (1993b) describes the relationship between territory and identity in Cornwall, drawing firstly on the obvious border, the river Tamar, established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century by the Saxon king, Athelstan. This border divided Celts from Saxons, and has endured in the popular consciousness as separating Cornish from English. Attempts to alter the status of this border, usually for administrative purposes, have met with resistance. The most obvious is the continued resistance to Cornwall being subsumed into regional groupings or being absorbed into "Devonwall". The most proactive element of this protest, is the campaign to allow Cornwall status as a separate European Parliamentary Constituency, rather than being combined with Devon. Equally important would seem to be maintaining the county unit of Cornwall. The Local Government Review announced in 1991 raised concerns when it seemed that Cornwall might lose its county council in favour of several smaller unitary authorities. Ultimately public opinion

would seem to have been served, as the reports recommendations were upheld and no major changes were undertaken with the governance of Cornwall. Despite Payton's illustration of the importance of territory as a cornerstone of Cornish identity, Deacon does not consider it to have the strength for larger mobilisation. Territoriality only mobilises the culture resources when there is a perceived threat to the integrity of the territory.

This leaves the conclusion that there is no obvious central 'object' of Cornish culture or identity - the concept of 'Cornwall' itself cannot adequately be described by territorial boundaries - but rather a long and confused history, where language undoubtedly plays its part. The very fact that there is no rigid core value to Cornish identity may be the reason why it has endured through political and economic hardship. It is possible to construe the present state of Cornish identity as a period of renegotiation; if - as is hoped by many - the EU's regional policies do prove to be a means by which Cornwall can express its cultural uniqueness and gain a measure of political autonomy, then it is not inconceivable that perceptions of Cornish identity will change again.

## **8 Conclusion**

This paper represents the first stage of a research project. There are limits to the conclusions it may be useful to draw. At this stage the research raises more questions than it answers. It has been shown that, as a possible resource for rural development, minority languages and cultures have the potential to offer new forms of development. These forms of development are likely to be specific to the territory of the language, reflecting the principles of endogenous development. The concept of cultural literacy was proposed as a way to understand the relationship

between people, culture and place. Cornwall was proposed as a suitable region to apply this concept to.

The Cornish example hints at the existence of conflicting cultural literacies within the territory, resulting in divides amongst those involved in the language revival and political movements. It is not yet obvious what lies at the root of these disputes and what their outcome will be. A further point of interest is that the language movement was able to generate a development minded political movement which was then able to reduce the role of language within it. The symbolic value of the language to the nationalist movement changes over time – language may simply be a means to other ends. Might it be possible for cultural literates to ‘translate’ the meaning contained within the language - the worldview - into a more accessible, non-linguistic and hence more highly politicised form? These issues will be considered further during the upcoming period of field research.

## References

Barrett, S.R. (1996) *Anthropology: a Students Guide to Theory and Method* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Callon, M. (1986) 'Some elements of the sociology of translation: domestication of scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', in Law, J. (ed.) *Power, Action, Belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge.

Cohen, A.P. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community* London: Routledge.

Deacon, B., George, A. and Perry, R. (1988) *Cornwall at the Crossroads?* Redruth: CoSERG.

Deacon, B. (1993) 'And shall Trelawny die? The Cornish identity' in Payton, P. (ed.) *Cornwall Since the War* Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.

Donaldson, A. (1998) *Constructing the Community? Networks and Meaning in Rural Development* Unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Newcastle.

Dunbar, P. and George, K. (1997) *Kernewek Kemmyn: Cornish for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* Cornish Language Board.

Ellis, P.B. (1998) *The Story of the Cornish Language* Redruth: Tor Mark Press.

Fishman, J.A. (1985a) 'Language Maintenance and Ethnicity' in Fishman et al. (1985).

Fishman, J.A. (1985b) 'The Whorfian Hypothesis: Varieties of Valuation, Confirmation and Disconformation' in Fishman et al. (1985).

Fishman, J.A. (1985c) 'Whorfianism of the Third Kind: Ethnolinguistic Diversity as a Worldwide Societal Asset' in Fishman et al. (1985).

Fishman, J.A., Gertner, M.H., Lowry, E.G. and Milan, W.H. (1985) *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival* New York: Mouton.

Gardner, K. and D. Lewis (1996) *Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge* London: Pluto.

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures* New York: Basic Books (1993, London: Fontana).

Giddens, A. (1994) 'Living in a post-traditional society' in Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Griggs, R. (1995) *The Fourth World in Europe* Kernow 30.

Hannerz, U. (1991) *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organisation of Meaning* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hobart, M. (ed) (1993) *An Anthropological Critique of Development* London: Routledge.

Hubinger, V. (ed.) (1996) *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era* London: Routledge

Latour, B. (1986) 'The powers of association' in Law, J. (ed.) *Power, Action and Belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Latour, B. (1991) *We Have Never Been Modern* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Latour, B. (1999) *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* London: Harvard University Press.

Local Government Commission for England (1994) *The Future Local Government of Cornwall: Draft Recommendations* London: HMSO.

Local Government Commission for England (1995) *Final Recommendations on the Future Local Government of Cornwall: a report to the Secretary of State for the Environment* London: HMSO.

Lowe, P., Murdoch, J. and Ward, N. (1995) 'Beyond endogenous and exogenous models: networks in rural development' in Van der Ploeg, J.D. and Van Dijk, G. *Beyond modernisation: The Impact of Endogenous Rural Development* Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Lowe, P., Ray, C., Ward, N., Wood, D. and Woodward, R. (1998) *Participation in Rural Development: A Review of European Experience* Research Report, University of Newcastle upon Tyne: Centre for Rural Economy.

Midgely, J., Hall, A., Hardiman, M. and Narine, D. (1986) *Community Participation, Social Development and the State* London: Methuen.

Mol, A. (1999) 'Ontological politics' in Law, J. and Hassard, J. (eds) *Actor Network Theory and After* London: Blackwell.

Murdoch, J. (1994) *Weaving the Seamless Web: A Consideration of Network Analysis and its Potential Application to the Study of the Rural Economy* Working Paper 3 University of Newcastle upon Tyne: Centre for Rural Economy.

Murdoch, J (1997) 'Inhuman/nonhuman/human: actor-network theory and the prospects for a nondualistic and symmetrical perspective on nature and society' *Environment and Planning D* Vol. 15: 6, pp731-756.

Pasquinelli, C. (1996) 'The concept of culture between modernity and postmodernity' in Hubinger, V. (ed.) *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era* London: Routledge.

Payton, P. (1992) *The Making of Modern Cornwall* Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.

Payton, P. (1993a) 'Contemporary Cornwall: a suitable case for treatment?' in Payton, P. (ed.) *Cornwall Since the War* Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.

Payton, P. (1993b) 'Territory and identity' in Payton, P. (ed.) *Cornwall Since the War* Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.

Payton, P. and Deacon, B. (1993) 'The ideology of language revival' in Payton, P. (ed.) *Cornwall Since the War* Redruth: Dyllansow Truran.

Rapport, N. (1993) *Diverse World Views in an English Village* Edinburgh University Press.

Ray, C. (1999) 'Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity' *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp.257-267.

Van der Ploeg, J.D. and Van Dijk, G. (eds) (1995) *Beyond Modernisation: The Impact of Endogenous Rural Development* Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Steiner, G. (1998) *After Babel* Oxford: OUP 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

Trask, N. (1999) *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* London: Routledge.

Whorf, B.L. (1956) *Language, Thought and Reality: selected writings* London: Chapman & Hall.

Williams, C.H. (1991) *Linguistic Minorities, Society and Territory* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Young, C. (1976) *The Politics of Cultural Plurality* University of Wisconsin Press