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different combinations and the child's sweet, rather wary, expression fills one of the YSP's galleries.

"I visited many refugee camps and met this girl who was born in the camp. She followed me, took my hand.

"I realised looking at the pictures I had taken she kept the pose with the smile, but in the fourth I could see she was still smiling but not with her eyes. The smile was forced. There were 35,000 refugees in the camp," he says. "People cannot relate to the numbers but they can relate to a face, to an individual."

Jaar decided to include the piece because of its relevance to the UK's departure from the EU. "Immigration has become such an important issue everywhere," he says. "It is a cause I have been dealing with for most of my life but it was a focal point with Brexit."

He had been in England for some weeks preparing for the show – had he noticed any difference from previous visits?

"British humour is extraordinary. There is nothing like it in the world but what strikes me most is the shock and the confusion here. I thought it [Brexit] was a done deal but it seems as if many people would vote to stop it. The confusion in the government is unbelievable."

Has he detected a growth in racism? He pauses. "No, not something that is visible. You talk to people and they seem generous and sweet but racism is happening at another level and sadly fascism is on the rise everywhere – Poland, Germany, in now in Austria. People are not hiding any more. Trump has given everyone permission.

"I cannot stop thinking about the annihilation of the planet, with Trump and North Korea. There are so many catastrophes around us. The world is in turmoil."

He points to one of his neon signs



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which reads *I Can't Go On. I'll Go On* (2016) taken from Samuel Beckett's novel *The Unnameable* (1954). It reflects his feelings about the 'horrors of the contemporary world', the chaos and confusion, the contradictions, which are gripping the world. "My intellect is pessimistic but my will is optimistic. It tells me to keep going. So I keep going."

■ Alfredo Jaar: *The Garden of Good and Evil* at the Yorkshire Sculpture Park runs until April 8

■ Richard Holledge writes about the arts for the *FT*, *WSJ* and *Gulf News*; his latest novel, *Reverse Ferret*, is a satire on Fleet Street

(1) *The Sound of Silence*, 2006. (2) *You Do Not Take a Photograph. You Make It*, 2013. (3) *The Garden of Good and Evil*, 2017 (4) *Shadows*, 2014. (5) Augusto Pinochet (1915 - 2006) Chilean army general ceame president after leading a U.S.-backed coup d'état on September 11, 1973.

Photos: Wilde/Courtesy of the artist/ World History Archive / TopFoto

WHY A GOOD BURGUNDY COMES FROM FURTHER NORTH THAN YOU MIGHT THINK

PETER TRUDGILL
on the Nordic roots
of a French wine



The word *burgundy* has a number of different meanings. It can refer to a particular dark red colour. It can apply to certain kinds of wine. And it can signify an area of eastern France. These meanings are of course all linked. Burgundy – in French *Bourgogne* – is the area of eastern France where Burgundy wines are made; and the colour is named after the red wines of that region.

The valley of the Saône, the home of red and white burgundies, is a long way from Scandinavia, but that is where the story of Burgundy begins. The original Burgundians were a Germanic people who lived in southern Sweden.

At some point they migrated to the island of Bornholm (now part of Denmark), which lies in the Baltic Sea about 20 miles off the coast of southern Sweden. In Old Norse, the island was known as *Burgundarholmr*, 'isle of the Burgundians'. The Saga of Torstein Vikingsson (who came from Sogn in western Norway) also mentions an island called "Burgenda Land".

The Burgundians later crossed the Baltic Sea to what is now Poland, and it is believed that by the 300s AD they were living by the River Vistula, which flows through Torun, Bydgoszcz and Warsaw. They spoke an East Germanic language which was closely related to the languages of their neighbours to the south of the Baltic Sea, the Goths and the Vandals.

By the early 5th century, at least some of the Burgundians had travelled from there far towards the west, into the territory of the West Germanic-speaking Swabians and Franks, and were occupying land in the Rhine Valley on the borders of the Roman Empire. Later in the 400s, they crossed the Rhine into Roman territory and formed a kingdom at the western end of the Alps.

We know that at some point after that they gradually abandoned their East Germanic tongue and started speaking a language which was descended from the Latin of the Romans.

The Burgundian kingdom occupied an area in which Latin subsequently developed, not into French or Italian, but into Franco-Provençal (or Arpitan); and it has been argued that this is not a coincidence.

Some linguistic scientists have suggested that Franco-Provençal developed as a result of the learning of Vulgar Latin by East Germanic-speaking Burgundians, just as French resulted from the learning of Vulgar Latin by the West Germanic-speaking Franks.

Until the 19th century, Arpitan was spoken throughout the western Swiss Romandie, in the area around Lausanne, Neuchâtel and Geneva, as well as in the adjacent regions of eastern France,

including Lyon, St Etienne and Grenoble. It now survives most strongly in the Val d'Aosta region of northwestern Italy.

This kingdom of the Burgundians was then swallowed up into the kingdom of the Franks in 534. Part of it later re-emerged as an independent entity in the 800s, as the Duchy of Burgundy. The area of modern France now known as Bourgogne or Burgundy coincides fairly well with the area of that Duchy.

Red wines from the vineyards of modern Burgundy – the wines associated with the colour burgundy – are made from grapes which are known to us by the French name *Pinot Noir*, 'black pinot'. The word *pinot* comes from the French word pin 'pine', referring to the fact that the grapes typically grow in tightly clustered, pine cone-shaped bunches.

The German name for the pinot noir grape is *Spätburgunder*, 'late burgundy'. The other types of pinot grape are also overtly recognised in the German language as having an association with Burgundy: the *pinot gris* grape (Italian, *pinot grigio*) is known as *Grauburgunder* 'grey burgundy', and *pinot blanc* (*pinot bianco*) is called *Weissburgunder* 'white burgundy'.

Sweden is not world-famous for its wines, but it is where the name of all these Burgundy wines originally came from.

■ Peter Trudgill is professor emeritus of English linguistics at the Université de Fribourg/Universität Freiburg, Switzerland

SYLLABLE SHIFT

Burgundy used to be stressed on the second syllable – burGUNDy, rhyming with *Sunday*. Nowadays we stress the first syllable and say BURgundy. This change is only one of a number of examples of the stress in English words being shifted backwards from the second syllable to the first. Until the 1930s, *balcony* was pronounced balCONy – Irish people still say that. We also used to say comPENsate, conCENtrate, comTEMplate, and reCONcile.

