# The Interdisciplinary Linguistics Program (ILP) at the University of Winnipeg (UW)

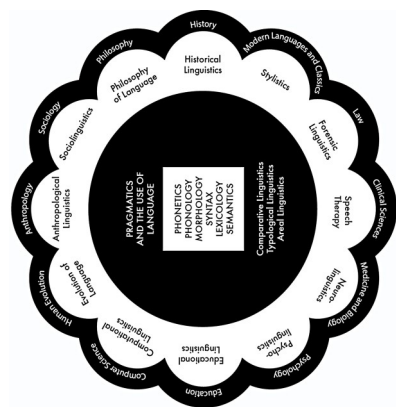## The History and Language of the Goths
Kaili Gabelmann, Major in Linguistics



Gothic is the most well-known of the now extinct East Germanic languages. This paper examines the historical origins of the Goths, as well as Gothic's most prominent linguistic features. First, it discusses the debate surrounding the Goths' homeland. Secondly, it briefly touches on two varieties of the language, Wulfila's Gothic and Crimean Gothic. And finally, an overview of the former dialect's spelling and sound systems is presented along with a discussion of its morphological and syntactic features.

### Origins: migration or autochthony?
The original homeland of the Goths is the subject of debate among scholars. According to sixth-century Gothic historian, Jordanes, the tribes of the Swedish island of Gotland in the early first century BCE, as well as those of south-central Sweden, became what was later known as the Goths. Jordanes postulates a series of migratory movements, suggesting the tribes crossed the Baltic sea to the Vistula, and in the decades leading up to 170ACE, had moved towards the Black sea. Their settlements bordered the Roman Empire "between the Don and the Dniester rivers [and they] were joined by other migrating waves between A.D. 200 and 230" (Robinson, p. 36). Many historians and archaeologists support Jordanes' theory, and have provided linguistic evidence in the form of Swedish place-names. Moreover, they posit a link between the Goths and the Wielbark culture that expanded southward from the lower Vistula.

Historian Michael Kulikowski, however, disputes this view based on two points. The first is the assertion that linguistic evidence does not necessarily point to a cohesive ethnic identity, and hence dismisses the weight attributed to Swedish place-names. Secondly, he argues against the assumption that the mere presence of a material culture must be linked to certain patterns of migration. He rejects archaeological evidence that many scholars use to ascribe the Wielbark culture to the Goths. Instead, he suggests that the Gothic identity emerged as a result of Roman cultural and political influence, i.e. as an autochthonous group in modern-day Romania and stretching all the way to Ukraine.

Scholars agree on the events that occurred after the year 270 ACE.: the Goths bifurcated into distinct groups in the latter half of the third century, though it remains unclear whether that division existed prior to this time. The Ostrogoths settled in modern-day Ukraine, while the Visigoths inhabited the region in what is known today as Romania.

### Brief history of the Goths
The Visigoths captured and plundered Rome in 410, leading them to establish a successful kingdom in southern Gaul and in most of the Iberian peninsula, until they were conquered by the Moors in 711. The Ostrogoths had a tumultuous relationship with the Romans following the disintegration of the Huns' empire in 455. They first became federates of the Romans in Pannonia, then ruled

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**Ivan Roksandic** (Anthropology) teaches *Languages of the World*, *Morphology* and *Indo-European Linguistics*. His main research interests are language typology and indigenous languages of South America. His current project focuses on the indigenous toponymy in the Caribbean.

**Amy Desroches** (Psychology) uses cognitive and brain imagining methods to examine reading and language development. In particular, her work focuses on the role of phonology in learning to read, and the impact that reading development has on spoken language processing.

**Zbigniew Izydorczyk** teaches at the Department of English. His areas of special interest include Old and Middle English, history of English, history of Latin, and palaeography.

**Robert Lewis** (Anthropology) teaches *Introduction to Linguistics, Language Revitalization, Language Typology, Syntax* and *Language Acquisition.* His research interests include Potawatomi and Algonquian languages, discourse phenomena, morphology and syntactic theory, language revitalization, and language pedagogy.

**Kristin Lovrien-Meuwese** (Modern Languages) is interested in language learning in general and second language acquisition in particular, but has most recently worked on a sociolinguistic study of German in Manitoba.

**Jorge Machín-Lucas** (Modern Languages) is a specialist in XXth and XXIst Century Spanish Literature, and teaches courses in Spanish Normative Grammar and History of the Spanish Language.

**Andrew McGillivray** (Rhetoric) teaches *Transnational and Intercultural Language and Communication*. His research interests include Icelandic studies, mythology, and medieval rhetoric. He is currently developing a project about cultural memory and the representation of heritage in Manitoba's Interlake region.

**Sky Onosson** (Anthropology) a sociophonetician and phonologist who has worked on languages including North American English, Japanese and Brazilian Portugese. Much of his research involves empirical, computational and theoretical approaches to understanding the dynamic properties of vovels.

**Jennifer Reid** (English) is an academic medievalist who investigates the relationship between language, communications media, and sociocultural identity in Britain and Ireland during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Her abiding research interests are at the intersection of Medieval Studies and Media Studies.

**Liliane Rodriguez** (Modern Languages) teaches Linguistics, Comparative Stylistics and Translation. Her main research is in Lexicometry, Geolinguistics and Bilingualism. She is the author of several books and of many articles in Linguistics and Translation Studies.

**Shelley Tulloch** (Anthropology) teaches *Sociolinguistics*. Her research interests include bilingualism, identity, and language revitalization. Her current research focuses on intercultural Inuit education.

In addition, several courses included in the ILP curriculum are taught at other Departments; UW faculty members from those Departments associated with the ILP include **Jeffrey Newmark** (Religion and Culture), **Tracy Whalen** (Rhetoric), **Bea Castaneda (**Developmental Studies), and **Glenn Moulaison**, the Dean of Arts, who teaches *History of the French Language*.

## Students

**Admissions:** Students interested in majoring in Linguistics should contact the Coordinator of the ILP.

**Award:** The Angela Mattiaci Memorial Scholarship in Interdisciplinary Linguistics is awarded every October to a student majoring in linguistics with a distinguished performance in ILP courses.

For more information visit our website at:  http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/interdisciplinary-linguistics

**Colloquium:** Every year in April, after the exam period, the Annual Student Colloquium is held, offering to students an opportunity to present the results of their research to the audience of their colleagues.



| Fall/Winter 2020/21 | | |
|---|---|---|
| LING-1001-001 Introduction to Linguistics | 10:00 – 11:15 Tu/Th | I. Roksandic |
| LING-3311-001/FREN-3111-001 Comparative Stylistics and Translation | 4:00 – 5:15 M/W | L. Rodriguez |
| **Fall 2020** | | |
| LING-2002/ANTH-2402/ENGL-2805 Morphology | 1:00 – 2:15 Tu/Th | I. Roksandic |
| LING-2003-052/ANTH-2403-052/ENL-2802-052 Syntax | 6:00 – 9:00 Tu | J. Reid |
| LING-2103-001/ANTH-2404-001 Languages of the World | 4:00 – 5:45 Tu/Th | I. Roksandic |
| LING-2301-001/FREN-2202-001 Phonetics (lab required) | 2:30 – 3:45 M/W | L. Rodriguez |
| CLAS-2850-001 Classical Roots of Medical Terminology | 8:30 – 9:20 M/W/F | W. Huard |
| PSYC-2620-001 Psycholinguistics | 11:30 – 12:45 Tu/Th | A. Desroches |
| LING-3102/4102/ANTH-3406/4406 Indo-European Language and Myth | 11:30 – 12:45 Tu/Th | I. Roksandic |
| LING-3105-050/DEV-3300-050 Speech and Language Disorders | 5:30 – 8:30 Th | B. Castaneda |
| SOC-3214-001 Mass Communication and Media | 1:30-2:20 M/W/F | B. Kirkpatrick |
| **Winter 2021** | | |
| LING-2001-001/ANTH-2401-001/ENGL-2803/001 Phonetics and Phonology | 4:00 – 5:15 Tu/Th | TBA |
| LING-2004/ANTH-2405/ENGL-2806 Semantics | 2:30 – 3:45 Tu/Th | J. Reid |
| LING-2102/ANTH-2400 Method and Theory in Linguistic Anthropology | 11:30 – 12:45 T/Th | I. Roksandic |
| LING-2401-001/GERM-2202-001 German Phonetics | 12:30-1:20 M/W/F | K. Lovrien-Meuwese |
| CLAS-2850-002 Classical Roots of Medical Terminology | 8:30 – 9:45 Tu/Th | W. Huard |
| CRS-2252-001 Conflict and Communication | 10:30-11:20 M/W/F | J. Hyde |
| LING-3103-001/ANTH-4308-001 Sociolinguistics | 1:00-2:15 T/Th | S.Tulloch |
| ENGL-3812-001 History of the English Language | 9:30-10:20 M/W/F | Z. Izydorczyk |
| FREN-3301-001 History of the French Language | 1:30-2:20 M/W/F | G. Moulaison |
| PSYC-3480-050 Interpersonal Communications | 1:00 – 2:15 Tu/Th | M. Lee |
| RHET-3139-001 Rhetorics of Visual Representation | 11:30 – 12:45 Tu/Th | T. Whalen |

*Courses Subject to Change

over Italy under their leader Theodoric. Their power declined when the emperor, Justinian, waged war against the Goths in 535.

Despite their longstanding threat to the Roman Empire, the history of the Goths is marked by a number of military defeats, difficulties consolidating their power, and repeated attacks from the Huns and other groups. Both the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths assimilated into the native populations of Italy and Spain, and by the eighth century had largely faded in Europe.


Wulfila explains the gospel to the Goths (Public Domain)

## Varieties of Gothic

The study of Gothic has relied on various fragmentary sources, but it is primarily known to linguists through the work of 4th century Visigothic bishop, Wulfila (ca. 311-83), who translated the Bible with the intention of spreading his Arian Christian faith to the Goths. In addition to Wulfila's work, parts of the *Skereins*, a commentary on the Gospel of John, is an important source in the attestation of Gothic; whether it was originally written in Gothic, or translated from Greek, is unknown.

A variant of the language, Crimean Gothic, was possibly spoken until the 18th century by Goths who had settled in remote areas of Crimea. The late sixteenth century Flemish ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, recorded, along with their Latin glosses, 101 entries of a language spoken by two Crimean men. Despite his unreliable methods of investigation, Busbecq has given scholars an important, albeit small, corpus for the study of Crimean Gothic. The language spoken by the Crimean men appears to have been East Germanic, specifically an Ostrogothic dialect that dates back to circa 258ACE. Similarities with Wulfila's Gothic include the final sibilant *z*, devoiced in Crimean Gothic to [s], as well as the dental Verschärfung ("hardening") of the double glides *-jj-*. What distinguishes the two variants is the preservation of certain Proto-Germanic features in Crimean Gothic, such as the *u* before *r*.

*Given its much larger corpus, Wulfilla's dialect is examined linguistically in the following sections.*

## Alphabet, spelling, and sound system of Wulfila's Gothic

Wulfila created the alphabet and spelling system, basing them heavily on Greek and borrowing from the repertory of Runic symbols. Here is a Biblical passage from Mark 8:17, followed by an English translation:

*jah fraþjands Iesus qaþ du im: ƕa þaggkeiþ unte hlaibans ni habaiþ? ni nauh fraþjiþ nih wituþ, unte daubata habaiþ hairto izwar.*

And being aware of it, Jesus said to them, "Why do you discuss the fact that you have no bread? Do you not yet perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened?" (In Fortson IV, pp. 355-356)

The letter *u* can be both long and short, and when paired with *a* to form *au*, it may represent either the long [ɔː] or the short [ɔ]. Similarly, *ai* is a long [ɛː] or a short [ɛ]. The combination *ei* represents [iː], while both *e* and *o* are long and tense. As for the consonant letters, *q* has the corresponding *kʷ* sound; likewise ˙ is a *hʷ* sound. The thorn *þ* is pronounced as a voiceless fricative like the modern English *th-* in the word *thin*. Furthermore, *g* before *g*, *k*, or *q* takes on the sound of a velar nasal, though *gg* may sometimes represent a simple double *g*. Other consonantal features include the hardening of the double glides *jj* and *ww* found in Proto-Germanic, resulting in *ddj* and *ggw*, respective-

ly. Illustrating this phenomenon is the Gothic word *triggws* that developed from the Germanic word for 'trusty, true' *treww(i)a-,* unlike the Old Norse *tryggva* which, along with every other Germanic language, eliminated glides of this type. Other common clusters contain apical consonants, i.e. pronounced with the tip of the tongue, and tend to be followed by the glide *w,* as in the words, *twalif* 'twelve' and *swa* 'so' (Fortson IV, pp. 414, 315).

Aside from the Verschärfung of geminate glides, the Gothic sound system can be characterized by three main features. The first is the near-complete deletion of Verner's variants. That is, Gothic replaced "nearly all the Verner's variants [....] by generalizing one or the other stem-final consonantal variant throughout any given paradigm" (Fortson IV, p. 353). The plural preterite *waurþum* from the verb *wairþan* ("become") exemplifies this well, as one would expect the consonantal variant *d* to form the preterite *\*waurdum*, similar to the Old English cognate infinitive *wearþ* and plural preterite *wurdon* (p. 353).

The second unique feature concerns the Gothic vowel inventory: it best reflects Proto-Germanic. The umlauts that affected North and West Germanic languages are lacking in the Gothic sound system. For example, the *i*-umlaut that characterizes Germanic words, such as in the English *foot* and *feet*, is not present in the Gothic cognates *fotus* and *fotjus*.

And finally, a third salient feature of Gothic pertains to its prosodic features, namely stress and accent. The stress occurs on the first syllable of multi-syllabic words, a characteristic feature of Germanic languages. And, contrary to PIE's pitch accent, speakers of Gothic used a stress accent, evidenced in features such as the shortening of [e:] and [o:], as well as unstressed final syllables losing the short vowels [a] and [i].

## Morphology

Gothic preserved a number of Proto-Indo-European morphological features. The nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive cases, as well as the less frequent vocative were retained, but unlike other IE languages, the instrumental was lost. Some declensions preserved a vocative -nominative distinction, as with the word for 'day' appearing in the vocative as *dag*, and *dags* in the nominative. Here, the Gothic suffix *-s* descends from the Proto-Germanic *\*-az*, a nominative singular inflection in masculine *a*-stem nouns (Robinson, p. 50).

The PIE dual-plural distinction in the first and second person, personal pronouns found in multiple cases survived in Gothic, for example, in the nominative dual *wit* and *jut*, or 'we two' and 'you two,' respectively. Likewise, *weise* and *jus* denoted the nominative plural 'we' and 'you.' Yet another feature distinguishing Gothic from a number of its sister languages was the absence of *h-* in the third person singular, masculine personal pronoun *is*. And, to further differentiate Gothic from its Germanic counterparts, it kept a passive conjugation in the present tense while the others conveyed the passive voice by means of periphrastic constructions.

Gothic has four sub-classes of weak verbs, the fourth being the distinctive *-nan* class in which most verbs are derived from adjectives or "preterite participles of strong verbs" (Robinson, p. 52), and can be considered inchoative. An example of this is the word *gaþaúrsnan* 'to become dry,' which stems from the adjective *þaúrsus* 'dry.'

While Germanic languages tend to use a vowel-alternation system, Gothic can also resort to reduplication in its seventh class of strong verbs with the help of a prefix. The latter contains the reduplicated first consonant or consonant cluster, and follows it with the vowel *aí*.

Despite these morphological differences, there are many features that bridge the gap between Gothic and other Germanic languages. These include the second person, singular marker *-t* in the preterite indicative of strong verbs, as well as the differentiation in plural verbs for first, second, and third person inflections.

## Syntax

Gothic, as well as Hittite, Latin and Greek preserved Wackernagel's Law, which governs the placement of clitics by positioning them in the second position of clauses that follow a stressed element. In the following passage from John 19:12, the enclitic is underlined in both translations:

*fram-uh þamma sokida Peilatus fraletan ina*
"And at this Pilate sought to release him." (Fortson IV, p. 162)

In this example, *-uh* is the only descendant of the PIE enclitic conjunction *\*u-kʷe* 'and.' Similarly, a second enclitic denoting the meaning of 'and' is represented by *h* and descends from PIE *\*kʷe*, as in the Gothic clause *ga-h-melida* 'and he wrote' (Fortson IV, p.354).

Furthermore, the presence of preverbs are equally important when considering the position of enclitics as they too comply with Wackernagel's Law. In other words, if a preverb and verb occur at the beginning of a clause, the clitic will interfere with their sequence and appear in second position.

**Conclusion**

The tumultuous socio-political history of the Goths provide a possible explication for Gothic's decline by the mid-sixth century. Contrary to other Germanic languages, insufficient linguistic data has limited the study of Gothic, and scholars have had to rely on fragmentary sources, most notably Wulfila's Bible, to paint a clear picture of the language. Despite this paucity of sources, Gothic is the only East Germanic language to have an adequate text corpus. This has allowed linguists to demonstrate Gothic's preservation of many Germanic and Indo-European features at the levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax.

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Great Ludovisi sarcophagus depicts a battle between Goths and Romans (Public Domain)

# Cornish: The difficulties of Reviving a "Dead" Language
## Nicola Donovan, Major in Linguistics

Evolving directly from Brittonic, the little-known language of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain before the Roman conquest (Ferdinand, 2013; Fortson, 2010), Cornish is the only Celtic language still spoken in England today, albeit by a very small minority of people. The language effectively became extinct in the late 18th century, remaining dormant for nearly 130 years until revival attempts commenced in 1904. Although backed by a passionate group of supporters, the Cornish revitalization movement has suffered difficulties throughout its history, including a longstanding conflict over the "correct" orthography to use for revived Cornish, issues related to Cornish language and identity, and apathy and resistance from people living in Cornwall concerning the language's revival. Accordingly, despite the support of an enthusiastic revivalist movement for over 115 years, Cornish's historic decline and subsequent death cause considerable difficulties regarding its revival, such that the language continues to struggle to re-establish itself as a living community language today.

Cornish, spoken in the English administrative county of Cornwall, belongs to the Brittonic sub-branch of the Celtic branch of the Indo-European language family (Fortson, 2010). The last UK census, in 2011, reported Cornwall's population as 532,300 (Cornwall Council, 2017a), with just 464 people claiming Cornish as their main language (Nomis, 2011). Subsequently, in 2018, Ferdinand found more than 3,000 people living in Cornwall had at least rudimentary skills in Cornish, approximately 500 of whom were estimated fluent (cited in Ferdinand, 2019). Cornwall's population underwent a "demographic revolution" (Deacon, cited in Dunmore, 2020, p. 15) during the 20th century, with many wealthy city dwellers purchasing second homes in the county. Driving up property prices in Cornwall, this has led to the indigenous population often being forced to live in poor areas whilst urban areas "became increasingly gentrified" (Deacon, cited in Dunmore, 2020, p. 16), creating resentment amongst locals vis-à-vis these wealthy outsiders.

The Cornish nevertheless have a proud regional identity, partly due to Cornwall being the only English county with its own language. Although "one icon among many" (Dunmore, 2020, p. 21), the Cornish language is as important to regional identity as the flag of Saint Piran (Aldous & Williams, cited in Dunmore, 2020), the patron saint of Cornwall and the county's historically important occupation of tin miners (Saint Piran, 2020). Having its own language and flag makes Cornwall more akin to the separate UK nations of Scotland and Wales, both also possessing their own languages and flags, than a mere English county (Willett, cited in Dunmore, 2020).

According to George (2009), Traditional Cornish, first appearing as a distinct language around 600 AD, is usually divided into four historical periods: (a) Primitive, spoken from 600 to 800; (b) Old, spoken from 800 to 1200; (c) Middle, spoken from 1200 to 1575; and (d) Late, or Modern, spoken from 1575 to 1800. Historically, the Saxons' westward advance following their victory at the Battle of Dyrham in 577 cut off land communication between the Celtic speaking peoples of future Wales and the future English counties of Devon and Cornwall. Following centuries of separation, differences appeared between the dialects of Brittonic spoken in Wales and Cornwall, resulting in the emergence of the similar, but different, languages of Welsh and Cornish (Ferdinand, 2013).

The most similar Brittonic language to Cornish is, however, actually Breton, spoken in Brittany, France (Ferdinand, 2013), which also developed during the Saxons' westward expansion following the Battle of Dyrham. Numerous Celts in southwest England "abandon[ed] their homeland" (Ferdinand, 2013, p. 201) for other parts of Europe, including today's Brittany. Their language subsequently developed into Breton, albeit Cornish and Breton remained mutually intelligible for centuries (Ferdinand, 2013).

During its heyday, from 1300 to 1500, Cornish was spoken by between 73% and 48% of Cornwall's population (George, 2009). In the 15th century, however, the Tudor period, especially Henry VIII's Reformation of the Catholic church, proved catastrophic for Cornish. During this period, the Cornish repeatedly sought to establish independence from England, with the first major uprising in 1497 resulting in the deaths of 2,000 Cornishmen, with many others being "hunted down and sold into slavery" (Mills, 2010, p. 196). These young men represented the loss of a generation of males capable of raising Cornish-speaking families (Ferdinand, 2013), which explains why the uprising

led "analogously…to the murder of a language" (Mills, 2010, p. 196).

Subsequently, The Prayer Book Rebellion in 1549 followed the replacement of the four old liturgical Latin books with the *Book of Common Prayer*, produced solely in English and imposed upon the Cornish, most of whom could not speak English (Mills, 2010). Resenting being forced "to worship in their conqueror's language" (Mills, 2010, p. 199), the Cornish rebelled, with the subsequent battle resulting in around 3,500 deaths, approximately 50% of able-bodied Cornish-speaking men. Subsequent legislation, introduced in 1559, encouraged the church to preach in the people's vernacular language, resulting in the *Book of Common Prayer* being translated into French, Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Irish, and Manx Gaelic but not, notably, Cornish (Ferdinand, 2013).

The loss of Cornish in the prestigious domain of religion led to its decline into a stigmatized and "almost-unwritten language of the lower classes of Western Cornwall" (Jago, cited in Ferdinand, 2013, p. 209). The final straw for Cornish was the reduction in ties with Brittany after 1532, when the former Duchy became part of France, resulting in less contact between Cornish and Breton speakers (Ferdinand, 2013). Cornish did, however, survive until the last monolingual speaker died in 1777.

The Cornish language revival commenced in 1904 with Henry Jenner's *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*, in which Jenner appealed to Cornish identity, imploring people to learn the language "because they are Cornishmen" (cited in Ferdinand, 2013, p. 211). Initially a ceremonial, written medium, after the 1970s, some families raised their children speaking Cornish, creating the first native speakers since the 18th century (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013). By 2000, there were 20 children with Cornish as a mother-tongue, with a further 85 speaking Cornish as their L2 (MacKinnon, cited in Renkó-Michelsén, 2013). It remains difficult, however, to engage younger people in the language, and only 25 out of 645 valid respondents to *The Cornish Language Survey* were "competent… frequent users of Cornish" (Burley, 2008, p. 47) of child-bearing age. Further, although in the early 2000s, Cornish was taught at a handful of schools (MacKinnon, cited in Renkó-Michelsén, 2013), there were still no schools, by 2013, where Cornish was the medium of instruction for other subjects (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013).

Compared with the 1970s, when only one public example of written Cornish existed, the written language is today seen in numerous public forums, including road signs, local pubs, and national supermarket chains (Harasta, 2017). Cornish received more governmental support and funding after its recognition as a minority language within the remit of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2002 (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013). Subsequent improvements in the language's vitality led to UNESCO changing its categorization of Cornish from "extinct" to "critically endangered" in December 2010 (Renkó-Michelsén, 2013).

Given the language died out altogether before being revived, choosing an orthography for revived Cornish has been a significant, ongoing problem. The Standard Written Form (SWF) was adopted in 2008, albeit, by the time discussions surrounding the SWF commenced, three orthographies were on the table, each representing a different ideology:

> Unified Cornish, developed in 1929, used Middle Cornish spelling, favouring medieval texts, reminiscent of a time when English spelling influence was less prevalent than in later Cornish (Nance, cited in Davies-Deacon, 2020).

> Kernewek Kemmyn, created in 1986, which became the most popular orthography, "used a phonemic system based on the reconstructed phonology of Middle Cornish" (Davies-Deacon, 2020, p. 69), modifying the orthography to fit the phonological base (George & Broderick, 2009).

> Modern, or Late, Cornish, devised in 1991, based spelling on traditional texts, like Unified Cornish, but used the Cornish most recently spoken as a living language, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ferdinand, 2013).

That these three orthographies are based on opposing ideologies made it practically impossible to devise a single written form, hence an "entirely new version of Cornish" (Sayers, 2012, p. 112) became the SWF. Whilst all sides ended up comprising in its creation, they all equally managed to save face, given practical considerations, not ideology, became the drivers for standardization (Sayers, 2012). Interestingly, however, Davies-Deacon (2020) notes that the intended pluricentric and egalitarian approach, incorporating both Middle and Late Cornish word forms into the SWF, has not been very successful. Late forms are often less visible than Middle forms, resulting in the former being considered subordinate to the latter by both experienced Cornish speakers and learners of the language alike (Davies-Deacon, 2020).

Despite the adoption of the SWF, the different orthographies and ideologies remain important to identity, often resulting in continuing division and animosity amongst groups (Davies-Deacon, 2017). For example, "Kernowisation," when a person, often a Kernewek

Kemmyn user, adapts or replaces their name to make it sound more Cornish, is commonplace (Harasta, cited in Davies-Deacon, 2017), and, even in an otherwise completely English sentence, many people use the word "Kernewek" rather than "Cornish" (Davies-Deacon, 2017). Contrastingly, speakers of Unified and Late Cornish deliberately misspell "Kernewek Kemmyn" and anglicize its users' names, to undermine this orthographic system (Davies-Deacon, 2017). Also, "Late" Cornish is sometimes used by supporters of other orthographies to mean "both 'tardy'…and 'defunct'" (George, 2009, p. 488), negative connotations which are not complimentary to Modern, or Late, Cornish and its users (Davies-Deacon, 2017). The revitalization movement also continues to face apathy, even resistance, from the Cornish population, perhaps due, in part, to the perception of weaker Celtic ties compared to speakers of other UK Celtic languages, given Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland all have their own devolved governments (Davies-Deacon, 2017). Significantly, the UK government recognizing the Cornish, in 2014, as a "national minority" under the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, has not, unfortunately, had any practical effect on Cornwall governing its own affairs (Davies-Deacon, 2017).

Ferdinand (2019) found that supporters of Cornish language promotion are "still a large minority" (p. 122), with most people being either neutral or against promotion due to, for example, concerns about the impact on funding in other areas, considering support for the language "a waste of resources" (p. 122). Harasta (2017) agrees that not everybody in Cornwall has welcomed the revival and, interestingly, the most resistant are often people from "strong, indisputable ethnic Cornish backgrounds" (p. 258), for example, one "self-consciously ethnic Cornish" (p. 259) individual, not alone in his opinions, viewed Cornish as an extinct, literature-free language, useful only to academics wishing to decipher Cornish place names. Throughout its 117-year history, the Cornish language revival movement has suffered several setbacks, perhaps most significantly the decades-long "linguistic civil war" (Ferdinand, 2013, p. 215) concerning orthography, not satisfactorily resolved to this day. This "standardisation impasse" (Sayers, 2012, p. 109) has undoubtedly not assisted the Cornish revival movement. In fact, according to the European Union, it has slowed down its progress (Sayers, 2012). When combined with indifference and opposition to the revival, there being no Cornish speakers when the revival movement started, and with only a tiny minority of Cornwall's population speaking Cornish today, it is not difficult to see why progress has been slow, despite an enthusiastic band of supporters.

Without being afforded the status of a mainstream school subject, in particular, Cornish is unlikely to ever reach the stage of intergenerational transmission and become a community language (George & Broderick, 2009). Future challenges will continue for the revival movement, for example, the UK's departure from the European Union in January 2020 will almost certainly reduce funding, affecting the Cornish Language Strategy going forwards. A review of the situation may, therefore, be beneficial closer to 2025, when the current Strategy is near to expiry. Further, by this stage, Brexit's impact on funding, already in decline in 2017 (Davies-Deacon, 2017), will likely be clearer. Meanwhile, Cornish has some way to go, unfortunately, to achieve the Strategy's aim of again becoming "a widely-spoken community language" (Cornwall Council, 2017b, p. 12).

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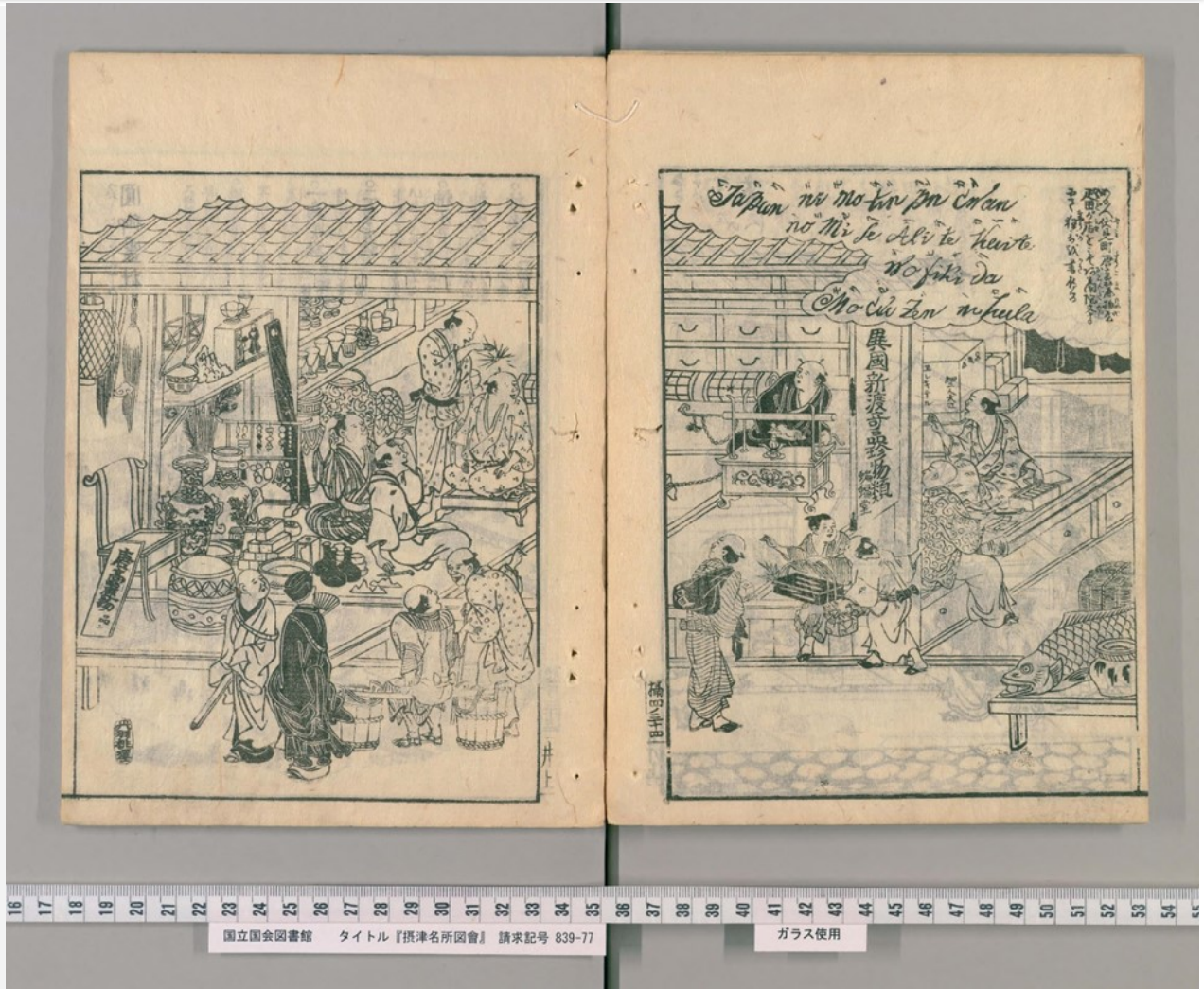Sayers, D. (2012). Standardising Cornish: The politics of a new minority language. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *36*(2), 99–119. https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.36.2.01say

Land's End, Cornwall, UK. Photo by Andy Holmes (Public Domain)

# Transgressive Mumbo-Jumbo in a Shogun's Gazetteer

Dr. Jeffrey Newmark, Associate Professor,
East Asian Languages and Cultures Program



[1] Urban Japanese bookstores at the end of the eighteenth century began to market a new genre of literature: the *meisho zue* or "gazetteers of storied sites." These works were published in concert with the Shogunate's efforts to revitalize a realm that had been devastated by a seven-year famine during the 1780s. For those with the wherewithal for movement away from their domains or castle-towns, the *meisho zue* helped stimulate recreational tourism. For those without the luxury of travel, the gazetteers helped satiate their thirst for wanderlust.

It is of no surprise then that the fourth of the series, the *Settsu meisho zue*, became a bestseller as a guide to Settsu, the province that encompassed the city of Osaka and its environs.[2] After all, Osaka had earned the appellation of the "Realm's Kitchen," the nexus where the country converted its rice into currency. The city today is Japan's third most populous, and it is home to major global corporations like Panasonic and Sharp. One of the most striking illustrations in the *Settsu meisho zue* featured a bustling store in Fushimi Ward, a shopping district once celebrated for its imported goods.[3] What initially caught the eye of the avid reader or the curious browser, however, was not the picture itself but rather its caption, for this was the only page in the

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[1] The scanned image may be found through the National Diet Library: https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2563462/36
[2] Goree 6.
[3] Takeguchi 1076.
[4] The gazetteers were all written in early modern Japanese, which, like its modern orthography, combines the Japanese kana script and Chinese characters. Occasionally, one may also find Sanskrit in depictions of temples, but not in the descriptive text.

multi-volume set that contained non-Japanese script.[4]  It was a script, brushed to resemble Dutch letters, that nevertheless was phonetically Japanese.



The following table transliterates and translates the lines from the illustration:

| Line | "Dutch" | Kana Transliteration | Standard Japanese | English |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Japan ni mo tin pn cwan | ワコクニモチンフンカン | 和国にも珍糞漢 | Even in our realm of peace |
| 2 | no mi se ali te kaite | ノミセアリテカイテ | の店ありて買い手 | There are Chinpun-kan stores |
| 3 | wo fiki da | ヲヒキダ | を疋田 | The seller is Hikida |
| 4 | mo ku zen no kala | モクゼンノカラ | 目前の唐 | Foreign lands before your eyes |

Two words in the caption, both from the first line, warrant closer examination: "Japan" and "tin pn cwan." Japan, which is most likely the only word recognizable to non-Japanese readers, is rendered phonetically as "Wakoku" in Japanese script.  This is rather curious, given that neither Japan nor Wakoku is Japanese in origin.  As an exonym, the name Japan evolved from a hybridization of the Portuguese reading of *Nihon* as Jippon, and the Mandarin reading as Cipan.  On the other hand, the name Wakoku derived from Chinese dynastic histories of the third century wherein the archipelago east of China was referred to as the Land of Wa.[5] Although no primary or secondary sources to date revealed why the name was represented in text through this curious duality, the final line of the caption underscores the exotic and alien nature of this store: foreign lands before your eyes.

[5] China wrote Wakoku with the characters 倭国, but because diminutive and barbaric connotations associated with the character 倭, Japan used the homonym 和 or peace.  Thus the "land of the dwarves" became the "land of peace."

The word "tin pn cwan" or "Chinpunkan" is more straightforward but no less intriguing. Before *meisho zue* were published, the term referred to arcane Confucian terminology borrowed from Chinese. As Dutch and other European languages became familiar to the ears of Japan's urbanites, Chinpunkan came to denote the sounds of any foreign language.[6] One may certainly contend that the term originated as a racial or xenophobic pejorative, but the editors of the gazetteer employed it in a more practical fashion: to attract readers to a store of foreign curios in the middle of Osaka. In contemporary Japanese, Chinpunkan may be used in the same way English speakers use "mumbo-jumbo," "babble," or even "It's all Greek (Dutch) to me."[7]
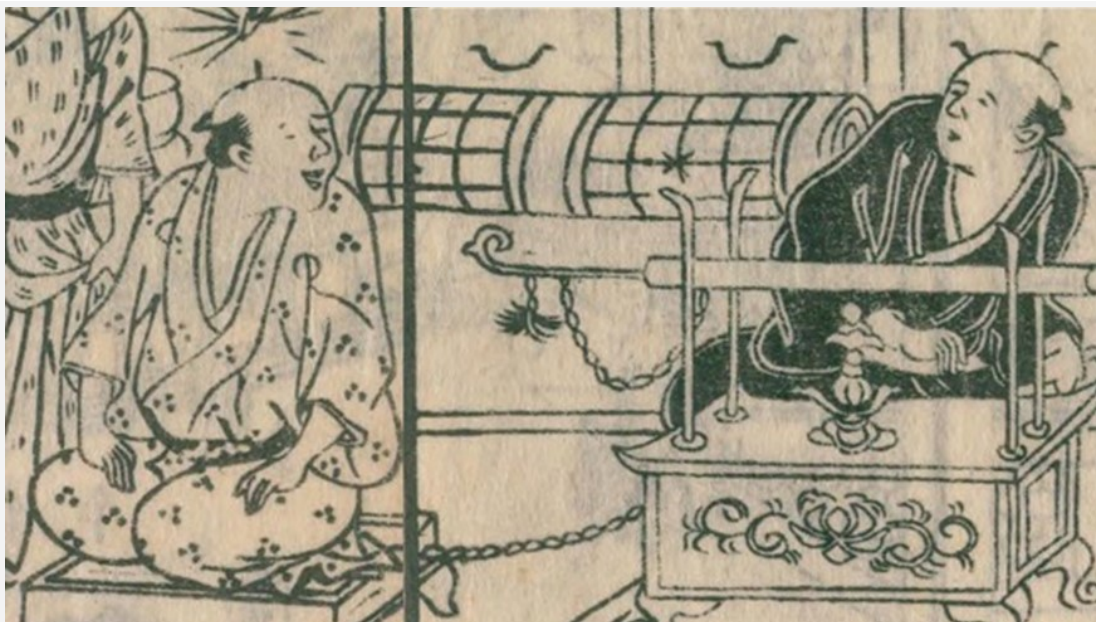
The gazetteer's illustrators not only captivated the reader with this orthographic scheme, but they also used it to skirt around the Shogun's efforts to curtail the spread of Dutch language studies. Only fifteen years after the guide's publication, the authorities forbade any scholar from writing in Dutch. Still, because the caption is phonetically Japanese, the government could hardly accuse the editors of encouraging illicit learning. In any case, the caption also serves to direct the readers' gaze along the remarkable wares and devices of the shop.[8]

Gathered in the center of the illustration is a group of men marveling at a static electricity generator called an *erekiteru*, a word adapted from the Dutch for electricity, *elektriciteit*. Two people are involved in the operation of the device: one turns a crank that grinds a glass cylinder against a gilded sheet beneath it, thereby generating static; the other sits on a pillow with small pieces of paper that dance on the head as electricity runs through the body. Herbalists also used the *erekiteru* for its supposed therapeutic effects, especially as a cure-all for various geriatric conditions.[9] Although Dutch in origin, the contraption in the illustration is labeled as one built by a craftsman named Ōe, one of a select few in circulation that were produced by Japa-

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[6] Hondo 47.

[7] Still, one may argue that Chinpunkan's Kanji 珍糞漢, which literally means Rare Excrement from China, continues to contain racial and xenophobic undertones.

[8] Traditional Japanese illustrations and screens were intended to be viewed from right to left.

[9] Marcon 211.

nese and prized by naturalists. The "Made-in-Japan" *erekiteru* thus served as another means by which this store and by extension the gazetteer could circumvent the government's restrictions on Dutch learning.

**[Wares.jpeg]** The final portion of the illustration showcases the articles peddled in the shop. These items, as seen on the left, range from glassware to Chinese porcelain to peacock feathers, all of which were imported into Japan. Acquiring these goods was no simple matter. To sell foreign wares in Osaka, merchants were required to join a guild and possess an official license. To purchase foreign goods, customers had to rely on specialty shops like the one here, for travel outside of the Japanese archipelago was met with capital punishment. Despite the restrictions on imports and travel, the illustration of this shop helps paint an image of Japan as a country that was not as closed off to the world, at least not to the extent that the Shogunate wished to project to its subjects.

The editors and illustrators of the *Settsu meisho zue* did not hail from Osaka, but rather from the Edo area. They relied on local histories and contemporaneous accounts when collecting entries for the gazetteers; therefore, how and why such entries bordered on the transgressive remains unknown. Osaka gradually became a hotbed of remonstration with violent riots and illegal movements rampant by the mid nineteenth century. And, as more scholars sought knowledge outside of Japan in the decades following the gazetteers' publication, they found establishments like this curio shop in the Fushimi ward ready to feed their curiosity.

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# Lexique de Manitobismes
## Dr. Liliane Rodriguez, Professor
### Modern Languages and Literatures

"Lexique de Manitobismes" is a selection of lexical items attested by Dr. Liliane Rodriguez (Professor, Modern Languages and Literatures) in her fieldwork in Manitoba. The words selected for the nomenclature show the diversity of their linguistic and sociolinguistic origins. The "Lexique de manitobismes" is now online, with free access: https://usito.usherbrooke.ca/articles/th%C3%A9matiques/manitobismes. Dr. Rodrigues gave an interview to Radio-Canada about her lexicon that can be found following this link: https://ici.radio-canada.ca/premiere/emissions/l-actuel/segments/entrevue/340622/dictionnaire-langue-jargon-vocabulaire

# The Formation of a Language: Basic Changes from Latin to Spanish

Dr. Jorge Machín Lucas, Professor
Modern Languages and Literatures

These were the basic steps and characteristics of the formation of the Spanish language after Latin was fragmented and ended its decadence. Spanish was born around the IXth century mostly from vulgar Latin or *sermo vulgaris*, namely a common speech, a colloquial Latin, or a common romance:

1.- The evolution from a synthetic language (based on the addition of morphemes to the words) to an analytic language (based on relationships between words in sentences). For example, the genitive plural of the word God (Deorum), which expresses possession, becomes three words, that is to say, a preposition, an article and a noun: "de los dioses" (of the Gods).

2.- From nouns with three possible genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) to nouns with two (the masculine absorbed the neuter). For instance, the neuter word "imperium" (empire, command or government) becomes "imperio" in masculine.

3.- The adjectives used to have 38 forms in Latin while in Spanish they had only 4 based on gender (masculine and feminine) and on number (singular and plural).

4.- The comparative of the adjective used to be synthetic in Latin and was expressed by the desinences –ior for the masculine and for the feminine and –ius for the neuter. In Spanish, we mainly use analytic forms such as "más o menos + adjetivo" (more or less + adjective) with a few exceptions ("mayor" –older-, "menor" -younger-, "mejor" –better-, "peor" -worse-, "superior", "inferior", "interior" or "exterior").

The superlative, which expresses absolute superiority (in the whole world) or relative superiority (in a limited group of people or objects), used to have in Latin the desinences –issimus, -errimus or -illimus (masculine), -issima, -errima or -illima (feminine) and –issimum, -errimum or -illimum (neuter). In Spanish it is typically expressed either with the synthetic construction "el/la más + adjective" (the most + adjective) or with the desinences –ísimo/a or -érrimo/a (for instance, "facilísimo", the easiest or very easy, or "paupérrimo", the poorest or very poor).

5.- The declensions system with six cases (nominative or subject, vocative for addressing people, accusative or direct object, genitive or possessive, dative or indirect object and ablative or circumstantial complement of time, space, way and such) disappeared. It was superseded by the use of prepositions or by the words order in Spanish language. Most of the words come from the accusative case in Spanish language.

6.- The five declensions became three in late Latin (from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD) and then disappeared in Spanish. In late Latin, the fifth declension was absorbed by the third as both of them had an –e in their desinences and the fourth was absorbed by the second as both of them used a –u in their morphemes. This process of form reductions is called in linguistics "linguistic economy".

7.- In regard to verbs, the Latin present and imperfect tenses remain similar in Spanish while the future is different in this romance language and a new tense is born, the conditional. For instance, this is what happened concerning the verb to love:

Latin: Present: amo, amas, amat, amamus, amatis and amant.
Spanish: Present indicative: amo, amas, ama, amamos, amáis and aman.
Latin: Imperfect: amabam, amabas, amabat, amabamus, amabatis and amabant.
Spanish: Imperfect indicative: amaba, amabas, amaba, amábamos, amabais and amaban.
Latin: Future: amabo, amabis, amabit, amabimus, amabitis and amabunt.
Spanish: Future indicative: amaré, amarás, amará, amaremos, amaréis and amarán.
Spanish: Conditional: amaría, amarías, amaría, amaríamos, amaríais and amarían.

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