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***“Cre’n sorçh dy Ghaelg t’ou
loayrt nish?”¹:***

**The Intersection of Ideologies
and Morphosyntactic Variation
in New Speakers of Manx Gaelic**

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¹“What kind of Manx are you speaking now?”

Abstract

This thesis explores language production and linguistic beliefs in a community of New Speakers. New Speakers are a speaker profile that have emerged from language revitalization efforts in various minoritized language communities (e.g. Irish - O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015; Galician - O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2015). New Speakers generally acquire their minority language primarily through means other than first language transmission in the home (O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo, 2015: 1), reaching "a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence" (Jaffe, 2015: 25) in their language. Research on New Speakers' language practices indicates that both their language production and beliefs are highly variable (e.g. Hornsby, 2015; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015) and that language beliefs may shape language practices in New Speaker communities (Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020; Enriquez-García, 2017).

This thesis specifically explores the intersection between morphosyntactic variation and language beliefs among New Speakers of Manx, the minoritized Celtic language spoken by around 2200 people in the Isle of Man (Isle of Man Government, 2022). Manx underwent extreme minoritization in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and by the mid-20th century ceased to be spoken by a community of traditional native speakers (Broderick, 1991). Subsequent revitalization efforts from the late 20th century onwards have resulted in a community of New Speakers, variation in whose production and beliefs is also noted (e.g. McNulty, 2023a, Ó hIfeárnáin: 2015a; 2015b).

This thesis expands on this research, exploring language practices among speakers of Manx through the New Speaker framework, using the case study of Manx to examine how this framework might apply to atypical or lesser-studied minoritized varieties. It employs both qualitative and quantitative data collected through an extended period of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the Isle of Man through the medium of Manx itself. The thesis investigates how New Speakers of Manx vary in their production of certain morphosyntactic constructions, as well as how they think and feel about these constructions, tying into broader themes of language ideologies and attitudes. It presents an original theoretical framework outlining the broad language beliefs present in

the Manx New Speaker community. This framework explains how patterns of variation observed among these speakers might be analysed as individual speakers' agentive use of particular constructions available to them in Manx to index commonly-held beliefs about language and linguistic identity to other community members. Therefore, this thesis has implications for how such indexicalities and patterns of variation develop in nascent varieties like Manx, which will be applicable to other minoritized and contact varieties more broadly.

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1. Introduction

This thesis explores the interactions between structural linguistic variation, specifically morphosyntactic variation, and language beliefs within a New Speaker community. New Speakers are often described as minoritized language speakers with a community-meaningful level of competence in their language, and yet who acquired the language in non-traditional ways, such as through education (Jaffe, 2015: 25; O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo, 2015: 1). This lens of New Speakerness was developed as a framework which “historicises nativeness and challenges native speaker and monolingual ideologies” (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 21). Labels such as ‘New Speaker’ therefore “take account of the multiplicity of languages, social groups and communities of practice which have come to characterise the modern era” (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 21, see also O'Rourke and Pujolar: 2015; Ramallo, O'Rourke, and Pujolar, 2015).

This thesis analyses Manx speakers' production and language beliefs using the New Speaker framework. Manx, or Manx Gaelic, is the Goidelic Celtic language native to the Isle of Man. Manx is currently spoken by just over 2200 people on the Island (Isle of Man Government, 2022). This language is heavily minoritized, having undergone extreme language endangerment which resulted in it ceasing to be used as a community language in the 19th century, and the deaths of its last traditional native speakers in the 20th century (Broderick, 1991). That said, the language is currently undergoing revitalization, and children and adults in the Isle of Man are now able to acquire the language through mainstream education (Clague, 2009). These revitalization efforts have resulted in the creation of a community of New Speakers of Manx (see Chapter 3 for further discussion).

Previous research within the New Speaker framework has suggested that both New Speakers' language production and beliefs are highly variable (e.g. Hornsby, 2015; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015) and that that language beliefs influence language practices in New Speaker communities (Rodriguez-Ordoñez, 2020; Enriquez-García, 2017). Therefore, this thesis uses both qualitative and quantitative data to inform its development of an original theoretical framework for understanding the interactions between structural and sociolinguistic forces

influencing language variation in minoritized New Speaker linguistic communities. In keeping with its third-wave, critical sociolinguistic approach (Chapter 2), this thesis argues that language beliefs are an essential part of understanding language practices in multilingual communities, such as New Speaker communities. This study constitutes a ‘sociolinguistic ethnography’ (e.g. Heller, 2006), in which ethnographic methods are being employed in the service of exploring the Manx language and its use by its speaker community today. This thesis takes a mixed-methods approach, making use of both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods to explore the sociolinguistic forces, such as language beliefs and identities, at work in shaping morphosyntactic variation in Manx (see Chapter 4).

This thesis therefore invites consideration of how the New Speaker framework might be adapted to account for communities like that of Manx, where ideas of speakerness and nativeness might operate differently than they do in the kinds of communities within which the New Speaker framework was developed (e.g. Irish - O’Rourke and Walsh, 2015; Galician - O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2015). The thesis defines ‘Manx New Speakers’ as speakers that have acquired Manx through some combination of formal education and self-study. These speakers will have a level of competence in Manx that enables them to have meaningful interactions in Manx with other speakers in their community, and they will show a meaningful degree of metalinguistic awareness of and enthusiasm for the language. They will have likely developed strong thoughts and feelings about the kinds of language use they value, and what role they think Manx should play in their community. Manx New Speakers often seek to use Manx whenever possible, and show a general desire to engage with Manx and associated cultural activities. The ‘Manx New Speaker community’ therefore collectively refers to such speakers. This community is often territorially bounded to the Island, but may also include those living elsewhere who maintain a link with the Isle of Man, usually through a combination of regular visits and online linguistic and cultural engagement with fellow Manx New Speakers (see Chapter 3 for further discussion).

This study presents a significant contribution to the study of Manx. It forms a major part of the body of academic research on the sociolinguistics of Manx, especially on Manx as it is spoken today. Except for McNulty (2019; 2023a), this

is, to my knowledge, the only study of the structure of Manx that is based on a corpus of conversational spoken data in the language. In addition, it is the only ethnographic study of Manx undertaken by a community-insider researcher and conducted in the Manx language itself. It will also prove useful to the wider study of minoritized languages being revitalized or reclaimed by their communities - highlighting forces at work behind variation in emerging varieties, especially in lesser-studied, atypical revitalization contexts. These aspects of the current study contribute to its usefulness as a piece of academic research and to the integrity both of its conclusions and of the theoretical framework it proposes to address its research questions, detailed in the following section.

1.1 Research Questions

This thesis aims to identify broad trends and patterns in language use and beliefs in the Manx-speaking community, based on a wide range of data from Manx New Speakers. It explores the following research questions:

- 1. What does the morphosyntax of Manx New Speakers look like?**
 - a. How frequently do Manx New Speakers use variants of morphosyntactic constructions available to them?
 - b. To what extent does morphosyntactic variation exist within this community?
 - c. What forces govern morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community?

- 2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?**
 - a. What language ideologies do speakers hold about Manx?
 - b. What linguistic models and ways of speaking are valued by Manx New Speakers?
 - c. How do speakers understand ideas of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’, as they relate to language use?

- 3. Are language beliefs connected to language use the Manx New Speaker community?**

- a. How do Manx New Speakers use morphosyntax to construct linguistic authority?
- b. To what extent are ideological variation and structural variation linked in the Manx New Speaker community?

This thesis' exploration of the above research questions proposes a theoretical framework to account for how language beliefs shape the language use of speakers of Manx, and potentially in other communities of New Speakers of revitalized languages. It is my hope that future research will take the snapshot of trends identified in this study forward to build on, refine, and improve, the framework and analysis introduced in this thesis.

The analytical framework that this thesis proposes as its contribution to linguistic theory builds on the ideas so far explored in research into modern Manx sociolinguistics, and presents opportunities for further research in this community that draws together these interlinked approaches to studying the language of Manx New Speakers, or indeed New Speakers more generally. It may also have implications for what we know about variation and language beliefs more broadly, existing work on which is discussed in the following chapter.

1.2 Structure

The thesis will be structured as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the existing literature connected to broad sociolinguistic themes relevant to the above research questions, such as language attitudes and ideologies, and ways of understanding linguistic variation. It also analyses the New Speaker framework, then Chapter 3 discusses the extent to which it is applicable for use in the Manx context and in the current thesis. Chapter 3 also presents relevant existing sociolinguistic and structural linguistic research relating to Manx, as well as contextualising the Manx New Speaker within the language's trajectory of minoritization and revitalization.

Chapter 4 then describes and explains the qualitative and quantitative research methods used to collect and analyse data in this thesis. This chapter also lays out my positionality and the role that reflexivity played in data collection and analysis. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 then detail the results of data analysis, the

presentation of which is organised such that each chapter addresses a broad area relevant to the above research questions. These broad areas are morphosyntactic production (Chapter 5), language beliefs (Chapter 6), and valued language practices (Chapter 7). These chapters contain discussion of both quantitative and qualitative data where relevant to address a particular one of the above research questions. Chapter 8 then lays out an original theoretical framework developed from the data collected for this thesis, which this dissertation argues brings together various sociolinguistic factors to explain Manx New Speakers' use and perception of morphosyntactic variation in their community. This penultimate chapter shows how this framework might be used as an analytical tool in the Manx context, and potentially other similar contexts, in addition to an explanatory one, by presenting analysis of both the structural and sociolinguistic data gathered for this thesis. It therefore hopes to illustrate how these factors are mutually influential in New Speaker communities similar to that of Manx. Chapter 9 details the thesis' concluding arguments and presents ideas for future research in the field of New Speakers of minoritized languages in general and on Manx in particular. Some important observations on conducting research on Manx are highlighted in the following section.

1.3 Research in the Manx Context

Manx is an extremely under-researched linguistic context and, in addition, is among those contexts that have been historically undervalued in research and in general meta-linguistic discourse (e.g. by O'Rahilly, 1932: ix, in Lewin, 2017: 149). Any research conducted on Manx is undertaken against this backdrop, as well as that of the marginalization that comes with any linguistically minoritized group. As a researcher, I am aware that any conclusions I reach about Manx carry significant weight considering the small size of the field and the community, and that my analytical choices in conducting this research carry ideological and practical consequences to a much greater degree than would be true had I conducted research on a linguistic majority community. With respect to this, researcher positionality and reflexivity were a key concern in the collection and analysis of the data in this study (see Chapter 4, Section 2.3). In short, I have

taken the greatest care possible to approach my research interactions and analyses in a thoughtful, mindful, and compassionate way.

Although this thesis is intended for an academic audience, I as researcher also anticipate, and indeed hope, that the findings of this research will be read by, used by, and disseminated to non-academics, namely language practitioners and speakers of Manx in the Isle of Man. I would stress for such readers that the goal of this thesis is to describe and explore the complexity of ideas on language beliefs and language use in our community, and to provide an updated and expanded account of these discussions, informed both by previous research in this area and by my own data collected from time spent in the Isle of Man conducting fieldwork. This thesis does not constitute an endorsement or judgement of any particular viewpoint on these issues, and any conclusions reached herein are driven primarily by the language data collected, in addition to the necessary amount of researcher interpretation. It is hoped that this research and any work resulting from it might provide speakers of Manx and those who work with the language in professional settings with some tools to further describe and understand what is happening with regards to language ideologies and linguistic variation in our community, as this thesis hopes to do, beginning with a review of the existing literature in the next chapter.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical background of the frameworks and approaches used to address this thesis' research questions. As outlined in Chapter 1, these questions focus on analysing variation both in morphosyntactic structures and in language beliefs among New Speakers of Manx, and investigating links between the two.

As this thesis' research questions cover a variety of areas of sociolinguistics, this chapter combines several frameworks and approaches relevant to exploring structural variation and language beliefs among New Speakers of Manx. Due to the variety of frameworks and approaches covered in this thesis, this chapter is lengthy. This introduction section outlines each of the general theoretical frameworks used, linking them to the above research questions and explaining their relevance to the thesis' overall arguments. The rest of the chapter will then explore these general frameworks in more detail. Subsequently, Chapter 3 applies these frameworks to existing sociolinguistic work on Manx.

In addition, this chapter explores the concept of 'the New Speaker'. The New Speaker framework has been developed to understand the language practices of certain speaker profiles that have emerged in minoritized language communities resulting from language revitalization. Several definitions have been offered for 'the New Speaker', but generally, the term 'New Speakers' refers to minoritized language speakers who typically do not acquire the language through first language transmission in the home or local community (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). In addition, a New Speaker will generally have acquired "a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence" in a minority language (Jaffe, 2015: 25). This chapter critically discusses the various characteristics that have been proposed for 'the New Speaker', especially with regards to how they use and what they believe about the language.

The chapter is structured in the following way. Firstly, Section 2 outlines some of the key features that have been put forward as characteristic of New Speaker profiles. These characteristics include what kind of people New Speakers tend to

be, where they tend to live, and how they tend to acquire and engage with their minoritized language. This section outlines commonalities observed across New Speaker profiles, and explores potential problems with proposed characteristics of the New Speaker. As these profiles have emerged in minoritized language contexts in which revitalization is ongoing, this section outlines linguistic minoritization and revitalization and how speaker communities of such languages may differ from those of majority languages. This chapter therefore introduces these frameworks as an essential background to this thesis' discussion of Manx. Manx, as Chapter 3 details further, is a language that has undergone extreme linguistic minoritization and which is currently undergoing revitalization. Therefore, an understanding of what language minoritization and revitalization is and the kinds of speaker communities it creates is necessary for understanding the sociolinguistic forces at work in the Manx speaker community. Manx is also a context which challenges traditional notions of how language revitalization may be accomplished. Therefore, this study of Manx provides further insight into the variety of linguistic contexts impacted by minoritization, and the different ways revitalization, and accompanying New Speaker communities, might look.

Following this, Section 3 discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the New Speaker framework in more detail, exploring the assumptions it makes about language and speakerhood, how this differs from other approaches, and what it can offer the study of minoritized languages. The New Speaker framework was developed as a response to prevailing ideologies in the study of revitalized languages that exclude speaker profiles deemed as outside of the 'traditional native speaker'. This section forms a basis for Chapter 3's (in Section 4) justification of the use of the New Speaker framework in the Manx context, and how this thesis understands 'the Manx New Speaker'. It also begins to identify some gaps in this framework, such as the need for more structurally-focused work on New Speakers' language use, and the implications of minoritized language contexts where there are no extant traditional native speakers for the New Speaker framework. Thus, this chapter, and the next, suggest how this thesis might contribute to filling such gaps - namely how the Manx context might provide new opportunities, and challenges, for the New Speaker framework.

A necessary follow-on to discussions of language minoritization and revitalization is an exploration of multilingualism, and Section 4 discusses different ways of

understanding multilingual competence: through second language acquisition, and through critical multilingualism. As Section 2 discusses, language minoritization and revitalization create multilingual communities. Speakers of minoritized languages often have at least some proficiency in a majority language. Therefore, this thesis understands Manx speakers as multilinguals, and understands their use of Manx as different to that of a monolingual speaker. This section outlines the extent to which multilingual language acquisition frameworks can explain structural variation in minoritized language communities, but argues that critical multilingualism approaches are necessary to fully understand variation in such communities. Such approaches understand multilinguals as speakers whose production is reflective of wider social and ideological processes (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016). As the New Speaker framework was developed within critical approaches, this thesis argues that individual context-based language practices are reflective of New Speakers' desires to agentively index language beliefs and identity positions available to them in their community, as Section 5 discusses further.

Building on the above, Section 5 outlines different ways of framing linguistic variation, outlining how and why this thesis places itself within third-wave sociolinguistic approaches. This section explains what such approaches are and how they differ from other approaches to sociolinguistic variation. This thesis understands third-wave approaches as those that explain variation as reflective of individual speakers' agentive use of linguistic resources, that have acquired some social meaning in their community, in order to index particular identity or ideological positions to other members of their community who are familiar with these social meanings (Eckert, 2012). This section argues that third-wave approaches are necessary for understanding the full picture of New Speaker language use, and thus follows the approach of work that highlights the role of language beliefs in patterns of language use in New Speaker communities, as laid out in this section. This section therefore positions this thesis within an emerging tradition that focuses on structural variation within New Speakers communities and how this can be explained within third wave approaches. It is this kind of socially meaningful use of language on the part of individual speakers which this thesis contends is a major force currently shaping variation in Manx, and which is called upon to answer Research Question 3.

Finally, to understand the social meanings speakers might want to convey, it is essential to discuss different frameworks of language beliefs, which are a key component of Research Question 2. This thesis understands language beliefs as being composed of language attitudes and ideologies. Section 6 therefore discusses both frameworks of language attitudes and ideologies - where they intersect, how they are different, and how they may be studied. This section also includes discussion how the linguistic landscape, data from which was collected for this study, can be reflective of language beliefs that exist within linguistic communities. This section also outlines the kinds of language beliefs, both language ideologies and language attitudes, that seem to be in operation within New Speaker communities. These include broader ideologies - views on what a speaker is, what legitimate or authoritative language use is, and what the role of the minoritized language should be. They also include more narrowly-focused attitudes towards language practices, such as translingual and traditional speaker practices, which this thesis views as reflective of these broader ideologies. This thesis regards language beliefs as essential components for understanding language use among New Speakers, whose speaker profile is discussed in the following section.

2.2 Who are New Speakers?

Various definitions have been put forward for New Speakers. As discussed in Section 1, the term 'New Speakers' often refers to minoritized language speakers who do not acquire the language through first language transmission in the home or local community (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). In addition, a New Speaker will generally have acquired "a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence" in a minority language (Jaffe, 2015: 25). These definitions exemplify how New Speakers have often been conceptualised with regards to the kinds of person they are, what backgrounds they have, and how and why they acquire the minoritized language. It also explores the contexts of language minoritization and revitalization in which New Speaker communities exist. Therefore, the following section provides discussion on the general demographic and acquisitional trends observed across speaker communities that have been analysed within the New Speaker framework. It asks

what kinds of profiles New Speakers tend to have, and whether there are exceptions to this which challenge existing definitions of ‘the New Speaker’. The discussion below serves as an exploration for this thesis’ critical review of the applicability of the New Speaker framework and the development of a definition of ‘the Manx New Speaker’ in Chapter 3 (Section 4).

2.2.1 The New Speaker Profile

This section will discuss and critique how studies of New Speakers have described their profile, in terms of their social class, their location, and their nationalities. The discussion in this section will exemplify the difficulty in using ‘New Speaker’ as a label with which to pigeonhole speakers, and will showcase the diversity of the meaning of New Speaker between communities. It will also illustrate gaps in our understanding concerning these New Speakers, considering the embryonic state of the field of study, some of which this study of Manx might begin to fill, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 4).

Many definitions of New Speakers across various minoritized language communities refer to their demographic profile. For example, both O’Rourke and Ramallo (2011) and Jones (1998a) describe such speakers, in the Galician and Breton contexts respectively, as middle-class. The latter further describes New Speakers (in this case *néo-bretonnants*) as “an urban intelligentsia... predominantly middle-class, urban-dwelling, well-educated and highly politicised” (Jones, 1998a: 129, in Kasstan, 2017: 4). This definition given by Jones contains multiple demographic features, many of which directly or indirectly index social class.

However, while it is undeniable that many New Speakers in existing studies would fall under the label of middle-class, as it is understood in Europe, it could be argued that it is reductive to assume that ‘middle-classness’ should be an essential component of New Speakerness. For example, there are most certainly communities which are very clearly working-class, yet whose engagement with and acquisition of a minoritized language might otherwise place them within the New Speaker paradigm. One example might be working-class urban Irish-speaking communities in Belfast (e.g. in Coughlan, 2017; Ó hÍr and Strange, 2021). In addition, a definition of the New Speaker with class as the essential

component would exclude from New Speakerness communities that exist outside class-based Western, primarily western European, societal contexts, such as First Nations and Indigenous communities in Canada and the USA, or Aboriginal communities in Australia. Further work on how such communities might be analysed within, or challenge, the New Speaker framework is limited but sorely needed (e.g. McCarty, 2018).

The definition given by Jones (1998a: 129) above raises another element of New Speakerness - that of the 'urban-dwelling' New Speaker. According to O'Rourke and Pujolar (2015: 148) "[N]ew [S]peakers characteristically emerge in spaces outside of those geographical areas which had come to be associated with traditional native speakers" - typically rural areas often referred to as 'heartland' areas. For example, O'Rourke and Walsh (2015: 64) note in the case of Irish that "about three-quarters of all daily speakers of Irish outside of education (59,230 people) live outside the Gaeltacht". McLeod and O'Rourke (2015: 151) discuss the importance of urban areas to the future of Scottish Gaelic; New Speaker communities of the language are growing in lowland urban areas of Scotland, such as Glasgow (Nance et al., 2016). There is a similar situation in Ireland, where many of the aforementioned non-*Gaeltacht* speakers are living in cities. Ó Bróin (2014) and O'Rourke and Walsh (2015) for example discusses the development of a new urban variety of Irish spoken by New Speakers in Dublin. In Galicia too, we see New Speakers bringing their minority language into new urban contexts (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 19).

That said, we must be careful not to assume that every minority language speaker in a given urban area is necessarily a New Speaker. For example, McLeod and O'Rourke (2015: 151) highlight the importance of increased urbanisation in shaping the demographic distribution of Gaelic speakers. We might therefore assume that there are Gaelic speakers who have relocated to urban areas from the rural heartlands who, despite living in an urban centre, do not necessarily fit the New Speaker profile in a number of other ways. As urbanisation is an important force for population movement in many other countries, this may likely also be the case elsewhere.

Linked to this notion of 'heartland areas', New Speaker communities are also said to include speakers of various backgrounds, including those whose ethnic origins lie outside of the traditional areas with which the minoritized language is

associated (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2015: 146). O'Rourke and Ramallo (2015: 149) state that Galician *neofalantes* “are a sociolinguistically diverse group, [which] includes Spanish-speaking migrants from other parts of Spain, immigrants from outside of Spain who acquire Galician as an additional language, as well as returning migrants from the Galician diaspora”. This is often spoken of in opposition to traditional native speakers, who are generally assumed to originate from a specific area with which the minority language is traditionally associated, or “heartland area”. In addition, Jaffe’s (2015: 22) Corsican New Speaker cohort also includes “nonCorsicans who live on the island and orient to the cultural and linguistic integration offered by learning Corsican”. This naturally leads on to questions of ‘ownership’ of a language, and ‘belonging’ in a New Speaker community, which Smith-Christmas et al. (2018: 4) engaged with, describing New Speakers as “social actors who use and claim ownership of a language that is not, for whatever reason, typically perceived as belonging to them, or to ‘people like them’.” Such notions are heavily intertwined with language ideologies in New Speaker communities, which Section 6 discusses.

It is apparent from the discussion in this section that defining a ‘New Speaker profile’ in a way that is meaningful and accounts for inter- and cross-linguistic differences is no easy task. As Jaffe (2015: 22) states of her Corsican New Speakers: “whether or not these students claim or are ascribed new speaker status is contingent on a number of factors.” What a New Speaker profile is will no doubt vary between minority language communities, with each of the above criteria being more or less important, and taking slightly different forms, depending on the specificities of the community in question (McCarty, 2018: 472). Therefore, this highlights the necessity of developing a definition of what ‘a New Speaker’ might mean in the Manx context specifically (see Chapter 3, Section 4), which will be developed as a result of further discussions on the nature of New Speakers throughout this chapter. The following sections discuss the processes acting on New Speaker communities, namely language minoritization and revitalization, which are essential for understanding this profile.

2.2.2 Language Minoritization and Revitalization

As discussed in Chapter 1, Manx, like other New Speaker communities, has undergone extreme linguistic minoritization and is currently undergoing language revitalization. Therefore, understanding the basics of what processes of minoritization and revitalization look like is key to understanding such contexts. This section therefore lays out how minoritization and revitalization generally progress in language communities impacted by them. How these processes have impacted the Manx-speaking community in particular is explored in greater detail in Chapter 3.

2.2.2.1 Language Minoritization

Language minoritization is, of course, not a process exclusive to the Manx context, but one which has been in operation for languages across the world. A minoritized language is not defined only by the size of its speaker community (relative to that of national or hegemonic languages), but also by sociohistorical processes that resulted in the language losing social and cultural capital, status, or power, as well as reducing speaker numbers and domains of use. For example, many minoritized languages in Europe were “not allowed to be used in communication with public officials, were dismissed as inappropriate “idioms” for educated citizens, or suffered from state policies which had the effect of disrupting intergenerational transmission” (Hornsby and Agarín, 2012: 90). Language minoritization usually results from language shift, a process whereby a community of speakers moves from speaking their traditional language to speaking another, usually a majority language often for reasons of a (perceived) increase in capital and/or social capital bestowed by being a speaker of the majority or hegemonic language (Jones, 1998b). If language shift continues to completion, the minoritized language ceases to be used in all domains by all speakers².

Fishman (1991: 18) maintains that language shift may be successfully reversed³, provided that efforts to do so are “invariably part of a larger ethnocultural

² Language minoritization often results in structural changes in the minoritized language, often in the form of reduced grammatical complexity, increased analyticity, and reduction of structural redundancy. In-depth discussion of this is outwith the scope of the current thesis - see Dorian, 1977, 1978; Palosaari and Campbell, 2011; Schmidt, 1985; and Jones, 1998b; 2005 for further discussion and examples.

³ It should be noted that different minoritized language communities define success differently, see discussion of Irish in Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson (2017: 240). This might reflect different sizes

goal”. That is to say, in the Fishmanian view, the minoritized language should be restored to the ethnocultural group with which the language has traditionally been associated in order for the reversal of language shift to occur. The inherent problems in defining and locating any ethnocultural group notwithstanding, it is not clear that Fishman’s statement is provable, or, more importantly, falsifiable. That is, an example of a minoritized language being successfully restored to its ‘traditional ethnocultural group’, such as, arguably, the case of Hebrew (Zuckermann, 2006), does not logically imply that this is the *only* way language shift may be reversed. In fact, the case of Manx, many of whose speakers are not members of any Manx ethnocultural group (see Ó hÍfearnáin, 2015a: 60; McNulty, 2023b), therefore presents “significant challenges to the Fishmanian conception of reversing language shift, which relies on ethnocultural essentialism as a motivating factor” (Ó hÍfearnáin, 2015a: 60). Manx’s case may provide a more nuanced discussion of the Fishmanian paradigm and of the factors at work to reverse language shift. Revitalization processes which aim at reversing shift are discussed in the following section.

2.2.2.2 *Language Revitalization*

Whatever the ultimate goal of reversing language shift for any language, it is generally instigated by linguistic revitalization efforts set in motion by members of its speaker community (Jones, 1998b; Thomason, 2015). There are many methods by which revitalization may be accomplished - see Grenoble and Whaley (2005) for an in-depth discussion. In summary, though, language revitalization⁴ usually involves increasing the number and breadth of the domains and roles in which the minoritized language is used. This might take the form of a restoration of the use of the language in traditional spheres such as

and situations of communities as well as degrees of language minoritization. It should not be taken for granted that all language communities have, or should have, the same goals with regards to revitalizing their language.

⁴ Some scholars, such as Dorian (1994), posit a difference between ‘language revitalization’ and ‘language revival’ in that ‘revival’ is applicable to cases where the language is no longer used by a speaker community, whereas ‘revitalization’, however refers to languages that have maintained a speaker base. Terms such as ‘language reclamation’ (e.g. Leonard, 2012) are also in use by Indigenous American communities. As Manx is not a clear example of any case, arguments have been made that both ‘revival’ and ‘revitalization’ are applicable (e.g. by McNulty, 2019; 2023a). This thesis uses ‘revitalization’ as this is a more widely used term in European sociolinguistics.

the home, or an expansion to new, non-traditional domains, such as government documentation or academic writing (Bentahila and Davies, 1993).

Revitalization usually also involves increasing speaker numbers (Bentahila and Davies, 1993). This may be through increasing the minoritized language's use in 'heartland' communities traditionally associated with the language, such as the Irish *Gaeltacht*, and/or expanding the use of the language to new demographics, resulting in the creation of New Speaker communities. Whichever combination is achieved depends on the specific situation of each minoritized language community. However, speakers of minoritized languages undergoing revitalization are typically multilingual, usually possessing competence in one or more majority or hegemonic language spoken in their area. How multilingualism shapes minoritized language communities is discussed in Section 4. The next section explores how New Speakers might learn the minoritized language.

2.2.3 How do New Speakers Learn the Minoritized Language?

As mentioned in Section 1, the New Speaker framework was developed as a response to approaches to the study of minoritized language communities which either excluded speakers classified as 'learners', or which focussed on the ways in which such speakers' linguistic production was felt to be lacking in some way in comparison to traditional native speaker profiles (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013: 56). Such studies of minoritized languages categorize certain speaker profiles within language acquisition frameworks, focussing on the 'L2-ness' of some speakers' acquisition in comparison to the 'L1-ness' of others'. The following section illustrates how the New Speaker framework challenges and problematizes this acquisitional dichotomy between L1 and L2 acquisition by discussing the varying ways in which New Speakers acquire the minoritized language (further implications for New Speakers' language competences are discussed in Section 4.3). This includes the 'completeness' of their acquisition, the varying amounts and types of input they may have had, the environments in which they learn, and their personal agency in acquiring the minoritized language.

Accounts that focus on the 'L2-ness' of a given minoritized language speaker's production (Section 4.1.1) might include discussion of their 'incomplete

acquisition' of the minoritized language, with the implication that there is a kind of acquisition to which these speakers are aspiring towards yet failing to reach. This aspirational acquisition is usually assumed to be L1 or native-like acquisition. While native speaker production undoubtedly serves as a linguistic model for many speakers of minoritized languages, it should not be taken for granted that this language model applies to all speakers in all contexts (see Section 6 for further discussion).

Therefore, the New Speaker framework provides an alternative approach which challenges these assumptions. In keeping with the critical multilingualism approach within which the New Speaker framework was developed (see Section 4.2), it is more likely to ask whether the speaker in question has acquired enough of the minority language for it to be useful and meaningful to themselves and to other members of their community (Jaffe, 2015: 25). Nic Fhlannchadha and Hickey (2018: 46) note that “Nance (2013) disputed the controversial concept of ‘incomplete acquisition’ by learners, arguing that speakers may actually have fully acquired the language to the extent they need, and that this also affects the speech sounds they use to achieve this communication.” Section 4.3 discusses further implications of this for discussions of New Speakers’ competence.

Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that individuals within New Speaker communities will be in a variety of different places in their journey in acquiring the minoritized language. Hornsby (2015: 108) states that “the “[N]ew” [S]peaker has acquired (or is in the process of acquiring) the language”, implying that there is a point at which the New Speaker will have acquired the language, but that it is not necessary for a speaker to have reached this point to be called a New Speaker. This point necessarily leads to questions of what ‘counts’ as enough language acquisition for New Speakerhood. Is someone who has a *cúpla focal* (‘a couple of words’) of Irish (e.g. Brennan and O’Rourke, 2019) a New Speaker? Would such a competence have different degrees of usefulness in the speaker’s local versus national community? Is it even useful to try and pin down whether this speaker is a New Speaker or not? The answers to such questions are inherently unclear, highlighting the nature of the ‘fuzzy boundaries’ between categories of speakerhood that are inherent within the New Speaker framework (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 377).

In this vein, New Speakers will vary within and between communities in terms of the environments in which they learn the minority language. McLeod and O'Rourke (2015: 152) define New Speakers as "individuals with little or no home or community exposure to the language when they were growing up". Other works also define New Speakers as lacking home exposure, such as O'Rourke and Walsh (2020: 18), who define New Speakers as having acquired their minority language "outside of the home or local community". That said, this may be variable: some New Speakers "may have been raised with the language as a home language, or bilingually, in settings where it was not dominant socially" by "parents who may or may not have been speakers of the minority language themselves" (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378). New Speakers may also be "from communities where the traditional language was spoken but were raised as children speaking the dominant language" (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378), and thus may have had input from minority language-speaking grandparents or extended family: Walsh and O'Rourke (2018: 378) state that "many such [N]ew [S]peakers can have exposure to the language through neighbours or extended family members who spoke traditional varieties to varying degrees". The above scenarios would result in speakers acquiring varying degrees of passive or active competence in the minority language. In such cases, it is evident that it is difficult to draw a boundary between New Speakers and other profiles based only on the amount of home and community input they have received. Therefore, New Speakers might acquire the minority language in the home to some degree, or they might acquire it solely outside the home environment - the two are not mutually exclusive and should not be thought of as such. This further emphasises the unclear boundaries between different categories of speakerhood.

If a New Speaker acquires a language outside the home, this is generally assumed to be through formal education. McLeod and O'Rourke (2015: 152) state that New Speakers often acquire the minoritized language "through an immersion programme in school or as adult language learners". However, these two methods should not be presented as a binary - many New Speakers begin their language journey in school but continue or finish it as an adult, perhaps after a hiatus. Indeed, O'Rourke (in O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020) reports such a trajectory in her own journey as a New Speaker of Irish. Additionally, formal

education in the minoritized language for children and young people should not necessarily be equated with immersion education in a school environment. There are many educational avenues available for New Speakers to learn the minoritized language, such as summer schools (e.g. in the Irish *Gaeltacht*), “language nest” programmes (e.g. for Hawaiian and te reo Māori) (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006), and minoritized language education through the medium of the majority language (e.g. for Manx) (McNulty, 2019; 2023a). O’Rourke and Walsh’s (2020: 19) definition states that New Speakers acquire the language “at school or through other informal means”, which better encompasses the multiple pathways of acquisition of the minoritized language for New Speakers, but may still exclude acquisition pathways common outside of European minoritized language communities.

This section discussed how the New Speaker framework understands language acquisition of a minoritized language, not as a binary L1-L2 dichotomy, but as a more fluid process which can lead to acquisition journeys that are less well-defined. More studies of the multiplicity and variability of language acquisition in New Speaker communities, especially those outside Europe, are necessary to fully understand what it means for a New Speaker to ‘acquire’ a minoritized language, and the implications this has for the kinds of competences that New Speakers may have (as discussed further in Section 4.3). As in other multilingual communities, New Speakers’ acquisition pathways are often closely intertwined with their reasons for acquiring the minoritized language, as discussed in the following section.

2.2.4 Why do New Speakers Learn the Minoritized Language?

Multilinguals have various motivations when learning a language. For New Speakers of minoritized languages, their motivation to learn is often a reflection of their highly valuing the minoritized language - one way in which a New Speaker’s positive attitude towards the language may manifest is by the conscious act of choosing to learn the minority language, that is to become a New Speaker in the first place (Jaffe, 2015: 21) (see Section 6.1 for further discussion of New Speakers’ language attitudes).

The idea of personal choice seems to be an important aspect of New Speakerhood; this is a group which, in contrast to native speakers, a person can choose at any time to become a part of. Most New Speakers have made an active commitment (of whatever type or intensity) to become a speaker of the minority language and thus an agent in its revitalization, which imbues some level of status but also involves sustained emotional, mental, and often financial labour (Jaffe, 2015: 29). Individuals may therefore have a “vested interest” in being a New Speaker (Hornsby, 2015: 121).

That said, the picture may not be so simple. The choice to acquire a minority language is context specific (e.g. McCarty, 2018), and may not necessarily solely be down to positive attitudes towards the language itself - speakers may be motivated by perceived financial gain, employability options (e.g. in Galicia - O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2015), or the cognitive benefits of multilingualism. In addition, a significant portion of New Speakers in many communities are children who are acquiring the language through education, or young adult speakers who are the products of such a system (McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020). In these cases, the choice to acquire the minority language may not have been entirely the speaker's, but rather their caregiver's, their school's, or that of regional language policy. We should therefore note that motivation may function differently for these types of New Speakers for whom the notion of personal choice applies in different ways.

This section has illustrated how the New Speaker framework complicates binary notions of language acquisition contained within L1/L2 and native speaker approaches to minoritized languages (discussed further in Section 4). It has also pointed out some questions raised by the New Speaker framework in this regard, which will be discussed further with reference to the varying language competences New Speakers may have in Section 4.3. The above ideas on New Speakers' learning of the minoritized language, especially their motivations in doing so, are inherently linked to their language beliefs, as discussed in Section 6. The following section outlines how these speaker profiles may be understood within the New Speaker framework.

2.3 What is the New Speaker Framework?

As mentioned above, this thesis analyses Manx speakers' linguistic production and language beliefs through the New Speaker framework. It examines how this framework might be beneficial for understanding Manx speakers' linguistic behaviour, and also the potential challenges that the Manx context poses to the New Speaker framework (see Chapter 3, Section 4). In order to accomplish this, this section lays out the theoretical background of the New Speaker framework, why it was developed, the assumptions it makes about language and speakers, and the goals of the framework.

Within the context of studies on multilingualism, as discussed in Section 4, the recruitment of ('new') speakers into a linguistic community is a well-documented phenomenon that has existed for as long as language contact situations have (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013: 56). A more recent version of this phenomenon is the recruitment of multilingual speakers into minoritized language communities as a result of language revitalization efforts (as discussed in Section 2.2). This recruitment of speakers into minoritized language speaker communities through revitalization is a very different phenomenon to that of say, a global majority language like English acquiring more speakers. This is because minoritized languages, and their speakers, exist in the very specific sociohistorical context of language minoritization, which must be considered when understanding these communities (McCarty, 2018: 472). The New Speaker framework was created with the aim of understanding the language practices of speakers emerging from language revitalization.

These cohorts of speakers of minoritized languages that have been emerging often do not fit the profile of traditional native speakers in terms of their social and linguistic practices (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013: 56). Such profiles have emerged in many regions, such as the Basque country, Galicia, and Brittany, who have given names to such profiles of minoritized language speakers - folk terms from which the label 'New Speaker' was developed (see O'Rourke and Walsh 2020; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011; and O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo, 2015 for discussion of *euskaldunberri*, *neofalantes*, and *néo-brettonants* respectively). In some communities, such as Catalonia, such non-traditional speaker profiles are not explicitly labelled (O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo, 2015), or are often referred to in a derogatory way, such as in Ireland (see O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 4 for discussion of the Irish term *Gaeilgeoir*). Such

speaker groups have come to be understood by researchers within “notions such as ‘[N]ew [S]peakerness’ and ‘[N]ew [S]peaker’” (O’Rourke and Pujolar, 2013: 56). The term ‘New Speakers’ then, is broadly understood to refer to such speaker profiles, although the diversity within these profiles sometimes complicates this (see Section 2.1).

In addition, the New Speaker framework was also developed as a way of challenging dominant ideologies in the study of minoritized languages, by examining and critiquing ideologies, both implicit and explicit, about language and what it means to be a speaker of a language, especially in a minoritized language context. Much work on language minoritization and revitalization has been conducted within a framework that perpetuates monolingual ideologies, rooted in 19th-century conceptions of the role of language within the nation-state (c.f. O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020 for more discussion). Such ideologies place native speakers, often presented in an essentialist, ethno-nationalistic light, as arbiters of ‘pure’ and ‘correct’ minority language usage, which must be preserved to the point of “museification” (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 5). Therefore, many such studies aim to document and record the language of speakers in traditional heartland areas undergoing language loss. In the wake of vast language loss due to colonial activity, and the rise of new, varied multilingual speaker profiles in the post-colonial era of language revitalization, the New Speaker framework seeks to question such ideologies that have underpinned much of the research on endangered and minority languages and which had often gone unchallenged.

Leading on from this, the notion of the New Speaker questions the binary between native and non-native speakers assumed by the above approaches to minoritized language study. Work in the field of endangered and minoritized languages has often focused on traditional profiles of native speakers of these languages. It is often conducted through second language acquisition frameworks (as discussed in Section 4.1), opposing traditional native speakers, defined as those who acquired the language through first language acquisition strategies, with other kinds of speakers, who acquired (or are acquiring) the minoritized language through second language acquisition strategies (e.g. Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Davalan, 1999). Within this line of research, there has been a “proliferation of labels associated with differing profiles and amounts of

competence that have been given to speakers within minority language communities, which include ‘semi-speaker’, ‘terminal speaker’, ‘rememberer’, ‘ghost speaker’ and ‘last speaker’” (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 21). Particularly, studies of minoritized languages that are conducted within such frameworks often make use of labels such as ‘language learners’, ‘L2 speakers’, or similar, placed in binary opposition to the ‘native speaker’; a speaker whose language use and competence is often accorded a higher status by linguists (Davies, 2003). The New Speaker framework avoids the use of such labels and oppositions, prompting “a movement away from the deficiency model sometimes implied in being a “non-” native, as opposed to a “native” or a “second” as opposed to a “first” language speaker of a language” (O’Rourke and Pujolar: 2013: 56). Jaffe (2015: 24, quoting Doerr, 2009: 36) makes a similar point, stating that New Speakers are “a challenge to the belief in the automatic and complete competence of ‘native speakers’ in their ‘native languages’”. As such, studies of minoritized language speakers conducted within the New Speaker frameworks re-value language practices that have often been devalued or excluded from studies into minoritized languages.

This reanalysis of language practices is linked to the fact that the New Speaker framework was developed within critical multilingualism and third-wave approaches to sociolinguistics and variation. As discussed further in Section 4.2, critical multilingualism seeks to “reveal links between local multilingual practices and wider social and ideological processes” (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016: 4), viewing multilinguals’ linguistic practices as reflective of their use of different linguistic resources to enact different language beliefs and identities (Kramsch, 2006: 97; Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008: 660). More broadly, third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, as discussed further in Section 5.2, understand structural linguistic variation as reflective of individual speakers having some level of awareness of their language use, and making use of different linguistic variables, and avoiding others, to convey some social meaning to their interlocutor or audience (Eckert, 2012: 90). Therefore, the New Speaker framework provides a way of understanding how some speaker profiles that have emerged in contexts of language minoritization and revitalization use language as a way to engage with, or reject, discourses about language, language

ideologies, and linguistic identities that emerge within, and are often specific to, contexts of linguistic minoritization and revitalization.

As the New Speaker framework was developed within approaches that do not seek to generalize language practices, it does not aim to be an exclusive, cover-all term for one specific speaker profile. Despite the fact that there are commonalities between the kinds of profiles to which the label New Speaker has been applied across communities (as discussed in Section 3), the New Speaker framework is not primarily meant to be a way of pigeonholing and categorising speakers of minoritized languages. In other words, there is a limit to the usefulness of the idea of ‘New Speaker’ as a label for a category the linguist can or should delineate (Ramallo, O’Rourke, and Pujolar, 2015: 6). The term ‘New Speaker’ also accounts for a possible range of meanings, considering “the multiplicity of languages, social groups and communities of practice which have come to characterise the modern era” (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 21, see also O’Rourke and Pujolar: 2015; Ramallo, O’Rourke, and Pujolar, 2015). As such, the New Speaker framework places less emphasis on who might be classed as a New Speaker, and according to what criteria, acknowledging that “concepts are able to be imprecise, and categories may have fuzzy borders” (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 377).

It might therefore be useful to think of New Speakers and New Speakerness not as a group or attribute that the linguist has the authority to gatekeep, but as a concept which “historicises nativeness and challenges native speaker and monolingual ideologies” (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 21). Indeed, Walsh and O’Rourke (2018: 377) do so, viewing New Speakerness as a ‘lens’ through which we might “analyse the contemporary dynamics of multilingual communities and their speakers rather than a precise concept which can be used to typologise highly complex social groups”. The lens of New Speakerness therefore provides an alternative to bounded and binary notions of ‘speakerhood’ or ‘non-speakerhood’ that may prove to be less useful in today’s multilingual communities. As such, the following section details different ways multilingualism may be framed, and the usefulness of these framings for work on New Speakers.

2.4 Framing Multilingual Competence

As mentioned in Section 1, multilingualism is prevalent in minoritized language communities, such as the Manx community, the focus of this thesis. Therefore, an understanding of the fundamentals of multilingualism is therefore an essential background to exploring how such speakers use their minoritized language, which Research Question 1 of this thesis seeks to do. To understand such contexts, this section discusses two lenses through which we can view multilingualism: that of multilingual (or L2) language acquisition, and that of critical multilingualism. The former views multilingual production, and variation therein, as a reflection of how speakers acquire a language, and the latter places a focus on how factors such as language beliefs shape speakers' individual language practices. This thesis argues that critical multilingualism perspectives are necessary to fully understand the forces governing morphosyntactic structure in New Speaker communities. The following sections discuss how both frameworks understand linguistic variation in multilinguals, specifically in New Speaker communities.

2.4.1 Multilingual Language Acquisition

In contexts of language revitalization, many speakers, notably New Speakers, acquire the minoritized language in contexts which, in language acquisition frameworks, fall under the umbrella of Second Language Acquisition (henceforth SLA). Language acquisition frameworks traditionally view the linguistic production of such minoritized language speakers as reflective of the way(s) in which they acquire the language, and the relative 'completeness' of this acquisition⁵. This section therefore discusses how second language acquisition frameworks understand structural linguistic variation in general, as well as how this applies in New Speaker contexts.

Language acquisition frameworks have tended to view monolingual and multilingual acquisition as fundamentally different (Bley-Vroman, 1990). Monolingual acquisition necessarily makes use of First Language Acquisition

⁵ But see Ortega (2019) for a recent, more critical application of language acquisition frameworks, and Cenoz and Gorter (2023) for an in-depth discussion of the application of these frameworks in minoritized language contexts.

strategies. To summarise Slabakova's (2009: 155-156) discussion, we can say that first language acquisition generally occurs in the same way for all non-linguistically-impaired speakers - how they learn (from caregivers), why they learn (as an essential human communicative function) and the level of success they achieve (complete native-level fluency) can be taken for granted in all but exceptional cases.

The same is not necessarily true for the acquisition of a second or third language. Unlike in monolingual first language acquisition, there is no guarantee that a multilingual will reach a high degree of proficiency in their target language - this may not be required, desired, or feasible. For many multilinguals⁶, acquiring another language requires the use of SLA strategies. SLA differs from First Language Acquisition in various ways (for discussion, see Slabakova, 2009: 155-156, citing Bley-Vroman, 1990). Acquiring a language using SLA strategies often leads to differences between monolingual and multilingual production in the target language. For example, in minoritized language contexts, imposition (van Coetsem, 2000) is likely to occur in speakers who have the majority language as their L1, resulting in their morphosyntactic production in the minoritized language differing from that of speakers who have the minoritized language as their L1.

Multilinguals are also likely to differ from each other in their linguistic production in their target language. For example, one multilingual's competence might be judged as better in one area of their target language than another. This has been evidenced in minoritized language communities - so-called 'semi-speakers' (Dorian, 1977) may have passive competence in their parents' or grandparents' traditional language, but have limited active competence. These areas of competence are also subject to change across the lifetime. An older bilingual speaker may undergo attrition of their childhood L1 such that their competence in their L2 becomes greater, leading to an inversion of language dominance, as has been noted to occur in L1 speakers of the majority language

⁶ This may be less applicable to simultaneous multilinguals who acquire multiple languages in early childhood. The New Speakers in this study are overwhelmingly sequential multilinguals who acquired Manx later in childhood or in adulthood, therefore the discussion here centres on this scenario.

Spanish who later acquired the minoritized language Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011).

Language acquisition frameworks understand this variation as reflective of differences in how speakers acquire the minority language, which results in different types and levels of competence in their target language (Birdsong, 2018). Multilinguals' competences in their target language(s) may be measured in terms of 'fluency'. For linguists, this term encompasses multiple meanings, including rates of speech, frequency and length of pauses, and automatic encoding of morphosyntactic rules (Chambers, 1997). Some of these conceptions of fluency overlap with popular definitions, in which speakers are often judged 'fluent' if they have few unfilled pauses and a fast rate of speech, as well as accuracy in grammar and vocabulary (Chambers, 1997: 540). 'Fluency' therefore encompasses different kinds of linguistic competence which can vary even within one individual speaker.

In this vein, generalising multilingual production is next to impossible due to the sheer number of variables to account for. Multilinguals vary in terms of the acquisition strategies they employ, their age of acquisition, the environment in which they acquire the language, their existing linguistic repertoires and the relationship of these to their target language, their demographic profiles, their natural language aptitudes, and their goals and motivations in acquiring the language (see DeKeyser et al., 2010; Birdsong, 2018; Genesee and Nicoladis, 2007; Meisel, 2011; Leikin, Schwartz, and Tobin, 2012; Cornips and Hulk, 2006; Norton and McKinney, 2011; Gardner and Lambert, 1972 for further discussion on all of the above points). That said, language acquisition frameworks have been able to explain some patterns of variation in New Speaker communities, as discussed in the following section.

2.4.1.1 New Speakers' Language Acquisition and Structural Variation

As discussed further in Section 4.3, New Speakers' language competences and language production varies from other speaker profiles. That said, it also seems evident that New Speakers also vary from each other in these respects both inter- and intra-communally. This section explores the extent to which language

acquisition has been used as an explanatory factor in this vein, and the limitations therein.

New Speakers have been shown to vary in their production from other speaker profiles, often being compared to traditional native speaker profiles in language acquisition-based studies. One difference between these speakers' language practices concerns their use of translingual practices. This not to say that traditional native speakers' language practices are never translingual (e.g. Davies-Deacon, 2020 on French lexical borrowing in Breton), but that New Speaker practices often exemplify structural imposition (van Coetsem, 2000) from the majority language, their L1, in their linguistic production in the minoritized language, their L2 (or L3). Jones (2005: 164) gives an example of this from the production of New Speakers of Jèrriais, the native variety of Norman French spoken in Jersey. New Speakers of Jèrriais were observed to use 'to be' in age constructions, as opposed to the traditional 'to have' as a result of overt transfer from their L1 English. New Speakers of Jèrriais also showed a preference for use of the adverb *acouo* ('again') when expressing repetition, rather than the verbal prefix *re-* (Jones, 2005: 167). Both of these structures were available in Jèrriais, but the former is explained as becoming more frequent due to its similarity to equivalent structures available in English.

In addition, variation within New Speakers' language use has been explored through language acquisition approaches to multilingualism. One common outcome of such studies indicates that New Speakers who acquire the minoritized language in a less 'native-like' way use a greater degree of grammatical simplification than their more 'L1-like' peers. Grammatical simplification⁷ (e.g. Trudgill, 2002: 712) involves various grammatical changes or differences - most relevant for morphosyntax are reduction of morphology, increased analyticity, and reduction of syntagmatic redundancy. For example, Thomas (1991) found that Welsh-speaking bilingual children who acquired Welsh sequentially after English produced uninflected forms of inflected prepositions more frequently than those who acquired Welsh and English simultaneously or had Welsh as their first language. Additionally, Davalan's (1999) study of children in Breton-medium education found that children who only acquired

⁷ This term carries unfortunate negative connotations, none of which are intended here.

Breton at school showed greater simplification in the form of generalisations of the multiple forms of the verb ‘to be’ that exist for L1 speakers of Breton. Gathercole and Thomas (2009) found that some bilingual Welsh-speaking schoolchildren acquire various grammatical structures later and in a less complete way than others, such as word order and the identification of sentential subjects and grammatical gender, as well as vocabulary. Namely, the children who reported speaking Welsh at home had a more advanced and complete acquisition of these structures.

Language acquisition frameworks therefore seem to have considerable explanatory power when looking at language practices and linguistic production in minoritized language communities, but there are shortfalls. One example reflects limitations of language acquisition frameworks discussed in the previous section - namely that New Speakers may vary in the ‘L2-ness’ of their profile and linguistic production. Any two given New Speakers may differ in the quantity and quality of their input in the minority language, make greater or lesser use of L2 acquisition strategies. Indeed, individual speakers within minoritized language communities might make use of both L1 and L2 acquisition strategies across the course of their lifetime, depending on their personal acquisition trajectory (see Section 2). It is therefore difficult to say, especially with such limited data, to what extent any particular New Speaker’s language use contains ‘L2 acquisition’ features, and thus to neatly categorise speakers in minoritized language communities as either L1 or L2 acquirers.

As will be discussed further in later chapters, this thesis argues that language acquisition undoubtedly plays some role in multilingual speakers’ production in their minoritized languages, and variation therein (e.g. as posited by McNulty 2019; 2023a). However, it also argues that such frameworks alone are insufficient in capturing the high degree of individual variation seen in such speakers, which this thesis’ data from Manx exemplifies. As such, frameworks such as Critical Multilingualism, which take non-acquisition factors into account, as discussed in the following section, are viewed as necessary for understanding language production and variation in such contexts.

2.4.2 Critical Multilingualism

This thesis is of the view that language use cannot be divorced from the social environment in which speakers exist and the social forces acting upon them. It views such social forces as an essential explanatory factor in linguistic variation. The same is true in multilingual situations - speakers do not acquire and use their second or third languages in a vacuum, they do so in ways that are inextricably linked to the world around them. Critical multilingualism is an approach which seeks to account for such factors in multilinguals' language use. This section outlines what constitutes critical multilingualism frameworks, and how they understand language production and variation in multilingual communities.

Critical approaches to multilingualism aim to “reveal links between local multilingual practices and wider social and ideological processes” such as social categorisation and exclusion, and the construction and negotiation of identities and social boundaries (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016: 4). As such, critical multilingualism approaches understand a variety of social forces to be at work in language use and variation. Pennycook (2010), for example, centralises the role of language as a social activity, with ‘a language’ being understood as a product of the specific socio-cultural setting in which it is used. More specifically, factors such as beliefs about language and linguistic identities can be understood as fundamental in understanding language use. For Kramsch and Whiteside (2008: 660), a multilingual’s language use can be viewed as “the enactment, re-enactment, or even stylized enactment of past language practices, the replay of cultural memory, and the rehearsal of potential identities.” Therefore Kramsch’s (2006: 97) conception of the “multilingual subject”, from which the New Speaker framework takes inspiration, who uses linguistic resources to conjure “alternative worlds” and “virtual selves” (Kramsch, 2006: 97), incorporating language beliefs present in their linguistic community, fits this thesis’s understanding of Manx speakers’ language production and variation.

Therefore, a critical multilingual approach as set out above provides an alternative lens to some of the key underlying tenets of language acquisition frameworks. For example, Pavlenko (2011, in Kramsch and Whiteside, 2007: 911), rather than viewing multilingual language acquisition as the acquisition of two (or more) discrete linguistic systems which the multilingual switches between during language use, presents the notion of the “multicompetent

bilingual” who makes use of whatever kinds of linguistic features are required by the situation at hand. This has important implications for how we view competence in multilinguals. For Pennycook (2010: 129), instead of viewing competence as a multilingual’s ability to ‘master the linguistic system’ in the same way as a monolingual, competence is an adaptive ability to “negotiate what forms [of language] to use for what purpose”. This idea of an agentive, individualized approach to linguistic competence on the part of different speakers, is a key argument that this thesis makes in understanding what New Speakers know about language, as discussed further in the following section.

2.4.3 New Speakers and Language Competence(s)

This begs the question of where the above discussions leave us with regards to an understanding of New Speakers’ linguistic competence. The notion of linguistic competence broadly describes one’s “knowledge of language”, namely “an aspect of our mental capacity underlying our use of language” (Paradis, 2003: 1)⁸. Much of the work done on linguistic structures used by New Speakers compares their competence to that of traditional native speakers. It is evident that New Speaker linguistic production varies from that of traditional native speakers in specific ways, forming a defining feature of the New Speaker profile; O’Rourke and Walsh (2020: 25) note that “New Speakers may be distinguishable from native speakers through their linguistic structures”. The comparison of the language use between these two groups is outwith the scope of this study,⁹ however, the work that does exist on New Speaker language use suggests that their linguistic structure may be a “defining factor” (Hornsby, 2015: 110) of this speaker group. Work on the linguistic structures used by New Speakers is still emerging, a gap to which this thesis hopes to contribute by exploring the language use of New Speakers of Manx, as per Research Question 1.

That said, it should not be assumed that New Speakers’ language use is necessarily normative or static. Within any one New Speaker community there will be differences in linguistic production (Hornsby, 2015: 111), variation which

⁸ Contrasted with ‘performance’, which describes how this knowledge is applied in real-life language use.

⁹ See Nance et al. (2016) on Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow; Ó Bróin (2014) on ‘New Urban Irish’; Mayeux (2015) on New Speakers of Louisiana Creole; Kasstan (2019) on Francoprovençal for discussion.

this thesis aims to explore in the Manx context, as per Research Question 1. The following paragraphs discuss what New Speakers know about language, and the commonalities and differences within their linguistic production. It also discusses the different frameworks within which these commonalities and differences might be understood, arguing, as this thesis does, that critical and third-wave perspectives are necessary in order to capture the full picture of variation within New Speaker communities. Key to understanding linguistic production and structural variation within the New Speaker framework is an understanding of how this framework understands the notion of linguistic competence. This section therefore explores how linguistic competence has been discussed in work within the New Speaker framework, asking what New Speakers know about language, and how this may be problematized.

In some work, New Speakers are said to have acquired the minoritized language “to a high level of competence” (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378), contrasting them to other kinds of profiles who do not have the same level of competence. Evidently, the inclusion of a competence cut-off in any definition of ‘the New Speaker’ is not without its problems, as the following paragraphs will discuss.

Firstly, it could be said that defining New Speakers with respect to their structural linguistic competence re-creates the kinds of binaries and dichotomies that the New Speaker framework was created to challenge (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378). The New Speaker framework has developed within critical and third-wave sociolinguistic frameworks, which often question such notions of competence as reflective only of the ability to use certain kinds of linguistic structures or features. As discussed above, questions such as “does someone with the *cúpla focal* (‘few words’) of Irish ‘count’ as a New Speaker?” highlight the discrepancy between structural notions of competence, activation of linguistic knowledge, and self-identification as a speaker. O’Rourke and Brennan (2019: 126) highlight this, stating that the *cúpla focal* “expression is commonly used in Ireland to refer to the linguistic competence of people who are not necessarily able to speak much Irish but still to a greater or lesser extent see themselves as part of Ireland’s Irish-speaking community”. A definition of ‘New Speaker’ focusing only on competence would exclude such speakers.

Secondly, ascertaining what any given New Speaker's level of competence is, not to mention whether it is 'high', is an incredibly difficult endeavour. A New Speaker's competence in the minoritized language likely will not remain static throughout the New Speaker's life (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378). O'Rourke's (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020) autoethnographic comment on herself as a New Speaker reveals a temporary decrease in use of Irish during a period of her life, a not uncommon trajectory, also shared with my own experience as a New Speaker. During periods like this, a New Speaker may undergo language attrition, reducing their command of the minority language. Alternatively, their competence in the minority language may increase to the extent that it outstrips that of their L1, as may happen in the Galician context (O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011). Conversely, we might ask whether one can 'drop out' of the category of New Speaker through processes of language attrition, despite having previously achieved a "high level of competence" in the minority language. Conversely, another question may also be asked: can one 'transcend' the category of New Speaker with the acquisition of some undefined amount or type of competence? Additionally, if a speaker who may have a more traditional speaker profile possesses similar competences to a New Speaker, should they also be considered a part of this category? Questions such as these show that it is unclear where to draw the line when including individuals in a minority language community under the umbrella of the 'New Speaker' label on the basis of their linguistic competence.

Another difficulty with doing so is that the notion of 'linguistic competence' actually contains within it multiple different types of knowledge, which are likely to vary even within an individual New Speaker. Even just considering knowledge of linguistic structure, a New Speaker's level of fluency in conversation and sensitivity to register might be distinguished from the size and range of their vocabulary, and their ability to deploy various morphosyntactic features might be distinguished from their phonetic production (or 'accent'). Any one New Speaker might differ in competence in these areas. A New Speaker may also have different domains of competence with various degrees of compartmentalisation (Jaffe, 2015: 29). This may be associated with lexical fields; a New Speaker might have command over a wide vocabulary of terms for technological items, but lack the lexis to describe traditional farming

techniques, for example. Additionally, we might distinguish between a speaker's active and passive competence, i.e. their ability to produce and comprehend written and spoken utterances in the minority language (Jaffe, 2015: 25). Therefore, a New Speaker's ability to use the minoritized language is likely to differ depending on what a New Speaker is trying to say and the context or medium in which they are trying to say it.

Linguistic competence also includes kinds of knowledge outside of linguistic structure, which is likely to be variable within individual New Speakers. As Jaffe (2015: 25) notes, "we can distinguish, for example, formal linguistic competence from communicative/pragmatic competence; academic competences from those associated with colloquial registers. Standard language competence can similarly be differentiated from dialectal knowledge. Finally, metalinguistic competence - the ability to talk reflexively about the language - is separable from competence in that language". She also discusses the "cultural functions" (Jaffe, 2015: 25) of the language, which may refer to knowing how to use the minority language in music, dance, art, cultural events, or religious ceremonies, all of which may be focused on the symbolic value of the language. Considering all of the above, it is difficult to delineate any one New Speaker's competence in the minority language.

In addition, the way New Speakers judge each other's competence within any given community does not always have a one-to-one relationship to overall structural competence. That is, certain types of competence might be privileged within a given New Speaker community as indicative of 'more valued' language practices. As (Jaffe, 2015: 29) notes, sometimes, relatively limited linguistic tokens are "taken as indices of significant competence; on other occasions relatively substantial tokens are misrecognized or ignored." That is to say, different speakers and different communities may have different structural competence criteria by which they judge speakerhood and 'good language use'.

This highlights the importance of the sociolinguistic dynamics and language beliefs of particular New Speaker communities, which are likely to be variable, in determining the meaning of sociolinguistic competence. For example, Jaffe (2015: 25) states that competence is "always evaluated within a social and ideological matrix that inflects the values attached to different kinds of linguistic competences as well as the evaluative criteria used to define

“success” or expertise within each category.” These evaluations are often judged against other valued models for language practice within the community, such as traditional native speakers, or standard language usages (discussed in Section 6) (Jaffe, 2015: 25). The relative importance of these models differs within and between New Speaker communities.

Considering the complexity inherent in and the varying importance of structural linguistic competence within the New Speaker framework, statements such as the following may therefore prove more useful when discussing the linguistic competence of the New Speaker: a New Speaker is a speaker of a minority language that has acquired “a socially and communicatively consequential level of competence” in a minority language (Jaffe, 2015: 25). This definition intentionally leaves the ‘competence requirements’ for New Speakerhood porous and malleable, ascribing New Speakerhood to individuals within a minority language community that possess competences useful to them within that community and valued by it at a given moment in time. In this way we acknowledge the somewhat arbitrary nature of assigning the label of ‘New Speaker’ purely based on competence in the abstract and focus on the application of competence by the New Speaker in the linguistic community in question.

This section has discussed some inherent problems with the notion of competence and its application within minoritized language communities. It has highlighted the need for nuanced notions of competence within New Speaker communities, and questioned the inclusion of competence within definitions of the New Speaker, suggesting that different communities will define competence differently. Therefore, as aforementioned, this thesis takes a critical multilingualism approach, arguing that language acquisition frameworks alone are not sufficient for understanding the kinds of competence and variation we see in New Speaker communities, such as that of Manx. Rather, their language use is reflective of various social forces at work in their sociolinguistic environment, as assumed by critical multilingualism approaches. Such approaches can be placed more broadly within third wave sociolinguistic frameworks, which the following section discusses.

2.5 Framing Linguistic Variation

As discussed above, this thesis argues that accounts of multilingualism based solely on language acquisition strategies are insufficient in accounting for language use and structural variation in multilingual communities, such as minoritized language communities. Therefore, this thesis requires a framework to explore variation in such communities, of which Manx is an example, which takes into account the explanatory power of social forces, such as language beliefs, in shaping language production and variation in multilingual minoritized language communities, as per Research Question 3 of this thesis.

One such framework consists of the turn known as the ‘third wave’ of sociolinguistics. The third wave of sociolinguistics is, as numerical order would suggest, theoretically preceded by studies within the first and second waves of sociolinguistics. It is important to note that these orders do not strictly reflect chronological developments in thinking within the field of sociolinguistics, but rather frames within which various sociolinguistic studies place themselves, and the accompanying ontological and epistemological assumptions that are associated with each ‘wave’. The following sections describe each of the waves of sociolinguistics, going into more detail on the kinds of assumptions made by third wave approaches, in which this study places itself.

2.5.1 The First and Second Waves of Sociolinguistics

In order to understand the third wave of sociolinguistics, it is necessary to have a background knowledge on the first and second waves from which it developed. Sociolinguistic studies within the first and second waves, like those in the third wave, take as their object of investigation some apparent synchronic pattern of variation in how language is used by some community, and aim to explore the meaning of this variation, or the cause behind it. This section lays out the foci of and assumptions made in first and second wave approaches to linguistics, and how they differ from the approach taken in this study.

First-wave sociolinguistic studies, or classical variationist sociolinguistic studies, focus on establishing correlations between linguistic forms and broad macro-

social categories determined by the researcher, such as socioeconomic class, gender, age, ethnicity, etc. (Eckert, 2012: 87). These studies typically include collecting quantitative data in order to identify generalisable patterns about how the above different kinds of people use language differently - (e.g. Labov, 1966). Studies situated within the second wave of sociolinguistics (e.g. Eckert, 1989) explore linguistic variation in the context of smaller social categories that may have more meaning on a local scale, but which still function inside all-encompassing categories, such as age or gender (Eckert, 2012: 87), exploring the relationships between language use and social characteristics or groups, identified by the researcher, that have meaning in some speaker community.

Though this study includes elements of first wave approaches in its study of Manx, such as looking for correlations in how speakers of different ages and genders use the language (Chapter 5), it ultimately concludes that these kinds of correlations cannot explain the patterns of variation seen in the Manx data. Therefore, this thesis argues that a third wave approach, outlined in the following section, might be more conducive to understanding language use in New Speaker communities.

2.5.2 The Third Wave of Sociolinguistics

Like the types of studies discussed above, third wave studies explore how social information is encoded in and expressed through language. However, where third-wave studies differ is in that they focus on linguistic variation as a “resource for taking stances, making social moves, and constructing identity”, and they explore how linguistic meaning-making operates in specific situated interactions (Hall-Lew et al., 2021: 1). They understand variation as reflective of individual speakers having some level of awareness of their language use, and making use of different linguistic variables, and avoiding others, to convey some social meaning to their interlocutor or audience (Eckert, 2012: 90). The third wave of sociolinguistics therefore represents “a move away from variation as a reflection of social identities and categories to the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice” (Eckert, 2012: 90).

The three key concepts that underlie third-wave sociolinguistic studies can be summed up as the following (adapted from Eckert, 2012: 87-90):

- Variation is an essential feature of language, and constitutes a robust system of social meaning that can be used to express a range of social concerns within a particular speaker community.
- The social meanings of particular linguistic forms are underspecified, and take on particular meanings in specific contexts of use.
- Linguistic variation is reflective of social meaning, and also is a force in constructing it, and therefore is a force that shapes social change.

This thesis argues that the above assumptions hold true for the function of variation in the Manx New Speaker community. It argues that this variation is reflective of broader beliefs about Manx and how it should be spoken, and that speakers consciously use linguistic forms in specific contexts to make interlocutors aware of their opinions on sociolinguistic issues in their community. It also argues that ideological positions are being co-created due to their links with different linguistic practices. The following paragraphs further explore the implications of the above assumptions made by third wave approaches for the study of linguistic variation, and by extension this study.

The assumptions made by third-wave studies as set out above refer to the variety of meanings that may be attached to a given linguistic form, the primacy of which depends on the context in which the form is used. This is often explained through reference to indexical fields (Eckert, 2012: 90). An indexical field refers to the multiple possible interrelated social meanings a linguistic variable may take on - it is a “constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (Eckert, 2008: 454). These social meanings are often ideologically invested, and are employed by speakers to construct, maintain, and challenge existing ideologies in their community(/ies).

This begs the question of how we can understand ‘social meaning’ with regards to linguistic variation. For Hall-Lew et al., (2021: 3) social meaning refers to a “set of inferences that can be drawn on the basis of how language is used in a specific interaction”. Due to the complexity and inherent indeterminability of social meaning, its nature is often ideologically mediated by the researcher or

audience, an “artifact of the interpretive process” (Hall-Lew et al., 2021: 3). A linguistic form may become imbued with social meaning in a particular context due to its contrast with other functionally equivalent forms that might have been chosen in its stead (Irvine, 2001; Hall-Lew et al. 2021: 6-7), or due to its salience or iconicity (Hall-Lew et al., 2021: 8; Irvine and Gal, 2000).

There are many aspects to salience (as explored by Rácz, 2013), however Rácz (2013: 1) differentiates between cognitive salience: “the objective property of linguistic variation that makes it noticeable to the speaker”, and social salience: “the whole bundle of the variation along with the attitudes, cultural stereotypes, and social values associated with it”. The latter definition applies in this study, however, a form must be cognitively noticeable in some way in order to acquire social meaning. A form may acquire more specific social meanings through processes such as iconization. This describes a process where salient features become ‘iconic’: “linguistic features that index social groups or activities [and] appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 37)”. That is to say, a particular linguistic feature in a minority language may become a representation of a kind of speaker profile, or some meaningful aspect of social life, with which this feature is thought to be associated.

Orders of indexicality describe how linguistic forms become systematically linked with a specific type of social meaning (Hall-Lew et al., 2021: 3). Silverstein (2003) proposes three orders of indexicality. The first order of indexicality describes when there is social meaning attached to a linguistic form such that the form conveys information as to a particular broad social group to which the speaker belongs. The second order of indexicality relates to identity construction using language, such that the linguistic forms used (or not used) by a speaker indicate to other group members information about the speaker’s identity or place within their shared social group. Third-order indexicality is often difficult to distinguish from second-order, however it involves the conscious manipulation by members of a speaker group of those same features identified as indicative of particular characteristics or identities (Johnstone et al., 2006). Speakers are able to employ these features consciously in their linguistic production to index some position. This thesis argues that it is this type

of third-order indexing that explains patterns of variation in the Manx New Speaker community.

In order for a speaker to employ third-order indexicality, they necessarily must have some level of agency in their language use. Agency refers to the way in which speakers use language to “constitute[e] themselves and others as 'kinds' of people in terms of which attributes, activities, and participation in social practice can be regulated” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1995: 470, in Ahearn, 2001: 127). Through agentive use of variation, speakers, being aware of stereotypical assumptions around particular linguistic forms, may choose to use or forgo such forms in order to align or disalign themselves with some ideological or position that has meaning in their community (Jaffe, 2009: 4). This notion of speaker agency in language use is a key feature of third wave studies, and is central to the current study of Manx, which argues that Manx Speakers’ linguistic production reflects their agentive employment of variation, using salient or iconic forms to index particular ideological positions.

From the above discussion, it is evident that community and individual beliefs about language are understood by third wave studies, and thus, this thesis, as being essential components of how variation is governed and manipulated by speakers within New Speaker communities, as discussed in the following section.

2.5.2.1 The Third Wave and the New Speaker

The above discussion begs the question of what other factors, outwith those linked to language acquisition, might be relevant for explaining variation patterns in New Speaker production. As discussed in Section 4, the New Speaker framework was developed within third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, such as critical multilingualism. These approaches understand language variation within multilingual communities, and also in the practices of individual multilingual speakers, such as New Speakers, as reflective of speakers’ agentive use of salient linguistic resources available to them in order to orientate themselves towards or away from various ideological and identity positions available to them in a context-dependent way. Some ideological positions that have been shown to be particularly relevant for New Speakers are discussed in Section 6. It is this thesis’ argument that morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker

community reflects these speakers' desire to use salient features of Manx to index beliefs they have about the language. Emerging work from other New Speaker communities indicates that such processes may be a defining feature of New Speakers' language use, as this section illustrates.

2.5.2.1.1 Third Wave Approaches to New Speaker Language Use

The explanatory power of third-wave approaches, and thus the New Speaker framework, is especially evident in cases where language acquisition can only somewhat explain patterns of production in minoritized language communities. This is exemplified by Nance's (2015) study of the phonological production of New Speakers of Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow as compared with traditional speakers on the Isle of Lewis and with more 'L1-like' speakers in Glasgow. Nance (2015: 570) states that "new Gaelic speakers in Glasgow speak differently from traditional older speakers in Gaelic-heartland areas, and also differently from the age-equivalent group of young people in a Gaelic-heartland area." This was found despite the fact that these young speakers were acquiring Gaelic from teachers, and sometimes family members, from those heartland areas. In fact, the phonetic production of the younger speakers was much more similar to varieties of Scots/Scottish English spoken in the Glasgow area. Nance (2015) attributes these findings not only to acquisitional factors, but also to the fact that these younger Gaelic speakers did not identify with a traditional Gaelic ethno-linguistic identity, and had no desire to emulate speech norms associated with such an identity. They wanted to sound Glaswegian, even when speaking Gaelic. Moreover, these speakers wanted to index their Glaswegian-ness through their linguistic production in the minoritized language.

New Speakers might achieve this kind of indexing through the use of 'iconic' features in the minoritized language. To summarize the discussion in Section 4, iconic linguistic features are "linguistic features that index social groups or activities [and] appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 37)". In his study of Louisiana Creole New Speakers' language use, Mayeux (2015) was able to explain some of his findings that defied a traditional acquisitional explanation by exploring his findings within a third-wave approach. He found that New Speaker used iconic features

more frequently than traditional native speakers did. For example, the New Speakers in his study used post-posed determiners more often and in more environments than traditional native speakers did. He explained that they did so for the purpose of constructing group identity as Louisiana Creole speakers and to differentiate of their speaker group from majority language monolingual speakers. Post-posed determiners are a feature not shared with the majority language (English), nor with closely related varieties such as Standard French, therefore they were likely felt by New Speakers to be a feature that was ‘unique’ to Louisiana Creole. The use of these features in their language use then became emblematic of the expression of a Louisiana Creole identity (Mayeux, 2015: 63).

The above are just two examples of how New Speakers might agentively use linguistic features to align their production with some belief position or stylistic practice (see also Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1993 for self-correcting strategies in Galician; McEwan-Fujita, 2010 for Scottish Gaelic; and Kasstan, 2019 for Francoprovençal). From these examples of emerging work within the New Speaker framework, it seems as though third wave and critical approaches offer a powerful paradigm for understanding key processes operating in New Speakers’ language practices. However, the focus of this thesis is structural variation *within* a New Speaker community. Recent work suggests that such approaches may also be key to understanding this variation, as the following section discusses.

2.5.2.1.2 Type III Variation and the New Speaker

As discussed in the previous section, the aim of this thesis is to explore patterns of variation within a New Speaker community, that of Manx. Recent work on structural variation within New Speaker communities suggests that their ability to agentively use salient and iconic linguistic features in order to index information about language beliefs may be a fundamental part of certain New Speakers’ linguistic competence, and thus a driving force behind patterns of variation. This section explores how this might be the case by exploring the notion of Type III variation and how this operates within New Speaker communities.

The notion of Type III variation indicates that socio- and meta-linguistic knowledge forms a fundamental part of New Speakers' linguistic competence: the information that speakers perceive and produce about language attitudes also form part of their acquisition of variation (Nance et al., 2016; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020). Rodríguez-Ordoñez (2020) discusses different types of variation that have been observed in the speech of multilingual learners as 'stages' which are acquired as a speaker's proficiency in the target language increases over the course of the acquisition process. The acquisition of Type I variation occurs first, when the learner is using a target language structure in variation with an equivalent structure in their L1 (Rehner, 2002; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020: 106). Type II variation occurs in a speaker's production when the learner has acquired the sociolinguistic knowledge of the contexts in which it is appropriate to use structural variants, and thus their usage now varies between two functionally equivalent structures in the target language with different social connotations (Dewaele, 2004; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020: 106). This type of variation occurs in "highly advanced L2 learners" (Dewaele, 2004; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020: 107). Once both of these have "stabilised", the speaker can then begin to use variant structures in the target language to express identity, attitudes, ideology, and other components of "symbolic competence" (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008). Nance et al., 2016 refer to the results of this acquisition in production as 'Type III' variation. This kind of variation accounts for the advanced learners' "agentive models of identity construction" (Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020: 107).

Type III variation might explain patterns in New Speakers' linguistic production. For example, Rodríguez-Ordoñez (2020) posits that the 'three types' of variation may be present to differing extents in the production of New Speakers of Basque. She shows that the use of Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Basque varies between "intermediate learners", "advanced learners", and "native speakers", with the first and third group of speakers using this type of object marking more frequently than the advanced learners. The production of these three groups may be explained to some extent by structural factors; DOM is conditioned by various linguistic elements, such as animacy, person, and number. This structural conditioning seems to explain some of the differences in production between speaker groups. For example, native speakers and advanced learners used DOM more frequently for first person singular and plural, and

second person singular objects, as opposed to those in the third person. Intermediate learners also used DOM with third person objects.

However, Rodriguez-Ordoñez's (2020) findings show that this language acquisition framework is not sufficient to explain DOM use in the production of New Speakers of Basque. If it were just a case of Basque speakers aiming to acquire the rules for DOM expression in various linguistic environments, we might expect the native speakers to show the most 'complete' acquisition of these rules, with both learner groups acquiring DOM expression less completely, albeit with the advanced learners showing more complete acquisition than the intermediate learners. In other words, the acquisition of linguistic structure alone does not explain why the advanced learners (the more proficient New Speakers) use DOM much less frequently than either the native speakers or the less proficient New Speakers. To explain this, we must examine the sociolinguistics of DOM in Basque.

Rodriguez-Ordoñez (2020: 125) reports that DOM is highly stigmatised in Standard Basque - the variety of Basque that is taught to New Speakers. This is due to the fact that this feature is present in Spanish, and its use in Basque is perceived as a 'Spanish-ism' by some speakers. Therefore, although DOM is used by native Basque speakers, it is felt to be "inauthentic", "bad", or "less Basque" by Standard Basque learners/speakers (Rodriguez-Ordoñez, 2020: 126).

Advanced learners of Basque therefore produce DOM less frequently so that their production avoids being seen by other Standard Basque speakers as inauthentic, less Basque, etc. Rodriguez-Ordoñez (2020: 107) explains that the variation of DOM expression in more proficient New Speakers of Basque, as well as being structurally conditioned, also shows Type III variation, as discussed above (Nance et al., 2016). Therefore, in something of a reverse of iconisation, the advanced Basque learners are using the lack of DOM, DOM being a marker of "bad", "inauthentic" Basque, in their production to construct their own identities as speakers of 'authentic', 'good' Basque. The intermediate learners do not produce this kind of variation because their use of Type I and Type II has not sufficiently stabilised, therefore they do not yet have the kind of competence associated with Type III variation. In other words, they do not possess the kinds of symbolic competence that are available to the advanced learners that would

enable them to construct identities as certain types of Basque speakers using language.

This is similar to findings from the production of New Speakers of Galician. Enriquez-García (2017) discusses clitic placement among Galician *neofalantes*. She found that the expression of this feature in *neofalantes*' production could be explained by a combination of structural and sociolinguistic factors. The variation in clitic placement appears to be structurally conditioned: the speakers in the study "highly favour non-traditional clitic placement in finite contexts" as opposed to non-finite ones (Enriquez-García, 2017: 92). These finite contexts are those in which 'traditional' Galician clitic placement differs most from that of Castilian Spanish, therefore Enriquez-García (2017: 94) explains this variation as Spanish "interference" (or transfer) in Galician, but that this interference is restricted to the specific linguistic contexts where Spanish and Galician differ from each other.

Sociolinguistic factors were also at play in this study. Non-traditional clitic placement was more strongly disfavoured among speakers from younger generations and among those speakers who were raised outside Galicia or only had one Galician parent (Enriquez-García, 2017: 94). Enriquez-García (2017: 95) explains both of these findings in terms of "the importance of identity and culture affiliations". Namely, for the younger speakers, the education system in which they acquired Galician valued more "traditional" language use, of which "Spanish interference" is not felt to be a part. The younger speakers therefore express this linguistic ideology through their disavowing of perceived 'Spanish' usage in Galician. For the other group, Enriquez-García (2017: 98) suggests that these speakers feel "inadequate" due to the fact that they have less of a connection to Galicia in terms of upbringing, and as a result of this they are "aware of their own linguistic performance" (namely the perceived inadequacy thereof). Therefore, their avoidance of "Spanish interference" is a technique by which these speakers use their linguistic production to give themselves more authenticity as speakers of Galician.

As it is placed within critical multilingualism and third-wave sociolinguistics approaches (discussed in Section 4), the New Speaker framework allows for the possibility of understanding structural variation among certain speaker profiles in minoritized language communities as the result of these speakers' agentic

use of language to index certain kinds of social meaning. These sections illustrate how such understandings of social meaning are necessary in order to fully understand patterns of linguistic production and variation within any given New Speaker community, and how we cannot attribute all features of New Speaker linguistic production and variation therein to speakers' unsuccessful attempts to acquire some kind of traditional speaker norm. This thesis argues that this is also true for morphosyntactic variation within the Manx New Speaker community; that the notion of Type III variation as a way of revealing how speakers agentively index social meaning within their language practices will be essential in understanding broad patterns of variation seen in today's Manx-speaking community. Therefore, it is essential to understand the kinds of social meanings New Speakers might want to express, as discussed in the following section.

2.6 Language Beliefs

Language beliefs is an umbrella term which in this thesis collectively refers to both language ideologies and language attitudes. Language attitudes and ideologies are difficult concepts to definitively separate, as they share the same basic object of investigation: what speakers think, feel, and believe about some aspect of language, and the consequences that these thoughts, feelings, and beliefs may have for other members of a community. Both fields of study arose in the late 20th century, with language attitudes arising from and often studied within the field of social psychology, and language ideologies from linguistic anthropology and sociology of language (see Kroskrity, 2016; O'Rourke, 2011 for further discussion). They became useful tools in investigating speakers' feelings and beliefs about aspects of language, and researchers have used these feelings and beliefs to further our understanding of processes such as language change, as well as how language functions in society (Kroskrity, 2016).

Research Question 2 of this thesis deals with the language beliefs, here understood as language attitudes and ideologies, present in the Manx New Speaker community. New Speakers of minoritized languages often espouse strong language beliefs, which impact both how they view language on a broader scale as well as how they view different linguistic practices. As O'Rourke and Walsh

(2020: 18) note: being a New Speaker involves having “deep-rooted beliefs about what the correct way of speaking is and who can be considered a legitimate speaker”. The following sections illustrate both these differences, as well as commonalities, that have emerged within New Speaker studies, differentiating between broader language ideologies and their reflection in attitudes towards different ways of speaking. These discussions will feed into the development of this thesis’ understanding of ‘the Manx New Speaker’ in Chapter 3, exploring the extent to which these trends in language beliefs are reflected in the Manx context.

In addition, as the New Speaker framework was developed within critical and third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, as discussed in Section 4, it views language beliefs as an essential part of this speaker profile and a fundamental consideration in understanding the ways in which New Speakers use language. Therefore, the following sections discuss the kinds of language beliefs that work on New Speakers has identified in these speaker communities, and the variation therein.

2.6.1 Language Attitudes

Various definitions have been offered for language attitudes. Attitudes in general comprise speakers’ evaluative orientations - an attitude is one’s “disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). If we apply this definition to language attitudes more specifically, we can take the ‘class of objects’ to mean some aspect of language or linguistic production to which an individual is reacting. Giles and Rakić (2014: 19) go further, describing language attitudes as “not only the evaluative reactions people have about others’ speech styles, but integral elements in how individuals make sense of and manage information about the situations in which they find themselves, as well as assist in constructing narratives, arguments, and explanations about the character and behaviour of members of social categories.” Therefore, language attitudes studies may consider speakers’ feelings towards and beliefs about some linguistic variable or phenomenon (see Baker, 1992: 29 for further discussion on what form these attitudinal objects may take). The current study measures speakers attitudes towards specific

linguistic forms that form part of the variational landscape for Manx New Speakers (see Chapter 4 for further discussion of methodology).

Language attitudes are a psycho-social phenomenon consisting of multiple components. Garrett (2010: 23) states that there are three components to attitudes in general, and thus language attitudes more specifically, that span both across the minds of speakers and into the external social world: cognition, affect, and behaviour. The cognition component of language attitudes comprises “beliefs about the world and the relationships between objects of social significance” (Garrett, 2010: 23). Affect refers to feelings that an individual has towards attitudinal objects, which may be positive or negative and vary in intensity (Garrett, 2010: 23). The last of these three components is behaviour, which Garrett (2010: 23) describes as the “predisposition to act in certain ways consistent with cognitive and affective judgements”. Behaviour is both a manifestation of the psychological components of language attitudes and part of their formation and maintenance in the minds of speakers. Attitudes can therefore be used as an explanatory tool to summarise, explain, and predict patterns of external behaviour (Garrett, 2010: 11), which will be relevant in the current study of Manx.

That said, the above is somewhat paradoxical, as the behavioural components of language attitudes are all that we as researchers are able to observe, as we have access to neither cognition nor affect. As Oppenheim (1982: 39) notes, attitudes are “an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended” - “inner components of mental life” that express themselves through various aspects of behaviour. In the study of language attitudes, then, we are using observations of behaviour towards a particular linguistic object to build hypothetical psychological constructs to explain said behaviour and predict future behaviour in similar contexts (Garrett, 2010: 10).

However, we must bear in mind the problem that external behaviour cannot always be taken as a direct reflection of cognition and/or affect - the relationships between all three components may be complex and not perfectly aligned (Garrett, 2010: 27). There may also be intermediary steps between the psychological components of linguistic attitudes and their enactment in external behaviour, such as intentions, or contextual factors limiting behaviour. For example, it may go against cultural standards of politeness to voice a negative

opinion towards a linguistic object, even if a speaker has both negative thoughts and feelings towards it. We must therefore bear in mind during any study of language attitudes that the relationship between the psychological components of language attitudes and external behaviour is not perfectly direct or predictive (Baker, 1992: 16).

Research into language attitudes generally takes a positivist approach, and often takes the form of quantitative measurement of speakers' reactions towards the attitudinal object in question (Kroskrity, 2016), in conjunction with the socio-psychological framework outlined above. Indirect approaches may be employed in such studies, such as the 'matched guise technique', which asks speakers to rate instances of language use according to various criteria, such as the personal characteristics they assign the imagined user (see Giles and Rakić, 2014 for further discussion and Lambert et al., 1965; Giles, 1970 for examples of such studies).

The quantitative methods employed by language attitudes research may also involve so-called "direct methods" (Garrett, 2010: 37). These involve the overt elicitation of attitudes, including using questionnaires. In such studies, participants' responses to questions about the attitudinal object may be recorded on some kind of numerical scale, which may record the positivity and/or intensity of each participant's feelings towards the object in question. Some examples of studies conducted with such methods include MacKinnon's (1981) study of attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic, and Sharp et al.'s (1973) study into attitudes towards Welsh. This is the approach taken by the current study when eliciting attitudes towards morphosyntactic constructions in Manx, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Studies into language attitudes may also compare the judgements they obtain from participants with other variables, such as the ages, genders, national or religious affiliation, socio-economic backgrounds etc. of participants. In this way, they can make generalisations about the prevalence of particular attitudes across groups within an overall population, in keeping with the framework of positivist research approaches. For example, a quantitative study may reveal that participants between the ages of 18-25 have more positive attitudes on average towards Language Variety X than participants aged 50-65 do. This may reveal trends which can be tested for replicability or compared with trends in

other populations. The current study will question how appropriate it is to make such generalisations in New Speaker communities like that of Manx, and to what extent these generalisations can be used with descriptive or explanatory adequacy in such communities, as discussed in the following section.

2.6.2 New Speakers' Language Attitudes

In New Speaker contexts, attitudes are generally elicited towards different language practices or ways of speaking. In minoritized language communities, different ways of speaking are often ideologically invested (Hornsby, 2015: 116), in that New Speakers' attitudes towards them reflect these broader ideologies, and, this thesis argues, New Speakers' valuation and use of them indexes broader ideologies. This section discusses commonalities and differences in New Speaker communities in their valuations of language practices available to them in their communities, exploring to what extents New Speakers may orientate themselves towards or reject potential language models.

Language practices associated with traditional native speakers form a potential language model that New Speakers might potentially value. Indeed, this seems to be the case for many New Speakers across language communities, who value traditional varieties of the minoritized language for their perceived authenticity (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378; Bell and McConville, 2018; Hornsby and Quentel, 2013; O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 20). Minoritized language speakers often place value on the idea of language use as being "from somewhere" (McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015: 160), reflecting Woolard's (2005) notion of 'authenticity'. This is often tied up with ideas of legitimacy and ownership of language; the perceived legitimate speaker holds the authority to determine what ways of speaking are valued by the community, and in minority language communities, this is most commonly the traditional native speaker (Bourdieu, 1991; Nic Fhlannchadha and Hickey, 2018). We may therefore observe some New Speakers expressing positive attitudes towards those features of their minoritized language that are associated with this kind of native speaker-based authenticity. This may be accompanied by a devaluing of prestige standard varieties, which may be perceived as 'artificial' (McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015).

That said, not all New Speakers necessarily aspire to a native traditional speaker-like language use (Jaffe, 2015: 26). McLeod and O'Rourke (2015) report that, although traditional native speakers serve as a linguistic model for New Speakers of Scottish Gaelic, some Gaelic speakers do not feel the need to acquire a specific regional variety of the language, especially if they have no personal connection to any traditional local variety. New Speakers express varying attitudes towards more 'standardised' language use (Hornsby, 2015: 119), however some New Speakers may express positive attitudes towards language use that approximates a more 'standard' variety of the minority language, linked to Woolard's (2005) notion of 'anonymity'. This also may be tied up with the ideology of the standard (e.g. Milroy, 2007), which is sometimes held by New Speakers because having a standard variety of a language spoken by the entire community is seen as a way to ensure the revitalization of the language (e.g. in Breton and Yiddish: Hornsby, 2015: 119). Therefore, New Speakers may value forms that are seen to have a positive impact on the linguistic vitality of the minority language in its current modern context. Therefore, variation has been observed within and between New Speaker communities in the extent to which they value traditional and standardized language practices, which is likely linked to the extent to which they value authenticizing or anonymizing functions of the minoritized language.

One kind of language practice New Speakers seem to widely devalue are translingual practices, especially those that are perceived to incorporate features from the majority language. As Walsh and O'Rourke (2018: 378) observe, New Speakers may "overtly stigmatise translingual practices", such as synchronic borrowing or code-switching, and thus devalue forms that are associated with these processes. For example, McLeod and O'Rourke (2015: 165) report that New Speakers of Scottish Gaelic consider "good Gaelic" to consist of a lack of borrowing from or syntactic calquing on English, as well as a lack of code-switching into the majority language. In Bell and McConville's (2018: 121) study, speakers of Scottish Gaelic negatively described certain instances of language use as "English through the medium of Gaelic" or "*Beurlachas*" ('Anglicism'). Attitudinal judgements like these are often linked to New Speakers' high level of metalinguistic knowledge and awareness of the minoritized status of their language, as well as broader language ideologies they

may hold. These kinds of attitudes in particular are often reflective of purist ideologies.

The above discussion highlights that these three poles of traditional, native-speaker practices, standardized practices, and translingual practices, are salient for many New Speakers. Their varying attitudes towards them can reveal the existence of broader community ideologies around language. As the New Speaker framework sits within critical multilingualism and sociolinguistic frameworks, many studies conducted within the New Speaker framework, including this one, assume that language beliefs, such as those laid out above, can impact the way New Speakers use language. This thesis also explores how language attitudes may be reflective of broader language ideologies, the theoretical background of which is discussed in the following section.

2.6.3 Language Ideologies

Studies of language ideologies also aim to investigate speakers' beliefs about language, languages, and/or aspects of language use. However, the ways that studies of language ideologies approach these investigations, both in methodological and theoretical terms, differ from those of language attitudes. Language ideology studies generally approach the topic through a socio-cultural-political lens, investigating how speakers' experiences as social actors within a wider political-economic system construct, maintain, or change their beliefs about and feelings towards some aspect of language or its use (Kroskrity, 2016). This may include how speakers conceive of language itself, or what speakers understand by named languages or ways of speaking that they have been exposed to (Irvine, 2012). The current study investigates both certain aspects of Manx speakers' beliefs about their language and community in general, and also their beliefs about certain ways of speaking their language.

Various definitions of language ideologies have been offered throughout their study. Silverstein (1979: 193) defines language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users and rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use". Irvine (1989: 255) states that language ideology is a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". Gal (1989) notes

that language ideologies may be explicitly observable, but may also include more tacit or common-sense assumptions about the nature of language and its use. Blommaert (1999: 1) defines language ideologies as “socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions, and expectations of language”, that are “manifested in language use and objects of discursive elaboration in meta-pragmatic discourse”.

These definitions reveal various aspects that comprise the study of language ideologies. Firstly, studies of language ideology explore speakers’ beliefs and feelings as a part of the wider fabric of socio-cultural reality. For Woolard, Schiefflin, and Kroskrity (1998: 20), language ideologies are the “mediating link between social forms and forms of talk”. Research into language ideologies, such as the current study, therefore explores beliefs about language as they reflect various social values. This may include the ‘purity’ (or ‘impurity’) of language varieties, the sociopolitical desirability that comes with choosing one variety over another, or the symbolic quality of varieties as “emblems of nationhood, cultural authenticity, progress, modernity, democracy, respect, freedom, socialism, equality, etc.” (Blommaert, 1999: 2).

Language ideologies are understood not to exist in isolation in a speaker’s mind, but rather as connected to the wider society and communities the speaker inhabits (Irvine, 2012). This means that a single speaker’s conceptions of language or language use cannot be fully separated from other expressions of ideological meaning within their community. Indeed, Verschueren (2011: 10) describes ideological as patterns of meaning or interpretive frames bearing on some aspect of social reality that are understood to be shared with others within a community. In being shared across multiple social actors, language ideologies themselves become part of the social reality upon which they bear (Verschueren, 2011: 18). They are therefore inseparable from the social context within which we as researchers observe them.

As well as being part of this social reality, language ideologies influence and are influenced by the socio-cultural-political fabric within which they exist. As Verschueren (2011: 18) notes, language ideologies reflect “habitual frames of interpretation, and also construct, shape, and reshape them”. Similarly, Gal (1989: 347) states that language’s “contextual surround” is both a constraint on and produced by speech. Language is viewed as “multifunctional and

denotational, indexical of social structure, and simultaneously constitutive of it” (Gal, 1989: 347). Therefore, any language-focused ideological statements we may observe in discourse are engaging with beliefs about language within the speaker’s purview. Not only that, they are, in the very fact that they are being expressed, maintaining or challenging these beliefs by becoming a part of the social fabric to which they refer. For example, if a newspaper columnist writes a piece bemoaning that teenagers in schools don’t speak as well as they used to, they are not only reflecting existing beliefs about certain types of language use within the context of education, they are also actively upholding and maintaining these beliefs by disseminating them into the wider societal context through metalinguistic discourse.

Another feature of language ideologies is that they are often unquestioned, or rarely questioned, in discourse relating to the linguistic reality in question (Verschueren, 2011: 12). They may therefore be normalised, so much so that their expression may not be recognised as an ideological statement, but rather a commonsense notion; a statement of widely accepted fact within a particular community that presents itself as universally true (Scheffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998: 24). Such language ideologies may be commonplace enough that they have a normative influence (Verschueren, 2011: 10) on various systems of organisation within the societies in question. The ideologies are themselves normalised in their ubiquitousness, and their presence in metalinguistic discourse makes the societal structures they reflect appear “normal”, commonplace, or natural (Verschueren, 2011: 19). Any given linguistic ideology will therefore have arisen as a consequence of the values upon which certain societies have chosen to structure themselves, rather than being a reflection of some natural state of affairs. The frequency with which one may encounter this linguistic ideology may lead community members to think otherwise. In this way, language ideologies may be used as tools to justify or maintain certain organising structures or ways of thinking in the society in which they operate.

Therefore, language ideologies and their study are laden with moral and political implications (Irvine, 1989; Irvine, 2012). Like many other areas of sociological research, language ideology research is often concerned with power relations between different groups of people within society, particularly imbalances in power between these groups (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 61). Thompson

(1990: 7, 56), refers to ideology as “meaning in the service of power”. Beliefs about language play a part in constructing, supporting, or challenging power relations in society (Gal, 1989: 345; Irvine, 1989: 251; Verschueren, 2011: 19), therefore any study of them necessarily engages with these power relations. Language ideology research may therefore not be politically neutral, as it may focus on the beliefs of or about groups of people with less societal power, such as minoritized groups, for example the linguistic minority which is the focus of the current study. The outcomes of such research may also have some moral or political impact, by seeking change for or raising awareness of the group(s) in question (Blommaert, 1999: 2).

The study of language ideologies often makes use of linguistic or metalinguistic discourse in order to access the beliefs of speakers about language, as this is the most visible manifestation of language ideologies (Verschueren, 2011: 17; Scheffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998: 28). That said, “ideological meaning is often conveyed implicitly rather than explicitly” (Verschueren, 2011: 13) and this is especially true of the most commonsense, normalised beliefs about language that exist within a community (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 58). There may also be discrepancies between the implicit meaning of an expression of ideological meaning, and what one would be willing to say explicitly (Verschueren, 2011: 16). All of the above means that language ideologies may be difficult to access, and their representations in discourse will require some degree of interpretation by the researcher. In keeping with the approach research into language ideologies often takes, as discussed further in Chapter 4, data is gathered, or created, using qualitative methods, such as sociolinguistic interviews or ethnographic observation, the results of which are then interpreted by the researcher. This is the approach taken by this thesis, which uses interview and ethnographic data to explore ideologies in New Speaker communities, existing work on which is outlined below.

2.6.4 New Speakers’ Language Ideologies

One kind of language belief explored by this thesis is how language ideologies work in the Manx New Speaker community - what kinds of ideologies are there, and what ideological variation might be observed. In New Speaker contexts, a variety of language ideologies have been observed, that vary both between and

within New Speaker contexts - O'Rourke and Walsh (2015: 66) refer to the "spectrum of language ideologies" in the Irish New Speaker community, for example. This section outlines the kinds of language ideologies observed in New Speaker communities, which will prove relevant to the discussion of language ideologies in the Manx speaker community in Chapter 3.

In multilingual communities, some ways of speaking are often valued as more legitimate, authentic, or 'speakerlike' than others (Bourdieu, 1991; Kramsch, 2006). Many of the beliefs that New Speakers have about language are linked to ideas of speakerness and legitimacy with respect to language practices (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). The idea of who is or is not classified as a speaker of the minoritized language is prevalent in many New Speaker communities. For example, New Speakers of Irish may contrast their own perceived speakerness with other groups, including "native speakers, non-Irish speakers, or those with the *cúpla focal* who acquired it at school but rarely use it" (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 31; see Brennan and O'Rourke, 2019). These other groups may also identify an individual as a New Speaker, but this may not necessarily carry the same connotations as it might have for the New Speaker themselves. It may mean something more negative, for example the New Speaker label "can be used as a derogatory label to contest the legitimacy of New Speakers as "real" speakers" (O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013: 57). This may be seen in the example of the Irish label *Gaeilgeoir* ('Irish speaker') (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 4).

Many of the ways in which speakerness and language practices are judged in New Speaker communities hinges on community ideas about the nature of language that often reflect folk-linguistic beliefs. Preston (2017) understands these as beliefs about language that exist in speaker communities, which are not informed by specialist knowledge of linguistic theory, but which are an important part of understanding speakers' language attitudes. They may not necessarily reflect linguistic reality, but examination of them reveals broader community language ideologies. Language beliefs encountered within New Speaker communities often fall under the umbrella of 'linguistic purism'. As Thomas (1991:10) notes, there are many potential definitions of linguistic purism, however he proposes the working definition of purism as "the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of

it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects, and styles of the same language)” (Thomas, 1991: 12). Thomas’ definition necessarily leaves a lot of room for differences in what elements might be deemed ‘undesirable’ to a speaker community, and thus what kinds of language practices might be devalued as a result. In New Speaker communities, as in others, the notion of purism is often tied up with the idea of language as a discrete and bounded entity (see Makoni and Pennycook, 2012) - particular language practices are either legitimized as part of the minoritized language, or excluded from it, as discussed further below.

Such purist ideologies have been observed in New Speaker communities even when the majority language bears close structural similarity to the minoritized one. O’Rourke (2018: 99) notes that derogatory terms are used by *neofalantes* to describe Galician-Castilian translingual practices: “*castrapo* is a term which is often used by Galicians to describe what speakers perceive as an undesired mixing together of the two contact languages”. However, it is also very evident in cases where the majority and minoritized languages are not closely related, and therefore are structurally distinct. In these contexts too, there is an ideologically-motivated resistance to perceived encroachment of the majority language onto the minoritized one, leading to negative attitudes towards translingual practices, as discussed in the Scottish Gaelic context by Dorian (1994).

Other ideologies present within New Speaker communities lead to other practices being valued as more legitimate or authentic than others. One such kind of ideology is native-speaker ideologies (e.g. Doerr, 2009) in which traditional native speaker production is considered maximally authentic and legitimate. These are often practices associated with the NORM speaker profile (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 30), thought to be maximally conservative, and therefore profoundly linked to heartland environments - representative of a valued rural past. However, there are other ways that language practices can be imbued with authenticity and legitimacy in New Speaker communities - rather than deriving from ‘where you’re from’, legitimacy may be granted depending on ‘what you know’ (Rampton, 1990: 341). O’Rourke and Walsh (2015: 72) discuss this with reference to Irish New Speakers, in which certain members are

positioned within the socially constructed category of ‘expert speakers’, based on their linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge, “thus moving away from the more innate connotations of acquisition inherent in the concept of the native speaker”.

Many of the above ideologies, as discussed above, are concerned with ways that the minoritized language can be seen as legitimate, and how the language practices of its speakers are understood as being able to best reflect this desired legitimacy. One framework through which we can understand this ‘battle for legitimacy’ is Woolard’s (2005) discussion of authenticity and anonymity. In the former, the value of a language, often a minority or regional variety, is in its relationship to a particular community, with the language being seen as a form of “genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential self” (Woolard, 2005: 2). Thus, the value of the language is based in its profound localness, its being “from somewhere” (Woolard, 2005: 2). By contrast, a language may also garner authority through anonymity, by being a voice “from nowhere” (Woolard, 2005: 4). Woolard (2005: 4) attributes this kind of authority to hegemonic languages: namely national, majority, or standard varieties. These are impersonal, public varieties, “seen to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective” (Woolard, 2005: 5), belonging to anyone because they belong to no one. Woolard (2005) applies these concepts to the context of Catalonia, contrasting the authority from authenticity of the minority language Catalan with the authority from anonymity of the majority language Spanish.

However, it is important to note that authority from anonymity is not solely the domain of majority languages, and may in fact be employed in minority language contexts as well. Particular varieties of minority languages, namely standardised or koineized varieties, can serve an anonymising function (e.g. Basque’s *euskara batua*, *Néo-Breton*, Irish’s *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*). Nevertheless, these exceptions serve to further exemplify the avenues through which New Speakers might use their language practices to gain legitimacy for their minoritized language - through the use of standardized practices, or through traditional ones. It also highlights how language ideologies in minoritized language communities often reflect broader political concerns¹⁰ (Irvine, 1989: 255) -

¹⁰ See also Urla (2012); O’Rourke (2018); O’Rourke and Dayán-Fernández (2024).

ownership of the minoritized language is reflected in views on whom and what the language is thought to be *for*. Another avenue of exploring language ideologies in New Speaker communities may be through gathering data on its linguistic landscape, which this thesis does. The following section defines the linguistic landscape and discusses its usefulness in exploring language beliefs.

2.6.5 Language Beliefs in the Linguistic Landscape

In keeping with this thesis' goal of analysing Manx speakers' language beliefs and how they interact with language practices, this thesis explores the linguistic landscape as one site at which these beliefs might make themselves known. This is not the focus of the study, but the thesis draws on some linguistic landscape literature in service of its exploration of Manx New Speakers' language beliefs - therefore an in-depth exploration of the linguistic landscape is outwith the scope of this study. This section outlines what the linguistic landscape is, and how it might reflect community beliefs about language.

The term 'linguistic landscape' is credited to Landry and Bourhis (1997), who define it as "refer[ing] to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 23). Gorter (2006: 1) includes place names in their analysis of the linguistic landscape, their object of study being "public texts that make up the material experience of language in a certain region". This thesis includes both kinds of public language use under the following broad definition of the linguistic landscape by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23), i.e. "the use of language in written form in the public sphere".

The linguistic landscape can reveal how a language is used and thought about in a particular community. The use, or disuse, of a language in the linguistic landscape can serve multiple functions. For example, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) recognise two primary functions of using a language on signage in the linguistic landscape, which they categorise as "informational" or "symbolic".

The informational function of language on signage, as the name suggests, imparts some linguistic information to the viewer of the sign. Firstly, such signage may demarcate the geographical territory of a linguistic group, serving as a marker that certain linguistic communities inhabit the area in which the sign is located (McCooley-Heap, 2020: 51). Linked to this, informational signage

also serves to manage linguistic expectations (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25), such as what language(s) may be used to communicate in a certain geographical area. These linguistic expectations set up by the linguistic landscape may be met or unmet. When the reality of the linguistic ecology does not reflect the linguistic expectations set up by the signage in the linguistic landscape, this may lead to frustration (McCooley-Heap, 2020: 51).

The symbolic function of signage in the linguistic landscape gives the viewer an insight into the language beliefs and values of the organisations or individuals that created the sign. Therefore, signs may non-referentially communicate information about linguistic ideologies, beliefs about ethnolinguistic vitality, and the relative power and status of the language(s) included on the sign (McCooley-Heap, 2020: 51; Moriarty, 2014: 497). The choice to include or exclude a language on signage, and the form this inclusion takes “sends messages of the centrality or marginality of [that] language in society” (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 10). These messages can contribute to the creation and maintenance of certain language ideologies within a community. The inclusion of an in-group language on a sign, for example, “contribute[s] to the feeling that the in-group language has value and status relative to other languages within a sociolinguistic setting” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 27). This might imply that the group that speaks this language has either “demographic weight”, or some level of “institutional or cultural control” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 28). In contrast, the exclusion of a language from the linguistic landscape has implications for the perceived value and suitability of the language for use in particular contexts (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). It is this function of signage in the linguistic landscape that can reveal community ideologies towards minority languages.

For Coupland and Garrett (2010), considering the local socio-cultural, historical, and political context is fundamental to understanding a linguistic landscape. Any given linguistic landscape of an area is created and maintained by varying actors, such as governments or other official agencies, private businesses, or individual citizens (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 27). Moriarty (2014: 464) notes that the state and the local community may be in conflict in the linguistic landscape, with these two differing actors expressing “contesting language ideologies”, as exemplified in her discussion of conflict between Irish speakers and official bodies concerning the Irish language on signage in Dingle. As Landry

and Bourhis (1997:23) also note, the linguistic landscape is also an “important correlate in the perception of the ethnolinguistic vitality” of a language spoken in a certain area. If a language appears on signage, it may be perceived as being ‘healthier’ than if it were to be excluded, thus influencing beliefs about this language among the general population intended as viewers of the sign. This may also encourage people to engage with the language, increasing its use, which in turn may lead to greater representation in the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 29). The linguistic landscape, then, “reflects the outcome of a complicated interplay between various factors of an ethnic, political, ideological, commercial, or economic nature in a particular societal context” (Van Mensel et al., 2016: 450). In this way, data from the linguistic landscape is a useful way of accessing language beliefs about a minority language that exist within its wider community, and therefore a fundamental tool in exploring language practices in such communities.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has outlined various sociolinguistic frameworks within which this study places its analysis of Manx New Speakers’ language use and beliefs. It has described these frameworks, including the assumptions they make, and their implications for the study of sociolinguistics more broadly. This chapter has also laid out how placing this thesis within these frameworks provides support and theoretical background for the arguments it makes when answering its research questions. This thesis therefore deems the frameworks laid out above therefore as essential for understanding the sociolinguistic forces at work in patterns of structural and ideological variation in the Manx New Speaker community.

Many conceptions of New Speakers, as discussed in this chapter, focus on their differences from other speaker profiles, such as that of traditional native speakers. The New Speaker profile is also shown to be variable, both within and between different speaker communities. Section 2 discussed commonalities and differences in the demographic backgrounds, acquisition trajectories, and motivations of New Speakers based on existing work. This section illustrates the difficulty and futility of defining the ‘New Speaker profile’, which is highly dependent on the language context in which a given speaker exists. The Manx

context can provide an atypical context which may expand existing conceptions of the New Speaker. In this vein, language minoritization and subsequent revitalization, also discussed in Section 2, create a situation in which the minoritized language and its speaker communities occupy a very different space in society, and in power relations, to the majority language. Therefore, to understand the sociolinguistics of any minoritized language, it is necessary to have an awareness of the context in which this language exists and the trajectory of minoritization and revitalization that have preceded this. This framework is especially important for understanding Manx speakers as New Speakers, which this study does.

This chapter has outlined the New Speaker framework, within which this thesis places its study of structural variation and language beliefs in the Manx-speaking community, discussed in Section 3. It has described the theoretical assumptions that the New Speaker framework makes about language and speaker communities, the reasons behind its development, and the goals that the framework has - as an alternate lens to native speaker-based frameworks that have been at the forefront of minoritized language studies. It has begun to discuss how the New Speaker framework will enable this thesis to explore its research questions. The following chapter will go on to analyse this further, also providing discussion of the challenges and opportunities the Manx context provides for the New Speaker framework.

In many communities, one outcome of language minoritization and revitalization is the creation of multilingual New Speaker communities, with competence in both the minoritized and the majority language. As such, the language practices of New Speakers must be understood as multilingual practices. Section 4 discussed two different lenses through which multilingualism might be explored - as reflective of second language acquisition processes, or as revealing of speakers' manipulation and deployment of various linguistic resources available to them in their language practices. The latter view, in accordance with that of critical multilingualism approaches, is the framework that this thesis considers most enlightening for understanding the linguistic practices of Manx New Speakers.

This thesis also explores morphosyntactic variation, and the forces governing this in Manx (Research Question 1), with a view to applying this to New Speakers of

minoritized languages more broadly. Therefore, Section 5 of this chapter explored variation within New Speaker communities, both in what speakers know about the minoritized language and in how they use it, as per Research Question 1. This chapter outlined the theoretical background of how this thesis understands the nature of linguistic variation. Section 5 of this chapter presented different ways of understanding variation - as reflective of membership of societal macro-groups such as 'women' or 'working-class people'; as reflective of smaller micro-social groups that have relevance on a much smaller scale; or as the result of individual speakers' agentive use of language to index social meaning in a context-dependent way. These different ways of conceptualizing variation correlate with the three 'waves' of sociolinguistics: the first, second, and third respectively. This thesis argues that the third wave approach to variation is the most conducive in explaining the forces in operation behind patterns of variation in the Manx New Speaker community, in which, this thesis argues, speakers agentively make use of salient morphosyntactic variables to index social meanings about language beliefs present in their community (Research Question 3).

As such, the final broad framework dealt with in this chapter concerns the nature of language beliefs, what we can know about them, and how we might know it, part of Research Question 2. These language beliefs encompass both language attitudes and ideologies, explored in Section 6. These are understood to have the same object of investigation, hence both counted here under the heading of language beliefs, albeit approached differently. The former are often revealed through analysis of quantitative data, whereas the latter may be approached through qualitative analysis, including through analysis of the linguistic landscape. This chapter outlines both broader language ideologies and attitudes towards specific language practices relevant for New Speaker contexts. Again, both within and between New Speaker communities, commonalities and differences in what they believe about language has been observed in existing work on these speakers. This thesis contends that both broader, community-wide language ideologies and more narrowly-focussed attitudes towards particular linguistic structures are essential in understanding the full picture of language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community. In turn, this full picture is

necessary in exploring the social meaning which governs patterns of structural variation among Manx New Speakers.

As the New Speaker framework exists within critical and third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, this chapter has argued that such beliefs play a critical role in understanding structural variation within minoritized language speaker communities, as Research Question 3 of this thesis explores. It argues that frameworks such as language acquisition can only explain New Speaker production to a certain extent, and that an understanding of the social context in which these speakers exist is essential for understanding their linguistic production and structural variation therein. The following chapter applies all of the above to the Manx context, considering how the specificities of the Manx context might support, challenge, and require adaptations of the New Speaker framework. It also justifies the use of the New Speaker framework in the Manx context. Chapter 3 proposes a definition of 'Manx New Speaker' which incorporates relevant features from the discussion in this chapter - what Manx New Speakers' profiles tend to be, how they acquire the language, what they believe about Manx, what they know in the language, and how they use it.

3. The Manx Context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores existing literature on Manx, particularly how the frameworks discussed in the previous chapter have been applied in the Manx context in the existing literature. To summarize the research questions in Chapter 1, this thesis investigates morphosyntactic variation in Manx, as well as language beliefs, and explores connections between the two. The following paragraphs present a roadmap of this chapter's structure, outlining which research question each section is relevant for.

Section 2 of this chapter, 'About Manx', presents background information relevant to this study's linguistic context, such as its geographical location and numbers of speakers. Section 2.1 summarizes Manx's historical trajectory of minoritization, providing a background for Manx's sociolinguistic situation today. Following this, Section 2.2 details some of the revitalization efforts undertaken as a response to Manx's minoritization, laying the foundation for today's speaker community. Finally, Section 2.3 presents a snapshot of Manx's place in the linguistic ecology of the Isle of Man at the time of fieldwork, exploring the roles Manx plays in life in the Island community.

Section 3, 'Sociolinguistics of Manx', presents an overview of the embryonic field of sociolinguistic research in the Manx context. Particular attention is paid to the broader sociolinguistic approaches and frameworks used in the current study, as laid out in Chapter 2. The first of these, discussed in Section 3.1, is morphosyntactic variation, relevant to Research Question 1. Secondly, in the service of Research Question 2, Section 3.2 reviews existing literature on the language beliefs present in the Manx New Speaker community, including broader language ideologies in the former, and more specific attitudes about ways of speaking and language models in the latter. In summary, this section addresses limited research that has been conducted on the way Manx New Speakers use Manx and what they believe about the language.

Section 4 explores how the New Speaker framework, as discussed in Chapter 2, might be applied in the Manx context. It presents the advantages of framing the

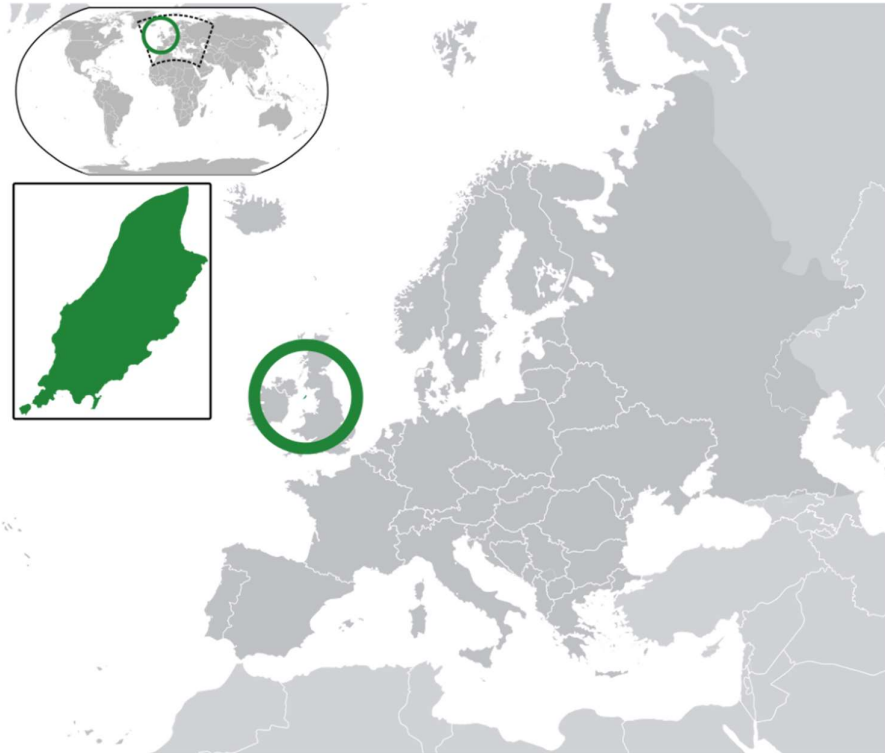
Manx-speaking community as a community of New Speakers, discussing commonalities and differences between Manx and other New Speaker contexts discussed in Chapter 2. Section 4 aims to illustrate how the New Speaker framework can be used to gain a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic forces at work in the Manx context, thus relevant to Research Question 3. However, it also presents ways in which the Manx context challenges the New Speaker framework, suggesting some ways in which the New Speaker framework might be adapted to deal with atypical minoritized language contexts such as Manx. This section therefore uses previous research to develop an original definition, used throughout this thesis, of what a ‘New Speaker’ might mean in the Manx context, background information on which is presented in the following section.

3.2 About Manx

This section will present relevant contextual information about Manx, starting with basic information about the language, its location, and its speaker base.

Manx (or ‘Manx Gaelic’) is a minoritized language native to the Isle of Man. In Manx, the language is known as *Gaelg*¹¹ (or *Gaelg Vanninagh*). Today, most residents of the Isle of Man speak English as their first language (Isle of Man Government, 2022). The Isle of Man (*Mannin* or *Ellan Vannin* in Manx) is a self-governing British Crown Dependency located in the Irish Sea, shown in relation to Europe on the map below:

¹¹ Alternatively spelt ‘Gailck’.



The Isle of Man's location in Europe. Image Credit: Chipmunkdavis, via Wikimedia Commons¹²

In historical linguistics frameworks, namely the ‘family tree’ classification system, Manx is classified as a Celtic language¹³. Within this language family, Manx is classified as a Gaelic (or Goidelic) language, along with Irish and Scottish Gaelic, to which Manx bears taxonomically similar features, such as VSO word order and initial consonant mutation (see Draskau, 2008). Manx, Modern Irish, and Scottish Gaelic share a common ancestor language in Old Irish (Stowell and Ó Bréasláin, 1996: 1), from which Manx began to diverge during the 15th century (Stowell and Ó Bréasláin, 1996: 3).

The Isle of Man has a population of just under 85,000 as of the 2021 census (Isle of Man Government, 2022). Of this number, 2223 Isle of Man residents claimed to be able to speak, read, or write Manx (Isle of Man Government, 2022). This is around 2.6% of the Island’s total population. This number has increased from the 2011 census, when around 1800 people claimed knowledge of Manx (Isle of Man Government, 2012). That said, these speaker numbers should be taken with the

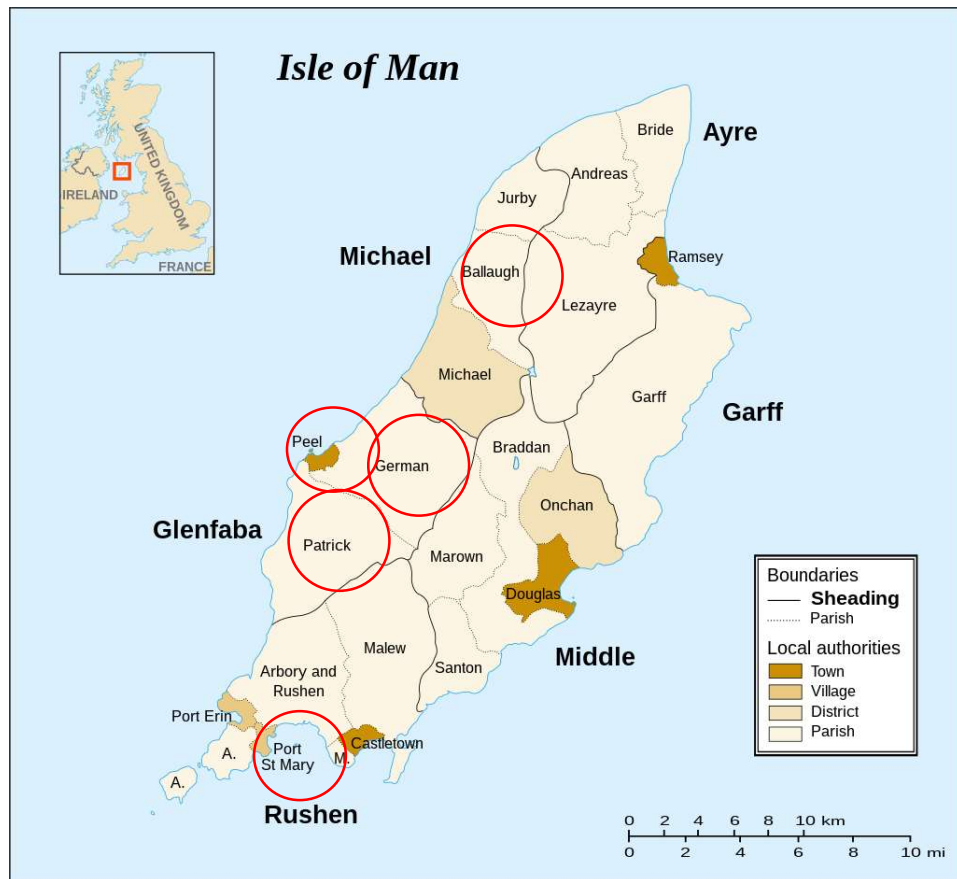
¹² Creative Commons License: Chipmunkdavis, CC BY-SA 3.0
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¹³ This language classification is often linked to ideas of shared Celtic identity, with roots in 19th-century romantic nationalist movements in Europe. Therefore, in the vein of common critiques of the family tree method of linguistic classification, the separation of the three Gaelic languages is somewhat arbitrary.

same caveats that apply to any other linguistic data gleaned from censuses (Urla and Burdick, 2018). Census data is self-reported data, therefore it is up to the respondent to interpret what is meant by speaking, reading, or writing ability. This might result in both under- and over-reporting of speaker numbers in minoritized language communities (see Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson, 2017: 240 for examples from Irish). In addition, the Isle of Man census does not ask how often and in what contexts the respondents use the language, and therefore is limited in the information it can provide on how frequently speakers use the language. In addition, the number of speakers given above does not account for speakers of Manx that now reside outside of the Isle of Man, but who still form part of the speaker community through maintaining connections with the Isle of Man¹⁴.

However, the census data (Isle of Man Government, 2022) does provide useful information about the make-up of the Manx-speaking community in 2021, when this thesis' fieldwork began. The age group with the highest proportion of Manx speakers was children aged 10-14, with 3.5% of all Manx children of that age group claiming the ability to speak Manx. Slightly more women claim ability in Manx than men, at 54% and 46% of the total respectively. 70% of those claiming ability in Manx were born on the Island, with the remainder being born in the UK or elsewhere. The census shows that the proportions of Manx speakers as a percentage of total population are highest in the west (in the parishes of Patrick and German, and the town of Peel), south (in the village of Port St. Mary), and north-west (in the parish of Ballaugh) of the Island, indicated on the map below:

¹⁴ Such as myself.



Areas with high percentages of Manx speakers as of 2021. Image credit: Musktheox, via Wikimedia Commons, edits by Erin McNulty.¹⁵

These speakers vary in their levels and types of linguistic competence. The census provides some data on the latter, making a distinction between the ability to speak, read, and write in Manx. However, no data on level of competence is provided. Ó hlfearnáin (2015a: 54), after discussion with community members, estimated that there were around 100 “highly fluent” Manx speakers, although how precisely this was understood was not determined.

Manx is broadly understood to be minoritized, often being referred to by labels such as ‘endangered’ by organisations that attempt to classify minoritized languages according to their apparent minoritization. For example, UNESCO’s Atlas of World Languages in Danger most recently classified Manx as ‘critically endangered’¹⁶ (Moseley, 2010). Manx is generally classified as such due to its

¹⁵ Creative commons license: Musktheox, CC BY-SA 4.0

<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons.

¹⁶ Such classifications should be taken with caveats for several reasons. For example, they assume a trajectory of decline, and they are not designed to account for language revitalization or reclamation efforts. This was exemplified by UNESCO’s classification of Manx as “extinct” in 2009, to popular protest.

lack of extant traditional native speakers and associated intergenerational transmission, small speaker community, as well as its historical trajectory of minoritization, outlined in the following section.

3.2.1 Manx's Minoritization

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Manx language went through a period of extreme minoritization, the legacy of which is a fundamental part of understanding the community of Manx New Speakers today. A common narrative encountered in the Manx speaker community refers to the “death” or “almost death” of Manx, and many language beliefs in the community centre around or respond to these discourses of endangerment (Duchêne and Heller, 2007). Therefore, this section presents an overview of Manx's decline as a community language, up until the point where it ceased to be used as a traditional first language in the community. It also touches on how this minoritization has shaped beliefs in today's Manx-speaking community.

The following paragraphs summarize the chronology of Manx's minoritization in the 19th and 20th centuries. A Gaelic variety first arrived in the Isle of Man around 500 CE (Broderick, 1999: 13), which would remain the language spoken by most of the population of the Isle of Man until the beginnings of language shift in the 18th century (Broderick, 1999). By the time of the Isle of Man census in 1911, only 4.6% of the population reported themselves as Manx speakers. That said, the same caveats with these census figures apply as noted with the census data in Section 2 - this is self-reported data, which may not accurately reflect the true numbers of Manx speakers during this time. This is likely due, at least in part, to the strong social stigma against speaking Manx during this time that may have discouraged respondents from claiming any kind of competence in the language. Despite this potential discrepancy in exact numbers, it is clear that Manx had significantly declined as a community language during the course of the 19th century (Clague, 2009: 171).

Jumping to the end of the 20th century, a common narrative encountered with regards to Manx's minoritization is that the language ‘died’ in 1974, “ending an era of 1500 years of unbroken Gaelic speech on the Isle of Man” (Broderick, 1991: 63). That said, Manx's status as a community first language is likely to

have been significantly disrupted far in advance of this, perhaps as early as 1871 (Clague, 2009: 171). Numbers of Manx speakers, especially among younger generations, continued to fall rapidly in the 20th century (Clague, 2009: 171). By the 1950s-1970s, the traditional native speaker community consisted only of a few very elderly speakers, who might be classed as semi-speakers (e.g. Dorian, 1977), whose Manx had undergone first-language attrition who used English in almost all contexts in their daily lives (see McNulty, 2023a for further discussion).

The following paragraphs summarize relevant causal factors in Manx's minoritization (see Broderick 1991; 1999; Clague 2009; Wilson et al., 2015 for further discussion). In a nutshell, the minoritization of Manx in the Isle of Man was a result of language shift to English. Language shift is often associated with changes in power relations or demographics that cause a population en masse to shift, or to be forced to shift, from speaking one language to speaking another, as is discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2).

For Manx specifically, the multiple causes of language shift came to a nexus during the 19th century, contributing to the rapid decline in speaker numbers discussed above (Clague, 2009). These included changes in trade relations; during this time, England replaced Ireland as the Isle of Man's largest trading partner, necessitating more economic contact with a monolingual English-speaking population. The Isle of Man also became a tourist destination for working-class families from the north-west of England, and therefore the Island's economy became increasingly oriented towards catering for English-speaking tourists. In addition, the Manx Education Act of 1872 introduced free compulsory education throughout the Island, which was through the medium of English (Clague, 2009: 169).

In addition, the demographic make-up of the Island was changing during this time. Financial hardship in the Isle of Man, as well as the increased encroachment of Europeans onto land stolen from Indigenous populations in the Americas and Australia (etc.), led many Manx-speaking Islanders to emigrate. Conversely, the economic development and expansion of British Empire interests in the Isle of Man led many English-speaking people from the United Kingdom to immigrate to the Island, particularly to the small, but growing, urban centres, such as the capital Douglas in the east of the Island. These centres, to which

many Manx-born residents also relocated, became English-speaking centres during this time, with the Manx language being relegated to more rural areas, such as villages in the north, south, and west of the Island. This led to negative attitudes towards Manx, which was increasingly viewed as antithetical to social and economic progress, as evidenced by the proverb: *Cha jean oo cosney ping lesh y Ghailck* - “You won’t earn a penny with Manx” (Clague, 2009: 170).

All in all, the 19th century saw a growing general cultural Anglicisation of the Isle of Man, which encompassed not only the language, but also identities and cultural practices. This led to decreased intergenerational transmission of Manx, and to Manx being replaced by English in more and more domains, eventually even the home domain. Ultimately, Manx was spoken only by a small number of elderly speakers by the 1950s, and in 1974, Ned Maddrell, memorialised as the ‘last native speaker’ of Manx, passed away (Broderick, 2017). This is commonly referred to as the ‘death’ of Manx.

However, as will be discussed further in Section 2.2, Manx did not cease to be spoken after its ‘death’. Therefore, the Manx situation reveals the inherent shortcomings in the ‘language as biological’ metaphor used in discourses of endangerment and death (Duchêne and Heller, 2007). Due to this, Ó hÍfearnáin (2015a) proposes an alternative framework to language death, describing the Manx situation as one of “extreme language shift” (ELS). He defines ELS as “the process by which communities underwent a language shift from their historical native language to a new dominant one with the loss of what linguists and sociolinguists have traditionally described as their ‘last native speakers’, but where the language has nevertheless never ceased to be spoken and transmitted to new speakers without any break in that continuity of language practice” (Ó hÍfearnáin, 2015a: 45-6). Ó hÍfearnáin (2015a: 48) also differentiates ELS languages from reconstructed languages, such as Cornish, noting that: “what distinguishes [...] ELS languages from re-constructed and revived languages is the perception among both speakers and non-speakers in the wider community that an organic link has been maintained with the traditional language and that there has been no break in transmission, which implies the existence of an authentic target variety” spoken within the community. This perception of a link to past speakers, and to an authentic past that can serve as a linguistic model for speakers, are key concepts that this thesis explores.

Ó hlfearnáin's (2015a) framework illustrates clearly how trajectories of minoritization and language shift can be intricately linked to language beliefs within minoritized language speaker communities. The above discussion exemplifies how, in minoritized language communities, we may see narratives emerging about the language that are based on commonly-held ideas and particular interpretations or perceptions of historical or linguistic fact. Discourses of endangerment (Duchêne and Heller, 2007) prove particularly relevant in the construction of legitimacy for Manx by its speakers. Ó hlfearnáin (2015a: 54) reports that speakers of ELS languages, such as Manx, prefer to focus on the living nature of the contemporary language, rather than referring to its past (and present) endangerment. Presenting the minoritized language in such a way seems to be a powerful tool in constructing legitimacy; the perception of the contemporary language as being the endpoint of a chain of unbroken continuity from the time of the last native speakers (or earlier) lends the modern variety legitimacy, and paints its speakers as 'heirs' to this linguistic legacy (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015a: 48). Such beliefs around Manx's legitimacy have been key underlying assumptions in community efforts to revitalize the Manx language, as will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.2 Manx's Revitalization

A community may respond to language minoritization by instigating efforts to revitalize their language, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2). As is the case for other minoritized languages, members of the Manx speaker community have made, and continue to make, efforts in multiple domains to revitalize their language, in the absence of any remaining traditional native speakers. The following section outlines some efforts undertaken to revitalize Manx in the Isle of Man, as a necessary backdrop for understanding the origins of the modern-day speaker community that this thesis investigates.

The earliest roots of the revitalization of Manx began in the 19th century, for example with the establishment of *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* (The Manx Language Society) in 1899, which sought to preserve and promote Manx, and aimed to "publish all existing literature in Manx, and facilitate the collection of

whatever oral literature remained in the shape of songs or poems” (Clague, 2009: 171). This was both a response to Manx’s minoritization during this period, as well as a reflection of the wider context of European romantic nationalist language and cultural revival movements.

However, more pertinently for the purposes of this thesis, the current Manx revival movement has more immediate roots in local activism and protests during the 1970s-80s (see Clague, 2009 for further discussion). This began as a grassroots movement by the small number of Manx speakers who had acquired the language, or were acquiring the language during this time, as discussed in the section above. As part of the Manx *aavioghey* (‘revival’), more political and financial support for the language was sought, as well as an increase in the use of the language as a cultural symbol in the public domain (Clague, 2009; Wilson et al. 2015; similar to policy in Wales in 2002, see Pietikäinen et al., 2016: 42). Efforts to revitalize Manx during this period were aided by the fact that linguistic evidence of the traditional language had been preserved, which could serve as something of a linguistic model and learning aid for activists acquiring Manx during the late 20th century. These included older texts, such as the Manx Family Bible, which serves as a snapshot of language use from the 18th century. In addition, recordings of elderly traditional speakers had been made by the Irish Folklore Commission in the 1950s. This movement was not restricted to the Island, but was part of a “growing awareness of, and support for, the revitalization of minority languages in general and for Celtic languages in particular” (Clague, 2009: 173).

Similar to language revitalization efforts in other communities, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2), Manx language activists and language planners sought to increase its transmission to both adults and children, primarily through the means of education. As Wilson (2009: 15) notes, the recruitment of more speakers of Manx was a necessary response to the absence of traditional native speakers. This was primarily achieved through teaching Manx, both in immersion and non-immersion settings. In 1990 these efforts resulted in the establishment of *Yn Chied Chesmayd* (‘The First Step’), a Manx-language immersion pre-school, which, as the name suggests, would be a stepping-stone to further achievements in the inclusion of Manx in the Island’s education system. *Yn Chied Chesmayd*

was subsequently replaced by another Manx-immersion nursery, *Mooijer Veggey* ('Little People') in 2000, which continues to operate today.

During this time there was an unexpectedly level of public support for Manx being taught in the Island's schools. As Clague (2009: 175) notes, "in 1990 the Isle of Man Government commissioned a Gallup poll survey... which found that 36% of those who responded were in favour of Manx being taught in the Island's schools". This led in 1992 to the establishment of a dedicated Manx Language Officer position, who was responsible for a peripatetic team teaching Manx in the Island's primary schools (Clague, 2009: 179). In 2001, the Isle of Man Government would pass the Education Act, stating that "the curriculum shall include the provision for the teaching of Manx Gaelic and the culture and history of the Isle of Man". Eventually, in 2003, the Manx-immersion primary school, the *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh*, opened. At the time of writing, full Manx-immersion education is available in the *Mooijer Veggey* preschool and the *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh*. Partial-medium education is then available at Queen Elizabeth II High School until age 14.

Manx is also taught as a second language in primary and secondary schools - it is possible to learn the language in English-medium contexts from ages 4-18 (Wilson, 2009). From age 14, students may go on to receive tuition to take the *Teisht Chadjin Gaelgagh* and the *Ard Teisht Gaelgagh* (GCSE and A-level equivalent qualifications). These revitalization efforts in the domain of education have succeeded in "developing a cohort of competent, young Manx speakers" (Wilson, 2009: 17)¹⁷. As noted in Section 1, the age group with the highest proportion of Manx speakers in 2021 was children aged 10-14, with 3.5% of all Manx children of that age group claiming the ability to speak Manx (Isle of Man Government, 2022) as a result of these efforts in the domain of education. Adult learners can also achieve the above qualifications, and may attend classes offered by the Manx language and culture charity *Culture Vannin*, as well as by other private language tutors (Wilson et al., 2015; Clague, 2009). The latter, along with self-education and involvement in community and social events, is how most adult speakers are currently acquiring Manx.

¹⁷ This judgement of competence is made by Wilson (2009: 17), who does not expand on his understanding of this term in the Manx context.

Language revitalization efforts are also evident in language policy and planning in the Manx context, summarised here. That said, there has been no Manx language act or similar legislation passed, and Manx does not have official status in the Isle of Man. Nevertheless, there are several key dates which show the obligations that the Isle of Man Government, along with other organisations, have agreed to with regards to Manx language policy. In 2003, the Isle of Man ratified its commitment to the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages at Part II protection level, which in 2020 would later be increased to include commitments included in Part III of the Charter. As part of this, several organisations are working to support and develop Manx, both within and outwith the Isle of Man Government. *Jeebin* (the Manx Language Network), established in 2016, is made up of several such organisations. These include the aforementioned *Mooinjer Veggey* and *Bunscoil Ghaelgagh*, as well as the Manx language and culture charity *Culture Vannin*, and the Isle of Man Government's Department of Education Manx Language Unit, whose remit is the teaching of Manx as a second language in the Island's primary and secondary schools. These organisations, supplemented by efforts of heritage organisations, such as Manx National Heritage (*Eiraght Ashoonagh Vannin*), community groups such as *Pobble* ('population', 'group of people') and community and academic researchers from *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* ('The Manx Language Society') work together fulfil the aims of the current Manx Language Strategy, discussed in the following paragraph.

In 2017, *Jeebin* released a 5-year Manx language strategy. This has subsequently been replaced by *Jeebin*'s latest 10-year language strategy for Manx, released in 2022¹⁸. This strategy includes aims such as supporting the use of Manx in the home environment, further increasing numbers of Manx learners, and providing support for using Manx in tertiary education and academic research. The aims of the current language strategy are summarised below:

- Encourage development and promotion of good quality, accessible resources for all ages and levels.
- Greater digitization of existing language resources.

¹⁸ See the strategy for further discussion: https://www.gov.im/media/1376887/manx-language-strategy-2022-32_compressed.pdf

- Increase visibility and promotion of Manx as a valued part of our distinctive, contemporary, cultural and national identity.
- Ensure that the advantages of bilingualism are recognized.
- Support the social use of Manx language at home, at work, in education, and in free time.
- Ensure that the language is inclusive and represents contemporary society.
- Support parents who raise their children as Manx language speakers, and those who send their children to Manx medium education, to develop opportunities for social use of the Manx language.
- Ensure that everyone has the opportunity to learn and speak the Manx language and that its role in community cohesion is recognized.
- Support the recruitment of language practitioners in education, research, and professional environments.
- Increase the numbers of speakers of Manx to 5000 by 2032.

As a result of these revitalization efforts as outlined above, the number of Manx speakers continues to increase, currently standing at 2223, or around 2.6% of the Island's population (Isle of Man Government, 2022). However, as Clague (2009: 176) notes, this is not necessarily indicative of the fluency or competence of these speakers. As discussed with reference to the census data above, claiming of speakerhood does not necessarily tell us about the domains in which and the regularity with which the language is used, among other things (Urla and Burdick, 2018). What is clear, though, is that the efforts of language activists and community members have greatly increased engagement with the Manx language, both within and outwith the Island, as will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 Manx in the Linguistic Ecology

This thesis investigates the beliefs that current speakers of Manx in the Isle of Man today have about their language, language use, and their community, as per Research Question 2 as outlined above. Therefore, it is important to understand the roles that Manx fulfils in the Isle of Man today, as well as where, when, and

why people might use or encounter the language. This will give much needed context to many of the discussions with participants that will emerge in later chapters of the thesis.

As well as its presence in the education system, as discussed above, Manx is also prevalent in the linguistic landscape and in cultural life on the Isle of Man (see Sebba, 2010; Lewis, 2004, and McCooey-Heap, 2020 for further discussion). As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 6) the linguistic landscape relates to how language is used in public texts (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 23), and can reflect language beliefs present in a given area (e.g. Moriarty, 2014). In the Isle of Man, Manx is visible on top-down signs associated with facilities owned by *Reiltys Ellan Vannin* (Isle of Man Government). This includes travel hubs such as the airport and ferry terminal, as well as on public buses. Official documentation produced by Government departments may also have a Manx translation. Manx is also commonly found on street signs, as well as welcome signs upon entering a town or village. Where Manx is seen on these signs, they are most often bilingual, including English, but there are examples of monolingual Manx signs, including outside the village of Ballaugh in the north-west of the Island.

Manx is also not uncommonly encountered on bottom-up signage and ephemera, such as those of local businesses, including those not created by speakers of Manx (McCooey-Heap, 2020). A very frequent example of this is house names, for which a Manx phrase is often chosen, sometimes accompanied by some kind of salient local iconography, such as the ‘three legs’ on the example below.



A Manx-Language House Name Accompanied by the 'Three Legs of Mann'. Image Credit: Erin McNulty.

In addition to this, Manx also has a considerable presence in local festivals and celebrations, particularly those involving Manx traditional music, dance, or other cultural art forms. One such festival is the Tynwald Day festival on 5th July, which is both the celebration of the Island's ancient Norse parliament and the country's national day. The use of Manx during events like this represents another way for Islanders to claim and perform a Manx identity, express community solidarity, and maintain cultural differentiation (Lewis, 2004: 15, 147).

Education and cultural events, as discussed above, are major domains in which Manx is used in the Isle of Man. However, more informal usages of the language, such as meet-ups in pubs and cafes, are also common. In recent years, Manx has also come to be used in online spaces, such as social media platforms, like

Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The use of the language online is varied, and includes content creation in the language, meta-linguistic discussions about aspect of the language's structure, and promotion of Manx-language community and cultural events. Local news station Manx Radio (*Radio Vannin*) includes Manx-language programmes, and some news articles on their website also have translations available. Manx has also featured on regional British news programmes, such as the BBC's 'North West Tonight'.

However, as Manx is not an official language of the Isle of Man, government business and most mainstream education on the Isle of Man is conducted through English. Outside of Manx language-focussed events, it is not common to hear the language spoken in public - its overall presence in the linguistic ecology of the Isle of Man is still very much minoritized. Therefore, some of the expectations set up by Manx's presence in the linguistic landscape remain unmet - as several of this study's participants note, the relative prevalence of Manx on signage might lead someone to expect to encounter Manx more frequently in public than is usually the case.

It is evident from the discussion in this section that many aspects of Manx's situation are recognisable for those familiar with other minoritized language contexts, linking back to discussions in Chapter 2. However, other aspects of the Manx context are atypical, such as the lack of an extant traditional native speaker community. The following section explores the impact of Manx's specific situation of minoritization on the way its speakers use and feel about their language, presenting discussions from existing research.

3.3 The Sociolinguistics of Manx

This section presents a review of the existing literature within the emerging field of Manx sociolinguistics, specifically addressing topics of interests to Research Questions 1 and 2. With regards to the former, Section 3.1 presents discussion of existing research on morphosyntactic variation in Manx. The subsequent Section 3.2 presents a review of the existing literature on language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community.

3.3.1 Morphosyntactic Variation

This section presents discussion of literature relevant to Research Question 1, namely the limited existing research conducted on morphosyntactic variation within the Manx New Speaker community. It suggests that variation does exist, even within this small community, and that there are various potential causal factors for such variation.

Evidently, there has been significant changes in Manx's morphosyntactic structure over the course of its history, some of which occurred during and due to its minoritization (e.g. as discussed by Broderick, 1991). An in-depth analysis of historical changes in Manx's morphosyntactic structure is outwith the scope of this study, which focusses on the language practices of New Speakers of Manx.

The limited research that exists on Manx New Speakers suggests that this speaker group exhibit a high degree of variation in their morphosyntactic production. Much of the existing research on this variation has been framed within variationist frameworks, explained with reference to demographic factors like age group, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 5.1). For example, McNulty (2019; 2023a) found that there were significant differences in the morphosyntax of Manx New Speakers of different ages. The study in question compared the use of synthetic and analytic verbs in the past, future, and conditional by older and younger speakers of Manx. It found that older speakers used more grammatically complex forms, such as highly synthetic verbs, significantly more frequently than younger speakers.

Additionally, research into morphosyntactic variation in Manx has also been framed within frameworks of language acquisition (see Chapter 2, Section 4.1). For example, previous research has suggested that morphosyntactic variation may be due to different speakers having acquired Manx differently. McNulty's (2019; 2023a) study compares the morphosyntactic production of two groups of younger speakers of Manx that acquired the language through different education streams: immersion and non-immersion. Significant differences between the groups were found; for example, the immersion-educated young speakers used highly synthetic past verb forms significantly more frequently than the non-immersion-educated young speakers. This study also suggested that the

immersion-educated young speakers may be developing their own norms, such as the so-called *goll dy*-future (McNulty, 2019). This structure, perhaps modelled on the English “going to” future form, consists of *goll dy* (‘going to’) used as an auxiliary, followed by the main verb, e.g. *ta mee goll dy chloie* (‘I am going to play’). This future form was not used by the other speaker groups.

In addition, further evidence that immersion-educated young New Speakers of Manx are developing their own linguistic norms comes from Clague’s (2007) study of narrative strategies in the Manx of pupils in Manx-immersion education at the *Bunscoil Ghaelgagh* (Manx Language Primary School). This study elucidated various aspects of these children’s language use, one of which is their overextended usage of the verb *geddyn* (‘finding’/‘getting’) in various environments. These pupils have also been shown to have (seemingly) unique uses of discourse markers (Clague, 2004/2005), for example the use of *gollrish* (‘like’) as both a discourse marker and quotative (similar to English ‘like’) (Clague, 2004/2005: 199), the use of English ‘well’ as a discourse marker (Clague, 2004/2005: 197), and the use of phrase-final question tags (e.g. *my ta - ‘so’, edyr - ‘at all’*) (Clague, 2004/2005: 202-203).

It is evident from the above that morphosyntactic variation exists between New Speakers of Manx, which likely has multiple causal factors. Other studies on Manx suggest that morphosyntactic variation observed among its speakers is inextricably tied up in the fact that modern community linguistic norms for Manx are still developing, and that there is no stable linguistic target or model that all speakers and learners aspire to (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 116). Research Question 3 of this thesis aims to further explore connections between beliefs around target models, as well as other linguistic beliefs, and Manx New Speakers’ morphosyntactic production. These target linguistic models are discussed further in the following sections.

3.3.2 Manx and Language Beliefs

Manx New Speakers hold varying broad beliefs concerning what Manx’s structure and role should be, which Research Question 2 aims to explore. Building on the discussion in Chapter 2 (Section 5.2), this thesis argues that language beliefs play a role in shaping linguistic structure among minoritized languages, including

Manx. Therefore, the following sections outline some of the broad language ideologies that have been discussed with regards to the modern-day Manx speaker community.

One framework that has been proposed to understand Manx speakers' language beliefs is that of Lewin (2017, 2020), who recounts different beliefs about Manx, namely about what it should look like, that are purported to exist in the speaker community. He contrasts what he terms 'purist' and 'authenticist' ideologies. A 'purist' ideology in this context is described as one that prioritises the relationship of Manx with the related Gaelic languages (Irish and Scottish Gaelic), and views Manx as "a Gaelic dialect like any other" (Lewin, 2017: 98). Lewin (2017: 112) states that there are features in contemporary Manx usage that result from these kind of ideologies being held by influential New Speakers in the early days of the revival movement, as certain scholars sought to "purge" Manx of perceived historical English influence, and model the modern variety of the language on some imagined variety spoken in a "perceived past where 'more Gaelic' grammar 'must have existed'" (Lewin, 2017: 107), resulting in the creation of "hyper-Gaelicisms", which Lewin describes as Manx "structures... perceived to be Gaelic, or at least to sound vaguely 'Manx' or 'Gaelic'... and non-English, which are in fact not found in any Gaelic variety" (Lewin, 2015: 34). Such an ideology is purported to result in more negative views of Manx features that seem to diverge from features in these related languages as a result of perceived influence from English, both in the historical and contemporary language (Lewin, 2017: 112).

By contrast, 'authenticist' ideologies are said to place a higher value on attested Manx usage, and have historically placed a focus on employing those forms in Manx that are attested in extant examples of Manx, such as the Manx Family Bible and the voice recordings of the 'last native speakers' (Lewin, 2017). As such, perceived historical influence from English as reflected in contemporary Manx speech is supposedly viewed less negatively, provided that it is attested in the historical Manx corpus. These written and spoken corpora are held up as authorities on contemporary Manx usage, so much so that speakers who express more authenticist ideologies often rate the value of modern spoken Manx usage, or even the success of the revival movement as a whole, by how closely contemporary usage resembles these older authoritative corpora (Lewin, 2015).

As such, more recent developments in Manx's structure that diverge from these authorities are viewed more negatively.

However, it should be noted that Lewin's discussion of these ideologies is chiefly based on diachronic trends over the course of the Manx revival movement as a whole, particularly among those Manx speakers with a high degree of meta-linguistic knowledge and often those who have been involved in the more academic side of language revitalization. It is not clear to what extent these ideologies persist among the current Manx New Speaker community more generally. The current study aims to explore the extent to which ideologies like the above, as well as the kinds of beliefs observed in other New Speaker communities (Chapter 2, Section 6) are present in the Manx community.

Some aspects of Lewin's framework seem to be supported by sociolinguistic research. For example, Ó hlfearnáin (2015b: 116) reports that the perceived 'Gaelicness' (or lack thereof) of Manx was a source of anxiety for some speakers, who may feel that linguistic and cultural connections between Manx and the other Gaelic languages imbue the language with a greater degree of authenticity and legitimacy, seemingly a key concern for many Manx New Speakers (Ó hlfearnáin and Ó Murchadha, 2018: 464). For some speakers, the legitimacy of Manx is closely connected to its perceived 'Gaelic-ness'. Ó hlfearnáin (2015a) states that Manx speakers view Manx as a "collateral language" with Irish and Scottish Gaelic; the languages are spoken in geographically neighbouring areas, Manx speakers view themselves as having shared cultural and linguistic affinity with Irish and Gaelic speakers, as well as similar sociolinguistic dynamics, and a shared engagement with the "Gaelic experience" (or rather, some imagined collective Gaelic experience). If Manx's legitimacy is so closely tied to perceived 'Gaelic-ness', anything that seems to threaten this Gaelic-ness, such as 'Anglicisms', will naturally be viewed as detrimental to Manx's legitimacy and thus discouraged in speech. Speakers seem to be concerned with being "taken seriously as Gaelic speakers" (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 113), which betrays an anxiety about how Manx is perceived by speakers of other Gaelic languages.

One way in which Manx New Speakers designate language use as valued or devalued is through qualitative labels, such as 'good Manx'. Ó hlfearnáin's (2015a: 56) survey of 'highly competent' speakers identifies some broad aspects of speech that speakers commonly agreed to be part of 'good Manx', including

using native idiom, a good Gaelic accent, and general fluency in speech. However, as Lewin (2015) notes, Ó hlfearnáin (2015a) does not link these valued aspects of language use with explicit expressions of ideology from the speakers involved, nor with specific examples of what statements such as ‘a good Gaelic accent’ might mean in terms of linguistic features. One possible feature of ‘good Manx’ comes from McNulty (2019): immersion-educated younger speakers of Manx did not produce the *goll dy* future in the more formal environment of a translation task where it was perceived that they were supposed to give ‘correct’ answers to prompts. All speakers also increased their use of traditionally Gaelic synthetic verbs in this environment. It may be the case, then, that the former feature is not felt to be ‘good Manx’, but the latter is. This study aims to further explore the meaning of this term with reference to morphosyntax.

Furthermore, Ó hlfearnáin (2015a: 48) states that Manx speakers share a “group assumption” of what such language use is or should be like. However, this statement requires more thorough investigation to determine how it might apply to the Manx New Speaker community at large, as Ó hlfearnáin’s study excludes the views of all but the most (self-determined) ‘fluent’ speakers. For one thing, the existence of different ideologies and associated valued language practices contradicts this. Other studies indeed betray that there is variation between Manx New Speakers with regards to the kinds of language use they value, similar to other New Speaker contexts (see Chapter 3, Section 3).

One way in which the language beliefs of Manx New Speakers vary is the extent to which they value and devalue perceived translingual practices. For example, Sallabank (2013: 128) discusses differences in the attitudes of Manx speakers towards certain types of language use, specifically a difference between older and younger speakers of Manx. The use in question is the use of discourse markers, such as those modelled on English ‘like’ (Clague, 2004/2005), and the use of periphrasis in the Manx of young speakers at the *Bunscoil Ghaelgagh*. Sallabank (2013: 128-129) reports that speakers expressed differing attitudes towards these features. Some expressed a more negative attitude, whereas others viewed these developments as an “extension of natural language change” (Sallabank, 2013: 129). Yet other speakers denied that such features in the Manx of younger speakers was evidence of language change, or denied the extent of

this change (Sallabank, 2013: 129). These attitudes were often expressed within a framework of comparison between “traditional” Manx use and the so-called “*Bunscoil* Manx” spoken by these young speakers in immersion education (Sallabank, 2013: 131).

With regards to target varieties for Manx New Speakers, there is evidence that some Manx New Speakers highly value traditional historical language models, holding “retro-vernacular” (Bell and McConville, 2018: 119-120) language ideologies. These are often the extant examples of so-called Traditional Manx, such as the last native speaker recordings, and older texts such as the Manx Family Bible. In Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin’s (2018) study, some Manx speakers clearly aligned their language use with these models. However, it seems that these linguistic models are valued in different ways by Manx speakers; last native speaker recordings seem to be “authentic sources for pronunciation and ethno-linguistic culture”, whereas more conservative models, such as older texts, are preferred models for other aspects of linguistic structure (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 101). Such ideologies are reminiscent of native-speaker ideologies (e.g. Doerr, 2009), often observed in New Speaker communities, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 6), with the interesting caveat that, in the Manx context, there are no extant native speakers. The presence of such beliefs indicates that native speaker ideologies may persist in minoritized language communities in the absence of native speakers.

However, not all Manx speakers expressed such beliefs. Ó hlfearnáin’s (2015a: 56) survey showed that Manx speakers rated “speaking like the last native speakers” as the least important factor in good language use. Furthermore, some Manx speakers outright reject traditional speech models as not being relevant to the language’s current modern context (Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin, 2018: 465). Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin’s (2018) study reports that some Manx New Speakers value the ‘revived Manx accent’, which is seen to “reflect this social reality rather than the Gaelic culture of the past.”. Speakers who hold this view might be more likely to value other kinds of target models, such as ‘expert speakers’, as discussed in Chapter 3. In the Manx context, these may be speakers who were part of the early revival movement, or who are in teaching roles - adult learners of Manx seem to see their teachers as their primary linguistic role models (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015a: 55). As Ó hlfearnáin (2015a:

57) states, the “high levels of fluency achieved by some ‘learner’ speakers provides a ‘moving target’ variety for learners”. This ‘moving target’, as the name suggests, is variable - “[a] fluid state in which standards were uncertain but stabilising”. New Speakers of Manx do not necessarily have the same linguistic competences, and there is no standard form of the language that learners and New Speakers can relate this target to. The language use that forms part of this target variety is that which is currently in the process of being “legitimised and given authority by its users” (Ó hIfeárnáin, 2015b: 111).

Therefore, it is evident from the above discussion that many of the language beliefs observed in New Speaker communities (Chapter 2) are also relevant to the Manx context, including native speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009), beliefs about translingual practices (e.g. O’Rourke, 2018), and folk-linguistic beliefs (Preston, 2017) about language competence. In addition, it seems from existing work that the Manx context exhibits a high degree of variation in language beliefs, which also reflects findings in other minoritized contexts (e.g. Irish - O’Rourke, 2015). The following section discusses, and problematises, how we can understand the Manx context with reference to other minoritized language contexts using the New Speaker framework.

3.4 Manx Speakers as New Speakers

Chapter 2 introduced the New Speaker framework, within which this thesis places its analysis of the Manx context. To summarise the discussion in that chapter, the New Speaker framework was developed in order to explore and re-evaluate the language practices of certain speaker profiles that have emerged in minoritized language communities as a result of language revitalization, who have often been termed ‘non-native’ or ‘L2’ speakers (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020). The New Speaker framework was developed within third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, and therefore places an understanding of social context and ideological forces as essential for understanding the ways in which New Speakers use language (Eckert, 2012). This section therefore explores how the New Speaker framework might apply to the Manx context, where the framework might need to be adapted, and justifies this thesis’ use of this

framework to understand language use and language beliefs in the Manx community.

Chapter 2 (Section 2) discussed what the New Speaker framework understands the New Speaker profile to look like, asking what kind of person New Speakers tend to be. The notion of ‘middle-class urbanity’ (e.g. Jones, 1998a) seemed to re-occur across several New Speaker communities, with the implication that this contrasts with more rural-centric traditional speaker communities. However, the notion of urbanity, and thus an urban-rural dichotomy, is less relevant in the Manx context. The Isle of Man does not have large urban centres to the same degree as its neighbouring islands. Due to the Island’s relatively small size facilitating travel, New Speakers do not have to cluster in certain relatively urban areas to maintain a community. Indeed, the Island’s largest urban centre, Douglas (c. 20,000 inhabitants), has a noticeable lack of Manx-language activity compared to smaller settlements, such as Peel (c. 5000 inhabitants). On the contrary, some of the most important hubs for the language, such as the *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh* (Manx Language Primary School) and the *Culture Vannin* language centre, are located in the small village of St. John’s in the centre-west of the Island. Therefore, the study of the Manx context sheds light on New Speaker communities that function outside of urban environments, and suggests that urban-ness may not be a defining feature of the New Speaker profile.

Chapter 2 (Section 2.1) also discusses the potential backgrounds of New Speakers, noting that New Speakers “might not originate from the ethno-linguistic group in question” Hornsby (2015: 109). That chapter critiqued the concept of the ‘ethno-linguistic group’ and how it has been applied in literature on language revitalization, and notes, as Ó hÍfearnáin (2015a: 60) does, that the Manx context challenges ethno-centric Fishmanian (1991) notions of language revitalization. This is especially true considering the range of national identities within the Manx New Speaker community. As discussed in McNulty (2023b), a Manx national identity is not claimed by many of the members of this community, especially by those who were not born on the Island¹⁹, and is generally not viewed as necessary to be a Manx speaker. In the Isle of Man, the use of Manx to perform and claim a Manx identity seems to be an important site

¹⁹ It is important to note that the fact of being born in a certain place is, in today’s world, evidently an imperfect corollate for one’s ethnic background, citizenship, or national identity.

for language beliefs (McNulty, 2023b; McCooey-Heap, 2020; Lewis, 2004), concepts which the New Speaker framework engages with.

Chapter 2 (Section 4) discussed the notion of competence within the New Speaker framework. Some definitions of the New Speaker refer to the kinds or levels of competence that a New Speaker is expected to have; for example, Walsh and O'Rourke (2018: 378) state that New Speakers will have a "high level of competence" in the minoritized language. However, the meaning of 'a high level' of competence, and what kinds of competence are judged to be meaningful, are likely to vary between New Speaker communities (Jaffe, 2015: 25). In the Manx context specifically, the notion of competence and what this means to speakers is especially complex, as the models and targets that Manx New Speakers have for competence are so unclear and variable (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 116). Therefore, this thesis maintains that notions of linguistic competence may still prove useful when applying the New Speaker framework to the Manx context, but that the inherent complexity and multifaceted nature of competence must be acknowledged when doing so. More 'porous' notions of competence, based in language practices that are meaningful in the Manx community (Jaffe, 2015), rather than those decided by linguists, are therefore employed in this thesis.

Many conceptions of the New Speaker discuss the acquisition trajectories often seen in New Speakers, which Chapter 2 (Section 2) outlines and problematizes. Some definitions of the New Speaker (e.g. McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015: 152) specify that New Speakers will have acquired the minoritized language outside the home environment. I have found this to be broadly true of speakers in the Manx context, yet even for Manx it must be acknowledged that it is not simple to separate home and school acquisition trajectories. For example, in McNulty's (2019) study, one participant stated they received initial input from caregivers in Manx, but now feel more competent in English. In addition, even in education, speakers may acquire Manx through immersion, non-immersion, and self-study contexts, as discussed in Section 3.2, and usually do so through a combination of these. In addition, in some definitions of the New Speaker as discussed in Chapter 2, home and community acquisition are equated (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). In the Manx context, however, although the home serves as a marginal environment for speakers to acquire the language, the local community

and language-focussed events prove very meaningful for many speakers on their acquisition journeys, as this thesis touches upon. Therefore, the Manx contexts highlights the complexity and individuality in New Speaker acquisition, highlighting the importance of personal motivation and agency in choosing to become a Manx speaker (McNulty, 2023b).

One of the key benefits of applying the New Speaker framework to the Manx context is that it allows for the exploration of language beliefs as a potential explanatory factor behind linguistic production, which this thesis aims to explore. As discussed in Chapter 2, the New Speaker framework was developed within third-wave and critical sociolinguistic approaches, which provide alternative lenses through which we might examine structural variation. Namely, linguistic production and variation therein are not seen only as reflective of language acquisition, but also of speakers' agentive use of salient linguistic forms to index social meaning (e.g. Eckert, 2012). This thesis argues that the latter will prove fundamental in understanding linguistic structure in Manx. Previous studies (e.g. McNulty, 2019; 2023a) indicate that language acquisition differences have some role to play in explaining variation in Manx. Nevertheless, to echo findings from other New Speaker communities, there seem to be broader sociolinguistic forces at work which will prove essential for understanding the fuller picture of linguistic structure in Manx. For example, McNulty (2019) argued that Manx New Speakers' pattern of use of possessive structures differ from what might be expected from a language acquisition-based view, and is best explained through speakers' use of linguistic iconization (Irvine and Gal: 2000) to index 'Manxness'. Therefore, this thesis views the New Speaker framework as the most appropriate lens through which a holistic picture of Manx language practices might be obtained, allowing for multiple causation.

In this vein, much of the work which places itself within the New Speaker framework engages with concepts such as 'nativeness', and 'the native speaker'. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, the New Speaker framework aims to challenge the hegemony of such concepts in work on minoritized language communities, and questions the 'native-non-native' dichotomy of speakerhood into which members of these communities have traditionally been classified (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020). Even with this in mind, many studies within the New Speaker framework implicitly or explicitly contrast New Speaker profiles

with traditional native speakers (e.g. Jaffe, 2015: 21 in the Corsican context), in order to explore how New Speakers might be different to such profiles.

Considering the prevalence of ‘the native speaker’ as a concept within the New Speaker framework, it would be fair to enquire as to the applicability of the New Speaker framework to the Manx context, in which there is no extant traditional native speaker community.

As a response, this thesis argues that, although native speakers are no longer extant in the Manx context, the idea of ‘nativeness’ is. As the discussions in Section 3.3 show, the idea of native or traditional speaker production still forms part of Manx speakers’ language models in varying ways. Therefore, although Manx New Speakers cannot directly engage with native speakers, many are doing so by proxy, using historical texts and recordings, and even the other Gaelic languages, as models of nativeness to which they might orientate their own linguistic production. They are still using language to respond to native speaker ideologies - either to reinforce or to challenge them - without necessarily seeing themselves as ‘lesser speakers’ of Manx. This is a duality that this thesis will explore in further chapters, by positioning Manx speakers as New Speakers.

In addition, the Manx context exemplifies the inherent complexity in what is meant by ‘the native speaker’. As Section 3.3 above discusses, in the absence of a traditional speaker community, different ‘snapshots’ of historical language production, such as historical texts, native speaker recordings, and other language communities, have come to separately represent the different facets of meaning contained within the concept of nativeness. This includes ethno-cultural knowledge, production of ‘L2-difficult’ (Meisel, 2011) grammatical features, and incorporation of the minoritized language into everyday life. Therefore, the Manx context is fertile ground for the interrogation of the multiplicities contained within the concept of ‘nativeness’, a goal of the New Speaker framework, in a way that is more explicit than other contexts in which the New Speaker framework has been applied.

Considering all that has been discussed in this section, this thesis considers the New Speaker framework as incredibly useful for understanding both language structure and language beliefs among the Manx-speaking community, as well as how the two are mutually influential. Therefore, in order to answer this thesis’ research questions, I will posit throughout this thesis the existence of ‘the Manx

New Speaker', which incorporates aspects from existing work in the New Speaker framework, and challenges others. This thesis defines the Manx New Speaker as stated in Chapter 1, reiterated here. In summary, Manx New Speakers will have acquired Manx through some combination of formal education and self-study. These speakers will have a level of competence in Manx that enables them to have meaningful interactions in Manx with other speakers in their community, and they will show a meaningful degree of metalinguistic awareness of and enthusiasm for the language. They will have likely developed strong thoughts and feelings about the kinds of language use they value, and what role they think Manx should play in their community. Manx New Speakers often seek to use Manx whenever possible, and show a general desire to engage with Manx and associated cultural activities. The 'Manx New Speaker community' therefore collectively refers to such speakers. This community is often territorially bounded to the Island, but may also include those living elsewhere who maintain a link with the Isle of Man, usually through a combination of regular visits and online linguistic and cultural engagement with fellow Manx New Speakers. This chapter has provided a background for the discussion of such speakers' language practices and beliefs, as summarized in the following section.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has explored sociolinguistic research conducted in the Manx context which is relevant to this thesis' investigation of linguistic variation and language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community. It has outlined Manx's context of minoritization and revitalization, providing essential background for Manx's current sociolinguistic situation. It has also explored trends emerging from the sociolinguistic study of Manx, and discusses how the New Speaker framework might be used in the Manx context.

Section 2.1 of this chapter has explored how Manx has been subject to a considerable degree of linguistic minoritization, resulting in the loss of its traditional native speaker community. The section outlined some of the reasons for language shift in the Manx context, applying the framework of language minoritization outlined in Chapter 2 (Section 2.1). It also explored ongoing language revitalization efforts in the Manx context, and how these have

impacted on Manx's current situation, in Section 2.2. One of these impacts has been the creation of a community of speakers which this thesis analyses through the lens of the New Speaker framework, outlined in Chapter 2.

Section 3 of this chapter then explored emerging findings from the field of Manx sociolinguistics. This includes limited research on how Manx speakers use their language, the findings of which indicate that structural variation exists within Manx speakers' language practices (e.g. McNulty 2019; 2023a) relevant for Research Question 1. Language acquisition plays a role in governing this variation, with speakers of different acquisitional profiles exhibiting morphosyntactic variation. However, this thesis places itself within third-wave and critical approaches to sociolinguistics, and thus views sociolinguistic forces such as language beliefs as a major governing force behind structural variation. Section 3.2 of this chapter thus outlines the language beliefs in the Manx-speaking community, in order to explore Research Question 2. It highlights the variation in language beliefs in this community, including in expressions of broad language ideologies, such as native speaker ideologies, as well as in more focussed attitudes towards particular language practices, such as translingual practices and traditional historical practices.

Finally, in Section 4, this chapter argued that, in order to explore Research Question 3, it is necessary to conceptualize Manx speakers as New Speakers (as discussed in Chapter 3). Firstly, the inclusion of the Manx context within the New Speaker framework enables us to ask questions of the framework, in order to refine it and improve its usefulness in atypical contexts such as that of Manx. Additionally, the New Speaker framework allows for a re-valuation of Manx speakers' language practices, and a more nuanced discussion around ideas of nativeness and naturalness within the Manx community. Most importantly, the use of the New Speaker framework also allows exploration of variation within the Manx community as a reflection not (or not just) of a failure to reach some linguistic target, but as a reflection of Manx speakers' desire and ability to agentively use salient morphosyntactic structures that have acquired social meaning in their community in order to index their orientation towards or away from particular ideological positions, which is the main argument of this thesis.

Having now established the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, the following chapter outlines the methodologies this thesis employed when collecting and analysing data to answer its research questions.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details how this research was carried out, and why such approaches were chosen. It is lengthy, as it includes discussion of this thesis' several different methodological approaches. First, Section 2 covers the methodological approaches assumed by this thesis, including ontologies and epistemologies. Then, Section 3 outlines how I prepared for fieldwork, including designing materials and gaining ethical approval. Section 4 then details how various data collection methods were carried out during the fieldwork period. Finally, Section 5 explains how this data was analysed.

This thesis employs a mixed-methods approach to data collection and analysis (Section 3.1). Both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were used to answer the research questions in Section 5.1.1. For the former, a language attitudes questionnaire was employed (Section 3.2). This study positions itself as a 'sociolinguistic ethnography' (Heller, 2006) (Section 2.2), and thus employs ethnographic methods, including sociolinguistic interviews (Section 3.4), participant observation (Section 3.5). The sociolinguistic interview data was analysed quantitatively to explore patterns of variation (Section 5.3), and qualitatively to explore language beliefs (Section 5.4).

4.1.1 Research Aims

This thesis investigates the language use of Manx speakers using various sociolinguistic frameworks, principally third-wave sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012), critical multilingualism (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016), and the New Speaker framework (e.g. O'Rourke and Pujolar, 2013) (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). It uses Manx to inform wider research on minoritized languages undergoing revitalization. As stated in Chapter 1, it explores these specific questions:

1. **What does the morphosyntax of Manx New Speakers look like?**

- a. How frequently do Manx New Speakers use variants of morphosyntactic constructions available to them?
- b. To what extent does morphosyntactic variation exist within this community?
- c. What forces govern morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community?

2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?

- a. What language ideologies do speakers hold about Manx?
- b. What linguistic models and ways of speaking are valued by Manx New Speakers?
- c. How do speakers understand ideas of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’, as they relate to language use?

3. Are language beliefs connected to language use the Manx New Speaker community?

- a. How do Manx New Speakers use morphosyntax to construct linguistic authority?
- b. To what extent are ideological variation and structural variation linked in the Manx New Speaker community?

Specifically, the project explores the relationship between morphosyntactic structure and language beliefs among Manx New Speakers, with the latter encompassing both broader language ideologies and more specific attitudes towards morphosyntactic structures. To answer the above questions, the project collected qualitative and quantitative data during a six-month fieldwork period in the Isle of Man, from October 2021 to March 2022.

4.2 Methodological Approach

The following sections outline the approaches to methodology assumed by this thesis. This includes its ontology and epistemology, its ethnographic approach, and its focus on reflexivity.

4.2.1. Ontology and Epistemology

Hesse-Biber (2017: 6) defines ontology as a “philosophical belief system about the nature of social reality”. This study’s ontological perspective is a critical one, viewing “social reality as an ongoing construction” and “suggesting that discourses created in shifting fields of social power shape social reality and our study of it” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 6). Epistemology encompasses beliefs on how knowledge is created, including “how the relationship between the researcher and research participants is understood” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 6). This study is an inductive one, as it uses data on how social actors experience the world to generate new theory about social reality (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 10; Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 12). It also takes a pragmatist approach (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 279), viewing the exploration of the research questions as being of primary importance, rather than being wedded to one methodological approach. Therefore, prior to developing any methodology, I developed preliminary research questions which underwent minor changes as the study progressed.

In addition, this study does not assume the existence of objective truth, but contends that “reality is multiple and fluid” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 8) and that truths are constructed through the research process. As a result of this epistemology, I chose a triangulation approach to data collection. Triangulation is defined by Bryman (2004: 1142, in Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 331) as “the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings”. In terms of data collection, this means that I used a mixed-methods approach, collecting both quantitative and qualitative data (see Section 3.1). This study’s approach therefore sees qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary, rather than in opposition (Flick, 2018: 72), as they can “mutually support each other and provide a fuller picture of the issue under study” (Flick, 2018: 7). Therefore, using both types of data allowed me to capture reality from multiple angles.

However, this study’s triangulation approach goes further than using mixed methods (Flick, 2018: 2). The whole of the data collected using triangulation aims to be holistic, with the total findings reflecting “more than the sum of [its] parts” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 275). Therefore, this study also involved combining the quantitative and qualitative data during data analysis, treating both types of

data as one whole dataset, rather than as two separate datasets. It also involves combining multiple theoretical approaches, extending the research process beyond “what is normally done” (Flick, 2018: 2). This study combines qualitative and quantitative data in its discussions, as well as using various sociolinguistic approaches including third-wave sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012), critical multilingualism (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016), and the New Speaker framework (e.g. O’Rourke and Pujolar, 2013) (see Chapter 2). In keeping with the study’s inductive approach, I used triangulation to create new theory for understanding a lesser-researched sociolinguistic context.

Triangulation is particularly useful when researching topics in critical sociolinguistics, which focus on the links between language’s form and its use in context. This is because comparing multiple kinds of data, such as self-reported linguistic production with actual production in various contexts, “can reveal values, frames of interpretation, and what [participants] think you want from them” (Heller et al., 2018: 57). Revealing such things was critically important for this study, a large part of which focuses on Manx New Speakers’ language beliefs and their intersections with behaviour (see Research Questions 2 and 3). For all the above reasons, triangulation was judged to be the most theoretically, ontologically, and epistemically appropriate approach for this study to take. Triangulation was employed as part of the thesis’ ethnographic approach, as detailed in the following section.

4.2.2 ‘Sociolinguistic Ethnography’

Ethnography typically consists of a “long and sustained engagement with social actors... within the context of their social, cultural, and historical situatedness” (Geertz, 1973, in Zipp, 2022: 273), to understand how “processes of social organization unfold in real time and in real life” (Heller, 2011). Ethnography is an established methodology among anthropological approaches to linguistics, where talk is analysed with respect to the context in which it is produced (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 4; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972). This approach was developed in the early 20th century (e.g. by Sapir, 1911) to classify Indigenous American languages and develop theories about their associated cultures (Darnell, 1998, in Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 5). In sociolinguistics specifically,

ethnographic approaches were adopted (e.g. by Hymes, 1964) as a response to Chomskyan conceptions of ‘Language’ as divorced from social context.

When it comes to sociolinguistic studies, ethnography is not limited to fieldwork methods, but comes with a paradigmatic approach that sees language in the above way as “the architecture of social behaviour itself, and thus part of social structure and social relations” (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 7). I have therefore categorised this study as a ‘sociolinguistic ethnography’, following Heller (2006). As such, this study involved situated ethnographic data collection among the Manx New Speaker community in the Isle of Man throughout the entire six-month fieldwork period, with supplementary visits both before and after this period. As is typical of ethnographic fieldwork, this study involves participant observation (Section 4.3), interviews (Section 4.2), and what Blommaert and Dong (2010: 29) refer to as “the collection of rubbish” (Section 4.4). A convergent approach was taken, meaning all data collection methods were conducted simultaneously, rather than taking a staged approach, so that emerging trends could improve further data collection.

An ethnographic approach was appropriate as the current research focuses on exploring the role of language in a particular social context, therefore within the scope of ethnography. In particular, the study aims to understand how Manx New Speakers think about Manx, and the role the language and particular ways of speaking play in the community in terms of identity work and social relations (see Research Questions 2 and 3). Positionality and reflexivity were important considerations with regards to this, as detailed in the following section.

4.2.3 Positionality and Reflexivity

This section outlines my own positionality as researcher, and the impact this had on data collection and analysis, as well as how a reflexive approach was taken throughout this study.

4.2.3.2 Positionality

Researcher positionality is linked to the role the researcher’s own identity plays in the research process, namely “the set of attributes [the researcher] brings into the research project—gender, race or ethnicity, class, and any other factors

that might be of importance to the research process” (Band-Winterstein, Doron, & Naim, 2014, in Hesse-Biber, 2017: 134).

In the current study, my positionality was that of community-insider, as a member of the Manx New Speaker community. I was born in the UK and from the age of 5 was raised in the Isle of Man, where I lived until the age of 22 (except during university term times). During this time and until the time of writing, I have been a speaker of Manx. Therefore, I knew many of my participants prior to the fieldwork. Some were previous schoolmates or teachers, some had been participants in previous research, and others had become acquainted with me through participation in the community in other ways. I also worked with some community members that I had not met previously, but I had mutual acquaintances with all participants.

This community-insider positionality comes with advantages and disadvantages - “both insider and outsider status for researchers—and therefore also the informants’ recognition of their position as “observed”—may provide opportunities for insights into the nature of social phenomena, as long as one is willing to treat research contexts as truly interactional settings” (de Fina, 2011: 36). Therefore, as long as attention is paid to the Observer’s Paradox (Labov, 1972b), and the research interactions are discussed reflexively, both insider and outsider approaches can be advantageous. Section 2.3.2 discusses this further, and details some of the outcomes my own positionality on data collection.

4.2.3.2 Reflexive Approach

Reflexivity is “the process through which researchers recognize, examine, and understand how their own social background and assumptions can intervene in the research process” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 134). Further to this, this study employs critical reflexivity, which takes the form of “understanding the diversity and complexity of [one’s] own positionality” and the contradictions therein (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 46). The practice of reflexivity in fieldwork data collection is a fundamental concern of critical sociolinguistics (e.g. Heller et al., 2018). I have found this to be especially true when researching a historically undervalued and linguistically minoritized community, such as that of Manx, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Considering my own positionality as a Manx speaker, as outlined in Section 2.3.1, I approached fieldwork from the position of community-insider. I therefore found it essential to engage in reflexivity throughout data collection and analysis, so as to be aware of potential biases and frames of interpretation I was bringing to the data and to fieldwork interactions. In keeping with this study's methodological approach (Section 2), I do not assume that this research can be free of biases, yet being mindful of them was key to the study's reflexive approach.

There were some advantages to a community-insider approach, as mentioned in Section 2.3.1. For one, I was intimately familiar with the area, and possessed significant prior knowledge on data collection sites. As I was known to many community members, I was able to approach them directly to ask them to participate in the study. In this way, I recruited participants through word-of-mouth and by recommendations from mutual acquaintances and community organizations, such as the Manx language and culture charity *Culture Vannin*, which gave the research project credibility and recognisability to community members (further details in Section 4.3.2).

In addition, my familiarity with the research situation expedited my understanding of the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 129). Certain approaches to research, such as autoethnography, embrace the knowledge held by community-insiders as a fundamental part of the research process (e.g. see Chew et al., 2015). This study is not an autoethnography, but it welcomes the "epistemology of insiderness" (Bainbridge, 2007: 9) explored in such studies, as it meant that I was able to explore deeper layers of ideological meaning in the community during my fieldwork period than previous community-outsider ethnographers (e.g. Lewis, 2004).

For example, participants often assumed²⁰ that I shared certain key beliefs that define the community, such as that Manx is important and worth speaking. Participants tended to make assumptions about the amount and kinds of knowledge I already possessed about the community, as well as meta-linguistic knowledge about Manx itself. Examples include such ubiquitous comments as "you obviously know about X", "you must have heard of Y", "of course you've

²⁰ Correctly, in this case.

met Z”, as well as extensive name-dropping of well-known figures in the community, or individuals assumed to be mutual acquaintances, with little elaboration on the significance of these names. This assumption of shared values facilitated building rapport with my participants. It also facilitated the production of anecdotes during interviews, one of the best sources of ideological and sociolinguistic data (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 52), as participants assumed I would not need an extensive explanation to understand the context of the anecdote.

However, making the familiar alien is one of the chief challenges of ‘native ethnography’ (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 27), and at times my role as researcher conflicted with that of community-insider. For example, there were moments where participants explicitly drew attention to the fact that an interview conversation was being recorded, such as by asking about the recorder and (jokingly) commenting on the anonymity of the final data. Sometimes I had to draw attention to the recorder, for example when the device had run out of battery power. This created a clear divide in the conversation when the recorder was active and inactive - however congenial the conversation was, it was clear that during the time of recording, I leant more heavily into my role as researcher, rather than that fellow Manx speaker. Despite efforts on my part to reduce potential power imbalances (see Section 4.3), it would not have been ethical to pretend these interactions were the same as casual unrecorded conversations. I therefore ensured participants were aware which portions of our conversations were to be used as data by announcing that I was turning on and off the recorder.

Furthermore, it occasionally came across as odd or slightly artificial when I would ask participants to expand on comments they had made, or asked them questions to which they assumed I already knew the answer (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 27). For example, I asked several interview participants whether they saw Manx often on signs in the Isle of Man. They might have assumed I was seeking an objective answer to this question, one which I would already know based on my own positionality, rather than asking them to reflect on their own perceptions. On occasions like this, participants might not have expanded to the extent that they might have had they not assumed I already had access to this knowledge (Heller et al., 2018: 58). During such times, participants seemingly

became more aware that I was enquiring for the benefit of the research, rather than in the role of prior acquaintance. Therefore, a greater degree of researcher interpretation was required when analysing these interactions.

Additionally, being a community-insider also means one is aware of unspoken community rules, therefore “deviance from them might be less tolerated” than it would be for a community-outsider researcher (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 27). This was sometimes the case during my interviews, when certain topics of conversation were raised, such as the subject of varying language ideologies in the community, that are not usually spoken about explicitly. Participants may also react unfavourably to observations made by a community-insider researcher (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 27).

4.2.3.3 Choice of Language

Another aspect of my own positionality, as discussed in Section 2.3.1, which was important to consider was the language used during fieldwork interactions. When researching in a multilingual context, especially when a minoritized language is involved, the choice of language is an essential consideration (O’Rourke, 2022). As part of my community-insider approach (de Fina, 2011) I chose to speak to participants in Manx as far as possible and practicable throughout, and to conduct the majority of my data collection through Manx (see Section 3.2.1.5 for further discussion on practicalities and use of Manx during particular data collection methods).

The principal practical reason for this choice was to produce a corpus of spoken Manx data for structural analysis, necessary for exploring Research Question 1. Sociolinguistic research on Manx (as detailed in Chapter 3) has so far only been conducted through the medium of English, and thus has not produced data on Manx New Speakers’ linguistic production that can be analysed and compared to other kinds of data, such as language attitudes questionnaire data. In keeping with this study’s triangulation approach (Section 2.1) to exploring Manx New Speakers’ language practices, I aimed to use Manx to collect multiple kinds of linguistic data.

However, this use of Manx impacted on the fieldwork in other ways. Our shared positionality as Manx speakers enabled me to create a rapport more quickly with

participants. Some participants also made assumptions about my competence in Manx. For example, during participant observation with a group of self-identified ‘intermediate’ speakers of Manx (Section 3.5), they often treated me as though I were an authority on the language. They would ask me questions about certain grammatical features, double-check that they had correctly understood a phrase or construction, or ask me to ‘correct’ their utterances. They would also express judgements about their own competences in the language, or compare it to my own, often jokingly. I found it difficult to respond in these instances, wanting to give them the linguistic help they had asked for, but also not wanting to seem as though I was judging their production or unduly influencing the kinds of data I was collecting. This was another instance in which it was difficult to reconcile the roles of researcher and Manx speaker, and which made it clear that a reflexive examination of my own positionality was also intertwined with participant wellbeing when conducting and preparing the research, the latter of which is discussed in the following section.

4.3 Preparing the Research

4.3.1 Mixed-Methods Approach

In keeping with the triangulation approach that this study takes towards answering its research questions, as discussed in Section 2.1, I decided to use a mixed-methods approach to data collection. This study also takes a convergent approach, collecting both quantitative and qualitative data during the same fieldwork period, then integrating findings from both in its analysis (Cresswell, 2018: 15).

Qualitative approaches to research investigate “the social meaning people attribute to their experiences, circumstances, and situations” by asking questions such *why* or *how* something is the case (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 4). Quantitative approaches, however, seek to test hypotheses on large-scale datasets (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 4-5; Cresswell, 2018: 17). Simplistically, qualitative approaches mostly, although not exclusively, use words to tell a research story, whereas quantitative approaches use numbers (see Hesse-Biber, 2017, Cresswell 2018 for a more in-depth discussion).

Qualitative research methods include: “ethnography or field research, interview, oral history, autoethnography, focus group interview, case study, discourse analysis, grounded theory, content or textual analysis, visual or audiovisual analysis, evaluation, historical comparative, ethnodrama, and narrative inquiry” (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 10). Quantitative research methods in sociolinguistics include surveys, experiments, and longitudinal research (Cresswell, 2018: 12). Qualitative research is beneficial for understanding the depths of subjective meaning-making across smaller-scale social contexts, whereas quantitative research focuses on reliability, replication, and verification (Hesse-Biber, 2017: 22).

The main research approach of the current study is qualitative, with supplementary quantitative methods, because this study positions itself in the tradition of sociolinguistic ethnographies (e.g. Heller, 2006). These studies typically principally use qualitative methods, supported by quantitative data. Either approach may be given precedence in a mixed-methods study, as long as the supplementary component forms a significant part of the research, and that it is clear how the research components are combined (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 331). I chose to employ various ethnographic data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation, supplemented by a language attitudes questionnaire. The reasons why I chose to mix these methodological approaches is detailed in Section 3.1.1.

4.3.1.1 Why Mixed-Methods?

There are many reasons one might choose a mixed-methods approach (see Cresswell, 2015 for further discussion). This particular study’s research questions aimed to examine links between community patterns in linguistic structure, data on which is best gathered through quantitative methods (e.g. Smith, Durham, and Richards, 2013), and community beliefs about the minoritized language, which is part of a strong established qualitative tradition (see Chapter 2 for examples). Therefore, using where a single research method would have been “insufficient for gaining an understanding” of the research questions at hand (Cresswell, 2015: 14-15). I was therefore able to combine both quantitative and

qualitative perspectives to gain “a more comprehensive view of the [research] problem” (Cresswell, 2015: 15).

In addition, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a study somewhat compensates for the weaknesses inherent in both methods. For example, the lack of generalisability of conclusions drawn through qualitative methods is belied by the addition of quantitative data, and the lack of in-depth analysis available through the use of quantitative methods is compensated for by the addition of qualitative data (see refs for further discussion). Therefore, mixed-methods studies may “offer a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced, and useful research results” (Johnson et al., 2007: 129, in Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 331).

Furthermore, a “holistic” mixed-methods approach may be particularly advantageous to the study of language beliefs, a major component of this study (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 332). This is because such research can offer a challenge to the traditional qualitative/quantitative binary (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 332), and therefore well-suited to a holistic, mixed-methods approach to data collection. Language beliefs are often reflective of different “layers of meaning” (Holmes, 2007: 5, in Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 333) or “aspects of reality” (Lazaraton, 2005: 219, in Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 333). Therefore, when these methods are properly integrated, they have the potential to be “mutually illuminating” (Bryman, 2007: 8, in Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 334). If the results of the qualitative and quantitative methods diverge from each other, this can be indicative of the complexity of beliefs about language, and if they converge, the results may be taken as corroborative of each other (Kircher and Hawkey, 2022: 333), leading to greater confidence in any conclusions drawn. Despite some shortcomings of mixed-methods research (see Cresswell, 2011), for the above reasons this approach was felt to be appropriate for this study.

The following sections outline how the qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were designed, as well as the justification for these choices.

4.3.2 Designing the Questionnaire

The principal quantitative data collection method used in this study was a language attitudes questionnaire. I began designing this questionnaire soon after

the above methodological approach had been established, well in advance of fieldwork.

Questionnaires “involve posing explicit questions to obtain self-reports concerning participants’ feelings, beliefs, and/or behaviours regarding language” (Kircher, 2022: 129). This method also has a long history of use in quantitative sociolinguistic studies (Kircher, 2022: 129), including in minoritized language contexts, with MacKinnon’s (1981) study of attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic and Sharp et al.’s (1973) study into attitudes towards Welsh being early examples (Garrett, 2010: 37).

Research Question 2 asks what beliefs Manx New Speakers have about various ways of speaking. To explore this research question, this study asked 20 Manx New Speakers (see Section 4.1 for further discussion) to complete an online language questionnaire to elicit attitudes towards specific morphosyntactic constructions in Manx. This section discusses the questionnaire’s design, the variables involved, and the reasons for which a questionnaire was chosen as a research method.

4.3.2.1 Questionnaire Design

This section details the design of the questionnaire and the justification behind this. Respondents were asked to use Likert scales to indirectly rate morphosyntactic constructions of interest (see Variables, section 3.3) according to different criteria of interest (see Sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2).

The questionnaire was designed to take 20-30 minutes overall, to reduce participant fatigue and its potential effect on the data (Palviainen and Huhta, 2015). To further reduce fatigue, the questionnaire was designed so that participants could pause their progress and return after a break. The questionnaire was constructed on the University of Glasgow Online Surveys platform. Further justifications for all these design choices are found in section 3.2.1.4.

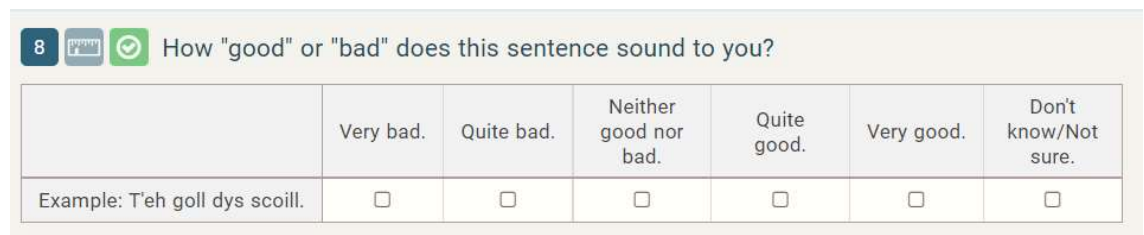
In all sentences that speakers were asked to judge as part of the questionnaire, only one variable of interest was included. Aside from the variable in question, the sentences were grammatically simple, and used common vocabulary. In addition, participants were asked to provide judgements for at least three



sentences for each variable, and this number was increased to six to account for regular and irregular verbal variables (see Section 3.3). These measures were put in place to reduce participants' judging a sentence by any metric other than the morphosyntactic variable of interest. This helped to ensure that any outliers in judgements would be identifiable, and increased the reliability of the analysis and any conclusions drawn thereof (Kircher, 2022).

The questionnaire consisted of two sections. In the first, participants were asked to give each sentence an attitudinal rating of how 'good' they thought each sentence sounded. Similarly, in Section 3, participants were asked to rate each sentence in accordance with how 'Manx' it sounded. The following sections detail how these sections were constructed and why.

4.3.2.1.1 How 'good' does this sound?

In this section of the task, participants were asked to give attitudinal ratings of each of the example sentences containing variables of interest (Section 3.3) - they were asked how 'good' each sentence sounded. They were asked to rate each example sentence on a scale from 'Very good', 'Quite good', 'Neither good nor bad', 'Quite bad', to 'Very bad', as shown below in the example below:



8   How "good" or "bad" does this sentence sound to you?



	Very bad.	Quite bad.	Neither good nor bad.	Quite good.	Very good.	Don't know/Not sure.
Example: T'eh goll dys scoill.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This task allowed participants to indirectly rate morphosyntactic structures on their perceived 'goodness'. As part of Research Question 2, I wanted to explore the meanings of various descriptive terms used to evaluate kinds of language use in the Manx New Speaker community. New Speakers generally have strong opinions on "what the correct way of speaking is" (O'Rourke and Walsh (2020: 18). The same is true for Manx (see Chapter 3 for discussion). One of these terms is *Gaelg vie* ("good Manx"). Previous research (e.g. Ó hIfeárnáin, 2015a) has shown that this term has clear meaning for Manx New Speakers. However, what exactly speakers mean by categorising ways of speaking Manx as "good" or "not good", in terms of the morphosyntactic features this includes or excludes, is something this study aims to elucidate. In addition, this task enabled comparison

of participants' views on "good language use" with broader community language ideologies collected through ethnographic methods (Sections 3.4; 3.5), and with speakers' use of morphosyntactic structures in linguistic production using interview data (Section 3.5).

4.3.2.1.2 How 'Manx' does this sound?

In the next section of the task, participants were asked to rate each of the example sentences as either 'Very Manx', 'Quite Manx', 'a Bit Manx', or 'Not at all Manx', as shown below:

10   How "Manx" does this sentence sound to you?					
	Very Manx.	Quite Manx.	A bit Manx.	Not at all Manx.	Don't know/Not sure.
Example : S'mie lhiam moddee.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This question was chosen because another criterion by which Manx New Speakers judge ways of speaking concerns their relative 'Manxness'. Namely, speakers consider some ways of speaking as 'more Manx' than others (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). McNulty (2019) indicates that certain constructions may have become iconised (Irvine and Gal, 2000), being perceived as 'uniquely Manx' by Manx New Speakers. This task enabled exploration of what other features are perceived as 'Manx' or 'not Manx', as part of Research Question 2. Some of the variables included are the results of contact-induced change, and originate from English (see Section 3.3 for further discussion). I was interested to see whether this impacted participants' attitudes, as translingual practices have been found to be devalued by some New Speakers in other communities (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378).

It is likely that there will be overlap between structures that are rated as 'good' and as 'Manx'. However, the extent and precise nature of this overlap, as well as the cases for which this overlap might not exist, will enable deeper exploration of the precise meanings of 'goodness' and 'Manxness' with regards to language use.

4.3.2.1.3 Why Likert Scales?

A scalar approach was chosen for multiple reasons. Firstly, such scalar questions are very easy to administer and analyse, and for participants to answer in self-completion questionnaires (Brace, 2018: 73). The Likert Scale also reduced the possibility of acquiescence bias influencing the data (Kircher, 2022: 131) - there were no statements presented for participants to agree or disagree with. The Likert Scales in this questionnaire consisted of an odd-numbered list, to allow for the expression of genuine indifference by participants (Krug and Sell, 2013, in Kircher, 2022: 133). Participants were also offered a “Don’t know/Not sure” option to distinguish between confusion or inability to answer and indifference (Brace, 2018: 72). They were given five or six possible answers depending on the task - the number of options given to participants should be between four and ten to decrease error variance and ensure reliability of results (Banaji and Heiphetz, 2010, in Kircher, 2022: 133).

4.3.2.1.4 Why Online?

There are certain advantages to conducting a questionnaire online. The participant could complete the questionnaire in a time and place of their choosing, thus lessening the effect of ‘interview fatigue’ for those participants recruited via interview, as they were able to complete the questionnaire some time afterwards. In addition, providing example sentences in written form online meant that participants were not distracted by phonological or prosodic data, or by any other effects of the environment. In addition, I did not need to be present (Zipp, 2022: 146), thus handing over some level of control to the participants and helping to bridge the power imbalance inherent in research interactions (Hesse-Biber, 2012). The online survey platform used was easy for participants to use and access, having been designed with a user-friendly interface.

I also decided to collect this data online rather than in person based on prior experience of conducting linguistic research in this speaker community. In previous data collection (for McNulty, 2019; 2023a), participants completed an in-person translation task, where they were asked to give a Manx equivalent for example sentences in English containing the sought-after morphosyntactic variables. Some participants reported that the task was stressful, and several perceived it to be ‘test-like’, in that they felt pressure to supply ‘correct’

answers. Therefore, to lessen the potential stress of this task on participants and to capture participants' intuitions about language use more accurately, the decision was made to collect this data online for the current project.

However, the online approach also comes with disadvantages. It is possible that the participant may misunderstand what the questionnaire is asking them to do, without the researcher there to clarify. To mitigate this, I included detailed instructions at the start of the questionnaire and example questions for each section, which participants were informed would not count towards their results. In addition, the distant nature of online questionnaires can result in low response rates (Dornyei and Taguchi, 2010: 7, in Zipp, 2022: 146). I attempted to mitigate this by including only closed questions, which limit the possible answers that participants could have given (Kircher, 2022: 130). These typically yield a higher response rate, and respondents generally prefer to answer them (Zipp, 2022: 146).

4.3.2.1.5 Wording and Language

Questionnaire data can be impacted by the order and wording of questions (Kircher, 2022: 130). An imbalance between the potential boredom for participants and too great a demand on them can lead to questions going unanswered (Schleef, 2014, in Kircher, 2022: 130). Prior to giving this task to participants, I refined the task by pilot-testing it on non-participants to ensure that the questions were clearly worded and easy to answer (Zipp, 2022: 154, see Section 4.1). In addition, to offset this, I asked the above demographic questions (e.g. gender, age group, and experience with Manx) at the start of the questionnaire to involve and interest participants, but without asking for any data that might be perceived as invasive (Kircher, 2022: 135). The wording of the questionnaire was also clear and concise, and made no assumptions of background knowledge of linguistics or the study of language attitudes (Kircher, 2022: 134).

Unlike the interviews, the questionnaire was done through the medium of English. This was done for both scientific and practical reasons. With regards to the former, the questionnaire asked participants to rate various morphosyntactic constructions in Manx. Therefore, similar to in McNulty (2019), I opted to use

English rather than Manx so as not to influence participants' judgements of any of the constructions in question. It was also necessary to use English as the questionnaire design had to be approved by the College of Arts Research Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow, where English is the working language.

4.3.2.2 Why a Questionnaire?

Questionnaires have various advantages in the collection of language attitudes data. They are easy to distribute, meaning that more data can be gathered during the allotted data collection period, which allows for greater generalisability of any conclusions drawn (Kircher, 2022: 129). They are also practical, cost-effective, and an efficient way to both collect and analyse data (Kircher, 2022: 130). Questionnaires are also successful at eliciting the kinds of information about language beliefs that is difficult or impossible to obtain using other methods, as they enable the elicitation of information on all three components of language attitudes: conation, affect, and cognition (Kircher, 2022: 130). They are therefore a useful method for investigating a wide range of issues within the study of language attitudes.

Although the advantages of the use of questionnaires outweighed the disadvantages for the current study, it must still be acknowledged that there are drawbacks to this method. As with any self-reported data, we as researchers cannot be completely sure of its accuracy (Kircher, 2022: 130). Brace (2018: 3) notes that questionnaires may be "asking respondents to analyse their own emotions and feelings about issues they may never have consciously considered". This may be less likely among my participants, who are members of a community that has strong opinions on issues of language, where questions such as this are regularly discussed among its members.

To reduce the impact of the above, I included a section preceding the questions. This included a detailed lay explanation of how to complete the questionnaire, to ensure participants understood the tasks and could answer questions accurately, thus mitigating some of the limitations of the indirect nature of online questionnaire (Kircher, 2022: 137) (see Section 3.2.1.4). For this same reason, the researcher's contact details were also included here. This introduction also explained that the questionnaire was fully anonymous (Kircher,

2022: 131), to increase response rates (Oppenheim, 2000). It also limited the impact of social acceptability bias - where participants feel a “desire to respond in a socially desirable or acceptable manner” (Baker, 1992, in Kircher, 2022: 131). After answering the questionnaire, participants were thanked and given the chance to leave feedback or any further comments, as well as the researcher’s contact details (Kircher, 2022: 138).

4.5.3 Variables

This study understands its linguistic variables in accordance with the following concise definition: a linguistic variable is “two or more ways of saying the same thing” (Labov 1972: 322). Linguistic variables are generally understood to be appropriate for study if they are in asymmetric distribution over speaker groups in a community, are integral units of larger structures, and occur in a high enough frequency in speech to measure (Tagliamonte, 2012). This project aims to investigate morphosyntactic variables in Manx, and all of the pairs of variables laid out below are functionally equivalent to the extent that this applies to morphosyntactic variables (see Tagliamonte, 2012 for further discussion on this point). This study takes an integrative approach with regards to variable frequency, exploring the interaction between the relative frequencies of forms and their social meanings, a relatively unexplored area with regards to morphosyntax (Moore, 2021: 55).

Therefore, all of the variables were selected as they have variants which represent functionally equivalent morphosyntactic structures in Manx. They also show varying degrees of grammatical complexity and influence of language contact. Therefore, choosing these variables enabled me to make generalisations about the beliefs of Manx New Speakers towards broader types of language use, such as translingual practices and grammatical simplification (Chapters 2 and 3), in order to address Research Question 2. In addition, the morphosyntactic variables analysed in the corpus of interview data (see Section 3.3) and those elicited in the questionnaire are the same. This is because Research Question 3 aims to explore links between Manx New Speakers’ use of morphosyntactic structures and their beliefs about different ways of speaking. The following sections explain each of the variables and why they were chosen.

4.3.3.1 Verbs - Past and Future

The first variable is the simple past. In Manx, there are two variants in common use to express this, here called the synthetic and analytic past (after McNulty, 2019; 2023a). In English, the simple past is always synthetic (e.g. ‘I went’), but Manx has an equivalent analytic construction using an auxiliary (something like ‘I did going’). The following paragraphs explain these forms.

In regular verb paradigms, the synthetic past is formed by applying initial consonant mutation to a root verb. Initial consonant mutation is a typological feature of all extant Celtic languages, and involves “the use of alterations to the initial phoneme of words” (Ball and Müller, 2009: 7). In Celtic languages, this process has become grammaticalized, such that these phonemic alterations can be used to express grammatical information. For regular verbs, a type of mutation called lenition (equivalent to Irish *séimhiú*) is applied to the root verb to tense it for past (Draskau, 2008). However, for the handful of irregular verbs in Manx, the relationship between the root and the simple past is less transparent, involving varying degrees of stem alternation or replacement. An example is given in Table 4.1 below, in which the synthetic past is indicated in the regular verb by applying lenition to the root *cloie* (‘playing’), changing the initial consonant from /k/ to /X/.

The analytic past works in the same way for both regular and irregular verbs. The grammaticalized auxiliary *ren* (‘did’) is used, followed by the main verb, as in Table 4.1 below. This construction forms part of the historical textual model for Manx, along with the synthetic, but became much more frequently used in the speech of 20th-century speakers as Manx underwent increased language endangerment (Broderick, 1984). By contrast, the synthetic form is older, bearing resemblance to verbal forms in Irish, with which Manx shares a common ancestor. It is also commonly seen in older ‘Classical’ Manx texts.

	Regular	Irregular
Synthetic	<i>chloie mee</i> play.past 1.sg (from root 'cloie')	<i>honnick mee</i> see.past 1.sg (from root 'fakin')
Analytic	<i>ren mee cloie</i> do.past 1.sg playing	<i>ren mee fakin</i> do.past 1.sg seeing
English	'I played'	'I saw'

Table 4.1 - Past Tense Verbs

The simple past was chosen as a variable for various reasons. Firstly, McNulty (2019; 2023a) indicates that there may be variation in the use of this form between speakers of different ages, and that speakers may perceive the synthetic form as 'better' or more appropriate in certain settings, which this thesis aims to explore. In addition, the use of this variable enabled me to test speakers' perceptions of grammatical complexity, with the synthetic being more complex than the analytic. Speakers' perceptions of the historical trajectory of these forms may also come into play, namely if they will put weight on one historical model more so than another. Therefore, the use of this variable enables testing of both variation (Research Question 1) and attitudes (Research Question 2).

The future tense in Manx follows a similar pattern to the past. There are two forms: one an older, synthetic construction, and another a newer, yet still well-established, analytic construction resulting from the grammaticalization of the auxiliary *nee*, used in a similar way to the English future auxiliary (i.e. 'will do').

For the synthetic, future tense²¹ formation is achieved through suffixation in the regular verb, and through a combination of suffixation and stem alternation for irregular verbs. Regular and irregular verbs behave similarly in the analytic, where the main verb follows the future auxiliary, which may be inflected for person²². Examples are shown in Table 4.2.

²¹ This study explored only perfective future forms, and excluded progressive forms formed with the auxiliary *bee* ('to be') (see McNulty, 2019 for discussion of variable expression of this aspectual distinction in Manx).

²² In the first person singular and plural: *nee'm* and *neemayd* respectively. In the rest of the paradigm *nee* is followed by a separate pronoun to indicate person.

	Regular	Irregular
Synthetic	<i>Credjym</i> believe.fut.1.sg (from root 'credjal')	<i>verrym</i> put.fut.1.sg (from root 'cur')
Analytic	<i>nee'm credjal</i> do.fut.1.sg believing	<i>nee'm cur</i> do.fut.1.sg putting
English	'I will believe'	'I will put'

Table 4.2 - Future Tense Verbs

McNulty (2019; 2023a) also showed that some Manx New Speakers were employing an innovative form²³ likely calqued on the English “going to + verb” future construction, producing utterances such as *ta mee goll dy gholl* - “I am going to go”. McNulty (2019) found that this was prevalent among young adult speakers who had been through Manx-immersion education, but was likely not felt to be a feature of good language use. The current study aims to further explore attitudes towards this form.

With regards to the grammatical complexity and historical trajectories of these forms, their analysis will prove interesting for similar reasons to the past. In addition, the inclusion of the future, and particularly the *goll dy* auxiliary, will enable me to explore to what extent translingual practices are used and valued by Manx New Speakers.

4.3.3.2 Modals

Another variable that this project explored was the use of deontic modal verb constructions ‘can’ and ‘must’ by Manx New Speakers, which are explained below.

Like the tensed verbs discussed above, there are two functionally equivalent ‘can’ constructions available to Manx New Speakers. The first is a more synthetic construction involving the modal auxiliary *fod-*, suffixed for person and number, then followed by the main verb. The second is a more analytic form that has its origins in a historic syntactic calque on the English construction ‘to be able to + verb’, using the *abyl dy* modal auxiliary followed by the main verb. These are exemplified in Table 4.3 below.

²³ This form is very marginally attested in older Manx texts, however McNulty (2023a) finds that it is more likely that the current use of this form among Manx New Speakers is likely the result of linguistic innovation.

Synthetic	<i>foddym goll</i> can. 1.sg going
Analytic	<i>ta mee abyl dy gholl</i> be.pres 1.sg able to going
English	'I can go'

Table 4.3 - 'Can' Modals

In addition, there are two functionally equivalent 'must' constructions that this thesis explores. The first is a more synthetic construction involving the modal *shegin* followed by the preposition *da* (dative 'to') conjugated for person and number. The second is the more analytic idiomatic construction *t'eh er* ('to be upon' - i.e. 'to be upon one' = 'one has to') conjugated for person and number. These are illustrated in Table 4.4 below.

Synthetic	<i>shegin dou goll</i> must to.1.sg going
Analytic	<i>t'eh orrym goll</i> be.pres.IT on.1.sg going
English	'I must go'

Table 4.4 - 'Must' Modals

Like the verbal constructions, the difference in grammatical complexity of these forms enabled me to compare the role that complexity plays both in patterns of variation (Research Question 1), and in how these forms are evaluated by speakers (Research Question 2). In addition, the inclusion of the *abyl dy* form meant for another variable to test the use and perceptions of various translingual practices. Although it originated as a calque, this form has been well attested as far back as the aforementioned Classical Manx texts. Therefore, the inclusion of this form enabled me to test how the use and perceptions of translingual practices among Manx New Speakers interacted with beliefs about the relative importance of historical models.

4.3.3.3 Nominal Genitives

This study also examined the different constructions that Manx speakers use to express genitive case. As Lewin (2016; 2021) notes, there are varying ways of expressing the genitive in Manx. However, this study focusses on nominal

genitives where the noun phrase that is being modified for genitive contains a definite article (e.g. ‘the end of the day’, ‘the dog’s dinner’). Table 4.5 shows the two functionally equivalent constructions available to Manx New Speakers.

Case Marking (Lenition)	<i>famman y chayt</i> ²⁴ tail def.art cat.gen “The cat’s tail”
‘The X of the Y’	<i>yn jerrey jeh’n raad</i> def.art end of.def.art road “The end of the road”

Table 4.5 - Nominal Genitives

The first construction is more grammatically complex, and involves case-marking by means of initial consonant lenition (see Section 3.3.1). The construction makes use of the preposition *jeh* (‘of’) between the two nouns, is more structurally similar to an equivalent construction in English. Therefore, this variable provides yet another means to test the importance of both grammatical complexity and translingual practices on both attitudes towards morphosyntactic constructions in Manx and their use during interviews, as the following section discusses.

4.3.4 Designing the Sociolinguistic Interviews

In social research, interviews involve “the elicitation of information from a participant by a researcher in a speech event that resembles a one-to-one conversation”, and are “among the most widely-used methods of data elicitation in the social sciences” (Karatsareas, 2022: 99). They are a feature of both qualitative and quantitative linguistic research, depending on the way in which they are conducted. This section discusses how this study’s interviews were designed and the justification behind this.

In variationist sociolinguistics, interviews were pioneered by Labov (e.g. 1972b). Labovian sociolinguistic interviews aim “to collect multiple and varied occurrences of a linguistic variable in a range of speech styles” (Karatsareas, 2022: 99). These variables are then “analysed quantitatively to identify patterns

²⁴ Marginally, and somewhat archaically, a genitive case suffix may be employed on some nouns in addition to or instead of initial consonant lenition, e.g. in the fossilized phrase *çhengey ny mayrey* - ‘mother tongue’ (‘tongue of the mother’ - genitive form from nominative *moir* - ‘mother’).

of distribution across different groups of speakers in terms of broad social factors” (Karatsareas, 2022: 99). In this paradigm, the forms produced by the participant are of primary interest.

However, within research into language attitudes and ideologies, interviews have also been used to “elicit information in a direct way about what people believe, think, and feel about language - and why” (Karatsareas, 2022: 99). In these kinds of interviews, the content of the interview is the object of study. As the current study is interested in both form (see Research Question 1) and content (see Research Question 2), the data produced in the sociolinguistic interview was analysed with respect to both, in accordance with its triangulation approach (see Sections 2 and 3 for further discussion).

4.3.4.1 Semi-Structured Approach

Interviews vary along a spectrum of structuredness. Structured interviews typically ask questions of participants in a set order, and involve mostly yes/no or multiple choice questions, to which participants are encouraged to give brief answers, whereas unstructured interviews typically do not ask questions in a set order, and contain open-ended questions which participants may answer more freely (Karatsareas, 2022: 100). The former produces a generalisable data set that can be directly compared across participants, whereas the latter produces a rich description of the participants’ own experiences.

The current study used semi-structured interviews, which lie somewhere between the two. A semi-structured interview schedule may not have a pre-set order, but ensures that all topics of interest are covered, and the interviewer may redirect the participant should they veer out of the area of interest. Their aim is to elicit participants’ personal perspectives in a more controlled and comparable way than unstructured interviews, therefore they use open-ended questions, or follow up yes/no questions with requests for elaboration (Karatsareas, 2022: 100).

This approach has benefits. Handing over more control over the direction of the conversation to the participants than allowed by a structured interview somewhat the inherent power imbalance that comes with research interactions (Hesse-Biber, 2012), and enable discussion of topics that were felt to be most

important to community members. This is particularly important when working with linguistically minoritized groups (Edley and Litosseliti, 2012, in Karatsareas, 2022: 101). However, maintaining some structure during interviews ensured I could explore participants' shared experiences and variation around several central themes connected to the Research Questions (Karatsareas, 2022: 101), as the following section details.

4.3.4.2 Designing Interview Questions

Generally, in keeping with the semi-structured approach to the interviews outlined in Section 3.4.1, there was no set order to the interview questions. Their exact wording and how many questions were asked also varied per interview. However, the one exception concerned the start of the interviews. For the first couple of questions, I decided to ask each participant how they became involved with Manx, and how they used it in their daily lives. This is because the Labovian interview approach (e.g. Labov, 1972b) recommends using topics of personal, community, and universal interest to make participants feel comfortable and encourage the production of more naturalistic speech. Therefore, I used the Labovian approach because I aimed to create a corpus of spoken data that approximated natural speech (or as close as can be obtained through research) to address Research Question 1.

In addition, beginning the interview with questions of personal and community interests facilitated the production of personal anecdotes. Blommaert and Dong (2010) find that anecdotes are some of the best sources for eliciting data on participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences. Eliciting these thoughts and feelings were key to addressing Research Question 2, which aimed to explore language attitudes and ideologies in the Manx New Speaker community.

Again, as the interviews were semi-structured, I followed no set list of questions. However, I did develop a list of topics that I would like to cover with participants. A list of example prompts is given in Appendix 4, and summarized here. For example, I asked participants about kinds of language they thought sounded 'good', whether different people in the community spoke Manx differently, and whether they thought Manx was an important part of life on the Isle of Man. Most of the interview topics were designed to be relevant to

Research Question 2, eliciting thoughts and feelings about the Manx language through the lens of participants' own experiences.

4.3.4.3 Why Interviews?

Interviews have considerable strengths in sociolinguistic research. As discussed in Section 3.4.2, Labovian interviews aim to create an environment where the production of linguistic forms can be observed in as naturalistic a setting as possible, Observer's Paradox allowing (Labov, 1972b). However, participants who use non-standard or stigmatized forms may make deliberate efforts to suppress such forms in interviews (Karatsareas, 2022: 102). Despite this, some research claims to "challenge the notion that interviews are artificial speech events" (Koven, 2011: 75), suggesting that participants recount events in similar ways both within and outwith interviews. It is unclear to what extent this applies to linguistic forms produced. This study's use of a mixed-methods approach (Section 3.1) helped to mitigate some of these drawbacks of the interview method by providing alternative angles from which to explore the Research Questions.

Within language attitudes and ideologies research specifically, interviews are useful in that they enable access to participants' own perceptions of their affect and cognition (Karatsareas, 2022: 101). Participants can discuss these thoughts and feelings in their own words (Karatsareas, 2022: 101), albeit filtered through the researcher's analytical perspective. In addition, the flexibility of interviews means that they can corroborate previously gathered data, but they may also "bring to light entirely new information, new topics, or new dimensions to established knowledge" (Karatsareas, 2022: 101). They also enable the relatively quick generation of a rich dataset (Karatsareas, 2022: 101).

However, interviews only enable the researcher to access participants' accounts of their thoughts and behaviour, rather than their real-life conation (Hilgard 1980, in Karatsareas, 2022: 101). In addition, interviews may be obtrusive and artificial, asking participants to report on their own behaviour (Garrett et al., 2003: 24). Interviews may also be impacted by the prior relationship and power imbalances between, as well as respective positionalities of, both researcher and participant (Karatsareas, 2022: 102). Additionally, due to the face-to-face

nature of the interview, participants may tailor their responses due to social desirability bias or acquiescence bias, and thus their responses may not reflect their true opinions (see Karatsareas, 2022: 102 for further discussion). Language beliefs specifically “tend to be difficult to verbalize”, as speakers rarely “reflect on these issues in an explicit manner unless awareness of language is heightened” (Codó, 2008: 162), as it is within the context of the interview. To mitigate this, I asked general, open questions about language use (see Appendix 4), and complemented my interview data with data from participant observation, as detailed in the following section.

4.3.5 Designing the Participant Observation

Participant observation is a research method whereby the researcher takes part in “the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning both the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and culture” (Musante, 2015: 238). Participant observation has a long history in anthropology (early studies include Mead, 1928; Evans-Pritchard, 1940), and is one of the foundational methods of ethnographic research (Schensul and LeCompte, 2013; in Musante, 2015: 238). Observation allows researchers to incorporate many kinds of data, gathered from naturalistic social interactions within the community of interest, directly into their analysis (Musante, 2015: 239). Participant observation has also been used extensively in linguistic anthropology (Blommaert and Dong, 2010; Heller, 2006).

The following paragraphs detail how observation was conducted in this study, and why this method was chosen.

4.3.5.1 Contexts

Participant observation begins as an observation of “everything” in the research context, before narrowing down to more specific targets (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 29). To identify these targets, I conducted a preliminary trip to the Isle of Man in the summer of 2021. This preliminary observation involved taking notes on the use of Manx at cultural events and at local heritage sites. As a result of these initial notes, I decided I wanted to undertake participant observation across several contexts to gain a broader impression of how New Speakers used, thought about, and felt about Manx, and how this was reflected in their

behaviour. Eventually, considering this aim, I decided on a multi-sited ethnography (Heller, 2006), observing a Manx language class, regular meet-ups organised for the purpose of speaking Manx, and how Manx was used in the Island's linguistic ecology²⁵.

After this preliminary trip, I communicated with gatekeepers at *Culture Vannin*²⁶ who facilitated my attendance at a weekly adult Manx language class beginning in the autumn. I took notes on the behaviour of both the teacher and the 'intermediate-level' pupils²⁷. The classes were held through a mixture of in-person and Zoom meetings. The in-person sessions were held in a room at a local heritage organization.

When identifying the 'more spontaneous' observation sites, I used the same participant recruitment methods as for interviews, as detailed in Section 3.4. I was contacted by two community members, who invited me to participate in their informal Manx-speaking meet-ups. The first was a conversation group, which consisted of a group of adults who would meet each week to speak Manx, with no teacher present. These meetings were held either on Zoom or in a local café. The second was a casual weekly gathering of speakers who would partake in craft activities while speaking Manx, held at one of the members' homes.

4.3.5.2 Why Observation?

Participant observation has benefits as a research method. It makes for higher quality data collection and analysis compared to using interviews alone, as it is perhaps the only method that allows for the collection of tacit and explicit aspects of culture at once (Zahle 2012, in Musante, 2015: 239). Participant observation encourages experiencing the worldviews of participants within the research context, and thus facilitates the critical examination of assumptions and beliefs that the researcher is bringing to the interaction (Clifford, 1997: 91, in Musante, 2015). In addition, observation heavily grounded in particular

²⁵ As discussed in Chapter 3, it is not common to encounter Manx in everyday life outside of such events, so speakers organise meet-ups in order to use the language.

²⁶ A charity dedicated to supporting Manx language and culture.

²⁷ This designation was made by *Culture Vannin*.

fieldwork contexts aids the development and refinement of research questions (Musante, 2015).

For sociolinguistics specifically, observation enables the researcher to directly observe a wide range of linguistic behaviour embedded within specific spatial and temporal contexts in a way that other data collection methods do not (Guest et al., 2013: 80-81). Observation is typically accompanied by data collected from other methods, to be mutually informative (Musante, 2015) (see Section 4.3 for observation protocol).

This was the case in the current study, where participant observation provided another angle to complement the data collected through interviews. It also gave a more representative impression of the structural variation within the Manx-speaking community across multiple contexts, as per Research Question 1. This method also facilitated the exploration of Manx New Speaker's expressions of linguistic beliefs across varied settings, which was necessary to fully explore Research Question 2. This included how Manx New Speakers reacted to, accommodated, and endorsed their own and others' speech, and particularly their use of morphosyntax, in real-life settings of language use, which was essential for exploring Research Question 3.

4.3.6 Research Ethics and Risk Assessment

Once the study and its materials had been designed, I sought and was granted ethical approval from the University of Glasgow's College of Arts Research Ethics Committee prior to embarking on fieldwork. A selected record of the documentation submitted to this committee is given in Appendix 1. As the study did not involve vulnerable participants or sensitive personal data, the relative risk to participants and researcher was low.

Nevertheless, research ethics are of paramount importance in assuring the wellbeing of all involved in the research process, especially for qualitative data collection due to the, at times, more personal nature of the interaction between researcher and researched (Liamputtong et al., 2020: 107). Israel and Hay (2006: 2) note that researchers within the social sciences have an obligation to "minimise doing long-term systematic harm to individuals, communities and environments" with respect to the "principle of non-maleficence" (Padgett,

2017; in Liamputtong et al. 2020). This means that participants should know what the research involves and what is required of them prior to any research interaction, as well as be explicitly given the right to refuse or withdraw participation (Liamputtong et al., 2020: 111).

Therefore, written informed consent was obtained from all interview participants in this study prior to data collection (Emanuel et al., 2000: 2703, in Liamputtong et al., 2020: 111; Israel and Hay, 2006: 62-64). This involved participants reading and signing a Plain Language Participant Information Sheet written in a way that was accessible to non-researchers, which detailed what the research was about, what would be required of them, and how they could ask questions or withdraw participation. All participants also signed a paper Consent Form (see Appendix 2).

As the research involved analysing data on linguistic structures, it was necessary not to reveal to participants the exact linguistic variables of interest, as this would influence their production of said variables and increase the impact of Observer's Paradox on the data (Labov, 1972b). However, participants were informed that I was interested in how they speak Manx and the type of language that they use, and the exact variables sought were revealed upon completion of the data collection at the request of the participant. All participants were fully aware of the topics of sociolinguistic interest sought.

All data in this study has been fully anonymised (see Appendix 1 for details of process). This data collection took place in a small linguistic community, and therefore carried an increased risk of identification (Liamputtong et al., 2020: 97). Therefore, extra care was taken with anonymisation so that members of this small linguistic community would not identify each other in any outputs from this research. For example, any data or proper names that could potentially be used to identify the participant was redacted from interview transcripts. Participants are referred to throughout this thesis by pseudonyms. However, despite these efforts, the risk can never be reduced to zero.

The following section details how the fieldwork was carried out.

4.4 Conducting the Fieldwork

4.4.1 Distributing the Questionnaire

After finalising the questionnaire's design (Section 3.2), and obtaining ethical approval (Section 3.6), I began distributing the questionnaire at the start of the fieldwork period in October 2021. Before distribution, I ensured the questionnaire functioned correctly by testing it on non-participants (Kircher, 2022: 140). I gathered participants for the questionnaire in two main ways. Upon completion of all interviews, I asked participants if they would also be happy to fill in the questionnaire, whereupon I sent them a link via email if they agreed. I also shared the link on social media (Kircher, 2022: 140), namely in relevant Facebook groups and X (then Twitter) hashtags where Manx is used online. After the closure of the questionnaire, in April 2022, I was able to download PDFs of individual responses to the questionnaire, which were then used for data analysis (see Section 5).

I was successful in recruiting 20 participants who completed the questionnaire in full. This is a small number, but forms a relatively large proportion of the Manx-speaking community with sufficient competence to be able to answer the questionnaire's questions. I sought participants who spoke Manx to a level that was meaningful for their community, and who were mostly, but not exclusively, based in the Isle of Man. I sought participants who had knowledge of and exposure to a wide range of morphosyntactic constructions in Manx, such that they were able to give them attitudinal ratings. This would be most applicable to speakers who used the language regularly in a range of contexts, and who had reached at least conversational competence in Manx, to prevent high numbers of 'Don't Know/Not Sure' answers. Interview participants thus made the ideal questionnaire participants, hence my recruitment from this pool. Social media was used to recruit further participants who fit these criteria but who had not been interviewed. Recruiting participants who had a similar competence to my interview participants would also enable comparison between data on language use and attitudes, part of the goal of Research Question 3.

I also sought adult participants for the same reasons as for the interviews, for the reasons given in Section 4.3.2. Of the 20 participants, 8 were women, and 12

men. Participants were of varying age groups - 3 younger, 11 middle, and 6 older (see Appendix 5). No participant ages will not be revealed in this thesis for reasons of anonymity.

4.4.2 Conducting the Interviews

This section details how the sociolinguistic interviews were conducted. This includes participant recruitment, contexts in which the interviews were conducted, and procedure followed.

4.4.2.1 Participants

Once the interview schedule and proposed questions had obtained ethical approval, I began to recruit participants. I collected interview data from 22 Manx New Speakers aged 18+ - as many as I was able to organise during the fieldwork period. The participants varied in terms of their age groups²⁸, genders, occupations, linguistic backgrounds, and nationalities²⁹. This variation within the cohort of interview participants is summarized in Appendix 5³⁰. All participants possessed a level of competence in Manx sufficient for them to be able to undertake the interview task.

4.4.3.2.1 Participant Recruitment

After identifying this desired profile of interview participants, I recruited them in two main ways, online and in-person. Prior to arriving on the Island, I created social media posts on Twitter [now X] and Facebook, explaining the project and the participants sought. I invited people to share the post or to contact me via email if they would be interested in receiving more information or arranging an interview. In addition, I contacted gatekeepers at *Culture Vannin*, who shared a version of this post in their newsletter. I wrote the post in Manx in order to attract participants with the desired competence in Manx, as detailed in Section

²⁸ The exact ages of individual participants will not be revealed due to anonymization concerns, as discussed in section 3.6.

²⁹ These nationalities mostly consisted of either Manx or British, as is reflective of broader trends in the population of the Isle of Man as discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁰ Where such characteristics are relevant for understanding a participant's experiences, they will be further discussed during the analysis of the data in chapters, 6, 7, and 8.

4.2.1. I also spoke about the research and reiterated the call for participants on a local radio station.

Thanks to gatekeepers at *Culture Vannin*, I was also able to recruit participants at Manx-language event in early November 2021. This event brought together several local artisans and small businesses, as well as representatives of Manx-language organisations in a local town hall. I held a stall at this event, which explained the research project to potential participants and community members.

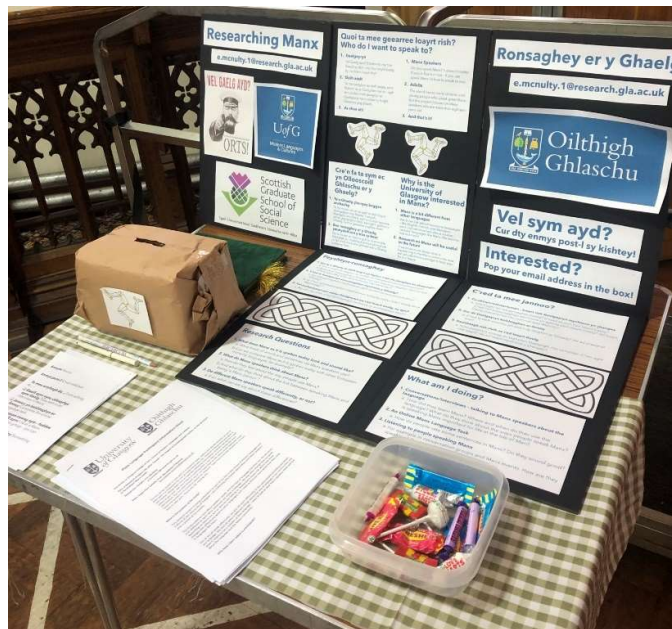


Image: Stall set up for participant recruitment at the aforementioned community event. The image shows the bilingual information panels, the participant information sheet, and sign-up sheet. Image credit: Erin McNulty.

Potential participants were offered to take a Plain Language Participant Information Sheet and contact me later over email to arrange an interview, or to fill in a sign-up sheet, leaving their contact details in an opaque box to maintain anonymity. I then contacted members of the latter group via email or phone call. This event proved very successful, both for community outreach and for gathering participants. I was able to explain my research in person to participants who were unsure, and to answer questions as they arose.

I wrote explanatory text in both Manx and English. The event was made up of Manx speakers of varying competences, as well as non-Manx-speaking attendees, and I wanted to be able to explain my research to any community member who was interested. In addition, although the explanation used appropriately non-

technical language, it was still possible that attendees would not be familiar with some of the language used in Manx. This is because many research terms, such as ‘interview’³¹, that might be taken for granted in English, do not exist in Manx. As this is the first time sociolinguistic research has been conducted through Manx, I had to coin new terms or adapt existing ones. Therefore, the English panels aided comprehension even for advanced Manx speakers.

4.4.3.2.2 *Why Adults?*

With regards to the ages of participants recruited, adult speakers were chosen for multiple reasons, considering both the theoretical underpinnings of the study and the practical limitations thereof. In this section, the former will be discussed first, followed by the latter.

From a theoretical perspective, adult Manx New Speakers were more likely to have the kind of stable, advanced sociolinguistic meta-knowledge and beliefs that would be necessary to explore Research Question 2 and 3. For example, they were likely to have more opinions and knowledge on subjects such as national identity, language ideology, and linguistic minoritization, which were key components of these research questions. They also represent a group with greater agency with regards to their acquisition and use of Manx, as their commitment to learn and/or continue to use the language was entirely their own (see Hornsby, 2015). This agency would reflect in Manx’s role in their personal identity, which Research Questions 2 and 3 explore. In addition, most of the existing research within the New Speaker framework, within which this thesis places itself, as discussed in Chapter 2, has been conducted on adults.

Additionally, one of the areas of focus of this study was variation in the use of morphosyntactic features by Manx New Speakers (see Research Question 1). As discussed in McNulty (2019), adult Manx Speakers were judged to be the cohort with the most meaningful degree of intra-communal structural variation. This is due to the fact that, in my experience, adult speakers of Manx are more likely to use the language in more domains with a wider variety of speaker profiles, as opposed to children, whose use of the language is often restricted to the school

³¹ For example, I translated this term as *co-loayrtys*, meaning ‘conversation’, to better reflect the quasi-spontaneous nature of the semi-structured interview, and to differentiate it from things like job interviews.

environment, possibly also with home usage in some cases (see Smith-Christmas, 2019; Nance, 2015 for similar trends in the use of Scottish Gaelic by child speakers). Children in minoritized language-medium education may develop linguistic norms that are unique to that particular school environment, and which do not reflect the rates or types of variation present in the wider linguistic community (see Nance, 2015; Jones, 1998b; Henry and Tangney, 1996). This was commented on by some of my participants, through the use of terms such as “Bunscoil Manx” to describe a specific ‘school variety’ of the language. Though this is interesting in its own right, one of the goals of this research was to explore language use in the Manx community across a wider variety of sociolinguistic environments and contexts.

With regards to practical concerns in participant recruitment, adult speakers were more likely to understand the research process and less likely to become fatigued during data collection. In addition, the research questions and design, including that of the interviews, necessitated that participants had a certain level of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and metalinguistic competence in Manx. For example, participants had to be able to converse in Manx for a significant period of time about relatively complex topics and reflect about their own language use. Based on my experience of Manx-speaking children, it would be much rarer to find younger participants who would be comfortable doing this without switching to English. While collecting such data from Manx-speaking children would have been enlightening, it would have required a different research design and additional expertise in child interviews and data collection. In addition, gathering data from adults avoided the potential ethical risks associated with collecting data from children. Thus, the recruitment of participants less than 18 years of age fell outwith the practical purview of the current study.

4.4.2.2 Contexts

In outlining the interview process, I will first detail the contexts in which the interviews took place, and why.

The setting of the interview is important when conducting research in a context of linguistic minoritization. Members of a linguistically minoritized group may have trouble speaking about their experiences “in a physical setting that is

emblematic of linguistic inequality” (Karatsareas, 2022: 102). Therefore, care was taken to ensure that this was not the case. Most of the interviews took place in a mutually agreed public setting for safety reasons (see Risk Assessment in Appendix 1 for further details). Two of the interviews took place in the homes of participants, as was their preference due to the ongoing pandemic. In all cases, social distancing was observed, and a handful of the interviews were held outside at the participant’s request. Typically, however, the interview setting was a cultural hub, such as a museum, or a café that was an established meeting place for informal Manx-medium events and language lessons. I suggested such places as they were familiar to participants, and moreover, were places that participants would be used to speaking in and about Manx, and where speaking the language would be more normalized and accepted in the wider context of the Isle of Man. I hoped that this would make participants more comfortable and facilitate the conversation and the building of rapport.

In this study, I conducted one-on-one interviews with each participant. This had the benefit of resembling spontaneous conversation, producing more naturalistic speech data, as is sought after in Labovian interview approaches (e.g. Labov, 1972b). Small group interviews might have had certain advantages in this study. They reduce the power imbalance inherent in a research interview, and thus reduce the impact of this on the data (Schilling, 2014). However, they proved difficult to arrange with participants due to limitations of timing and COVID-19 regulations. Therefore, other methods were chosen to address this power imbalance, as discussed in Section 4.2.3.

As discussed in Section 5.2.3, the choice of language used by the researcher is an important consideration when conducting fieldwork in minoritized language settings, which often come with linguistic power imbalances. Therefore, I conducted the interviews through the medium of Manx as far as possible, except for occasional code-switching and specialist vocabulary. The reasons for this choice are as follows.

For practical purposes, as discussed in Section 3.4, I was aiming to elicit spoken linguistic data from Manx New Speakers to examine structural variation therein, as per Research Question 1. Therefore, it was necessary to create a corpus of spoken conversational data in Manx. With the exception of the small corpus produced by McNulty (2019), this does not exist. Therefore, conducting

interviews in Manx enabled me to create a dataset by which to examine variation.

Secondly, the decision to hold the entire interview through the medium of Manx was influenced by my previous experience gathering data among this community. In previous fieldwork (i.e. for data presented in McNulty, 2019; 2023a), I used linguistic interviews to gather structural linguistic data from Manx New Speakers. In these interviews, the interview prompts were designed to directly elicit specific linguistic structures. Therefore, I spoke in English so as not to influence participants' production of the linguistic variables. However, during and after these interviews, participants expressed that it was sometimes awkward and difficult to converse in Manx when I was speaking in English. Therefore, the decision was made that in the current study both the participant and myself would speak in Manx.

Thirdly, holding interviews in Manx also helped to address the power imbalance between researcher and participant in a context of linguistic minoritization. Linguistic minorities may be "reluctant to talk about their experiences of linguistic discrimination to an interviewer who belongs to the dominant linguistic group" (Karatsareas, 2022: 102). Therefore, speaking Manx, and forefronting my identity as a Manx speaker, was an important way to quickly build trust and rapport with participants, as conducting research using the language of the linguistic community of interest may make participants more likely to view the interview as a more naturalistic interaction (Koven, 2011: 76), leading to better quality data.

4.4.2.3 Interview Protocol

Once a participant had been recruited, I contacted them to arrange a time and place to meet that would be mutually convenient (see Section 5.4.2.2). When possible, I would arrive at this location 10-15 minutes before the start of the interview to make notes about the spatial and temporal context in my field journal (Blommaert and Dong, 2010). Prior to beginning each interview, participants were given a Participant Information Sheet and were required to sign a Consent Form (detailed in Section 3.6). However, I also verbally ensured that participants were aware that the interview would be recorded, and that the

anonymized transcript would be used in the research project. The interviews generally lasted for around 45 minutes to over an hour, to prevent participant and interviewer exhaustion.

During the interviews, I was conscious of the potential power imbalance of my role as researcher attempting “to access subjugated knowledge”, in this case that of a linguistically minoritized group (Hesse-Biber, 2012: 28). I therefore used a feminist approach to interviewing, which “places the researcher and the researched in a dialectal relationship throughout the process” (Hesse-Biber, 2012: 29). In practical terms, this involved allowing for compassion, empathy, and emotionality, including shared laughter at amusing anecdotes, making my own positionality clear (where appropriate), and allowing participants to also ask me questions. This had the impact of producing a very rich dataset and quickly building rapport with participants.

I decided against taking notes during the interviews themselves, as this would have prevented me from being fully present in the conversation and from following up on potential topics of interest brought up by the participant (Blommaert and Dong, 2010). Nevertheless, after each interview, I remained in the interview location (again, where possible) and wrote up two pages of notes in my field journal to capture initial impressions of the encounter and points of interest relevant to the research questions (Blommaert and Dong, 2010). I then transferred the data file from the recording device to my computer as soon as possible and prepared the file for transcription (see Section 5.1).

4.4.3 Conducting the Observation

Taking fieldnotes is central to the practice of participant observation (Musante, 2015: 239). Therefore, I took notes throughout each observation session, detailing things that participants had said or done that felt unfamiliar or indicative of an avenue for further exploration. Considering Research Questions 2 and 3, these notes often centred around speakers’ direct expressions of thoughts or feelings towards Manx, language and identity, or different ways of speaking. However, I also noted instances of behaviour that indirectly indicated the above, such as participants agentively self-correcting their speech, or their use of cultural indicators as ‘badges’ of identity (McCooey-Heap, 2020). I was

able to revisit these notes consistently throughout the fieldwork period and data analysis (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 39).

Fieldnotes serve as the principal record of what the researcher experienced, but also how it was experienced - what was the context, and what did it make the researcher think and feel (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 37-8). They serve to explore 'rich points' in the data, experiences that feel unfamiliar, and thus indicate that the researcher has "bumped into the boundary of what is readily understandable" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 41). These are the points at which new knowledge is created. These 'rich points' typically become fewer and further between as understanding of the research context increases (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 41).

Making audio recordings is also generally part of participant observation, to serve as an "archive" of the researcher's experiences (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 31). However, I decided against making recordings of observation sessions for ethical reasons, namely to preserve participants' anonymity in this small community (see Section 3.6). During interviews, it was easier to control interactions and ensure participants would not be identified in resultant transcripts.

4.4.4 Supplementary Linguistic Ecology Data

I also collected other types of data, namely photographs and ephemera, to explore the place of Manx in the linguistic ecology of the Isle of Man (see Chapter 3). Blommaert and Dong (2010: 59) encourage the collection of ephemera "that looks to be of interest" throughout fieldwork, to accompany field notes and recordings.

I collected items such as leaflets, newspaper clippings, and paper adverts that had Manx on them, or referenced Manx in some way, which I catalogued in my field journal. I also took photographs of Manx in the linguistic landscape, mostly on signs, buildings, or at events. I digitally catalogued these photographs. Throughout, I noted in my field journal what these data might reveal with regards to community ideologies about Manx (as per Research Question 2) (Blommaert and Dong, 2010: 58-9).

I chose to collect this data as it became apparent that Manx's role in the linguistic ecology was important to speakers, as it was brought up frequently during interviews and observation sessions. The linguistic landscape became a key site by which participants expressed language beliefs, a key component of Research Question 2. Therefore, this became in and of itself an attitudinal object, the documentation of which was integral to understanding the language ideologies present in the Manx New Speaker community.

4.5 Data Analysis

4.5.1 Transcription of Interview Data

Prior to further analysis, I transcribed recorded interview data (see Section 4.2) in the programme EasyTranscript to create a corpus of text for both qualitative and quantitative analysis (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4 respectively). This section details the transcription conventions used in this study.

The researcher must make several decisions on how they will represent the speech of their participants in a written transcript, as there is “no such thing as a natural mechanism for the representation of speech” (Atkinson, 1992: 23, in Roberts, 2012: 168). With regards to spelling conventions used, I opted for a naturalised style, meaning that the transcription “conforms to written discourse conventions” (Bucholtz et al., 2000: 1439). Manx spelling does not have an official standard form, however there is a broad agreed spelling norm that is shared across the speaker community with minimal variation, and this was form used during the transcription. Where participants code-switched into English, standard British English spelling was used. Both of these decisions were intended to make it easier for future Manx-speaking researchers to access this corpus, as well as to facilitate the representation of morphosyntactic variation (see below).

I also chose to transcribe orthographically, for multiple reasons. Firstly, Research Question 1 specifies that this study deals with morphosyntactic variation, therefore it was mostly unnecessary to transcribe phonetic features produced by participants. The transcription process followed the approach of Preston (1982: 323), assuming that “morphological accuracy is the appropriate level [of representation] and that phonetic precision should be sought only when that level is pertinent”. Therefore, the only times when phonetic details were

noted was in the case of phonemic alterations that could result in changes in meaning on the level of morphosyntax. An example is illustrated in the following excerpt from my interview with Peddyr³² below:

Peddyr: um (4) ta mee gearree gynsagh mychione y Ghaelg (.) myr v'ee- (.) uh
y Ghaelg va loayrit ec (.) loayreydeyrn (.) dooghyssagh tra v'ee foast lajer
#00:43:39-9#

Erin: mm hmm #00:43:39-9#

Peddyr: as (.) um (1) *chengey yn cho-pobble* #00:43:46-3#

Erin: mm hmm #00:43:46-3#

Peddyr: ayns Mannin #00:43:47-6#

Erin: yeah #00:43:48-6#

In the highlighted portion of text, Peddyr produces a noun in the genitive case: the phrase *chengey yn cho-pobble* translates to ‘the language of the community’. As discussed in Section 3.3, the genitive in Manx can be indicated through initial consonant lenition. In this case, Peddyr produces the genitive *cho-pobble*, beginning with the phoneme /X/, rather than the nominative *co-pobble*, starting with /k/, to indicate he is saying ‘of the community’ rather than ‘the community’. In this example, accepted spelling conventions in Manx, as discussed above, are sufficient to capture whether mutation has been produced or not, by the addition of an ‘h’ after the initial ‘c’ to indicate the phoneme /X/, rather than /k/, was produced. The lenited genitive form was one of the variables of interest in this study (Section 3.3.3), therefore in cases like this I marked lenition in the accepted way. Consonant mutation was not marked when it was neither morphophonemically significant nor necessitated by Manx spelling conventions.

As can be seen from the above example, the transcriptions were broken down by turn-taking between myself and the participant, with time signatures included to indicate overlapping and interruptions. In addition, pauses were noted, either in the form of (.) for those less than a second, or (n) for those of one second or more. These pauses gave some indication of the participants’ thoughts and feelings, indicating hesitation or thoughtfulness, which proved important for

³² Pseudonyms are used for participants hereafter.

qualitative analysis (Section 5.5.4). When excerpts were presented for analysis in the thesis, these pauses were replaced with standard British English punctuation conventions³³, including commas for short pauses, ellipsis for longer ones, and full stops for the end of a sentence.

In this vein, tone and other extralinguistic factors relevant for understanding the meaning or context of a comment were indicated in the following manner:

Ivy: so foddee er yn oyr shen (.) ta mee maynrey dy cummal aynshoh yeah
#00:04:31-9#

Erin: feer vie (.) yeah no ta mee toiggal shen #00:04:37-2#

Ivy: hmm #00:04:37-2#

Erin: va mish cummal ayns Oxford son bleeantyn as v'eh jus- yeah ta- (.) v'eh jus dhoo lesh sleih ooilley'n traa as yeah (.) ro tarroogh er-my-hon {LG}
#00:04:44-6#

Ivy: as [unint.] as ta'n- ta'n- ta'n um (1) [unint.] aalin you know #00:04:51-9#

Erin: son shickyrys yeah #00:04:51-9#

Ivy: agh [seagull noises] uh cha nel eh (.) reayrt myr shen {LG} [we are sitting by the beach] #00:04:57-1#

In this extract from my interview with Ivy relevant contextual information that is necessary for understanding meaning in the text is noted in square brackets. Her laughter at the aggressive seagulls is noted by the {LG} symbol. The code [unint.] marks where her words were unintelligible on the recording. Noting participants' feelings through non-linguistic interactions, as well as contextual data, helped to contextualise interview interactions for a higher quality analysis.

In addition to practical concerns, transcription of spoken data is not a politically, ideologically, or epistemologically neutral task (Roberts, 2012: 167; Bucholtz et al., 2000: 1440). The researcher must balance the tension between accuracy, readability, and the politics of representation (Roberts, 2012: 168) to “produce a transcription that is accurate and readable, and also reflexive in how they make explicit to the reader the constructive nature of written talk and therefore the problematic nature of accuracy and readability” (Roberts, 2012, 168). To achieve this balance, I re-read every transcription after transcribing,

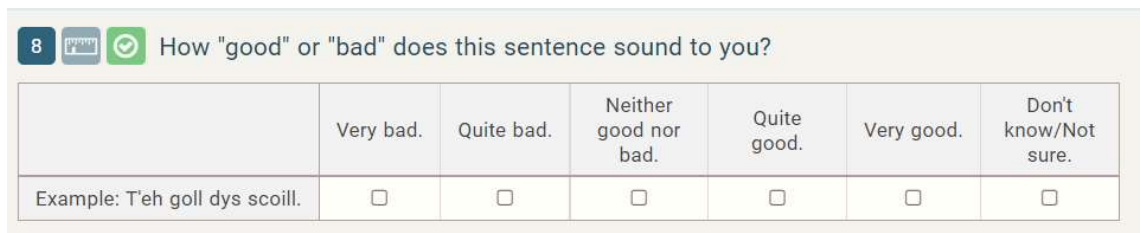
³³ These conventions are also used when writing Manx.

with the goal of being as conscious as possible of the impact of my own positionality and interpretive choices on the text (Bucholtz et al., 2000: 1441; 1446). When presenting transcription excerpts for analysis in the thesis, attention was paid to my own point of view and reflexive interpretive process (Bucholtz et al., 2000: 1461), as will be discussed in Section 5.4.

4.5.2 Quantitative Analysis of Questionnaire Data

As a part of data collection, Manx-speaking participants were asked to anonymously complete an online language questionnaire, where they rated various simple Manx sentences containing variables of interest along a Likert Scale. This questionnaire was designed to elicit attitudinal judgements to the variables in question (see Section 3.2 for further discussion). This section details the descriptive statistical methods used to analyse this data.

In each section of the task, the Likert Scale ratings (see Section 3.2.1.3 for discussion) each participant gave each sentence were converted into a numerical score from 1 to 5, with one reflecting the lowest end of the Likert Scale, and 5 reflecting the highest. “Don’t Know/Not sure” and blank answers were given a score of 0. In the example question in the screenshot below, a rating of ‘Very Bad’ would be given a score of 1, and a rating of ‘Very Good’ would be given a score of 5.



The screenshot shows a questionnaire interface. At the top, there is a question: "How 'good' or 'bad' does this sentence sound to you?". Below the question is a table with seven columns representing different rating options: "Very bad.", "Quite bad.", "Neither good nor bad.", "Quite good.", "Very good.", and "Don't know/Not sure.". Each column has a corresponding radio button. The first row of the table is an example: "Example: T'eh goll dys scoill." with radio buttons under each rating option.

	Very bad.	Quite bad.	Neither good nor bad.	Quite good.	Very good.	Don't know/Not sure.
Example: T'eh goll dys scoill.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

These scores were aggregated by variable, resulting in a total rating score for all sentences containing each target variable for each participant. A higher rating score for a variable means that a participant rated sentences containing this variable more highly on the Likert Scale. Conversely, a lower total rating score indicates that a participant rated sentences containing that variable lower on the Likert Scale.

These raw scores were then converted into percentages in Excel, by calculating the highest possible rating score a variable could have received and presenting

its actual total rating score as a percentage of this. The percentage rating would then be calculated using the formula:

$$P = A/M \times 100$$

Where P is the percentage rating, A is the actual total ratings score, and M is the maximum possible ratings score. For example, if a participant was asked to rate three sentences containing Variable X on how “good” they sounded, the maximum possible score a participant could give this variable would be 15 (3 sentences x 5 maximum possible score for each). If, in reality, this participant rated each sentence containing Variable X as a 4, their total ratings score would be 12. The percentage rating this variable would receive would be calculated as:

$$12/15 \times 100 = 80\%$$

This indicates that this participant gave Variable X 80% of the maximum possible score they could have given, which implies a more positive attitudinal judgement of this variable. In the data findings below, the meaning of the percentage rating is heavily dependent on the criteria against which the form was being rated in that section of the task. A total percentage rating that is considerably higher or lower than 50% may imply a stronger attitudinal judgement of a variable across an overall group of Manx speakers.

I analysed the overall trends across the Manx New Speaker cohort as a whole, and presented the attitudinal ratings for each variable in each task as given by the entire group of speakers that took the questionnaire. Chapter 7 also contains discussion of the differences between individual participants where relevant.

I decided against employing inferential statistical methods when analysing the questionnaire data in large part due to the lower numbers of participants in the questionnaire (see Section 4.2.1). Despite the fact that the number of completed questionnaires was not insignificant considering the small size of the community, the raw numbers were not great enough to employ inferential statistical analyses without employing additional calculations to account for low token numbers, which would make said analyses less reliable.

In addition, although this study is a mixed-methods study (see Section 3.1), the principal methodologies are qualitative methodologies. The quantitative data collection and analysis employed in this study are supportive of the qualitative

methods, with the purpose of providing another angle to explore speakers' beliefs about Manx and to provide data triangulation to support any conclusions made. Therefore, for reasons of space and time, I decided that it would be beyond this study's scope to employ any further statistical analyses on the questionnaire data. Therefore, the results from this questionnaire were then analysed using descriptive statistical methods detailed below, and presented in both graph and tabular form in the relevant sections of this thesis.

4.5.3 Quantitative Analysis of Interview Data

I undertook descriptive statistical analysis of morphosyntactic constructions produced by Manx New Speakers, using the corpus of spoken Manx data collected through sociolinguistic interviews (see Section 3.4). Research Question 1 aimed to explore overall trends in the morphosyntactic production of Manx New Speakers, which descriptive analysis of this spoken corpus reveals.

The morphosyntactic variables of interest are the same as those detailed in Section 3.3, chosen for the same reasons. I chose to analyse the same variables in both interviews and questionnaires to compare attitudes towards these variables with their use in speech. This is within the purview of Research Question 3, which seeks to explore connections between language use and language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community - it would enable me to compare what speakers say they do with their actual linguistic behaviour. In order to ensure quality data, false starts, repetitions, and ungrammatical forms were excluded from analysis. In addition, tokens of the verb 'to be' were excluded, as they are not examples of functional equivalence in the same way as other verbs (Section 3.3.2).

After transcribing the interviews (Section 5.1) and uploading transcripts to NVivo (Section 5.4), I totalled up every token of both variants of each of the morphosyntactic variables of interest in each transcript. After totalling up the token numbers, I then formulated these raw numbers into percentages in the same manner as described for the questionnaire data in Section 5.2, such that the results showed the percentage frequency at which each interview participant used each of the two variants of each variable, in order to examine idiolectal variation between participants. I chose to calculate and present the

percentage frequencies in a similar manner to the questionnaire data to enable greater comparison between the use and attitudes data, as per Research Question 3.

In addition to idiolectal variation, I wanted to examine whether morphosyntactic variation was governed by demographic factors in the Manx New Speaker community. After grouping participants into three age groups (see Appendix 5), older, middle, and younger, and two gender groups (men and women), as age and gender are commonly found to be linked with language variation and change (e.g. by Labov, 1966). I therefore wanted to explore to what extent these connections existed in the Manx community. In the same manner as for the questionnaires (Section 5.2), I used Pivot Tables to illustrate relationships between age, gender, and the use of specific morphosyntactic variables, which are then presented graphically in Chapter 5.

I also wanted to examine the extent to which structural linguistic factors, such as verb regularity, might play a role in conditioning the frequency of use of morphosyntactic forms in Manx, and thus contributing to variation. Such factors were found to be statistically significant in McNulty (2019; 2023a). Therefore, in Chapter 5 I also conduct descriptive statistical analysis whereby the frequency of tokens of some of the variables in question are compared with respect to the linguistic environments in which they occurred. For example, some graphs in Chapter 5 explore the percentage of synthetic past variables that occurred with regular verbs, compared to the percentage frequency in the analytic past. This enabled qualitative discussion of potential structural factors conditioning variation.

I decided against employing inferential statistical methods in this study for several reasons. Firstly, the token numbers for many, if not most, of the variables, were too small for inferential statistics to be worthwhile, as discussed in Section 5.2. This is not unlikely when analysing morphosyntactic variables, which occur at a much lower frequency in speech than do phonological variables. In addition, the quantitative aspects of this thesis were designed to explore overall trends in language use in the Manx New Speaker community, rather than to establish causal relationships, and were supplementary to the qualitative elements of data analysis, discussed below.

4.5.4 Qualitative Analysis of Interview and Ethnographic Data

4.5.4.1 Reflexive Thematic Analysis

The approach taken to analysing the interview transcript and the ethnographic data was Reflexive Thematic Analysis. Thematic Analysis is a “method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning within qualitative data” (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). It is an organic approach to theme development, that does not merely summarize the data, but “identif[ies] and interpret[s] key features of the data guided by the research question[s]” (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297).

Thematic Analysis may be conducted either deductively or inductively. The former is guided by specific, fixed research questions, and the latter is guided by the data itself (Ozuem et al., 2021: 150). The latter approach allows for broader research questions to develop and change throughout the research process as themes are generated. The latter was the approach taken; broad areas of interest were defined prior to data collection, but the specific research questions were constantly under review and changed throughout the research process. This is because the current study aimed to be broadly inductive to enable theory generation.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis in particular foregrounds the active role of the researcher in the data analysis process (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). It involves “reflective and thoughtful engagement with the data... and the analytic process” (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 706) and “continual questioning during coding” (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 594) to generate themes that are closely based on the dataset and more grounded in the theoretical background of the field in question. The reflexive approach views themes as analytic outputs that are “actively created”, rather than “passively emerg[ing] from the data or coding” - they are “stories about the data” that are generated, not found (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 594).

The following sections detail how this study’s Reflexive Thematic Analysis was conducted, and the reasons for these analytical choices.

4.5.4.1.1 Process

Data preparation involved transcribing interview data (Section 5.1), and loading interview transcripts, fieldnotes, images, and ephemera into NVivo for analysis. This programme was chosen as it allowed me to easily generate codes, themes, and relationships between them, across multiple media, including texts, images, and recordings.

The stages of analysis followed those in Braun and Clarke (2006: 87):

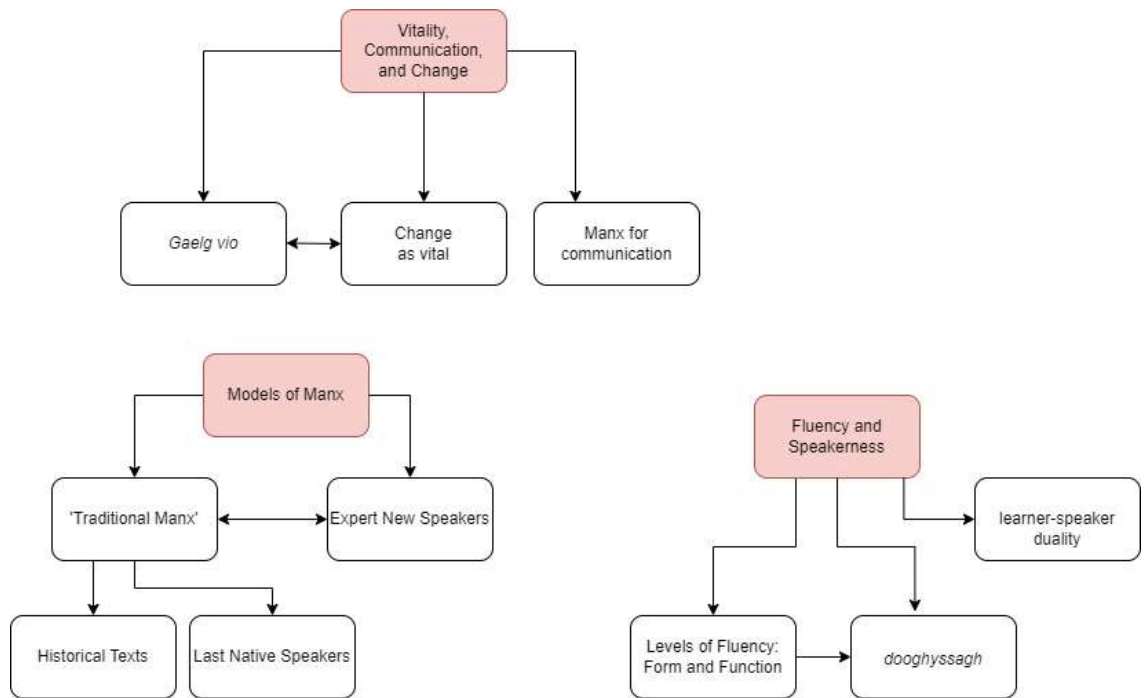
- I. Familiarizing oneself with the data
- II. Generating initial codes
- III. Searching for themes
- IV. Reviewing themes
- V. Defining and naming themes
- VI. Producing report

To summarise what these stages involved for my study in particular, I began with Stage I: reading through all of my transcriptions and looking through all of my images multiple times and noting any common patterns and emerging meaning in my field journal. This stage started during the fieldwork itself, and continued during data preparation. During Stage II, I began coding the data to generate the first level of meaning. This chiefly involved using NVivo's coding feature, however highlighters were used for some of the fieldnotes due to ease of reading on paper. A sample of the codes in NVivo are shown below:

Name	Files	References
'Manxer' Language Use	11	33
'Simple' Manx	12	30
Agency	8	23
Analytic Verb Use	14	271
Authenticism	10	36
Bad Language Use	19	56
Can	12	367
Communication Accommodation	5	16
Communicationism	19	82
Community	19	116
Confidence or Insecurity	11	34
Connection to Place	11	18
Cultural Activity	57	130
Different Ideologies	18	89
Differentiation	11	24
Dooghyssagh	16	42
English	20	111
Fluency	11	55
Future of Manx	11	25
...

EM 43 Items

These codes included both descriptive codes of topics discussed, such as ‘English’, and feelings and behaviours, such as ‘Confidence and Insecurity’, ‘Communication Accommodation’, and the use of morphosyntactic constructions, e.g. ‘Can’. Stage III involved developing themes based on these codes based on shared meaning on a more abstract level, drawing multiple codes together. Themes are “larger patterns of meaning underpinned by a central organising concept - a shared core idea” (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). Once Stage IV had been completed, after multiple reassessments of the data and reorganization of themes, the final themes were organised in diagrams such as the following, illustrating the links between themes and subthemes:



This represented Stage V of the process. My themes were both semantic, i.e. reflecting the actual words said by a participant, such as ‘*dooghyssagh*’ (‘native’, ‘natural’), and latent, i.e. reflecting underlying meaning, e.g. ‘Learner-Speaker Duality’ (Ozuem et al., 2021: 147-8). This stage also included the development of this thesis’ original framework, which functions on the level of a ‘supertheme’, drawing all of these themes together in a complex network of meaning. In Stage VI, the final themes were organised into broad chapter areas seen in the final report.

With regards to the reflexive approach specifically, I followed Trainor and Bundon (2021: 710-711). Throughout my fieldwork I used journal entries to record my thoughts, feelings, and impressions of data collection. Of particular importance were those entries made during observation sessions and directly after interviews, which could then be repeatedly reviewed during and after coding to inform theme generation. I also took care to familiarize myself with my data (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 711) by doing my own manual transcriptions, which became an initial round of coding in and of itself, during which I first noticed patterns emerging from the data. After subsequent rounds of coding, I arrived at the goal of a “set of codes that richly and thoroughly captures analytically relevant aspects of [my] dataset” (Braun, Clarke, and Weate, 2016: 198, in Trainor and Bundon: 2021: 714). Visualization methods, such as diagramming, proved essential when amalgamating these codes and

embarking on theme generation. This enabled me to record and condense these themes into one accessible document (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 720). The approach detailed in this section was chosen for various reasons, detailed in the following section.

4.5.4.1.2 Why Reflexive Thematic Analysis?

As per my Research Questions (Section 1), a goal of this study is to identify common patterns of social and ideological meaning in the language use of Manx New Speakers using a diverse, mixed-methods dataset. Thematic Analysis therefore had many benefits for the current study. It is an incredibly useful tool for reducing large and diverse data sets down to essential themes that are relevant to the researcher's specific questions or area(s) of interest. It can be used with both large and small datasets, and virtually any type of qualitative data can be analysed (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 298). Thematic Analysis is also useful when researching under-researched contexts (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 708), such as that of Manx, as it enables the identification of broad patterns not previously identified.

Flexibility, both theoretical and methodological, is one of the key benefits of Thematic Analysis (Clarke and Braun, 2017: 297). It is a method for analysis of qualitative datasets across a broad range of theoretical frameworks, across many different fields in the social sciences, as no prior knowledge of specific theoretical approaches is required (Ozuem et al., 2021: 150). Thematic Analysis, though initially atheoretical or theoretically flexible, "becomes infused with theoretical assumptions when enacted in a particular study" (Braun and Clarke, 2020: 38). Thematic Analysis was more appropriate for this study than other methods of analysis that were more grounded in the core social sciences, and thus less useful for a sociolinguistic analysis, as it could be used alongside the relevant linguistic and sociolinguistic theories necessary for analysis.

Thematic Analysis may also act as a bridge between qualitative and quantitative research, as the analysis of both types of data can add more validity to the analysis (Boyatzis, 1998), of particular use to the current mixed-methods project, which deals with varying types of data. Thematic Analysis can be used to create "thematic networks" - "web-like illustrations that summarise the main

themes” to explore connections and relationships between ideas that emerge from data analysis (Ozuem et al., 2021: 148). Such networks were vital to my understanding of the dataset and exploration of the research questions.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis was especially relevant for the current study, where researcher positionality is an important aspect of both data collection and analysis. I employed many of the insights from Trainor and Bundon (2021), who emphasize the need to be transparent about one’s reflections during the data analysis process (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 705). They stress the role of the researcher as an active agent in knowledge production, and that reflexivity should include an “intelligent self-awareness and introspection” (Sherry, 2013: 283) of one’s own emotions and experiences to deconstruct one’s impact on the research process (Trainor and Bundon, 2021: 707).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has explored the methodological approaches, data collection, and analysis methods used in this thesis, and their justifications. As Section 2’s discussion of this thesis’ methodological approach detailed, this study positions itself as a ‘sociolinguistic ethnography’ (following Heller, 2006), and thus the data collection took place over an extended six-month fieldwork period in the Isle of Man. Additionally, this section detailed how this study takes a holistic approach, employing mixed-methods to gain a fuller picture of the language practices of Manx New Speakers. Section 3 discussed how this fieldwork was prepared, including how the language attitudes questionnaire was designed, how the ethnographic methods were designed, as well as the morphosyntactic variables of interest to this thesis. Section 4 explained and justified how these methods were carried out in the field, including recruitment of participants. Finally, Section 5 described and justified the quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods, including Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Clarke and Braun, 2017), used in this thesis. The following chapters present the results of both quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

5. Morphosyntactic Variation in Manx New Speakers

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 5), research has found that structural variation exists within minoritized language communities (e.g. Gathercole and Thomas, 2009; Nance, 2015). Despite limited research, the same seems to be true of Manx, at least as regards morphosyntax (McNulty 2019; 2023a - see Chapter 3, Section 3 for further discussion). Therefore, this thesis seeks to further explore morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers.

This chapter discusses patterns of morphosyntactic variation observed in the Manx New Speaker community through descriptive statistical analysis of sociolinguistic interview data collected from this study's participants (as discussed in Chapter 4). It focusses on the morphosyntactic variables of interest discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3): past and future tense verbs, 'can' and 'must' modal constructions, and nominal genitives. Each of these variables has at least two variants, which differ in their grammatical complexity and language contact features. Analysis of the use of these variables therefore enables some degree of generalization of overall trends in morphosyntactic production and variation among New Speakers of Manx.

Therefore, this chapter addresses Research Question 1 of this thesis, as shown below:

- 1. What does the morphosyntax of Manx New Speakers look like?**
 - a. How frequently do Manx New Speakers use variants of morphosyntactic constructions available to them?
 - b. To what extent does morphosyntactic variation exist within this community?
 - c. What forces govern morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community?

As the variables in question were not directly elicited during the interviews (see Chapter 4, Section 3.4), low token numbers were returned for some variables

(discussed in Sections 4, 5 and 6). In such cases, trends for these variables are discussed qualitatively. The results for the remaining variables (Sections 2 and 3) are presented in terms of frequency of use of the variable in question by different age and gender groups, and also in terms of differences in production between individual participants. These sections also analyse potential structural linguistic factors that may be conditioning the use of these variables in different environments.

The results of this analysis seem to show that demographic categories traditionally found to have considerable explanatory power with regards to structural variation, such as age and gender (c.f. Labov 1966; 1991), do not seem to be conditioning variation in the Manx New Speaker community. Structural conditioning factors seem to be playing a limited role in variation. Variation is shown to be highly idiolectal, with considerable variation in the use of morphosyntactic variables even between participants that have similar demographic profiles. The following sections present and discuss these results by variable.

5.2 Synthetic and Analytic Past

The first variable to be analysed is the simple past. As detailed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), the Manx simple past may be expressed by one of two functionally equivalent structures. The first is a conjugated verb construction, here termed the ‘synthetic past’ (following McNulty, 2019; 2023a). The second consists of a construction in which the past tense auxiliary *ren* (‘did’) is followed by the main verb as a verbal noun (producing a form roughly equivalent to ‘did I going’): the ‘analytic past’ (again following McNulty, 2019; 2023a). Interview participants produced a considerable number of tokens of both constructions, enabling descriptive statistical analysis.

This section will present the overall trends in use and variation for this variable across the entire interview dataset. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 will break down these findings by individual participants as part of age and gender groups, and will explore linguistic environments that may be contributing to variation.

Table 5.1 below presents both the raw token numbers for the simple past, as well as the frequency of use of the synthetic and analytic forms as a percentage of overall simple past tokens produced. Figure 5.2 then illustrates these percentage results as a graph.

	Number of Tokens	Frequency of Use (%)
Analytic Past	293	37.2 ³⁴
Synthetic Past	494	62.8
Total	787	100.0

Table 5.1 - Overall Frequency of Synthetic and Analytic Past Use

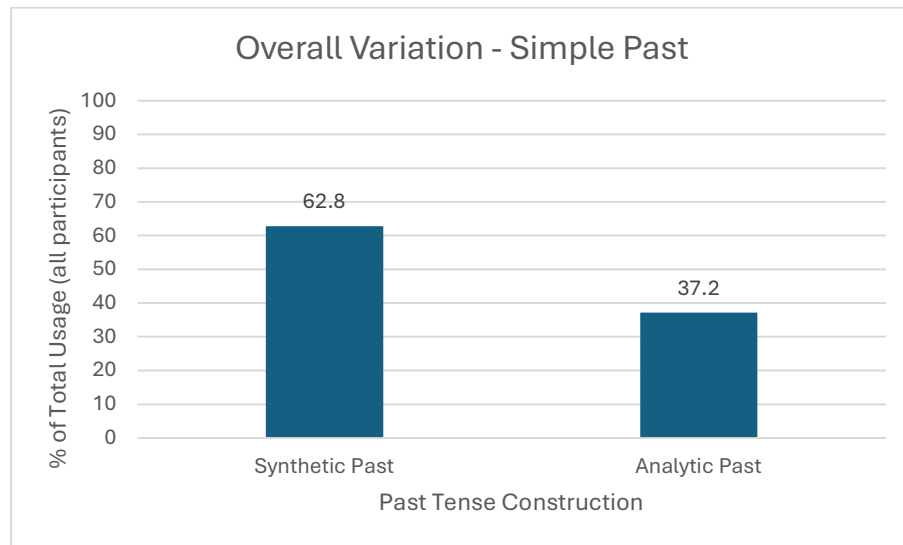


Figure 5.2 - Overall Frequency of Synthetic and Analytic Past Use (%)

Evidently, the synthetic past was more frequently used overall than the analytic, although the latter was used a significant minority of the time, suggesting significant variation rather than a categorical use of either form. This pattern of variation in the past tense forms contrasts with the overall findings for the future tense verbs, in which the situation is reversed (see Section 5). The following sections break down variation in the simple past by individual participant and discuss potential causation.

5.2.1. Individual Variation - Age Group and Gender

There was considerable individual variation between participants with regards to the use of both synthetic and analytic past tense constructions. Table 5.2 below

³⁴ All percentages given in this thesis are rounded to one decimal place.

shows how frequently each participant produced synthetic and analytic past constructions as a percentage of their overall past tense tokens³⁵.

Participant Pseudonym	Synthetic Past Tokens Produced	Frequency of Synthetic Past (%)	Analytic Past Tokens Produced	Frequency of Analytic Past (%)	Total Past Tokens Produced
Mona	31	94.0	2	6.0	33
Lewis	26	92.9	2	7.1	28
Em	12	92.3	1	7.7	13
Niamh	41	85.4	7	14.6	48
Charlie	35	77.8	10	22.2	45
Claire	33	76.7	10	23.3	43
Orry	21	75.0	7	25.0	28
Sam	18	72.0	7	27.0	25
Richard	63	70	27	30	90
Voirrey	32	69.6	14	30.4	46
Andrew	45	69.2	20	30.8	65
Peddyr	10	62.5	6	37.5	16
Kirree	40	59.7	27	40.3	67
Duncan	13	56.5	10	43.5	23
Juliet	9	42.9	12	57.1	21
May	18	41.9	25	58.1	43
Natalie	29	38.7	46	61.3	75
Illiam	12	28.6	30	71.4	42
Ivy	1	25.0	3	75.0	4
Juan	5	15.6	27	84.4	32
Total	494	62.8	293	37.2	787

Table 5.2 - Individual Variation in Past Tense Production

Figure 5.3 below illustrates the above individual variation on a graph. Research Question 1 of this thesis asks what forces might be shaping morphosyntactic variation in Manx. Therefore, I organised participants into gender and age groups to test whether demographic factors were correlated with variation patterns. Figure 5.3 indicates each participant's gender, and places participants in order of their age groups³⁶, beginning with younger participants and ending with older participants. Participants have been divided into three age groups - younger, middle, and older (see Appendix 5 for further information).

³⁵ Some participants produced no simple past tense forms throughout their interview: such participants were omitted from the analysis, and their pseudonyms do not appear in Table 6.3.

³⁶ Participants' exact ages are not given to reduce risk of identification (see Chapter 4, Section 3.6).

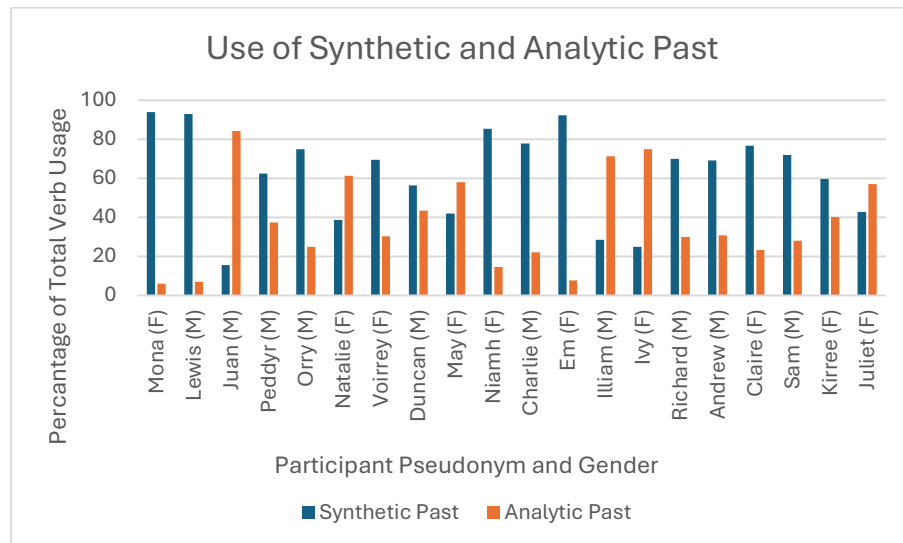


Figure 5.3 - Overall Frequency of Synthetic and Analytic Past Use by Age and Gender (%)

As shown in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.3, there does not seem to be any pattern of use that correlates between age and gender groups, contrary to what is often observed in variationist analyses (e.g. Labov, 1966; 1991). The five participants that use the synthetic form most frequently, namely Mona, Lewis, Em, Niamh, and Charlie, represent all three age groups and both genders. The same is true of the participants that use the synthetic form least frequently: May, Natalie, Illiam, Ivy, and Juan. Therefore, the variation in the use of past tense forms among Manx New Speakers seems highly idiolectal, and rather than explicable by demographic factors such as age and gender.

In addition, differences in language acquisition profiles did not seem to factor into the above variation patterns. In McNulty (2019; 2023a), there were statistically significant correlations between different acquisitional profiles among Manx New Speakers and the use of different past tense forms. Namely, younger speakers who acquired Manx through immersion education had a significantly higher rate of usage of the synthetic past than those who had not (McNulty, 2019; 2023a). However, this study does not replicate these findings. Mona and Lewis, both younger speakers, acquired Manx through different education streams, and yet their past tense production was similar. However, Mona and Juan had a similar acquisitional profile, and yet their production is very different. This, along with the highly idiolectal nature of variation in past tense usage, suggests that there are other factors at play in Manx New Speakers' morphosyntactic production.

One such factor might be structural features of the linguistic environment. The following section explores how variation in the use of past tense forms might reflect structural linguistic conditioning.

5.2.2. Structural Linguistic Conditioning

Research Question 1 of this study asked what factors might be shaping morphosyntactic variation in Manx. As part of this, this section explores whether variation among Manx New Speakers might be conditioned by different linguistic environments. The token numbers for the simple past were sufficient to conduct further descriptive statistical analysis to illustrate the frequency with which the synthetic and analytic forms were produced in different linguistic environments. This chapter presents the results of this analysis.

The first of these linguistic environments tested was verb regularity. McNulty (2019; 2023a) found that Manx New Speakers used the synthetic past more frequently with irregular verbs than with regular verbs at a rate that was statistically significant. As shown by Figure 5.4 below, this pattern was also present in the descriptive statistical analysis in the current study.

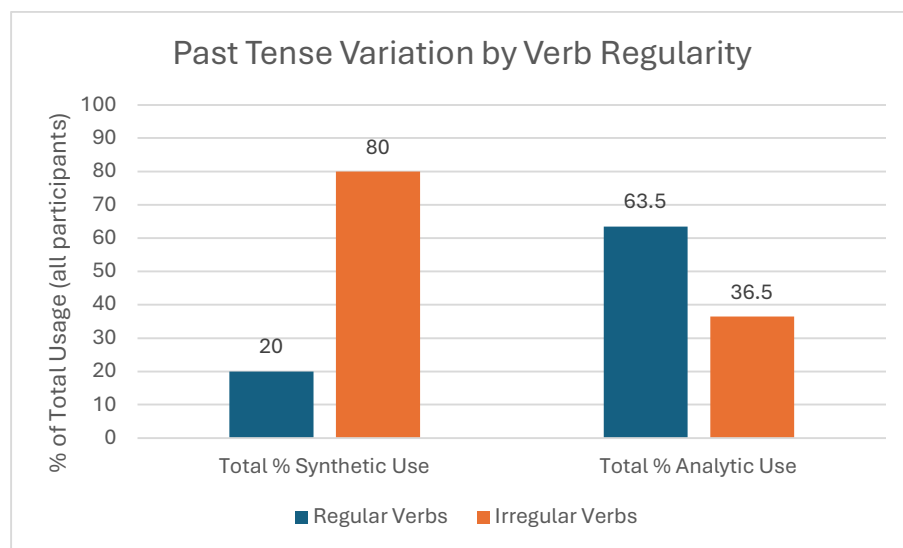


Figure 5.4 - Past Tense Variation by Verb Regularity

Overall, the synthetic past was produced much more frequently with irregular verbs, and seems to be the most frequent way of expressing the simple past when using an irregular verb. Indeed, the synthetic irregular tokens almost exclusively comprised of extremely frequently used irregular verbs, such as *hie*

(‘went’) and *haink* (‘came’) (see Chapter 4, Section 3.3). However, analytic tokens were more commonly produced for regular verbs, although a significant minority were irregular verbs. Therefore, although the synthetic past was produced more frequently overall, this is likely due in part to the frequency with which these extremely commonly used irregular verbs occurred in the interviews.

The findings from the current study seem to support the findings of McNulty (2019; 2023a), who explains the above distribution of past tense forms across regular and irregular verbs through the lens of language acquisition. Viewing New Speakers through the lens of language acquisition, she states: “[common irregular] verbs seem to be stored differently in second language acquirers, which affects their use in speech. For example, in second language acquirers of English, the inflected forms of verbs seem to be stored in the memory as complete items. These acquirers seem to be able to access the most frequent inflected forms of irregular verbs more quickly and easily than those inflected forms that belong to regular paradigms (Bowden et al. 2010). This may explain why speakers of Revitalized Manx more frequently produce the synthetic form for common irregular verbs in the past tense, with both regular verbs and less frequent irregular verbs often being produced analytically” (McNulty, 2023a: 107). Therefore, language acquisition seems to have some degree of explanatory power considering morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers, at least with regards to past tense variables.

However, it is not clear to what extent a purely acquisition-based account can fully explain the variational findings in this chapter. As was noted in Section 6.2.1, speakers with similar acquisitional and demographic profiles, and thus presumably similar competences in Manx, performed differently with regards to their frequency of usage of the synthetic form. In addition, if acquisition were the only factor at play, we might expect to see a greater degree of grammatical simplification, that is, the avoidance of ‘L2-difficult’ inflectional morphology (Meisel, 2011), reflected across overall variational trends. The results in this chapter do not reflect this neatly, as the following sections demonstrate. Therefore, this thesis argues that other sociolinguistic factors are likely to be playing a role in the variation patterns observed in Manx New Speakers.

It seems from the results presented in this section that Manx New Speakers' use of the synthetic or analytic past, and variation therein, may be to some extent conditioned by the linguistic environment in which the variable is produced. In summary, the synthetic past was produced more frequently with irregular verbs than regular. These results suggest that, at least for this variable, language acquisition factors may play some role in patterns of variation. However, this thesis argues that such structural and acquisitional factors alone are not sufficient to explain the high degree of idiolectal variation observed in Manx New Speakers' morphosyntactic production.

5.3 Modality - 'Can'

The next variable analysed in this chapter concerns ways Manx New Speakers expressed deontic modals of possibility, in other words, ways of saying one 'can' do something. As detailed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), Manx has two functionally equivalent 'can' modals. The first is the more synthetic *fod*-can form, consisting of the modal verb root *fod*- conjugated for tense, person, and number through suffixation in the first person, producing forms such as *foddym* ('I can'), *fodmayd* ('we can'). In other persons, the *fod*- root may be followed by a pronoun, e.g. *fod ad* ('they can'), or a combination of separate pronoun (or noun) and suffixation, e.g. *foddee eh* ('he can'), *foddee Voirrey* ('Mary can'). The alternative to the *fod*-can is the *abyl dy* form, which consists of a historically attested syntactic calque (and lexical borrowing) from the English 'to be able to' modal construction.

Like the previous variable, a considerable number of 'can' tokens were produced. This section will present the overall trends in use and variation for this variable across the entire interview dataset, and the following sections will break down these findings by individual participant, age and gender groups, and linguistic environments.

Table 5.3 below presents both the raw token numbers for both 'can' forms, as well as the frequency of use of both forms as a percentage of overall simple past tokens produced. Figure 5.5 then illustrates these percentage results as a graph.

	Number of Tokens	Frequency of Use (%)
<i>Fod-can</i>	350	71.4
<i>Abyl dy-can</i>	140	28.6
Total	490	100.0

Table 5.3 - Overall Frequency of Modal 'Can' Use

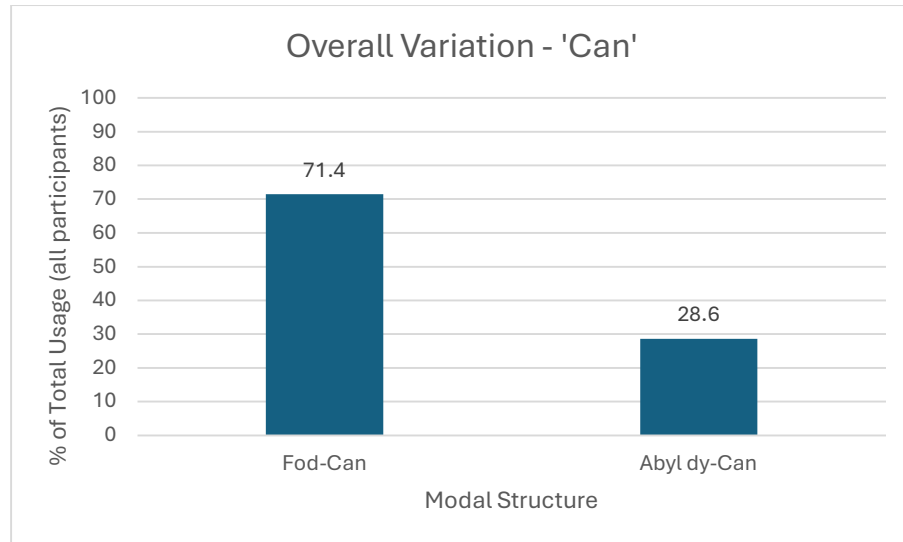


Figure 5.5 - Overall Frequency of Modal 'Can' Use (%)

As seen from Figure 5.5 above, a similar pattern to the simple past forms was found in the overall trends for this variable. Manx New Speakers produced the *fod-* form the majority of the time, with the *abyl dy* construction being used a considerable minority of the time. The following sections break down this variation by participant and discuss potential causation.

5.3.1. Individual Variation - Age Group and Gender

For the 'can'-variables again, as with the simple past, the overall trends mask the considerable amount of individual variation between different Manx New Speakers' production of the two different 'can' forms. Table 5.4 below shows how frequently each participant produced each of the 'can' constructions as a percentage of their overall usage³⁷.

³⁷ Participants that did not produce any 'can' forms are omitted from the analysis.

Participant Pseudonym	Fod-Can Tokens Produced	Frequency of Fod-Can (%)	Abyl dy-Can Tokens Produced	Frequency of Abyl dy-Can (%)	Total Can Tokens Produced
Claire	19	100.0	0	0.0	19
Peddyr	35	100.0	0	0.0	35
Natalie	60	92.3	5	7.7	65
Richard	33	89.2	4	10.8	37
Em	7	87.5	1	12.5	8
Illiam	18	85.7	3	14.3	21
Mona	18	85.7	3	14.3	21
Voirrey	18	85.7	3	14.3	21
Juan	44	83.0	9	17.0	53
Niamh	11	64.7	6	35.3	17
Orry	28	62.2	17	37.8	45
Kirree	17	53.1	15	46.9	32
Duncan	9	52.9	8	47.1	17
Charlie	17	48.6	18	51.4	35
Andrew	6	40.0	9	60.0	15
May	9	29.0	22	71.0	31
Lewis	1	6.3	15	93.7	16
Juliet	0	0	2	100	2
Total	350	71.4	140	28.6	490

Table 5.4 - Individual Variation in Modal 'Can' Use

Figure 5.6 below displays the above frequencies on a graph. The graph organises participants' production by age group and indicates and gender in the same way as Figure 5.3 (Section 2.1).

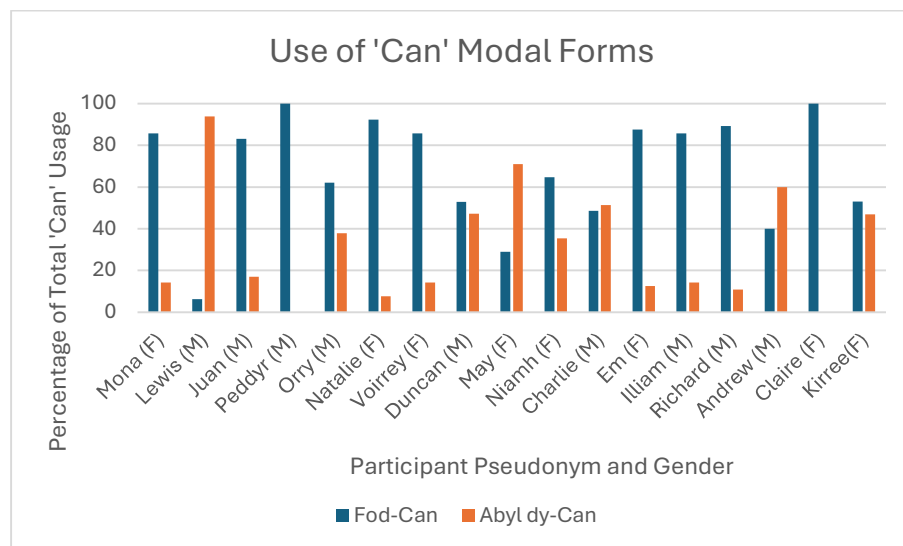


Figure 5.6 - Overall Frequency of 'Can' Use by Age and Gender (%)

As can be seen, there was also a very high degree of idiolectal variation in the production of this modal form. The highest producers of the more synthetic 'can' form, Claire, Peddyr, Natalie, Richard, and Em, span both older age groups and both genders. When compared to the past tense, only Claire and Em have

comparably high productions of both the synthetic past and synthetic can. Among participants that produced *fod*-can least frequently, such as Juliet, Lewis, May, Andrew, and Charlie, all three age groups and both genders are represented. Notably, Lewis and Charlie appeared among the most frequent producers of the synthetic past, yet they are among those participants who produce the synthetic modal least frequently, illustrating how patterns for this variable, although also being highly idiolectal, are quite different than those of the past. Again, like for the past, this data does not seem to show any evidence of age- nor gender-stratified variation.

The following section explores potential structural conditioning factors that might be at play for this variable.

5.3.2. Structural Linguistic Conditioning

As was done for the simple past forms, further analysis was conducted on the data collected from the production of ‘can’ modals to examine the role that structural linguistic factors might play in the patterns of variation observed in this data. In particular, the role of tense was analysed as a potential conditioning factor for the use of ‘can’-modals, as McNulty (2019; 2023a) found there to be a significant difference in variation patterns between past and future forms for non-modal verbs, revealing broader patterns of grammatical simplification and complexity in Manx New Speakers’ morphosyntax. This analysis examines how such patterns might be reflected in modal usage³⁸. Figure 5.7 below shows the results of this analysis.

³⁸ This data explores modal usage in independent clauses. In Manx, dependent clauses trigger the use of another verb form called the relative (Draskau, 2008), which was not analysed as a variable here, and tokens of which were excluded from analysis.

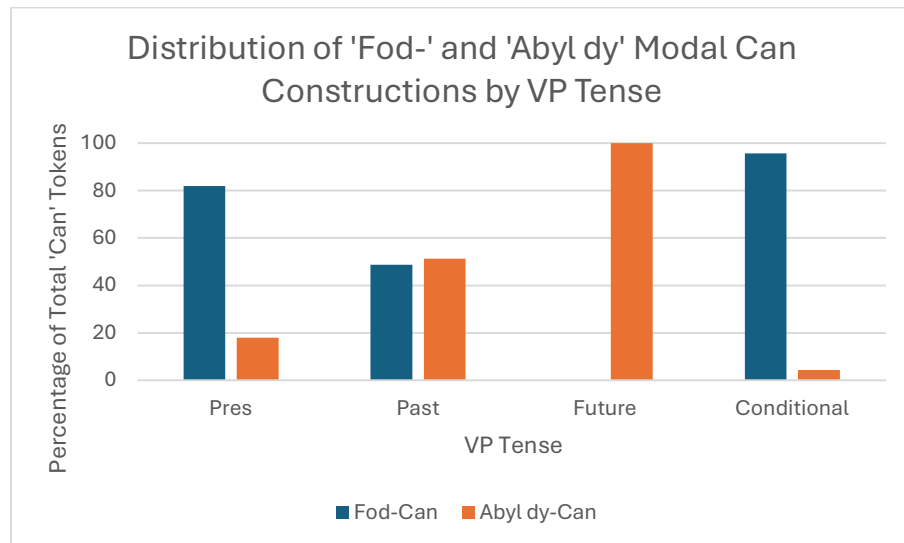


Figure 5.7 - 'Can' Variation by Verb Tense

Participants used the *fod*-form most frequently in the present and conditional³⁹, i.e. in utterances like 'I can' or 'I could'. In the future, participants only produced the *abyl dy*-form, but this is not necessarily meaningful, as there is no alternative construction in common usage, and this finding was based on only a handful of tokens. What was more meaningful was that, in the past, participants were almost equally likely to use either form, which could point towards the avoidance of 'L2-difficult' inflectional morphology in this form (Meisel, 2011). However, if this variation was purely explicable by L2 acquisition strategies, we might expect to see a similar pattern of avoidance in the highly inflected conditional, but this is not the case. Coupled with the considerable degree of individual variation in the use of these modals, this seems to indicate that the picture is more complex than a purely acquisition-based explanation could account for.

5.4 Modality - 'Must'

This study also collected data on deontic modals of obligation in Manx, or ways of saying one 'must' do something. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), one variant of the 'must' variable consists of modal verb *shegin* followed by the preposition *da* (dative 'to') conjugated for person and number, and the other is a construction which expresses deontic modality through an idiomatic

³⁹ In service of conciseness, the conditional mood is referred to here as a tense.

prepositional phrase translating to ‘to be upon oneself’ (e.g. “It is upon me” = “I must do it”).

Unlike the ‘can’ modal, much fewer ‘must’ tokens were returned across the interview dataset. Therefore, the overall trends in variation for this variable are given here, with some accompanying qualitative discussion. Overall, as shown in Table 5.5 and Figure 5.8 below, participants used the more synthetic ‘must’ form more frequently than the alternative.

	Number of Tokens	Frequency of Use (%)
<i>T’eh er</i> ‘must’	28	30.1
<i>Shegin</i> ‘must’	65	69.9
Total	93	100.0

Table 5.5 - Overall Frequency of Modal ‘Must’ Use

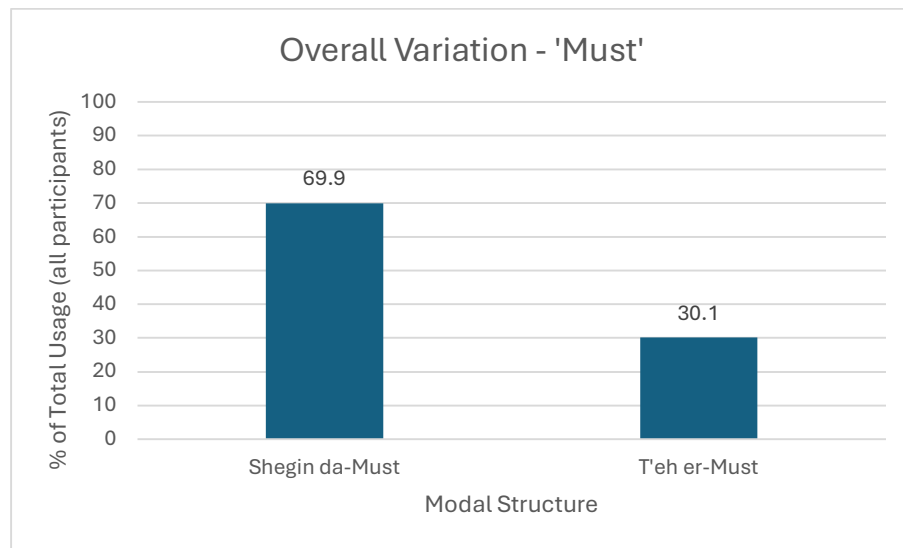


Figure 5.8 - Overall Frequency of Modal ‘Must’ Use (%)

The overall pattern for this variable shows that Manx New Speakers used the *shegin* ‘must’ form the majority of the time, with the prepositional form used a considerable minority of the time. This is a very similar pattern to the ‘can’ modal, as shown in Section 3 above.

Even considering the low token numbers elicited for this form, it is evident that, once again, Manx New Speakers exhibited a high degree of idiolectal variation in their production of ‘must’ tokens. Kirree, Lewis, and Peddyr produced the highest frequency of *shegin* tokens, and Niamh, Juan, and May produced the least. The most and least frequent producers are made up of both genders and all three age groups, again suggesting that age and gender are not conditioning factors in variation in ‘must’ production.

There also does not seem to be much overlap between the participants who produced *shegin* ‘must’ and synthetic ‘can’ at either end of the production scale, aside from May, who was at the lower end of production for both variables. This suggests that even individual participants’ production varies greatly between forms, highlighting the complexity in morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers.

5.5 Synthetic, Analytic, and *Goll dy*-Future

The next variable discussed in this chapter is the simple future. As detailed further in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), the simple future in Manx functions similarly to the simple past; a synthetic form of the verb is available, involving conjugation for future tense, person, and number, as is a functionally equivalent analytic form which consists of the auxiliary *nee* (‘do’ tensed for future) followed by the main verb in the form of the verbal noun. In addition, a third future form has also been found to be available to New Speakers of Manx (e.g. by McNulty 2019; 2023a), namely the *goll dy*-future: a syntactic calque on the English ‘going to + verb’ near future construction (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3, and McNulty 2019; 2023a for further discussion).

Unlike for the past, token numbers of the future produced by interview participants were too low to conduct in-depth descriptive statistical analysis. This is likely because many of the topics discussed in the interview leant themselves towards the use of mostly past or present tense on the part of the participant (see Appendix 4 for interview prompt examples). Therefore, this section will give a mostly qualitative overview of the findings for this construction. With the limited usefulness of the token numbers obtained for this form in mind, Manx New Speakers produced the analytic future more frequently than the synthetic. As shown in Table 5.6 and Figure 5.9 below, this is a reverse of the trend seen for the past tense as discussed in Section 2.

	Number of Tokens	Frequency of Use (%)
Analytic Future	19	67.9
Synthetic Future	9	32.1
Total	28	100.0

Table 5.6 - Overall Frequency of Synthetic and Analytic Future Use

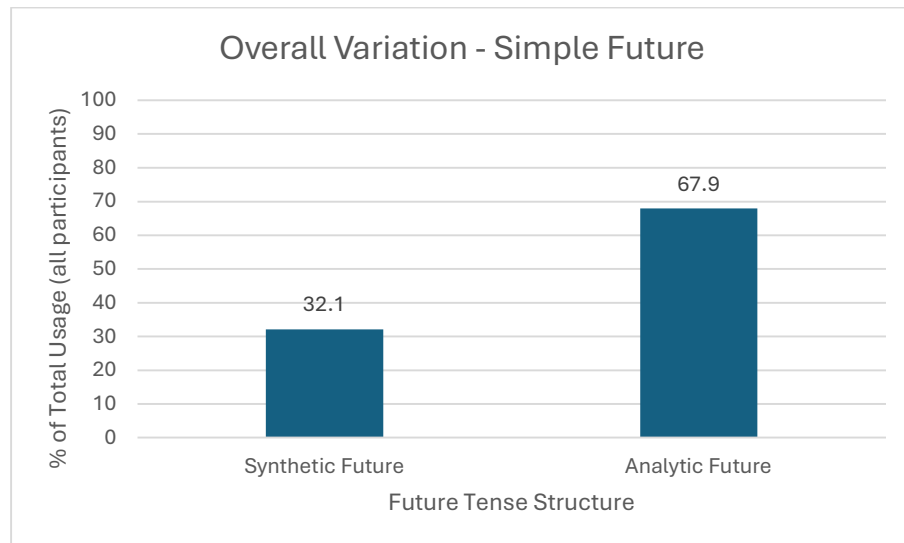


Figure 5.9 - Overall Frequency of Synthetic and Analytic Future Use (%)

Unlike in the previous variables, the analytic form of the future was produced more frequently than the synthetic among Manx New Speakers, although the aforementioned low token numbers reduce the confidence in asserting that this is a prevailing pattern. With regards to variation in future production between participants, Natalie produced the synthetic future most frequently, and Peddyr produced the analytic least frequently. Again, it does not seem as though there is a correlation between either age or gender and future production, but considering the low token numbers, this correlation cannot be ruled out for this variable.

In the current study, the *goll dy*-future form was found to be only marginally in use by participants, only occurring in 11 tokens overall. These tokens were produced mostly by younger speakers that had acquired Manx through immersion education, namely Mona and Juan, with one exception in the form of Duncan, a male participant in the middle age group. This form seems to be a linguistic innovation originating from this immersion-educated group of younger speakers, and is mostly used among such speakers (McNulty, 2019; 2023a). This may therefore be evidence of the development of a school-based innovation among this speaker profile, similar to that which has been observed in Nance (2015), who observed linguistic norms specific to immersion school-educated young Gaelic speakers in Glasgow. Language acquisition factors therefore may have some role to play in explaining this form's pattern of use. Nevertheless, as evidenced by Duncan's production, idiolectal variation still seems to be the most evident pattern to emerge from this variation.

5.6 Nominal Genitives

Another variable of interest was the expression of the genitive in the noun phrase. As detailed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), a genitive case construction is available in Manx, but the more analytic *jeh*-genitive form (equivalent to English “the X of the Y” constructions) is also in common use. As for the previous variable, token numbers returned for the genitive were limited, therefore this section outlines overall trends and presents some qualitative discussion of the findings. Table 5.7 and Figure 5.10 below illustrate the overall pattern of variation in the use of this form.

	Number of Tokens	Frequency of Use (%)
<i>Jeh</i>-genitive	31	41.3
Genitive Case	44	58.7
Total	75	100.0

Table 5.7 - Overall Frequency of Nominal Genitive Use

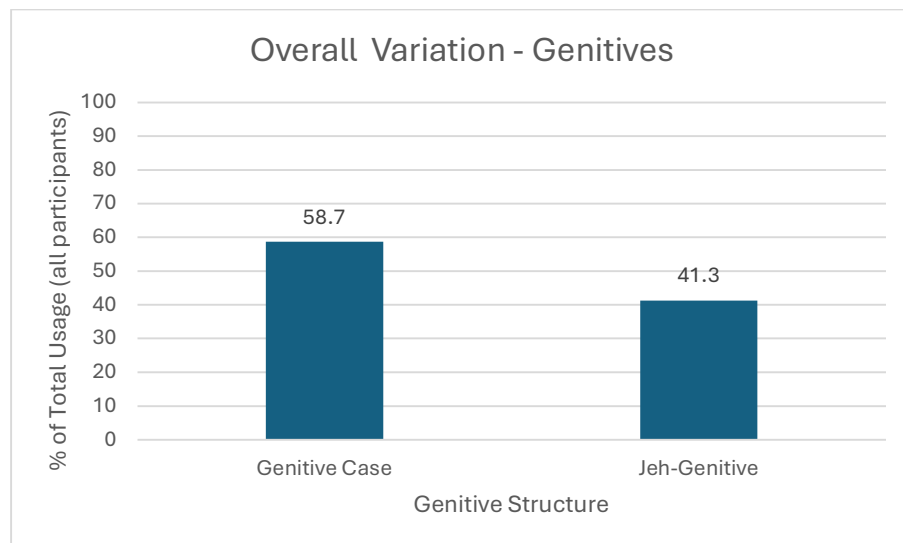


Figure 5.10 - Overall Frequency of Nominal Genitive Use (%)

As can be seen from these results, the difference in frequency of use found for these two forms was slightly less extreme than for previous variables, however there was a preference for use of the genitive case construction, but the *jeh*-genitive construction was also used with considerable frequency.

Even within the low total token numbers for nominal genitive constructions, patterns of variation among participants who did produce it were again highly idiolectal. Lewis, Charlie, Duncan, and Natalie, a mix of both men and women and multiple age groups, produced the genitive case most frequently. The same

is true of those who produced it least frequently: Voirrey, Juan, Iliam, and Em. Therefore, gender and age again do not emerge as potential conditioning factors for variation in genitive production.

When comparing patterns of variation in the genitive to those of the other variables, a picture emerges of considerable variation, even within individual participants' production of synthetic and analytic forms. For example, Lewis is one of the highest producers of the synthetic past and the genitive, but one of the lowest producers of the synthetic 'can' modal. This pattern therefore implies that factors other than language acquisition might be at play - we would not expect to find this kind of pattern if variation was conditioned *solely* by participants' production or avoidance of 'L2-difficult' (Meisel, 2011) inflectional morphology. If this variation were solely down to competence in Manx, we would expect to find the same 'most competent' speakers consistently producing the more complex morphosyntactic forms most frequently. Instead, the picture is much more complex, and suggests multiple causality behind the variation patterns exemplified in this chapter, as summarized in the following section.

5.7 Concluding Remarks

The results presented in this chapter revealed a considerable degree of morphosyntactic variation amongst Manx New Speakers. Factors such as age and gender do not seem to be conditioning variation among these speakers - younger and older speakers did not seem to have considerably different patterns of production, and neither was such a difference found between male and female speakers. Conversely, speakers with similar demographic profiles (i.e. of the same age or gender) were not found to speak especially similarly to each other. Therefore, it does not seem as though the same demographic forces that govern language variation in majority languages (e.g. Labov, 1966) are in operation for Manx New Speakers. In addition, limited evidence emerged to suggest that language acquisition and structural factors might be at play for some variables, such as synthetic and analytic verbs and 'can' modals. However, these factors alone were not sufficient to explain all variation observed.

The main finding of this chapter is that morphosyntactic production among Manx New Speakers was found to be highly idiolectal. In addition, each participant

showed considerable variation within their own production. For example, participants that produced a high frequency of more grammatically complex synthetic verbs did not necessarily follow this pattern in their production of modals.

This all begs the question as to how morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers might be explained, and what forces are shaping it. As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 5.2), New Speakers of minoritized languages may exercise agency over their language use, producing salient morphosyntactic forms in order to index social meaning through their production in the minoritized language (e.g. Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020; Enriquez-García, 2017). This thesis posits that such factors, namely speakers' agentive indexing of ideological positions, are a major force in shaping morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community, and may explain why trends in variation are so noticeably idiolectal.

Therefore, the following chapters present qualitative data on the language beliefs of Manx New Speakers, and explore how these relate to individual speakers' language use. I will argue that such data can reveal forces shaping usage that does not emerge from the quantitative analysis presented in this chapter, and thus that such qualitative analyses are essential in understanding the language use of New Speakers of minoritized languages.

6. Manx New Speakers' Language Ideologies

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, language ideologies are “socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions, and expectations of language” (Blommaert, 1999: 1), that exist both inside speakers’ minds and in the wider community the speakers inhabit (Irvine, 2012). They may be implicit, “manifested in language use”, or explicit: “objects of discursive elaboration in meta-pragmatic discourse” (Blommaert, 1999: 1). They may be unquestioned within society - perceived to be ‘common-sense’ or universally true (Verschueren, 2011: 19; Scheffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, 1998: 24), and thus may take significant interpretation to uncover. Language ideologies are also likely to be contradictory (Blommaert, 1999: 11), and yet contradictory ideologies may be expressed by individual speakers and communities. They are studied through qualitative analysis of the behaviour and speech of members of the community in which they exist (Kroskrity, 2016). Examples of language ideologies include beliefs regarding the relative ‘purity’ of a language or variety (Thomas, 1991), about languages representing “nationhood, cultural authenticity, progress, modernity, democracy, respect, freedom, socialism, equality, etc.” (Blommaert, 1999: 2).

New Speakers are united by a strong belief in the intrinsic value of their minoritized language and the worthiness of the time spent learning and/or revitalizing it (Hornsby, 2015; Jaffe, 2015). However, ideological variation is also common in New Speaker communities (e.g. O’Rourke and Walsh, 2015), due to the strong beliefs members hold about ways of speaking the minority language (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). New Speakers often differ in their beliefs about translingual practices, language standardization, and regional variation (e.g. Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378; Bell and McConville, 2018; Hornsby and Quentel, 2013; McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015 - see Chapter 2, Section 6.3). Such different ways of speaking may therefore become “ideologically invested” (Hornsby, 2015: 116), reflecting broader views of language, such as purist views (e.g. Dorian,

1994), native speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009), or the ideology of the standard (as defined in Milroy, 2007).

Limited research has been carried out regarding how language ideologies operate in the Manx New Speaker community, however the research that has been conducted suggests that there are varying poles of language ideologies at play (e.g. Lewin 2015; 2017 - see Chapter 3, Section 3.2 for further discussion). Varying language models and ideas about fluency, both those based in native speaker ideologies and otherwise, have been found by previous research (e.g. Ó hlfearnáin, 2015a; 2015b; Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin, 2018.)

It was clear from my interactions with Manx New Speakers that they highly valued the language and its place in their community. Many of the discussions in this chapter result from nuanced reflections on Manx, its use, and position in society, on the part of Manx New Speakers. In the interviews and observation sessions, speakers both engaged in and reflected on metalinguistic discourse about Manx. Therefore, many of the themes developed around language ideologies reflect folk-linguistic views (Preston, 2017), which are not necessarily informed by specialist knowledge of linguistic theory, but which form part of Manx New Speakers' language ideologies, as explored in the following sections.

6.2 Themes

This chapter addresses Research Questions 2a and 2b, as indicated below:

2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?
 - a. **What language ideologies do speakers hold about Manx?**
 - b. **What linguistic models and ways of speaking are valued by Manx New Speakers?**
 - c. How do speakers understand ideas of 'goodness' and 'Manxness', as they relate to language use?

This thesis used Reflexive Thematic Analysis of interview and other ethnographic data to generate themes relating to the language ideologies present in the Manx

New Speaker community (see Chapter 4 for further details). The following diagram indicates the main themes (red) and associated sub-themes (white).

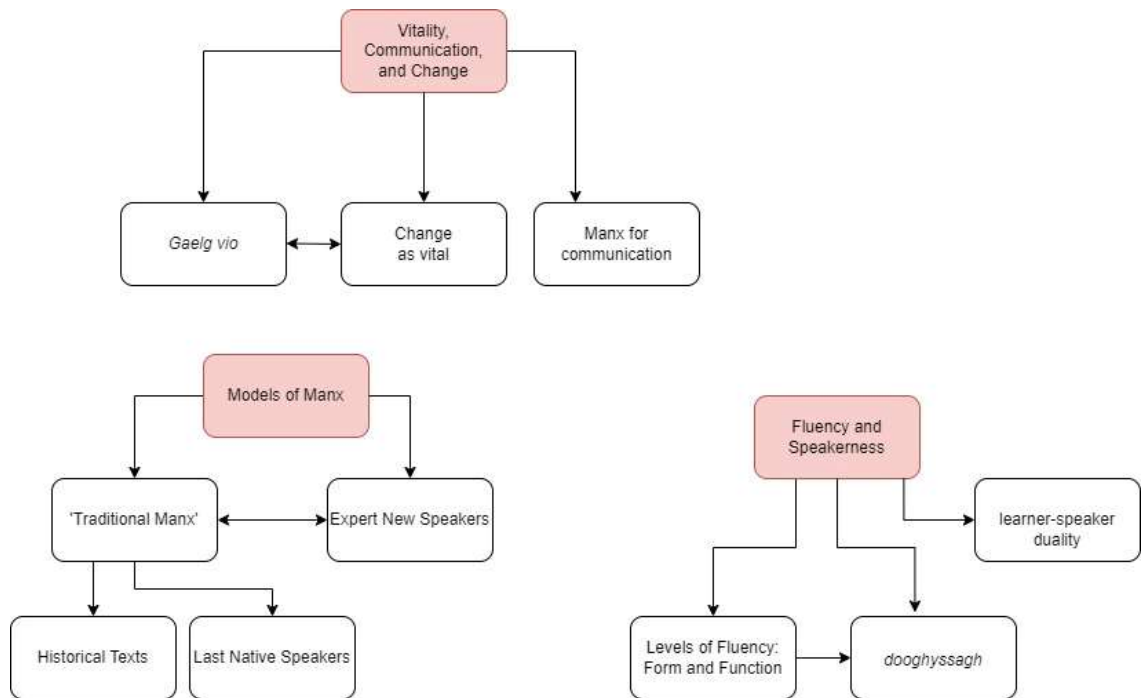


Figure 6.1 - Interrelated Themes in Language Ideologies

The following summarizes the main themes depicted in Figure 6.1. ‘Vitality, Communication, and Change’ refers to ideologies within the Manx New Speaker community reflected in discourses of Manx as a ‘living’ or a ‘dead’ language, and what it means to be one or the other. Such ideas proved to be inextricably linked to ideas about Manx’s role as a language that is in active use in the community. The idea of language change being perceived as emblematic of vitality also factored into this.

‘Fluency and Speakerness’ explores the varying ways in which Manx New Speakers understood the label ‘fluent’. It also explores their ideas on the porous boundaries between the categories of learner and speaker (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 377). In addition, this theme discusses the term *dooghysagh*, often used to describe kinds of Manx that are thought to be ‘native’ or ‘natural’ in some way, and the different meanings Manx New Speakers assigned to the idea of ‘naturalness’.

Finally, ‘Models for Manx’ discusses ideologies around language models for Manx New Speakers. This presents ideologies around the varying kinds of language use that are felt to be aspirational for Manx New Speakers, and how beliefs around these ideas of language use are constructed and interlinked within the community.

The following sections detail each of these three main themes and their subthemes, providing examples from the data to illustrate their significance.

6.3 Vitality, Communication, and Change

The first theme concerns New Speakers’ beliefs around Manx and its status as a living language. The idea of language change and the use of Manx by its speaker community, and particularly by certain speaker profiles, were perceived as vital components of Manx’s status as ‘alive’.

Such ideologies may be a response to certain ‘discourses of endangerment’ (Duchêne and Heller, 2007). These discourses foreground the loss of ‘language-as-code’, i.e. as documentable and divorceable from social reality (Jaffe et al., 2007: 61), and position language shift or change as an existential threat to the essential nature or identity of the ethnocultural group with which the language is associated (Duchêne and Heller, 2007; Jaffe et al., 2007). Such ideologies are commonly encountered in metalinguistic discussions on minoritized languages (see Jaffe et al., 2007 for examples in Corsican).

Manx is no exception. An accusation frequently launched at Manx, in multiple domains, is that it is ‘dead’, as discussed in Chapter 3. The ‘death’ metaphor is a discourse of endangerment, as it implies that a language can be ‘living’, as though it were a biological entity (Duchêne and Heller, 2007). In my experience, the label ‘dead’ is often applied to Manx with the implication that the language is not worth acquiring or promoting due to its perceived irrelevance to the contemporary community of the Isle of Man.

Manx New Speakers in this study consciously reject ‘death’ discourses in their foregrounding of Manx’s living, changing nature, echoing findings from Ó hÍfearnáin (2015a: 54). They accept the biological metaphor, but provide a counter-discourse that views Manx as ‘living’, justifying revitalization efforts.

Manx New Speakers used such ‘discourses of vitality’ to construct a new place for Manx in its current context, as well as a perceived trajectory of upward growth, rather than decline, for the language.

The nature of these discourses will be expanded upon in the sections below, which discuss these themes’ subthemes.

6.3.1 *Gaelg Vio*

The ‘*Gaelg vio*’ (‘alive/living Manx’⁴⁰) subtheme explores ‘discourses of vitality’ Manx employed by Manx New Speakers to challenge the hegemony of the ‘dead language’ narrative. This ideology does not involve an outright rejection of the ‘language as biological’ framework present in discourses of endangerment, but works within it to create an alternate perspective of what it means for Manx to be ‘living’, shifting towards a more ‘language-as-social’-centred ideology, and away from ‘language-as-code’.

The interview quote from Juan below is illustrative of this ideology. He references prevailing discourses of endangerment that he has experienced being applied to Manx. He highlights the ‘community-outsider’ nature of these discourses by code-switching to English:

Juan: {laughs} *Uh yeah t'eh gollrish uh sleih ta gra oh uh it's a dead language, wahl cha nel eh, er yn oyr foddym loayrt eh as cha n-- uh ta mish⁴¹ aeg.*

Juan: “{laughs} Uh yeah it’s like uh people who say oh uh it’s a dead language, well it’s not, because I can speak it and not—uh I am young.”

For Juan, the fact that the language is being acquired and used, especially by younger speakers, is testament to its vitality; Manx cannot be ‘dead’ if speakers such as himself use it. At another point in the conversation, he references the increasing numbers of Manx speakers (as discussed with reference to census data

⁴⁰ I named this theme in Manx as the adjective *bio* encompasses the meaning of both ‘alive’ and ‘living’, communicates succinctly the rejection of ‘death’ and assertions of vitality.

⁴¹ This is an emphatic pronoun used here to emphasise his own youth in comparison to others. Underline is used in the translation to express the emphasis that is morphologically encoded in the emphatic forms of personal pronouns in Manx, indicated by supra-segmental stress in English.

in Chapter 3, Section 2). He feels that this exponential growth in speaker numbers is a key factor in claiming Manx as a living community language:

Juan: *Ta ram dy sleih [sic] aasit va gollrish y naim ny yn mummig ny yn jishig ny yn shenn-ayr ny yn mwarree jeh sleih va ec y Vunscoil gysaghey. As neesht, cheu-mooie jeh shen, ta ram sleih aasit jus goll as gysaghey Gaelg neesht... Ta ram sleih ta jannoo um- um cliaghtaghyn-um brastyllyn jus uh er y- uh- uh- er y jerrey-shiaghtin, ny- ny possanyn. So... cha nel shen sheeanal dou myr uh çhengey marroo.*

Juan: “There are many adults that were like the uncle or the mum or the dad or the grandfather or the grandmother of people who were at the *Bunscoil* (Manx-immersion primary school) learning. And also, outwith that, there are many adults just going and learning Manx as well... There are many people that do um- um- practices- um classes just uh at the uh- uh at the weekend, or- or groups. So... that doesn’t sound like uh a dead language to me.”

He asserts that, as Manx is actively spoken by different types of people in the community, it cannot be dead. On the contrary, he sees the language’s perceived status as ‘dead’ as belied by the ongoing creation of a new community of speakers resulting from language revitalization efforts. Juan’s use of the ‘language-as-biological’ framework might be contradictory to the speaker-focused perception of vitality he lays out above.

However, for Manx New Speakers, the assertion of Manx’s vitality did not necessitate the denial of Manx’s current and former minoritization, framed in terms of discourses of endangerment. Juan himself, in discussing Manx’s vitality, described the language as being *bunnys marroo* (‘almost dead’) at some point in the past. Several speakers referenced the fact that Manx faces different challenges as compared to majority languages, and that this affects how success of the language revitalization movement is measured in the community. This is referenced by Voirrey in her discussion about speakerhood in Manx in the extract below:

Voirrey: *Ta shin ooilley gysaggh, ooilley’n traa... cha nel eh gollrish Germaanish as çhe—çhengaghyn elley... ta’n Gaelg anchasley, as ta shin gysaghey ooilley’n traa... as yeah shen- shen mie dy liooar.*

Voirrey: “We are all learning, all the time... it’s not like German and other lan- languages... Manx is different, and we are learning all the time... and yeah, that’s- that’s ok.”

Voirrey views the goalposts for Manx’s being considered ‘alive’ as fundamentally different to those of majority languages, such as German. She does not see this as negative, just as an unavoidable fact of Manx’s trajectory of minoritization. That Manx’s current situation doesn’t exactly resemble that of other languages, for Voirrey, doesn’t mean that it should be considered ‘dead’.

This subtheme focuses on Manx New Speakers’ responses to discourses of endangerment, and, working within these discourses, their understandings of what it means for a language to be ‘dead’ or ‘alive’. It seems that, for many of these speakers, if a language is used, if it has a future trajectory, this is sufficient to reject such discourses. This does not necessitate the denial of minoritization, but describes a belief that ‘alive’ can look different between languages. This also does not necessitate a denial of the language change that often results from minoritization, as the following subthemes expand upon.

6.3.2 Change as Vital

This subtheme, ‘Change as Vital’, entails a language ideology in the Manx New Speaker community whereby structural differences between past and current varieties of Manx are an accepted result of Manx’s minoritization and ongoing revitalization. This is similar to beliefs elicited by Sallabank (2013: 129), in which some Manx speakers viewed novel structural developments in Manx as an “extension of natural language change”. This is a view of language that is accepting of diachronic change, and a somewhat uncommon ideology within folk linguistic conceptions of language (e.g. in Aitchison, 2001).

I asked speakers whether they thought Manx had changed over time, and Em’s response typified this ideology:

Em: *Er lhiam nagh vel ad feer anchasley agh ta anchaslyssyn ayn um... agh you know ec y- ec y jerrey jeh'n laa s'cummey {laughs} you know my ta-my ta shin toiggal sleih elley!*

Em: I don't think they're⁴² very different but there are differences um... but you know at the- at the end of the day it doesn't matter {laughs} you know if- if we understand other people!

She accepts that structural changes have occurred during Manx's minoritization and revitalization, but does not view these changes negatively, giving primacy to the communicative use of Manx (discussed further in Section 3.3 below).

Furthermore, this ideology might explicitly ascribe positive attributes to language change - namely that Manx having changed over time is a key indicator of the language's perceived vitality. The 'change as vital' ideology puts all language change on a level playing field, as an inevitable process faced by any language, as exemplified by Richard's comment below:

Richard: *T'eh- t'eh- t'eh myr dagh chengey... er lhiam s you know ta- ta dagh chengey... caghlaa harrish traas.*

Richard: "It's- it's- it's like every language... I reckon you know every language... changes over time."

Such beliefs resemble 'sociolinguistic naturalism', as discussed in Woolard (2016, see also Joseph, 2000). This kind of naturalizing ideology understands 'natural' as that which is out of human control. As Woolard (2016: 31) explains, 'sociolinguistic naturalism' "takes a linguistic form to be rightfully authoritative because it is the natural, unmediated expression of a state of social life in the world, rather than the outcome of human will, effort, intervention, and artifice." In the 'Change as Vital' ideology, changes wrought in Manx, both by minoritization and by other language change process are all accorded the same 'naturalness', and thus the same validity, due to the fact that they are both perceived to have been a part of the language's history, outwith human control. This contrasts with more purist or native-speaker ideologies in New Speaker communities, in which change resulting from minoritization is often evaluated negatively (as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 6). The 'Change as Vital' ideology, however, challenges this by framing diachronic changes in Manx not as symptomatic of its minoritization, but as emblematic of its 'living' status, often

⁴² 'They' here refers to past varieties of Manx as compared with the modern language.

by equating Manx's diachronic change with that of majority languages as exemplified by Voirrey below:

Voirrey: *Cha nel y Ghaelg jeh'n date shoh ny share ny'n Gaelg jeh'n date shen, um jus gollrish y Vaarle... t'ou toiggal dy vel y Vaarle- ren eh caghlaa ooilley'n traa ta shen- you know t'ee jus- shen yn aght lesh chengaghyn you know?*

Voirrey: "Manx from this date isn't better than Manx from that date, um just like English... you understand that English- it changed all the time that's- you know it's just- that's how it is with languages you know?"

This ideology views language not as a fixed entity, but as a constantly changing one, and thus contends that Manx should not be any different:

Voirrey: *Agh shen scanshoil son y çhengey, cha nel çhengaghyn jus... festit as- gollrish shen, t'ad goll gys- t'ad jus gollrish awinyn, as t'ad roie as shen scanshoil.*

Voirrey: "But that's important for the language, languages aren't just... stuck and- like that, they go to- they're just like rivers, and they run and that's important."

Here Voirrey underlines the importance of natural language change in enabling Manx to continue to be used as a community language, rather than being 'stuck' at some point in the past (reminiscent of discussions in the Basque community - Urla, 2012). This ideology views the kinds of language change that are being observed in Manx as reflective of speakers currently using the language, and the fact that the language is changing is reflective of the fact that speakers exist to use it at all.

Therefore, the 'Change as Vital' ideology normalizes language change in Manx as a process that occurs in 'every language'. It therefore contributes to discourses of vitality with regards to Manx - an ideology intended to garner authority and validity for Manx's status as a 'living language'. This ideology gives primacy to the idea that Manx is changing and being changed by its speakers. Change is viewed not only as positive, but also the thing that makes Manx a 'living language'. Moreover, it views such change as necessary for Manx's continued existence.

6.3.3 Manx for Communication

Many Manx New Speakers stressed the most important role that Manx, as a ‘living language’, can fulfil is that of a communicative language. In other words, the use of Manx as a language for communication within the community was more valuable than Manx being spoken in any specific way, hence the subtheme ‘Manx for Communication’. A key factor in this ideology is expressed by May:

May: Er y fa dy row shen yindyssagh yn Gaelg voish shen... agh uh ta stoo cheet stiagh ayns chengey erbee my ta shin gaase as... cha nel shin gearree dy ve f-- fuddy-duddy... ta shin gearree abyl dy [sic] communicate.

May: “Because that was wonderful the Manx from then... but uh stuff comes into any language as we grow and... we don’t want to be f–fuddy-duddy... we want to be able to communicate.”

May’s comment ties together several of the language ideologies discussed in previous sections. She mentions her awareness of structural differences between past varieties of Manx, on which she evidently places high value, and the language used in today’s community. She presents change as both inevitable and a positive indicator of Manx’s vitality. Additionally, she states language change is key in expressing ‘modern’ ideas and facilitating communication between Manx speakers. In this belief, the mere fact of Manx’s use as a community language, especially considering its past trajectory of extreme minoritization, gives the language authority. In other words, Manx’s status as a vital language which is usable and understandable by the whole community is more important than how it is spoken. This resembles Woolard’s (2005) framework of authority from anonymity, where validity for a language or variety is gained from its belonging to nobody and nowhere, thus enabling it to belong to any speaker in a given community.

The use of communication accommodation (Giles et al., 1973) by New Speakers of Manx is emblematic of this ideology that foregrounds Manx’s role as a communicative language above all else - the goal in speech interactions is mutual understanding. The following comments from speakers illustrate how this ideology shapes how they use Manx in different contexts. Orry states how he

accommodates when in conversation with speakers who he feels have a lower competence in Manx that he does, and the kinds of structural changes that he makes to his language as a result of this communication accommodation:

Orry: *Son y chooid smoo, ta mee loayrt rish sleih nagh vel yn- yn Ghaelg oc cha mie as yn Ghaelg ayms. Myrshen uh ta- t'eh orts smooinght er shen as caghlaa yn aght t'ou loayrt.*

Erin: *So cre'n sorch dy stoo t'ou caghlaa tra t'ou loayrt rish sleih ayns Gaelg?*

Orry: *Um... dy chooilley red er aght ennagh um... wahl myr ta fys ayd um feer vennick ta ny smoo ny un aght ayn dy ghra reddyn.*

Erin: Aye.

Orry: *Myr sampleyr um foddee oo ym-- jannoo ymmyd jeh ny cummaghyn(sp) giarey jeh ny breearyn... myrshen dy bee oo loayrt rish peiagh ta goaill toshiaght dy ynsagh uh yinnin ymmyd jeh- uh jeh ren as nee as yinnin ayns- uh ayns ynnyd jeh ny cummaghyn giarey.*

Orry: “For the most part, I’m talking to people whose Manx isn’t as good as my own. So uh you have to think about that and change the way that you speak.”

Erin: “So what sort of stuff do you change when you are speaking to people in Manx?”

Orry: “Um... everything in some way um... well as you know very often there is more than one way to say things.”

Erin: “Aye”.

Orry: “For example, um you can u—use the short forms of the verbs... so if you’ll be talking to somebody who’s starting to learn I would use- uh use *ren* and *nee* and *yinnin* in- uh instead of the short forms.”

The question of what speakers considered to be ‘good language use’ is discussed in Chapter 7. Crucially for the current discussion, Orry references functional equivalency in Manx morphosyntax (hence “there is more than one way to say things”). He assumes I am aware of this, hence his ‘as you know’, and lack of

elaboration of ‘short forms’⁴³. He states he uses more analytic verb constructions containing auxiliaries (see Chapter 4, Section 3.3 for discussion), rather than inflection, in conversation with speakers whose competence he judges to be lower, based on the fact that the latter forms are felt to be more ‘difficult’. Another speaker, Kirree, stated she engages in communication accommodation when speaking with Manx New Speakers from *kiarkyllyn elley* (‘other circles’); those with whom she does not regularly communicate, whose usage of Manx may be different. For Kirree, being able to use communication accommodation to assure mutual understanding is a necessary part of being a Manx speaker.

6.3.4 Summary

The ideologies that emerge from the ‘Vitality, Communication, and Change’ theme respond to discourses of endangerment (Duchêne and Heller, 2007) by claiming vitality for Manx. *Gaelg Vio* ideologies highlight speaker-focused discourses, rejecting the label of ‘dead language’ by pointing to the existence of its growing speaker community. The ‘Change as Vital’ subtheme discussed an ideology that perceived change as a necessary component of Manx’s status as a ‘living language’, and of envisioning a future for the language. Finally, ‘Manx for Communication’ foregrounded ideologies that saw the primary function of Manx as communicative tool, and detailed some of the practices Manx New Speakers engaged in that reflected this ideology.

However, even those speakers who stressed that Manx’s communicative use was paramount had views on how the language should best be spoken and on the linguistic models speakers should aspire towards (as discussed in Section 5). Therefore, the above ideologies that value communication are not mutually exclusive of ideologies that value certain kinds of Manx being spoken - the picture is more complicated than this, as the following sections, and the discussion of ‘good language use’ in Chapter 7, show.

⁴³ He is referring here to more grammatically complex synthetic verb forms - see Chapter 4, Section 3.3.

6.4 Fluency and Speakerness

The ‘Fluency and Speakerness’ theme discusses Manx New Speakers’ varied beliefs on what it means to be a speaker, as well as their perceptions of what fluency means in the Manx context.

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 4), speaker fluency may be assessed in various ways. For linguists, this term encompasses multiple meanings, including rates of speech, frequency and length of pauses, and automatic encoding of morphosyntactic rules (Chambers, 1997). Some of these conceptions of fluency overlap with folk definitions, in which speakers are often judged ‘fluent’ if they have few unfilled pauses and a fast rate of speech, as well as accuracy in grammar and vocabulary (Chambers, 1997: 540). ‘Fluent speaker’ is a term commonly applied in minoritized language contexts - highlighting the link between ideas of fluency and of speakerness. In the academic discourse, there have been various terms used to describe users of minoritized languages depending on their competence or acquisition trajectory (e.g. learner, semi-speaker, L2 speaker etc. - see Chapter 2 for discussion). Additionally, within New Speaker communities themselves, there are various beliefs around what it means to be a speaker of a minoritized language (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18), which may be linked to other ideologies, such as native speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009).

Such ideologies were incredibly relevant for Manx Speakers’ assessments of ‘good language use’ (see Chapter 7, Section 2), as well as in the language models valued by speakers (see Section 5). However, they did not prove to be the principal consideration in assessments of speakerhood and fluency with the Manx New Speaker community, perhaps because Manx speakers do not have access to a traditional native speaker community by which to define speakerness. Nevertheless, Manx New Speakers had their own metrics by which they judged perceived fluency levels and types of speakerhood present in their community, which are detailed in the following discussions.

6.4.1 ‘Levels’ of Fluency: Form and Function

This subtheme discusses the metrics by which Manx New Speakers judged ‘fluency’, which was a combination of varying types of linguistic competence, as well as the appropriate use of Manx in particular contexts.

Several speakers referenced their own language use with reference to fluency, with most reluctant to label themselves as ‘fluent speakers of Manx’:

Voirrey: Um cha nel mee flaaoil dy liooar, cha nel tra aymys jannoo.... uh wahl sharaghey y Ghaelg aymys agh t'eh mie dy liooar jus son loayrt rish sleih so... Gaelg son co-loayrtys {laughs}.

Erin: Son co-loayrtys {laughs} shen eh!

Voirrey: {laughs} Shen yn red ta mee jannoo.

Voirrey: “Um I’m not fluent enough, I don’t have time to do... uh well to improve my Manx but it’s good enough just for talking to people so... conversational Manx {laughs}.

Erin: Conversational {laughs} that’s it!

Voirrey: {laughs} That’s what I do.”

Voirrey, despite holding an hour-long conversation with me on complex topics, including metalinguistic discourse about Manx, did not feel herself to be fluent, suggesting there is a higher level of fluency to which she aspires. This hesitancy to adopt the label of ‘fluent’ raises interesting questions about what Manx New Speakers understand fluency to mean.

Part of this complexity, hinted at in Voirrey’s self-assessment above, is that fluency might be assessed differently depending on the contexts in which a given speaker uses Manx. Kirree describes this below:

Kirree: Agh c’red ta flaaoilys wahl ta keimyn jeh flaaoilys nagh vel? T’eh vel oo abyl dy gholl- uh goll mygeayrt... ny reddyn t’eh orts jannoo uh ayns- ayns y laa myr sampleyr... vrie feyshtyn ayns Gaelg um loayrt rish dty caarjyn ayns Gaelg um. Eer mannagh vel oo dy kinjagh jannoo eh... t’ou abyl dy yannoo shen um... yinnin gra dy row ad smoo flaaoil ny sleih elley.

Kirree: “But what is fluency? Well there are levels of fluency aren’t [there]? It’s are you able to go- uh go about... the things you need to do in- in the day for example... asking questions in Manx um talking to your friends in Manx um. Even if you don’t always do it... you’re able to do that um... I would say that they are more fluent than other people.”

The conception of fluency detailed above is a more ‘functional’ idea of fluency, centred around a speaker’s ability to use the language in a way that is meaningful for communicating with other speakers in their daily lives. Kirree highlights how fluency might be demonstrated - asking questions in educational contexts and using the language socially. This kind of fluency is ascribed to speakers whose use of and competence in Manx is valued by their peers and appropriate for the contexts in which they speak Manx. This is reminiscent of Jaffe’s (2015: 25) observation that different kinds of competence will be meaningful in different New Speaker communities - the discussion here shows that different kinds of competence are valued differently *within* New Speaker communities, depending on their contextual appropriateness and ideological framing.

However, Kirree above notes there are varying ‘levels’ or types of fluency recognized in the Manx community. The label ‘fluent’ may also be applied to speakers who meet some threshold based on their structural linguistic and metalinguistic competence. In the words of Juan (as discussed further in Chapter 7, Section 2) such speakers have *ard Gaelg* (‘high Manx’), and “*fod ad* like *soilshaghey magh stoo*” (“they can like explain stuff”) about the language when asked - they both are able to use complex linguistic constructions and to understand the rules behind and origins of such constructions. This is reminiscent of folk-linguistic views of ‘fluency of accuracy’, as discussed by Chambers (1997), and is often applied to the kinds of ‘expert speakers’ as discussed further in Section 5.2.

6.4.2 Learner-Speaker Duality

Ideas of speakerhood in the Manx New Speaker community proved to reflect a constellation of meanings, which this subtheme explores. Many Manx New Speakers did not recognize a clear cut-off point between the classification of

Manx ‘learner’ and Manx ‘speaker’ and perceived themselves, and others, to be both learners and speakers at the same time. This is evidenced in this statement from Orry:

Orry: *Wahl she ynseydee shin ooilley.*

Orry: “Well all of us are learners.”

Key to the idea of the learner-speaker *duality*, as opposed to a learner-speaker *dichotomy*, was the notion of agency (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1995: 470, in Ahearn, 2001: 127). Manx New Speakers often reported a high degree of agency when they spoke Manx. In second language acquisition frameworks, the greater role of agency in linguistic production might be explained as reflective of lower competence in or incomplete acquisition of the target language, such that production has not yet become proceduralised (e.g. Bowden et al., 2010). This is likely reflected in the production of many Manx speakers earlier in their acquisition journeys.

However, this subtheme presents evidence that even speakers who have been speaking the language for decades (in some cases), and thus whose production is likely to have become proceduralised, were also employing agency in their production, deliberately shaping their production to meet some linguistic target above and beyond the ability to communicate effectively in the language. Indeed, a key factor of this learner-speaker duality was the expectation that even speakers with significant competence in Manx, more than sufficient for communication, should be engaging in continual efforts to ‘improve’ or ‘better’ their Manx to bring it closer to some target or model (see Section 5).

Such conceptions of agency are often related or opposed to ideas of naturalness (see Section 4.3 for further discussion). An interesting moment for my own reflexive theme development occurred in the below interview interaction with Peddyr:

Peddyr: *Agh t'ou er nyannoo ny- ny reihyn ayd-hene nagh vel? Mychione um... kys t'ou gearree loayrt yn Ghaelg.*

Erin: *Um... aye foddee.*

Peddyr: *Ny vel- ny vel ad dy bollagh dooghyssagh dhyt?*

Erin: *Cha nel mee uh studeyr ny shenn teksyn ayns aght dowin ny red myr shen so t'eh jus yn aght ny smoo dooghyssagh er-my-hon-hene... you know son tra ta mee loayrt rish my chaarjyn as voish loayrt rish sleih ayns scoill.*

Peddyr: *Ta shen mie.*

Peddyr: But you have made your own choices haven't you? About um... how you want to speak Manx.

Erin: Um... yeah maybe.

Peddyr: Or are- or are they completely natural to you?

Erin: I'm not uh a student of the old texts in a profound way or [any]thing like that so it's just the way that's the most natural for myself... you know for when I'm speaking with my friends and from talking to people at school.

Peddyr: That's good.

Peddyr, prior to the above interaction, had described to me how he makes conscious decisions in the kind of Manx he produces to speak in a way he feels is closer to his desired target model. He assumes I must go through a similar process of choosing forms from my repertoire. I, in the moment, evidently did not feel that I did this to any great degree, I felt I mostly spoke in a way that was 'natural' to me, and which reflected the kind of language I had spoken for a long time, rather than trying to sound like a particular historical model. This question was a pivotal moment in developing the argumentation in this thesis.

It is clear from this interaction that perceptions and practice of agentive language usage varies among Manx New Speakers. However, I argue that it is not as binary as this conversation makes it seem. Peddyr almost certainly does not micro-manage every aspect of his Manx production, and I certainly have preferences for forms to use in Manx when I am in a context where I am more likely to be monitoring my own production. Demographic factors almost certainly come into play in this variation: most of the valued community models for linguistic production are based on the production of men which Peddyr is, and I am not. In addition, I am from a generation who acquired Manx as children through the education system, and Peddyr acquired the language as an adult,

with the increased metalinguistic awareness that this implies. In addition, the contexts in which we use Manx varies - Peddyr works in a context where he might be under more pressure to speak Manx in a certain way, whereas I rarely face that same pressure. Peddyr and I might also have different ideologies and beliefs about the necessity or value of aspiring towards certain language models, which plays into our production (see Section 5). The ideas of naturalness brought up by Peddyr are further explored in the following section.

6.4.3 *Dooghyssagh*⁴⁴

Fluency and speakerness seem to be understood in a complex interrelated matrix of perceived competence and agency in the Manx context. Another element to add to the mix is the idea of perceived ‘naturalness’. This held varying meanings for Manx New Speakers, which this subtheme explores.

In my conversation with Peddyr above, he contrasts the idea of agency with that of naturalness, implying that he considers less agentive speech to be more natural. This was a sentiment shared by several Manx New Speakers; Juan, for example, considered ‘natural Manx’ to be Manx that was spoken *gyn smooïnaghtyn* (‘without thinking’). He thought this kind of production was rare in Manx, but that it was also a kind of production speakers should aspire to. Niamh below expressed a similar belief:

Niamh: *Wahl adsyn t'er ve gynsaghey as uh t'ad abyl dy smooïnaghtyn ayns Gaelg ta- tra t'ou gynsaghey çengey erbee... tra t'ou er n'yannoo shen rish tammylt eisht t'ou... abyl dy smooïnaghtyn uh ayns- ayns y çengey hene, as uh cha nel oo mestey çhengaghyn feer vennick tra ta shen taghtyrt {laughs}.*

Niamh: “Well those who have been learning and they’re able to think in Manx that- when you’re learning any language, when you have been doing that for a while then you’re... able to think uh in- in the language itself, and uh you don’t mix languages very often when that happens {laughs}.”

Being able to “think in Manx”, and the associated “effortless” production, which Niamh attributes to having been speaking the language for a long time. In

⁴⁴ ‘Native’ / ‘natural’.

addition, she connects the idea of “thinking in Manx” to not producing the kinds of language, in this case, translingual practices using English resources, that are less valued by speakers (see Chapter 7). These views are reflective of commonly-held folk linguistic ideas of fluency as reflective of effortlessness (Chambers, 1997), as opposed to accuracy.

Another way Manx New Speakers described naturalness was rooted in the community that uses the language today, exemplified in the quote from Em below:

Erin: *Vel oo smooïnaghtyn dy vel sleih ny laaghyn t'ayn jiu loayrt Gaelg dooghyssagh?*

Em: *Cha nel mee lane shickyr!* {laughs}

Erin: {laughs} *Wahl mish noadyr!*

Em: *Wahl- wahl t'eh dooghyssagh son y traa t'ayn, as er lhiam dy vel- dy nod oo gra dy vel yn aght dy vel Gaelg loayrt [sic] ec y traa t'ayn, ta shen yn Gaelg dooghyssagh er yn oyr dy vel shin jannoo ymmyd jeh.*

Erin: “Do you think that people today speak ‘natural Manx’?”

Em: “I’m not really sure!” {laughs}

Erin: {laughs} “Well me neither!”

Em: “Well- well it’s natural for this time, and I think that- that you can say that the way that the way that Manx is spoken at the moment, that’s the natural Manx because we use it.”

Em and I both acknowledge the inherent complexity of trying to define ‘natural Manx’. Nevertheless, she refers to Manx as being ‘natural for this time’, meaning something organic used by the current speaker community. She is likely responding to ideas that exist in the community that focus on ‘natural’ Manx as something that is found in past stages of the language, and something that is heavily associated with past traditional native speaker communities and founded on native speaker ideologies. Em reframes and questions these ideas to express an understanding of naturalness that includes structural features in use by New Speakers of Manx.

Such ideas of native-speaker naturalness are clearly expressed by Richard:

Richard: *As va shin ooilley just... nyn dost ayns y cheeill shen tra v'eh loayrt. As- as loayr mee rish sleih ny ghaa lurg da shen, as va shin ooilley smooinghtyn v'eh jus sheeanal myr- va shin smooinghtyn dy row eh sheeanal myr dy ren ny shenn um saggyrtyn sheeanal [...] V'eh just- ren eh- ren eh just sheeanal cho dooghyssagh... ayns dagh ooilley aght. Va shin just ayns- jus rish tammylt ayns... traa elley dy bollagh, you know v'eh shiaght keead jeig as red ennagh foddee.*

Richard: “And we were all just... silent in that church when he was talking. And- and I spoke to a couple of people after that, and we were all thinking he just sounded like- we were thinking he sounded like how the old um priests sounded [...] He was just- he- he just sounded so natural... in every way. We were just in- just for a while in... a completely different time, you know it was seventeen hundred and something maybe.”

For Richard, naturalness is strongly linked to the kind of Manx that closely approximates community ideas of what Manx sounded like in the past (see section 5.1 on ‘Traditional Manx’). This is evidently rooted in native speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009), viewing the most legitimate production in Manx as that of past traditional native speakers.

I found the Manx word *dooghyssagh* useful in encompassing the many interlinked meanings of ‘naturalness’ for Manx New Speakers. The notion of *dooghyssagh*, as it was used by my speakers, combines ideas of ‘speaking without thinking’, but also speaking in a way that approximates some community idea of what ‘native’ or ‘natural’ Manx sounds like, in the present community, and also would have sounded like, in the sense of the past traditional speaker community. The multiplicity expressed by this term might give a better understanding of what the range of meanings assigned to notions of ‘naturalness’ by the New Speaker communities of languages in Manx’s sociolinguistic situation, which might differ from the way such things are measured and understood for majority languages or even traditional speaker communities of minority languages.

6.4.4 Summary

This theme details varying beliefs about fluency and speakerness expressed by Manx New Speakers. These perceptions proved to be complex and interlinked. With regards to fluency, some Manx New Speakers seem to assess this with respect to the domains in which speakers use Manx, leading to context-specific types of fluency in the community. Nevertheless, there emerged an aspirational kind of fluency that was ascribed to very few ‘expert’ speakers (Section 6.5), reminiscent of commonly-held ideas of fluency based on a perceived high level of competence and reflected in agentive production.

Manx New Speakers therefore seem to aspire to the kind of production deemed *dooghyssagh*, the meaning of which was multifaceted. It was linked to conceptions of fluency associated with effortless, but also with ideas of naturalness that both supported and challenged native speaker ideologies. Indeed, the notion of the speaker itself was problematized by the assertion of many Manx New Speakers that there was no firm dividing line between the categories of learner and speaker which have often been applied to users of minoritized languages. That said, there were undoubtedly profiles of production towards which Manx New Speakers oriented their language use, as the next theme discusses.

6.5 Models for Manx

Manx New Speakers evidently have opinions about different ways of speaking in their community, and a theme that emerged strongly from the data was the importance of varying language models valued by Manx New Speakers. These were ways of speaking, and types of speakers, aspirational for Manx New Speakers - targets towards which they aimed their own production. The existence of varying language models is common among New Speaker communities, as New Speakers often hold strong opinions concerning the ‘right’ way to speak their minority language (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 18). New Speakers value varying kinds of language models, including both traditional and dialectal varieties (O’Rourke, 2015: 378), as well as standardized varieties of the minority language (e.g. in Breton - Hornsby, 2015).

The reasons why these models might be valued by New Speakers may be linked to broader language ideologies, such as native speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009),

and the ideology of the standard (e.g. Milroy, 2007). In addition, these language models can be understood within Woolard's (2005) framework of authority; traditional or dialectal varieties of a minority language garner authority through authenticity, emblematic of belonging to a specific locality, whereas standardized varieties are valued for seeming to belong to no one and nowhere in particular, and thus accessible to anyone. These broad ideologies are at play in the findings from Manx New Speakers as laid out in the subthemes below.

Previous research on Manx has found that target varieties prove difficult to pin down. Ó hlfearnáin's (2015b: 116) found that the perceived high degree of fluency of some Manx speakers served as a "moving target" for linguistic production - a "fluid state in which standards were uncertain but stabilising". This highlights the complex and interwoven nature of language models in the Manx context - however, it seems as though Manx speakers value both models associated with the historical language, as well as those that have come about in more recent times (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015a; 2015b; Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin, 2018). This theme explores how different linguistic models are interacting in this 'fluid state', and the varying value given to them by my participants.

6.5.1 'Traditional Manx'

Manx New Speakers have no access to extant traditional native speakers of Manx. However, for my participants, that did not mean that historical varieties of Manx did not form part of their matrix of linguistic models, nor that participants exclusively aligned themselves to a New Speaker model of linguistic production. Most participants highly valued traditional varieties, as was found in Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin (2018), and for some participants this valuation played a major role in shaping their language use.

In the Manx New Speaker community, the concept of 'Traditional Manx' has arisen, based on the attested language use in certain salient examples of historical Manx usage - such as historical texts and recordings of traditional native speakers. 'Traditional Manx' is often presented as opposed to the language used in the community today in terms of linguistic structure. For example, during an observation session in the Manx class, the teacher framed various structures that students might use in a binary opposition, stating: "in

Traditional Manx you would say X, but nowadays you hear Y”. The latter was not described as ‘wrong’ by the teacher, just that the former was presented as the kind of language use to which their students should be encouraged to aspire.

Several of my participants referenced the temporal gap between historical linguistic models and the community today:

Kirree: S'bastagh nagh vel mee abyl dy goll erash daa cheead vlein er dy henney as clashtyn sleih loayrt yn aght v'ad loayrt... or eer ny s-- smoo ny shen.

Kirree: “It’s a shame that I can’t go back [to] two hundred years ago and hear people speaking [in] the way that they were speaking... or even more than that.”

This quote raises the question of what kinds of language Manx New Speakers want to hear. Speakers referenced various ideas about and evidence of historical language use, here drawn together into the subtheme of ‘Traditional Manx’. Often this included textual evidence of ‘Classical Manx’, particularly the Manx Family Bible⁴⁵:

Erin: Tra t'ou loayrt mychione yn grammeydys... vel sampleyryn elley ayd jeh'n grammeydys jeh'n ard Gaelg?

Juan: Mhmm uh yn Bible... so shen yn um... sampleyr jeh Gaelg share ain er yn oyr dy row eh scoo—screeauit- scoorit shen mish foddee!

Erin: {laughs}

Juan: Um, v'eh screeauit ec y traa... va dagh ooilley ph-- pheiaagh ayns Mannin loayrt Gaelg so v'eh screeauit son y pobble... so she Gaelg- ard Gaelg ren sleih jannoo ymyyd jeh ayns y tr-- traa chaie.

Erin: “When you talk about grammar... do you have any other examples of the grammar of *ard Gaelg*?”

⁴⁵ The context of such texts is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 2.2.

Juan: “Mmhm uh the Bible... so that’s the um... the example of best Manx that we have because it was dr-- written- drunk that’s me maybe!⁴⁶”

Erin: {laughs}

Juan: “Um, it was written at the time when everybody in the Isle of Man was speaking Manx so it was written for the public... so it’s Manx- *ard Gaelg* that people used in the p–past.”

Here Juan brings up reasons why this model might be valued - he perceives it as a snapshot of the kind of language used when Manx was the principal community language in the Isle of Man, prior to its minoritization. This implies that the Manx in such texts is perceived not to contain the kind of linguistic features associated with minoritization, such as translingual features, which were often devalued by speakers (discussed further in Chapter 7). The same is true for perceptions of grammatical complexity - the Bible in particular is seen as something of a ‘Bible’⁴⁷ for structures that Manx speakers perceive as highly complex and indexical of an aspirational competence in Manx (Chapter 7). Juan provides an example:

Juan: *My t’ou jeeaghyn ayns y Vible... as fer gollrish ‘yiarrin’ ny red myr shen, fod oo jeeaghyn ayn as eisht t’eh cur sampleyryn ayd... as she ard Gaelg t’ayn.*

Juan: “If you look in the Bible... and there’s one[s] like ‘*yiarrin*’ and thing[s] like that, you can look in it and it gives you examples... and it’s *ard Gaelg*.”

The feature that Juan is referring to, of which the Bible is replete with examples, is the synthetic conditional first-person form of ‘say’, ‘*yiarrin*’ (‘I would say’). This is the kind of grammatically complex morphosyntactic construction, the production of which is associated with a speaker’s possessing higher competence in Manx. Juan, along with many other Manx New Speakers, associate the kind of language used in texts such as the Manx Bible with these highly valued morphosyntactic forms. These texts therefore served as a linguistic

⁴⁶ Juan here makes a slip of the tongue - the words for ‘written’ and ‘drunk’ in Manx (*screeauit* and *scoorit* respectively) sound similar, so he jokes that his initial mispronunciation of ‘written’ is due to drunkenness.

⁴⁷ Pun intended.

model for certain aspects of linguistic structure for some of my participants, echoing previous findings (e.g. Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 101).

However, the above texts are not the only historical model that forms part of the matrix of ‘Traditional Manx’. Another that was referenced, albeit less frequently, were recordings made of traditional native speakers of Manx in the 20th century (see Chapter 3, Section 2 for context). Manx New Speakers today have access to these recordings thanks to the Internet, meaning that, for some of my participants, these recordings formed part of a linguistic model towards which they orientated their linguistic production. In the following extract, Orry discusses how he makes use of the model of native speaker recordings, as well as Manx texts, in his own language use:

Orry: Ta mee geaishtagh rish ny loayreyderyn dooghyssagh... um ta mee um... uh lhiah teksyn, ta mee geishtagh rish recoyrtysyn as ta mee jannoo ymyyd jeh'n- jeh'n ghlaare t'ayn... cha nel mee briaght jeem-pene vel shoh Gaelgagh ny neu-Ghaelgagh... s-- s'cummey lhiam shen- shen yn ghlaare t'ayn.

Orry: “I listen to the native speakers... um I um... uh read texts, I listen to recordings and I use the language that’s there... I don’t ask myself is this Manx or not Manx... th— that doesn’t matter to me- that’s the language that’s there.”

In previous studies, these recordings were not found to be a particularly valued part of Manx New Speakers’ language models in terms of linguistic structure, serving instead as “authentic sources for pronunciation and ethno-linguistic culture” (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015a: 56). This may also be the case for my participants - when focusing on models of ‘grammar’ specifically, speakers exclusively referenced textual models.

Nevertheless, some speakers also pointed out the inherent difficulty in aspiring to emulate the morphosyntax of these texts. As aforementioned, they are felt to contain structures valued for their perceived complexity. This has the paradoxical effect of making them a more desirable linguistic model for morphosyntactic constructions, but also a more difficult one to emulate, as Mona elaborates on:

Mona: *Ny keayrtyn ta mee jeeaghyn erash er ny shenn teksyn as {clicks tongue} t'eh feer chramp... ny keayrtyn dy- dy- dy toiggal ad um, as ta feme aym smooïnaghtyn dy dowin er ny keayrtyn... just un- un raa ayns- ayns teks vooar, as ta mee jeeaghyn er like c'red ta shoh çheet er?*

Mona: "Sometimes I look back at the old texts and {clicks tongue} it's very complex... sometimes to- to- to understand them um, and I need to think deeply about it sometimes... just one- one sentence in- in a big text, and I'm looking at it like what does this mean?"

Ivy's comment below also complicates the picture further, as she suggests that these texts might be more useful or appropriate as linguistic models in some contexts rather than others:

Ivy: *Ec- ec y traa t'ayn, ayns y brastyl ta- you know ta shin lhiah yn Bible... as you know, t'eh mie dy liooar {laughs}... agh t'eh- t'eh uh yeah t'eh bit beg anchasley {laughs}... cha nel eh mie son co-loayrtys foddee.*

Ivy: "At- at the moment, in the class we are- you know we're reading the Bible... and you know, it's ok {laughs}... but it's- it's uh yeah it's a bit different {laughs}... it's not good for conversation maybe."

Ivy here raises the issue that the kinds of language use that are often used in casual conversation among the Manx New Speaker community today are not necessarily those features that are valued in these historical textual models. Therefore, the value of these texts as models might well be context dependent, and valuation of them does not always result in emulation.

The views expressed by Manx New Speakers in this theme are reflective of various broader language ideologies. Clearly, the 'Traditional Manx' model is strongly oriented towards historical language practices, or rather, speakers' perceptions of what varying kinds of historical language use might have been like, based both on folk-linguistic ideas and extant attestations of past language use felt to be in some way essential or authentic to Manx as it was spoken in 'the old days' i.e. prior to its perceived 'death'. It is made up of a constellation of linguistic features felt to be associated with these historical language practices. Thus, 'Traditional Manx' is not strongly based in a particular time, but in a combination of time periods, and might best be described as a pseudo-

historical variety. It is an example of a retro-vernacular ideology (Bell and McConville, 2018: 119-120), where past features of a language are transplanted into modern-day speech. It is clearly based in native-speaker ideologies, viewing the kind of language imagined to be spoken by past native speakers as a superior model. However, this theme gives a crucial insight into how an ‘ideal native speaker’ variety is constructed by speakers in the absence of an extant traditional native speaker community.

‘Traditional Manx’ models might therefore be seen as contradictory to the kinds of discourses explored earlier in the chapter, which foregrounded Manx’s status as a communicative language for current speakers. However, the picture is more nuanced than this - these discourses are in dialogue with each other; speakers’ lack of desire to emulate ‘Traditional Manx’ in their everyday speech does not necessitate a devaluation of it, but rather different priorities they have when interacting in Manx. The ‘Traditional Manx’ model also interacts with other kinds of models in the community, as discussed in the following sections.

6.5.2 Expert New Speakers

This subtheme discusses how and why Manx New Speakers valued the language use of particular ‘expert’ New Speakers, namely a socially constructed speaker profile based on perceived linguistic knowledge, rather than intrinsic speakerness (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2015: 72). Ó hlfearnáin (2015a: 57) find that the “high levels of fluency achieved by some ‘learner’ speakers”, who may be teachers of Manx, form part of the linguistic model for Manx New Speakers. However, Manx New Speakers’ valuations of these ‘expert speaker models’ prove to be in a complex relationship with both modernising and native speaker ideologies - such speakers are valued as models as they represent a more ‘modern’ version of Manx felt by some to be more appropriate to the language’s current setting (Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin, 2018), and yet their production is also valued due to the features it shares with historical varieties of Manx.

During our interview, Juan discussed how he valued the language use of certain New Speakers of Manx that he felt had a high degree of competence:

Juan: Cha nel monney dy 'leih... ta jeant gynsaghey Gaelg... ta- ta kuse dy 'leih va mee smooïnaghtyn er... cha nel ad jeant gynsaghey er yn oyr cha

nel pieagh erbee rieau gint-- jeant gysaghey - gint jinsaghey! ⁴⁸Agh um, t'ad jeant dy liooar dy vel ard Gaelg oc... agh my t'ou vriaght daue mychione- fod ad like soilshaghey magh stoo.

Juan: “There aren’t many people... that are done learning Manx... there- there are some people I’m thinking of... they’re not done learning because nobody is ever done learning... But um, they’re done enough that they have *ard Gaelg*⁴⁹... but if you ask them about- they can like explain stuff.”

For Juan, the competence of such speakers was not just limited to their production in Manx, but also their metalinguistic knowledge and understanding - the fact that they would be able to talk about the rules of complex linguistic structures in Manx were they asked to - as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 4).

In addition, during the reading group observation sessions, speakers seemed, rather than directly aiming towards an imagined Traditional Manx model, to seek to emulate the language use of a section of the New Speaker community that have been termed ‘expert speakers’. These are speakers that have a high degree of competence in Manx, and that are perceived to speak in a way that models ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ language use, as will be discussed in the following chapter. In the observation group in question, the group members praised the language use of a particular ‘expert speaker’ who translates local news articles into Manx, against which the group compared their own writing in Manx. One group member stated that this expert speaker ‘always finds a very Manx-y way to say things’, by which she meant that the expert speaker makes use of idiomatic language in their translations, which was valued more highly by the group than translations which made use of morphosyntactic calques on the original English news article. The use of idiomatic language was also found to be a valued part of Manx production by Ó hIfeárnáin (2015a: 56).

It is important to note that many of the linguistic features used by such ‘expert speakers’ that are valued by community members, such as the aforementioned ‘Manx-y’ language use, will overlap to some degree with those valued in ‘Traditional Manx’ models:

⁴⁸ Juan again makes a slip of the tongue here.

⁴⁹ The meaning of terms like this is explored in Chapter 7.

May: [Ta] Manx accent *yindyssagh erskyn towse ec [speaker]... v'eh gynsaghey trooid yn Bible. Agh um- as uh- oh feer yindyssagh erskyn towse lesh yn çhengey, as ta um just ta- t'eh feer berchagh geishtagh rish yn ch-- um yn aght t'eh loayrt, as- so oddagh oo goaill ram stoo voish geishtagh rish [speaker].*

May: “[Speaker] has a beyond wonderful Manx accent... he learnt through the Bible. But um- and uh oh- very beyond wonderful with the language, and it's- just it's very rich listening to him with the l— um the way he speaks, and- so you could take many things from listening to [speaker].

Therefore, it seems as though some speakers do value more ‘modern’ linguistic models, perhaps particularly in the domain of pronunciation, namely the “revived Manx accent” (Ó Murchadha and Ó hlfearnáin, 2018). That said, there seemed to be a great degree of overlap in terms of linguistic structure between the kinds of language valued due to its perceived closeness to ‘Traditional Manx’, and that valued due its being produced by ‘expert speakers’. Indeed, May’s comment above reveals that the language of expert speakers might be valued *because* it is perceived as being close to some historical model.

Therefore, it seems difficult in the Manx context to definitively separate native speaker and ‘retro-vernacular’ (Bell and McConville, 2018) ideologies from those that value language use that is perceived as more ‘modern’. This might be due to a desire to maintain the community’s perceived organic link between the historical language and the modern language that Ó hlfearnáin (2015a) argues defines communities of “Extreme Language Shift” like Manx - speakers are foregrounding the structural closeness of the language of expert speakers to that of “Traditional Manx” to highlight this link and gain validity for Manx. However, historical varieties of Manx are not the only way this might be achieved, as discussed below.

6.5.3 ‘Gaelicness’

This subtheme explores Manx New Speakers’ orientation towards types of language practices in Manx felt to be ‘more Gaelic’. Ó hlfearnáin (2015a)

identifies Manx New Speakers' perceptions of Manx as a 'collateral language' with both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, namely their foregrounding of links between Manx and its 'sister' languages. Such 'collateral language' ideologies prove relevant to this subtheme, which discusses some Manx New Speakers' identification of 'Gaelicness', or of a type of Manx usage which is perceived to be 'maximally Gaelic', as a linguistic model in and of itself, and a target that shapes their language use⁵⁰.

My fieldwork interactions also brought up the idea of Gaelicness as a linguistic model in the community. Irish and Scottish Gaelic, or more accurately, the idea of these languages and Manx speakers' perceptions of their structure, serves as an important target by which some Manx speakers measure their own and others' linguistic production. That is to say, some speakers aim to use types of Manx and specific kinds of constructions that they assume to be 'more Gaelic', that is, that are perceived to be shared with Irish and/or Scottish Gaelic.

Niamh shared an anecdote in interviews about travelling to the Western Isles of Scotland, with the expectation that she would be able to use Manx to communicate with speakers of Scottish Gaelic, due to the belief of mutual intelligibility between the two. She recounted her dismay when one Gaelic speaker critiqued her pronunciation in Manx as inauthentic (namely 'English') - being from Scotland, she replied that her pronunciation was Scottish. These interactions hint at the ubiquity of, and importance placed on, perceptions of Manx's Gaelicness in the community.

In addition, during participant observation it was common for speakers in conversation groups to remark upon an insecurity that they had about certain ways of speaking Manx as not being "Gaelic enough". This is reflective of the discussion in Ó hÍfearnáin (2015b: 113), whose speakers were concerned with being "taken seriously as Gaelic speakers". During my ethnographic observation, it became evident that these concerns were sometimes responded to through the linguistic landscape, as in the example below:

⁵⁰ It should be noted that this perception of Gaelicness is not always reflective of the reality of historical language change and contact between these languages (Lewin, 2015).



A Poster Showing Common Vocabulary in the three Gaelic Languages. Image Credit: Erin McNulty

These posters, put up by a Manx language organization during a language event, aimed to showcase the cultural connection and linguistic links between the three Gaelic languages by highlighting the similarity between beach-themed and colour vocabulary in the three languages.

Also, Lewis, during interviews, often discussed his own agency in producing language to meet a ‘more Gaelic’ target and orienting himself to an imagined ‘more Gaelic’ norm, by preferring to use linguistic structures that are shared with Irish in particular, when he speaks Manx. Therefore, a way of claiming legitimacy for Manx may be by performing ‘Gaelicness’, possibly by using specific linguistic structures in an effort to present Manx as “a Gaelic dialect like any other” (Lewin, 2017: 98); by orienting one’s language use to an imagined idea of a ‘maximally Gaelic’ form of Manx. Often, the foregrounding of Manx’s ‘Gaelicness’ is a reaction against the kinds of language use perceived as *Baarlaghys* (‘Anglicism’), as Chapter 7 will discuss. The idea of Gaelicness when applied to linguistic structures in Manx, also often overlaps with community perceptions of grammatical complexity and the perceived ‘Manxness’ of particular constructions, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.5.4 Summary

The thematic discussion above corroborates and expands upon Ó hlfearnáin's (2015a) findings of a 'moving target' for Manx New Speakers. The subthemes illustrate how valued language models in the Manx context form a complex constellation with multiple historical and modern nodes from various places within and outwith the Isle of Man against which many speakers feel like they should evaluate their own and others' language use. The link between this evaluation and the agentive use of particular constructions and constant change and improvement of one's language use in order to aspire to a production that was closer to one or more of these overlapping nodes on the constellation of Manx language models was a theme that was observed across many speakers, to be discussed further in Chapter 8.

Woolard's (2005) framework of authority from authenticity is clearly relevant here. Many speakers give value to ideas of localness in language use, valuing the kinds of language associated with the rural past, the Isle of Man, or with surrounding Gaelophone territories in Scotland and Ireland, and authority for particular kinds of language use is gained through its association with these various local or super-local spaces. However, this framework might have to be adjusted to account for the temporal dimension in the Manx context - namely the gap in time between imagined 'Traditional Manx' and the kinds of language use that are associated with post-revitalization Manx (see Chapter 8, Section 6 for continued discussion). We can also see the workings of broader language ideologies, such as native speaker ideologies, in the reasons why Manx speakers value certain models.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter discussed themes concerning Manx New Speakers' broad beliefs around how Manx should be spoken, and around the role the language should play in the community, developed from interview and ethnographic data collected by this thesis. It relayed how these beliefs reflect language ideologies that are often at work in other New Speaker communities, such as native speaker ideologies, as well as folk-linguistic ideas on fluency and language change. It highlighted how these ideologies are in a complex, and sometimes

contradictory, relationship in the Manx New Speaker community, and that there was a great deal of variation in the beliefs speakers had about language, perhaps surprising in so small a community. Many Manx New Speakers placed a high degree of value on certain linguistic models, to the degree that ideologies that stood at the root of these valuations, like native speaker ideologies, were mostly unquestioned. That said, the relative importance of emulating these models varied between speakers, and was also highly context-dependent, illustrating the complex relationship between language ideologies and linguistic behaviour.

In addition, this chapter highlighted certain beliefs among the Manx New Speaker community that might be less commonly encountered among minoritized language communities. These include beliefs about language change, viewed by some as a positive indicator of Manx's 'living' status. In addition, the idea that other languages, in this case Irish and Scottish Gaelic, might serve as a direct model for speakers with regards to linguistic structure is seems to be unusual in New Speaker communities. Also, Manx New Speakers' rejection of the 'learner-speaker dichotomy', not viewing learnerness and speakerness as mutually exclusive categories, seems to be contrary to prominent discourses in many communities (e.g. Irish - O'Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 4). These beliefs have likely resulted from Manx's trajectory of extreme minoritization and current unusual sociolinguistic situation. It is therefore vital to study how such language contexts shape the manifestation of language ideologies and can result in novel linguistic beliefs.

The following chapters will discuss further themes that emerged from both the qualitative and quantitative fieldwork data. Chapter 7 discusses how the language beliefs discussed here manifest in attitudinal judgements towards specific morphosyntactic constructions in Manx. The original framework that this thesis proposes in Chapter 8 will illustrate how the ideas presented in these chapters function together to shape language use and beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community.

7. Valued Language Practices for Manx New Speakers

7.1 Introduction

Following on from the discussion in Chapter 6 on broader language ideologies observed among New Speakers of Manx, this chapter discusses how these broader ideologies manifest in beliefs about specific language practices among Manx New Speakers. Section 2 of this chapter consists of further Thematic Analysis of interview and observation data, with a view to developing themes exploring the layers of meaning-making behind various evaluative judgements that Manx New Speakers gave to varying language practices within their community. As Figure 7.1 below indicates, the broader themes in this chapter centre around understanding the meanings behind specific labels that Manx New Speakers use to describe different language practices. It asks, and begins to answer, the question: what do Manx New Speakers mean when they say a particular way of speaking is ‘very good’ or ‘very Manx’? What morphosyntactic features does this include and exclude? Thematic Analysis of speakers’ metalinguistic discussions and aspects of linguistic behaviour begin to reveal complex interplays of meaning behind such judgements.

This chapter also includes discussion on Manx New Speakers’ language attitudes. To summarise the discussion in Chapter 2 (Section 6.1), attitudes may be defined as “disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970: 279). For language attitudes in particular, the attitudinal object consists of some language or variety, or a particular way of speaking. Language attitudes research is therefore another tool for investigating speakers’ feelings about some aspect of language. In this study, the attitudinal objects are the same morphosyntactic variables (Chapter 4, Section 3.3) analysed in speakers’ production during interviews in Chapter 5. This study uses a language attitudes survey to elicit language attitudes (see Chapter 4, Section 3.2 for further details). Manx New Speakers were asked to use a Likert scale to react favourably or unfavourably to these morphosyntactic constructions. Questionnaire respondents judged these variables according to two criteria: how ‘good’ they

thought they sounded, and how ‘Manx’ they thought they sounded. Therefore, this quantitative data analysis lends another perspective on the meanings of labels like ‘good’ or ‘very Manx’ to describe language use in the Manx New Speaker community, and which kinds of constructions are felt to be included in or excluded from such labels. It also touches on common patterns between how speakers rated forms and how they used them linking back to data from Chapter 5.

Previous research suggests that New Speakers may often devalue ways of speaking perceived to exemplify the influence of the majority language on the minority (Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378). For example, many speakers of Scottish Gaelic consider ‘good language use’ as that which is not perceived as being influenced by English (McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015: 165; Bell and McConville, 2018: 121). More variably, New Speakers may value traditional language varieties perceived as ‘authentic’ (e.g. Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378; Bell and McConville, 2018; Hornsby and Quentel, 2013; O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 20), but this does not necessarily equate to their desire to reproduce such traditional norms in speech (e.g. for some Scottish Gaelic speakers: McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015). Indeed, some New Speakers may prefer less traditional or more standardised norms in their minority language, reflecting the language’s revitalization context (e.g. in Breton and Yiddish: Hornsby, 2015: 119, and Scottish Gaelic: McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015; Nance, 2015). In addition, existing research suggests that there may be connections between how New Speakers value language practices and their own production, namely that New Speakers agentively use linguistic forms that have acquired social meaning in order to index their orientation towards some linguistic belief (Rodriguez-Ordoñez, 2020; Enriquez-García, 2017). This thesis argues such processes are in operation in the Manx New Speaker community, as this chapter begins to discuss prior to further exploration in Chapter 8.

Similar language judgements as observed in other New Speaker communities have also been reported in the Manx context. For example, in Ó Murchadha and Ó hIfeárnáin’s (2018) study, some Manx New Speakers valued the ‘revived Manx accent’, as it was perceived as reflecting the language’s current “social reality rather than the Gaelic culture of the past”. However, other speakers in this study highly valued traditional historical language models, such as those

discussed in Chapter 6, Section 5.1. This chapter adds to this existing research and explores what kinds of linguistic constructions Manx New Speakers value and devalue, addressing the following research questions in bold below:

2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?
 - a. What language ideologies do speakers hold about Manx?
 - b. What linguistic models and ways of speaking are valued by Manx New Speakers?**
 - c. How do speakers understand ideas of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’, as they relate to language use?**

The judgements and attitudes of Manx New Speakers discussed in this chapter often reflect these overarching trends seen in New Speaker research more generally, but also those language ideologies discussed in Chapter 6. Many of the comments made by Manx New Speakers in the following section about ways of speaking in Manx are explicitly linked to community ideas about what the role of Manx should be. There is evidently a complex interplay of ideologies, attitudes, and language use in the Manx New Speaker community, as this chapter begins to exemplify. Section 3 discusses Manx New Speakers’ responses to the language attitudes questionnaire (Chapter 4, Section 3.2). This chapter also begins to draw comparisons between Manx New Speakers’ language beliefs and their linguistic production during interviews, which will be expanded upon in Chapter 8. However, the chapter begins in Section 2 with Thematic Analysis of qualitative ethnographic data around Manx New Speakers’ views on ‘valued language practices’ - what they said during interviews, and what they did during observation.

7.2 Themes in Perceptions of Language Practices

This section discusses how themes around language practices valued by Manx New Speakers emerged from Thematic Analysis of ethnographic fieldwork data, namely from sociolinguistic interviews and participant observation. During this

fieldwork, Manx New Speakers referred to different ways of speaking Manx with many different evaluative terms, a selection of which are summarised in the word cloud below:

<i>Gaelg vie</i> “good Manx”	<i>ard Gaelg</i> “high Manx”	<i>Manglish</i> “Manx+English”
<i>Gaelg yindyssagh</i> “wonderful Manx”	<i>shen Gaelg</i> “that is Manx”	<i>Gaelg vrisht</i> “broken Manx”
<i>cha nee shen Gaelg</i> “that is not Manx”	<i>ny smoo Gaelgagh</i> “more Manx”	
<i>Baarlaghys</i> “Anglicism”	<i>Gaelg chiart</i> “correct Manx”	<i>Gaelg ghooghyssagh</i> “natural/native Manx”

From the above, it seems evident that there are constellations of meanings in the Manx New Speaker community with regards to evaluations of language practices, which this chapter aims to unpack. Many of these echo judgements made by speakers in other New Speaker communities (as discussed in depth in Chapter 2, Section 6). They refer to translingual practices as well as those associated with native speakers or traditional varieties (McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015), which prove to be important focal points in Manx New Speakers' language beliefs.

Specifically, many of the above terms refer to the ‘quality’ of the Manx being assessed - is it good or not good? We see this in terms like *Gaelg vie*, *Gaelg yindyssagh*, *ard Gaelg*, *Ghaelg ghlen*, and *Gaelg chiart*, which are in contrast with judgements such as *drogh Gaelg* and *Gaelg vrisht*. Another theme that jumps out is to what extent is a particular instance of language use judged more or less ‘Manx’. We see this in *shen Gaelg/cha nee shen Gaelg*, *ny smoo Gaelgagh*, and even terms like *Baarlaghys* and *Manglish*, which categorise a particular use of language as being ‘English-like’ to some degree.

Therefore, from this array of evaluative terms, two main themes have been discerned as being central ‘cores’ of meaning for Manx New Speakers making

such judgements - what does it mean for a way of speaking Manx to be 'good'? And what does it mean for a way of speaking to be 'more Manx' than another? These are the two main themes, indicated in red in Figure 7.1 below, which the Thematic Analysis in this section explores.

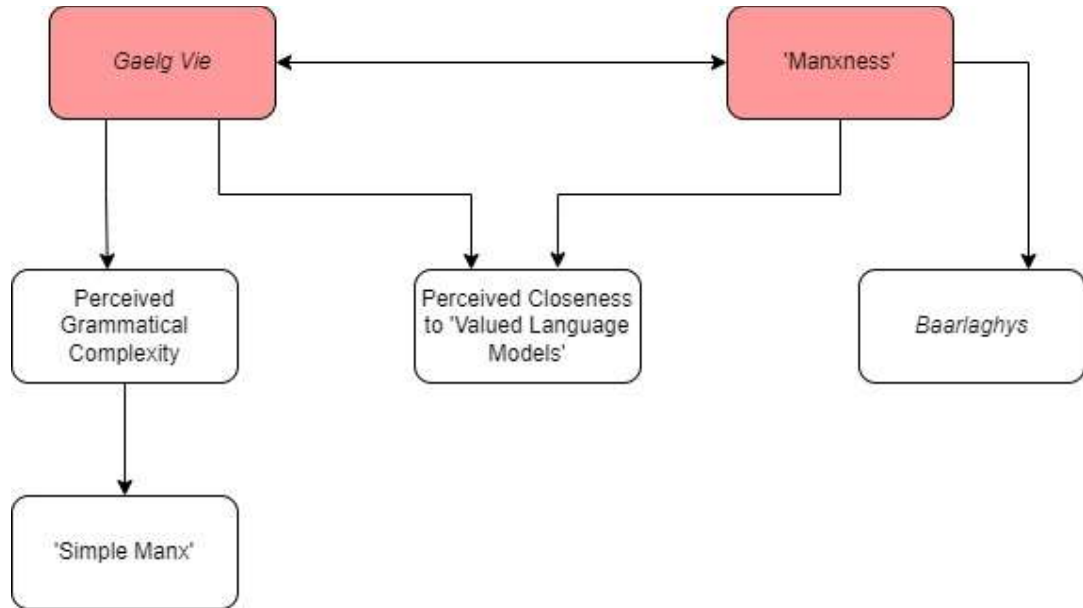


Figure 7.1 - Interrelated Themes in Perceptions of Language Use

The 'Gaelg Vie'⁵¹ theme explores the kinds of language use Manx New Speakers viewed as particularly 'good'. As its subthemes suggest, the reasons why such practices were viewed as 'good' often fell into two categories: the form in question was perceived as close to 'Traditional Manx' - the amalgamation of various valued historical language models as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 5.1). On the other hand, those forms judged as good were often those perceived as grammatically complex, and thus indicative of a high competence in Manx. With regards to the latter, a subtheme emerged around a community idea of 'Simple Manx' - language use which is perfectly acceptable, and yet containing less grammatical complexity. This is apparently felt to be more appropriate for use around certain speaker profiles, namely those with perceived lower competence in Manx, to ensure maximum understanding and ease of communication.

The 'Manxness' theme sheds light on the kinds of language use Manx New Speakers felt to be closer to some 'maximally Manx' linguistic practice. Much

⁵¹ Meaning 'good Manx'.

like for ‘good language use’, in many cases a form was judged as such based on its perceived closeness to valued language models. Forms that tended to be judged negatively with regards to Manxness were often those felt to exemplify *Baarlaghys*, a label referring to some aspect of language use thought to be somehow Anglicised or ‘English-like’ in some way, reflecting the English-Gaelic ideological dichotomy discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 5.3). Manx New Speakers’ evaluation of morphosyntactic forms therefore reveals a complex interplay between judgements of the form’s complexity, association with language models, and perceived ‘Englishness’.

The discussion below is therefore presented in terms of the sections corresponding to the themes outlined in Figure 7.1 above, namely the meaning speakers gave to concepts of *Gaelg vie*, and ‘Manxness’ with regards to language use. These two broader themes are broken down into sections discussing ‘Simple Manx’ and ‘*Baarlaghys*’ respectively. The comments made about different kinds of linguistic production are later complemented by quantitative findings from this study’s language attitudes questionnaire in Section 3.

7.2.1 *Gaelg Vie*

The first broad theme discussed is that of *Gaelg Vie* - relating to the idea of ‘good language use’ for Manx New Speakers. My fieldwork encounters proved useful at identifying examples of the types of language use speakers felt were more complex and ‘better’, as opposed to their opposites. In these settings, speakers would regularly engage in metalinguistic discussions, both with me and each other, about Manx morphosyntax, and even ‘correct’ their own production to morphosyntax that they found to be more desirable. They would bring up particular constructions, evidently shown to be salient, that they valued or devalued. This was incredibly informative as to what practices Manx New Speakers judged to be ‘better’ than others. Manx New Speakers showed a high degree of metalinguistic awareness with regards to their own and others’ language use during fieldwork. Some Manx New Speakers expressed insecurity about their own production, as is evident in the quote from Mona, a younger female speaker, below.

Mona: *Ny cheayrtyn ta mee gennaghtyn um... olk mychione yn Gaelg aym, ny cheartyn tra ta mee loayrt rish sleih ta fys aym dy vel Gaelg feer vie oc so- as t'ad academics ny t'ad er ve loayrt rish decades you know stoo myr shen.*

Mona: "Sometimes I feel um... bad about my Manx, sometimes when I talk to people whom I know have very good Manx so- and they are academics or they've been speaking for like decades you know stuff like that."

In the above quote, Mona, through comparison with her own Manx, seems to associate ideas of good language use with having considerable metalinguistic knowledge of or a high competence in Manx, gained either through intensive study of the language, or over a long period of time as a speaker of Manx. The profile Mona describes reflects the community idea of 'expert speakers' as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 5.2 - see Rampton, 1990; O'Rourke, 2011). These are the kinds of speakers that often form part of a linguistic model for many speakers, as that chapter discusses, and whose production is valued due to their perceived knowledge about and high competence in Manx. In my interview data, certain kinds of Manx New Speakers, particularly younger and female speakers, tended to evaluate their own production less favourably compared to such models. This chapter explores why this might be the case - what kinds of structures do Manx New Speakers judge as 'good' in Manx, and why?

During interviews, when participants were asked questions about what they thought 'good Manx' meant, many acknowledged the complexity of the question. At first, speakers sometimes showed a degree of uncertainty or hesitancy, before going into detail on what their personal perceptions were, as shown by my conversation with Peddyr about Manx in education below:

Erin: *So vel- vel sleih dy liooar ayn as ta Gaelg vie oc dy- dy heet dy ve inseydeyrn?*

Peddyr: *Cha nel fys aym c' red ta Gaelg vie like... {laughs}*

Erin: *Aye wahl mish noadyr! {laughs}*

Peddyr: *Aye s'doillee shen! {laughs} Veagh eh foddey share dy beagh ynseyderyn feer vie ayn... as- as Gaelg... hmm vie oc... cre erbee ta shen {laughs}*

Erin: *Cre erbee ta shen yeah, shen eh!*

Peddyr: Yeah {laughs} *agh... wahl sleih oddys um loayrt ee gyn rouyr dy-dy voirey... lhig dooin gra.*

Erin: “So are- are there enough people with good Manx to- to become teachers?”

Peddyr: I don’t know what good Manx is, like... {laughs}

Erin: Aye well me neither! {laughs}

Peddyr: Aye that’s difficult! {laughs} It would be much better if there were really good teachers with hmm... good Manx... whatever that is {laughs}.

Erin: Whatever that is yeah, that’s [just] it!

Peddyr: Yeah {laughs} but... well people who can um speak [Manx] without lots of- of bother... let’s say.”

During such interactions, as shown above, I attempted to keep the tone light and acknowledge the complexity of the issue, to make it clear to participants that I was not expecting a certain ‘correct’ answer, and that I was just interested in hearing their ideas in my role as researcher. Eventually, Peddyr was able to elaborate on his view of the meaning of ‘good Manx’, which for him seems to involve being able to converse without much difficulty in the language. Peddyr also brings up an important issue of the contextualisation of ideas like good or bad language use: what might be good language use for a teacher may not be the same as someone using the language in other contexts or for other reasons.

For many speakers, the idea of ‘good Manx’ was tied closely into the kinds of language felt to be used in ‘Traditional Manx’. Juan’s quote in Chapter 6 (Section 5.1) exemplifies this close link: he uses the highly synthetic conditional verb ‘*yiarrin*’ (‘I would say’) as an example of the kinds of language practice typical of highly valued historical texts, such as the Manx Bible. He categorises such usages extremely positively, referring to them as *ard Gaelg* (‘high Manx’). Therefore, the kinds of native speaker ideologies seen in other New Speaker communities (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020: 20), which value traditional speaker practices, also seem to be indirectly at work behind Manx speakers’ attitudes

towards particular linguistic constructions, in this case synthetic verbs, as Section 3 will discuss further.

However, some Manx New Speakers questioned the usefulness of terms like ‘good Manx’, or at least of categorising types of language use as ‘good’ and ‘not good’. Em’s comment below challenges this idea:

Em: *Wahl ta Gaelg vie ta shen- er my hon ta shen jus- {tuts} loayrt yn Gaelg as um jannoo eh ayns yn aght dy vel sleih elley toiggal.*

Em: “Well good Manx that’s- for me that’s just- {tuts} speaking Manx and um doing it in the way that other people understand.”

Em evidently values language practices that are easily able to be understood by other community members, with the use of the language for communication being the primary concern. This statement is clearly reflective of ‘Manx for communication’-esque ideologies as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 3.3). Em’s notion of ‘good language use’ is grounded in the practical necessities of her speaker community, rather than in native speaker ideologies.

That said, many of the speakers I encountered, even if they prioritised the use of Manx in whatever form or capacity, still had types of language use they judged as ‘more or less good’ than others, and thus more or less aspirational for Manx New Speakers. Some of these valuations concerned perceived complexity of constructions in Manx, as seen in the following discussion of the ‘Simple Manx’ subtheme.

7.2.1.1 Grammatical Complexity and ‘Simple Manx’

An idea that I commonly encountered among speakers was that there were various ways of speaking Manx, some of which were salient as ‘simpler’ or ‘easier’, and others that were salient as more difficult or complex. Generally, the former was deemed perfectly acceptable, but the latter a more aspirational language practice. Niamh elaborates on this in our discussion below:

Niamh: *Wahl er y fa dy vel yn chooid smoo dy 'leih ta gynsaghey Gaelg gearree loayrt, t'eh ny saasey um jus jannoo ymmyd jeh um ny h-emshyryn jea... ec y toshiaght as eisht my t'ad goll er, t'eh ny saasey [sigh] um gynsaghey yn- yn ard-Gaelg... agh t'ad ooilley shirrey focklyn ta*

aashagh nish, sh-- shen yn doilleeid er lhiam... as t'ad smooïnaghtyn- eer adsyn ta fleaoil sy Ghaelg t'ad dy kinjagh smooïnaghtyn er sleih ta foast gysaghey as er yn aght aashagh dy yannoo eh.

Niamh: “Well because most people that learn Manx want to speak [it] it’s easier um to just use um the past tenses... at the start and then if they continue, it’s easier [sigh] um to learn⁵² the- the ‘high Manx’... but they are all looking for words that are easy now, th- that’s the problem I think... and they’re thinking- even those that are fluent in Manx they are always thinking about the people who are still learning and about the easiest way to do it”.

As can be seen from Niamh’s comments, she evidently views what she terms *ard Gaelg* (‘high Manx’) as more complex than other ways of speaking, and associates this *ard Gaelg* with having a higher degree of competence in the language. She also values this more complex way of speaking more positively, or rather, judges what she perceives as its opposite more negatively. That said, she acknowledges the usefulness of these more ‘simple’ ways of expression in facilitating communication in Manx, a common aim for prospective speakers, as they can be understood by the majority of speakers, rather than only those of a high competence level. The kinds of constructions that Niamh refers to here as ‘simpler’, the ‘past tenses’, are analytic *ren* constructions (Section 3.3), which she contrasts with ‘high Manx’ synthetic constructions.

Speakers often contrasted these two forms. For example, when observing the Manx conversation group (Chapter 4, Section 3.5), I noticed that these speakers felt that they ‘should’ be aiming to use synthetic forms. One speaker in this group consistently ‘corrected’ her use of the analytic past to the synthetic, often appealing to me as a linguistic authority to check if she had ‘got it right’. She would also express her desire to use the genitive case, and would engage me in metalinguistic discussions about this construction. In one interaction this same speaker explicitly stated that she should be using the ‘simple past’ (i.e. the synthetic past), to which another speaker replied that “if you don’t know it you just use *ren* (i.e. the analytic past) don’t you”. This comment reveals an

⁵² The Manx word Niamh uses here, *gysaghey*, can refer to both teaching and learning. In this context, it is difficult to tell exactly which she means, though I have leant towards ‘learning’.

ideological clash of sorts - the first speaker is attempting to closely emulate some language model, whereas the second is privileging communication as paramount. This discussion also indicates that the analytic form, although not viewed negatively by any means, serves as a more neutrally-viewed placeholder form unless a speaker has the competence to use a more grammatically complex alternative, which is usually preferable.

The same sentiments also cropped up during interview interactions. Mona, for example, highlighted aspects of morphosyntactic complexity salient for her:

Mona: My t'ou loayrt mychione shoh as stoo myr shen- myr shen- gollrish, irregular verbs, stoo myr shen... shen red ennagh haink mee gys ny s'anmey. So va shen- oh ta mee goll dy yannoo shoh as eisht uh wahl... as ren mee shen as ta mee goll dy yannoo shoh wahl hie mee you know oh... ren oo shen gollrish hie mee as stoo myr shen as ny- yn conditional tense.

Mona: “If you’re talking about this and stuff like that- like that- like, irregular verbs, stuff like that... that’s something I came to later. So that was- oh I’m **going to do** this and then uh well... and I **did this** and I’m **going to do this** well I **went** you know oh... **you did that** like I **went** and stuff like that and the- the conditional tense.”

Mona highlighted that she began her Manx journey as a child using forms such as the analytic past and the *goll dy*-future, a form calqued on English ‘going to + VP’ future constructions (McNulty, 2023a) (see Chapter 4, Section 3.3). However, now she feels her competence has developed past such usage, to incorporate highly synthetic verb forms such as irregular synthetic past tense verbs, as well as the conditional mood. She places these kinds of language use in contrast to each other, and presents the latter type as a ‘more complex’ way of speaking that is reflective of higher competence.

As well as making judgements about their own language use, interview participants also recounted judgements made of their own language use by other speakers. For example, Natalie recounts a time during the start of her journey with the language when her Manx was commented on by another speaker because she frequently used the analytic past:

Natalie: *Ta cooinaghtyn aym tra ta mee goaill toshiaght ren persoon gra cre'n fa t'ou jannoo ymmyd jeh'n auxiliary ooilley'n traa, cre'n fa t'ou gra ren mee dadadadada...*

Erin: {laughs}

Natalie: *Cre'n fa nagh vel oo gra like hie mee dys...*

Erin: Yeah, *shen beggan rude nagh vel?* {laughs}

Natalie: *Wahl, yeah... cha nel mee shicky row ad prowal dy ve rude, v'ad jus like shen yn Gaelg ren eh jannoo ymmyd jeh.*

Natalie: “I remember when I was starting a person said to me why do you use the auxiliary all the time, why do you say *ren mee dadadadada...*”

Erin: {laughs}

Natalie: “Why don’t you say like *hie mee* (I went) to...”

Erin: “Yeah, that’s a bit rude isn’t it?” {laughs}

Natalie: “Well yeah... I’m not sure if they meant to be rude, they were just like that’s the Manx that he used.”

Natalie evidently had a more charitable interpretation of this person’s comments than I did, as I found their rudeness absurd to the point of humour.

Nevertheless, the encounter she recounts is telling of wider community expectations of good language use, and the expectations that speakers have of themselves and others with regards to salient linguistic forms. One such expectation, evidently, is that speakers should be aspiring to the highest degree of perceived linguistic complexity of which they are capable. Greater analyticity is associated with ‘Simple Manx’, a kind of production felt to be appropriate in certain contexts, such as when teaching, or facilitating communication with interlocutors whose competence in Manx is judged to be more limited.

7.2.2 ‘Manxness’ in Language Use

Another theme that emerged from the qualitative data analysis was the idea that some ways of speaking were salient for Manx New Speakers as being more ‘Manx’ than others. This was often brought up during interview encounters, for

example by Andrew, who explicitly stated that there were “*aghtyn ny smoo Gaelgagh dy ghra stoo*” - “Manxer ways to say things” in Manx, with these ‘Manxer’ ways generally viewed more positively than their ‘less Manx’ equivalents. This section discusses this theme of ‘Manxness’ in language practice among interviews and observation sessions.

As with ideas of ‘good language use’ as discussed in Section 2.1, Manx New Speakers often explicitly associated ideas of Manxness in language use with valued community language models. An example of this was discussed in Chapter 6, Section 5.2, when a member of the conversation group praised a Manx writer who ‘always finds a very Manx-y way to say things’. The discussion in that section exemplifies the importance of comparison with valued language models when Manx New Speakers are evaluating the ‘Manxness’ of a particular construction.

However, ‘Manxer language use’ was also often defined by what it was not. A pole which seemed to be contrasted with ‘Manx ways to say things’ was the idea of *Baarlaghys*, a negative label to refer to some aspect of language use thought to be somehow Anglicised. The following section discusses this subtheme of *Baarlaghys*, what it means, how it was judged, and how it was compared to ‘Manxness’ by Manx New Speakers.

7.2.2.1 *Baarlaghys*

The term *Baarlaghys*, which I have translated as ‘Anglicism’, is a term often heard in the Manx New Speaker community to refer to language practices in Manx judged to be ‘English-like’ in some way⁵³. This is equivalent to terms used in other minoritized language communities, e.g. the Scottish Gaelic *Beurlachas* (Bell and McConville, 2018; McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015). In Manx, this term encompasses a variety of meanings and can be used to describe varying aspects of language.

For morphosyntax specifically, *Baarlaghys* was usually described as Manx that was calqued on English, employing features such as English word order and increased analyticity. Andrew described morphosyntactic *Baarlaghys* as Manx

⁵³ This is a folk-linguistic belief: some forms perceived as *Baarlaghys* by speakers may in fact be examples of natural language change.

that was a ‘word-for-word translation’ of a sentence in English, and Charlie described it as “English in Manx dress”⁵⁴. Richard below expresses a similar definition of *Baarlaghys*:

Erin: *C’red ta shen meeanal dy ve Baarlagh?*

Richard: *S’liklee dy vel ad smooïnaghtyn ayns nyn gione, myr ta shin ooilley... er reddyn ayns Baarle ny keayrtyn, as myr shen t’ad jus caghlaa ny raaghyn t’ad jannoo ymmyd jeh ayns Baarle... jeeragh sy Ghaelg.*

Erin: “What does that mean to be English-y?”

Richard: “They [some Manx speakers] probably think in their head, as we all [do]... about things in English sometimes, and so they just change the sentences they use in English... directly into Manx.”

These comments seem to express that *Baarlaghys*, at least in the vein of morphosyntax, describes some kind of use of Manx that uses mostly Manx lexical elements, but bears morphosyntactic resemblance to English, and results from translingual practices. Such practices, as in other New Speaker communities (e.g. McLeod and O’Rourke, 2015), were widely devalued in the Manx context.

These kinds of beliefs were exemplified across a range of fieldwork contexts, including the Manx conversation groups I attended as part of participant observation. The conversation group I observed often took part in translation exercises with the goal of practicing written Manx, translating short texts from English to Manx. They often explicitly commented on the ‘Manxness’ of their production - one member stated that they were concerned about not wanting to be perceived as speaking an ‘English dialect’. To combat this anxiety, they often explicitly avoided using so-called ‘literal translations’ when translating English texts into Manx, comparing their production to the aspirational production of model ‘expert speakers’ (as discussed in Chapter 6, Section 5.2), who they felt found more idiomatic alternatives. These more desirable alternative syntactic structures were often those felt to be less superficially similar to constructions in English.

⁵⁴ I.e. Manx lexical items, but English syntactic structures.

On a metalinguistic level, *Baarlaghys* in the linguistic landscape was also brought up regularly by Manx New Speakers. An expectation expressed by several speakers was that signage denoting place names should reflect the community standards of usage for those names, namely that Manx-language place names that are in common usage should be preserved in the linguistic landscape so as not to dilute the ‘Manxness’ of the landscape for residents and newcomers. Although the Island is now majority English-speaking, a large proportion of its place names are Manx in origin, reflecting the historical total community usage of Manx. Many of these place names are still referred to in Manx, rather than in English, by the community, even by monolingual Anglophone Islanders. An example would be *Slieau Dhoo* (‘Black/Dark Mountain’). This place name is easily translatable to English, yet to refer to the mountain in this way would not reflect community usage. Many Manx place names in the Isle of Man do not have such easily accessible English equivalents, as they refer to specific aspects of place found in the natural environment of the Isle of Man. An example of this would be the *Curraghs*, an area of bogland in the north of the Island.

The Manx New Speakers I encountered desired that both the total community usage of a Manx place name or of the untranslatability of the Manx place name should be reflected in top-down signage. That is to say, they felt that signage for such places should remain monolingual Manx, and attempts at Anglicisation of these place names was broadly condemned as ‘bad language use’. Speakers brought up various examples of previously monolingual signage that has recently been made bilingual, and expressed their negative attitudes towards this Anglicisation. May discusses the example of The Sloc, a road in the Isle of Man that is referred to by its (Anglo-)Manx name by members of the Island community. She says:

May: *Share lhiam caghlaa yn Baarle ta currit er stoo va ayns Gaelg [..] [gollrish] The Sloc cre’n fa t’ad goaill toshiaght dy chur the road of the grey shadow priest or whatever [...] so jus stoo shen ta [...] putting English er stoo va dy kinjagh jus currit ayns Gaelg [...] aye jus goll erash gys yn Gaelg [...] foddey ny share dy cur ny enmyn erash gys ny raaidyn [...] shen feer [...] neu-persoonagh.*

“I would prefer to change the English being put on things that were in Manx [like] The Sloc, why are people starting to put the road of the grey

shadow priest or whatever... So just stuff like that, putting English on stuff that was always just in Manx... Aye just going back to the Manx, it's much better to give the streets their names back... That's very impersonal."

Speakers rejected such changes for various reasons. In the quote above, May describes this Anglicisation as "impersonal". This perhaps refers to the fact that she believes that the inclusion (or creation) of an English equivalent to Manx place names diminishes the distinctive Manxness of the sign. She also explicitly acknowledges that the English usages of these place names do not reflect community usage, again using the community-outsider lens. She imagines an English-speaking visitor coming to the Island and asking for directions to 'the road of the grey shadow priest', to which she remarks that residents of the Island would not know to which road the visitor was referring. Therefore, Manx speakers felt strongly about both the symbolic and informational functions of English on signage such as this, and the inclusion of English onto Manx-language signage was judged negatively as a symbolic encroachment of the majority language onto the minority, reminiscent of Moriarty's (2012; 2014) discussions of signage in Dingle. For many Manx New Speakers, more is perceived to be at stake than might first be evident when it comes to *Baarlaghys*, contributing to the negative attitudes towards constructions perceived as such.

That said, not all speakers expressed a negative view on *Baarlaghys* contrasted with Manxness: some were more neutral. Particularly with regards to English lexical resources, Peddyr comments that anxieties about *Baarlaghys* can, in his view, impede communication in Manx, as shown in his recollection of conversing with some other Manx speakers that he recounts below:

Peddyr: And they're like- *scuirr as smooïnaghtyn- v'ad- v'ad loayrt dy mie derrey va orroo loayrt mychione Australia as eisht v'ad smooïnaghtyn* oh no what's the Manx for Australia oh um like- oh it's f-- it's just Australia get on with it you know!

Peddyr: "And they're like- stopping and thinking- they were- they were speaking well until they had to talk about Australia and then they were thinking oh no what's the Manx for Australia oh um like- oh it's f-- it's just Australia get on with it you know!"

In this extract, Peddyr is discussing lexis rather than morphosyntax, but his frustration exemplifies the belief I encountered among some Manx New Speakers, namely that the use of *Baarlaghys* is perceived as acceptable provided that it facilitates ease of communication. Or, rather, that communication in Manx is the priority, and attitudes towards *Baarlaghys* secondary, reflective of the ‘Manx for Communication’ ideologies as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 3.3).

7.2.3 Summary

This section has revealed a wide range of beliefs among Manx New Speakers with regards to both ‘good language use’ and ‘Manxness’ in language use. However, certain themes loomed large in the qualitative data. ‘Goodness’ in language use, for Manx New Speakers, is connected closely to ideas about language models, explored in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Certain forms, such as highly synthetic verb constructions and the genitive case, prove salient as examples of the kind of morphosyntax associated with such ‘good’ usages. In addition, these same forms emerge as examples of morphosyntactic forms evaluated positively due to their perceived grammatical complexity. This contrasts with the more neutrally-described ‘Simple Manx’ - a language practice which incorporates more analytic constructions with the aim of ensuring mutual comprehension between interlocutors during spoken interactions. ‘Manxness’ here emerges as also being assessed along two poles: that of language models, in a similar manner to the above, and *Baarlaghys*. For the latter, morphosyntactic forms judged to exemplify Anglicisation are often excluded from those language practices judged ‘most Manx’, reminiscent of trends in other New Speaker communities in which translingual practices are devalued (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2020).

This variety and these overall trends are explored further in the results of this study’s language attitudes questionnaire in the following section.

7.3 Manx New Speakers’ Language Attitudes

7.3.1 The Questionnaire

The following sections detail the results of the language attitudes questionnaire taken by 20 Manx New Speakers as part of this study. As discussed in Chapter 4, this study also asked Manx New Speakers to complete a questionnaire in which participants used Likert Scales to rate simple Manx sentences according to two criteria. The questionnaire was used to explore how Manx New Speakers' broader language beliefs, as discussed in Chapter 6, were reflected in their attitudes towards particular morphosyntactic constructions. In this way, Research Question 2 could also be explored through a quantitative lens, lending further credence to the qualitative findings discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

The two criteria against which participants were asked to rate sentences concerned how 'good' a sentence sounded, as well as how 'Manx' they sounded. Chapter 4 (Section 3.2) provides further details of the scientific reasoning behind this choice, however, in summary, the questionnaire was designed to further explore what Manx New Speakers mean when they apply labels such as 'good Manx' and 'very Manx' to different ways of speaking, in order to understand the meanings behind community ideas of 'good language use', as well as language practices felt to be 'distinctively Manx', as discussed in Section 2. Therefore, the attitudinal ratings given by participants in this questionnaire lend a quantitative viewpoint to complement the above qualitative discussion on valued language practices in the Manx New Speaker community.

The particular morphosyntactic variables chosen for the questionnaire are justified in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), but to summarise, they were chosen so as to be representative of different levels of grammatical complexity, evidence of language contact, and representation in valued historical language models, as discussed in Section 2. This therefore enabled me to test how important perceptions of complexity, historicity, and 'Englishness' were for Manx New Speakers when evaluating different language practices. Therefore, the results of the questionnaire can be compared with the themes that emerged from the qualitative data analysis as discussed above. Section 4 compares these two datasets.

In addition, the sentences that participants rated in the questionnaire contained the same morphosyntactic variables analysed in the interview data in Chapter 5. The use of the same variables in both the questionnaire and interview analysis

enabled comparison between Manx New Speakers' language attitudes and their linguistic production, therefore contributing to answering Research Question 3. This comparison between the two quantitative datasets is also discussed in Section 4.

The following section details the results of the questionnaire.

7.3.2 Questionnaire Results

The questionnaire was made up of two sections. In the first, participants were asked the following question: "How good does this sentence sound?" Participants therefore rated each sentence on this criterion of perceived 'goodness'. In the second section, participants were asked: "How Manx does this sentence sound?" They therefore rated each sentence along a criterion of perceived 'Manxness'.

The following sections detail the results from both sections of the questionnaire by variable. Chapter 4 (Section 5.2) outlines how all the following analyses were conducted. Individual variation within these results is qualitatively discussed, and links are drawn between findings from the language use data given in Chapter 5. This section is then followed by a discussion of these findings, linking them back to the themes discussed from the qualitative data analysis above.

7.3.2.1 How 'good' does this sentence sound?

The following sections detail how participants rated the sentences containing each of the morphosyntactic variables of interest on their perceived 'goodness'. For each variable, the main trends are outlined, and variation between participants' ratings is discussed. Comparisons are also drawn between the trends in the language attitudes ratings data and those of the language use data discussed in Chapter 5.

7.3.2.2 Synthetic and Analytic Past

As detailed in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3), there are two functionally equivalent simple past constructions in Manx. One is a more synthetic construction formed through initial consonant lenition, and the other is a more analytic construction

formed by a past tense auxiliary followed by a verbal noun. These are referred to here as the synthetic and analytic past respectively.

Figure 7.2 shows how participants rated sentences containing the synthetic and analytic past with regards to how ‘good’ they sounded.

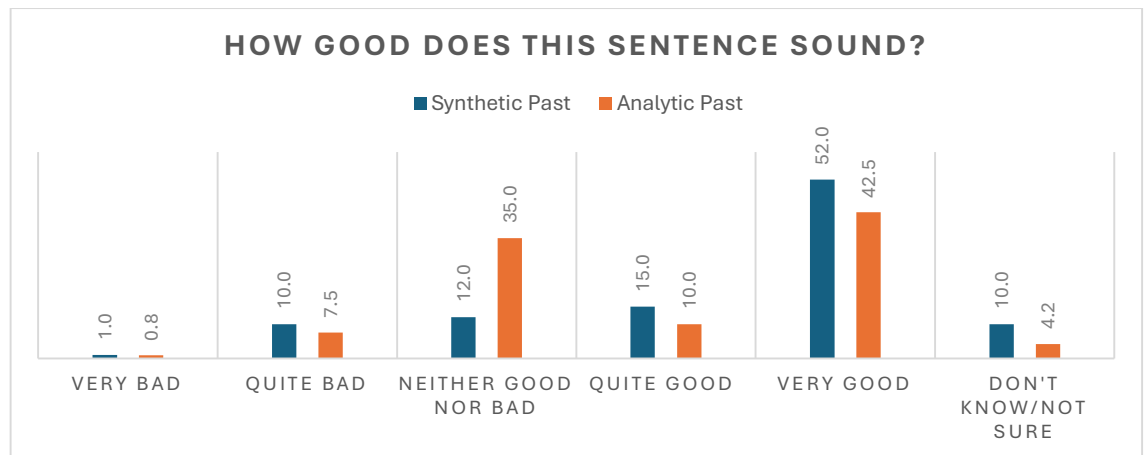


Figure 7.2 - ‘Goodness’ Ratings for Past Tense Verbs

The principal finding for the simple past is that both forms are rated positively overall by speakers, with no dramatic difference found between the ratings of two forms. However, within that, participants rated the synthetic past, indicated in blue on Figure 7.2, more towards the ‘Very Good’ end of the Likert Scale. The analytic past was rated more neutrally, with a considerable minority of ratings of ‘Neither Good nor Bad’.

The prevailing trends throughout the data were clear, but there was also some variation within participants’ individual ratings of simple past forms. The majority of participants rated the synthetic past very highly and the analytic past either similarly highly or slightly lower, reflecting overall trends. However, three participants, Participants 6, 7, and 14, bucked the trend, consistently rating both forms more neutrally. One participant, Participant 17, had a very high average rating for the analytic, but a much lower average rating for the synthetic, due to the fact that this participant returned a rating of ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ for most synthetic past forms, perhaps reflecting the fact that these constructions did not form part of this speaker’s competence. These exceptional participants were spread across ages and genders⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ The ages and genders of respondents will not be revealed in this discussion to reduce triangulation risk.

When participants' ratings of the simple past forms are compared to their use of these forms (as discussed in Chapter 5), we see that, as well as being rated more highly by participants overall, the synthetic is also used more frequently.

Although, these overall patterns belie a considerable amount of individual variation in both the ratings and use of the simple past forms - the majority of participants used the synthetic past considerably more frequently than the analytic, but there were a few exceptions, notably Juan, Ivy, and Illiam. As for the use data, no age or gender pattern was found in this distribution.

7.3.2.1.2 Synthetic and Analytic, and Goll-dy Future

As Chapter 4 (Section 3.3.1) discusses, there are two functionally equivalent morphosyntactic constructions through which Manx New Speakers may express verbs in the future tense. One is more synthetic, consisting of a highly inflected verb form, and the other is more analytic, involving a future tense auxiliary. In addition, McNulty (2019; 2023a) observed that some Manx New Speakers use another construction which is likely a syntactic calque on English 'going to + VP' future constructions.

Figure 7.3 illustrates participants' ratings of the perceived 'goodness' of all three forms in the questionnaire.

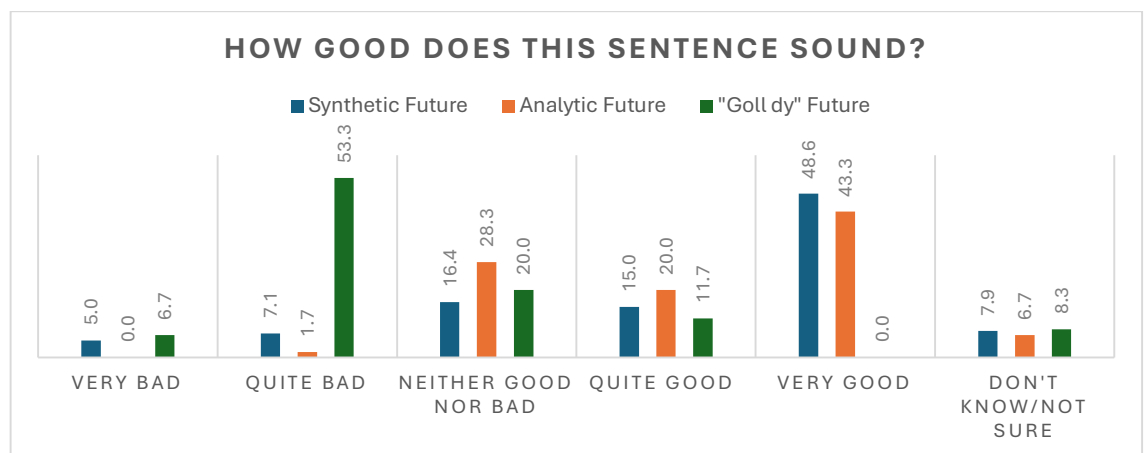


Figure 7.3 - 'Goodness' Ratings of Future Tense Verbs

For the future constructions, similarly to the findings for the past, both the synthetic and analytic future forms are rated very positively overall. Again, the analytic future ratings skew slightly more towards the neutral, but with a less dramatic pattern than that of the past. Notably, the *goll dy*-future patterns very

clearly towards the more negative end of the Likert Scale, with the majority of ratings falling under ‘Quite Bad’.

As for the past, individual variation between participant ratings was observed, albeit to a greater degree than that of the past. The ratings of many participants reflected the above overall trends, with the synthetic being rated very highly, with the analytic slightly less so. For this variable, several participants rated the analytic slightly higher than the synthetic overall, likely due to the higher number of ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings returned for the synthetic future sentences. Again, Participants 6, 7, and 14, participants of varying ages and genders, rate both synthetic and analytic similarly, with consistently neutral ratings, as did Participant 4. Participant 17 again returns the lowest ratings of both forms due to a high frequency of ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings, this time across both forms. Most participants rated the *goll dy*-future form as considerably lower than either of the other forms, with the exception of participant 20, a younger male participant, who rated this form fairly highly.

It is difficult to compare future forms in terms of their use and ratings, as so few future tokens were produced during the interviews (as discussed in Chapter 5). However, it is interesting to note that, with regards to *goll dy*-forms, mostly younger speakers produced them, and the only questionnaire respondent to rate these forms relatively highly was a younger participant. Here, age might play a role in explaining variation and evaluation of these forms - McNulty (2019; 2023a) argues that the *goll dy*-future is a morphosyntactic innovation used, and valued, it seems, chiefly by young adult speakers emerging from Manx-immersion education.

7.3.2.1.3 Modality - ‘Can’

As Chapter 4 (Section 3.3.2) details, Manx New Speakers have two functionally equivalent ways to express ‘can’ modality - one is a more synthetic form based on a modal root *fod-*, and the other is the more analytic *abyl dy* construction based on a historical calque of English ‘to be able to + VP’ modal constructions.

Figure 7.4 shows how participants rated these two modal constructions according to their perceived ‘goodness’.

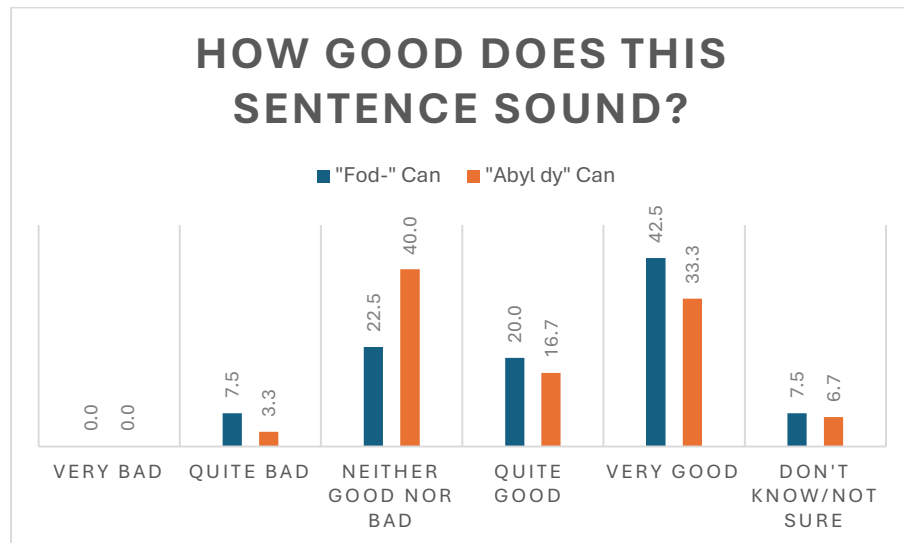


Figure 7.4 - 'Goodness' Ratings of 'Can' Modals

From the results above, a consistent pattern seems to be emerging across the variables. Again, both synthetic and analytic modal forms are rated positively overall. However, the synthetic future is rated slightly more positively than the analytic, the ratings of which tend towards the more neutral. For the 'can' modals, as opposed to the future and the past, the plurality of ratings for the more analytic modal is 'Neither Good nor Bad', rather than 'Very Good'.

Individual variation was again present in the ratings for the 'can' modals. As for the two previous variables, most participants rated the *fod*-form as slightly higher than the *abyl dy* form. However, a considerable minority rated the latter as higher than the former. Participants 3, 6, and 7 rated both forms fairly neutrally. Again, age and gender does not seem to be correlated with attitudinal ratings.

Here, we also see broad similarities between patterns of use and patterns of ratings, in that the more synthetic 'can' form is used much more frequently than its alternative, and is also rated considerably more highly. However, again, these overall patterns hide a tapestry of individual variation. Many speakers used the *fod*-construction exclusively or almost exclusively, whereas others had a more balanced production. A handful of speakers, including Andrew, May, and Lewis, used the analytic form more frequently than the synthetic. Age and gender do not seem to be a governing factor in either use or ratings of these 'can' forms.

3.b.i.4 Modality - 'Must'

Chapter 4 (Section 3.3.2) details the two functionally equivalent ‘must’ modal constructions available to Manx New Speakers - one is a more synthetic construction based around the modal root *shegin* (‘must’), and the other is a more analytic construction based on the idiom *t’eh er X jannoo* (‘it is on X doing’ = ‘X must do’).

Figure 7.5 illustrates how participants rated these forms based on how ‘good’ they were perceived as.

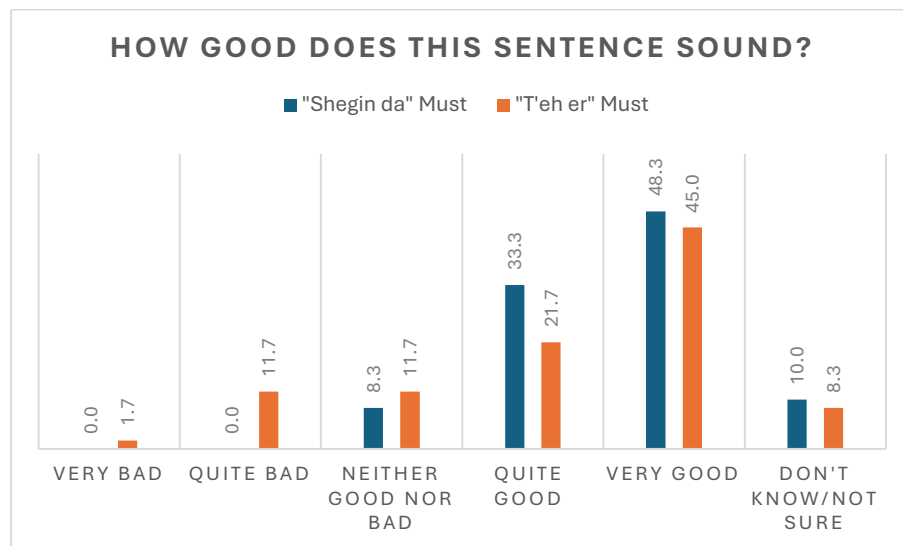


Figure 7.5 - 'Goodness' Ratings of 'Must' Modals

Again, for the ‘must’ modal variables, both forms are rated positively overall. The more analytic ‘must’ form is, like the previous variables, rated more neutrally. Compared to previous variables, however, the difference in ratings between these two variant constructions is much smaller.

The individual variation in ratings of the ‘must’ forms strongly reflects the overall trends for this variable. Both forms were rated very highly by most participants. For participants who showed a considerable difference in ratings, the *shegin da* form was rated higher. The one exception to this was Participant 14, who rated this form lower than the *t’eh er* form owing to the larger number of ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings returned for both forms. Again, speakers’ ratings seemed highly individual and not governed by age or gender groupings.

The use patterns for this variable, unlike the others previously discussed, do not pattern similarly to the distribution of ratings. Speakers used the *shegin*-form

much more frequently than the alternative, but both forms are rated relatively highly overall, albeit the former slightly higher than the latter. That said, relatively few tokens of this form were returned in the use data, so this pattern is based only on the subset of speakers who produced ‘must’ tokens in the interviews. Of these speakers, there was a considerable amount of individual variation, which did not correlate neatly with age or gender.

7.3.2.1.5 Nominal Genitives

The final variable participants were asked to rate were two functionally equivalent nominal genitive forms. These were a more synthetic form involving genitive case, and a more analytic form involving the preposition *jeh* (‘of’) similar to English ‘the X of the Y’ genitive constructions.

Figure 7.6 shows how ‘good’ participants judged these two forms to be.

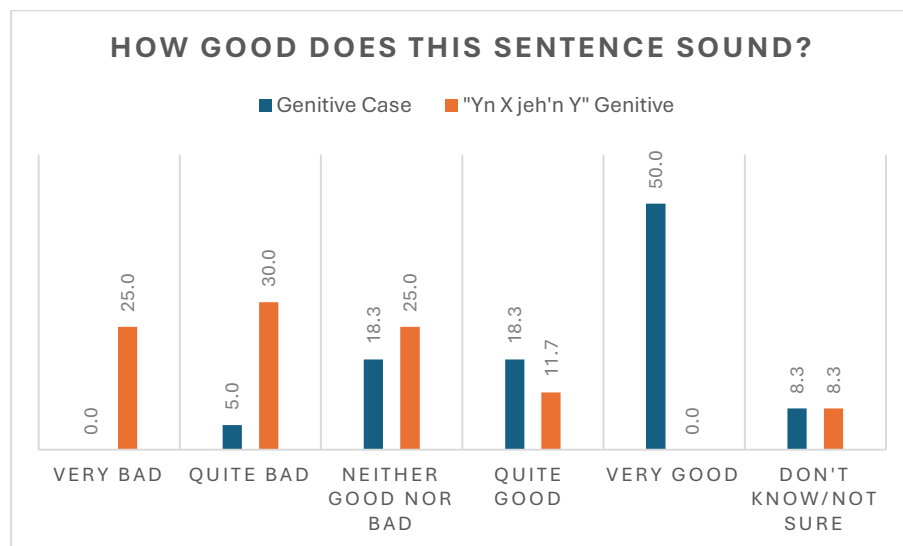


Figure 7.6 - ‘Goodness’ Ratings of Nominal Genitives

Unlike the previous variables, participants rated the synthetic and analytic genitive forms very differently. The difference in ratings between these two constructions is perhaps the most dramatic of all variables seen so far. The genitive case constructions are rated extremely positively, with 50% of ratings given as ‘Very Good’. On the other hand, the analytic genitive received the most negative ratings of all variables in this section, skewing towards the ‘Quite Bad’ end of the spectrum.

The ratings results for individual participants clearly reflect these overall trends. The overwhelming majority of participants rated the genitive case form

extremely positively, and the *jeh*-form considerably more negatively. No correlation between age and gender of participants and overall ratings was found. The two exceptions to the overall trend were Participants 19 and 7, who both returned higher ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings for the genitive case sentences.

When participants produced these forms in interviews, the genitive case was indeed produced the majority of the time, in correlation with its positive ratings. However, a number of participants used the *jeh*-form regularly, which is not reflected in its general valuation, or lack thereof, by Manx speakers. That said, low token numbers were produced for this form in general, which reduces the generalisations that can be made here.

7.3.2.2 How ‘Manx’ does this sentence sound?

The following sections detail how participants rated the sentences containing each of the morphosyntactic variables of interest on their perceived ‘Manxness’. For each variable, the main trends are outlined, and variation between participants’ ratings is discussed. Comparisons are also drawn between the trends in the language attitudes ratings data and those of the language use data discussed in Chapter 5.

7.3.2.2.1 Synthetic and Analytic Past

Participants were also asked to rate sentences containing the two functionally equivalent simple past forms based on how ‘Manx’ they judged them to be. Figure 7.7 shows the overall results.

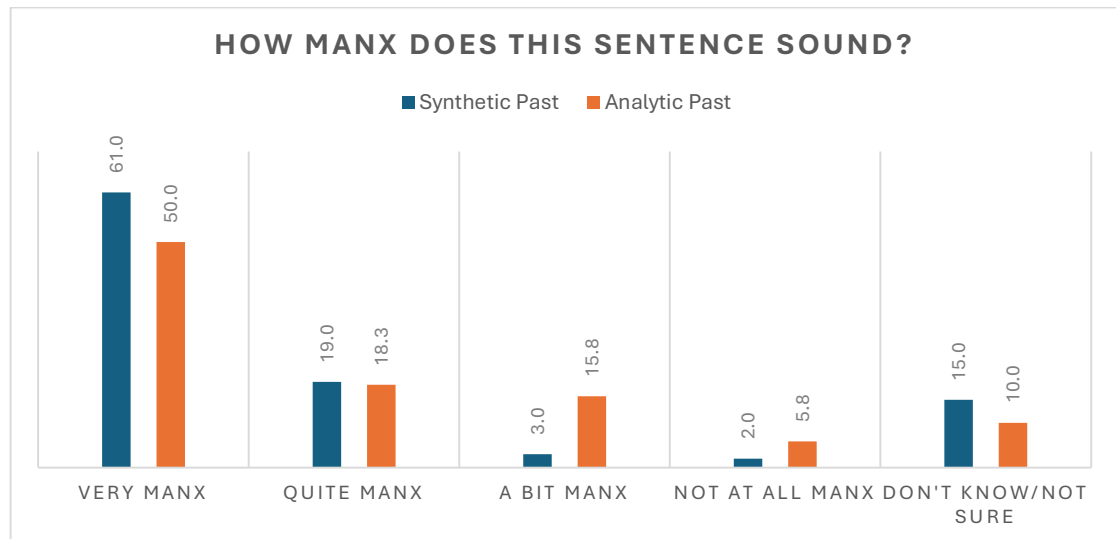


Figure 7.7 - 'Manxness' Ratings of Past Tense Verbs

The main finding for this variable is that both forms are rated relatively positively. A similar distribution of ratings was found for the 'Manxness' of these forms as for their perceived 'goodness'; the synthetic past was rated as slightly more Manx than the analytic, the ratings for which skewed slightly more neutral.

Again, trends in individual ratings broadly paralleled the above trends; the synthetic was rated highly by most participants, and the analytic was rated similarly or slightly lower. In some cases, such as that of Participants 2, 4, and 17, the analytic was rated as considerably 'less Manx' than the synthetic. Participant 20 rated both forms neutrally, and Participant 6 returned a low rating for the synthetic, owing to the higher number of 'Don't Know/Not Sure' ratings returned for this form. No pattern across age or gender of respondents was found in ratings data, similarly to the responses seen in Section 3.2.1 previously.

Use of the synthetic and analytic past in speech again patterns similarly overall to participants' ratings of this form, in that the former is slightly preferred over the latter. Considerable individual variation was found also in the use of these verb forms, discussed in Chapter 5. Like the 'Manxness' ratings data, this did not seem to correlate with age and gender.

7.3.2.2.2 Synthetic, Analytic, and Goll-dy Future

The questionnaire also asked participants to rate the three future constructions, synthetic, analytic, and *goll dy*, according to how ‘Manx’ they thought they sounded. Figure 7.8 illustrates the overall patterns in these ratings.

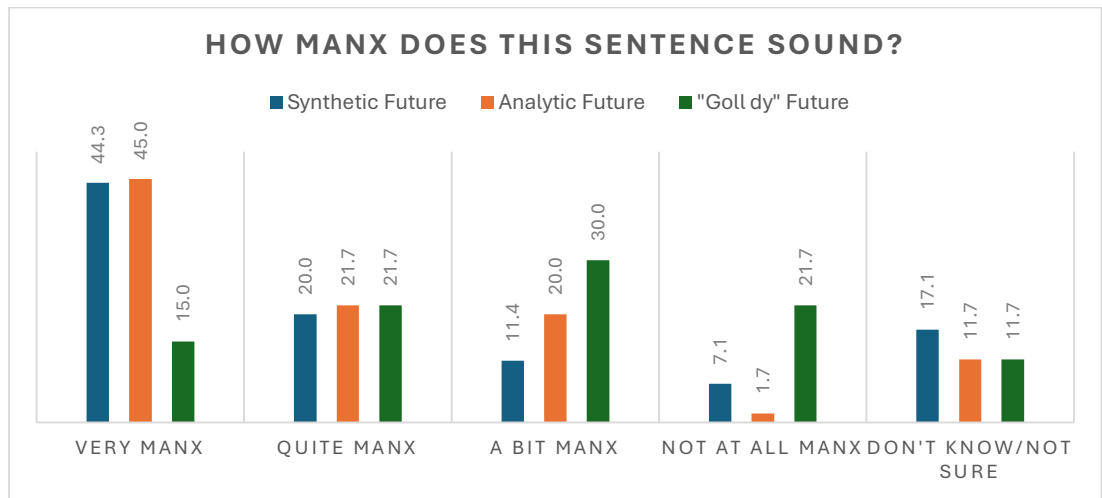


Figure 7.8 - 'Manxness' Ratings of Future Tense Verbs

Again, we see here a similar pattern in ‘Manxness’ ratings for the three future forms as were observed in the ‘goodness’ ratings. Both synthetic and analytic future are rated as more ‘Manx’ overall, albeit with the synthetic slightly more so. The main difference concerns the notably higher ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings for the synthetic future, which might have implications for Manx New Speakers’ structural competence. Once more the *goll dy*-future is rated notably more negatively than either of the two other future constructions, although it fares slightly better than it did when it came to ‘goodness’ ratings. This might indicate subtle differences in meaning between ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’, which will be discussed further in Section 4.

Individual variation was also present in the ratings given for the future constructions. The higher prevalence of ‘Don’t Know/Not Sure’ ratings given to the synthetic future form was noticeable across most respondents, and led to many participants rating the analytic future slightly higher than the synthetic. This also likely has implications for how the synthetic future features in the competence of many Manx New Speakers. This is reflected in the data on the use of this form - very few participants produced it. That said, a sizable minority of participants still rated the synthetic future as considerably higher than the analytic. With the exceptions of Participants 8 and 15, the *goll dy*-future

received very low ratings from respondents, corresponding to its low rates of use.

7.3.2.2.3 Modality - 'Can'

This questionnaire also asked participants to rate the two functionally equivalent 'can' modal constructions on how 'Manx' they perceived them to be. Figure 7.9 shows the results.

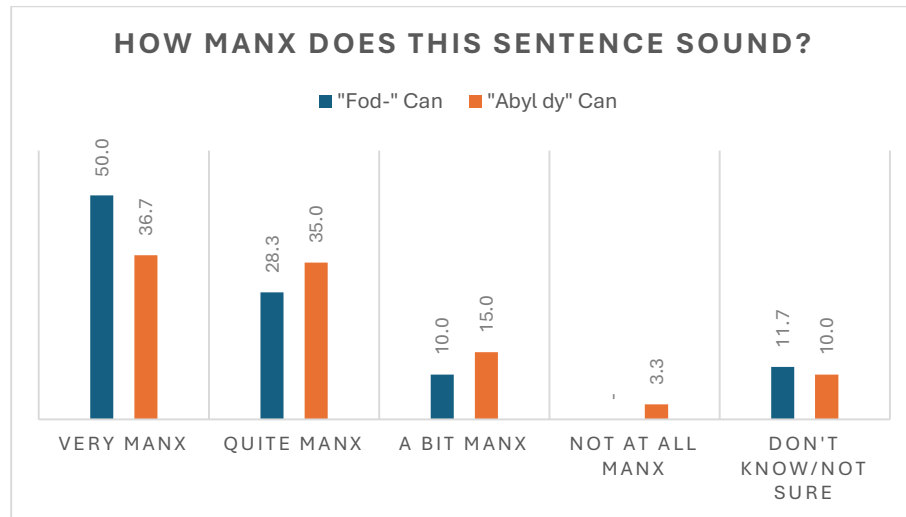


Figure 7.9 - 'Manxness' Ratings of 'Can' Modals

For the 'can' modals, participants rated both synthetic and analytic forms as relatively positively overall. Again, we see a similar pattern for 'Manxness' ratings as we do for 'goodness', which is that the synthetic form is slightly preferred over the analytic, which seems to be the prevailing pattern for all variables seen so far. One notable feature here is that the *abyl dy* construction's ratings skew more towards the 'Manx' end of the scale than they did for the 'goodness' ratings, implying that this form might be considered slightly more 'Manx' than it is 'good'.

The individual variation between participants reflects the above trends very clearly. Most participants rated both modal forms highly; but if one was rated slightly lower, it was the *abyl dy* construction. Some participants, including 7, 13, 18, and 19, rated the *abyl dy* sentences as considerably lower than their more synthetic equivalents. Only Participant 6 rated *abyl dy* as noticeably higher than the *fod*-form, likely owing to the high degree of 'Don't Know/Not Sure' ratings returned for the latter. Again, age and gender do not seem to be

conditioning factors in ratings. Ratings of this form pattern similarly to use, as discussed in Chapter 5, both in terms of overall trends and in variation.

7.3.2.2.4 Modality - 'Must'

This questionnaire also asked participants to rate the two 'must' modal forms according to how 'Manx' they judged them to be. Figure 7.10 below shows the results.

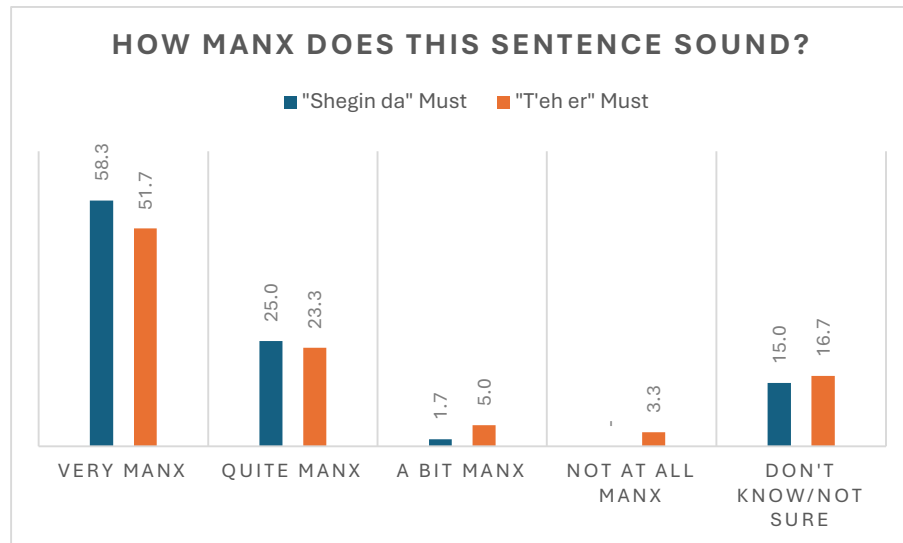


Figure 7.10 - 'Manxness' Ratings of 'Must' Modals

Again, we see for the 'must' variants that both synthetic and analytic forms are rated positively overall. In a similar pattern as was observed for the 'goodness' ratings, the difference in ratings between the two 'must' forms is much smaller than it was for the other variables: the more analytic form is only rated very slightly more neutrally than the synthetic. The same comments noted in Section 3.2.1.4 with regards to the use of the 'must' forms as compared with their ratings apply here: the two do not seem to pattern neatly, and there is a high degree of individual variation. That said, age and gender do not correlate neatly with this variation, as for other forms.

7.3.2.2.5 Nominal Genitives

Finally, participants rated the two functionally equivalent genitive constructions on their perceived 'Manxness'. Figure 7.11 presents the results.

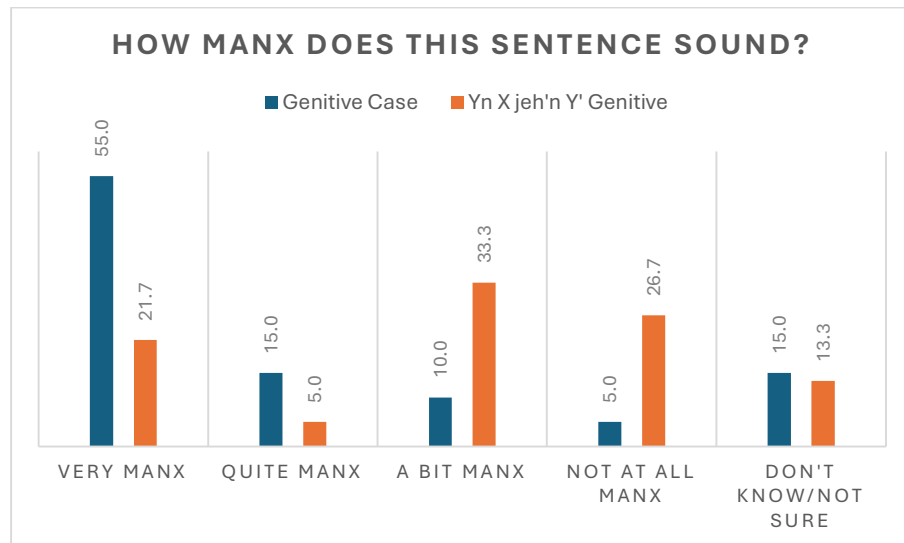


Figure 7.11 - 'Manxness' Ratings of Nominal Genitives

Finally, there is a noticeable difference between ratings given for the synthetic and analytic genitives. The former is judged very positively overall, while the latter's ratings skew much more towards the negative end of the Likert Scale. This is a similar pattern as was observed in the 'goodness' ratings for these constructions, albeit with the *jeh*-genitive faring slightly better this time, comparable to patterns seen in the *goll dy* and *abyl dy* forms.

The individual variation in ratings for the two genitive forms clearly reflects the pattern seen in the overall trends. The vast majority of participants rated the genitive case form considerably more highly than its analytic equivalent. A handful of participants across varying ages and genders, including 8, 14, 19, and 17, rated both forms similarly. A higher rate of 'Don't Know/Not Sure' ratings were returned by Participants 6 and 7 particularly. With regards to comparisons with production, the same applies here as did for the 'goodness' ratings in Section 3.2.1.5.

The following section provides a discussion of how these quantitative results factor into the themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis, asking how we can use both sets of data to understand why Manx New Speakers judge certain morphosyntactic constructions positively and negatively in terms of their 'goodness' and 'Manxness'.

7.4 Discussion - Valued Language Use

This section brings together discussion from both the Thematic Analysis (Section 2) and the quantitative analysis (Section 3) of the questionnaire data to explore how Manx New Speakers value and devalue different morphosyntactic practices. As these sections discuss, considerable individual variation was observed in these findings, and yet certain overall trends emerge. This section therefore discusses how the quantitative findings support the themes generated from the Thematic Analysis of the qualitative data. It also begins to discuss correlations between the data presented in this chapter and the data on morphosyntactic variation in Chapter 5, discussions which will be expanded upon in Chapter 8. Therefore, this section sheds further light on what Manx New Speakers mean when they say some morphosyntactic practices are ‘better’ or ‘more Manx’ than others, and begins to draw connections between Manx New Speakers’ evaluations and usage of particular forms. Connections are also made with relevant findings from other New Speaker contexts (see Chapter 2).

This chapter shows that Manx New Speakers’ perceptions of ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ language use are highly intertwined, as indicated by the arrows connecting the themes of ‘*Gaelg Vie*’ and ‘Manxness’ in Figure 7.1 (Section 2). That is to say, constructions that are felt to be deserving of one of the above labels are also usually judged to be worthy of the other. During interviews and observation sessions, speakers brought up similar kinds of language use as examples of ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ language use. In the questionnaire data, constructions rated highly for ‘goodness’ consistently receive comparable ratings for the criterion of ‘Manxness’. Several factors seem pertinent for Manx New Speakers when they are evaluating constructions’ as ‘goodness’ or ‘Manxness’. That said, there were some subtle differences in ratings between the perceived ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’ of some forms, such as the *goll dy*-future (Section 3.2.2.2), which was rated slightly better in terms of ‘Manxness’ than ‘goodness’. This might suggest that, for some speakers, there is a slightly higher bar to clear for the latter criterion than for the former. The following paragraphs explore these deciding factors that emerged from both the qualitative and quantitative analyses that influence Manx New Speakers’ understandings of valued language practices.

The importance of perceived grammatical complexity emerges, from both the qualitative and quantitative analysis, as a factor by which Manx New Speakers

evaluate language use in their community. ‘Perceived Grammatical Complexity’ emerges as a theme from the Thematic Analysis, with speakers evidently aspiring towards the use of salient morphosyntactic structures they view as particularly difficult or complex (i.e. those classed as ‘L2-difficult’ - Meisel, 2011), and thus reflective of a higher competence in Manx, such as highly inflected forms. In the questionnaire data too, participants consistently judged these perceived grammatically complex constructions, such as the synthetic past and future, conjugated modals, and the genitive case, more highly than their more analytic counterparts.

However, forms perceived as less complex were not necessarily stigmatised - they are probably best viewed as ‘neutral’. Speakers broadly seem to view these forms as perfectly acceptable, however they do not necessarily possess the same cachet as their more complex equivalents in either ‘goodness’ or ‘Manxness’. This is evidenced in the questionnaire data by the increase in more ‘neutral’ ratings for many of the analytic constructions as opposed to their more complex synthetic equivalents, which are rated slightly more positively. Potential reasons behind such ratings emerge from the ‘Simple Manx’ theme generated by the Thematic Analysis of the qualitative data (Section 2.1.1). More analytic forms, such as the analytic past, seem to be seen as a type of Manx judged most suitable for use in contexts where speakers assume communication accommodation is required. This links back to the discussion in Chapter 6 (Section 3) - a belief commonly encountered among Manx New Speakers was that the primary purpose of Manx should be a language for communication, more so than being spoken in any particular way. ‘Simple Manx’ is therefore judged by some speakers as being a perfectly acceptable way to achieve such ends.

That said, the qualitative and quantitative findings indicate that grammatical complexity is not the only factor at play. This chapter also explores how the idea of *Baarlaghys* (‘Anglicism’), which emerged as a theme from the qualitative data, influences Manx New Speakers’ judgements of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’ with regards to various morphosyntactic constructions. During the interviews, participants often expressed their dislike for constructions such as the *goll dy-* future, describing them negatively as salient examples of *Baarlaghys* (Section 2.2.1). In the questionnaire data, constructions that exemplified perceived Anglicisation in Manx morphosyntax were generally rated noticeably lower than

their less Anglicised equivalent. This is shown distinctly in the findings of the *goll dy*-future form, as well as the *jeh*-genitive. This *jeh*-genitive construction is also much less grammatically complex than the equivalent genitive case construction, which likely also contributes to speakers' marked negative attitudes towards this form. We can therefore posit that there exists for at least some Manx New Speakers a post-revitalization community model of 'valued language use' which often devalues and stigmatises perceived English influence on morphosyntactic production. This reflects findings from other New Speaker communities, such as that of Scottish Gaelic, in which 'good Gaelic' is regarded as the kinds of language practices that do not exhibit *Beurlachas*, namely syntactic influence from English (Bell and McConville, 2018; McLeod and O'Rourke, 2015).

Therefore, it seems as though Manx New Speakers will value a construction if it is grammatically complex, or has a surface structure that is superficially dissimilar to the semantically equivalent English construction. When both factors are present, speakers' attitudes tend to be very decisive (e.g. in the results for sentences containing the nominal genitive). The inverse is also true, in that forms that are perceived to show less grammatical complexity and/or more similarity to an English construction are less valued by speakers.

Another factor that emerged from these analyses was the perceived importance of 'Traditional Manx'. As Chapter 6 (Section 5.1) discusses, although Manx New Speakers do not have direct access to extant native speakers of Manx, there are various examples of historical language use that are valued by many speakers as embodying 'Traditional Manx'. The Thematic Analysis revealed that many of the morphosyntactic features valued by many speakers, such as highly synthetic verb forms and the genitive case, are valued at least in part because they are felt to approximate language practices perceived to fall under the umbrella of 'Traditional Manx'. These valuations seem to be evidence for the continuation of native-speaker ideologies (Doerr, 2009; in Chapter 2) in the Manx New Speaker community, as has been observed in other New Speaker communities (e.g. Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018 - Irish; Bell and McConville, 2018 - Scottish Gaelic, Hornsby and Quentel, 2013 - Breton; see Chapter 2, Section 6 for further examples). In the absence of extant native speakers in the Manx context, 'native-speaker-

esque' practices, in the form of 'Traditional Manx', have become those valued for historical authenticity and cultural capital, as discussed further in Chapter 8.

This valuation of 'Traditional Manx' practices as a reflection of native-speaker ideologies likely also contributes to the higher ratings of such forms in the language attitudes questionnaire. Indeed, the questionnaire results highlight the importance of the concept of 'Traditional Manx' in Manx New Speakers' evaluations, particularly the case of the *abyl dy* modal construction results. On the face of it, we may have expected this form to have received more negative attitudinal judgements than it did. It is a relatively analytic construction, and bears strong structural resemblance to the English modal construction "to be able to + verb". Indeed, the historical origin of *abyl dy* is a mixture of lexical borrowing and a syntactic calque of this very construction. However, speakers rated *abyl dy* much more positively than many similar constructions. In light of the discussion in Chapter 6 (Section 5.1), I believe that this structure is valued because it is well-established in these valued historical language models, and thus felt to be part of 'Traditional Manx'.

Indeed, the constructions that were rated highest in the attitudinal judgements, and which were brought up as examples by speakers in fieldwork encounters, typically synthetic verbs and the genitive case, were also those forms often identified by speakers as being associated with various valued community language models. Slightly less well-performing constructions, such as the analytic verbs, are also attested in the various linguistic models that Manx New Speakers value, yet their lack of grammatical complexity as compared to their synthetic equivalents is evidently a marker for 'less good' language use to some degree. Constructions such as the *goll dy*-future and the *jeh*-genitive, which are neither grammatically complex, distinctive from English, nor felt to be typical of any valued language practice, and therefore are not salient as the kind of language use to which Manx New Speakers should aspire.

Therefore, the interaction of the three factors of grammatical complexity, perceived influence of English, and perceived presence in 'Traditional Manx' play an important part in whether a construction is evaluated positively by Manx New Speakers. These are the key elements in understanding how Manx New Speakers understand ideas of 'good language use' with regards to morphosyntax. However, it should be noted that, although respondents mostly followed the

above trends in ratings, there was still a considerable degree of individual variation in their evaluations of forms. Some respondents seemed to take a more neutral view on the value of different variants, or responded variably between variables. This indicates the presence of a range of language beliefs at play in the Manx New Speaker community.

Both the qualitative and quantitative data discussed in this chapter suggest a connection between what Manx New Speakers believe about their language, how they judge certain forms, and how they use their language in real speech contexts. For example, the ‘Simple Manx’ theme reveals that some Manx New Speakers are engaging in communication accommodation in certain contexts, with a view to prioritising ease of communication between interlocutors, reflective of the ‘Manx for communication’ ideology discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 3.3). In the questionnaire ratings data, too, there are correlations between attitudes and use. Namely, forms that are rated highly for ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’ in the questionnaire tended to be those used more frequently by interview participants. Those rated as overwhelmingly negative, such as the *goll dy-future*, were among those forms used less frequently. Of course, the data on language use and language beliefs all hide a considerable degree of variation among Manx New Speakers: there are various ways of thinking and feeling about Manx, and various ways to use it, too.

The following section summarises the qualitative and quantitative findings discussed in this chapter, asking the question of how we might start to understand the apparent links between language ideologies, language attitudes, and language use in the Manx New Speaker community.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter highlighted that the rich tapestry of language beliefs discussed with reference to language ideologies in Chapter 6 is reflected in Manx New Speakers’ varied attitudes towards specific morphosyntactic constructions and their perceived ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’. However, within this variation, trends emerged from the qualitative and quantitative data which suggested that certain types of constructions are more likely to be considered ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ than others.

Broadly, the language practices considered ‘good’ seemed to be those perceived as more grammatically complex, and thus indicative of a higher level of competence in Manx. In addition, language practices that were felt to approximate ‘Traditional Manx’ were also often highly rated, in keeping with the prevalence of native-speaker ideologies. These ideologies were also reflected in the kinds of language use Manx New Speakers judged to be ‘more Manx’ - which was also often that perceived as close to ‘Traditional Manx’. ‘Manxness’ was also judged relative to a construction’s perceived closeness to *Baarlaghys* - or language use felt to be ‘Anglicised’. The two notions of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’ are thus heavily intertwined for New Speakers of Manx.

This chapter also draws connections between the broad language ideologies speakers tend to hold about Manx, and the way that forms are evaluated in the form of language attitudes. Many of the ideologies discussed in Chapter 6 are evidently at the root of the evaluative judgements seen in this chapter. Valuing ‘Traditional Manx’ as a concept is connected to positive evaluation of forms felt to be emulating this pseudo-variety. Valuing ease of communication in Manx is connected to acceptance of ‘Simple Manx’ in a greater range of contexts. Chapter 8 further explores how such links introduced in this chapter.

In turn, this chapter suggests that there are correlations between the kinds of salient forms speakers evaluate positively, and those they use more frequently. Evidently, this is also subject to a high degree of individual variation, and yet broad trends emerge within this. Previous research on New Speakers suggests that, in such communities, there is a connection between the language practices and their language beliefs, in that some New Speakers agentively use certain forms in their language practices to index language beliefs (Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020; Enriquez-García, 2017).

Chapter 8 proposes that similar mechanisms are at work behind variation in language use and language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker community. It brings together this thesis’s findings on language use and language beliefs, and proposes an analytical framework for understanding how Manx New Speakers’ language beliefs are connected, and how Manx New Speakers’ individual variation in morphosyntactic production might be reflective of their agentive efforts to index broad language beliefs through their language use.

8. Manx Language Ideologies and Morphosyntactic Variation: The Intersecting Ideologies Framework

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter draws together the themes and trends generated from both the qualitative and quantitative data. To summarise these; Chapter 5 showed that morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers was highly idiolectal, and was not adequately explainable by demographic or acquisitional factors. Chapter 6 revealed variation in how Manx New Speakers understood speakerness, tolerated language change, and prioritized ease of communication. Chapter 6 also discussed different language models, traditional and contemporary, valued by Manx New Speakers. Chapter 7 revealed some morphosyntactic features valued by Manx New Speakers as salient examples of ‘good language use’ and ‘maximally Manx language use’.

Chapter 8 brings these findings together to address the thesis’ final research question, as outlined below:

- 3. Are language beliefs connected to language use the Manx New Speaker community?**
 - a. How do Manx New Speakers use morphosyntax to construct linguistic authority?**
 - b. To what extent are ideological variation and structural variation linked in the Manx New Speaker community?**

To explore this question, the chapter illustrates and applies an original framework proposed by this thesis, developed from these qualitative and quantitative analyses on how Manx New Speakers use and think about their language. The framework describes how different ways of thinking about language, and about Manx in particular, have become clustered together in the Manx New Speaker community, creating larger spheres of belief that are meaningful and recognisable in the community. These ‘spheres’ incorporate

broader language ideologies, views on speakerhood, and attitudes towards specific morphosyntactic structures, bringing together discussion from the previous three chapters of this thesis.

In addition, this chapter explores the ongoing formation of indexical links between these different ‘spheres of belief’ and the use of different language practices. In keeping with this thesis’ third-wave sociolinguistic approach (discussed in Chapter 2), it explains how certain salient language practices are being agentively used by Manx New Speakers to index and perform specific beliefs about language. It therefore sheds light on possible ideological forces at work shaping broader patterns of variation in New Speaker communities, showing how such speakers might use structural variation to index ideological positions in discourse contexts. It therefore illuminates how structured variation is emerging and linguistic norms are being negotiated in the Manx context, through the development of an original theoretical framework, discussed in the following section.

8.2 The Intersecting Ideologies Framework

This section outlines the theoretical background of the original framework developed in this thesis, which aims to understand the links between morphosyntactic variation and language beliefs in the Manx context, and potentially other minoritized language settings.

It is evident from previous chapters in this thesis, namely Chapters 6 and 7, that there is considerable variation in the kinds of language beliefs that Manx New Speakers express. The New Speaker framework, stemming as it does from critical and third-wave sociolinguistic approaches, assumes that individual speakers’ language beliefs play a role in shaping their language practices (e.g. Eckert, 2012: 90; see Chapter 2, Sections 4 and 5 for further discussion).

Therefore, this thesis argues that New Speakers’ beliefs about their language may be coded in their language use. Some New Speakers that possess sufficient competence in the minoritized language have been shown to have a significant amount of agency in their language use, and thus can use salient linguistic features to index certain language ideologies (c.f. Enriquez-García, 2017 for Galician; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020 for Basque).

The Intersecting Ideologies Framework developed in this thesis argues that the above is also true for Manx. Throughout the fieldwork, Manx New Speakers exhibited a high degree of metalinguistic knowledge, and the importance and prevalence of various folk linguistic beliefs within the community was high, as discussed in Chapter 6. Preston (2017) understands such beliefs as those which are not informed by specialist knowledge of linguistic theory, but which are an important part of understanding speakers' language attitudes. In the Manx context, they revealed beliefs about the desired role of Manx in the community: particular ways of speaking were often mentioned in the same breath as were views on Manx history, identity, and culture.

Moreover, agency and personal choice in language use was assumed by many Manx New Speakers to be a 'common-sense' belief, entirely normalised within community language practices. Agency is understood here as the way in which speakers exercise some degree of control over their language use to communicate social meaning. In the words of Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1995: 470, in Ahearn, 2001: 127), agency refers to the way in which "language is a primary tool people use in constituting themselves and others as 'kinds' of people in terms of which attributes, activities, and participation in social practice can be regulated". Explicit evidence of the operation of agency in the Manx New Speaker community is shown in this question from Peddyr below, (see Chapter 6, Section 4.3 for full context):

Peddyr: *Agh t'ou er nyannoo ny- ny reihyn ayd-hene nagh vel? Mychione um... kys t'ou gearree loayrt yn Ghaelg.*

Peddyr: "But you have made your own choices haven't [you]? About um... how you want to speak Manx."

Peddyr's folk linguistic belief here reveals that agency as a force shaping language use is expected, at least by some Manx New Speakers, and therefore very much part of their language practices. Evidently, variation in language practices in the Manx New Speaker community is a phenomenon of multiple causation, including the influence of second language acquisition (see McNulty 2019; 2023a), and structural linguistic conditioning, as revealed in Chapter 5. However, the data analysed in Chapter 5 suggests that the highly idiolectal pattern of morphosyntactic variation reflects the desire of individual Manx New

Speakers to index beliefs they have about Manx through their language use. There was little evidence from this data suggesting that variation in this community is being governed by ‘traditional’ demographic categories, such as age and gender, which are called on to explain structural variation in first-wave sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Labov, 1966).

Therefore, this thesis proposes that certain salient features of morphosyntax available to Manx New Speakers are undergoing processes such as iconization (Irvine and Gal, 2000), such that they are becoming invested with social meaning. Certain Manx New Speakers, such as the ones spoken to in this study, are able to agentively use (or avoid) these features in order to index their orientation towards or away from particular poles of language beliefs that exist in the community. It therefore argues that agentive use of morphosyntax to express language beliefs is a major force shaping variation among New Speakers of Manx, and likely other minoritized languages undergoing revitalization. It proposes a systematic framework to link particular groupings of language ideologies present in the broad matrix of community beliefs with different ways in which New Speakers might of deploy the morphosyntactic resources available to them (both to reflect their own ideologies and index them to other community members). The thesis also begins to explore how different morphosyntactic features become ideologically linked to each other in New Speaker communities, forming ‘clusters’ of features taken to be both expressive and reflective of particular beliefs about language.

This chapter details the Intersecting Ideologies Framework developed by this thesis to bring together the above ideas. The Venn diagram in Figure 8.1 represents the framework.

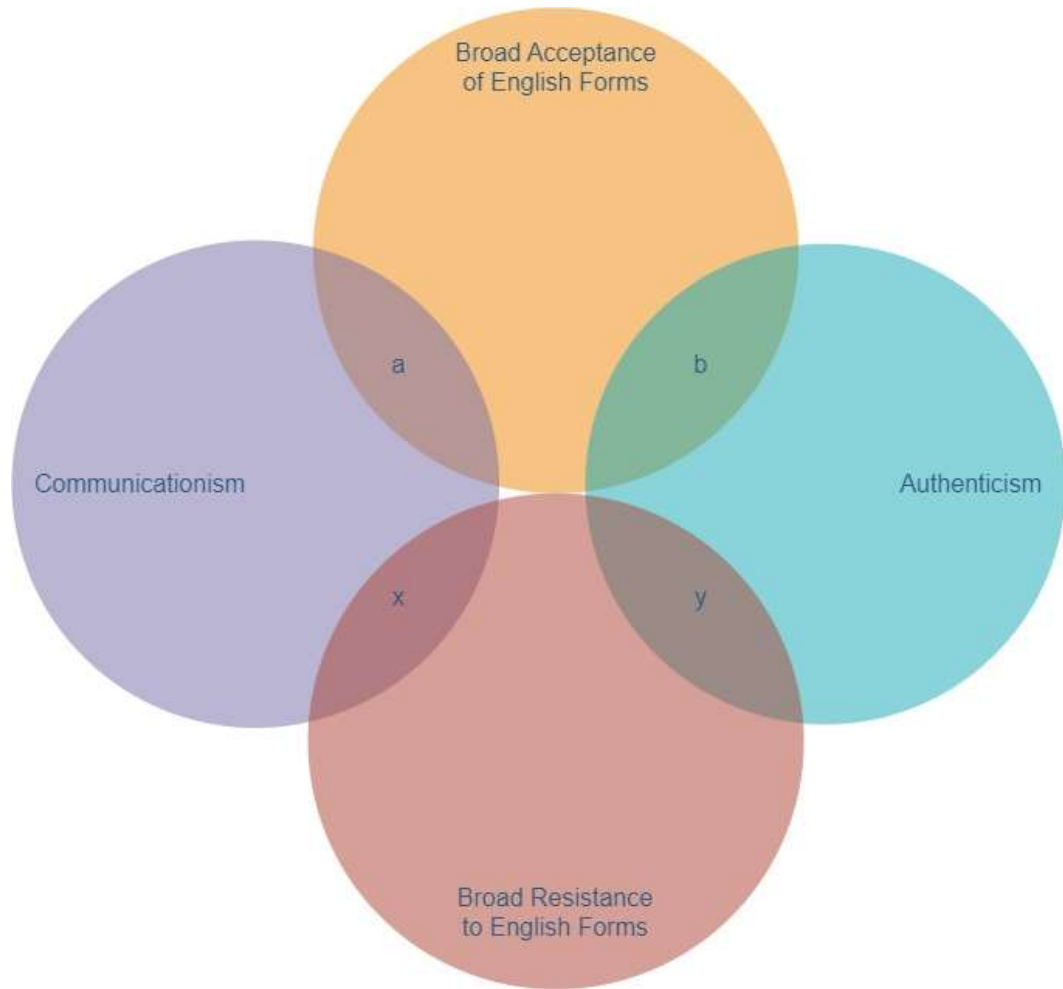


Figure 8.1 - The Intersecting Ideologies Framework

The diagram identifies four broad ideological positions, and the ‘intersections’ between these positions, namely how and where these ideologies overlap and the significance of these overlaps. It also shows how these ideologies influence language use and the licensing of various structural linguistic forms in the Manx New Speaker community. This serves as an analytical framework for understanding the sociolinguistic dimensions of the highly idiolectal structural variation found among New Speakers of Manx in Chapter 5. It helps to explain why certain linguistic features seem to pattern together in speakers’ use, valuing, and devaluing of them in accordance with language beliefs that they are indexing, such as those discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

It is important to note that the broad ideologies named in this framework are theoretical. In reality, the language use of any particular individual cannot be perfectly predicted by their indexing of one particular language ideology or other (Baker, 1992: 16; Garrett, 2010: 27). The dynamics of linguistic interaction

will play a key role in the linguistic behaviour of Manx New Speakers. They are likely to use and accept different linguistic forms in different contexts and mediums of communication, which may depend on the salience and iconicity of the linguistic form itself and on the degree to which the speaker is engaging in communication accommodation (as discussed in Chapter 6, Section 3.3).

Therefore, the linguistic production or behaviour of a speaker may not always correlate exactly with their “true beliefs” about language, even accounting for the fact that we all subscribe to multiple, often conflicting, language ideologies. Nevertheless, it has become apparent from my data analysis that Manx New Speakers value or devalue certain linguistic structures precisely for their ability to index one ideology or another, and will therefore, in a broad sense, shape their own linguistic practices around the expression of certain ideologies.

The following paragraphs explain the broad language ideologies shown on the diagram, illustrating the kinds of viewpoints associated with each one, and the kinds of language use that are likely to be valued and produced by holders of each ideology. It is important to note that the following ideologies are not mutually exclusive, hence intersections between the four ideologies, as indicated by the overlaps on the Venn diagram. The vast majority of speakers’ ideas of good language use and linguistic production will be an intersection between these ideologies, rather than a pure expression of just one. That is to say, a speaker who has views on the merits of Authenticism likely also has views on the acceptance of or resistance to English forms. One is rarely a ‘pure Authenticist’ in all contexts in practice, highlighting the need for interactions between different ideologies to be accounted for and explored.

The following chapters explore what is meant by each of the coloured circles in Figure 8.1, which sketch out the four overarching ‘big ideological positions’ identified in this thesis. They also discuss how these ideologies might be indexed through specific instances of language use, and how this framework might be used to re-analyse the findings from linguistic and sociolinguistic data collected from New Speakers of Manx.

8.3 Acceptance of and Resistance to English

This section discusses the vertical axis of the diagram, which encompasses broader attitudes to the perceived presence of English in Manx New Speakers' linguistic practices, building on discussions in Chapters 6 (Section 5.3) and 7 (Section 2.2.1). Both points of this axis are discussed together, as each of these ideologies clearly has much to say about the other. The relevant sections of the diagram are indicated in Figure 8.2.

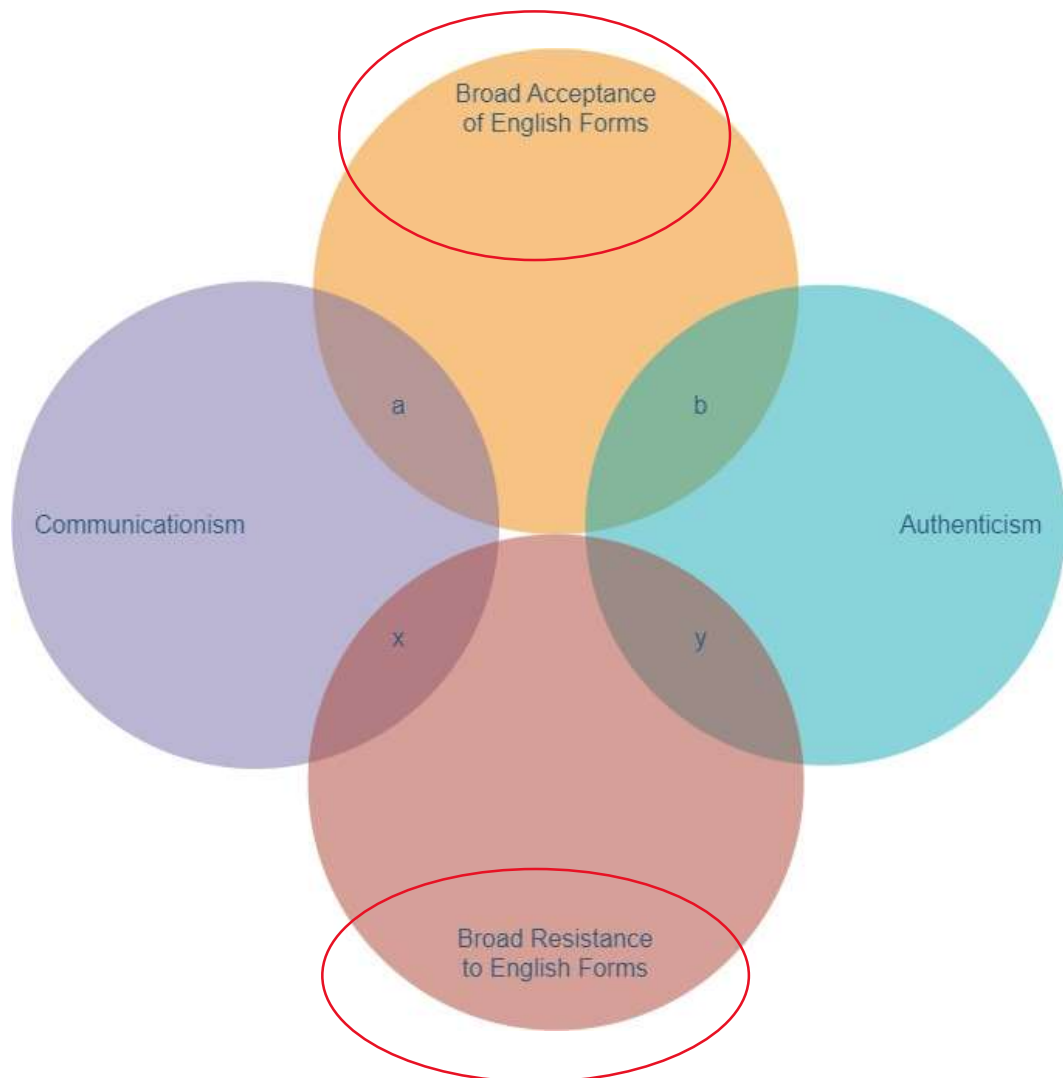


Figure 8.2 - The Framework, highlighting Acceptance of and Resistance to English

New Speakers often devalue translingual practices in which the majority language is felt to be influencing the minoritized language (Walsh and O'Rourke, 2018: 378 - see Chapter 2). Within the Manx context, the majority language is English (see Chapter 3, Section 2 for further discussion). As is evident from the discussions in Chapters 6 and 7, fieldwork interactions revealed variety in Manx New Speakers' views on perceived English influence on Manx, both in terms of

contexts and parts of speech in which English might be acceptably or unacceptably used.

With regards to English-derived forms in modern-day Manx, there are two important caveats that must be borne in mind. Firstly, “Anglicisation” in Manx exists both above and below speakers’ levels of awareness (Lewin, 2022, personal communication). Change due to contact with English seems much more salient in some areas of the language than others. For example, lexical borrowing seemed to be much more salient examples of Anglicisation in Manx than, say, the covert transfer of phonological vowel features.

Secondly, English influence on Manx may be either diachronic or synchronic. The former includes features borrowed into Manx at some point over the course of its history, as Manx and English have been in contact for hundreds of years.

Therefore, some modern Manx constructions contain elements borrowed from English at some point much further in the past, for example the form *laik* (from English ‘like’)⁵⁶. However, English also has a synchronic influence on Manx in the form of current multilingual Manx speakers making use of English resources in various aspects of their linguistic production in Manx. For example, McNulty (2019; 2023a) analyses the use of the *goll dy*-future construction by certain New Speakers of Manx as an example of synchronic transfer of English resources into Manx, resulting in an innovative use of morphosyntax.

That said, more important for the purposes of the current thesis than verifying whether a particular instance of language use is evidence of English influence, synchronic or diachronic, is ascertaining whether this might be *perceived* as evidence of such by other Manx speakers. The example of the *goll dy*-future as discussed above is relevant here. As McNulty (2023a) notes, this construction does exist in earlier Manx texts, however it seems to have fallen out of use and has been independently ‘recreated’ by synchronic processes of language acquisition. Whatever the historical linguistic reality, the discussion in Chapter 7 (Section 2.2.1; Section 3) indicates that this construction is *perceived* by Manx New Speakers as a salient devalued translingual feature. Therefore, only forms that are above the level of awareness, or that have been ‘marked’ by the

⁵⁶ This borrowing is evidenced in Manx from as early as 1730-1750, seen in the translated text *Pargeiys Caillit* (‘Paradise Lost’), in the sense of ‘to be likely to’, e.g. “*cha nee ayns goanlys t’eh laik tuittym wood*” (“it isn’t in malice mankind is likely to abandon you”).

community as being “Anglicisms”, are likely to feed into ideologies of acceptance of or resistance to English in Manx, as the following two sections discuss.

8.3.1 Broad Resistance to English Forms

Attitudes towards perceived Anglicisation in Manx are at the root of the ideologies discussed in this section and the following. An ideology of ‘Broad Resistance to English’ would state that, as far as possible, Manx Speakers should aspire not to use salient Anglicisms in their production in Manx. This is evidenced by Juan’s discussion on the use of lexical borrowings in Manx:

Juan: *Ta'n red gollrish, ta mee 'walkal' sheese y raad.*

Erin: {laughs}

Juan: *So stoo nagh vel Gaelg ayn, gollrish um 'text'. Ta mee textual, shen mie dy liooar as ta- ta stoo myr shen ayns Gaelg hannah, gollrish costys ny costal... ta shen Gaelg.*

Juan: “There’s the thing [that’s] like, I am *walkal* [‘walking’] down the road.

Erin: {laughs}

Juan: So stuff where there is no Manx, like um ‘text’. I’m *textal* [texting], that’s OK and there- there’s stuff like that in Manx already, like *costys* or *costal* [cost]... that is Manx.”

Here, Juan makes it clear that the use of English is acceptable if there is no “more Manx” option available. For him, it is not acceptable to say ‘*walkal*’ in Manx⁵⁷, as a word for ‘walk’ already exists in common usage. It is acceptable, however, to form neologisms using English words where no Manx form exists, such as ‘*textal*’ (i.e. ‘to communicate via text message’), or to use long-established English loan compounds, e.g. ‘*costal*’ (‘to cost’).

Devaluing of translingual practices has been frequently observed in New Speaker studies (e.g. by Walsh and O’Rourke, 2018: 378), and Manx is no exception: I

⁵⁷ I.e. to add the Manx verbalising suffix ‘-al’ onto the English verb ‘walk’, rather than using the existing Manx word *shooyl*.

encountered such views often during fieldwork. During my observation sessions, a key goal of members of one conversation group was to translate texts from English to Manx in the ‘Manxest’ way possible. For them, this meant avoiding syntactic calques on English in favour of established idioms (see also Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 114). However, ‘more Manx’ language also meant making use of salient morphosyntactic features felt to be unique to or characteristic of Manx. The idea of what “more Manx” means in terms of linguistic structure varies (see Chapter 7). However, this kind of aspirational linguistic Manxness is often constructed based on perceived maximal differentiation to structures available in English. Some morphosyntactic structures that are salient examples of ‘maximally non-English’ structures seem to be undergoing iconization (Irvine and Gal, 2000), and are used by speakers to index linguistic Manxness⁵⁸.

This aspiration towards Manxness in linguistic structure, defined in opposition to Englishness, forms the basis of the ‘Broad Resistance to English’ ideology. It is this prevailing community ideology which is behind the low attitudinal ratings of the *goll dy*-future in the language attitudes questionnaire (discussed in Chapter 7, Section 3). This is an example of a morphosyntactic form that is clearly above the level of awareness for speakers, and seems to be perceived as a salient example of English influence by many. In the questionnaire, this form was consistently rated as both “less good” and “less Manx” than other future constructions, by a significant margin. The same was true of the *jeh*-genitive, which received similarly low ratings. Due to the prevalence and ‘common-sense’ nature of the ‘Resistance to English’ ideology, these forms are avoided in favour of perceived ‘more Manx’ alternatives.

This ideology also has implications for speakers’ attitudes towards and use of synthetic and analytic verb forms in Manx (i.e. those discussed in Chapters 5 and 7). Questionnaire respondents rated both verb forms relatively highly, but the synthetic slightly edged out the analytic in terms of how ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ respondents felt it to be (see Chapter 7). These forms were also frequently brought up by speakers during interviews and observations as examples of ‘good Manx’ (see Chapter 7, Section 2). This is likely due to multiple factors, but one seems to be that synthetic verbs are perceived as examples of morphosyntactic

⁵⁸ See McNulty (2019)’s discussion of iconization in Manx possessives for an embryonic version of this argument.

features that are not present in English⁵⁹. In the following extract, Peddyr places synthetic verbs in opposition to the analytic *ren* form in this respect:

Peddyr: *Shen ny reddyn ta doillee da sleih nagh vel? Ny reddyn nagh vel ayns Baarle... you know nagh vel ad toiggal dy mie ta doillee dy ynsagh as dy hoilshagh da sleih... wahl yinnagh oo geddyn re rish ooilley ny verb tenses as jannoo ymmyd jeh ren car y tra.*

Peddyr: “Those are the things that are difficult for people aren’t [they]? The things that aren’t in English... you know [the things] that they [learners] don’t understand well and are difficult to learn and to explain to people... well you would get rid of all the verb tenses and use *ren* all the time.”

Peddyr (perhaps sarcastically) suggests that synthetic verbs should be done away with to make Manx easier to learn, by increasing its (perceived) structural similarity to English. He evidently feels that, despite their difficulty, features like synthetic verbs are a valuable feature of the language that differentiates it from English, and that the use of such salient differentiating features is emblematic of aspirational competence in Manx. It seems from this that synthetic verbs are undergoing iconization and imbued with social meaning, becoming indexical of ‘Resistance to English ideologies’. Speakers can use forms like synthetic verbs to orientate themselves towards this ideology. Therefore, Resistance to English is fuelled by a desire for maximum ‘Manxness’ in language use, which, according to this ideology, can be achieved through the avoidance of perceived Anglicistic linguistic practices in favour of ‘Manxer’ ones. Evidently, Resistance to English is a purist ideology (as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 6) which seeks to remove undesirable translingual features from Manx language practices (Thomas, 1991: 12).

For some speakers, the idea of ‘Manxness’ has become also linked with the idea of ‘Gaelicness’, as discussed in Chapter 6, Section 5. Therefore, this ‘Resistance to English’ ideology is built on a constructed Gaelic-English dichotomy (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b). Within this dichotomy, morphosyntactic structures may be avoided due to their perceived similarity to English, but valued due to their perceived proximity to some Gaelic ideal, based on varying folk-linguistic views

⁵⁹ As a folk-linguistic belief, this is not always reflective of linguistic reality (Preston, 2017).

and metalinguistic knowledge of the structure of Irish and Scottish Gaelic. This also has implications for the kinds of language practices Manx New Speakers might value and use. As discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 5), Lewis states how he prefers to use synthetic verb structures over analytic ones both because the former bear resemblance to verb forms used in Irish, and as part of a desire to avoid morphosyntactic *Baarlaghys* (Anglicisation) in his Manx. Therefore, in this ideology, Manxness and Gaelicness have become intertwined due to their mutual opposition to the perceived imposition of English on Manx morphosyntax. This ideology is clearly a response to Manx's past and present minoritization, foregrounding an ideological link with other Gaelic communities, with whom this ideology privileges a shared Gaelic past and a shared modern cultural and sociolinguistic experience, including that of linguistic minoritization. This link may be indexed through the avoidance of perceived Anglicization in their morphosyntax, and also through the agentive use of perceived 'more Gaelic' morphosyntactic structures, such as synthetic verb structures and the genitive case.

Thus, Resistance to English is an ideological position that privileges language practices felt to be distinct from English and closer to some 'more Manx' ideal, often found in language use perceived as similar to community ideas of 'Gaelicness'. Therefore, in this ideology, Manxness is found in aligning one's usage with 'more Manx', and 'more Gaelic' morphosyntactic features. Avoidance of perceived 'English' morphosyntactic structures can be used to index this ideology and align oneself with an idea of Manxness that precludes Englishness, and views Manx as inextricably linked with Irish and Scottish Gaelic (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b). However, although such ideologies were common, they were not universal, as the following section discusses.

8.3.2 Broad Acceptance of English Forms

The opposing ideology to Resistance was also present among the Manx New Speaker community, although less commonly expressed among my participants. While not necessarily expressing positive views of perceived English influence on Manx, there was evidence that certain speakers held ideologies that were more neutral with regards to this. These views mostly reflected a belief that some degree of English influence on Manx was unavoidable due to a perceived heavy

degree of contact with English during Manx's historical trajectory of extreme minoritization. This ideology is evidently at play in Peddyr's comment below:

Peddyr: *Ta Baarle er ve sy ghlaare ain veih'n toshiaght, nagh vel? As cha lhisagh shin goaill nearey jeh shen.*

Peddyr: "English has been in our language from the start, hasn't [it]? And we shouldn't be ashamed of that."

Peddyr here references the long history of contact between Manx and English in the Isle of Man, dating from some of the earliest records of the language. This ideology therefore does not view 'Englishness' as something that should be agentively avoided in language practice - a greater acceptance of English forms in morphosyntax might therefore be indexed to some degree by the use of the perceived salient 'Anglicized' structures, as opposed to the kinds of agentive avoidance discussed in Section 9.3.1. This would entail less of a preference for synthetic verb forms over analytic, and a greater acceptance of syntactic calques such as the *goll dy*-future and the *jeh*-genitive.

Indeed, some of the only positive attitudes expressed towards perceived *Baarlaghys*, or Anglicized language use, concerned its role in Manx's suitability as a 'modern language'. This was chiefly in the lexical domain, and often referenced the potential borrowing of English words for new technology as an alternative to coining new lexis, evidenced in Juan's 'textal' example in Section 9.3.1. In addition, some speakers, such as Mona, referenced English as a potential resource for new vocabulary in Manx to describe current social and political issues, such as LGBTQ+ and women's rights. In such views, the use of English is an accepted consequence of the perceived necessity of discussing such issues in the Manx community.

Much like Resistance to English, the Acceptance of English ideology also seems to be a response to Manx's minoritization and resulting language contact. However, instead of seeking to agentively use linguistic structure to erase past and present contact with English, this ideology would accept it. In this way, it seeks to reclaim Manx's reputation as "the Cinderella of the Gaelic tongues" (courtesy of O'Rahilly, 1932: ix, in Lewin, 2017: 149) by reanalysing Manx's perceived higher degree of structural Anglicization (compared to Irish and Scottish Gaelic, in this case) as just another part of the language's history. How speakers might use

language to index both Acceptance and Resistance beliefs is discussed in the following section.

8.3.3 Indexing Beliefs about Anglicism

This thesis contends that overall patterns of language use and variation in the Manx New Speaker community may be largely explained by the agentive use of certain linguistic structures by individual Manx New Speakers to index broad language beliefs, which are those set out in this chapter. The current section explores how, in my data, Manx New Speakers indexed either of the two ideologies discussed in the previous section, namely Acceptance of or Resistance to perceived English influence, through their language use.

This thesis argues that this may be accomplished because certain features in Manx are becoming iconic (Irvine and Gal, 2000), and indexical of ideological meaning. One of the key morphosyntactic features to discuss with regards to ideologies of Anglicisation, or rejection thereof, is the *goll dy*-future. To summarise the explanation in Chapter 4 (Section 3.3.1), this form is a syntactic calque on the English future-present ‘going to’ construction, seemingly used by some Manx New Speakers to indicate a future action that is connected to the present in some way (McNulty, 2019; 2023a). This form is clearly salient as an example of *Baarlaghys*, or ‘negatively evaluated Anglicism’ (see Chapter 7). It is explicitly referenced by certain speakers as an example of this kind of language use, e.g. by Mona in Chapter 7 (Section 2.1.2). She observes that the use of the *goll dy*-future is often devalued in the community, widely held to be a negative example of English influence originating in the speech of children who acquired Manx through immersion education. I, too, found Resistance to *Baarlaghys* to be a dominant ideology within the Manx New Speaker community, to the point of being a ‘common-sense’ ideology for many speakers. Therefore, there was a strong desire among many Manx New Speakers to index this ideology through agentive *avoidance* of the *goll dy*-future form. With few exceptions, the results of the language attitudes questionnaire in this study (in Chapter 7) indicated that the *goll dy*-future form was widely devalued by speakers, and was not felt to be a part of ‘good language use’, nor as an aspirational kind of language use in terms of ‘Manxness’. In terms of the language use data from the

sociolinguistic interviews (in Chapter 5), this form was used only by three participants, Duncan, Juan, and Mona - fewer than either of the two other future forms.

In terms of the data from language use, as discussed above, Duncan is one of three speakers who licensed and used the *goll dy*-future in their language use. He also consistently expressed Acceptance of English during interviews. In doing so, he is indexing his resistance to the dominant ideology, and emphasising his neutral attitudes towards perceived Anglicisms in Manx. The other two speakers who use this form, Juan and Mona, acquired Manx through immersion education. Mona's folk-linguistic beliefs around *goll dy*'s salience as an 'immersion-education innovation' (in Chapter 7, Section 2.1.2) are supported by findings from both this study and from McNulty (2019; 2023a), which suggest that, by and large, this form is used by Manx New Speakers who acquired Manx at the *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh* (Manx-language Immersion Primary School). It is likely then, that we are seeing in *goll dy* the complex interaction between acquisition factors and indexing of ideological beliefs. Individual speakers may use this form as a way of indexing an Acceptance of perceived Anglicisms, as a result of the emerging norms within Manx-immersion education, or both.

Another form that is relevant to ideologies of perceived Anglicism is the genitive. Chapter 4 (Section 3.3.3) provides in-depth discussion of this form, but in summary, there are two nominal genitive forms in Manx: the analytic *jeh*-genitive, which is syntactically identical to "the X of the Y" English genitive constructions, and a genitive case form, in which the genitive case is indicated through initial consonant lenition on the head noun. In the results of the language attitudes questionnaire (Chapter 7), the *jeh*-genitive received similar treatment to the *goll dy*-future above, being perceived as more Anglicised syntax, and thus devalued by many speakers. Reflective of the desire of many speakers to index the prevailing ideology of Resistance to English influence in the community, the *jeh*-genitive was used much less frequently than its case equivalent overall.

On an individual level, speakers in both interviews and observation sessions would often 'self-correct' (e.g. Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1993) with regards to the genitive case, beginning a nominal genitive using the *jeh* form, before restarting the utterance using the genitive case form. This was especially evident in one

member of the conversation group I observed, who would frequently make conscious efforts to use the genitive case whenever possible. She commented on this agentive choice of hers to the rest of the group, saying she perceived this form as a ‘more Manx’ way of expressing the genitive, due to the fact it was used in texts written by certain expert New Speakers in the community. This group member seemingly perceived me as something of this kind of linguistic authority, often asking me if what she had said was “right” and engaging in metalinguistic discussion about the genitive case. This speaker’s language practices and metalinguistic discourse in this particular context reflected an agentive use of the genitive case and avoidance of the *jeh*-genitive as a way of indexing less-Anglicised language use, to which she aspires, as well as orienting herself towards the language practices of expert New Speakers in the community.

For other speakers, their use of the genitive case indexed a Resistance to perceived Anglicism through orienting their language practices towards a community idea of ‘Gaelicness’. As discussed in Section 3.1 above, the idea of a Gaelic-English dichotomy is prevalent in the community, which is often reflected in attitudes towards linguistic structures. For many speakers who wish to index a Resistance to perceived Englishness in their linguistic structures, this can be achieved through the agentive use of morphosyntactic features perceived as ‘more Gaelic’. This was very evident in the case of one interview participant, Lewis, who expressed his desire to agentively shape his language practices to be as close as possible to an imagined ‘maximally Gaelic’ form of Manx (see Chapter 6, Section 5.3 for further discussion). As such, he was one of the most frequent users of the genitive case (Chapter 5, Section 6), and would often perform repair work - reformulating *jeh*-genitive constructions to the genitive case, expressing alignment to the Resistance ideology (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1993).

Synthetic verbs were also used by speakers to index this ideology of Resistance. From the discussion in Section 3.1 above, the use of synthetic verbs, as opposed to their analytic equivalent, is often felt to be a practice that marks one’s language use as ‘more Manx’, or as a linguistic feature which can be used to index differentiation from English when speaking Manx. In the questionnaire data, both the synthetic past and future were rated very highly in both the ‘good’ and ‘Manx’ criteria, highlighting this prevailing ideology (Chapter 7). This

was also reflected in Manx New Speakers' behaviour during my observation sessions. Speakers in the conversation group would make concerted efforts to use the synthetic forms within their competence, often through self-correction repair work (Álvarez-Cáccamo, 1993) and metalinguistic discussion in the same manner as for the genitive case above. To return to the example of Lewis, due to his strong desire to index Resistance to English through maximal 'Gaelicness' in his language use, the frequency of his use of synthetic past verbs in interviews was among the highest of all participants (Chapter 5, Section 2). The agentive use of synthetic verbs is thus one of tools Manx New Speakers may use to resist community anxieties about Manx being "too Anglicised" or "not Gaelic enough" (Ó hlfearnáin, 2015b: 114).

To summarise the above, ideologies of Acceptance of certain kinds of perceived English influence seem to be indexed by some Manx New Speakers through the use and acceptance of highly stigmatised salient translingual constructions, such as the *goll dy*-future, in their language practices. However, much more commonly, speakers sought to index Resistance to perceived Anglicism through the agentive avoidance of such forms, often supplemented through the agentive use of iconic forms indexical of as 'more Manxness', saliently perceived as less superficially similar to equivalent constructions in English. This is linked both to ideas about language models in Manx and to community perceptions of Gaelicness, which Sections 4, 5, and 6 will discuss further. These following sections discuss the horizontal axis of the diagram, and how these relate to language ideologies and linguistic structure.

8.4 Authenticism

The horizontal axis of the diagram describes broader constellations of beliefs around what the role or purpose of Manx should be, and what it should look like. The first of these to be explored is Authenticism, indicated in blue on the diagram below:

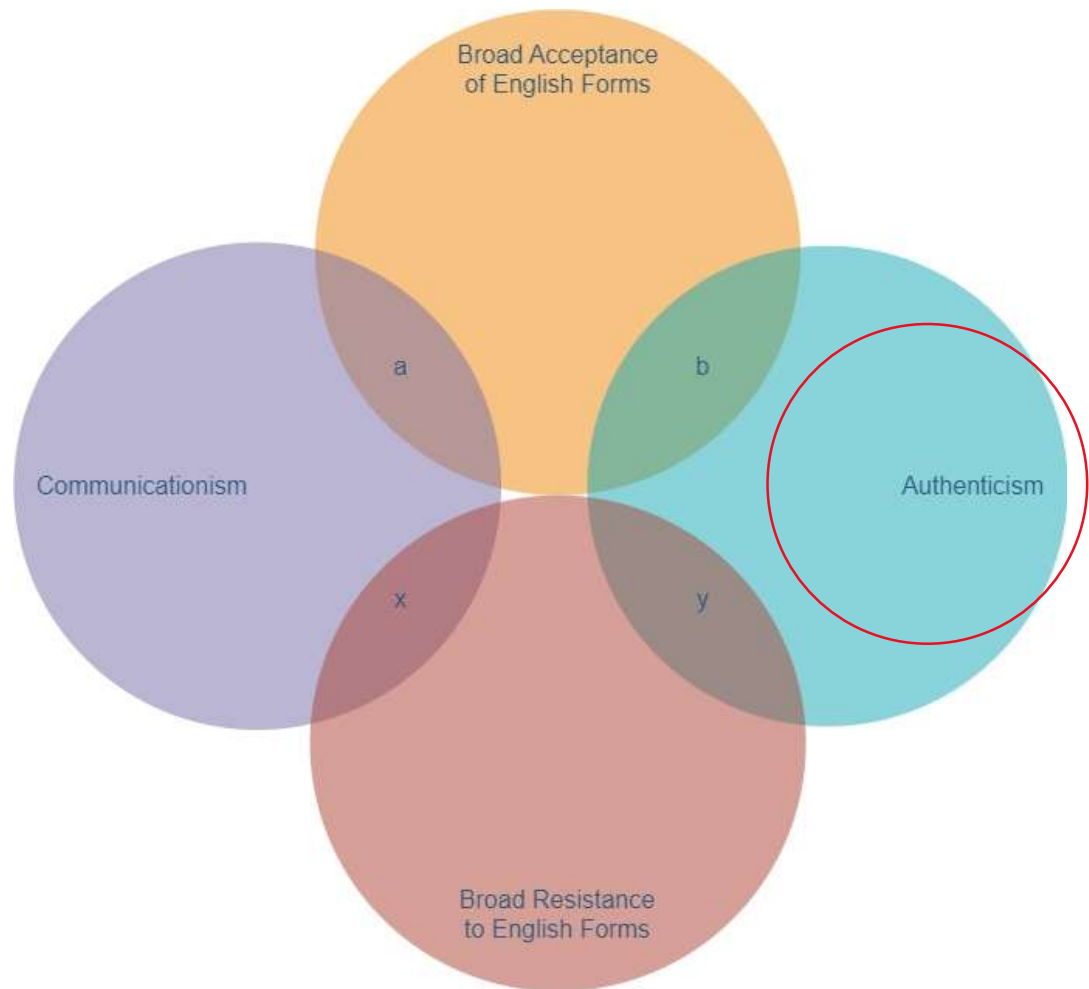


Figure 8.3 - The Framework, highlighting Authenticism

The term Authenticism is adapted from Lewin (e.g. 2017; 2018; 2022). As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2), Lewin describes Authenticist ideological stances as those that are “characterized by a concern not to depart too far from the traditional language, and are accepting of well-established English derived lexis or constructions, rather than ‘native’ (i.e. Manx-lexified) replacements or pan-Gaelic borrowings” (Lewin, 2022: 668, my parentheses). Lewin (2022) positions Authenticism as a response to an ideology of “purism”, which he describes as seeking to purge Manx of perceived English influence in favour of Gaelicised linguistic structures, posited to have been prominent at various points during Manx’s revitalization.

The fieldwork data in this thesis indeed suggests that a broad language ideology reminiscent of Authenticism is present in the current Manx New Speaker community, hence my use of the term. However, the term needs a certain amount of refinement to fully reflect the variety and interconnected nature of

ideologies held by Manx New Speakers today. As the above diagram and discussion may suggest, I believe the term ‘Authenticism’, as defined by Lewin above, in fact encompasses multiple overlapping ideological stances and thus warrants further interrogation.

Firstly, my data shows that attitudes towards perceived Anglicised language use exist in Manx outside of Authenticism. In other words, acceptance of or resistance to perceived English influence on Manx is a separate linguistic belief that speakers may hold for multiple reasons as outlined above, which may be related or unrelated to Authenticism. It may, and often does, interact with Authenticism, but I do not believe that it is a necessary component of it.

Secondly, an ideology of Authenticism is in fact a kind of linguistic purism, rather than being opposed to it. As Thomas (1991:10) notes, there are many potential definitions of linguistic purism, however he proposes the working definition of purism as “the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects, and styles of the same language)” (Thomas, 1991: 12). Authenticism is therefore a purist ideology, but unlike the anti-Anglicism ideology described above, Authenticism supposes that Manx should be spoken in a way that approximates, as close as possible, some historical variety of the language, and holds as undesirable any linguistic developments that depart from this.

This section therefore seeks to refine the term Authenticism, and describe how this ideology manifested in my data. In agreement with Lewin’s definition above, the key component of an Authenticist ideology is the high valuation of historical language models, most often historical texts such as the Manx Family Bible, as well as recordings made of traditional native speakers of Manx. According to this ideology, these extant examples of historical language use can be grouped together to form “Traditional Manx”, which commonly serves as an aspirational norm for New Speakers of Manx (see Chapter 6). For many speakers, Traditional Manx has a cognitive reality, as exemplified in Orry’s quote from Chapter 6 (Section 5.1): *shen yn ghlaare t’ayn* (“that’s the language that’s there”).

For Orry, Manx as it is preserved in historical records of traditional usage *is* Manx, exemplifying how a native-speaker ideology (Doerr, 2009; in Chapter 2, Section 6) might persist in absence of a native speaker community. Therefore, for Authenticism, to truly and respectably speak Manx is to speak it in a way that reflects community beliefs about native-speaker linguistic norms of the past. However, this norm also serves as a “moving target” (c.f. Ó hÍfearnáin, 2015b: 116) that is difficult to reach, as research is continually being conducted on historical texts in Manx which alters speakers’ understandings of how the language may have been spoken in the past. Therefore, in accordance with Lewin’s (2022) definition above, Authenticism stresses the status of current Manx speakers as perpetual learners (Chapter 6, Section 4.2), as deeper analyses of the “Traditional Manx” corpus should consistently inform speakers’ language use.

Therefore, Authenticism locates maximum ‘linguistic Manxness’ and ideal speakerhood in the language practices of past communities of traditional speakers of Manx. This is exemplified in this emotive anecdote from Richard (also in Chapter 6, Section 4):

Richard: *As va shin ooilley just... nyn dost ayns y cheeill shen tra v'eh loayrt. As- as loayr mee rish sleih ny ghaa lurg da shen, as va shin ooilley smooïnaghtyn v'eh jus sheeanal myr- va shin smooïnaghtyn dy row eh sheeanal myr dy ren ny shenn um saggyrtyn sheeanal [...] V'eh just- ren eh- ren eh just sheeanal cho dooghyssagh... ayns dagh ooilley aght. Va shin just ayns- jus rish tammylt ayns... traa elley dy bollagh, you know v'eh shiaght keead jeig as red ennagh foddee.*

Richard: “And we were all just... silent in that church when he was talking. And- and I spoke to a couple of people after that, and we were all thinking he just sounded like- we were thinking he sounded like how the old um priests sounded [...] He was just- he- he just sounded so natural... in every way. We were just in- just for a while in... a completely different time, you know it was seventeen hundred and something maybe.”

Richard’s quote details how this ideology views naturalness and native speakerness as inherently interconnected. It illustrates how, for Authenticism, Manxness and the identity of the language is firmly found in the past, which can

be transposed into the present through linguistic practices that approximate community ideas of “Traditional Manx”.

All the above key tenets of Authenticism were succinctly summarised in my interview with Peddyr:

Peddyr: *“Ta sym aymys er yn çhenn ghlaare. Ta mee gearree gynsagh mychione y Ghaelg myr v’ee... y Ghaelg va loayrit ec loayreydeyrn dooghyssagh, tra v’ee foast lajer, çhengey yn cho-pobble ayns Mannin. So ta mee gearree gynsagh mychione shen as er lhiam dy jinnagh shin jannoo nyn gooid share dy chummal seose y Ghaelg er yn aght shen foddee.”*

Peddyr: “I am interested in the old language. I want to learn about Manx as it was... the Manx that was spoken by native speakers, when it was still strong, [still] the community language in the Isle of Man. So I want to learn about that and I think that we would do our best⁶⁰ to support Manx in that way maybe.”

Therefore, an Authenticist ideology believes that linguistic production in Manx should reflect, as closely as possible, valued historical language models, and that speaking Manx should ideally involve bringing speakers’ synchronic linguistic production closer to ‘Traditional Manx’ - the amalgamation of historical language models aspirational for many speakers (Chapter 6, Section 5.1). It encourages Manx Speakers to continually develop their competence with the goal of approximating this historical linguistic norm. It therefore understands speakerness as located in the emulation of historical traditional native speaker models, and fluency as using Manx in a conscious, agentive way in to align closely with these models. Considering the nature of the Intersecting Ideologies Framework, Authenticism may also overlap with other ideologies, as discussed in the following section.

8.4.1 Intersections with Authenticism

As indicated by the diagram, these four main ideologies do not operate in isolation, and can intersect with other, forming crossover points where two of

⁶⁰ I.e. “the best thing for us to do would be...”

these ideologies can be expressed at one time. In my data, I found that certain ways that speakers talked about and used language reflected views contained within Authenticism, but which also reflected ideologies of either Acceptance of or Resistance to perceived English forms in Manx, as indicated by points ‘b’ and ‘y’ respectively on Figure 8.4 below:

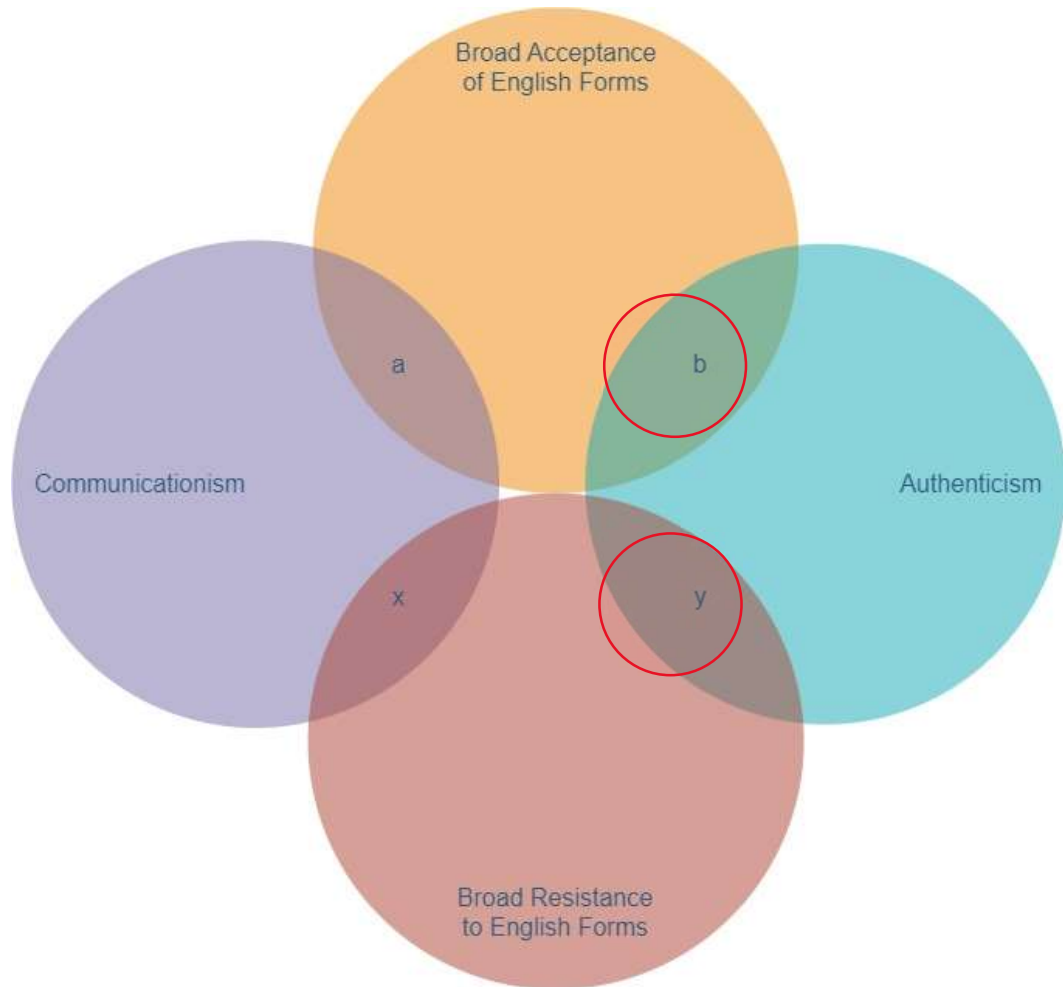


Figure 8.4 - The Framework, highlighting Interactions with Authenticism

Intersection point ‘b’ marks the interaction between Authenticism and the Acceptance of perceived English influence on Manx. Within this intersection of ideologies, salient examples of *Baarlaghys* will be tolerated if they are felt to be a part of “Traditional Manx”, often established by their presence in valued historical language models. English-derived forms that, according to folk linguistic beliefs, entered into usage in Manx prior to its minoritization are often accepted by this ideology, and are indeed preferred over less Anglicized

structures that do not form part of “Traditional Manx”. Lewin’s (2022: 676) discussion of ways to say ‘I hope’ in Manx reflects this intersection. The construction *ta mee treishteil* (‘I am hoping’) is superficially similar to English syntax, and yet would be preferred by intersection ‘b’ over the Gaelicized alternative *s’treisht lhiam* (‘is hope with me’) due to the fact that the former is attested in ‘Traditional Manx’, and the latter less so.

By contrast, ‘y’ marks the overlap between a Resistance to the use of perceived Anglicised forms in Manx and an Authenticist ideology. This intersection is marked by a preference for those forms thought to be more similar to forms in the other Gaelic languages, with the caveat that they should be attested in some valued language model for Manx. This is exemplified well in the language practices of Lewis in Section 3.1, who both clearly values native speaker norms, and yet consistently reflects on the perceived Gaelicness of his usage, employing repair work to align his usage towards both models. This is discussed in more detail in the following section, which explores how Manx New Speakers might use salient morphosyntactic constructions to index Authenticism.

8.4.2 Indexing Authenticism

Manx New Speakers indeed indexed Authenticist ideologies through the use of salient morphosyntactic features in their language practices. These were often structures that were felt by speakers to be characteristic of ‘Traditional Manx’ - a community idea of language use based on an amalgamation of various historical language models, in which past usages are brought into the present to create a proxy native speaker ideological position (Doerr, 2009; see Chapter 6, Section 5.1). With regards to morphosyntax, constructions such as the synthetic future and conditional are often perceived by speakers as characteristic of the morphosyntax of ‘Traditional Manx’, as exemplified in this quote from Juan, extracted from Chapter 6 (Section 5.1).

Juan: My t’ou jeeaghyn ayns y Vible... as fer gollrish ‘yiarrin’ ny red myr shen... as she ard Gaelg t’ayn.

Juan: “If you look in the Bible... and there’s one[s] like ‘*yiarrin*’⁶¹ and thing[s] like that... and it’s *ard Gaelg*.”

Authenticism explains why forms like the synthetic verbs were rated as highly as they were in the language attitudes questionnaire (Chapter 7). The desire to emulate, to some extent, morphosyntactic norms associated with ‘Traditional Manx’ was common in the Manx New Speaker community, and possessing the competence and metalinguistic knowledge to do so was seen by many speakers as a marker of ‘expert speaker’ status, as discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 5.2).

Indeed, during the adult Manx language class, ‘Traditional Manx’ was presented by the teacher as a linguistic model for students with regards to various aspects of morphosyntax. This was often linked with discussions of synthetic verbs, such as during exercises in which class attendees were asked to provide synthetic alternatives to verb constructions in the analytic *ren* form. This had the impact of presenting the latter as the ‘default’ for understanding, and former as a way of speaking that indicated a higher competence in Manx. However, while using ‘Traditional Manx’ morphosyntax was presented as aspirational by the teacher, language practices associated with less ‘traditional’ varieties of the language were also acknowledged, with the use of comparative phrases such as “in Traditional Manx, you would hear X, but now people say Y”. The idea of personal choice in language use, and that different ways of speaking might be appropriate for different contexts, is therefore acknowledged in this ideology.

It is evident from discussions in this chapter that forms like synthetic verbs might be valued by speakers for multiple reasons; that is to say, when two individual speakers use synthetic verb forms, they may be indexing different ideologies. Or, as the diagram suggests, any individual may be indexing an intersection *between* two ideologies. Synthetic verb forms are iconic for many Manx New Speakers as a morphosyntactic form that differentiates Manx from English, and can therefore be used to index an ideology of Resistance to perceived Anglicisation (Section 3.3). Juan’s comment shows they are also salient as forms strongly associated with ‘Traditional Manx’ models, and may therefore be used to index Authenticism. Some speakers, such as Peddyr and Orry, identified strongly with an Authenticist ideology throughout their

⁶¹ ‘I would say’.

interviews, and thus the indexing of Authenticism through their own linguistic structures in as many contexts as possible was a major part of their language practices. This was reflected in their patterns of language use; for one thing, both of these speakers were among the only speakers to produce the synthetic future (Chapter 5, Section 5).

The Intersecting Ideologies Framework allows for the fact that a speaker may be indexing both Resistance and Authenticism simultaneously. An example of how indexing such intersections shapes language use in Manx can be found in the discrepancy in questionnaire ratings between the *goll dy*-future and the *abyl dy*-modal (Chapter 7, Sections 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.5). The former was not tolerated by many questionnaire respondents due its being perceived as *Baarlaghys* (Section 3). However, despite the *abyl dy* construction also having its origins in a syntactic calque on English (Chapter 4, Section 3.3.2), this was rated much more favourably by most speakers. I argued in Chapter 7 that this was because this form, unlike the *goll dy*-future is perceived by speakers to be a part of “Traditional Manx”. Therefore, an ideological intersection that both places primacy on the historical language and is tolerant of perceived Anglicisms would find this construction acceptable. Indeed, even speakers who very consistently indexed a Resistance to English, such as Lewis, as discussed above, frequently used *abyl dy* as it is such an established part of ‘Traditional Manx’ language practices.

In summary, indexing Authenticism involves Manx New Speakers agentively aligning their language use with the kinds of salient morphosyntactic constructions felt to be emblematic of ‘Traditional Manx’, including highly synthetic verb forms. When speakers are indexing Authenticism, constructions that may have otherwise been devalued as examples of Anglicism, such as the *abyl dy*-modal construction, may be accepted because they are perceived to be included within ideas of ‘Traditional Manx’. This is not the priority for all ideological positions, as the following section demonstrates.

8.5 Communicationism

This section will explore the final major ideology incorporated in this framework; Communicationism, indicated in purple on Figure 8.5:

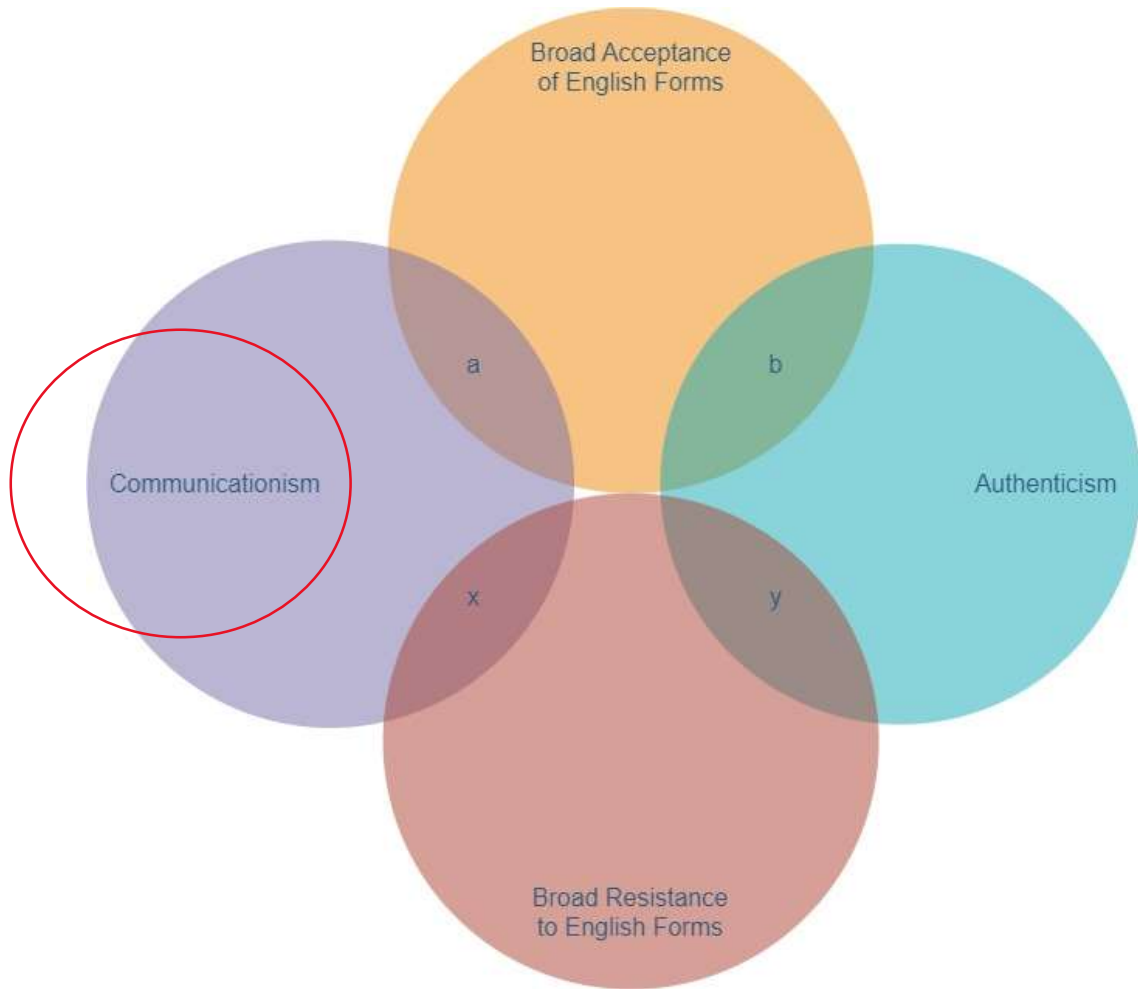


Figure 8.5 - The Framework, highlighting Communicationism

Inversely to Authenticism, a Communicationist ideology is less concerned with a variety of Manx that transposes past “Traditional Manx” norms into the present, and more with foregrounding the role of Manx as a living community language, building on the theme of ‘Vitality, Communication, and Change’ discussed in Chapter 6. Communicationism privileges a variety of Manx perceived to be suitable for communication across multiple modes by all members of the modern speaker community. A common refrain I encountered among Manx New Speakers was that they “just want to be able to speak” the language, as in Em’s quote below:

Em: “[She] yn red smoo scanshoil dy vel sleih loayrt as toiggal...”

Em: “The most important thing is that people [can] speak and understand...”

Em's quote exemplifies the fundamental belief that underlines this ideology, and this re-occurring rhetoric was behind my choice of "Communicationism" to describe this coalescence of language ideologies.

As a result of the primacy of community use and comprehension of Manx, Communicationism, rather than concerning itself overly with the closeness of Manx linguistic norms to more historical varieties of the language, often values linguistic forms that have become more established in the community, regardless of their relation to historical language varieties. This is in keeping with the goal of this ideology, which is to champion a kind of Manx that all New Speakers, as well as potential New Speakers, can use and understand. Aiming for 'historical accuracy' is thus less important for Communicationism than is the suitability of the language for mass usage. This ideology might then prefer to champion a more levelled, or potentially even standardised, variety of Manx, orientated towards the current (and future) speaker communities.

As a result, Communicationism does not value perceived disruptions of more established norms encouraged by Authenticism's continual striving for closeness to historical language models. As such, this often provokes negative reactions, again as exemplified by Em below:

Em: "Ta possan elley ta geaishtagh rish ny shenn recortysyn jeh ny shenn loayrtee as t'ad smooinghyn dy vel shen yn aght ynrican dy yannoo reddyn, as t'ad prowal dy caghlaa yn aght ta sleih elley loayrt... as cha nel mee coontey monney jeh'n sleih ta gearree goll erash dys ny shenn recortysyn."

Em: "There is another group [of speakers] who listen to the old recordings of the old speakers and they think that that's the only way to do things, and they are trying to change the way other people speak... and I don't think much of the people that want to go back to the old recordings."

Rather, language models that this ideology tends to value are more likely to consist of 'expert New Speakers' (see Chapter 6, Section 5.2). These are New Speakers whose competence in Manx is judged by other community members to be of a very high level - they are likely to be well known in the community, and often work with the language in some capacity. In my observation groups, ideal Manxness in terms of language use was often compared to the production of such

speakers⁶², who provided a potentially more accessible target for Manx New Speakers, but whose production was still judged to be ‘Manx’.

As the current use of Manx is of primary concern for Communicationism, the identity of the language is often framed in terms of its vitality as a community language (see Chapter 6, Section 3). Therefore, for Communicationism, the fact that Manx is used by speakers in various contexts, and that New Speakers are continually being recruited, is of great importance, as exemplified by Juan in Chapter 6 (Section 3.1):

Juan: {laughs} *Uh yeah t'eh gollrish uh sleih ta gra oh uh it's a dead language, wahl cha nel eh, er yn oyr foddym loayrt eh as cha n-- uh ta mish⁶³ aeg.*

Juan: “{laughs} Uh yeah it’s like uh people that say oh uh it’s a dead language, well it’s not, because I can speak it and not—uh I am young.”

In its most extreme form, it resembles the *cúpla focal* (‘a couple of words’) ideology in Irish (e.g. Brennan and O’Rourke, 2019), sometimes rendered in Manx as *fockle ny ghaa* (‘a word or two’). This emphasises the use of the minoritized language, even in a limited capacity, by a larger number of people, rather than the importance of striving for ‘perfection’ in language use (Chapter 3, Section 5.1.). The marker of ‘speakerhood’ is therefore the conscious commitment to use Manx in whichever relevant domain(s) of use, more so than speaking Manx in a specific way or according to a specific model.

Communicationism also provides an alternative to native speaker-based ideas of naturalness, viewing as ‘natural’ the kind of language used and licensed by the community:

Em: *T'eh [y Ghaelg] dooghyssagh son y traa t'ayn, as er lhiam dy vel- dy nod oo gra dy vel yn aght dy vel Gaelg loayrt [sic] ec y traa t'ayn, ta shen yn Gaelg dooghyssagh er yn oyr dy vel shin jannoo ymmyd jeh.*

⁶² As Chapters 6 and 7 discuss, it is often difficult to extricate ‘expert New Speaker’ language practices from ‘Traditional Manx’.

⁶³ This is an emphatic pronoun used here to emphasise his own youth in comparison to others. Underline is used in the translation to express the emphasis that is morphologically encoded in the emphatic forms of personal pronouns in Manx. In English, super-segmental stress patterns are used to indicate this type of emphasis, as opposed to inflectional morphology, as is the case in the Celtic languages.

Em: “Well- well it’s [Manx] natural for this time, and I think that- that you can say that the way that the way that Manx is spoken at the moment, that’s the natural Manx because we use it.”

As exemplified by Em above, the suitability of Manx for the current community that uses it is what gives the language “naturalness”. Therefore, structural developments in Manx which have resulted in today’s language being less similar to historical varieties are more likely to be tolerated, resulting in the kinds of beliefs that present all language change in Manx as natural (Chapter 6, Section 3.2). It is therefore the continuous use of Manx, and the change that results from this, that gains authority for Manx, rather than the replication of past norms.

Therefore, Communicationism is an ideology that, as the name suggests, places great importance on Manx’s suitability for use by a larger and growing number of potential New Speakers. This is not to say that this ideology places no importance on ideas of ‘good Manx’, but rather that using specific historical norms is secondary to using the kinds of language that can be used and understood by the largest number of speakers. It is therefore tolerant language change, including change resulting from minoritization and revitalization, provided that the linguistic forms resulting from these changes have become established enough in the community to serve as linguistic targets for potential New Speakers.

8.5.1 Interactions with Communicationism

Given the Framework, Communicationism can also intersect with ideologies of Acceptance or Resistance towards English. These points are indicated by ‘a’ and ‘x’ on Figure 8.6:

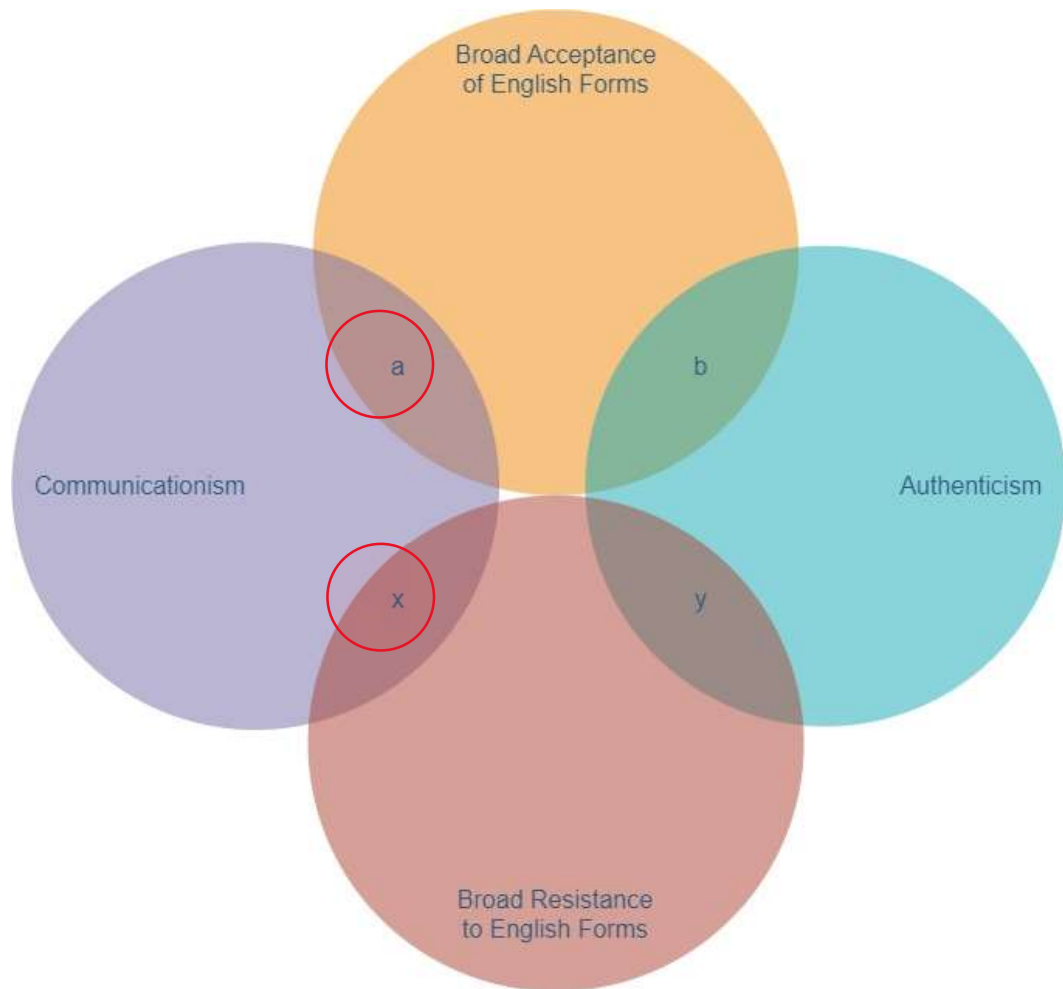


Figure 8.6 - The Framework, highlighting Interactions with Communicationism

The point marked ‘a’ on the diagram indicates the overlap of the Communicationist ideology and the broad acceptance of perceived English-derived forms in Manx, provided that the perceived *Baarlaghys* has become established as part of a community norm. More specifically, *Baarlaghys* is tolerated if it is viewed as facilitating communication when speaking Manx, which retains ideological primacy. For example, in the following extract, a teacher⁶⁴ of Manx expresses their preference for adult students to use English forms to keep conversation going in Manx, rather than stopping and searching for a ‘more Manx’ alternative:

“T’eh çheet dy ve doillee ny cheayrtyn traa t’ad scuirr chouds t’ad loayrt as smooïnaghtyn oh what’s the Manx word for a microwave, you know

⁶⁴ Their pseudonym is not given to preserve anonymity.

what I mean or a catalytic converter. Who gives a shit you know... *jus abbyr eh ayns Baarle.*”

“It gets difficult you know when they stop while they’re talking and think oh what’s the Manx word for a microwave, you know what I mean or a catalytic converter. Who gives a shit you know... just say it in English.”

In this context, the teacher perceives continued use of Manx in whatever capacity, including using lexical items in English, to be the most important part of this interaction. This viewpoint is not always shared by the students, hence the teacher’s evident irritation. The teacher code-switches into English to highlight how they perceive such enquiries to derail otherwise fluid conversations in Manx. Fluid communication and use of Manx is therefore held as of primary importance, such that the use of easily understood English vocabulary items for ‘non-everyday’ items is seen as preferable to the use of some more obscure alternative.

Intersection ‘x’, on the other hand, would be less likely to tolerate the above, and would prefer a perceived ‘more Manx’ form to be used instead, provided that this ‘more Manx’ form is widely-known to community members. In accordance with how Resistance to English understands ‘more Manx’ in terms of linguistic structure, as discussed in Section 3, tolerated forms are more likely to be those perceived as shared with Irish and Scottish Gaelic, or those viewed as linked to Manx’s Gaelic past. These can include, but are not limited to, forms that Lewin (2022: 676) terms “hyper-Gaelicisms”: semi-constructed forms that entered community usage during the 20th-century which aspire to be ‘maximally Gaelic’. They may also include Manx-lexified coinages for new vocabulary items, which would be preferred over English borrowings. Such forms are now extremely established within the community language norms that Communicationism values, and thus are preferred by this ideological intersection over both synchronic and diachronic perceived English influence of any kind. The following section discusses language practices that index Communicationism.

8.5.2 Indexing Communicationism

Manx New Speakers may index Communicationist ideologies through their language use. One of the most common viewpoints that speakers expressed, and

indeed indexed, was the intersection between Communicationism and Resistance to English, the point marked 'x' in Figure 8.6. This seemed to be a prevailing ideology - that is to say that it was seen as 'common sense' for many speakers that speakers should aspire to use as 'Manx' forms as possible, but without compromising mass comprehension. Therefore, the forms used to index Manxness should be constructions assumed to be widely understood by Manx New Speakers of a certain competence.

However, in keeping with the broader arguments of this thesis, ideological factors also seem to be at play in this pattern. Speakers wishing to index Manxness through a Resistance to English ideology may do so by using synthetic verb forms in their language practices, as Section 3.3 discusses. However, it may be, in certain circumstances, that the use of synthetic forms hinders comprehension - as Orry notes in Section 3.1, highly synthetic forms are often features of Manx morphosyntax that prove difficult for speakers to acquire and use. His analysis is supported by the data from this study's language attitudes questionnaire - many more speakers reported a 'Don't Know' rating for some infrequently used regular synthetic verb forms in the future, much more so than for irregular verbs in both the future and past tenses. Speakers are therefore likely to use the handful of synthetic irregular verbs that are in most frequent usage (McNulty 2019; 2023a) in order to index Resistance to English through their morphosyntax, while also prioritizing comprehension on the part of their real or imagined interlocutor. These frequently used synthetic verb forms are therefore becoming iconic of this ideological intersection for speakers who wish to index, in the words of one of the members of the Manx conversation groups, 'a very Manx way of saying things', while also making sure that the communicative function of the language remains paramount.

The ideology of Communicationism is also linked to the theme of 'Simple Manx' (Chapter 7, Section 2.1.1), in which speakers perceive some Manx constructions as an 'easier way to say things'. In terms of morphosyntax, this 'easier way' typically includes the avoidance of highly synthetic verb forms, as Orry notes in Section 3.1, and a subsequent increase in use of the equivalent analytic verb constructions. Such forms are, as the language attitudes questionnaire data in Chapter 7 shows, not felt to be 'bad' by speakers, but are rather viewed as a 'default' way to express a verb in contexts when communication is especially

paramount. For example, one speaker, Duncan, especially noted that he viewed clarity of communication in Manx as the most important aspect of his language practice, and would therefore use analytic forms frequently (Chapter 5, Section 2), as well as licensing any perceived Anglicised forms that he felt were necessary in order to facilitate fluid conversation and mutual comprehension.

The discussions stemming from this thesis, here explored within the Intersecting Ideologies Framework, have implications for other sociolinguistic frameworks applied in minoritized language contexts, as the following section discusses.

8.6 A Voice from Some-when and No-when

All four major ideological poles as outlined above can be interpreted as ways of seeking authority and legitimacy for Manx, although all appeal to different sources for this authority. The Resistance to English ideology gains authority for Manx in its clear rejection of the influence of the majority language, holding that the most authoritative and legitimate language use is that which is most structurally distinct from English. Rather than making use of English's social capital, it seeks out alternatives, often prioritising an ideological alignment with the other Gaelic languages, namely Irish and Scottish Gaelic. This is indexed through the agentive use of Manx morphosyntactic structures perceived to be shared with or related to structures in the other Gaelic languages. On the other hand, Acceptance of English acknowledges English's social capital as a majority language and accepts the use of certain morphosyntactic resources in Manx where this is deemed necessary or advisable, either to ensure effective communication or to be able to express certain concepts in Manx for which there is no existing Manx term.

The same is true for Communicationism and Authenticism. For Authenticism, the ultimate authority is located in historical communities of Manx speakers that existed at various points in the past. Therefore, in basing their linguistic norms on as close an approximation to the attested linguistic norms of past traditional native speakers as possible, the modern variety of Manx gains authority and legitimacy. However, for Communicationism, the authority for Manx today lies in having a modern-oriented, agreed-upon, established norm that is common across

the community, accessible for all current members and also for potential new members.

Therefore, the Communicationism-Authenticism dichotomy outlined above bears resemblance to Woolard's (2005) discussion of authenticity and anonymity. In the former, the value of a language, often a minority or regional variety, is in its relationship to a particular community, with the language being seen as a form of "genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential self" (Woolard, 2005: 2). Thus, the value of the language is based in its profound localness, its being "from somewhere" (Woolard, 2005: 2). By contrast, a language may also garner authority through anonymity, by being a voice "from nowhere" (Woolard, 2005: 4). Woolard (2005: 4) attributes this kind of authority to hegemonic languages: namely national, majority, or standard varieties. These are impersonal, public varieties, "seen to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective" (Woolard, 2005: 5), belonging to anyone because they belong to no one. Woolard (2005) applies these concepts to the context of Catalonia, contrasting the authority from authenticity of the minority language Catalan with the authority from anonymity of the majority language Spanish.

However, it is important to note that authority from anonymity is not solely the domain of majority languages, and may in fact be employed in minority language contexts as well. Particular varieties of minority languages, namely standardised or koineized varieties, can serve an anonymising function (e.g. Basque's *euskara batua*, *Néo-Breton*, Irish's *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*). This has implications for how authority and legitimacy is sought within an ideology of Communicationism, which seeks authority for Manx through its promotion as an established current community language in the public sphere of the Isle of Man. Manx is seen to belong to anybody in the Manx community, but also nobody in particular within this community. Use of the language serves as a symbolic 'membership card' that anyone on the Island can claim as part of their cultural practice, regardless of how they may identify otherwise - in my participant Illiam's words, the language is intended to serve as a "social glue" for the Island community. In this way, Communicationism can be seen as seeking authority for Manx through a form of locally-based anonymity.

Within Woolard's (2005) framework, Authenticism, as the name suggests, values authority through authenticity. It values language use in Manx that is

demonstrably “from somewhere”, or, more accurately, “some-when” - that “some-when” generally being some amalgamation of points in the past when Manx was still used as a widespread community language on the Island, which together form the community idea of “Traditional Manx”. Therefore, authority for Manx is gained through language use that places itself within some pre-minoritization sociolinguistic context, using specific linguistic forms to transpose this authentic past into the present.

Therefore, the spatial orientation of Woolard’s dichotomy is where it becomes less applicable to the Manx context. In the Manx New Speaker community, we see less of an ideological divide between voices from somewhere and nowhere, but rather a divide between a voice from “some-when” and a voice from “no-when”. Both of these voices are predominantly local, predominantly Manx, yet the idea of where (or *when*) Manxness is located, differs. For Authenticism, as we have seen, Manxness (and the authority this brings) is located in the past, which they view should be transplanted into the modern day. For Communicationism, Manxness was reinvented for the modern age by the revitalization movement. Thus, the mixing of linguistic forms from past, present, and non-existent varieties is less important, because Manxness is located in the current place of the language in the modern community of the Isle of Man, which is less a structural linguistic continuation of the past than it is a symbolic one. For them, the Manx we use today belonged to many historical speaker groups and none, and therefore can belong to any current, future, or potential speaker of Manx.

These various points raised by the Intersecting Ideologies Framework, and the implications thereof, are summarised in the following section.

8.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter brings together findings from earlier chapters, demonstrating the complexity behind Manx New Speakers’ language use. It draws together quantitative data from language attitudes questionnaires and interview data on speakers’ use of various morphosyntactic constructions of interest, as well as qualitative data from interviews and ethnographic observation.

One aim of this chapter was to understand the complex matrix of beliefs about language that this study found to exist in the Manx New Speaker community. It explored how different ideas about Manx, including its role in the community, language models, ‘good language use’, and its role in identity construction, fit together and coalesced into broader ideologies. It proposed an original framework, the Intersecting Ideologies Framework, for understanding how these broad ideologies incorporate varying beliefs about language, including language attitudes, metalinguistic knowledge, and folk-linguistic beliefs. It also discussed how these beliefs intersect with each other, highlighting the complexity and multiplicity of beliefs about language in the Manx New Speaker community.

Crucially, this chapter also sheds some light on the highly idiolectal pattern of morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers, as discussed in chapter 5, which cannot be fully explained by more traditional variationist explanations alone, such as demographic factors (e.g. influence of age and gender), language acquisition (c.f. McNulty, 2019; 2023a), or structural conditioning. It has been evidenced from previous studies on New Speakers of minoritized languages that New Speakers possessing a certain level of sociolinguistic and metalinguistic competence are able to, and indeed do, exercise agency over their language use, producing iconised or salient morphosyntactic forms that are available to them in order to index particular ideological or identity positions through their production in the minoritized language (e.g. Enriquez-García, 2017 for Galician; Rodríguez-Ordoñez, 2020 for Basque). This thesis posits that such factors are a major force in shaping morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community.

Therefore, this chapter, and therefore this thesis, proposes that the language use of New Speakers of Manx is best understood as being reflective of individual language practices in which speakers seek to index particular ideological positions within the context of a specific interaction. The ideological positions that this thesis proposes that Manx New Speakers are using structural variation to index are those identified in the Intersecting Ideologies Framework. This chapter proposes that specific morphosyntactic forms in Manx, are, for members of the Manx New Speaker community, becoming indexical of these specific supra-ideological positions. It presents varied evidence of how Manx New Speakers agentively use morphosyntax in the language practices to index specific

beliefs about language, namely one or more of those identified in the framework, in a particular interaction. This explains the significant idiolectal variation in both the data on language use and attitudes towards particular constructions - variation among Manx New Speakers is not governed by social groupings such as age and gender, but rather by the kinds of language that *individual* New Speakers want to use and the kinds of language ideologies that they wish to index in specific interactions.

A high level of both structural and sociolinguistic competence is necessary for such use of language by Manx New Speakers. It necessitates the ability to use and understand varying types of functionally equivalent morphosyntactic structures in speech, as well as a certain level of metalinguistic knowledge about the kinds of language models these forms are associated with, and the language beliefs encoded in these forms. Included within these multiple types of competence are folk-linguistic beliefs that have developed, and are still developing, among Manx New Speakers, often concerning the origins of particular linguistic structures or the linguistic 'character' of different past and present varieties of Manx, such as ideas that speakers have about the features included in 'Traditional Manx'. In addition, my interactions with speakers show that Manx New Speakers are keenly aware, albeit implicitly, not only of their own language use, but of that of other speakers they interact with, namely how their interlocutor is also employing, or not employing, certain constructions to index some linguistic belief.

The discussion in this chapter, and the findings of this thesis as a whole, not only shed light on the forces governing morphosyntactic variation among Manx New Speakers, but also have implications for how structural variation works in language communities with similar speaker profiles and trajectories. In Manx, this thesis indicates that, on the level of the language itself, we are seeing the beginnings of a process whereby morphosyntactic features are starting to cluster together to form what I am tentatively terming *ideolects* - ways of speaking formed of varying constructions that are linked by the fact that they have become, or are becoming indexical of a particular broad language ideology. Speakers may make use of a different set of features linked by social meaning - a particular ideolect - when they are looking to index a particular ideology with which these features are associated. For some speakers, this usage may be fairly

stable, but for many, this varies contextually. This agentive variation in the use of so-called ideolectal features forms a part of the sociolinguistic competence of Manx New Speakers. The implications of this idea, and indeed many of those that have arisen from the discussion in this chapter and, for the emergence of structured variation in minoritized varieties undergoing revitalization, is discussed in the following conclusion chapter of this thesis.

9. Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis comprised an exploration into the variation in the use of and beliefs about different types of language use among New Speakers of Manx Gaelic in the Isle of Man. The dissertation used results from fieldwork undertaken in this speaker community to investigate structural variation among New Speakers of Manx, focusing specifically on several morphosyntactic structures in both the verb phrase and the noun phrase. Additionally, the study explored variation in language attitudes and ideologies within this community. The thesis places itself within critical multilingualism and third-wave sociolinguistic approaches (Martin-Jones and Martin, 2016; Eckert, 2012 - see Chapter 2), and therefore understands structural linguistic variation and language beliefs as being fundamentally interconnected. In summary, the thesis finds that morphosyntactic production and language beliefs are highly variable between individual Manx New Speakers, and that morphosyntactic variation is reflective of individual speakers' agentive use of salient morphosyntactic features to index ideological positions that carry social meaning in their community. This has implications for how structural variation may be governed in other New Speaker communities.

The thesis explored the following specific research questions:

- 1. What does the morphosyntax of Manx New Speakers look like?**
 - a. How frequently do Manx New Speakers use variants of morphosyntactic constructions available to them?
 - b. To what extent does morphosyntactic variation exist within this community?
 - c. What forces govern morphosyntactic variation in the Manx New Speaker community?

- 2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?**
 - a. What language ideologies do speakers hold about Manx?

- b. What linguistic models and ways of speaking are valued by Manx New Speakers?
- c. How do speakers understand ideas of ‘goodness’ and ‘Manxness’, as they relate to language use?

3. Are language beliefs connected to language use the Manx New Speaker community?

- a. How do Manx New Speakers use morphosyntax to construct linguistic authority?
- b. To what extent are ideological variation and structural variation linked in the Manx New Speaker community?

To answer them, the thesis collected both quantitative and qualitative data from Manx New Speakers (see Chapter 4). In keeping with this study’s reflexive approach, as well as the researcher’s positionality as a speaker of Manx, and thus an in-group member of the community in question, data collection was done through the medium of Manx as far as possible. The data collection involved the collection of quantitative data on the frequency of certain morphosyntactic structures used by speakers of Manx through the quantitative analysis of sociolinguistic interview data. In addition, the study used language attitudes questionnaires to gather quantitative data on the attitudes of Manx New Speakers towards and the self-reported use of these same morphosyntactic constructions. The other major component of data collection in this study was qualitative, consisting of Reflexive Thematic Analysis of ethnographic data, namely sociolinguistic interviews and participant observation of Manx New Speakers in a variety of contexts. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on eliciting participants’ beliefs about Manx and how they used the language in their community (see Appendix 4).

The findings of this study were presented in chapters, each organized around a certain organizing thread, and addressing one or more of the above research questions. These were, in order: findings on morphosyntactic structure and variation; findings on language ideologies; and findings on valued language practices, including language attitudes towards salient morphosyntactic variables.

The first of these chapters, Chapter 5, addressed Research Question 1 and its two sub-questions. It concerned linguistic structure and variation among Manx New Speakers, and showed overall descriptive statistical trends from quantitative data on morphosyntactic variation collected from sociolinguistic interviews. The chapter explored patterns of variation and potential conditioning factors in the use of synthetic and analytic verb constructions, modal constructions, and nominal genitive constructions by New Speakers of Manx. The analysis found that there was a high degree of individual variation between speakers in the use of the form in question, and that this variation did not correlate neatly with demographic categories, such as age and gender, that often condition structural variation and change in other language communities (e.g. Labov, 1966). There was some limited evidence that there may be structural and acquisitional factors conditioning patterns of variation in the use of these morphosyntactic forms by Manx New Speakers in this corpus. However, the analysis suggested that such factors were only pieces of the puzzle, and that there were other explanations behind this variation that merit further exploration.

This chapter was followed by Chapter 6, which explored the broad language ideologies held by Manx New Speakers, beginning to address Research Question 2. This was gleaned through Thematic Analysis of the interview data, as well as the other ethnographic data, such as that of participant observation and ephemera. Considerable variation in language ideologies was found in the Manx New Speaker community. That said, three broad themes were identified in the chapter, which all included various sub-themes. The first broad theme was titled 'Language, Vitality, and Communication', and described various beliefs that speakers expressed around the fact that Manx, although minoritized, should be viewed as a living language, with change being an essential feature, and that the value of Manx as a mode of spoken communication should be given primacy in metalinguistic discussions. Another broad theme was that of 'Fluency and Speakerness', which aimed to describe beliefs expressed by Manx New Speakers regarding what it means to be a (competent) speaker of Manx. This included the inherent duality of 'speakerness' and 'learnerness' in the Manx context, and the fact that fluency could be understood in multiple ways, including both structural and metalinguistic competence, as well as the ability for a speaker to use the

language without (perceived) difficulty in whichever context(s) they use Manx. Finally, this chapter devoted discussion to its final broad theme, ‘Models of Manx’, which concerned types of language models available for Manx New Speakers. Of particular interest were ideologies about different types of language use, both historical and contemporary, as potential models, and the unavoidable interaction between these models in the role they play as part of a linguistic target model for Manx New Speakers.

The following chapter, Chapter 7, continued to address Research Question 2. It was focused on language attitudes, that is to say more specific beliefs and feelings that Manx Speakers had towards the morphosyntactic constructions explored in the analysis of linguistic variation. This chapter combined qualitative data on metalinguistic discourse from Manx New Speakers, gathered during sociolinguistic interview and participant observation, with quantitative language attitudes data from online questionnaires designed to elicit reactions towards these same constructions. Again, considerable individual variation was found, but the chapter discussed two major themes of *Gaelg vie*, or ‘good Manx’, and ‘Manxness’, or how close a form was felt to be to some ‘maximally Manx’ ideal. These two evaluations were found to feed into each other. It was found that Manx New Speakers’ views on specific linguistic forms were explicable by a combination of the construction in question’s perceived grammatical complexity (being indicative of structural competence in Manx), its perceived proximity to valued language models discussed in Chapter 6, and its perception as being a form induced through contact with English, referred to as *Baarlaghys* (‘Anglicism’).

Taking into account all of the findings outlined above, this thesis argues that, while there are several conditioning factors behind linguistic variation in Manx, language beliefs are central to understanding why Manx New Speakers use language in the way that they do. This is illustrated on Figure 9.1 below, which aims to represent the factors that this thesis posits contribute to patterns of language use and linguistic variation among New Speakers of Manx, in essence, the interaction that Research Question 3 explores.

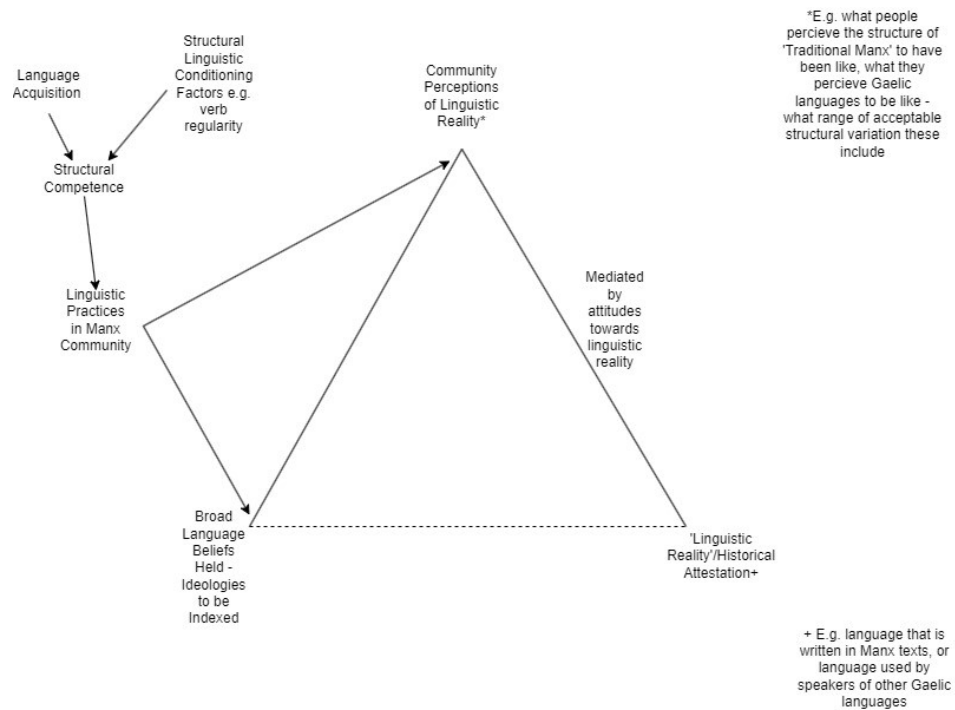


Figure 9.1 - Relations between Beliefs and Linguistic Structure in Manx New Speakers

The Intersecting Ideologies Framework proposed by this thesis was developed in order to further understand how the 'triangle' portion of the above diagram works in Manx, that is to say, in what ways and to what extent do the language-related beliefs identified in the Manx New Speaker community influence the kinds of language use observed in this same community? The following is a diagram, presented in Chapter 8 of this thesis, which lays out a visual representation of the original theoretical framework proposed by this thesis. This framework also serves to address Research Question 3 and its sub-questions.

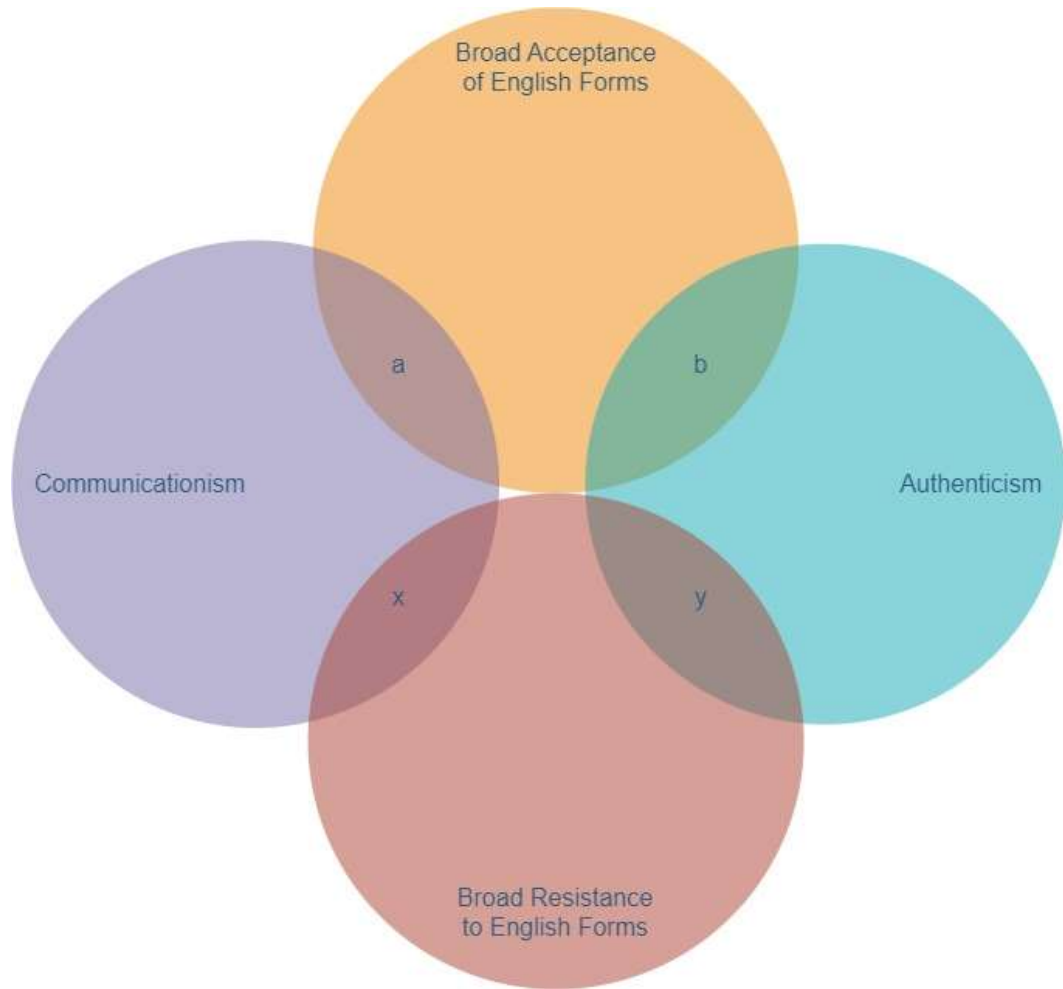


Figure 9.2 - The Intersecting Ideologies Framework

The Intersecting Ideologies Framework, as discussed in detail in Chapter 8, combines both the qualitative and quantitative data collected through fieldwork, and was developed to understand the broad ideological trends observed in this thesis' data from New Speakers of Manx. It shows two axes, each representing a prevalent language ideology in the Manx New Speaker community. In the case of the vertical axis, this shows differing beliefs around the acceptance of salient perceived 'Anglicized' forms in spoken language by New Speakers of Manx, ranging from acceptance to resistance. The horizontal axis details two broad ideological trends concerning the way in which Manx should be used by its community, and which kinds of language use should be valued. The ideology termed 'Communicationism' here values Manx's function as a living language for use by its community over all else, whereas 'Authenticism' would prefer a kind of language felt to closely approximate historical varieties of the language. This thesis interprets these axes as representing ways of gaining authority for Manx through appeals to or rejection of various other linguistic

authorities, such as standardized varieties, historical models, and the majority language English. The diagram also illustrates the fact that the expression of these ideologies can and do interact with each other, such that the expression of beliefs about Manx by individual New Speakers in context are often reflective of more than one of these broad ideologies.

This final chapter explores how Manx New Speakers, when they are speaking Manx, agentively employ or avoid specific morphosyntactic constructions in order to index one or more of the broad language ideologies outlined above. In this way, it presents implications for broader patterns of structural variation in the Manx New Speaker community, such that trends observed in usage might be reflective of speakers' desires to index certain ideologies across their general usage. This also implies that certain forms are becoming laden with complex ideological meanings in addition to their literal denotations, and that Manx New Speakers possess a certain level of sociolinguistic competence in order to be able to use their language in specific ways to encode their beliefs in their utterances. On a broader level, we might be observing the embryonic development of mutually intelligible language varieties in Manx that are based not on dialectal variation or on traditional language change processes, but on the community-wide association of particular groups of constructions with particular ideological positions.

The conclusions reached by this thesis have implications for the further study of Manx. This language represents a historically under-researched and undervalued linguistic context even with small, highly specific fields, such as that of Celtic sociolinguistics. What research there is on the sociolinguistics and linguistic structure of Manx tends to focus on the historical language through analysis of textual sources. In particular, studies on the structure of Manx as it is spoken today are very limited in number. To my knowledge, with the exception of my previous research (McNulty 2019; 2023a), this thesis represents the only analysis of Manx's structure that is based on a corpus of data from Manx speakers. Slightly more attention has been given in the literature to sociolinguistic factors, namely language attitudes and ideologies, among New Speakers of Manx. Nevertheless, both are still very much emerging areas of research, to which this thesis forms a major contribution. In addition, the majority of existing studies that do investigate factors such as language beliefs in the Manx New Speaker

community do so through the medium of English, and/or from the perspective of an outsider to the community. This thesis' use of Manx lends it a different lens through which to interpret ethnographic findings in particular. To my knowledge, this thesis comprises the only study of Manx to combine an investigation into aspect of the language's structure with an exploration of sociolinguistic factors within the community.

This thesis approaches the study of Manx from within the New Speaker framework, as discussed in Chapter 3. In general, New Speaker studies that take a quantitative approach are less well-represented within the framework than are those that take a qualitative approach. Therefore, the qualitative data on both language use and language attitudes among Manx New Speakers represents a significant contribution to this area of the field, in that it provides numerical data on language production, variation, and attitudes from a corpus of New Speakers. Such data can then be compared to the more copious qualitative findings on New Speakers, to either support or question their conclusions. This thesis attempts to do this, comparing both quantitative and qualitative data on New Speakers to produce a more holistic understand of how these speakers use and feel about language. This may have broader implications for third-wave and critical sociolinguistic frameworks, providing quantitative evidence of the links between language beliefs and linguistic structure proposed by qualitative work within such frameworks.

More broadly, this thesis represents an important step in understanding how language functions in minoritized varieties undergoing linguistic revitalization. Sociolinguistic work on non-traditional speakers of these languages, including work conducted within the New Speaker framework, is a field that is newer still. Work on languages such as Manx, that is to say, very small linguistic communities that have undergone language endangerment to such an extreme degree, yet are currently engaging in language revitalization, is not well-attested within any of the fields mentioned above, a deficit which this thesis hopes to address in some small part. The inclusion of Manx within the New Speaker framework provides opportunities and challenges to the framework by providing some insights into how a New Speaker community can function in complete absence of a traditional native speaker community. For example, this thesis has exemplified that native speaker ideologies can persist, albeit in a slightly different form, even after the

loss of the traditional native speaker community, exemplifying the complexity of questions of ownership and linguistic authority in situations of language revitalization. Therefore, more fundamentally, this thesis represents an important step forward in understanding what a New Speaker *is*, exploring commonalities and differences between speakers of Manx and those of other languages well-attested in the framework, such as Irish and Galician. The inclusion of Manx within the New Speaker framework increases its explanatory power for a broader range of ‘less traditional’ minoritized languages.

Ultimately, this thesis represents a contribution to knowledge in the fledging field of studies that ask the question of: what happens to linguistic structure when a New Speaker community is created? We generally have some knowledge of how variation and change works in communities whose language is undergoing obsolescence and death. However, next to nothing is known about how such processes are in operation in emerging language varieties that are being ‘born’, so to speak. Manx is one such variety, and the current study highlights that that we are only just scratching the surface of the complexity of how structural variation emerges in nascent language varieties. Manx’s situation is, at the moment, exceedingly rare, but is likely to become more commonplace in the future, as more languages undergo minoritization and revitalization, and as the prevalence of non-traditional communities of speakers continues to grow. This is especially true of language communities outwith Europe, particularly in the Americas and Australasia, where language reclamation efforts continue to progress. The insights from the current study, which presents an opportunity to observe the birth of a language in real time, might be applied to fields of linguistics outside of minoritized languages, such as the study of creoles and other contact varieties.

In addition, it is hoped that this research will be of use to language practitioners, particularly those working in language policy and planning, in the Isle of Man as well as in other territories where there are minoritized varieties undergoing linguistic revitalization. With regards to the latter, Manx represents an unusual example of the creation, almost from nothing, of a community of speakers of a language for which traditional first-language intergenerational transmission had completely ceased. Such situations are likely to become more frequent in the future due to global trends in language minoritization and

revitalization. Language practitioners and policymakers in such communities might therefore benefit from studies such as the current thesis, which outlines and explains some of the structural and sociolinguistic variation that has arisen in the Manx-speaking community as a result of these language revitalization efforts. In the Isle of Man specifically, it is hoped that Manx language practitioners and speakers find the results of this study interesting and enlightening, and that they might be referenced in the development of future language policy efforts and legislation, such as in the drafting of the next Manx Language Strategy. I believe that, as a speaker community, we can benefit greatly from more studies that explore language use among current Manx speakers in order to inform our future language planning decisions and to further the development and growth of our community.

9.2 Where Next for Manx New Speaker Studies?

This thesis presents many opportunities for further study, both of Manx and of minoritized languages in similar situations. This section will explore ideas raised by this thesis that this author would welcome in future work.

Firstly, in general, I would welcome sociolinguistic work that collects and analyses data from a broader range of Manx speakers. For the most part, this study was unintentionally self-selecting for Manx speakers of a certain structural and sociolinguistic competence, as to complete the study necessitated that the participants speak in Manx about complex topics for around an hour, or complete a language attitudes survey. I would therefore be interested in conducting similar studies on Manx speakers of varying linguistic competences and levels of engagement with Manx, for example studies on the experiences of potential New Speakers of Manx and their motivations in acquiring the language. Of particular interest would be further studies into the language use and language beliefs of younger speakers of Manx acquiring the language in education, including those in the Manx-language immersion primary school, as well as in English-medium primary and secondary schools. The latter might take the form of a real- or apparent-time study to see how structural and sociolinguistic competences in Manx develop over speakers' lifetimes. The Intersecting Ideologies Framework

developed in this thesis would therefore be able to be improved by assessing its applicability to a wider range of Manx speakers.

I would also be interested in conducting studies on how the framework developed in this thesis might apply, or not apply, to other speaker communities of minoritized languages in similar circumstances to that of Manx. An obvious example might be that of Cornish (e.g. Davies-Deacon, 2017), which is another example of a minoritized language whose speaker community has arisen as a result of revitalization in the absence of a community of traditional native speakers or intergenerational transmission, albeit to a more extreme degree than Manx. However, insights from communities outwith Europe that are engaging in language reclamation efforts would be particularly welcome. I would hope that the Intersecting Ideologies Framework might be refined, developed, and improved by its future application to communities other than that of Manx.

I also envisage conducting deeper qualitative and quantitative analyses on areas explored in this thesis. As with many studies that employ Thematic Analysis, the current study represents the first of its kind to be conducted within the context of Manx. As such, it attempts to capture broader patterns of usage and belief observed in the community. A potential next step in research into Manx might be to perform a more in-depth qualitative analysis into one of the areas covered by this thesis, such as a thick description of the experiences of a handful of Manx speakers with regards to their experiences learning Manx, for example. In addition, factors such as language and identity (e.g. McNulty, 2023b; Nance, 2015), and the linguistic landscape are likely to feed into the themes discussed by this thesis, but were outwith the scope of the current study - further exploration of these in the future would be a welcome addition. Within such studies, frameworks such as styles and stance (similar to McEwan-Fujita, 2010) might prove useful in understanding the relationships between usage and identity among Manx New Speakers. Taking a more quantitative angle, the study of Manx as it is spoken would also benefit from a closer analysis of the linguistic structures used, and reasons for and variation within this usage by Manx speakers using spoken corpora from such speakers, such as those collected by the current thesis and by McNulty (2019). In turn, a more fine-toothed analysis of the various themes covered in this thesis would be useful in refining the Intersecting Ideologies Framework.

On a similar note, the Intersecting Ideologies Framework proposed by this thesis was developed as an attempt to describe and explain the connections between many of the broad areas explored in this thesis, including language ideologies and attitudes and morphosyntactic variation. Therefore, there were many discussions of how language is used in specific contexts that were touched on in this thesis, but the in-depth analyses of which were outwith the scope of the current study. For example, more attention should be given to the complex interactions between factors of acquisition and structural competences with the sociolinguistic factors explained in the framework in the utterances of particular speakers across various contexts - such as speaking Manx with friends in a casual context, using the language in an educational context, either teaching or learning, and using Manx in more formal and less spontaneous contexts, such as public speaking or writing articles. The relationship between attitudes, ideologies, and behaviours is an incredibly complex one. When applied to language, this means that the connection between language beliefs and linguistic production is not straightforward - this study identifies connections between these based on trends across a larger corpus, but I would welcome a smaller-scale analysis select New Speakers of Manx that applies the findings and framework from the current thesis.

One such way in which this might be applied, and which this thesis could only touch upon, concerns communication accommodation. As discussed in Chapter 6, several Manx New Speakers reported engaging in communication accommodation to varying degrees depending on their perception of their interlocutor's competence in Manx. It is likely that, in some contexts, such as teaching and talking with potential New Speakers that they judge to be at a 'beginner' competence level in Manx, the use of the kind of language that is judged to be easily understandable by such speakers is likely to take precedence over any particular 'ideologically indexing' usage. However, further to this, future studies might look into potential communication accommodation by speakers *between* these 'indexing' usages - several of the Manx New Speakers in this study discuss differences in production between Manx speakers that run in "different circles", or who have been taught by different teachers (c.f. Mayeux, 2015's discussion on Louisiana Creole). It may be then, that some Manx New Speakers choose to compensate for this 'linguistic fracturing' by altering their production in

interactions between different speakers. The role of such processes in production would be an interesting object of study, as well as the extent to which processes like this, further heighten and accelerates the nascent formation of different language varieties in minoritized language communities.

With regards to the less-spontaneous production of Manx, the framework might also be applied to writing in Manx. Evidently, the current thesis focuses almost exclusively on spoken Manx, which represents the majority of interactions in which Manx is used, in my experience. That said, Manx has been, and is being, used by New Speakers to create texts in the language, and several of my participants made explicit comments on their process of choosing types of Manx to use, and issues that they have encountered surrounding this. It would be useful to examine how well the Intersecting Ideologies framework applies to how Manx New Speakers use the language when producing original written texts.

9.3 Concluding Remarks

To summarize, this thesis developed an original framework to understand the relationship between language beliefs and linguistic structure among New Speakers of Manx. It addressed the following broad research questions:

1. What does the morphosyntax of New Speakers of Manx look like?
2. What beliefs around language are present in the Manx New Speaker community?
3. Are language beliefs connected to language use in the Manx New Speaker community?

With regards to Research Question 1, the answer was ‘highly variable’. Certain constructions were used more frequently than others, and there seemed to be some, albeit limited, patterning with regards to potential linguistic conditioning factors. That said, variation in Manx does not seem to fall into traditional age and gender categories. Varying beliefs around the Manx language, its role in identity and how it should be spoken, were explored in the chapters that addressed Research Question 2, as summarized above. The analysis of Research Question 3 showed that these language beliefs are a key factor that affects both

use of Manx in specific contexts by individual speakers and broader trends in language variation and change among the Manx New Speaker community.

I hope that this study will lead to further investigations into how language beliefs shape trends in linguistic variation and change, both in Manx and in other communities of New Speakers both within and outwith Europe. This thesis also lends a new perspective to New Speaker studies in general, and hopes to serve as an example as to how this framework might be applied to communities of minoritized language speakers that have a different community make-up or relationship to their language than that which might be typical of ‘bigger’ minoritized language speaker communities. I would welcome more research into New Speakers of Manx, and hope that this and future work will be of use to the Manx-speaking community. *Lesh smoo fysseree ry-gheddyn ain mychione y çhengey ain hene, fodmayd cummal seose y Ghaelg son sheelogheyn ta ry-heet.*⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Translation: With more information available to us about our language, we can support Manx for future generations.

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval Application

The following details relevant extracts from the Ethical Approval Application submitted to the University of Glasgow's College of Arts prior to fieldwork.

1.1 Risks and Mitigation

This project explores the language use of adult New Speakers of Manx, and involves collecting structural linguistic data, as well as sociolinguistic and ethnographic data, from a sample of these speakers. Participants aged 18+ who have significant competence in Manx, such that they are able to converse easily in the language, will be approached for this project. [...]

Informed consent will be sought from all participants, who will be given the Plain Language Participant Information Sheet and the Consent and Agreement Form (attached) in written form prior to data collection. The researcher will ensure that participants understand how data will be collected and used in the project, what will happen to the data afterwards, and that they are free to refuse or retract consent at any point in the data collection for any reason (prior to data anonymisation - see below). Contact details for the researcher and supervisor will also be provided should the participants have any questions about the project before, during, or after data collection. They may also address questions or concerns to the researcher in person.

As the research focusses on speakers of Manx Gaelic within their speaker community, I propose to travel to the Isle of Man to undertake research for a period of around six months. [...] She will be working alone, and thus is familiar with the University of Glasgow Lone Study Policy. However, the risk to the researcher is minimal. The location is very safe, with a very low crime rate. The researcher is also intimately familiar with the environment, culture, and community within which she will be working, as she grew up there. Nevertheless, the researcher will leave details and contact information with a trusted friend and/or relative before each instance of data collection, and

confirm safe arrival at and departure from each location visited. In addition, all data collection and travel to do so will adhere to the COVID-19 guidelines given by the Isle of Man Government and the University of Glasgow at the time of collection.

This project involves collecting data from participants on their thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about Manx and about language use in the Manx speaker community. [...] Audio recordings will be taken of any interview data and notes made throughout the data collection. Participants will be made aware of this and their written consent to be recorded and agreement to have the recorded data used as part of the project will be ensured.

The interviews should not cover any topics that would be sensitive, harmful, or distressing to either the participant(s) or the researcher. It is likely that interviews will cover views relating to national identity within the community, as the project explores how such aspects of identity and ideology shape Manx speakers' language use. Within the context of the Isle of Man there are conflicting political and ideological opinions on this topic, but these differences in opinion are not incendiary or associated with past or present violence, trauma, or conflict, as is the case in other communities. It is therefore very unlikely that participants will become distressed by discussing such topics. Nevertheless, participants will be informed that such topics may arise prior to data collection, with the option to avoid discussing them if desired. Should (a) participant(s) become upset or emotional during an interview, the researcher will offer comfort and empathy to the participant(s), and offer to pause or stop the interview if they feel unable to continue, with the possibility of rescheduling. The researcher will also make the participant aware of relevant services available within the community should they feel they need these.

As the research involves analysing data on particular linguistic structures collected as part of the sociolinguistic interviews, observation, and the online language task, it will be necessary not to reveal to participants the exact linguistic variables that the researcher is interested in, as this would influence their production of said variables and increase the impact of observation bias on the data. However, participants will be informed that the researcher is interested in how they speak Manx and the type of language that they use, and will reveal the exact variables sought upon completion of the data collection. All

participants will be fully aware of the topics of sociolinguistic interest sought, as indicated in the research questions and in the question themes for the semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews.

One issue that may arise during linguistic fieldwork in minority language communities is that of the position of the researcher relative to that of their participant. The researcher may be seen as an ‘outsider’ to the community, which may result in an imbalance of power in research interactions. This may lead participants to feel as though they are not in control of the data collection or are not on equal footing with the researcher. This ‘outsider effect’ may also affect the quality of data elicited. In order to mitigate this, I will adopt a flexible approach to my semi-structured linguistic interviews, allowing the participant to steer the conversation as much as possible. The fact that the researcher is a member of the community, known to many of the participants, and is able to conduct research through the medium of Manx should go some way to reducing the ‘outsider effect’. However, the researcher will have to take care to ensure any research interaction is conducted primarily as such, despite any prior relationship with the participant.

1.2 Data Management Plan

All data collection and retention in this fieldwork will be conducted in accordance with UK GDPR and the guidelines given by the College of Arts. The researcher has also attended training on Data Management, Information Security, and Data Protection. No third party will have access to the raw data. A detailed data management plan has been drawn up by the researcher, and will be consistently updated throughout the project.

No sensitive personal data will be collected as part of this fieldwork. However, the project will involve the collection of personal data (e.g. name) as defined by GDPR, which could be used to identify the participants. Therefore, all data will be appropriately anonymised after data collection in order to ensure the confidentiality of the participants’ identity. Extra care will be taken with anonymisation so that members of this small linguistic community will not identify each other in any outputs from this research. For example, any data or proper names that could potentially be used to identify the participant was

redacted from interview transcriptions. The researcher will create a separate identifier document to link participants to their data for use during data collection and analysis. This will be stored securely electronically (as laid out below) with access only available to the researcher, and destroyed upon completion of data collection, thus finalising the anonymisation process.

The audio data will be recorded on a recording device or the researcher's laptop, which is password protected. Any data on the laptop, including personal data, will be encrypted. When not in use, data will be deleted from the researcher's PC and stored in the University of Glasgow storage servers. A backup of the anonymised data and its outputs will be stored on an encrypted hard drive kept in a secure locked location. Upon completion of the project, all recorded data will be erased from the researcher's personal storage and retained on University of Glasgow storage only. Anonymised data is likely to be retained for at least ten years.

Copies of written data, namely field notes and transcripts, as well as consent forms, will be retained by the researcher in physical and/or electronic format throughout the project. Electronic written data will be stored in the same manner as audio data. Written data will be scanned as soon as the researcher is able and then stored in the same manner as outlined above. Until then, it will be kept in a secure, locked location.

Outputs of this research are envisaged. A copy of the researcher's thesis may be made publicly available in the Glasgow University Library. It is likely that the work done with this data will form the basis of a monograph or articles after the completion of the project. Under GDPR, once this data has been fully anonymised, it can be used for research and publication purposes without further reference back to the participant(s).

Appendix 2: Consent Agreement Form



University
of Glasgow



Oilthigh
Ghlaschu

Participant Identification:

Researcher Name: Erin McNulty

Project Title: Life after 'Death': The Impact of Sociolinguistic Factors on the Structure of Revitalised Manx Gaelic

This project looks at the kind of language that speakers of modern-day Manx use. We are interested in exploring the way Manx speakers say things, and what is the same or different about the way people speak.

We also want to know what speakers of modern-day Manx think about their language, their community, and the way(s) people speak Manx.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

AGREEMENT TO THE USE OF DATA

I understand that the researcher (Erin McNulty) is collecting data in the form of recorded interviews, a language task, and observation sessions for use in an academic research project at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures in the College of Arts at the University of Glasgow.

I have read the information sheet outlining the project and its methods and had the opportunity to ask any questions arising from that.

I consent to participate in the interviews on the following terms:

1. I can leave any question unanswered.
2. The interview can be stopped at any point.

I agree to the processing of data for this project on the following terms:

1. Use and storage of research data in the University of Glasgow reflects the institution's educational/research mission and its legal responsibilities in relation to both information security and scrutiny of researcher conduct.

- a. As part of this, under UK legislation (UK General Data Protection Regulation [UK GDPR]), I understand and accept that the 'lawful basis' for the processing of personal data is that the project constitutes 'a task in the public interest'.
 - b. I understand that I have the right to **access** data relating to me or that I have provided and to **object** where I have reason to believe it has been misused or used for purposes other than those stated.
 - c. Project materials in both physical and electronic form will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage (locked physical storage; appropriately encrypted, password-protected devices and University user accounts) at all times.
2. Interviews will be transcribed and any recordings deleted when the dissertation is submitted.
 3. I will not be identified by name in the study. All other names and information likely to identify individuals will be removed or redacted.
 4. I have the choice to leave any question unanswered.
 5. As I am taking part as an anonymous participant, I understand that once the data collected has been anonymised, then in accordance with UK legislation (UK GDPR), the data can be used for the purposes of the project without further reference back to me. However, I understand I retain the rights of access and objection where I have legitimate grounds for concern that I remain directly identifiable from the data or that it has been used for purposes other than those stated.
 6. Project materials will be retained in secure storage by the University for ten years for archival purposes (longer if the material is consulted during that time). Consent forms will also be retained for the purposes of record.
 7. Project materials may be used in future research and be cited and discussed in future publications, both print and online.

TICK AS APPROPRIATE:

- I agree to take part in the above study.

ALL PARTICIPANTS:

- I agree to the terms for data processing as outlined above.
- I confirm I have been given information on how to exercise my rights of access and objection.

Name of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Researcher's name and email:	Erin McNulty e.mculty.1@research.gla.ac.uk
Main supervisor's name and email:	Prof. Bernadette O'Rourke bernadette.orourke@glasgow.ac.uk
Department address:	School of Modern Languages and Cultures Hetherington Building University of Glasgow Glasgow G12 8RS

Appendix 3: Plain Language Participant Information Sheet



University
of Glasgow



Oilthigh
Ghlaschu

Plain Language Participant Information Sheet

University of Glasgow College of Arts, School of Modern Languages and Cultures

Title of Research Project: Life after ‘Death’: The Impact of Sociolinguistic Factors on the Structure of Revitalised Manx Gaelic

Researcher Details: Erin McNulty
e.mculty.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Main Supervisor Details: Prof. Bernadette O’Rourke
bernadette.orourke@glasgow.ac.uk

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You can also contact me or my supervisor on the above email addresses if you have any questions or concerns about the research. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

This research project is being undertaken as part of my PhD in the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Glasgow. I am collecting information about Manx and Manx speakers over a period of six months.

The study explores how Manx speakers speak, and the type of language that they use. We all sound a bit different to each other whenever we speak a language. We also often change how we speak depending on where we are or who we are talking to. Researchers know a lot about how these changes and differences work in other languages, but I want to find out more about how they work in languages like Manx.

Just as we all speak differently, we also all react differently to the ways people (including ourselves) use language. We also all believe different things about the role of language in our

communities and what it means to be a speaker of that language. I want to look at what Manx speakers think and feel about the language and the Manx community.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You have been asked to participate in this research project because you speak Manx. You may have known the researcher before the project or taken part in previous research. You may have been recommended to the researcher by other participants in the project, or by other people in the Manx community.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time (prior to 01/04/2022 – see below) without giving a reason. Refusal or withdrawal will involve no penalty or loss, now or in the future.

What will I be expected to do?

If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to participate in one or more of the following:

- **An interview** either with the researcher or in small groups with other participants. These interviews will likely last from 30 minutes to an hour and take the form of casual conversations. I will ask you to talk about your experience with Manx, what you think about the language's place in the Isle of Man community, and what you think about the way people speak Manx. I will also ask you questions about your identity as a Manx person and/or as a Manx speaker, what this means to you, and the role that Manx plays in how you think about yourself and your community. **If you do not want to discuss this, let me know.**

I will speak to you in Manx, and I will ask you to speak to me in Manx. These conversations will be recorded (audio only), and I may take notes on paper during the conversation.

- **An online language task.** This will involve answering questions about different ways of saying things in Manx, and about how you might use different words when you speak Manx. This is a timed task that will last for 20-30 minutes. You may complete this task whenever and wherever you choose.
- I will also be **observing Manx speakers** talk in and about Manx during language events or in spaces where Manx is used. You may be one of these speakers. I may take notes and/or audio recordings, which you may appear in.

I will make it clear which of the above applies to you.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

I will keep any information collected about you during the research strictly confidential. After you have completed your interview, online language task, and/or observation period, your name, address, and any other personal information which could be used to identify you will be removed and replaced with a unique ID. Only the researcher will ever know who each unique ID refers to.

After I have collected all the information I am looking for, any link between your real identity and your unique ID will be destroyed. The latest date this will occur is 01/04/2022. After this date, you

will no longer be able to withdraw from the project, as I will not know what information was given by you specifically. Your real name or any other personal information will never appear in any articles or presentations that may result from this project.

That said, because the number of Manx speakers is small, there may be a risk that other Manx speakers may recognise you from things that you say, even if all possible precautions have been taken. Also, if I uncover any evidence of criminal activity and/or become concerned that you are potentially at risk of significant mental or physical harm, I may be obliged to contact the relevant authorities.

What will happen to project data or the results of the research study?

Any information I collect, including audio recordings, paper notes and documents, and digital files, will be kept safe and stored securely. I will collect and store all the information I gather from you lawfully, in accordance with General Data Protection Regulation (2021) legislation in the UK. This research is a task in the public interest, and therefore you have the right to access any information I collect from you, or object to its use.

I will keep any information collected on paper in a secure, locked location. I will also scan them and store these digital copies on the University of Glasgow's secure online storage. I will keep digital information, including audio recordings and transcriptions of these recordings, in an encrypted folder on my computer, and will transfer them to the University's secure online storage as soon as possible after collection.

All of the information I collect for this project will be retained in an online repository, such as the UK Data Archive, for at least 10 years. The finished project, in the form of my PhD thesis, may be made available to read online or as a physical copy in the University of Glasgow Library. The results of this project may also be published in academic works and presented at conferences. You will not be able to be identified in any publication that may result from this project.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research has been funded by the Scottish Graduate School of Social Science through their Doctoral Training Programme. The project has been organised by the researcher and her supervisory team. This project has been reviewed and approved by members of the College of Arts Research Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

How can I access information relating to me or complain if I suspect information has been misused/used for purposes other than those I agreed to?

You can contact the researcher or their supervisor in the first instance if you have any questions or concerns. If you are not comfortable doing this, or if you have tried but don't get a response, you can contact the College of Arts Ethics Officer (email: arts-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk).

Where there appear to have been problems, you can – and indeed may be advised to – submit an 'access request' or an objection to the use of data. As part of the University's legal obligations, you have rights of access and objection for any data we keep relating to you that isn't anonymous.

1. You can submit requests/ objections online via the University's Data Protection and Freedom of Information office: <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/dpfoioffice/gdpr/gdprrequests/#>.
2. Access requests and objection are formal procedures not because we mean to intimidate participants into not raising issues, but rather it reflects the fact the University is legally required to respond address concerns. The system provides a clear point of contact, appropriate support and a clear set of responsibilities.

3. Anyone submitting a request will need to provide proof of their identity. Again, this is not intended to deter inquiries, but rather reflects the University's duty to guard against fraudulent approaches that might result in data breaches.

Thank you again for reading this.

Appendix 4: Example Interview Prompts

The following is a list of example prompts, organized into themes, given to participants as a part of the sociolinguistic interviews. These are English translations, the original prompts were given in Manx.

1. Introductory Prompts: “Can you tell me about your experience with Manx?”
 - a. How did you learn it?
 - b. Why did you decide to learn/continue speaking it?
 - c. How long have you been speaking it?
 - d. Do you use Manx in your daily life?
 - e. When/where/how often do you use it?
 - f. How would you describe your ability in Manx?
2. Manx and Personal Identity
 - a. “When you speak Manx, do you feel different to when you speak English?”
 - b. “What does speaking Manx mean for you personally?”
 - c. “Does Manx play a big role in your life?”
 - d. “What value does Manx have for you?”
 - e. “Do you think of yourself as Manx? Why/why not?”
 - f. “What does it mean to be Manx?”
3. Manx and National Identity
 - a. “Do you see/hear Manx around you? Where/how often?”
 - b. “Do you think other people on the Island value Manx?”
 - c. “What do you think other people on the Island value about Manx?”
 - d. “Do you think Manx is an important part of life here? Why?”
4. Ways of Speaking Manx
 - a. “Are there different ways of speaking Manx in the community? In what ways are they different?”
 - b. “What does it mean to have ‘good Manx’?”
 - c. “What does it mean to be fluent in Manx?”

- d. “Is there a difference between learning Manx and speaking Manx?”
- e. “What does it mean for Manx to be *dooghyssagh* (‘natural’)?”
- f. “Are there ways of speaking that sound very good/bad/natural to you?”
- g. “What do people mean when they say Manx is ‘Gaelic’?”
- h. “Do you ever speak Manx differently in different contexts?”
- i. “Is it important to speak Manx in a certain way?”

Appendix 5: Interview Participants

Participant Pseudonym	Age Group ⁶⁶	Gender
Alan	Younger	Man
Andrew	Older	Man
Charlie	Older	Man
Claire	Older	Woman
Duncan	Middle	Man
Em	Older	Woman
Illiam	Middle	Man
Ivy	Older	Woman
Jack	Middle	Man
Juan	Younger	Man
Juliet	Older	Woman
Kirree	Middle	Woman
Lewis	Younger	Man
May	Middle	Woman
Mona	Younger	Woman
Natalie	Middle	Woman
Niamh	Older	Woman
Orry	Middle	Man
Peddyr	Middle	Man
Richard	Older	Man
Sam	Older	Man
Voirrey	Middle	Woman

⁶⁶ Younger = less than 30 years. Middle = 30 to 55 years. Older = more than 55 years.

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