University of Alberta

Language Learning in Pubs, Tea Rooms and other Non-Formal Settings

by

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"All honour to them, keepers of the flame, and to the thriving new generation of

speakers."

-Jennifer Kewley Draskau,

Practical Manx

2008: xx

Dedication

For my brother Ian, who always inspired me to think more.

Abstract

 This thesis examines the learning of Manx Gaelic by adults in non-formal settings on the Isle of Man. Using a participant observation method of ethnographic research conducted in 2010, 19 interviews were conducted with learners, 5 with instructors and several classes and conversation groups were recorded. The data collected revealed users of the language have varied reasons for learning Manx, and face obstacles in terms of commitment and opportunity for language use outside of the non-formal settings in which it is learned. Further interviews with instructors revealed obstacles in terms of funding, support and the development of appropriate materials for long-term language use by learners. Using prevailing frameworks concerning the continuation of endangered languages as well as non-formal teaching strategies, we can determine to some degree the needs of adult Manx learners and instructors, in terms of programme development. Finally, I propose that fostering an attitude of lifelong learning both in non-formal teaching as well as at the community level, are conducive to developing adult Manx language acquisition.

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Introduction

Located in the Irish Sea, with a population of 80 000, the Isle of Man is
a small area with big ideas. The language planning efforts on the Isle of Man
for the revival of Manx Gaelic (Gaelg), provide a unique opportunity to examine
language planning and policy in relation to lesser-used and threatened
languages. The Island's education and language policies draw upon several
forms of planning and revival efforts globally. By selecting and discarding
certain aspects of these efforts, the Manx approach is distinct, and the results
have been highly encouraging for those interested in the maintenance of Gaelg
on the island. The objective of this study was to examine how Gaelg
revitalisation is being accomplished on the Isle of Man through an examination
of informal learning methods and the lived realities of those involved in the
process.

This thesis examines how these plans and policies are being
implemented in informal settings, and by adult learners of Manx Gaelic. It is
divided into four chapters, with accompanying introduction and conclusion.
Chapter One gives a succinct history of the state of what eventually became the
Manx Gaelic language, and how it has been and is currently perceived.
Chapter Two examines two prevailing models concerning language shift; the
first being Joshua Fishman's Reversing Language Shift Model (1991) to
examine whether Manx is following a linear and/or typical revival or
continuance pattern. Also examined is David Crystal's (2000) Six Criteria for
Language Revival to determine which areas of Manx continuation are currently
the most successful, as well as the most employed, a greater understanding of

the situation facing adult learners is obtained. Throughout the investigation, it became obvious that Manx language planning does not strictly adhere to either of these models, but selectively obtains what it uses, and on a timeline which is quite different from that which Fishman theorised. In addition, the underlying theoretical concepts which guide the non-formal approach to language learning are examined, as they ultimately govern how non-formal classes are conducted in the island. A detailed discussion of terminology is also found in this chapter, with distinctions between terms often used in literature concerning language revitalisation as well as more specific terms which impact this particular study. As studies of endangered languages often use varied terms, and many different models, it is important to clarify the terminology used in this study and how it compares and contrasts with interpretations of the same or similar terms used in other studies. In particular, the conscious choice of the term "continuance" in this thesis over the more commonly seen "revival" or "revitalisation" is discussed in detail.

Chapter Three details methodological concerns and the study's design and subsequent re-design as needed. Chapter Four examines the realities and experiences of those adults learning and teaching Manx today in the Isle of Man in non-formal settings, as well as documenting attitude toward language, challenges and successes of their endeavours, as well as observations and suggestions from students towards an improved programme. Chapter Four also addresses aspects of endangered languages which often remain undiscussed, such as issues of learner attitude and how it relates to acquisition, small but stable speech communities, and the role of the last native speaker in the continuance of a critically endangered language.

The Conclusion utilises suggestions found in Chapter Four, and examines more closely the need for funding, as well as the need for policy makers, advocates and teachers to adopt a mentality towards life-long learning, versus short-term goals for the benefit of adult language learners. Through interviews with individuals, it becomes clear that Manx learners have their own reasons for wanting to learn the language, and their own ideas about how to use and transmit the language to future generations.

In the conclusion, final thoughts are given on how findings impact intergenerational transmission of Manx on the island, as well as the role users of Manx play in non-formal education.

Currently, structured immersion education appears to have been the option of choice for spearheading continuance efforts (Wilson, 2009), but efforts outside of a school setting are taking hold. By examining what these are and how they are employed and received within the speech community, we develop increased clarity into an area of language planning that receives far less attention than either formal or youth education in the island. By focussing our attention on the efforts of speech communities engaging in language learning outside of an institutionalised setting, such as a formal classroom, we gain invaluable data on how such a community views and uses their language. When language learning is removed from an institution, even if teaching methods are similar, the opportunity for the rapid development of innovative learning techniques and proposals from within the speech community is brought to the forefront and may be implemented and integrated with greater ease and speed. This critical area of continuance requires closer consideration, as it can provide

language planning efforts with invaluable information, specific to a speech community and its needs.

This study highlights the integral role played by volunteer discussion groups and classes throughout the island, aimed at working adults, to foster an environment conducive to oral communication through conversation. Groups are often led by fluent or near fluent individuals, of which there are a limited number, and generally follow an Ulpan method of developing oral competency, with little attention paid at this time to written competency. Through my interviews with individuals and my observation of classes and conversation groups, it became apparent that the non-formal method of language learning is the one favoured in the Isle of Man. Learners shared individual methods of sustaining and utilising the language outside of the weekly meetings, and many revealed their own innovative methods of promoting the language through activities, websites and other media. The individuals I worked with often had attempted learning through institutions, and found the informal method to be of far greater benefit in developing both their technical competence in speaking as well as their willingness to engage in conversation, which ultimately led to a perception amongst speakers that the non-formal method of language was best suited to the learning of Manx. The value of a learner's perspective in the language revitalisation process must be considered paramount to all other concerns. It is the information obtained from the individuals learning, speaking, reproducing and promoting the language which will ultimately determine its successes or failures. The ideas, thoughts and actions of a learning speech community are an often untapped resource, whose contributions are vital to maximising the potential of any continuation effort.

The research detailed in this thesis demonstrates that not only can information obtained from non-formal learners lead to improved formal policies and education, but can also have an immediate impact on language attitude, promotion and production outside of formal institutions.

Chapter One: The Linguistic History of Ellan Vannin

Located equidistant from The Republic of Eire and the United Kingdom, in the heart of the Irish Sea, is the Isle of Man (or, in Manx Gaelic, Ellan Vannin), a semi-autonomous nation, although officially a crown dependancy of Great Britain. Whilst this can initially seem confusing, the government of the island is indeed a testament to compromise. It allows the British to exercise control over a particularly lucrative area, due to its permissive banking and taxation regulations, as well as preserving the traditional Viking parliament of the island, Tynwald, the world's oldest continuous parliament. (www.tynwald.org.im)

> *"*The Isle of Man, although part of the British Islands,
>
> is not part of the United Kingdom. The Island is a territory
>
> for whose international relations the United Kingdom is
>
> responsible in international law. The Island's Government is
>
> consulted before the United Kingdom agrees to extend its
>
> ratification of any international treaty to include the Isle of Man.
>
> The United Kingdom is, by convention, also responsible for the
>
> defence of the Isle of Man and for providing consular services.
>
> The Island makes an annual contribution to the United Kingdom
>
> in recognition of defence and other common services provided on its
>
> behalf.*"*

(External Relations, IOM.gov: 2011)

Figure1. Bilingual Map of Isle of Man

(http://www.modraglina.de/grafik/ellanvannin_20060118.png)

This island's history is both colourful and varied, culturally distinct from other Celtic nations and yet possessing similarities due to both proximity, and, throughout history, political allegiance. Indeed, the island's motto of *Quocunque Jeceris Stabit (It will stand wherever you throw it)* reveals the island's ability to maintain its own vibrant culture despite centuries of rule by foreign owners (Killip:1975). This varied history has shaped the languages of the island, the native one being Manx Gaelic, known as Gaelg. A Goidelic Celtic language, akin to Scottish and Irish Gaelic, the Manx variety has a unique orthography and its speakers are few. Despite reports that Manx Gaelic is extinct, or that it died along with the last native speaker, Ned Maddrell in 1974, it is clear to any who

visit the island and talk with the small but dedicated group of speakers who continue the transmission and spoken tradition of Manx on the island that the language is very much alive, despite the history that at times seemed determined to witness its demise. In order to properly place these revitalisation efforts in context, a brief linguistic history of the island must be discussed, with special attention given to the most recent developments of the past 30 years.

1.1 Celtic Settlement

Initially, the language spoken on the Isle of Man was a Brythonic Celtic one. Similar to Welsh, Cornish and Breton, Brythonic Celtic languages follow the same basic sentence structure, but differ in phonology. While the Goidelic (Gaelic) branch is sometimes known as Q-Celtic, the Brythonic is referred to as P-Celtic. These names refer to the substitution of usually, initial or final consonants between the two; for example, the word "kione" (head) in Gaelg is "pen" in Brythonic languages (Stowell and O' Bréasláinn, 1996:1) Archaeological evidence in the North of the island supports the theory that a Brythonic dialect, probably similar to Old Welsh was the first language on the island. Ogham inscriptions found at Knock-y-Doonee, Andreas, show that the Brythonic peoples on the island likely mixed with waylaid Irish explorers and invaders, as the themes and style of writing are distinctly Old Irish in nature, yet the medium is Brythonic (Thomson in Fell, Foote, Campbell and Thomson, 1983:170). It seems likely these people remained mostly isolated for the most part. Indeed, despite Roman landings in Britain and Ireland, there is to date no evidence of Roman occupation on the Isle of Man (ibid).

It was likely around 500 CE that Gaelic arrived from Ireland. Despite phonological differences, it appears as though the Gaelic became the favoured dialect and was adopted throughout the island. Even today, despite the many differences that set Gaelg as somewhat more distantly related compared to the Irish and Scottish of today, the language retains some words which are clearly of Old Irish origin. For example, the Old Irish word for 'horse,' *eck* has been replaced with the word *capall* over time. In Gaelg, the word is *cabby*l except in certain instances; the translation of the term for seahorse retains the Old Irish term: *eck-marrey*. It could be described as a period during which the population spoke a new form of Irish; an intermittent we could term Early Manx.

For nearly 300 years, Gaelic was the mother tongue of the island. Culture resembled that of Ireland at the time, with a heavy importance placed upon the memorisation and recitation of Ossianic-style poems and tales of both Old Irish gods as well as the Christian gospels, which accompanied later Irish emigrants to the island (Stowell and O' Bréasláinn, 1996: 2). Oral tradition is still strong on the island, and as we shall see later, an integral part of current language programmes. On the West of the island, at the port of Peel, the nearby island is named Saint Patrick's Isle, after the Irish patron saint, whom legend asserts first stepped foot on the island, and after a battle with Mannanan Mac Lir, the Irish sea god and protector of The Isle of Man, emerged victorious, introducing Christianity to the island (Wood, 2000:52). The three legs or triskell that appear on the Manx national flag are in fact supposed to be Mannanan's, kicking St. Patrick off of the isle, albeit, unsuccessfully. In fact, it is far more likely that the legs are simply a modified form of triskell used by many Celtic and other Indo-European nations, intended to indicate sun

worship. The Sanskrit swastika was originally used to represent a similar type of worship to celestial beings. ("Three Legs of Man", Manx National Heritage Publication, 2011)

1.2 Norse Settlement

This Norse period marked one of cultural blending for the Celtic Manx; and marked a period of unusual calm for the Norse. Often described as violent, ransacking, invaders from the North, the Vikings who settled the Isle of Man, did not do so with swords. In a decidedly uncharacteristic move, the Vikings here instead opted to live with instead of conquer the Celts of the island. The island was described in early Norse documents as "heaven" and the "island of paradise"(Cubbon in Fell, Foote, Campbell and Thomson, 1983:19). Indeed, it seemed as though the Vikings that settled in the North and West of the island were likely of Icelandic and later Norwegian descent, and had no inclination to conquer the island, but to settle it, in harmony with the Celts already ensconced on the land. Despite the obvious language differences, the Norse and the Celts blended well, as demonstrated by archaeological evidence found on the island in locations such as Balladoole. Here, Celtic Crosses are found with a mix of Ogham and Runic carvings, names are blends of Norse and Gaelic, and stories on Christian crosses speak of Norse Gods's victories (Thomson in Fell, Foote, Campbell and Thomson, 1983: 22). These serve to show that the beliefs and languages of both peoples were accepted, blended to create a unique language and culture...the first truly Manx people.

"The unique Norse-Celtic crosses of the Isle of Man show clearly

the fusion of Gaul and Gael, with a bias towards Norse male

names and Gaelic feminine names. It is very likely that in the

Norse period the ruling class in Mann was bilingual in Norse

 and Irish and there was an underclass which spoke only Irish."

<div align="right">(Stowell and O Bréasláinn, 1996)</div>

While this certainly shows an unusually peaceful lifestyle for the

Vikings, being gradually integrated into the Celtic culture of the island, it also

establishes a tradition of Gaelic being the mother language of the island, with

Norse being a second language for those of the upper classes. As a result of

further political change, the Norse influences on the Gaelic of the island

lessened to what they must have been during the Norse period, to the point

where there are very few remnants of it in the spoken language; rather most of

the linguistic traces of Norse in the island are limited to place names

throughout the island. A few notable examples that have been traced back to

Norse are as follows:

Norse	Manx	English
gja	giau	creek
bátr	baatey	boat
bog	bugg(ane) [1]	buggane/little god

Some of the Norse place names on the island are indeed so close to Icelandic,

they are identical. The highest point on the island, a mountain called Snaefell,

---

[1] The buggane is a supernatural creature of horrific visage who haunts the ruins of St. Trinian's church. Its name may be derived from the Norse word "bog" for God, with the Manx Gaelg diminutive "an" attached as a way of making the Norse gods smaller, or less important as Christianity became the faith of choice on the island (Rhys,1841:325)

(Snow Mountain in Norse) is practically identical in name to Snæfell, a mountain in the West of glacial Iceland (Stowell and O' Bréasláinn, 1996:3)

The Norse period on the island eventually led to the creation of The Kingdom of Mann and the Isles, by King Godrad Crovan, or in Manx Gaelg, Goree Crovan. "King Orry" as he is often known on the island, was a Monarch of Dublin, who ruled his Kingdom, which included the Hebrides, from Mann. Indeed, linguistic remnants of the history of the island's Norse rule can be found in the island's name for the Diocese of Sodor and Man, a corruption of the Norse term for the Kingdom of Mann and the Isles "Sudr-eyjar" or "Southern Isles" (The Isles, Manx National Heritage, 2011). According to Stowell and O' Bréasláinn (1996:3),

> "Mann was the centre of the Tynwald assembly, a legislative body composed of twenty-four members, eight of whom were from the Isles. This later became known in English as the House of Keys, probably from its Manx name Yn Kiare as Feed, The Four and Twenty".

Orry's descendant, Magnus was the last Viking ruler of Man, passing away in 1265, which signalled the end of Norse rule for the island.

1.3 Scottish Rule

After the death of Magnus Olaffson, the island and its subsequent kingdom became the property of the Scottish Crown. This did not sit well with locals, who staged an uprising in the South of the island shortly after the island assumed Scottish Rule. Magnus Olaffson's son who led the revolt was killed,

ending Norse rule of the island completely (The Lords, Manx National Heritage, 2011).

The Scottish rule, albeit unpopular, did linguistically influence the island heavily. Indeed, today Modern Manx Gaelg is far closer to Scottish Gaidhlig than Irish phonologically, despite its unusual orthography. Gaelic-speaking administration did not last for long on the island, which was subsequently claimed by the English Crown, which held the island briefly until Robert the Bruce laid siege to Castle Rushen in Castletown for several days in 1313 (Stowell and O' Bréasláinn, 1996:3). Once again, Scottish rule did not last long; the English reclaimed the island, which was then granted as favours to various nobility, eventually becoming the property of the Stanley Family, on condition they pay homage to the current king, Henry IV. Stanley agreed, claimed the title of Lord of Mann, and his descendants ruled over the island for the next 3 centuries. Even today, many places in Manx towns and cities will have streets or hills named after the Stanley family. The emergence of the Stanley era, signalled a separation of Gaelic influence in the island, as administrative forces were all English-speaking; Gaelic was now a language of the peasantry alone. Homage was now paid to an English speaking King, and trade with England was increasing. For the first time, Manx Gaelic was now, without realising it, in contact with the language that would push it to the periphery of its indigenous land.

1.4   The Introduction of English

Manx Gaelic was not traditionally a written language; the initial impact of English rule upon speakers of Manx Gaelic will sadly never be known, as

any written records from the time would have been created solely by English-speaking administration. What we do have, are the records of one John Phillips, the Bishop who first decided to translate the Book of Common Prayer into Manx Gaelic, and thus created the basis for its much maligned orthography. Instead of utilising an orthography fitting with Gaelic standards of Irish or Scottish, Phillips chose to translate his ecclesiastical texts in what appears to be an English vernacular. Whilst this attempt certainly makes the learning of the language somewhat easier for English speakers, who are often familiar with the phonology of written Manx, Phillips's system has often been cited as the final division between Manx Gaelic and that of the Irish and Scottish varieties. What appears to have been a well-intentioned tool to help the Church understand those it was preaching to, instead served to distance Manx Gaelic from its Goidelic cousins.

One could argue that Phillips was simply attempting to accommodate communication, be it through the introduction of anglicisms. This method, although often disparaged of in later years by Celtic language scholars, is not so different to methods I myself would witness in conversation groups in 2010. Whilst Cregeen would describe this technique in the 1800s as "English Rendered into Manks" (Cregeen, 1835), I would later see the same technique used, with the term "Manxify" attached to it.

Phillips's translation of The Book of Common Prayer into Manx served to bring about a way for the Anglican Church to interact with its followers, who, until that point spoke solely Manx Gaelic, yet were preached to in English and some broken Manx by the clergy. This book's translation was thought to be the first book written in Manx, although it was not published until 1895 (Stowell in

Nic Craith, 1996:207). This clearly shows the text was intended not to be read by the people of the island, but rather for Monoglot English speaking clergy to preach to them with. A book that could be read by literate Manxmen did not exist for many years despite the translation of a catechism and Bible in subsequent years. Those Manxmen who were literate, were often so in English only.

Already, in the early days of English introduction, a language hierarchy makes itself known. English rapidly became the perceived language of success, of education, of the clergy, of the literate. Whilst islanders often maintained an oral tradition, very few gained any literacy or were given the opportunity to write in Manx, as education in the island was strictly an English affair. Those who first encountered Manx Gaelic from across the Irish Sea inEngland took note:

"...there is nothing either written or printed in their language which is peculiar to themselves (Barrow 1663)" (Broderick, 1991:107-108).
The education available on the island was limited; indeed, The Seventh Earl of Derby, known on the island as Yn Stanlagh Mooar (The Great Stanley) had plans to set up a university on the island.

The Bishop Isaac Barrow set about creating English schools all over the island in the mid 17th Century. Already a proponent of the reigning language ideology, Barrow disparaged Manx Gaelic openly, and set about eradicating it as he supposed, "...the best way of Cure would be to acquaint them with the English tongue" (Bird in Stowell,1996:205). Successful in creating schools that taught in an English-only medium, the results were nothing short of disastrous, as few attending these Church-run schools spoke any of the language that

lessons were taught in, leading to confusion. Eventually, parochial-schooling (which often times meant English-medium schooling) became a mandatory requirement Manx parents were expected to adhere to. Here is an example of a minority language given power and prestige disproportionate to the number of speakers in the island, due to a status language policy, which still has effect on the mindset of Manx speakers today.

Attempts were made to increase education in the Manx language, most notably by Bishop Hildesley, who encouraged those who were able to teach in the native language to do so. However, his viewpoint was the exception, not the rule, and after his death, support for the language plummeted. The economic advantages of learning English were becoming apparent as trade increased with England, and Manx Gaelic began to be seen as a hindrance to progression rather than a source of National pride. In 1765, the island officially became a Crown Dependency, strengthening the official ties with Great Britain.

By the early 1800s concern for the language was mounting by those who spoke it. In 1835, Archibald Cregeen published "A Dictionary of the Manks Language", a comprehensive and painstakingly compiled collection of words, terms and colloquialisms in the island's native tongue. Cregeen was keen enough to note that the book would be of great usefulness to those who did not speak English, but only Manx. He notes "...consider that there are thousands who can at present receive no useful knowledge whatever, except through the medium of the Manks language..." (Cregeen, 1835). He further describes that his aim is not to promote one language over another, but rather to facilitate the learning of both, indicating he was not a hardened traditionalist looking to bar

English from his homeland, nor was his aim one of abandoning Manx in favour

of English. He was encouraging bilingualism, in spite of the fact that

> "Some will be disposed to deride the endeavour to restore vigour to a
>
> decaying language...condemn every effort which seems likely to retard
>
> its extinction" (Ibid).

However, by the time Cregeen was publishing his still oft-used

dictionary, attitudes amongst even Manx speakers had begun to shift to using

English. Not content to simply learn English, attitudes now prevailed against

the Manx language directly. English meant prestige, opportunity, modernity, in

short, advancement. Diametrically, this meant Manx was a hindrance to such

advancement. The mindset of native speakers had become such that many

wished to shed their native tongue out of embarrassment. Broderick notes that

island natives began to refer to Manx Gaelic as "gibberish", "uncouth" and

actively called upon countrymen to "annihilate it" (Broderick, 1991:120). This

quote encapsulates the attitude behind the language shift in the Isle of Man.

Language Shift is the process by which a language, which is usually native to

an area, is pushed to the periphery by an incoming language. For various

reasons, this incoming language is usually more prestigious and valued, leading

to a "shift" in terms of linguistic choice, and speakers of the old language opt

not to speak it anymore, instead favouring the new language (Hinton and Hale,

2001: 3-4). This type of change is not uncommon, particularly for Celtic

languages; Smith-Christmas and Smakman document an near-identical shift in

the Gaelic spoken on the Isle of Skye in Scotland (2009).

However, not all Manxmen believed shedding their language was necessarily

the way forward.

In 1897, Sophia Morrison, born and raised in Peel, in the West of the island started the Peel Manx Language Association, which published a notice in the local paper to determine interest in the Manx language. All interested parties were to report to the Primitive Old Chapel in Peel. The result was more than could have been hoped for:

" ...one night, soon after, the little building was packed to the doors with Manx people- there was not one single English person present...it was decided by the meeting that that classes for the teaching of the Manx language should immediately be started in Peel...the Manx language was taught, and Manx songs and history, and little Manx entertainments were given."

(Harrison in Belcham, 2000:403)

This initial spark was one of the first acts of successful language reclamation on the island. The interest grew outside of Peel, so that in 1899, the Manx Language Society (*Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*) was formed, primarily as a group of individuals interested in promoting and securing the Manx language, but also as a means of promoting other aspects of national culture. A.W. Moore, the president of the society, and an avid scholar, had this hope for*Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh:*
 "We shall thus form part of an organisation which, I trust, will in time accomplish for the Isle of Man what the Eisteddfod has done for Wales" (Manx Quarterly, 1914:133).

This newfound focus on not only the language but Manx culture as a whole led to the society changing its name to simply The Manx Society in 1913.

In the surrounding years, Manx pride rose higher than it had the century before. Interest was renewed in history, folklore, music, and language. On the island, a renewed sense of Manxness was being enjoyed for the first time in over a century. However, this newfound national pride was to be interrupted.

The First and Second World Wars are often cited as examples of devastation in terms of population, landscape and economy. However, the linguistic impact involved is equally disturbing. The Isle of Man has a long-standing military heritage, and a visit to the island today ensures one will see countless war memorials documenting the sacrifices of the Manx people to the British war effort. The respect for those who have passed in the line of duty runs deeply on the island; it was unusual to see a memorial without fresh flowers, even in 2010. The wars not only meant the decline of the island's population, but also of countless speakers. Indeed, the impact of war on other Gaelic speaking areas has been documented. Elizabeth Mertz's work in Cape Breton documents this period as being one of a linguistic "tip", where Gaelic speakers were often embarrassed by their native tongue and its perception away from home. (Mertz in Dorian, 1989:111-112). For those fortunate enough to return home, the value of their native Gaelic was greatly diminished after living abroad. We can see through census figures taken on the island, that language use drops significantly between 1911 (2312 or 4.58% of the population speaking Manx) and 1921 (915 speakers, or 1.52% of the population) (Stowell, 1996:210). Whilst it is undoubtedly true that many factors contributed to the drop at this time, it is certain that there were a good number of Manx speakers that perished during these years fighting abroad. A similar trend surrounds

the years of the Second World War, however data from this time may be
skewed, as no census was taken during 1941, leaving a 20 year gap in between
census takings.

1.5   The Irish, Revivalists and "Death"

> "At its most extreme, 'language revitalization' refers to the
> development of programs that result in re-establishing a language
> which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech
> community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life."
>
> (Hinton and Hale, 2001:18)

In between the two wars, the 1930s saw a flurry of activity in terms of
recognising the need to document speakers of the language. With Irish
independence becoming a reality in 1937, and Irish, a Celtic language that was
not spoken in cities, but in towns and villages in the remote countryside (or
Gaeltacht), being made an official language, a wave of Celtic nationalism swept
the British Isles as well.

While places like Wales formed strong political groups like Plaid Cymru
to further their agenda of freedom, both culturally and linguistically, as early
as 1925, other areas were slower to act. Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish political
party, took decades to follow suit , finally forming in 1951, and setting perhaps
more modest goals of recognition rather than separatism. Mec Vannin was
formed in the 1960s, as the Nationalist Manx Party, which advocates national
independence for the island as a sovereign state (www.mecvannin.im). One of
its goals, (along with that of the newer, but not political group Mannin Seyr), is

the advocacy and promotion of the language, though at present, most language programmes and funding stem from offices appointed or funded by acts of Tynwald.

It was in the 1930s that the Irish first looked at the Isle of Man and its language; though not always favourably. Lacking the long history of written bardic poems, the Gaelicised orthography, and the fervent need to sever all ties with Britain, the Irish weren't quite sure what to make of the modern Manx. Some scholars, despaired of the need for the Manx language at all, and openly looked down upon it in its present form.

Controversial Irish Scholar and Celtic language specialist Thomas O'Rahilly wrote in 1932:

> "Manx to-day is a thing of the past...it has no written literature of its own and is cut off from the literary history of its sister languages....they encumbered it with an orthography which was hardly more fitted to represent its sounds than the orthography of Early Modern Irish would have been....some of the Manx that has been printed is merely English disguised in Manx vocabulary."

<div align="right">(O'Rahilly, 1932:120-121)</div>

As if to drive the point home further regarding his distaste for the language, he concludes " Manx hardly deserved to live. When a language surrenders itself to foreign idiom and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death" (ibid).

Indeed, O'Rahilly was not the only Irish scholar who saw little value in the continuance of Manx. Seoirse Mac Niocall, member of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, despaired of the manner in which the Manx

education system followed the English style, as well as the lack of "Celtic national spirit" (Harrison in Belcham, 2000:405).

These scathing assessments of Manx as not being worthy of being continued at all, was of little consequence on the island itself. A number of enthusiastic speakers were indeed regarding the language not only worthy of interest, but worthy of being used as a living language. Despite the shrinking number of speakers, dedicated individuals continued to speak in Manx. The efforts of Leslie Quirk, Douglas Fargher, Mark and Tom Braide and others meant that people were still speaking the language as well as documenting others who spoke it (Stowell, 1996:211). Indeed, the pride of those who defied convention and chose to speak it was described by popular cultural contributor, Mona Douglas, as late as 1975. In her *We Call it Ellan Vannin*, she writes:

> "The Manx Gaelic language is one of the most outstanding of our characteristics, and after a long period of neglect in which it was almost lost, we are beginning once more to realise that it is a heritage worthy of preservation and honour." (1975:13)

After the Second World War, Manx again was of interest to the Irish. This time, Eamon de Valera, the fervent separatist, and political upriser was taking note of the linguistic state of Manx. An avid defender of Irish Gaelic, the Taoiseach was integral to the making of policy that declared Irish the official language of Éire, alongside English. His views on Manx were certainly not as deriding as O'Rahilly's and on a trip to Cregneash, in the South of the island, he met and spoke with Ned Maddrell. Despite the clear dialectical differences

between the Irish de Valera spoke and the Manx Maddrell spoke, it's clear there was a great degree of mutual intelligibility. Noting that there was no way for the Manx to preserve the words of these last native speakers, he commissioned a sound unit from the Irish Folklore Commission to travel to the island and record native speakers. These recordings are invaluable to current speakers, as they demonstrate authentic manners of speaking by native speakers ("A Wooden Crate that Preserved the Manx Language", BBC) . These recordings have been transcribed, and made digital and public and are often used by learners working on pronunciation. They are available for access at the website, www.learnmanx.com.

Despite these efforts to document native speakers, the language was indeed becoming less popular than before. The Irish and Welsh had used independence as the driving force to reclaim and preserve their languages, but the same fervour never quite took hold on the island in the same manner. Harrison asserts

> "Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall and Man were all
> defined by a Celtic language and culture. The Island alone had
> retained political 'independence'...There was an absence of sectarian
> strife or internal schism...The Manx could be both British and Celtic".

> (Harrison in Belcham,1999:406).

Manx quietly continued to be spoken by those who valued it. In 1974, the last native speaker of Manx, Ned Maddrell, passed away. His death signalled to the outside world that Manx had finally died with him. The reality, however, was a much more complex issue. Despite O' Rahilly's assertion that bilingualism was

a death sentence to a language like Manx, bilingual speakers now continued to speak the language alongside English. Maddrell's death seems to have created a divide in the world on and off the island in terms of the language's future. It is at this point that further efforts towards the language are considered revival of a dead language. Little attention was paid to the fact that only the last *native* speaker had died; there were a number of bilingual speakers who continued to speak Manx Gaelic without hindrance. Off the island, reports lamented the demise of yet another language; on the island, the language was still being spoken.

Indeed, this incorrect assertion of the language's "death" was such a strongly held belief off the island, that as late as 2009, UNESCO, in its Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, claimed the language was extinct. "Among the languages that have recently become extinct, it mentions Manx (Isle of Man), which died out in 1974 when Ned Maddrell fell forever silent" ("New Edition of UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger" UNESCO, 2009). UNESCO later amended the language's status to "critically endangered", following a virulent letter-writing campaign by Manx speakers of all ages.

1.6 Modern Efforts

Only a few years after Ned Maddrell's death, Tynwald enacted the Manx Heritage Foundation Act of 1982. The Foundation was charged with the promotion of all things uniquely Manx, including the indigenous language (MHF Policy, 2011). The language was now receiving a boost in status, the likes of which it had never enjoyed in an official capacity before.

In regard to the Manx language, the Manx Heritage Foundation follows a four-fold policy in regard to the promotion of Manx today.

"**Planning for language learning**- includes supporting language transmission in the family, pre-school and at Manx Medium education level.

Planning for language use - includes the promotion of cultural tourism and developing the use of Manx in the public, private and voluntary sectors.

Status Planning - the visibility of the language needs to be raised and Government encouraged to work towards compliance with the European Charter for regional and Minority languages.

Corpus planning - the need for linguistic standardisation and the development of specialised terminology."

(Manx Heritage Foundation Language Policy, 2011)

By 1985, the language received a further commendation. By Act of Tynwald, the Manx Gaelic Advisory Council (*Coonceil ny Gaelgey*) was formed to regulate and promote the language on the island as a sub-committee of the Manx Heritage Foundation (Manx Heritage Foundation, New Words, 2011).

Amongst other duties such as promoting bilingual signage around the island, the council also serves to deal with issues of neologisms which may arise in the course of language development. Although not officially a body designed

to fully regulate the language, the council acts as an advisory, and translates the summaries of Tynwald Acts each year (Stowell, 1996:222).

Since 1985, the visibility of Manx Gaelic has been greatly heightened. Municipal street signage is almost uniformly bilingual, as is that of governmental departments.The position of Manx Heritage Language Officer (*Yn Greinneyder*) was created, initially held by Brian Stowell, then Phil Gawne, and currently, Adrian Cain. Around the same time, Manx was beginning to be offered to students who opted to study it in schools. The schooling was of a peripatetic nature, taught by Peggy Carswell and Phil Kelly in schools around the island (ibid, 213).

The success and interest of these early school-introduced language programmes eventually led to the formation of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh in 2001, a Manx-immersion primary school which taught all subjects that students would learn at an English speaking school solely through the medium of Manx. As classes grew, a permanent home for the school was found at St. Johns, indeed, across the road from Tynwald hill.While there were certainly more practical factors facilitating the move from its original place in Douglas, one cannot help but wonder at the symbolic value of having a school of children reclaiming the island's native tongue only a stone's throw away from the island's traditional heart of governance.

Students who now progress beyond the Bunscoill level can continue on at the high school level and General Certificates of Standard Education are now available to be taken in Manx as well as English. Indeed, in my own work with adult learners, many were opting to take GCSE tutorials from Brian Stowell in the evenings, as many had decided to re-take their GCSE's in Manx as a

method of testing their comprehension. There are a few courses offered at the Isle of Man College in language instruction, but further study of an academic nature results in leaving the island, which has no university of its own. However, since 1992, the University of Liverpool has offered degrees via the Centre for Manx Studies, situated in the Old Castletown Road, Douglas (www.liv.ac.uk/manxstudies/).

Media in the Manx language is still limited, despite provision made for it in the 1990s (Stowell, 1996:213). There are no Manx television stations, although Manx language programming is available on Manx Radio on a weekly basis, whose website also translates major news stories from English into Manx for listeners (www.manxradio.com).

Most Manx Gaelic which people are likely to hear spoken will be at the numerous social activities around the island. Guided walks, dances, and festivals provide opportunities for speakers of varying competence levels to come together and converse as well as enjoy an evening of traditional entertainment. Festivals like *Yn Chruinnaght* (The Gathering) showcase the best of Manx dance, music, language and writing in a fun, encouraging atmosphere. Held in the summer, the Inter-Celtic festival aims to showcase local Celtic talent, but also that of neighbouring Celtic nations. It is not uncommon to hear Manx as well as Irish, Scottish Gaelic and even Welsh being spoken. On my latest visit to the island, I recall a particularly memorable community dance lesson, wherein the instructor only spoke French and Breton, yet managed to communicate a rather complex dance pattern to a crowd of English and Manx speakers.

Many local musical groups showcase their talent by not only performing traditional music, but also singing in Manx as well as English. Bands such as King Chiaullee and the Reeling Stones are examples of a younger generation not only embracing the sound of traditional music, but the language along with it.

The festival Cooish, held in November is decidedly more focussed on language rather than music (although, in many Celtic areas, the two are hard if not impossible to separate). This annual celebration, in conjunction with the Manx Heritage Foundation, is a wonderful opportunity for speakers to discuss language matters, hear readings from notable Manx authors such as Bob Carswell and Brian Stowell as well as lectures from notables concerned with language continuance on the island (Manx National Heritage, The Cooish, 2011).

Whilst provisions have been formally made to ensure access to the language to some degree for school-aged youth on the island, adult learners have a slightly more difficult time finding classes for language learning that are adapted to meet their needs. As such, many informal classes run by fluent volunteers have appeared all over the island. The methods and materials used by different groups are varied, but it is clear that these small groups of learners as well as the social conversation groups that usually accompany them are of increasing popularity amongst adult learners over formal classes run by schools such as the Isle of Man College. As this demographic group is perhaps the one least likely to encounter Manx Gaelic on a daily basis (unless their profession is one which would expose them to it, though this could be said to be the exception, not the rule for most), it is intriguing to discover a growing number

of people interested in either furthering previous study of the language, or embarking upon it for the first time. This particular group of learners and how they fit into the language planning efforts of the island is the focus of this thesis, as they have the ability to define adult learning programmes in the island in conjunction with the Manx Heritage Language Office. Previously, efforts were concentrated on ensuring Manx education for youth; now a decade later, the Bunscoill is flourishing, and attention can now be turned to improving and securing adequate language learning for those beyond school years. The outcome would be a seamless integration where newly educated youth are still able to use, and perhaps work and socialise in a Manx Gaelic environment after formal education.

The current generation of adult speakers have a vital role to play in the future of the language, in ensuring that its prestige increases, and to ensure that Manx does not precariously fall to the wayside as merely an interest or cultural curiosity, but becomes a medium by which life-long learning can occur. It is this particular group of speakers I chose to focus my ethnographic research on in the summer of 2010. The individuals I spoke with gladly answered my questions and shared with me their success and challenges in learning or continuing Manx as an adult. It is from their suggestions, stories and meetings that I have organised models about the value and usefulness of adult language learning in the island today, as well as possible suggestions to aid in further adult language planning developments. The information gathered from informal adult learners will not only aid this demographic group in the near future, but will help shape policies that will have long reaching impact for the language's use as a whole.

Chapter Two: Concepts and Ideologies

In the literature concerning endangered languages, and in particular, the efforts made to document, invigorate and continue the use of these languages, there is little consensus over terminology or even the exact definition of terms used by various linguistic anthropologists. As Crystal (2000:93) writes:

> "Studies of endangered languages are at a state where they use widely different frames of reference and terminology. Even the subject as a whole has no agreed name. Terms such as *obsolescent, moribund* and *endangered* are employed in a variety of senses. The people affected are described differently (e.g. *terminal speakers, semi-speakers*)."

In order to properly explain how these terms have been employed in this study, distinctions between confusing terminology must be made clear. Below I have detailed how specialised terms have been used in this thesis; as there is no firm consensus on the distinction between several similar terms, the terminology choices made here are simply an effort to best explain the situation in the Isle of Man, and are by no means exhaustive or exclusive.

2.1 Continuance vs. Revival and Revitalisation

In order to discuss theoretical frameworks appropriate to the case of Manx, accommodation must be given, due to the unusual history of the language. While discourse on revival or revitalisation may use these seemingly

innocuous terms interchangeably, the use of these terms in a Manx context determines a particular viewpoint.

As discussed briefly, Manx people do not consider themselves to have ever spoken a 'dead' language. Therefore to speak of 'revival' efforts, that is, literally to give life back, is to automatically take the viewpoint of an outsider. While this may indeed be an accurate viewpoint for some, it can also present unforeseen barriers. It is akin to discussing the death of a person whilst they stand right beside you. For this reason, although the prevailing thoughts which apply to a majority of cases of endangerment or revival may use terms which speak of the language as having been in a moribund state, we must also attempt a sensitivity to the current attitude of the speech community we are attempting to include within these frameworks. The value and status of the language in question must first be determined within a speech community. Outside sources have usually (either directly or indirectly) de-valued a lesser-used language in the first place, making only voices from within the speech community truly legitimate, at least in the earliest stages of revitalisation, or, as could be termed in the case of Manx, continuation. In order to accurately apply the theories best suited to the Manx case, we must realise that although we may speak in terms of revival, for clarity's sake we are truly discussing matters of language continuance and endangerment, not acknowledging any termination of use, nor any attempt to raise a dead language to the status of living.

 After speaking with participants, particularly those fluent speakers well versed in the linguistic history of the island, I have opted to resist using the

word "revitalisation" where it is not connected to other material being quoted or used. Instead, a choice to use "language continuance" in place of "revitalisation" is an attempt on my part to show a sensitivity to what appears to have been a dismissal of the Manx language as dead, when to the speech community who claims it as their own, it is not, nor has it ever been a dead language. The term "revitalisation" quite literally indicates an attempt to revive or bring life back to something in the process of death, or something already dead. For this reason, I have tried to avoid both "revival" and "revitalisation" wherever possible.

2.2   Users vs. Speakers

As we have seen from the linguistic history detailed in Chapter One, there are no current native speakers of Manx on the island, although many children are now being raised bilingually alongside English. It seems very unlikely indeed that the island will ever possess monoglot Manx speakers again, so it may be a more fitting term to opt for "users" over "speakers". Not only does this more accurately reflect the status of the language as no longer being utilised as a mother tongue on the island, but it also implies that the language is used, a term which indicates agency, and thus choice in terms of speaking Manx.

2.3   The Speech Community

A speech community is a difficult thing to define in any population, as its borders are constantly in flux depending on the knowledge and usage by those who are defined to be within its domain. As we will see, there are currently

issues regarding the measurement of competency and fluency in Manx, making it difficult to determine who may fall in or out of a speech community. For the purposes of this study, the definition presented by Romaine (1994:22) is the most appropriate:

> "A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are essentially social rather than linguistic... a speech community is not necessarily co-extensive of a language community".

As we will see later, the social aspect of language use has a great hold over adult learners, and can impact their language choices heavily.

2.4 Status and Vitality

Accurately assessing the status of a lesser-used language is never easy, nor is it by any means clear-cut. Factors particular to each language's situation must be carefully weighed and prioritised in a manner befitting the language's unique situation. A UNESCO document from 2003 entitled *Language Vitality and Endangerment*, lists 9 factors which are likely to have bearing upon the considered vitality (and by extension, status) of a given language.

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within total population

Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains

Factor 5: Response to a new domain and media

Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language policies,

including official status and use

Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language

Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

(Grenoble & Whaley, 2006:4)

Several of these factors would determine Manx to be in a state of good vitality; for example its use by government through bilingual department headings and bilingual municipal signage, as well as protection through government under the 1985 Tynwald Act would determine its status to be fairly secure as compared to other lesser-used languages. And so would its response to a new domain and media; Manx websites are now common, and there are even Manx language YouTube channels like GaelgTube, making the language readily available on a global scale.

However, it seems that the greatest determinant of a language's vitality is often considered to be the absolute number of speakers. These factors are all inter-related, so the attitude of community members towards language may indeed have an effect on whether or not they consider themselves a speaker. This issue of self-evaluation and communicative competence is one which I will demonstrate later is of great importance to adult Manx learners. However, for assessment, language planning and funding purposes, a language's number of speakers must be found to fall within a high range to be considered strong in terms of vitality. In the case of Manx, this clearly is not the case. In 2001, only 1527 people claimed to be speakers; out of the total population, this amounts to just 2% of the island's population. Even if we were to consider this number

within only those born on the island (i.e. those who could be considered "born" Manx) as the pool for our speakers, the percentage is still only 4%; hardly a large number by any means (Census, 2001). While this creates interesting statistics to ponder, it doesn't truly assess the situation Manx currently finds itself in.

Rather, a two-pronged approach is perhaps the best way to examine the continuance of Manx in the 21st Century and beyond. In terms of practical steps to which policy can be applied, Joshua Fishman's Reversing Language Shift model (1991) is a how-to-guide which Manx has been following for some time, with success. If, in addition, we considered RLS to be the practical guide, we may also consider David Crystal's (2000) factors which encourage the reclamation of languages as a guiding ideal by which to implement the changes called for by Fishman. To consider how these models may apply to Manx, we must first examine which steps or stages the language is currently in according to the models themselves.

2.5 *Reversing Language Shift: Convergence and Divergence*

While aspects of Fishman's model certainly have been of benefit to Manx, there are aspects which also seem unlikely to be adopted. This does not mean Fishman's model is in any way faulty, only that, like most models, it is a generalisation, a best fit that will never fully be in line with any exact language, its needs, or its reality. This however does not diminish the usefulness of this model for the Manx language. Manx is clearly in and has been in a state of language shift for some time. This shift has thus far been

seemingly one-directional, and fits the definition set forth by Grenoble &
Whaley:

"...language shift is indicated if a large percentage of the ethnic population
speaks a different language instead of the local language" (2006:5).

Let us examine the eight stages Fishman proposes and assess where
Manx, and in particular informal adult learning methods, fall within each
based upon his outline of the stages in his 1991 text (88-109).

The first stage recommends adults learning the language in question
from remaining speakers (who are presumed to be elderly or isolated from other
speakers). In the case of Manx, this indeed did happen. As far back as Cregeen,
elders were being seen as authorities on the language. In more recent times,
language enthusiasts like Douglas Fargher, who himself would publish a
dictionary, would fill the role of apprentice to older learners of the language.

"He was lucky in being related to a number of elderly people, living in
the extreme South of the Island, who were to be counted amongst the
last native speakers of Manx Gaelic, though he was not aware of this in
his early life. One of these was Ned Maddrell (1877-1974), and it was
through the frequent visits Doug paid him that he was able to start out
on the road to the complete mastery of the language of his forefathers."

(Pilgrim in Fargher, 1979:xi)

Fargher was not alone in his enthusiasm for learning Manx from the old native
speakers, ad was indeed in the company of "...young men who made a practice
of visiting these last elderly speakers in their homes in order to acquire a
command of the spoken Manx Gaelic before it was too late" (ibid). If we are to

assume that this period is the beginning of an attempt to document and hold onto the language, we can also assume that this is evidence of activities pertaining to the first stage.

The second stage Fishman foresees is one wherein active speakers engage socially with one another in a spoken manner rather than written. In the case of Manx, this stage is best exemplified by the various adult conversation groups, volunteer-led classes and cultural nights throughout the island. If the Manx case so far appears to be showing evidence of Fishman's stages, it certainly isn't doing so in a linear manner. While the popularity of Manx speakers gathering for social events is certainly not a new phenomenon, this stage of learners meeting with learners appears to co-exist with other stages in his reversal plan. Many learners I spoke with enjoyed going out to gatherings with other learners specifically for the social aspects.

The third stage suggests the informal daily use of the language within all age groups of the family, and at neighbourhood institutions which respect and promote the language. This is again a co-existing stage for Manx speakers. Daily use of the language is more challenging for adults than for children, however family use is not a remote goal but a lived reality for some families on the island. The playgroup *Mooinjer Veggey* (Little People), is an immersion atmosphere for pre-schooled aged children and their parents. The playgroup was formed in 1996 based on the Scottish Gaidhlig pre-schools begun by Finlay MacLeod, through a method he calls TIP (Total Immersion Plus). The TIP atmosphere has been conducive to a more traditional Gaelicised learning method in a home situation, and has met with success here in Canada (Halifax Gaelic, 2011). The atmosphere bans all use of English and instead encourages

the use of Gaelic between pre-schoolers, their parents and teachers. Mooinjer Veggey is an associate member of CNSA, the Scottish Gaelic Preschool Council. (Moonjer Veggey, About, 2011). The Bunscoill mirrors this Gaelic-only environment, and in my visits there, Manx Gaelic was used in all interactions with children during school hours. I did note however, that on several occasions once the school day was over, children immediately switched back to using English on the public busses heading towards Peel. Not all environments outside of schools will see individuals switching automatically back to English, however. Many businesses, restaurants and cafés on the island visibly show support of the language (or at least a lack of ambivalence or hostility towards it) via Manx language 'Open' and 'Closed" signs (which read *Foshlit* and *Dooint* respectively). Some locations go even further and are considered friendly places on the island, where speaking the language, or even ordering in Manx Gaelic is encouraged. I myself made a clumsy attempt at ordering in Green's in Douglas, and supported by the helpful staff and the encouragement of fluent speaker Paul Salmon, managed to successfully order my first meal in Manx.

Many of these locations are pleased to have the repeat, regular business of the informal classes and conversation groups that visit there, and are even lauded for their inviting atmosphere towards speakers on the Manx Heritage Foundation's website. Some locations even open up after hours specifically to accommodate learners who need a place to socialise, learn and converse. Conversation groups in the South of the island all reported that an evening at the Albert (or Ablet as it is affectionately nicknamed) in Port St. Mary usually ensured a good mix of fluent and non-fluent speakers engaging in conversation and usually ended with impromptu Manx music and song.

Fishman's fourth stage suggests that once oral competency in the language has been achieved in a speech community, efforts focussed on literacy should be promoted, using materials that are non-dependent on state education. In terms of the Manx speech community achieving this goal, at present there are few able to effectively read and write in the language despite an impressive degree of communicative competence in the oral sense among many learners. However, the few who do possess degrees of literacy are often involved in creating new texts for others literate in Manx to enjoy, and as future teaching materials for learners attempting to gain literacy. Recently Brian Stowell published a Manx translation of Lewis Carroll's *Alices Adventures in Wonderland (*Ontoyrtyssyn Ealish ayns Çheer ny Yindyssyn)**, and Rob Teare has translated Japanese Kaidan (ghost) stories into Manx. Original works such as Stowell's *Dunveryssyn yn Tooder-Folley* (TheVampire Murders) are examples of success in developing literate Manx speakers despite a lack of concise materials aimed at doing so.

Still the goal of many speakers developing literacy in the language in addition to spoken communicative competence is a long way off. Not only are most learners still in early learning phases, but the pedagogical materials needed to teach adults the written aspects of the language in addition to its spoken aspects are few and far between; there simply isn't much demand for it yet. While interested learners could presently supplement with materials from the school system, the need for concise, current adult-targeted materials is likely to be needed in the coming years.

The fifth stage of Reversing Language Shift Fishman identifies is that where possible and viable, encouraging the use of the language in compulsory

state education systems. Although Manx is now available to school-aged children at all levels, only one, the Bunscoill offers it in an immersion programme. While the language may be available to some degree at all compulsory education levels, the language will almost certainly never be a compulsory subject, as in Ireland. Here, many Celtic language scholars worry that the compulsory nature of Gaelic in the schools has indeed done more harm than good. The country's current Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, himself a fluent speaker, has sought to remove compulsory Gaelic from the last 2 years of schooling, known in Ireland as the Leaving Certificate. He has claimed that "Irish as a compulsory subject had clearly failed" ("Kenny Confirms Policy", Campaign Trail, 2011). Even recent television advertisements point out the failure of compulsory Irish to teach more than classroom basics. In a popular Carlsburg advertisement, two Irish gentlemen impress a bar full of Brazilians with their knowledge of Irish...which when translated is little more than childish phrases and strings of unrelated words. The advertisement does not have subtitles, and is clearly directed towards an Irish speaking audience, who is already in on the joke (Carlsberg Advertisement, 2011).

The next subsequent stage requires all previous stages to have been achieved and in place, and then further suggests bringing the language into the workplace. This is a stage Manx is far from reaching. At present, most speakers are learners, and fluency is the exception, not the norm. Hence learning the language in the Island today is for communicative purposes, but very rarely as an employment strategy. Fishman's Seventh and Eighth Stages call for the use of the language in initially lower government and media and then progressing to higher government levels. While Manx is tied to the National Government by

Act of Tynwald and tradition, its use is, for the most part, symbolic. People who work in government may see bilingual signage or letterhead, as the visibility of the language is high. However, none are required to have any sort of knowledge of Manx as a requirement of their hiring or holding positions. To this extent, Manx is unlikely to achieve the saturation of Stages 7 and 8 before Stage 6 can be broached.

If Fishman's RLS model can be seen as a linear model of how to go about reversing language shift which Manx only partly follows, David Crystal's suggested factors of language progression, which he outlines in his book *Language Death* (2000), may also be useful in assessing how Manx fits into current models regarding the revitalisation or continuance of lesser-used languages.

As we have seen, Fishman's model, albeit comprehensive, assumes a linear path of stages building upon one another. Manx however, has drawn parts from this model as it needs, and many stages co-exist, suggesting the speech community could indeed be broken up into smaller units based upon these criteria. Crystal's model (130-141) is somewhat less rigid, and suggests factors for success throughout the process, rather than required graduated stages.

2.6 Factors for Success

Crystal utilises 6 basic factors which he believes will ultimately lead a language to progress from the periphery to a more centralised role in the lives of a group of people. He quotes "Mechanisms and structures are now in place to channel energies. Short-, medium-, and long-term aims are much clearer..."

(2000:163) Let us examine how these factors fit with the case of Manx we have established.

The first factor, increasing prestige within a dominant community, is one which Manx has had some success with. Manx shares space on bilingual municipal signage and national government services signage; it has high visibility in the high street where local shops will often have Manx names, or use provided signs to indicate whether open or closed. Even large chains like Tesco have opted to include Manx alongside English in displaying their hours of operation. Even the Bunscoill has seen increased enrolment as the quality of the education and the benefit of learning Manx gain acceptance and prestige within the larger island community (www.bunscoill.iofm.net). For the most part, any open hostility that may have been displayed towards the language in generations past appears to have disappeared and replaced with either support, or apathy. In an effort to combat negative attitudes towards the language, the MHLO produced a leaflet in 2009 entitled "10 Reasons Why Manx is a Waste of Time" (See Appendix). This document cleverly lists the most common objections to learning Manx Gaelic and then proceeds to systematically refute the claims. Distributed throughout the island, this document is aimed at the English-speaking majority as a rather direct method of, if not increasing prestige, at least attempting to establish some.

Crystal's second factor, increasing wealth was one the Manx language movement secured in 1985 when the MHF and subsequently the MHLO was formed. For the first time in over a millennium, funding for the promotion of the native language of the island was guaranteed by law. However,

opportunities for funding are much more likely to increase as pilot projects like the Bunscoill produce successful graduates, and demand for classes across all age groups increase. One area Brian Stowell identified in 1996 as a potential for increasing wealth as well as employment opportunities, is linguistic tourism, already popular in areas surrounding the Mediterranean. Planned group excursions which focus on activities which have a language lesson component are becoming increasingly popular, as travellers who wish to immerse themselves in a given place are now given opportunities to do so via tour groups conducted partly or wholly in the language of the area. To date, this is an area of the tourism industry that has not been fully explored on the island, but may provide an excellent opportunity to increase funding for language programmes island-wide.

Increasing the legitimate power of the speech community in the dominant community is a factor which Manx speakers seem to aim for, but slowly. In 1984, protests by Manx speakers forced the Isle of Man Bank to accept cheques written in Manx (Stowell, 1996:214). Some political groups, such as the Republican Independence group *Mec Vannin* (Sons of Mann), actively campaign on the island and use the right to Manx language as a platform (Mec Vannin, 2011). The same applies to non-political group Mannin Seyr (Free Mann) whose aims include "Promoting greater commitment to Manx Gaelic language and history in schools, colleges and youth groups" (Mannin Seyr, 2011).

These groups have goals and aims other than the sole promotion of the language, however. Whilst smaller groups are unified in the island (for example, parents of students at the Bunscoill, or Mooinjer Veggey), it does not

appear that the speech community as a whole is a particularly uniform group, making a consolidated power that may affect change in the language's use on the island even more challenging. Rather, pockets of speakers appear all over the island, and although numerous, they are all minorities in their communities. It would be premature to say that Manx speakers possess either the collective numbers or organisation to effectively hold much power in relation to the dominant English speaking community.

However, the fourth factor Crystal recognises as increasing success in revitalisation or continuance efforts is one the Manx people have accomplished in a short amount of time. Possessing a strong presence in the education system has been at the forefront of Manx language efforts for many years. Grassroots efforts from parents in conjunction with government funding have resulted in optional Manx programmes in the school system, as well as the immersion Bunscoill in St. Johns.

Whilst these successes in offering Manx as an option at the compulsory school level are indeed impressive, it is the lack of Manx being offered at higher levels which is of particular concern. Whilst degrees can be undertaken in History and Heritage Management at the Isle of Man College in conjunction with Chester University, there are no Manx Language degrees, nor are classes taught in the language. The Centre for Manx Studies in Douglas also offers degrees, and topics include sociolinguistic study, but again there are no degrees taught in the Manx language. There is a disconnect between the immersion primary school, the optional language at the high school level, and then the complete absence of the taught language at post-secondary schooling.

Opportunities to continue with the language decrease sharply for learners once compulsory schooling is completed.

Crystal, like Fishman, again places an emphasis on the ability to write and possess literacy in the language. As discussed earlier, the desire to reach this level is existent, however a lack of materials and a strong focus on Ulpan-style learning has created an environment which makes the discussion of the next level of language competence a difficult one to bring up. Originally used as an intensive method of spoken language acquisition in Israel (Rosenbaum, 1989:115), the Welsh model of Ulpan (or Wlpan) used in the island is almost exclusively spoken, with little focus on written forms or reading.

The Welsh adaptation of Ulpan-style classes has been enormously successful in Wales and Scotland, leading to greater funding opportunities by governments. Unlike modern Ulpan programmes in Israel, Manx Ulpan sessions for adults are usually held only once a week, instead of several times. As classes are taught by volunteers with families, careers and engagements of their own, classes may break for months at a time, leaving learners with nobody to speak with, at times, and no written material or even the ability to read written material, to maintain knowledge in between class sessions.

The last factor that Crystal considers vital to language continuance is the ability to make use of technology. Once again, Manx language efforts are quite effective with this use of technology; Manx Gaelic websites, online translators, radio programmes, films and smartphone applications all exist. One can even access popular websites like Wikipedia in Manx (www.gv.wikipedia.org). Perhaps this comfort with new technology is due in

part to the relative youth of those in policy making positions. While this comfort with new technology certainly ensures ease and availability of resources for youth and computer-savvy adults, it does leave a number of adult learners, particularly elderly ones, who may not have as much experience or comfort with newer technologies, at a disadvantage. Whereas traditional learning materials such as books and recordings can be digitised to reach a more mobile generation, the absence of the availability in a more accessible form for those uncomfortable with new technologies could potentially lead to discouragement. It is perhaps for this reason, all the informal classes I went to did not utilise these technologies as a teaching method in the sessions. Rather, the availability of these resources is in addition to the simple style of informal Ulpan learning used around the island. That being said, some students are encouraged to add to the databases online; one adult learner I spoke with was designing a series of downloadable walking tours in Manx Gaelic that could be accessed via the internet.

While it is clear that neither one of these models exactly describes the linguistic situation Manx finds itself in, it is equally clear that there is value in using them to assess exactly how Manx continuation efforts are succeeding, failing or simply missing opportunity. Perhaps the biggest divergence is the time aspect. Whilst Fishman is clear, describing each of his 8 stages of RLS as being linear, a continuation of the previous, the reality is a different story. The continuance efforts on the island have shown that Fishman's stages can co-exist, as well as occur out of sync. This may simply be a peculiarity of the Manx case, or it could be borne out of a unique mindset found on the island, that of *traa dy liooar* ("time enough"). Much more than a proverb or folk-saying, *traa*

dy liooar is a way of thinking that encourages individuals to slow down, with an assurance that all things will happen in due time. Despite the relative speed of formal education policies being set in place, perhaps the notion of *traa dy liooar* has stronger influence in the less rigid policies that govern informal language learning.

2.7 Non-Formal Learning

The second major idea in need of discussion and clarification is that of non-formal learning, the approach favoured by most adult learning situations on the island. It is not only important to distinguish how formal, non-formal and informal language learning styles differ, but also how the choice of a non-formal method in the case of Manx has distinct benefits to the acquisition of the language by adults.

The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OCED) provides a clear, practical distinction between these three types of learning:

Formal learning – This type of learning is intentional, organized and structured. Formal learning opportunities are usually arranged by institutions. Often this type of learning is guided by a curriculum or other type of formal program.

Non-formal learning – This type of learning may or may not be intentional or arranged by an institution, but is usually organized in some way, even if it is loosely organized. There are no formal credits granted in non-formal learning situations.

Informal learning – This type of learning is never organized.

Rather than being guided by a rigid curriculum, it is often thought

of as experiential and spontaneous.

-(Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

/Organisation Coopération et de Développement Economiques

(OECD), Werquin, (2007)

2.8   The Natural Approach

By this reasoning, Manx language learning best falls into the category of non-formal language learning. This idea of loosely organised, non-credit based instruction, is not a new one, and has been re-invented over the years. This innovative approach to language learning was first labelled in 1901 by the Modern Language Association, who termed it the "Natural Method" (Cole, 1931, pp58). Perhaps the most productive assessment and interpretation of this method has been conducted by Stephen Krashen, who prefers the term "Natural Approach" in reference to non-formal learning situations. Krashen and Terrell (1983) carefully outline not only the goals of the natural approach, but also address the reasoning behind conscious decisions on the part of instructors to avoid heavy emphasis to grammatical details. They contend that the goal of a natural approach be that of communicative competence over grammatical precision "... of the two tools for communication, vocabulary and grammar, the former is clearly the most essential one" (71). This does not mean they see no importance to the direct instruction of grammatical concepts, only that their use is one that will occur naturally, as with native speakers, through speaking and utilising the basic constructs and vocabulary learned in non-formal settings.

It should be noted that Krashen and Terrell's model, although useful for gaining insight into language acquisition, lacks empirical data to strengthen the ideas presented. This flaw does make this model a contested one, as it lacks the power of prediction. However, for the purposes of this thesis, Krashen and Terrell's ideas regarding language acquisition are currently paralleled with that of instructors attempting to create suitable learning methods that can be employed in non-formal situations. To this end, Krashen and Terrell's model, while, much like others is not a perfect fit, is useful in assessing stages of acquisition which are critical in creating relevant language learning situations on the island.

Krashen and Terrell make a distinction between notions of "acquiring language" and "learning language". By their reasoning, acquiring language is " 'picking it up' i.e. developing ability in a language by using it in natural communicative situations" (18). By contrast, learning language means " 'knowing the rules' , having a conscious knowledge about grammar"(ibid). If we are to apply these ideas to the Manx situation, it is clear the type of non-formal language learning being employed on the island utilises both techniques, although it would be fair to say that Krashen and Terrell's notion of "acquisition" appears to be the focus of most learning done in non-formal classes.

Krashen and Terrell further break down their theory regarding the natural approach into Five Hypotheses (26-38).

1)   The Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis: Using language for real communication, as a natural way to develop linguistic ability. This hypothesis

also suggests that adults have the ability to learn an L2, as children do, however in a different manner.

2)   The Natural Order Hypothesis: Grammatical structures needed to properly speak an L2 will be acquired in a predictable order, that is some structures are generally acquired later or earlier than others.

3)   The Monitor Hypothesis: We produce utterances initiated by the acquired system, and conscious learning appears afterwards. Our acquired fluency via the class is useful as a check and balance system, but is not responsible for fluency.

4)   The Input Hypothesis: We acquire language by learning that which is slightly beyond our level of understanding. Literacy will emerge in time, once one has some mastery over spoken fluency, which is not directly taught, but is learnt through comprehending input.

5)   The Affective Filter Hypothesis: Attitudinal factors may relate to language acquisition, but not learning, i.e. those with positive attitudes towards their learning will develop communicative competency and fluency faster than those with negative attitudes or defensiveness.

These underlying hypotheses suggest that by assessing cognitive processes concerning language acquisition, an effective programme that attempts to utilise non-formal language learning can be created to address the needs and learning styles of a group of learners. Using Krashen and Terrell's ideas of how language is learned, a decidedly more focussed pedagogy can emerge. The focus on communicating with other speakers is heavily encouraged in non-formal Manx classes, and is supported by the existence of several communication groups throughout the island who meet regularly to practice

speaking. Also in keeping with the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis, is the lack of focus on strict grammatical rules; although they are broached in classes, emphasis remains on developing a speaker's vocabulary and encouraging conversation.

The natural order hypothesis seems to be a slightly more complicated issue; the classes on the island vary so much due to different styles of teaching, it is difficult at this time to assert if instructors all have generally similar expectations of students learning aspects of the language at certain times. While there may indeed be trends towards learning certain language features in a particular order, unless that order is followed in instruction, it is impossible to tell if Manx learners follow this pattern naturally or if it is dictated by the particular curriculum of a given teacher.

The repetition of basic terms and sentence structure in classes fits well with the Monitor hypothesis. Often in classes, a particular sentence is used repeatedly by learners, and only altered slightly by individuals, based upon their knowledge of vocabulary. It is not uncommon for a sentence to be initiated by the instructor, and then repeated, but with something new, perhaps personally relevant, by the learner as the sentence goes around the classroom. The sentence serves as a template, into which an individual can add their own ideas, feelings or choices.

The input hypothesis is a necessary step in progressing in Manx. Most learners are eager to practice what they are comfortable with, but many classes find instructors introducing perhaps obscure terms, or unusual aspects of pronunciation or grammar as ways of testing the waters, so to speak, to see if learners are able to grasp the concept and then utilise it. In the Manx case,

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many obscure terms can be found in Cregeen's dictionary, and concepts present in Gaelic dialects such as lenition (a process by which consonants are changed in certain linguistic environments), were presented to classes as a way of tailoring their basic speech into a more fluent spoken pronunciation, as well as recognition of the same in written format. Indeed, it seemed at most classes I attended, new, or challenging concepts that may be beyond the comprehension of learners were often accompanied by a sheet or book reference that learners could use to strengthen their understanding.

The effect of attitude on language acquisition cannot be underestimated. Here, even an inviting non-formal classroom can deteriorate, as states the affective-filter hypothesis. Whilst the learners I spoke with all seemed to agree that the setting for the non-formal classes put them at ease, and instructors were motivating, many self-censored themselves, feeling their competency was somehow inadequate when in a group of those with better fluency than they possessed. It seems there is still some work needed to lower the filter to allow for greater ease of expression by learners who are unsure of themselves. At the same time, it appears that the motivation which imbues a successful learner with the ability to try and succeed, as well as continue with non-formal lessons, is more likely inherent to the individual, and may in fact be tied in with earlier language learning experiences, which may have unforeseen impact upon the later learning of Manx. To this end, a programme aimed at attracting adults into learning situations, must address not only common fears and doubts that adult learners may possess, but also the commitment needed to learning a language such as Manx.

Indeed, the effect of attitude in terms of motivating individuals is one which is perhaps under-addressed in literature pertaining to endangered languages, yet can be quite a critical factor in the continuance of an individual's attempts to learn and use a second language. As Gardner (1965:25) writes,

> "Comparatively little research has been done on the motivational aspects of second language achievement, though the concept is often invoked to explain differences in attainment. One reason for this lack of studies appears to be the inherent difficulty in conceptualizing and measuring those motivational variables which would determine success in second language learning".

The difficulty with trying to assess what motivates individuals to succeed in language learning is simply that, it is an individual issue. Although certain patterns may emerge, for the most part, the motivations which drive an individual to begin learning a second language like Manx are largely their own, and thus variable, based upon an individual's previous experiences. This provides both a challenge for the learner to be able to recognise and communicate what would motivate them further, as well as a perceptive instructor, who must be aware of a learner's motivation in order to foster interest in continuing with the language.

The underlying hypotheses which govern a non-formal approach to the acquisition or learning of language are presently found in Manx adult language planning and implementation. This would seem to indicate that the ideals which are conducive to creating fluent, competent speakers, as represented by

Krashen and Terrell, fit remarkably well with the aims and programming of those currently teaching Manx to adults. As most of the current instructors are themselves employed in the educational field, it is perhaps a natural extension of the system they use in the more formal educational settings they work in. However, as the need for instructors grows and the number of available fluent speakers dwindles, it is perhaps useful to re-examine this model and the possibility of producing a policy based upon it for future use.

As we have seen, Manx continuance does not follow a typical path as Fishman would see it, yet it is thriving nonetheless. Using the factors Crystal presents as necessary for healthy language continuance and revival, Manx is taking a somewhat unconventional route towards viability as an L2, and perhaps someday, an L1. It is however, following the ideas about acquisition developed by Krashen and Terrell in terms of how its adult language learning is being conducted. In this way, the results will likely be far more predictable and in line with other languages which have opted for a similar approach. In perhaps the most similar case, Welsh, the language has now become a viable option for people again, and the economic incentive to use Welsh has been heightened considerably. In Wales, many jobs, particularly in Government positions require Welsh alongside English. This will ultimately lead to a greater pool of teachers, which in turn, can train a higher number of speakers. Presently the adult language acquisition on the island has no real economic incentive, a driving force which may emerge in time, and yet will likely need help from forces outside of learning environments to create viable opportunities

for speakers, and in turn, strengthen class size and structure for new learners trying to acquire Manx.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Designing a study based on language learning, particular language learning which is not subject to a regulatory body such as a school is challenging. The lessons, methods and resources used by different teachers vary considerably, and it can be quite challenging to control variables which often change week to week.

After examining the prevailing ideologies concerning language shift, revival/continuance and the more detailed nature of non-formal language learning in general, it became clear that the Manx situation is indeed unique, although it does draw heavily upon these accepted theories and methods. For this reason, a very flexible ethnographic approach seemed the appropriate route for this study.

3.1 Research Questions

In order to simplify what could be a very complex set of questions concerning informal adult language learners, I focussed my research questions on three main areas of inquiry:

a) What motivates/ keeps students in this demographic group to learn or continue with Manx in a setting that is non-formal rather than formal?

b) How are classes conducted in informal settings and is there a uniformity to classes taught in this manner around the island?

c)What feedback do students have about the classes, teaching materials, teaching methods of Manx in general that could be of use to strengthen the programmes and make them more attractive as learning options?

Although many more interesting and surprising topics worthy of future study were brought to my attention whilst on the island, limiting my areas of study to these three basic research questions ensured my data collection techniques were appropriate to the situation as well as limited scope to the most pressing topics facing adult language learners today.

3.2 Ethnography and Data Collection

The nature of the classes and conversation groups I studied being smaller groups of people (usually 3-8), and the fact they were conducted in public spaces, meant I would have a small pool of contributors to work with, who were well acquainted with other members of the classes and groups. This meant the settings would be somewhat more intimate than a classroom, and I was likely to see the same learners at several different groups throughout the island. The more intimate nature of these groups inclined me to avoid the use of questionnaires or surveys, and instead conduct informal interviews before or after classes or at times which fit the busy schedules of learners.

As classes and conversation groups were often held during the daytime, in public places, I needed to be aware of sound contamination. During my visit, which occurred in early June to mid July of 2010, the World Cup was taking place, meaning learners had to compete not only for space in usual locations at times, but also to be heard at locations airing the matches. Many pubs had back rooms or sections where classes could be moved to ensure a slightly quieter setting, but note-taking and at times transcribing in conjunction with recording classes and conversations proved to be a fruitful endeavour.

In order to be aware of where all classes and groups were meeting (which are not readily advertised, but more often discussed in person or via e-mail), a gatekeeper was needed to introduce me to learners.

"By gatekeepers I mean actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:27). I had been speaking via e-mail with the current Manx Heritage Language Officer, Adrian Cain for a year prior to my research. He met me shortly after my arrival and invited me to all of the classes and groups he conducts on the island, which, as it turned out, are numerous. Adrian introduced me to the learners, and soon learners introduced me to other groups of learners on the island. He also put me in touch with others involved in the continuance of Manx at various levels, and recommended texts and resources that were previously unavailable to me.

To design interview questions which would adequately cover the scope of the research project, I chose to ask for more than I would need. Most interviews followed a simple schedule of questions (see Appendices), but allowed for extraneous information, as the conversation progressed. This not only permitted the information to flow somewhat more freely, as the interview was conducted more like a conversation, which put many contributors at ease, but also allowed additional valuable information to come to light, such as language perception (which has a direct influence on the attitude a learner will have, and, according to Krashen and Terrell, their successes in learning).

My study on the island was conducted for six weeks between June and July of 2010. I stayed with a Manx family in Peel, and travelled via public transport all across the island to the various locations where classes and groups

were held. This positioned me to be close to the Immersion Bunscoill in nearby

St. Johns and also many of the Gaelg related activities for both youth and

adults held in Peel itself. In order to accurately document both what learners

say about their language as well as what they do with their language, field

work was conducted at a number of sites.

    As the groups were often small, and usually took place in locations that

were open to the public, English was almost always within earshot of the

learners. In the end, to avoid being the lone spectator, I opted for a participant

observation method, and attended classes not only as a researcher, but also a

student learning Manx. Using this method, I sat in on several classes and

conversation groups throughout the island, taking notes, digitally recording the

session (only in situations where the entire group consented) and, at later

dates, once my presence was a normal event rather than an unusual one,

participating in conversations myself. In total, there were only 4 sessions where

I only took notes due to a lack of consensus on recording the session. In addition

to the recording of conversation groups, there are many adult classes held

throughout the island that provided opportunities to record how adult learners

are opting to learn the language. These classes were digitally voice recorded.

    In addition to these classes and conversation groups, I also invited

individuals to speak with me in small groups or one-on-one sessions to find out

about their motivations, success and challenges when it came to learning Manx.

Interviews were conducted in English, as that was the medium of comfort for not

only myself, but also most learners. Provisions were in place to translate should

any participant wish to be interviewed in Manx. Having previously studied

Scottish Gaidhlig, which follows similar patterns of speech, I was familiar with

Goidelic tongues. After some initial training in Manx Gaelg, in order to re-learn sounds specific to this language, as well as to familiarise myself with its significantly different orthography, I was confident that any interviews which needed to be conducted in Manx could be. I also felt that the transcription and translation of recordings made at Manx discussion groups and classes could be translated, based on my previous knowledge.

Many of the learners had participated in research studies before, usually by filling out a questionnaire. In fact, so many people I interviewed expected a questionnaire, I re-evaluated my approach. After careful consideration, I am satisfied that my conversation-style interview was indeed the appropriate way of collecting data, as it allowed me to actually converse with the people I was studying, which set them at ease with my presence. It also permitted me and the learners to touch onto topics that were unlikely to be present on a pre-set form.

For example, during my stay on the island, much talk and conversation was dedicated to the case of a number of youths who had spray painted separatist-style slogans in Manx throughout the island. The treatment of these individuals led to much debate and discussion amongst learners about the current state of Manx as well as its position historically, and what may happen in the future. I also felt that the interview-style matched quite well the learning approach being taken in most classes on the island.

Upon my arrival, it became apparent that my main contact, Manx Heritage Language Officer Adrian Cain, was going to be unavailable for 3 weeks. He met with me a few days after my arrival to have a discussion about the nature of my research, after which he gave me the addresses and times of several of the classes he teaches and the conversation groups he often attends. I then set about e-

mailing contacts I had made prior to my arrival to arrange meetings. Initially, I

simply showed up at the locations I knew groups would be meeting and introduced

myself. Since some learners attend several different groups each week, I was

welcomed into later groups because I was already on good terms with many

individuals.

I also conducted an interview with Catherine Nicoll of Radio Vannin

explaining the study and asking individuals to contact me (several did with

encouraging words, yet no interviews materialised out of the effort).

I collected nineteen individual interviews. These interviews were often

recorded, however four individuals declined to be recorded, so I instead took field

notes. Two individuals preferred to e-mail me their answers after meeting me.

One individual consented to being recorded, but wished their name not be used in

any way shape or form, nor did they want their recorded interview to be made

public in any presentations, internet databases or any forum where they could be

identified. I agreed to code this individual and refer to them as M-6 in all of my

research. The individual interviews consist of five teachers (many of whom still

consider themselves learners, in some capacity) and fourteen learners (who do not

teach and have varying levels of competency).

The group recordings are divided into classes (of which I have nine

recordings) and conversation groups/social events (of which I have eight

recordings). Classes involve exercises, repetition and corrections from a volunteer

teacher and lasted around one hour. The conversation groups were sometimes led

by a teacher, but were often simply a group of learners meeting for an hour or two,

usually at a pub or cafe to practice terms they had researched on their own or

concepts that they had learned from classes. Sometimes games would be played, completely in Manx.

I also recorded Manx being used at cultural events, such as the Tynwald Day Parliament, which occurs on July 5. During this day, the laws that have been enacted throughout the previous year are read out loud to the public in both English and Manx. In addition, during the Pan-Celtic festival *Yn Chruinnaght*, I recorded songs sung in Manx as well as instances of speech used by members of the crowd which either occurred in Manx or included some Manx terms.

3.3 Ethics

As I was dealing with human subjects, ethics approval was sought and obtained through the University of Alberta's Research Ethics Board (REB). Ethical considerations included provisions for participants to withdraw from the study at any point without any consequences or harm. Participants also had the option of withdrawing any previous data I had collected should they choose to do so at any point in the study.

Confidentiality could be assured for any participant who wished not to be identified in the study and any photographs, interviews or videos taken were only be used with the participant's express consent. Participants who did consent to photos, interviews or videos were given the opportunity to review their submissions before the study, and could, at that time choose to withdraw the data should they so choose. Consent forms were a requirement before any data was to be collected from participants, and withdrawal and confidentiality

forms were made available to participants as were copies of their consent forms (see appendices).

3.4 Coding of Data

Only one individual declined to have their name or identifying features used in this publication, which will result in all data from this individual coded as "M6", meaning the 6th individual interviewed. All interviews were coded using an M1-M14 code, but names were only omitted where I was asked to omit names, or where the nature of the topic discussed could cause potential problems for the speaker. Upon rare occasions, criticism of programmes, albeit constructive, could also potentially cause personal rifts in a small speech community, and as such, I have used my judgement to minimise the risk to those who took the time to speak to me, as well as maximise the benefit of their critical contributions. Indeed, many speakers were apologetic when offering criticism of aspects of the learning process, as they realised the challenges facing those implementing the programmes.

Interviews with teachers/instructors were coded I1-I6 and included the names of the interviewees. Conversation groups were coded as CG1-CG8 with speakers in these groups coded and quoted as C1-CX; the reason for coding individuals in the group instead of simply using names, is that once conversations began to rapidly flow, it became difficult to tell who was speaking on some recordings. It was also during these conversation groups that individuals sometimes spoke on topics which, after spending time on the island, I judge to be somewhat controversial in nature, so I have chosen to simply use the quotes from the transcriptions as blind numbers to potentially

protect contributors from possible harm. In classes, the same principle applies, with classes being coded as MC1-MCX, and contributors in classes being coded as C1-CX.

3.5   Treatment of Data

Data collected was mostly of an audio nature, although I did also transcribe and take notes during particularly noisy sessions. Altogether over the course of the study, approximately 13.5 hours of interviews were recorded, 4 hours of conversation groups and 8 hours of classes. The audio data in some locales had quite a lot of background noise, and needed to be filtered to improve the clarity of sound. I used the Apple Computing programme Garage Band to isolate sounds and boost vocals to make my recordings clearer and easier to hear and transcribe.

Data was transcribed and in parts with translation where possible. Whilst interviews were all conducted in English, classes and conversation groups were conducted for the most part in Manx. Here, I transcribed the Manx to the best of my ability, and then translated. Often times, the conversation groups would follow a method used by several teachers in the island, that is to first speak in Manx, and then translate in English, so as to ensure comprehension by other learners.

Audio data was originally recorded in .wma format and then also converted to.mp3 format. This would ensure that the data could be heard using several popular computer programmes. All original data is to be used for educational purposes only, and is kept in my possession, before being erased 5 years after it has been collected.

3.6 Adaptations in the Field

Once in the field, it became apparent that my data would all be collected via audio and hand written notes; however, some learners, whose busy lives often meant I only saw them for a brief hour each week, asked if they could telephone me or e-mail me their interviews. In order to accommodate these requests, I handed out consent forms prior to telephone interviews, or e-mailed them to interested parties, and expressly asked in an e-mail if they gave their consent. Once these had been "signed" so to speak, interviews were conducted via e-mail, with me asking similar questions to what I would ask in the semi-structured interviews I conducted in person. Of course, these interviews may lack some of the natural flow of conversation found in the live interviews, yet are nonetheless excellent sources of data.

Chapter Four: Adult Language Learning in Non-Formal Settings

Interest in the Manx language is likely higher than is represented by actual learners in classes and conversation groups. The number of adult learners is markedly small, but not, as some would have suggested only a few years ago, absent. Indeed, the learners I encountered during my research have been a core group for the most part, many of them working on their language acquisition for several years, with new people joining in periodically. In order to accurately assess the situation of non-formal learning, as well as the roles that learners and teachers play, we will separately evaluate these two groups of individuals.

4.1 Learners

i) Who learns Manx?

Defining who an "Adult" learner is, can be difficult. Ages range from the 20s to the 80s, across all economic backgrounds. Some have studied other languages previously, even Manx, before joining a group. I interviewed individuals who had recently exited compulsory schooling and others who were retired. Some individuals had taken Manx in school, others had never attempted any sort of language learning. For this reason, competency levels are often varied at classes, with mixed results. Learners have usually completed all levels of compulsory education, with many also having further post-secondary education. Whilst some are retired learners, many of the individuals I encountered are currently employed throughout the island in various careers.

Some learners have families, and several adults with children made mention of attempts to at least use Manx words around their children, if they did not go so far as to teach them the language or enrol them in the Bunscoill. This desire to expose others to the language is a positive sign, showing that adult learners do very much have a great deal of influence over language use and continuance.

ii) Why learn Manx?

Almost as diverse as the definition of a learner, the reasons given for wanting to learn Manx in adult years were extensive. Of the 15 individuals interviewed who had ancestral heritage on the island, all mentioned a deep-rooted desire to learn the language for that reason. One individual I interviewed in Peel remembered the language being used by relatives when asked about their reasons for wanting to learn Manx:

> "Well, I'm getting older, I'm a Manx person, and I heard my mother
> and father not speaking Manx, but using Manx words, you see...that's
> the top and bottom of why I started learning you see."
>
> (M6 Interview)

This sentiment was common, with many learners feeling an obligation to learn the language based on their cultural ties to the island. This feeds into a greater idea of "Manxness" and what, in particular, distinguishes Manx people from those "across" (the British). The Manx language, as we have seen previously, has been used as a flagship cause by independence groups and political groups alike. Political allegiances aside, Manx people are keenly aware that the Manx language

is perhaps one of the most notable differences between themselves and the English-speaking British, a fact which has recently been expressed on the island through graffiti, both in English and Manx. I myself witnessed a chalk etching on Strand Street in Douglas, making the difference clearly known.

Figure.2: Graffiti displaying Manxness

This idea of the Manx language being a badge of difference need not be politicised. It can, as in the case of several learners, simply be an internalised feeling of obligation to the language, even if it was not a language they had grown up with. One learner, Peter, who has been working at learning the language for over nine years, lamented the fact that Manx was not taught in school in his day:

"Well, I'm Manx, and I didn't learn Manx, I didn't do any of that in school and it was something which was always sort of niggling at me,

'cuz it was around and about and I just thought, 'Well, I should really

know but... I didn't really."

<div align="right">(M1 Interview)</div>

One learner, in a conversation group at the Rover's Pub in Douglas commented,

"C1: This Gaelg thing...I've got this Gaelg thing in my head 'cuz me

Dad used to speak it. His family back to antiquity were all speakers.

C2:He was a fluent speaker?

C1:He was, aye. But uh, when we were young he didn't think there

was any value in teaching us language, only the basics, because

he thought in his lifetime it was gonna die out.

(Murmurs)

C1: But it was nothing like that. But, uh, growing up speaking Manx

 in my day... it was like admitting you were gay!"

<div align="right">(Conversation Group 2)</div>

The cultural ties to the island, be they ancestral or not, were clearly a motivating

factor for many individuals. This could show some interesting ties between the

idea of Manxness and the ancestral language of the island, ties which may be of

use to language planning in the future, as well as potential marketability of

language both on and off the island.

Whilst many native Manx seemed to feel a cultural obligation, other

reasons presented themselves as well. Two ladies, learning in Ramsey had been

<div align="center">69</div>

singing Manx songs in choirs and felt a desire to understand what it was they were singing. Several people who were from countries like England and Germany expressed the notion of pride in the island and a feeling that it was respectful to learn the native language. A couple learning the language together through various means in Port Erin, were taken with the notion that learning the language that was native to the island was a matter of respect. Hailing from England and Germany respectively, both individuals agreed that there was value in learning Manx.

>"It is a matter of respecting the island. This place has been very
>
>good to us, and yes, I think it is respectful to learn Manx here."
>
>>(M7 and M8 interview)

One individual summarily suggested "I thought, well, I live on the Isle of Man, why NOT Manx Gaelic?" (M4 Interview). This thought was common enough among those who had previously positive experiences learning languages. A gentleman named John recalled his previous interest in languages as a motivating factor and added "...I liked the slightly romantic idea of learning Manx, and I needed something to do in the evenings" (M5 Interview). One contributor, gave a unique reason for learning the language:

>"I'm a member of the Bards, Ovates and Druids; a lot of the work
>
>to do with that is based on Irish and Welsh Gaelic...my ultimate
>
>aim is to be able to put a lot of Druid ritual into Manx Gaelic...you
>
>could say my inspiration comes from the land" (M4 Interview).

His reason for learning is indeed an interesting one, as he is not simply looking to conduct conversation, but is aiming to have a mastery of the language with an aim

to translate. His goal is one of developing literacy and written competency in Manx. In this sense, he is unique amongst those I interviewed, as his goals are perhaps further along in terms of competency than is much of the planning and education available to him in the current non-formal classes.

iii) Classes and Conversation Groups

Classes and conversation groups are held throughout the island, at varying times of day, and are usually attended by a group of regulars. As locations are nearly always public spaces, it can be difficult to maintain Manx as a medium of choice, as there is almost always contact with English in such locales (classes at the home of Brian Stowell were a rare exception, where a group of highly competent Manx speakers attempted to maintain an almost exclusively Manx language environment whenever possible). Virtually all of the learners interviewed (12 people) mentioned that they had to go about discovering classes of their own accord, that the location of classes was not particularly well known outside of the speech community. The vast majority contacted the Manx Heritage Foundation directly looking for classes, although some did take formal classes as they were offered at the Isle Of Man College in Douglas. One recalled,

> " I did the two terms course with Brian Stowell at the College because
> I really didn't know what else there was at the time...Then...it comes
> to an end. One of the other guys on the course had joined one of the
> classes that Cathy Clucas was doing, so I joined that too."
>
> (M5 Interview)

This too appears to be a pattern, where many learners said that once they were part of the learning community, e-mails and word of mouth would often lead them to other classes or conversation groups around the island. There are often weekend-long sessions on the island, aimed at introducing some to the language, or else helping those who have some basic knowledge use the language. These often occur in the summer time, when many classes slow down or have lower attendance due to the nature of holidays, or family obligations.

Learners also have access to some Manx on the radio, during a weekly segment which features the language in a bilingual programme. Some learners even mentioned they had discovered classes via Manx Radio.

However the majority of learners attend regular weekly classes or groups (indeed, some individuals attend several in an attempt to heighten their exposure and language opportunities). Where classes almost always seem to run for approximately one hour, learners do often meet earlier or converse later in the evening classes; some have taken this as an opportunity to supplement the learning by introducing games entirely in Manx. While it may at first seem odd to play games, which one would usually encounter in a class aimed towards younger learners, Krashen and Terrell insist that games are a vital part of the learning process, regardless of age:

> "Our position is that games can serve very well as the basis for
> an acquisition activity and are therefore not a reward, nor a "frill"
> but an important experience in the acquisition process" (121).

At one class in the cafe Carine's in Peel, a memory game involving cards with various sea creatures on them involved the construction "I saw one X, I saw two

X's" (*Honnick mee yn X, Honnick mee daa Xs)* if one successfully turned over the cards and found two of the same creature. However, if the second card was a different sea creature the construction was "I saw one X, but I didn't see two. I saw an X2" (*Honnick mee yn X, agh cha vaik mee jees; Honnick mee X2*). Aimed at improving vocabulary as well as repeating structures in the past tense, the game could often be fun, and confusing, and often elicited help from other players to encourage an individual struggling:

> MC 1: Honnick mee eck-marrey... [flips second card]
>
> (Laughter)
>
> MC 1: Chav... Cha var...
>
> MC2: Cha vaik mee jees.... Cha vaik oo, cha vaik oo jees!
>
> Honnick oo sharkagh.
>
> MC1: Honnick mee sharkagh.
>
> (MC 7 Recording)

This was a common happening in many classes, where an individual struggled, many others would jump in to encourage them and continue the flow of Manx. Instructors would sometimes break and use English for clarification, but Manx was always attempted first and repeated often so that learners could copy the instructors as well as the other learners in the room.

Classes would focus on one particular area of language, such as tense, rather than specifically on vocabulary, for the most part. On occasion, the instructor would introduce a new construction to practice and then supplement with either a handout of vocabulary to practice with, or else with large flash cards or computer images on a laptop to build vocabulary in a visual as well as auditory manner. In classes at the Manx Museum and the National Post Office, pop culture

references to television programmes such as Big Brother (*Braar Mooar*) and appointments with Brad Pitt kept learners interested and made for interesting vocabulary. This technique was also used across the island in grocery shops, where overhead recordings from the sea-god Manannan gave shoppers weather and sports updates in Manx. It was not unusual for an instructor to pair off learners so that each individual was given opportunity to practice conversational techniques.

As with classes, conversation groups are held in generally public venues. Most individuals will know each other from the same class, but on occasion, some who attend conversation groups do attend different classes, or do not attend classes at all, but rather use the groups as a speaking opportunity to practice the language themselves. Indeed, I noted in several of these groups that individuals looked to each other to clarify misunderstood terms, or to further explore aspects of grammar that may or may not have been discussed in class. It seemed as though those with less competence in the language saw the conversation groups as a way to practice the lessons from previous classes, but the more competent individuals often were working on aspects of the language that were not addressed in class, but rather an aspect of the language they were working on of their own accord. On several occasions, I noticed those with high competency asking detailed grammatical questions to each other about areas they were interested in clarifying or getting another learner's take on.

During these conversation groups, it seemed almost as though the challenge was to resist speaking English as much as possible. It often fell to the more competent speakers to steer conversations that became quite English back to Manx if they got off track. One technique learners used to keep the flow going was

to "manxify" English words, that is, to adjust an English word to fit the phonology and/or construction of a Manx term in order to not break the flow of speech with English, when an equivalent Manx term was unknown. It was not uncommon for learners who did attend classes to write down the manxified terms and then either discover the corresponding Manx term, or else ask an instructor at the next class. During one discussion at the Rover's Pub in Douglas, the topic was golf, and the Manx term for "golf courses" could not be found.

> "C4: Shen...shen daa golf-course...?
>
> C3: Golf-coursachyn? Coursyn?
>
> C4: Golf-coursachyn... that's a good one. I'm not sure...."
>
> (CG 2 Notes)

Conversation groups could also be even less formal than the pre-arranged weekly ones that class members often attended. Games nights such as Manx Scrabble (forever re-named as "Scabble" due to a persistent lack of "r" tiles), challenge learners to play a game as well as hold conversation. Here, it was common to hear English and Manx mix, and topics were generally lighter, more of a social nature, not language or grammar based, as was often the case in the conversation groups and classes. Scabble night is often an opportunity for more fluent speakers to tell stories, usually bilingually, if it appears some in the group are struggling.

The classes, conversation groups and game nights all focus much on listening and speaking, with little emphasis on any written or reading materials, in keeping with the aims of most non-formal language programmes. However, as

students were asked about what they enjoyed about learning the language or what they felt could use more attention, it became clear that despite the successes of the non-formal method in adult language learning, there is clearly some room for improvement. According to Krashen and Terrell: "The goals of a Natural Approach class are based on an assessment of student needs" (71). Therefore it is productive to examine what learners claim their needs are, and to see how well they match the aims of the programme as designed by the instructor.

4.2 Learners: Challenges and Opportunities

i) Learning Materials and Styles

Whilst many found the focus on speaking the language useful, some of the older learners strongly suggested having an accompanying text/sheet or reference material to aid them. I noticed how at some classes sheets were handed out detailing the important summaries of the lesson, yet others did not employ this method. Some of the older learners I spoke with mentioned they found it particularly difficult sometimes to spend their time listening, particularly if their hearing is not as sharp as it once was; they seemed to think having a textbook of some sort to accompany lessons, much as one would find in a formal learning situation, would be of benefit to those who may find the non-formal method challenging. A vast majority wished there was a comprehensive English-Manx/ Manx English dictionary that was suited to beginners. Currently, several dictionaries are used, but all have drawbacks for adult learners in beginner's stages. Cregeen's is a Manx to English only document, which is filled with colourful colloquialisms, yet lacks basic modern terms, as it was published in 1835. The more modern and popular Fargher's is a thick, comprehensive book, but

only offers English to Manx translation, so is again of a limited use to learners unfamiliar with Manx terms they may encounter.

ii)   Sociality, Setting and Competency

Many learners found the size of the classes to be a friendly and welcoming aspect to learning. Classes generally range from 3-8 people, and as such mean that most learners become well-acquainted with each other over the course of the class. Whilst many learners mentioned that having friends in the class was a good motivator to attend, it was also noted that if several people had to drop a class, usually more would follow. This could in part be the loss of the sociality which helps motivate learners to go. As for location, most of the classes take place in establishments like pubs and tea-rooms, creating a setting for sociality. However, others are conducted directly at one's workplace. These types of classes made it quite easy for individuals to attend, as there was room on-site for classes, the people attending were all co-workers which increased both the sociality of the classes (and ultimately a motivation to continue), but also fostered greater opportunities for Manx to be spoken in the workplace amongst those in the class.

One area which needs addressing is that of competence. As the classes do not officially give feedback in terms of grades, credits or certificates, determining one's competency in the language becomes a matter of personal assessment. Learners all seemed to be aware that they had progressed, but when asked how well, answers were mixed. Most learners classed themselves as "beginners", "learners" whilst identifying others as "fluent speakers". Individuals who clearly possessed a

good control of the language still downplayed their abilities in deference to those with competency levels that included some components of literacy. At one group, a lady who was learning noted, upon the arrival of a fluent speaker,

> "M9:Oh, here's where I shut up!"
>
> Myself: Why's that?
>
> M9: He's so good...I don't want to embarrass myself. I'll just listen."
>
> (M9/M10 Interview)

Without tools to properly assess competence, learners are quick to downplay their ability. At one popular location, Carine's in Peel, learners often meet in one side of the cafe, whilst fluent or more competent speakers conduct a conversation group in the lounge across the hall. One speaker, who has studied the language for several years, used these two rooms as his way of determining his competency, stating that when he could join in across the hallway, he knew he was "making progress" (M1 Interview). All learners I met were keenly aware of this lack of evaluation of their skills, and most were unable, or sometimes unwilling to assess their own skills in a high regard. Most felt that classes were excellent for repetition, but felt there was no continuity to address different levels of learning, which would certainly not only augment learners at different competency levels, but also increase motivation and incentive to stick with the language and see it through to the next level.

4.3 Instructors

i) Who teaches Manx?

Whilst learners were aware of the limitations as well as the opportunities of these sessions, so too were the instructors and teachers of these groups. Often already involved professionally with the language, many opted to run these groups once or twice a week in addition to their work. This teaching is time-consuming, often requires the production of materials and is all done free of charge. The teachers who put their time and effort in do so without compensation.

Many teachers learnt the language themselves as adults, and so have an understanding of how it is to learn a language without formal instruction. One popular teacher, James O' Meara mentions he learnt the language whilst away at school in England. He taught himself via books and recordings and now runs an evening class in St. Johns (I5 Interview). This gives the teachers of these classes an inside edge to understanding how adults learn, as well as the many challenges they face. Here, the teachers noted several consistent issues which make their job challenging.

ii) Finding Teachers

As the number of adults attaining fluency is a slow process, there simply aren't enough teachers to go around. As a result, a small number of people are having to run several classes and lead many conversation groups in addition to their own work. Should something happen to one teacher, the loss is felt by several groups, which greatly impacts the number of learners who may or may not continue with the language.

In addition, developing teachers is equally difficult, as there are no high-intensity course to quickly develop fluent teachers; in fact there is no programme at all to train potential teachers for adult learning. James O'Meara was quite concerned about how to go about getting new teachers.

"I think up until now we've been incredibly lucky with teachers

and people have just taken it for granted. Teachers have just

happened to be there who've had Manx, whereas that's not always

going to be the case."

(I5 Interview)

At present, most new teachers are likely to be fluent speakers who then use their fluency to voluntarily teach classes. However, James feels that it would perhaps be more productive to have a funded programme that can adequately train professional teachers to become Manx teachers.

"I'm concerned that if you're not cut-out to be a teacher, it's going

to take its toll on you" (ibid).

Indeed there is a persistent belief amongst many learners that the children currently enrolled in the Bunscoill will eventually be champions for the language and become teachers themselves. This is a highly unrealistic expectation, and certainly not stable enough to create a language policy around, particularly because of the very small numbers of Bunscoill students who continue with the language, who then would also be inclined to teach.

iii) Attendance

All teachers I spoke with realise that class size will fluctuate, given the nature of the class and those opting to take the class. Individuals interested in learning the language do so voluntarily, and so when life and work interfere, the classes usually suffer in attendance. Teachers also commented on how they often have to compete with leisure time of adults. Rob Teare, a teacher who runs the Carine's classes, noted that "People only have so much time, so if they've opted for a cooking or dance class to do at nights, sometimes Manx won't win out" (I2 Interview). Issues of learners falling behind can also impact class size. Adrian Cain and James O'Meara have both tried to make lessons and recordings of lessons available on Manx.com to supplement missed classes for students, in an effort to help students keep pace should they miss classes. However, most teachers agree it is common for classes to finish with approximately half of the number of students who initially enrol.

iv) Materials and Consistency

Many teachers find they have to create their own materials themselves. The benefit to this is that in-class materials are custom-made to the course. The downside is that there is little consistency between classes, and little material specific to each course that students can access outside of the class. James O' Meara claimed that what was needed by teachers was

"Resources to support what I do in the class, which there isn't...
 reading appropriate to their level, specifically designed for the
 course. I've been doing a bit, but it's difficult; that's what we need,
 and more audio material that can support the learning as well.

Ade's (Adrian Cain) working on all this now...it's just a long job"

<div align="right">(I5 Interview).</div>

Rob Teare agreed that materials were so different and varied, it can be difficult for some classes to interact with other classes .

" I've been using Goodwin to teach with because it's readily

available and doesn't cost much. But it does require

some reading, and in class we do listening. I know it's not like

that at all classes, but for my class, it seems to work."

<div align="right">(I2 Interview)</div>

The difference in classes is a large issue. Most teachers develop their own curriculum and materials, and approach learning in a different way. Some classes use written materials and others do not. Some have assignments, others do not. As James put it, "Honestly, I have very little knowledge of what other teachers do" (I5 Interview). This lack of concise knowledge concerning other classes on the island could potentially cause problems down the road for learners aiming for consistent learning patterns.

Teachers are also aware of the pressing issue of a concise bilingual dictionary. Adrian Cain mentioned he had begun work on compiling a dictionary for learners, but as with any dictionary, its compilation is a time consuming task. In his position as Manx Heritage Language Officer, Adrian spends most of his days working on language matters, and evenings working on material and teaching for adult learners. Already stretched thin on time, the additional onus of creating support materials that can be used across the island by adult learners is a large task he and a few others are attempting to take on in spite of the time and

resource constraints facing them. He states "We know what has to be done...it's finding the time to do it all" (I1 Interview).

Creating a concise dictionary especially suited to learners is an immense task, one which many linguists and compilers find time-consuming and difficult. However, it is not an impossible task, and the benefits to the people who request such a volume are immediately apparent. Indeed, perhaps the most pressing need for a new dictionary is the need to address new and modern terminology which older books like Cregeen and Fargher's simply do not possess, or translate bilingually. As the language does borrow heavily from English, it is tempting for new speakers to manxify English terms without ever learning the correct, decided upon Manx term. Jacobson notes similar difficulties in dictionary efforts in Siberian Yupik. "...except in a few cases, the translations we get simply do not enable those who are not native speakers to use the words correctly" (2005:159). To this end, the need for a learner's dictionary is of vital importance.

v) Opportunities, encouragement and commitment

Opportunities to speak Manx are few and far between outside of classes and groups, so it is up to fluent speakers and teachers as well as learners to create linguistically safe situations where Manx can be the medium of discourse. Here of course, the onus falls on individual speakers to go out of their way to ensure that the language is spoken wherever it can be, instead of necessarily having linguistically ideal situations placed upon them by chance or design. As fluent speaker and former instructor Paul Salmon noted,

"It's a case of giving people as many opportunities...and it

relies on the good will of the people who speak Manx to encourage

others."

There are of course aids that can be utilised to create an environment

conducive to speaking. Upon my arrival, I was given a small red and gold lapel pin

with the word "Gaelg" written upon it by teacher Cathy Clucas. I only realised its

significance later, when members of a discussion group at the Rovers were all

wearing pins and explained that this was a remnant from the days when the

language was considered unfavourable. I was told speakers would wear gold rings

on the inside of their lapel and flash them secretly when in the company of other

speakers, thereby creating a safe atmosphere to speak Manx. Now, the bright

shiny pins are proudly worn by speakers, and serve the same purpose.

Figure 3: Manx Gaelic Lapel Pin

In a similar fashion, it is not uncommon to see Manx coasters in pubs where

classes are taught. These bilingual coasters offer translations of the names of

common drinks, as well as basic ordering instructions ensuring learners who frequent pubs can order in Manx, but also encouraging others who have never attempted the language to try their hand at ordering.

Figure 4: Manx Gaelic Coasters

It is clear that both learners and teachers share mostly common goals when it comes to learning Manx. However, it cannot be ignored that not all needs are able to currently be met at the speed necessary to propel learners into further stages of competency. At present, the dichotomy appears to be between those who are fluent and those who learn, with little real distinction between the actuality of competency levels, and a poorly structured system to further develop advanced students. This situation means that small classes of learners who bond socially are often unwilling to move on too far ahead of members who may have had to miss a few weeks of instruction. The social bond has been enough to keep individuals interested and invested in the class to stay, but the pressures and timelines of life may mean they must miss lessons which are critical stages in learning. Almost all of the learners I spoke with, seemed quite willing to learn and re-learn concepts weeks over to accommodate those who had missed the session the week before. This method ensures nobody is left behind, and many learners seemed to regard

this repetition as an opportunity to strengthen skills they had learned, and refresh terms they have little opportunity to use outside of learning situations. In essence, although there are many beginners classes for those starting out in the language, and near fluent conversation groups, there is not much for those who have progressed beyond the stages of beginning learning, but are not yet fluent.

The social aspect of learners in non-formal classes is an important one. While, the social bonding between learners can encourage attendance and continuation with the language, thereby increasing the strength and conviction of a speech community, it can also be a potential pitfall for limiting personal successes and development. By developing stages better-suited to learning levels beyond that of beginner, as well as creating an encouraging environment which acknowledges increased competency, overall fluency is likely to be achieved at an increased rate.

Whilst there has clearly been significant work accomplished in terms of language acquisition as a whole, the most stable successes are those in the compulsory school system, which has government funding, whereas there is little to no funding allocated towards the education of adults in a similar non-formal manner. In order to secure the future use of the Manx language, adult language learning, which is not currently adequately providing the tools necessary to aid learners, needs support. This support can come from within the speech community, but would also benefit greatly from outside support, in particular, government funded programmes aimed at strengthening the language's use, viability, and employment opportunities for adults.

Conclusion: Lifelong Learning

The relationship between a language and the people who claim it as their own changes significantly when that language is pushed to a peripheral point in a given society (Crystal, 2000). Manx is a Celtic language that enjoys more prestige than other Celtic languages (like Cornish for example, which has struggled with UK laws to establish a visible presence in Cornwall) and yet possesses far less than Scottish or Welsh, which have strong governmental support for the indigenous languages of those respective lands. Much research has addressed the educational system in place to educate young islanders in the language (Wilson, 2009 and Clague, 2009) as well as historical causes of the language's decline (Gawne, 2002 and Stowell and Ó Bréasláin, 1996). However, there is little to no attention being paid academically to one of the most critical aspects of Gaelg continuance in the island, that of adult language learning.

Language continuation requires support from several sources, at several levels in order to achieve any measure of success. In many cases, languages which have been pushed to the periphery, or have been actively campaigned against have considerable difficulty in garnering support from institutions which are key to developing official, de facto and monetary support which are necessary to realising the goals of continuance programmes. Compromises between ideal goals and attainable goals are often negotiated within the framework of available funding, support and resources. In these instances, the progress of language learning may be considerably slower than other languages, and places the continuance process in a certain degree of jeopardy, as it is constantly at risk of

losing what limited support it has, as well as losing learners. Regrettably, this situation is often the most predominant in language continuation efforts.

However, on occasion, a language is fortunate enough to receive support from both grassroots efforts as well as top-down bodies like government departments or educational facilities. In situations such as these, languages which receive funding for formal educational training for students are able to provide a role which strengthens standardisation of the tools and techniques for language learning as well as aspects of the language itself (for example, pronunciation or, in written languages, spelling). Adult language learning on the island has progressed in leaps and bounds within one generation. However, the language is facing a critical point in its development. Adult language learning programmes must be developed, funded and fostered if the language is to truly continue to be spoken. Steps have been taken to ensure access to the language by children. However, without a solid plan to ensure those children, once adults, have a way of continuing their learning, the language will experience a gap, where only much older speakers and children possess Manx.

5.1) *Problems with Inter-Generational Transmission*

While many children now have the opportunity to learn Manx, the access of their parents to the language is present, but limited. While many individuals seemed content to assume that the children currently involved in immersion schooling would provide the solution to furthering the language planning efforts, those instructing adults have a more sceptical viewpoint. As James O' Meara stated, it is dangerous to assume that students will be interested in teaching the language, let alone retaining it outside of the immersion environment. In her

study on French Immersion schooling in Anglophone Canada, Birgit Harley discovers that those who have studied in an immersion atmosphere are sometimes willing to continue speaking French, begin to lose skills as opportunities to do so are limited. In an officially bilingual country such as Canada, opportunities to speak French, however limited, are certainly more plentiful than the same opportunities would be for Manx on the island. She writes,

> "The concern expressed by these immersion graduates about waning oral skills appears well justified. Research that has been carried out on language retention in other contexts confirms that lack of second language use is associated with some decline in skills, particularly in the areas of speaking" (267).

While it is certainly critical to begin Manx language acquisition and development with youth, it is equally important to address adults beginning families, who may use their newfound language skills to raise children bilingually. A lack of intergenerational transmission ultimately limits the language's potential, and sentences the language to always be taught in either formal or non-formal settings, rather than a home setting.

Fluent speaker Paul Salmon suggested that basic language instruction materials such as audio cds be presented to expectant mothers on the island, with an aim to start children hearing Manx as parents learned it themselves, which would then transition into Mooinjer Veggey and the Bunscoill, with adults learning concurrently alongside their children, as well as encouraging Manx in the home (I4 Interview).

5.2) *Death and the Last Native Speaker*

This mentality is not necessarily an easy one to achieve. Manx spent a large amount of time being derided, actively campaigned against and mourned as a dead language. Bostock (2000:535) describes how language loss may follow grief patterns for a community, similar to homicide, suicide or accident.

> "Unresolved grief does not allow accommodation but perpetuates stereotyped repetitions and extensive interruptions to healing".

It is interesting to think of those unable or unwilling to speak Manx as going through a grieving process. When the last native speaker of Manx, Ned Maddrell, passed away, his death was truly several simultaneous deaths. Not only did the man himself leave this world, but so did his knowledge of the Manx language and its use, as well as the traditional means of transmission between generations he would have seen through his own lived experience.

However, it seems as though the final authority on a declining language, the last speaker or final speaker, receives very little attention in linguistically-oriented literature. Perhaps this is due in part to the concept of a last speaker as already having lost most of their usefulness in a pragmatic sense; they are now much akin to a museum piece, a relic, a curiosity of days gone by. While this attitude is not wholly incorrect in its assertion, it does miss the point of what makes a last speaker so special and integral to a language. Certain languages resist the pressures (some of which are considerable) in terms of language decline, whilst others crumble easily under the pressure of an incoming language. While we cannot systematically state all the factors that contribute to this phenomenon, we can gain direct insight about it from the last person to use the language as a

mother tongue. The last native speaker of a language possesses a rare insight into the decline of a language in an experiential way that cannot be truly understood by anyone else. These individuals ultimately become charged with the position of keepers of a repository of knowledge about their language, and so a certain status is afforded them, willingly or not. Although the Manx language was already being spoken bilingually with English, Ned Maddrell's death changed things. The passing of a last native speaker gives a language a personality that can be attached to any efforts to reclaim or increase the use of a language. Personifying a language makes its use more real, less abstract and is perhaps a useful technique in developing interest in a language, particularly by those who may not share as strong an interest in linguistic matters. Having a linguistic figurehead by which to demonstrate the language's traditional use is a starting point for those who wish to reclaim a language as their traditional right. Many of the people I interviewed felt a cultural obligation to learn the language, and having a face to associate with the language's use in practical, everyday matters may be helpful in providing a sense of language use in daily life as a reality, and fostering a positive attitude towards learning.

Creating an environment supportive of Manx use outside of formal and non-formal settings is a strategy which will take time; however, its importance should not be undervalued. As Gardner (1965) writes:

> "It would seem therefore that an integrative motive is
> important for second language acquisition, but where
> opportunities for integration are not available, the desire
> for integration is not linked with an increased effort to learn

the language, because reinforcement of language proficiency

is not obtained"(41).

The need to create a mentality of Manx acquisition as a lifelong strategy is essential. Manx should be accessible to all island residents, and without an economic or strong social incentive to use it, it will be eternally limited to schoolyards and the occasional pub. In order to see the language's usefulness increase, the use of the language by adults must be considered a priority in the island's language planning process. At present, my findings suggest that this mentality is possessed by some, but needs stronger encouragement if indeed critical aspects such as intergenerational transmission and competency are to be addressed adequately. So far, most of the interested parties in the language are looking at the benefits of learning Manx on a personal level, not a community one, despite many giving reasons such as a sense of cultural obligation for learning Manx in the first place. The idea of each learner playing a role in a larger community, in choosing to be part of that community by speaking Manx, is an idea which is slowly beginning to take root, yet is still relatively new in terms of being overtly stated. Efforts to strengthen the sense of community language use within the Manx speech community were present in my findings. However ideas on how to develop strategies that can be employed to encourage this mentality need to be addressed.

The following suggestions are developed directly from the ethnographic data I collected from both language learners and instructors on the island in 2010.

5.3) A Linguistic Survey

In 2011, the island will take its census, including 2-3 general questions regarding the speaking of Manx. However, a specifically designed linguistic survey which addresses issues of competency, exposure to the language, use of the language in a community and suggestions from speakers and would-be speakers would provide invaluable data on how best to design language programmes for island residents. While the census questions are indeed valuable to determine changes in patterns of speakers throughout the island, it may indeed be a more productive effort to develop a schedule of questions that could be distributed either solely within the speech community, or, ideally, island-wide to gain a much more in-depth view of how Manx is currently perceived or used by all age groups, including adults. This thesis is but a small insight into only a few speakers from only a few classes; a full linguistic survey with room for comments and feedback from speakers would garner direct information from the source about the needs and status of the language from both within and outside the speech community. The benefit to such an in-depth questioning is that future programmes can be adapted and assessed in order to meet the needs of learners and would-be learners.

The creation of such a survey would need to be a task involving current learners and teachers, with an aim to reproduce the survey at a set time period, much as the census does every decade. By doing so, a linguistic survey of the island can provide a useful tool by which to measure, among other things, the successes and opportunities of language programming in the island.

5.4) Adult Language Officer

As adult language learning is receiving little to no funding at present, support is needed in the form of a position which would directly seek to develop the use of the language by adults. This individual could then oversee the development of an adult language policy, class standardisation, the production of materials and addressing teaching and learning needs, all of which would benefit from a unifying body.

Ideally, this position should be housed within the Manx Heritage Foundation, and work closely with the Manx Heritage Language Officer. This individual should be fluent in the language, as well as familiar with the adult learning situation. An Adult Language Officer would ideally be someone who is familiar not only with the non-formal method, but also the application of this method in adult teaching, or at the very least someone who is willing to undergo training to become familiar with the aspects which govern adult education.

Funding for such a position could come from government, but also from outside sources. Since UNESCO has altered the status of Manx from "Extinct" to "Critically Endangered", the opportunities for funding from agencies and bodies have increased globally. It would be to the utmost benefit to encourage funding applications to these agencies to increase the attention that can be paid towards organising adult language programmes that meet and anticipate the future needs of adult learners.

5.5) *Creating a network for teachers*

Unlike professional teachers, Manx instructors in these non-formal settings are often working alone. Developing a type of association which could ultimately serve to support and connect teachers would be of great value to those teaching the language without formal teaching background. This body could also seek, in conjunction with the Adult Language Officer to create a programme by which to train new teachers. This will not only help create standards of education, but can be seen as increasing economic opportunities for Manx speakers inclined to teach.

Many university programmes are taught on the island in conjunction with both the Universities of Chester and Liverpool; in the future, perhaps degrees in teaching Manx could be offered to interested parties through either of these accredited Universities via the Isle of Man College in Douglas. Not only would this mean local speakers have a chance to continue living and working on the island, but they could also use the language in their professional capacity. Although this is certainly a long-range goal, it is not an unattainable one.

At present, current adult instructors could be placed through weekend (or perhaps several weekend-long) immersion programmes, aimed not so much at developing their own fluency for teaching, as most of the current instructors are fully fluent, but rather to create a unified teaching experience that adult learners can access throughout the island. This is not to suggest that teachers all teach exactly the same manner, or always using the same materials or set curriculum. However, having agreed upon goals for classes within a time frame will make it decidedly easier to assess progress of learners as well as the success of the teaching.

Creating a network where teachers are freely encouraged to share ideas and meet on a regular basis would create a strong system to support the language learning of adults, and improve overall teaching quality. This could take the form of an association of adult teachers who can support one another, and actively participate in the development of their classes as well as adult language acquisition as a whole.

5.6) *Development of supporting materials*

The creation of an English/Manx to Manx /English dictionary is of paramount importance. A concise book which can aid beginners is badly needed, and would likely be used by speakers throughout the island. Materials which support the classes outside of the class itself are also of significant importance, and would greatly augment learning as well as increase the support for learners who find the learning difficult due to time constraints.

Whilst some classes do post notes and audio recordings, not all do. The inclusion of these materials on the www.learnmanx.com website is an excellent supportive tool to encourage learners to continue learning the language. It would be ideal if each class could have recordings and notes posted on the site, so that all learners can search the classes they are in, or interested in, and see the nature of the material.

As the very nature of the non-formal method is not to focus on literacy and writing, for beginner levels, little new material necessarily needs to be produced. However, as classes are often a mixed bag of competencies, it is timely to consider developing materials that would support those learners who have progressed beyond that of beginner, and are now entering an intermediate level,

with an interest to increased literacy. At present, many intermediate students are unsure where to go; conversations with fluent speakers can be intimidating, but beginner classes lack stimulation. Unless materials are quickly developed to address the progression of learners, there is a very real danger of class attendance fluctuating as intermediate learners wait for classes attuned to their needs.

5.7) *Fostering an attitude of lifelong learning*

The focus as of late in adult language acquisition has been that of getting people speaking. While that should undoubtedly remain the primary goal of adult language planning, a change in attitude is beginning to take hold and must be encouraged. Language is not simply an after-work activity, it is a tool for use in life. Whilst the opportunities to use Manx in day-to-day life may need to be consciously constructed at present, it is imperative that they are. Without opportunities to speak, and to encourage further learning, the language will become burdened with many beginner speakers and few fluent ones, limiting the language's usefulness. Considering Manx as a language to learn at all stages of life is an important idea. Children have far greater access to the language than their adult counterparts, yet, once they reach adulthood, there is a decided gap in usage. It is important at this early stage to plan not only for the needs of current adults, but future adults. This is not only meant in a practical sense, but also in the sense of shifting one's mentality. Manx need not be a schoolyard language, or spoken in a pub or cafe once a week. This will require a mental shift and indeed, a bravery on the part of learners to inject Manx into their daily lives by choice. Manx should be a right that all islanders can claim, and as such, its use should be a prerogative, not a possibility in given situations.

Already, language leaders on the island are realising that Manx is an endeavour for a lifetime. Adrian Cain has produced "licenses" which are handed out to speakers and interested speakers, which give them the right to speak Manx, and encourage them to do so at all given opportunity. At a class where students eagerly signed the back of the cards, he stated "There, now you've pledged your Gaelic soul to me!" (MC 7). Whilst obviously humorous, this statement is not completely inaccurate. A pledge to commit to the language, even by signing a small piece of card can have an effect. Individuals all over the island now carry proof of their right to the language in their wallets and purses, and can be reminded of this by simply pulling the card out and reading the pledge on the back.
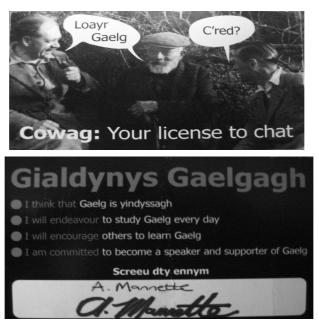

Figure 5: The Author's own license to chat

I hope that this thesis is able to clarify some of the pressing issues both adult learners and teachers are currently facing on the island, and convey the urgency for support that is badly needed. The information used in this thesis comes directly from the people involved in the process, and certainly gives some insight

into the language situation as it pertains to adults on the island. It is hoped that the value of not only adult learning, but in particular the non-formal variety favoured on the island will be seen to be of value to the linguistic situation of Manx. As Eaton asserts

" ...a report released by Alberta Education (2007, Dec 20) emphasizes the value of lifelong learning, community-based learning. It states that learning of all types helps to create 'vibrant communities'. Reports such as these give long overdue credit to non-formal and informal learning experiences that occur throughout a person's life."

(Eaton, 2010:18)

It was not even 40 years ago when Ned Maddrell passed away, fearing for the continuity of his mother tongue. Although it is unlikely the island will ever see monolingual Manx speakers again, the aim towards reclaiming the language and creating a practical if not officially bilingual society on the island is not as distant or impossible a dream as it may have once seemed. Now are the days where the foundations for such linguistic aims can be laid, but only if all concerned parties can come together to support the continuation of the Manx language at both top-down and grassroots levels, for all users.

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Learn Manx

www.learnmanx.com

Mannin Seyr

www.manninseyr.yolasite.com

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Appendices

Notification of Ethics Delegated Approval

Study ID: Pro00010754

Study Title: Language Learning in Pubs, Tearooms and
                                  other Informal Settings

Study Investigator: Antonia Mannette

Supervisor: Michelle Daveluy

Funding/Sponsor: Alberta Advanced Education and
                                  Technology8542

Approval Expiry Date: June 13, 2011

Thank you for submitting the application above to the Arts, Science, Law REB . I have reviewed your application for human research ethics and find that your proposed research meets the University of Alberta standards for research involving human participants (GFC Policy Section 66). On behalf of the Arts, Science, Law REB, I am providing **delegated research ethics approval** for your proposed research.

Your application will be presented to the Board at its meeting on June 28, 2010. Any questions or comments raised about your project will be communicated to you as soon as possible after the meeting.

The research ethics approval is valid for one year and will expire on June 13, 2011.
A request for renewal must be submitted prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval at that time. If you do not renew before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

If there are changes to the project that need to be reviewed, please file an amendment. If any adverse effects to human participants are encountered in your research, please contact the undersigned immediately.

Sincerely,

Marko Zivkovic, Delegated Reviewer - REB
Member Arts, Science, Law REB

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).

10 reasons why Manx is a waste of time /effort / money

1. The language is dead.

Well it never died! Although declining as a community language between 1870-1920, the language was always spoken thorough out the 20th century, although admittedly by a declining number of native speakers initially and later language enthusiasts. Languages decline in usage not because they are inferior but because of complex economic, social and political factors operating against them; a change in this context can see minority languages playing a more important role in their community. This is the case today in the Island.

2. The Government has enough to worry about without financing Manx.

Indeed! The language received pretty much no state assistance for the 1500 years between 400 and 1990!! We are overdue a few quid. The only financial support for the language today comes from MHF and the Dept. of Education. The indigenous language/culture/music of the Island receives very little support in comparison to 'high art' and sport on the Island.

3. Children should learn proper stuff at school and not waste their time on Manx

Although there are key skills to be learnt at school, education is very much about broadening the horizons of children, encouraging them to find out the world we live in and developing good 'citizenship' skills. The language and accompanying culture can provide a 'rooted' culture for students and can illustrate the links between the traditional and modern, global and local.

4. We should learn French/Mandarin instead.

We have enough room in out heads for several languages. By learning Manx it doesn't mean we can't fit Spanish in too. Most speakers of Manx know several languages and are probably much more multilingual than the rest of the population. The children at the Bunscoill learn French through the medium of Manx whilst they have also been introduced (pen friends etc) to Irish and Scottish Gaelic. They are likely to be keen linguists of the future.

5. Manx is socially divisive

Manx is not exclusive. You don't have to be called Juan Kaighen from Cregneash to speak the language. The Island has changed greatly of recent; Manx speakers are aware that this social and economic change has generated income that has been crucial in funding many recent language issues: they wish this to continue. Whether you are from Port St Mary, Portsmouth, Port Moresby or Port Elizabeth but want to call this Island your home then the language is as much yours as it is Juan Kaighen's.

6. The broader Manx community will not benefit from more Manx Gaelic.

The recent up turn in fortunes for the language is a good news story for the Island. People outside of the Island are interested in these development and it can illustrate to others that there is more to the Island than the TT races. So far film crews from France, Germany, Spain, Ireland and Scotland have filmed at the Bunscoill as have 'Countryfile', BBC news and ITV. The Manx Language Officer has appeared live talking about Manx on Border TV News and has been involved in a feature with Lenny Henry on the Paul O Grady show. Language activists have also been on Good Morning TV on ITV. This is all good PR for the Island.

7. There is no economic gain to be had from Manx Gaelic.

The Department of Tourism are using the Island's unique culture as an attraction that can add value to the Island as a destination. An increasing number of jobs require a knowledge of the language whilst Mooinjer Veggey operates a successful network of nurserys/playgroups. As has been demonstrated on a small scale in the Isle of Skye and London on a metropolitan level high worth individuals, whilst predominately moving to an area for economic reasons, generally stay in a location because of the backdrop of culture/arts/environment/education. The language and culture of the Island is something that the intellectually curious (and by definition the talented and economically active) see as something that is attractive and different about the Island.

8. There is no demand for Manx

The 2001 Mori poll recorded that 19% of people were interested in learning Manx and another 5% very interested. The recent Culture and Heritage Survey conducted for the Branding exercise indicated that 75% of people thought that language and culture were important for national identity; nearly 50% would like to be more involved with Manx culture; nearly 75% had some agreement that there should be more funds to promote the language; 86% thought there should probably be more encouragement for children to learn the language.

9. Gaelic is of no benefit to local business

In a competitive market place 'localism' can increasingly 'add value' to a company and give it an edge over non-Manx competitors. The recently produced *'Manx for Business'* illustrates ways in which the language can 'add value' and spread good will to Manx businesses at very little or no extra cost. The key is to use the language in ways that are appropriate and relevant.

10. Manx is a thing of the past and has no modern relevance.

Manx is very much a modern language with an ancient history. The Bunscoill illustrates the benefits of bilingual education; the language is providing good PR for the Island; linguists from Norway, Jersey and elsewhere have visited the Bunscoill to find out more about our education methods; the language can distinguish the Island from other jurisdictions (they don't speak Manx in the Isle of White). Many commentators (Jeremy Paxman / Paul Krugman et al.) have stressed the importance of a positive national identity in creating a competitive edge for jurisdictions. The Manx Gaelic narrative in our Island is one that has a right to exist and should be given 'Freedom to Flourish'

The broad aims of the Manx Heritage Foundation are:

1) To identify the unique areas of Manx Heritage and Culture and;

2) To find practical ways of making them relevant to today's society;

3) To support the Manx identity and contemporary Manx culture.

The implication of this policy is that the Foundation will, at its discretion, support societies, Government Departments and individuals who seek to enhance Manx culture and Manx identity and who might also undertake research into things Manx. The Foundation's method of achieving its aims are twofold:

1) By offering financial assistance in the form of grants or loans;

2) By undertaking and commissioning its own research/publishing &c.;

3) By offering practical advice and assistance where appropriate.

Additionally:

The Foundation should undertake to advertise its availability for making loans and grants;
The Foundation should endeavour to keep a high profile by press releases, sponsorship and advertising;
The Foundation should review its legislative framework and work towards any adjustments considered necessary;
The Foundation should monitor and appraise the suitability of its current name.

The Act of Tynwald which brought the Foundation into being indicates a wide-ranging number of categories in which the Foundation can offer support and initiate projects.

The Foundation may consider requests for financial assistance from individuals or bodies operating in any of these categories and judge them on their merit. However, the Foundation should undertake to concentrate its efforts, over the period of the next three years, in a smaller number of areas viz:
Music;

Education;
The Manx Language;
Publishing;
Academic Research;
Radio Programmes;
Art.

In these specific areas, a summary of policy aims are:

Music
To continue to produce high quality cassettes and CDs of Manx music;
To publish the Education Pack on Manx Music;
To commission and make available arrangements of Manx music for use in schools and other amateur and professional bodies;
To support promising musicians by either contributing towards necessary instruments, or helping with their education;
To work towards the appointment of a full-time peripatetic teacher of traditional music and dance for the schools.

Education
To liaise with Government Departments on educational matters;
To assist with the production of support packs for the schools, along with associated videos;
To progress the production of books of a Manx nature suitable for infants and primary level children;
To plan further Education Packs.

The Manx Language
To support the production of Manx language books and tapes;
To support a writer in residence for the Manx language;
To support a Gaelic College;
To support Manx Gaelic Broadcasting where appropriate;
To support the language societies in their work;
To offer a translation and advice service;
To promote the accurate use of the language.

Publishing
To undertake to consider manuscripts, on a case by case basis to assess their merit and the desirability of publishing them.
To undertake the editing & publication of such works that the Foundation considers to have merit and which it is satisfied would otherwise not be published;
To commission works for publication that otherwise would not be commissioned.

Academic Research
To support appropriate academic research in any of the areas outlined in the Act;

To commission appropriate research relevant to the Foundation's aims in any of the areas outlined in the Act.

Radio Programmes
To initiate and fund or part fund a rolling and varied programme of radio broadcasts on Manx subjects.

Art
To initiate a scheme in conjunction with the private sector of commissioning works of art with a Manx theme for public buildings or locations;

To offer other support, where appropriate, for the commissioning or placing of art which reflects Manx culture, heritage and/or identity.

Approved: December, 1995

Manx Heritage Foundation Language Policy

A language development programme has been produced by the Language Officer in conjunction with the Foundation. It recognises four key areas which need to be addressed in order to secure the future of Manx:

· Planning for language learning- includes supporting language transmission in the family, pre-school and at Manx Medium education level.

· Planning for language use - includes the promotion of cultural tourism and developing the use of Manx in the public, private and voluntary sectors.

· Status Planning - the visibility of the language needs to be raised and Government encouraged to work towards compliance with the European Charter for regional and Minority languages.

· Corpus planning -the need for linguistic standardisation and the development of specialised terminology.

Schedule of Key Questions: Learners

1) When did you start learning Gaelg?

2) What motivated you to do so?

3) What were your expectations when you began learning? Have they changed over time?

4) How did you go about finding a class?

5) Who or where have you learned from?

6) How are your classes usually run?

7) How many people are in your class?

8) Have you ever had to take a break from attending classes?

9) What sorts of challenges have you encountered in learning Gaelg?

10) Have you had feedback from friends/family about learning Gaelg?

11) Do you read/write Gaelg?

12) Do you listen to Radio Vannin?

13) What sorts of things would you like to see, or do you think would be helpful to other learners?

Schedule of Key Questions: Teachers

1) When did you start learning Gaelg?

2) What motivated you to do so?

3) Who are where did you learn from?

4) How long did it take you to gain fluency?

5) Do you teach (other subjects) professionally?

6) How did you end up teaching the informal classes?

7) What sort of enrolment is usual?

8) How many students stick with the class for the duration?

9) What sorts of teaching materials do you use (if any?)

10) What do you find the most challenging/rewarding about teaching Gaelg?

11) Do you feel the government gives enough support to the language movement?

12) What would you like to see happen to improve your courses?

13) What do you think will happen to the language?