What is a revived language?
Linguistic features of Revived Manx in comparison with the traditional language[1]

Christopher Lewin
University of Edinburgh
AHRC Centre for Doctoral Training in the Celtic Languages
cpleviom@gmail.com

TM = Traditional Manx, RM = Revived Manx

1. Substratal features from English

1.1. Loss of coda R, intrusive R

Loss of coda R in Revived Manx:

(1a)   [va mə ˈʃanˌɛː tʃit stʃax] RM
va my shenn-ayr cheet stiagh
'my grandfather would come in' (TCM)

(1b)   [pɜːt lə muɹə] RM
Purt le Moirrey
'Port St Mary' (TCM)

Intrusive R in Revived Manx:

(2a)   [saiᵈn dau ɡɹɛː nax vel monə tɹɛː ɹeməs] RM
shegin dou gra nagh vel monney traa [r] *aym's*
'I must say that I don't have much time' (TCM)

 (2b)   [va mi beə ɹuns duːliʃ] RM
va mee beaghey [r] *ayns Doolish*
'I was living in Douglas' (TCM)

(2c)   [foðə ɹeðə henə] RM
foddey [r] *er-dy-henney*
 'long ago' (TCM)

Loss of coda R in Traditional and Revived Manx:

(3a) TM   (4a) RM
      [ko] [kor] [kur]   [kɜ:]
      cur   *cur*
      'put, give' (*HLSM* II: 112)   'put, give' (heard by author)

(3b) TM   (4b) RM
      [duːt], [dut]   [dɜ:t]
      dooyrt (G. *dubhairt*) (*HLSM* II: 127)   *dooyrt*
      'said'   'said'

Intrusive R in Traditional Manx:

(5)   [ha ˈrau mi ˈruː eːvɪlʲ ˈlai a̠ **r**əðə] TM
      cha row mee rieau abyl lhaih eh [r] *edyr*
      'I was never able to read it [Manx] at all' (*HLSM* II: 267)

1.2. Confusion of emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns

(6)   [gin uljə ɹən ɒbə va dʒint ˈɒk jəˈnou jəˈnou ha bɛːəx ɒbə gɒɹiʃ ən ɒbəɹ ˈeməs ɔːn]
      *gyn ooilley yn obbyr va jeant **oc*** you know you know *cha beagh obbyr gollrish yn obbyr*
      ***aym's** ayn* RM
      'without all the work that was done by *them* you know you know there would not be
      work like *my* work' (TCM)

(7)   A: [vel u skiː dʒuː] *Vel oo skee jiu?* 'Are you tired today?'   RM
      H: [ˈta mi skiː dʒuː] *Ta mee skee jiu.* 'I am tired today'
      […]
      A: [kwɔi ʃɔː] *Quoi shoh?* 'Who is this?'
      H: [ʃɔː məˈnanən] *Shoh Manannan.* 'This is Manannan'
      A: [vel ˈei skiː dʒuː] *Vel **eh** skee jiu?* 'Is **he** tired today?'
      H: [ha nel eː skiː] *Cha nel eh skee.* 'He is not tired'
            (SJV 2)

(8)   *Cha beagh ee abyl jannoo lieh cho wheesh as veagh urree jannoo as **ish** jeeaghyn mysh*
      y lhiannoo beg RM
      'She would not be able to do half as much as she would have to do when she was looking
      after the little baby' (ESE: 28)

(9a)   *Ny tra ta'n spyrryd dy eadaghey dy ghoaill eh, as **eh** geadaghey mysh e ven, as dy choyrt lesh y ven roish y Chiarn, nee'n saggyrt cooilleeney urree ooilley'n leigh shoh* TM
'Or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon him, and he be jealous over his wife, and shall set the woman before the Lord, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law' (Numbers 5:30)

(9b)   *Ta shiu er vakin paachey as mooarane taitnys echey er e ghaieaghyn, as goail feer olk rish scarrey roo: oor ny lurg, foddee, t'eh bwoailt lesh chingys, as **shiuish** streeu dy vrynneragh rish lesh ny eer gaieaghyn ve tammylt roish shen as wheesh dy haitnys echey ayndoo; agh ooilley ayns fardail: ta'n eer shilley jeu cur corree er* TM
'You have seen a child extremely fond of his playthings, and most impatient to part with them: an hour after, perhaps, he is taken ill, and you strive to divert him by the things he was just before so very fond of; but all in vain: the very sight of them offends him' (SW: 160)

2. Purism and hyper-correction

2.1. Avoidance of long-standing loan-words

(10a)   *As haink eh gy-kione, tra va Yeesey er jeet **back**, dy ghow yn pobble lane boggey jeh: son v'ad ooilley fieau er* TM
'And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned, the people gladly received him: for they were all waiting for him' (Luke 8:40)

(10b)   *ayns y voghrey ver oo er dty rass dy **heet er-ash*** TM
'in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish' (Isaiah 17: 11)

(11)   [tʃɹɛː heŋk mi eˈɹaʃ ɹen mi miˈdʒɛːᵊl ɹiʃ filiː] RM
*tra haink mee **er ash** ren mee meeiteil rish Phillie*
'when I came back I met Phillie' (TCM)

(12)   It always appalled me to hear the last few native speakers interspersing accounts of their travels in Manx with the anglicised renderings of Gaelic names. This unnecessary dependence upon English cannot be tolerated if the Manx language of the future is to survive in its own right, and has, therefore, been discouraged here. (Fargher 1979: vi)

2.2. 'Hyper-Gaelicisms'

(13)   ***ta mee treishteil** nagh jean lheid cheet orrym arragh ayns my vea* TM
'I hope that I don't experience the like any more in my lifetime' (NBHR: 21)

(14)   [st̪ɹɛːʃ ljəm sə tɹɛː ɹə hit njim gʊl dəs njɛːɹin nə smeŋkə] RM
***S'treisht lhiam** 'sy traa ry-heet neeym goll dys Nherin ny s'menkey*
'I hope in the future I will go to Ireland more often' (TCM)

(15) *Ta mee er hirrey er-y-fa shen ny shenn varranyn y ghaartlian ass dy bollagh, gyn marranyn noa y chur lhiam stiagh—**s'treisht** ec y chooid sloo dy vel shen er jeet lhiam* RM

'I have sought therefore to weed out the old errors completely, without introducing new errors—it is hoped at least that I have succeeded in that' (RLT 1966)

2.3. Hyper-archaisms

Increased use of inflected verb tenses as opposed to 'do'-periphrasis (Kewley Draskau 2005)
Progressive particle (originally preposition) **ag* – spread in TM, removed in RM:

(16a) *cha ren ad **geaishtagh*** TM
'they hearkened not' (Jeremiah 44:5)

(16b) *dy vod mayd **gansoor*** TM
'that we may say again [answer]' (Joshua 22:28)

(17a) *Cha nodmayd **obbal** dy vel marranyn 'sy lioar shoh* RM
'We cannot deny that there are errors in this book' (RLT 1969)

(17b) *cha jeanym **imraa** e ennym* RM
'I will not mention his name' (Skeeal.: 3)

3. Spelling pronunciations

Digraph <ay>:

(18) /eː/ *cray* 'clay' (G. *cré*) TM
/ɛː/ *ayr* 'father' (G. *athair*)
/o/, /u/ *ayns* 'in' (ScG. *anns*)
/oː/ /uː/*ayn* 'in him, it' (G. *ann*)
/e/ *aym* 'at me' (G. *agam*)
/aː/ *tayrn* 'pull' (G. *tarraing*).

maynrey 'happy' (G. *méanar*, *méanra* < Early Irish *mo-génar*)

(19) [mendrɑ̨] [mɛ̃ːndrəs] [meːndərəs] TM   (20) [maːnɹə(s)] RM
maynrey, maynrys   *maynrys*
'happy, happiness'   'happiness'
(*HLSM* ii: 293)   (LM 16)

(21) (**mahn**ris, **mahn**ra) RM
maynrys, maynrey
'happiness, happy'   (Kneen 1970 [1938]: 38)

Mian 'Matthew' /maian/ v. *mian* 'desire' /miən/

(22)   /maian/ TM   (23)   /miən/ [miːn] TM
        Mian (G. *Maitheán*)   *mian* (G. *miann*)
        'Matthew'   'desire'
        (cf. Rhŷs 1894: 46–7)   (*HLSM* II: 298)
        (Heard by author confused in RM speech.)

4. Internal analogy and overgeneralization

(24)   **cha nee agh** *eiyrtys y taghyrt vees ry akin roish shen* RM
        'it is only the effect of the event which will be visible before that' (DS: 2)[2]

(25)   *Shee* [sic] *mee hene t'ayn, as* **cha vel ayn agh mee** TM
        'I am, and none else beside me [There is I, and there is only I]' (Isaiah 47:10)

5. Erroneous, ambiguous or incomplete information in reference works

quail 'towards, meeting', *ny whail* 'towards him, it' (G. *i gcomhdháil*, *ina chomhdháil* etc.)

(26a)   *As haink Judah gys Gilgal, dy gholl* **quail** *y ree* TM
        'And Judah came to Gilgal, to go to meet the king' (2 Samuel 19:15)

(26b)   *haink Yeesey* **nyn guail** TM
        'Jesus met them' (Matthew 28:9)

quail in RM reference works:

(27a)   *I met a man*. Haink mee ny whaiyl dooinney.
                (Kneen 1931: 188)

(27b)   The following lacks a simple preposition, 'towards, to meet':
        Sg. 1 my whaiyl, 2 dty whaiyl, 3m. ny whaiyl, 3f. ny quaiyl;
        Pl. nyn guaiyl.
                (Goodwin and Thomson 1966: 55)

---

[2] This does not appear to be possible in Traditional Manx, or as far as I am aware any Gaelic dialect, perhaps because it confounds two syntactically different focusing strategies. A search for *chan e ach* found no relevant examples in Corpas na Gàidhlig. A few examples were found in a Google search, interestingly from L2 speakers, suggesting that this overgeneralization is not restricted to learners of Manx. For example, the BBC Alba political reporter Niall O'Gallagher, a fluent L2 speaker of Scottish Gaelic, has the following instance in his blog (09.02.2010): *chan e ach tionndadh beachd air leabaidh a' bhàis a tha seo* 'this is only a change of opinion on the deathbed' (my translation) where we might expect from L1 speakers *chan eil an seo ach tionndadh beachd…*
< http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/niallogallagher/2010/02/darna-roghainnean.html>

(27c)   *I met a man*, Haink mee ny whail dooinney. *I met a woman*, Haink mee ny quail ben.
                (Fargher 1979: 488)

(27d)   As well as the verb *meeiteil*, 'meet' is usually translated by *goll/çheet ny whaiyl*, with
                the appropriate form of the possessive:

                Haink mee ny whaiyl dooinney   I met a man
                Haink ee my whaiyl   She met me
                Higym dty whaiyl   I shall meet you
                        (Kewley Draskau 2008: 184)

quail in Revived Manx:

(28a)   *va caa da Thom cheet **ny whaiyl** ymmodee sleih gagh oie* RM
                'Tom had an opportunity to meet many people each night' (Skeeal.: 23)

(28b)   *haink eh **ny whaiyl** ny fir elley* RM
                'he met the others' (Skeeal. 26)

(28c)   [heŋk mi xweːl riʃ ən gau] RM
                *haink mee **quail rish** yn Gaaue*
                'I met the Gaaue'[3] (JBC)

(28d)   *higmayd **nyn guaiyl ry** cheilley* RM
                'we will meet one another' (Skeeal.: 59)

(28e)   [heŋk mi kweil iljəm ə ɹadlax] RM
                *haink mee **quail** Illiam y Radlagh*
                'I met William Radcliffe' (JC)

6. Persistence of traditional features

6.1. Preocclusion

(29a)   [kiən], [eɹ ə xiᵈn] RM
                keayn, *er y cheayn* (ScG. *cuan*, *air a' chuan*)
                'sea, on the sea' (TCM)

(29b)   [gʲlʲɔᵈn] *glione* 'glen', G. *gleann* (TCM)   RM
                [ʃeᵈn] *shen* 'that', G. *sin* (TCM)
                [hiːᵈn] *hene* 'self', ScG. *fhìn* (JBC)
                [sleᵈn] *slane* 'fully', G. *slán* (JBC)

---

[3] 'The Blacksmith', i.e. John Kneen, one of the last native speakers.

6.2. Dialect

(30)   diphthongal (i.e. 'northern') [məˈkjaun] [məˈçaun]
        monophthongal (i.e. 'southern') [məˈkjɔn] [məˈço:n] *mychione* 'about' (TCM)

Northern pronunciation of *shenn* 'old' with /a/ is more common than southern /e/.

A few speakers make a conscious effort to adopt one dialect or the other:

(31)   Interviewer: [kiɹəd te gɹɛː son iː vai]   RM
                        C'red t'ou (?) *gra son 'oie vie'?*
                        'What do you (?) say for *oie vie* (goodnight)?'

        Interviewee: [ei vai eɹ ə tuːi]
                        '[ei vai] *oie vie' er y twoaie*
                        '[ei vai] in the north' (JC)

References:

Armstrong, Timothy Currie. 2012. 'Establishing new norms of language use: The circulation of linguistic ideology in three new Irish-language communities', *Language Policy*, 11: 145–68

Broderick, George. 2013. 'The revival of Manx Gaelic in the Isle of Man', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 29: 132–71

Clague, Marie. 2004–5. 'Cross-Linguistic Discourse Markers in Manx Gaelic and English', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 24/25: 195–205

Corpas na Gàidhlig, Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG). University of Glasgow <http://dasg.ac.uk/corpus/> [accessed 2 September 2018]

Fargher, Douglas C. 1979. *Fargher's English–Manx Dictionary* (Douglas: Shearwater Press)

Goodwin, Edmund and Robert L. Thomson (rev.). 1966. *First Lessons in Manx. Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin*. 3rd edn (Douglas: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh)

HLSM: Broderick, George. 1984–6. *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*. 3 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer)

Hornsby, Michael and Gilles Quentel. 2013. 'Contested varieties and competing authenticities: neologisms in revitalized Breton', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 223: 71–86

Jackson, Kenneth. 1955. *Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology* (Edinburgh: Nelson)

Kewley Draskau, Jennifer. 2005. 'Language Death and Resurrection in the Isle of Man: the continuity of Manx Gaelic Exemplified by the Use of Inflected Verb Tenses', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 25: 229–46

——— 2008. *Practical Manx* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)

Kneen, J. J. 1931. *A Grammar of the Manx Language* (London: Oxford University Press)

——— 1938. English–Manx Pronouncing Dictionary (Douglas: Mona's Herald). Reprinted 1970 by Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh

Lewin, Christopher. 2015. 'Classical Manx, Revived Manx and English: competing standards', in *Minority languages in Europe and beyond – results and prospects*, ed. by P. Sture Ureland (Berlin: Logos), pp. 23–31

——— 2016a. *The revivability of Manx Gaelic: a linguistic description and discussion of Revived Manx* (M.Phil. dissertation, Aberystwyth University)

——— 2016b. 'The syntax of the verbal noun in Manx Gaelic', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, 17, 147–239

——— 2017. 'Scholarship and Language Revival: Language Ideologies in Corpus Development for Revived Manx', *Studia Celtica Posnaniensia*, 2, 97–118

Maguire, Gabrielle. 1991. *Our Own Language: An Irish Initiative* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters)

Ó Broin, Brian. 2014. 'New Urban Irish: Pidgin, Creole, or Bona Fide Dialect? The Phonetics and Morphology of City and Gaeltacht Speakers Systematically Compared', *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*, 15: 69–91

Ó hIfearnáin, Tadhg. 2015. 'Sociolinguistic vitality of Manx after extreme language shift: authenticity without traditional native speakers', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 231: 45–62

Ó Laoire, Muiris. 1999. *Athbheochan na hEabhraise: ceacht don Ghaeilge?* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar)

Ó Murchadha, Noel and Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin. 2018. 'Converging and diverging stances on target revival varieties in collateral languages: the ideologies of linguistic variation in Irish and Manx Gaelic', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
        DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2018.1429450

O'Rourke, Bernadette and John Walsh. 2015. 'New speakers of Irish: shifting boundaries across time and space', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 231: 63–83

Rhŷs, John. 1894. *The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic* (Douglas: Manx Society)

Snesareva, Marina. 2017. 'Palatalisation in Dublin Irish, or how to speak Irish with a Dublin accent', *Studia Celtica Posnaniensia*, 2: 63–80

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad. 2009. 'Hybridity versus revivability: multiple causation, forms and patterns', *Journal of Language Contact*, 2: 40–67

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad and Michael Walsh. 2011. 'Stop, Revive, Survive: Lessons from the Hebrew Revival Applicable to the Reclamation, Maintenance and Empowerment of Aboriginal Languages and Cultures', *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 31: 111–27

Revived Manx sources:

Spoken material:

BJC   *Bernard and Joan Caine Interviews*. Manx Heritage Foundation.
       <http://www.learnmanx.com/cms/video_collection_79769.html>

JC   *Juan Crellin [interviews]*. Manx Heritage Foundation.
       <http://www.learnmanx.com/cms/video_collection_31498.html>

SJV   *Saase Jeeragh video files*. Manx Heritage Foundation.
       < http://www.learnmanx.com/cms/video_collection_74051.html>
       A series of videos to accompany the *Saase Jeeragh* course. This was developed in 2009 by the Manx Heritage Foundation / Culture Vannin, based loosely on the Ulpan method, and is currently in use in various classes across the island. References are to the number of the lesson.

TCM   *Taggloo: Conversational Manx*. Culture Vannin. 2014.
       <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLY5y-gRhKs8gmP0sMWYlmp25dl1b0Tweu>
       A series of thirteen videos comprising interviews with a number of RM speakers on a variety of topics relating to everyday life, as well learning and speaking Manx, produced and made available for the benefit of learners of the language.

Written material:

ESE   *Ecstasy as Skeealyn Elley*. Ré Ó Laighléis (trans. by R. W. K. Teare). 2008 (St Judes: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh)
       A collection of short stories on contemporary topics translated from Irish.

LM   *Lessoonyn Meanagh*. Manx Heritage Foundation / Culture Vannin.
       <http://www.learnmanx.com/cms/inter_lesson_index.html>
       A series of intermediate lessons. References are to the number of the lesson.

RLT 1966   *Gys y lhaihder* [To the reader] by R. L. Thomson in Edmund Goodwin and Robert L. Thomson. 1966. *First Lessons in Manx. Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin*, 3rd edn (Douglas: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh)

RLT 1969   Preface by R. L. Thomson in Cregeen, Archibald. 1969. *A Dictionary of the Manks Language*, 3rd edn (Menston: Scolar Press)

Skeeal.   *Skeealaght*. Lewis y Crellin, Juan y Crellin, Colin y Jerree and Shorys y Creayrie. 1976 (Douglas: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh)
       A collection of short stories and anecdotes, including folktales translated from the other Gaelic languages.

Traditional Manx sources:

Bible   Examples from the Bible are taken from the 1819 / 1979 edition as digitized online by the Manx Heritage Foundation.
       <http://bible.learnmanx.com/>

HLSM   All examples of TM speech are taken from Broderick 1984–86, *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*.

NBHR   'Manx Stories and Reminiscences of Ned Beg Hom Ruy'. George Broderick, 1981, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 38: 113–78.
       Original prose of Edward Faragher (Ned Beg Hom Ruy) (1831–1908), the last native writer of Manx.

SW   *Sharmaneyn liorish Thomase Wilson, D. D.* Thomas Wilson, 1783 (Bath: Cruttwell)
       A selection of Bishop Wilson's sermons translated into Manx and published posthumously (cf. Lewin 2011a).