The Developing Manx of Immersion Educated Children

'Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Marie Pauline Clague'

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Abstract

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'The Developing Manx of Immersion-educated Children'

The establishment of Manx-medium primary immersion education in 2001 marked a turning point in the Manx language revival. There are no native Manx speakers, and immersion education represents the first opportunity to significantly increase the number of highly proficient Manx speakers. This study began in 2003 when there were twenty-five children in the Manx-medium immersion programme. The sociolinguistic aspects of parental motivation and the linguistic background of the children are addressed in this thesis which then goes on to analyse examples of the children's spoken language which is in the process of acquisition.

The parents of all the children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh were sent questionnaires which gave them the opportunity to state, in order of preference, their reasons for their choice of school, and provide information on the language background of the children. Recordings were made of all the children's spoken Manx. The younger children were asked questions designed to show comprehension and elicit production by naming items in picture book, and simple questions about themselves and their families. The older children were recorded narrating a wordless picture book *Frog Where Are You?* by Mercer Mayer.

Twenty one out of twenty five questionnaires were returned completed. The main findings from the questionnaire responses were that the most important reason for choosing Manx-medium education was the benefit of bilingual education, closely followed by a long term interest in the Manx language revival. Surprisingly, very few of the parents at this time were either Manx speakers or attending Manx lessons. Just four children out of the twenty-five came from homes where Manx was spoken therefore one must conclude that for the majority of children in Manx-medium education school was the main, if not the only language domain at that time.

The main linguistic analysis was carried out on the frog story narratives and showed certain characteristics, mainly phonological and lexical, which marked the speech of children as belonging to an identifiable group. Manx-medium educated children will constitute the majority of Manx speakers in the future, and their language choices are likely to become the spoken norm.

Abbreviations

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CA	Contrastive Analysis
CAH	Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CLA	Child Language Acquisition
CM	Classical Manx
EA	Error Analysis
EM	Early Manx
IFC	Irish Folklore Commission
IL	Interlanguage
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
LM	Late Manx
LSM	Late Spoken Manx
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TF	Target Form
TL	Target Language
YCG	Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (The Manx Language Society)

Acknowledgments

Figure 1 Map of the Isle of Man, showing the location of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh in the village of St. John's, relative to the homes of the pupils in September 2003.
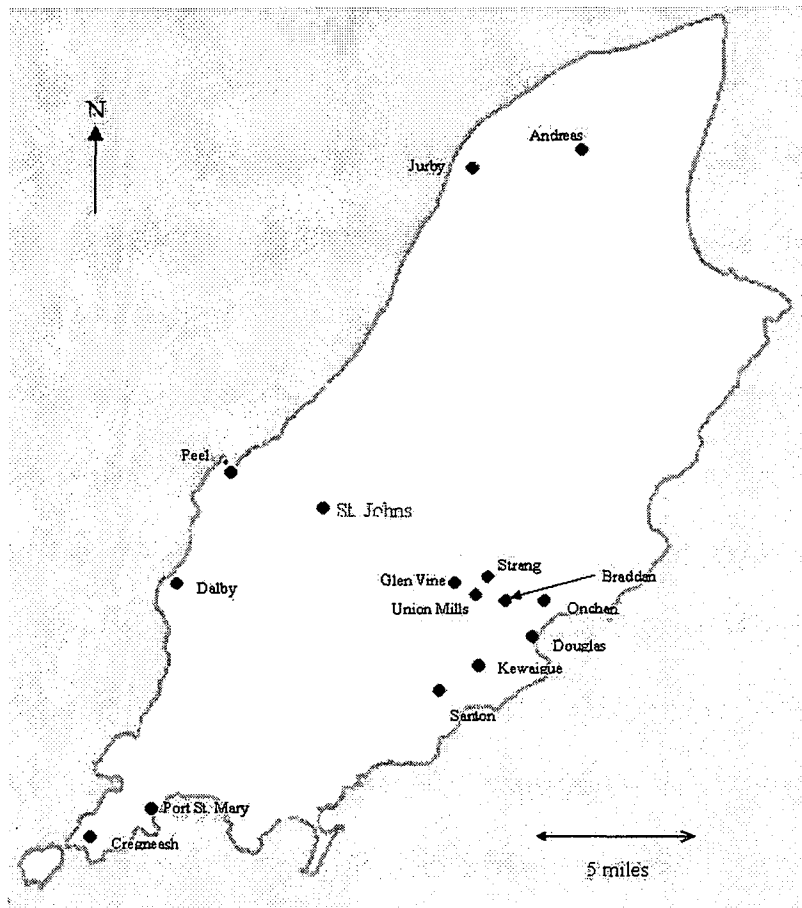
Home Location	School Catchment Area
Cregneash	Port St. Mary
Dalby	Peel
Strang, Union Mills	Braddan
Santon	Kewaigue

The nearest schools to the children's home locations in 2003 are shown on the map,

Figure 1. All other towns and villages marked on the map have local schools. The

majority of children who attend Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, travel from Douglas or Peel to St.

John's. Braddan Mooinjer Veggey playgroup is adjacent to Braddan village school

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Thesis

S. Kinvig   It's a pity it's gone so far though

T. Leece   It is a pity it's gone. Oh it'll never be a spoken language again John, no

N. Maddrell   No no it'll never be a spoken as a language again at all

J. Kinvig   No

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003 CD 4 Track 5)

In 1948 the Irish Folklore Commission made a number of recordings of the last native Manx speakers. They were recorded speaking together in Manx but the above conversation occurred (in English) at the end of a recording session. In the course of a lifetime the language of their childhood had become a curiosity to be recorded by strangers rather than part of their everyday lives. However, their certainty that the Manx language would 'never be a spoken language again' was unduly pessimistic in the light of recent developments in the Manx language revival.

The objective of Manx-medium primary immersion education is to secure the future of Manx as a spoken language. Factors which may impact on the children's language skills and determine to what extent they speak Manx in the future include the reasons parents give for choosing this type of education, and the linguistic background of the children. The spoken interlanguage or learner language of the children in the immersion programme may be predictive of what will doubtless become the majority variety of

spoken Manx, and recorded examples of the children's speech are analysed and discussed in the light of this assumption.

The language spoken by Manx immersion educated children is of special interest over and above that of immersion educated children elsewhere because there are no native Manx speakers. The last of the recorded native speakers, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974 but the Manx language did not die with him. Adult second language Manx speakers are few, but the number of children entering the Manx-medium immersion education programme is increasing every year and confounds the native speakers' expectations of the inevitable disappearance of the Manx language.

This chapter will discuss the nature of this study, its aims and methodology. The twenty-five children in taking part in the study were aged between four and eight years old. They are the first children in the Isle of Man to be educated in a Manx-medium immersion programme.

1.1 Bunscoill Ghaelgagh

In 2001 the first Manx-medium immersion class of nine children was established as a unit at Ballacottier primary school in Braddan. Their teacher, Julie Matthews, and nursery nurse, Cathy Clucas, both had experience of speaking Manx with their own young children, and Cathy Clucas had previously worked as a nursery nurse in Manx-medium playgroups. In 2003 the Manx-medium class moved to the old school building in the village of St. John's. *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh* (Manx Gaelic Primary School) was administratively a unit of St. John's mainstream primary school (housed on a different

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site in a new school building). The number of children now rose to twenty-five and a second teacher, Paul Rogers, was employed from the autumn of 2003. The children aged between four and eight years old were divided into two classes; there were fourteen children in *Brastyl 'Nane* (class 1) taught by Julie Matthews, assisted by Cathy Clucas, and eleven children in *Brastyl Jees* (class 2) taught by Paul Rogers. The children in Brastyl 'Nane were Reception and Year 1 (aged 4-6) and the Brastyl Jees children were Year 2 and Year 3 (aged 6-8).

The twenty-five children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh at the time this study commenced in 2003 lived in ten different locations (see map Figure 1, page 1) throughout the Isle of Man. All of them live closer to a mainstream school than they do to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh which is situated in the village of St Johns. It is unusual for children in the Isle of Man to travel to schools outside their home catchment area because it is Department of Education policy for children to attend their local school. They would only be able to attend a different school in special circumstances or if there were a number of unfilled places there. Although the distances involved are not great, it is evident from the map that the parents are willing to suffer some inconvenience in getting their children to the school as it is not well served by public transport, and they could all be accommodated in schools nearer home.

The establishment of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh represented a major step forward for the Manx language revival movement. There are immersion education programmes for endangered languages throughout the world, and they play an important part in helping to halt and reverse language shift. The difference between Manx and other immersion

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programmes is that there is no native speaker population, and nor has there been for several generations. The absence of a native speaker population raises a number of issues that are particular to a speech community of second language speakers. Those involved in setting up Manx-medium playgroups and Bunscoill Ghaelgagh have had to address the problem of the lack of surviving language appropriate for use with young children, and the provision of parallel National Curriculum educational resources in Manx. Initially the teachers themselves, with the assistance of a few volunteers, translated simple children's books, and created their own resources, sticking the Manx translation over the English. Rhymes and songs which are such an important part of language development for children have been written or translated into Manx, the majority by Annie Kissack who is the Education Officer for Mooinjer Veggey, the organization responsible for running Manx-medium playgroups. Bunscoill Ghaelgagh is run by Mooinjer Veggey in partnership with the Isle of Man Department of Education. In 2006 Bob Carswell was appointed to the post of Resource Officer, a position jointly funded by the Department of Education and the Manx Heritage Foundation.

1.2 Motivation for Study

The importance of this school to the future of Manx as a spoken language can hardly be overestimated. Bunscoill Ghaelgagh has attracted international attention, and has featured in many television and radio programmes from its inception. The school is of particular interest to others involved in, or about to set up minority language immersion programmes, for example, there have been visits by representatives from the Norwegian Saami.

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My own interest in the Manx language goes back many years. I am from a Manx family, I was born and brought up in the Isle of Man, and first began learning Manx more than thirty years ago. At that time there was no official support or interest in the Manx language. Attitudes of hostility towards the language were common and a reminder of times (not so distant) when to speak Manx was regarded as a badge of ignorance and poverty. Over the past thirty or so years the number of Manx language learners has fluctuated, but only a minority of adults achieve any degree of proficiency in the language. In recent years attitudes to minority languages have changed throughout the world, and they have changed in the Isle of Man, as is evident from the support the Isle of Man Department of Education has given to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. The majority of immersion language programmes do not involve minority languages but rather a world language such as French or Spanish. As a consequence there have been few studies carried out on minority language immersion. This is an important area of immersion education, as the aim in minority or endangered language immersion is to assure the continued future existence of a language by increasing the number and proficiency of its speakers. This study will be the first to consider immersion education and its possible effects on the Manx language.

1.3 Research Questions

This is to be a broadly based twofold study; the research questions cover sociolinguistic and linguistic areas:

1. What is the parental motivation for choosing immersion education for their children?

2. What is the linguistic background of the children? Does it have an identifiable effect on their language competence/production at this stage of immersion?

3. Are the children producing a recognizable 'variety' of Manx at this stage of immersion?

4. What might be the linguistic implications for a revived language if the majority of its most competent speakers have acquired the language in the same immersion education programme?

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is organized into twelve chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the subject of the study. Chapter 2 discusses the historical background of the Manx language in the Isle of Man, and the social and economic reasons which led to the decline and abandonment of Manx as the Island's majority language. It goes on to describe the Manx language revival movement and main written resources of the language. The chapter ends with a discussion of the position of the Manx language in education in the period before the establishment of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. Chapter 3 provides a concise overview of Second Language Acquisition research in so far as it is relevant to this thesis. In Chapter 4 the development of immersion education is discussed, and the core features of a prototypical immersion programme (Johnson and Swain 1997: 6) are described. Cummins' Threshold and Interdependence hypotheses provide an insight into the reasons why immersion education is successful and are therefore included in this chapter. Earlier studies on the academic attainments of children in immersion programmes concentrated on the question of whether children educated through the medium of a second language would perform as well across the school curriculum as children educated through the medium of their first language. Research showed that not only did children in immersion programmes perform as well as their first language

medium educated peers, but in many cases their performance was enhanced. The fact that immersion education does not have an adverse effect on children's education has been well established but concerns have been voiced about the quality of the immersion acquired language itself when compared with that of native speakers. Chapter 4 concludes by raising the question of the influence of immersion-acquired language on a target language with no native speakers such as Manx. Chapter 5 continues the discussion on immersion education but concentrates on the Celtic language immersion programmes. There is a history of Irish and Welsh medium education which predates the implementation of immersion education programmes elsewhere in the world. This chapter looks in some detail at recent studies carried out in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The setting up of Manx-medium playgroups and nurseries and the background to the establishment of the first Manx-medium primary unit conclude this chapter. The methodology employed to collect and analyse the data in this study is the subject of Chapter 6. The sociolinguistic data were obtained from the results of a questionnaire sent home to the parents of all the children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. The linguistic data were obtained from audio recordings of the children.

The questionnaire, and information obtained from those returned are discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The children in Brastyl 'Nane were assessed on basic comprehension and production skills and this data is analysed in Chapter 8. The purpose of these assessments was to indicate whether the programme is progressing in a manner and at a rate typical of similar immersion programmes.

Chapters 9-11 comprise a detailed analysis of the recordings made of Brastyl Jees. The Brastyl Jees children were recorded relating a Manx narrative to accompany a picture story book, *Frog, Where Are You?* by Mercer Mayer, and this provided me with a 5-10 minute example of each child's speech for comparison and analysis. The children's spoken language is compared to the norms adopted by the adult second language speaker speech, and examples taken from recordings or transcriptions of the last native Manx speakers. Chapter 9 concentrates in detail on the phonological aspects of the data. Chapter 10 describes the vocabulary used in the recorded data. The use of loan words, lexical and semantic transference, Manx idiom, and the cross-linguistic nature of some discourse markers are all discussed in this chapter. Chapter 11 focuses on the syntax used in the narratives. Chapter 12 discusses the research questions in the light of my findings and makes some suggestions for future study.

The linguistic aspect of this thesis addresses the question of whether at this early stage of immersion education the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children could be said to be producing an identifiable 'variety' of Manx, and if this were to be the case, whether this would impact on the language as a whole.

 The results and conclusions drawn in answer to these two questions are largely predicated on the recordings of the eleven children in Brastyl Jees. Therefore, the linguistic questions in the research questions are mainly applied to and refer to the Brastyl Jees children. The children of Bunscoil Ghaelgagh are acquiring Manx, for the most part without any contact with the language outside school. No native-speaker

contact is possible; therefore the language community of the school has the potential to greatly influence the variety of Manx spoken in the future.

Chapter 2

The Manx Language – Background to Decline and Revival

This chapter gives a brief historical overview of the Manx language and the contributory

factors which led to its decline and abandonment as the vernacular of the Manx people.

The attitude of the Established Church to the language and the religious impetus for

having the scriptures translated into Manx will be discussed. The chapter will also

describe the circumstances leading to the Manx language revival and Manx in education.

2.1 Overview of Historical Background

Manx, along with its sister languages Irish and Scottish Gaelic, is a member of the

Goidelic/Gaelic branch of the Celtic languages. It is believed that the Manx language

was brought to the Isle of Man by Irish raiders in about AD 500 (Stowell & Ó Bréasláin

1996: 1).

> Assilmilation to Gaelic culture was quick, possibly with Old Irish being the
> ultimate parent of the modern Manx language. Since the language at that stage
> must have been identical to that of Ireland and Scotland, it is impossible to
> identify any writings as being discernably Manx (Stowell & Ó Bréasláin 1996:
> 1).

Manx was the majority native language of inhabitants of the Isle of Man from

approximately AD 500 until the mid nineteenth century. Vikings who first raided and

then settled in the Island after AD 800 appear to have made little impact on the

language:

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. It is possible that Norse survived in Mann into the fourteenth century. However, Gaelic obviously strongly reasserted itself in Mann to the extent that few words of Norse origin can be found in modern Manx. In the end, Manx shows less evidence of Norse influence than does Scottish Gaelic (Stowell & Ó Bréasláin 1996: 2).

The linguistic influence of Norse is largely confined to place names, notably with the -by suffix[1] such as Sulby, Crosby, Surby, and Laxey which incorporates the Norse for salmon, lax (the Manx for salmon is braddan). The Norse period left its mark on the Island's political and legal system, rather than on the Manx language. Tynwald, the Island's parliament which celebrated its millennium in 1979, is the most prominent legacy of the Norse period.

Tynwald consists of two chambers, the House of Keys and the Legislative Council. The twenty-four members of the House of Keys are directly elected by the public to serve for a five-year term of office. The Legislative Council acts as a second revising chamber for Bills introduced in the House of Keys and eight of its eleven members are elected by the members of the House of Keys. The remaining ex-officio members are H. M. Attorney General, the Lord Bishop and the President of Tynwald who is elected by Tynwald as a whole.

The Isle of Man is a self-governing, dependent territory of the British Crown and is not part of the United Kingdom. The British Crown does, however hold ultimate responsibility for the Island and appoints a Lieutenant-Governor as its representative,

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[1] by 'village, homestead' (Barber 2000: 128)

each Governor holding the office for a five year tenure. The Island is a member of the British Commonwealth and is represented by the United Kingdom in international affairs, notably with regard to the European Union where the Island's relationship with Europe is determined by Protocol 3 negotiated on the Island's behalf by the UK.

An English-speaking administration has existed on the Island from at least 1334 when King Edward III of England granted possession of the Island to the first Earl of Salisbury. As Stowell and Ó Bréasláin (1996: 3) note: 'Following the English takeover, presumably the language of Mann began to diverge somewhat from that of Scotland and Ireland.' Manx has been isolated from both Irish, and its closer relative Scottish Gaelic, from the fourteenth century. Prior to this the Isle of Man had, together with the Southern Hebrides, constituted the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, with the kings of Man owing allegiance variously to Norway, Scotland, and subsequently to England. Possession of the Island was granted to the Stanley family, Earls of Derby, from 1405 to 1736 and from 1736 to 1765 the Island was owned by the 'anglicised' Dukes of Atholl (Broderick 1999: 13). The English Crown purchased the sovereign rights to the Island from the third Duke of Atholl in 1765 (the Revestment Act, the consequences of which are briefly described in section **2.2**).

The first survey to give a detailed assessment of the number of Manx speakers was carried out by Henry Jenner in 1875[2]. Jenner sent a questionnaire to the clergy of each parish with the purpose of discovering whether Manx or English was the prevailing

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[2] http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/history/manks/jenner.htm 3/10/05

language of the parish and how many people spoke Manx as a 'mother tongue.' The
results of Jenner's survey (which excludes Douglas) give a total of 12, 340 Manx
speakers out of a population of 41, 084 (30.036%). However, Jenner added a note of
caution with regard to the number of speakers recorded:

> Of course these statistics can hardly be taken to represent a perfect philological
> census of the Island, and it would be very difficult to obtain such a thing by
> answers from different people, as each man (as regards my second question at
> any rate) would have his own standards to judge by and I am very sure that the
> standards vary considerably. Still I think they may be said to give a fair
> approximate view of the philological state of the Isle of Man in the year 1875.
> (Jenner 1875: 14)

The 'second question' asked how many people spoke Manx as a 'mother tongue'; the
tabulated answer listed the number of people who 'speak Manx habitually' (presumably
as a mother tongue though not stated as such). Jenner's survey results included notes
and comments by the local clergy. This comment was made by the Vicar of St.
George's, Douglas:

> In the country parishes one finds three generations in one cottage. The old
> speaking Manx only, the middle Manx and English, and the children English
> only.

This statement presages the drop in speakers which became apparent in the 1901 census[3]
by which time the number of Manx speakers had fallen to 4,419. It is evident that Manx
had lost its domain as the main language of the home and family by the turn of the
century. The older generation of Manx speakers was not being replaced by younger

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[3] http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/history/manks/census.htm 21/02/06

speakers. From 1901 onwards the decline in speakers continued, dropping to its lowest point in 1946 with a total of 20 Manx speakers.

Manx continued to be spoken as a second language by a small number of individuals throughout the twentieth century, and it is important to note that there has never been a time when there were no Manx speakers at all. The number of Manx speakers began slowly to rise throughout the second half of the twentieth century. 1,527[4] people claimed to be Manx speakers in the 2001 census; the largest number of speakers recorded since 1911. Manx lessons have been available as an option in the Island's primary and secondary schools since 1992 following the appointment of a Manx Language Officer and peripatetic teaching team (section 2.7) and this is no doubt the reason for the large increase in speakers. It is clearly not possible to say what exactly is meant by Manx speakers in this context as there is no indication as to the quantity and quality of the language spoken. The Manx language has no body of *native* speakers but it has, nonetheless, continued to be a spoken language. In that sense, the link from last native speakers to the present day remains unbroken.

2.2 Contributory Factors to Decline

The language shift from Manx to English, which occurred largely during the course of the nineteenth century, accelerating rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth /beginning of the twentieth century was inevitable due to a combination of factors[5].

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[4] http://www.gov.im/lib/docs/mnh/education/factfiles/manxlang 15/03/06
[5] For a detailed discussion of language shift in the Isle of Man see Broderick, (1999: 23-25).

The decline of Manx results not so much from rigorous action against it from within, but from a set circumstances emanating from without. Until the mid-eighteenth century Man had little contact with the outside world. Given its small population and resources external trade and contact can hardly have been all that great anyway, and English was therefore unnecessary to people outside the small towns, where it was spoken alongside Manx without displacing it. There was little incentive or reason for outsiders to come to Man, and so everyday contact between town and country areas was important and Manx would need to be used. The impetus in the direction of English came ca. early/mid-18th century, largely as a result of the 'running trade' from which many Manx people profited (Broderick 1999: 23)

The Dukes of Atholl were the owners and administrators of the Island from 1736-1765 and as such were in a position to set import duties at a lower rate than that of the rest of the British Isles. However, lower import duties into the Isle of Man resulted in a loss of revenue for the British government who regarded the Island's activities as 'smuggling'.

As a result of the Revestment Act of 1765, known on the Island as *Yn Chialg Vooar* (The Great Deception), sovereignty of the Island was transferred from the Duke of Atholl to the British Crown. This Act provided the British Government with the means to put an end to 'smuggling' thereby depriving many Manx people of their livelihood which resulted in emigration and the consequent loss of Manx speakers. Indeed, Stowell and Ó Bréasláin (1996: 11) claim that:

The suppression of 'the trade' (smuggling) led directly to poverty and emigration and hence the advance of the English language in Mann. This tendency was enhanced by immigration of people on fixed income from north-west England in the period from about 1790 to about 1814. The great depression in the Manx economy after 1765 was followed by a further depression in the period 1825 to 1837, leading to more emigration of Manx people, mainly to America.

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The Island's coinage value of fourteen pence to the shilling (compared with twelve pence elsewhere) was an attractive immigration incentive to those living on pensions or fixed incomes. This anomaly lasted until 1840 when the value of the shilling in the Isle of Man was standardized at twelve pence.[6] Roads built between 1750 and 1800 also contributed to the spread of English from the towns (where it had once been confined) to the country (Stowell and Ó Bréasláin 1996: 11).

Throughout the nineteenth century surges of emigration from the Island continued for a variety of reasons including depression in the fishing industry, potato famine and reorganization of common land. The Manx Education Act of 1872 established a system of compulsory education throughout the Island, and with the subsequent Education Act of 1892 the provision of education was both compulsory and free of charge[7]. English was the medium of instruction in all schools. Broderick (1999: 22) observes that:

> Though the medium of tuition was to be English this was not compulsorily laid down in the Act. The only subject made compulsory under the Act was religious education. However, though there was nothing in the Act providing against the teaching of Manx, in practical terms the Act facilitated the dissemination of English in Man. However, by the time the Act came into being Manx was in advanced state of demise, and any hostile intent towards Manx abetted by the 1872 Act was in reality ineffectual.

Thus it can be seen that by the mid-nineteenth century the Manx language had lost many of its native speakers due to demographic change and migration from the Island and gained (partly as a result of immigration) an increase in English speakers. In addition all

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[6] http://www.isle-of-man.com/interests/genealogy/wills 15/03/06
[7] http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/ew1926/hist.htm 15/03/06

children received English medium education from 1872 onwards, irrespective of their own linguistic backgrounds.

Another factor in the decline of the Manx language was the the Island's attraction as a holiday destination. The Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. Ltd. was founded in 1830 and established a regular steam ship service between Douglas and Liverpool (Winterbottom 2000: 217). Although most visitors stayed in or near to Douglas, steam and electric railway systems built from 1873 to 1898 enabled them to travel all over the Island (Winterbottom 2000:223-225). There can be no doubt that a knowledge of English was advantageous to the many throughout the Island whose livelihood was dependent on the annual influx of visitors. *Cha jean oo cosney ping lesh y Ghailck,* 'you won't earn a penny with the Manx' is a frequently quoted aphorism from the 1880s. The 'Wakes week' holiday taken by the Lancashire mill towns provided the vast majority of visitors to the Isle of Man. This number reached a peak of 663,000[8] over the summer season of 1913 – the Island's permanent population was at that time around 52,000.

There is therefore little wonder, given the factors of: demographic change; emigration of Manx speakers coupled with immigration of English speakers; compulsory English language education; the rise of the tourist industry; and the improved communication both within the Island due to the building of new roads and the railway, and between the Island and the outside world, that the Manx began to regard their own language as at best an irrelevance and hindrance in the progressive modern age, and at worst a badge of ignorance and lack of education.

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[8] http:www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/tourism/intro.ht 15/03/06

2.3 Diglossia and Bilingualism

It is interesting to reflect on how quickly a well established viable language can, if the majority of its speakers are willing participants, move from the essentially diglossic situation of Manx and English maintained in the Isle of Man for around five hundred years to the replacement of the former by the latter in all language domains in the comparatively short period of approximately one hundred years.

Fishman (1989: 81) observes that diglossia differs from bilingualism in that it represents 'an enduring societal arrangement' lasting for at least a three generational period. Even if one only counts the period of the Island's English-speaking administration from the time of the Stanley family, who were in control of the Island from 1405, then it is evident that the language situation regarding Manx and English was long standing and more akin to diglossia than bilingualism until the nineteenth century.

Ferguson's article *Diglossia* considers the phenomenon from the point of view where 'two or more varieties of the *same* language are used by some speakers under different circumstances'(1959: 325) whilst declining to comment on 'the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role'(1959: 326):

> One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly (Ferguson 1959: 235)

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Fishman (1989: 181-183), whilst continuing to use Ferguson's designations H (high) and L (low) to describe language varieties in a diglossic situation, extended the term diglossia and applied it to other kinds of H and L linguistic relationships including those where 'two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role.'

The H and L varieties of language are exemplified in the Isle of Man by English and Manx, English as the H variety – the superposed language of administration and Manx, the L variety – the vernacular of the majority native population. The two languages had discrete language domains and up until the nineteenth century there was little need for the majority of the population to speak or understand English. There was, so to speak, a 'Manx gentry' and a class of native born and Manx speaking judges and administrators capable of acting as intermediaries between the two languages (Broderick 1999: 14).

The fact that the majority of the population had limited or no competence in English is evident from the fact that Bishop John Phillips felt it necessary to translate the Book of Common Prayer (ms ca 1610, printed 1894) and instigate Bible translations in order to:

> make it clear that at least the bulk of the ordinary Manx people spoke Manx, or at least felt more at home in that language (Broderick 1999: 14).

Diglossia as an 'enduring societal arrangement' is dependent on the maintenance of 'societal compartmentalization' (Fishman 1989: 82-184) and the discrete societal functions of H and L language varieties. The nineteenth century in the Isle of Man was

a period which saw the increased availability of education, changes in demography and urbanization leading to greater social mobility. The breakdown of social barriers is not compatible with diglossia. One might say that subsequent bilingualism shows an absence of social compartmentalization.

2.4 The Book of Common Prayer, The Bible, and Manx Orthography

The Phillips translation of the Book of Common Prayer, translated circa 1610 was not printed until 1894. A request from Phillips to the Earl of Salisbury for financial assistance with printing costs was turned down. A reply concerning the matter from John Ireland, Governor of Man, pointed out that the when the two Vicars General, Sir William Norres and Sir William Crowe, were asked if they had read the book, the former replied that he was unable to read it 'but here and there a word' and the latter, that he 'doth verily think that few else of the clergy can read the same Book for that it is spelled with vowells wherewith non of them are acquainted' (Broderick 1999: 15 footnotes).

The spelling system used by Phillips does indeed look rather different from the much maligned orthography adopted by those responsible for the Manx Bible translation (published as a complete volume in 1819). The following quote from O'Rahilly still sums up the general feeling in the literate Gaelic-speaking world regarding Manx orthography:

> The system of Manx spelling devised by Phillips has, with subsequent modifications for the worse, held the field ever since. But it is an abominable system, neither historic nor phonetic, and based mainly on English.

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The syntax and orthography of the 1819 Bible represents the standard for Manx Gaelic used today. A comparison of Phillips' orthography with the later standard orthography appears below:

Psalm 121 Verses 1-2, a) Philips Prayer Book 1610, b) Bible Casherick 1819

1. a) Trogyms syas my huilyn gys ny knuik: vei ta my ghuney chiit.

   b) Trog-ym seose my hooillyn gys ny croink: vouesyn ta my chooney cheet.

2. a) Ta my ghuney chiit gy jaru vei yn chiarn: ta ern'ianu neau as tallu.

   b) Ta my chooney cheet dy feer veih'n Chiarn: t'er chroo niau as thalloo.

King James V1 English Bible Psalm 121 Verses 1-2

1. I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help

2. My help cometh from the Lord which made heaven and earth.

The translations, a) from the 1610 Phillips Prayer Book and b) from the complete 1819 Bible translation, are not identical as they differ somewhat in individual lexical choices, for example, in verse 2 Phillips uses the verb *jannoo* 'making' rather than *croo* 'creating' which appears in the 1819 Bible.

It is not true, as is often claimed, that Manx orthography is singular in its departure from standard Gaelic orthography (Irish and Scottish), other texts with somewhat similar orthography have been found in Ireland and Scotland, most notably the early sixteenth-century manuscript of the Book of the Dean of Lismore. Donald Meek, Professor of

Scottish and Gaelic Studies at the University of Edinburgh, commented in *Gaylick,*

Gaidhlig or Gaelic? Non-Gaelic Spelling-Systems of The Gaelic World, (Ned Maddrell

Memorial Lecture 2006, Douglas, Isle of Man) that there have been other non-Gaelic

spelling systems in use in the Gaelic world 'since 1500 and probably long before.'

Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that Manx orthography does not always represent

the sound of the language very effectively. It is, for example, difficult to discern any

regularity or consistency in the orthography of vowel clusters in relation to their

phonology although this may be a result of what Broderick (1999: 168) calls the 'wild

allophonic variation' characteristic of the last native speakers.

2.5 The Church and the Manx Language

The contribution of the Church of England – the Established Church in the Isle of Man,

as embodied by individual bishops, was of great importance to the survival of Manx.

Bishop Isaac Barrow (1663- 1671) was appointed to the Island following the return of

the Stanley family as Lords of Mann after the demise of Cromwell's Commonwealth

and the restoration of the monarchy in England. Bishop Barrow encountered a

situation in the Island whereby the Manx clergy, who were for the most part Manx and

Manx speakers, were in the habit of providing an ad hoc Manx translation of the English

version of the scriptures for their Manx congregations, as they feared that lack of

English was adversely affecting the comprehension of religious instruction and

injunctions (Broderick 1999: 15).

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Barrow's solution to the problem was to set up a parish school system with English as the medium of instruction and, in 1667, to establish a grammar school in Castletown (the Island's capital until 1869) for those children who had higher aspirations. An Academic Fund set up in 1668 provided students with the means to attend university in either Dublin or Oxford to all intents and purposes to become clergymen, with an obligation to return to the Isle of Man for employment. Following Bishop Barrow in 1698 Bishop Wilson (1698-1755), instituted a policy of English language education which, if disobeyed, resulted in fines imposed on the parents. However, the authority of the Anglican Church under Bishop Wilson came to be regarded as a threat to the Island's secular administration. As a result of this, Wilson and his Vicars General were imprisoned for two months, having been found guilty of contempt of a state court. Once the State had demonstrated its power over the Church, Bishop Wilson's education system declined (Broderick 1999: 15-16).

At the same time however, Bishop Wilson was realistic and pragmatic enough to acknowledge that it was necessary for a Manx translation of the Scriptures to be made available.

> The clergy are generally natives, and, indeed, it cannot well be otherwise, none else being qualified to preach and administer the sacraments in the Manx Language; for English is not understood by two-thirds at least of the Island, though there is an English school in every parish, so hard is it to change the language of a whole country' (Wilson 1797)[9]

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[9] The History of the Isle of Man by the Right Reverend Thomas Wilson D..D. 1797 http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/manxsoc/msvol81/ch05htm 21/03/06

Wilson, therefore, arranged for the first book to be printed in Manx, *Coyrle Sodjey* or 'further advice' - the 'Principles and Duties of Christianity', and work was begun on translating the Gospel of St Matthew during Wilson's term of imprisonment. It was translated by Dr William Walker, Vicar General, and first printed in 1748 at Wilson's own expense.

Wilson's successor, Bishop Mark Hildesley (1755-1772), appears to have been both more sympathetic and more realistic with regard to the linguistic needs of his flock. Not only did he encourage the full translation and publication of the Bible in Manx, he also made provision for children to be taught in Manx, and encouraged the clergy to use Manx with their Manx-speaking parishioners. The number of parishes using Manx as the medium of instruction rose from three out of seventeen in 1757 to the situation in 1766 when children were taught the Catechism and prayers in Manx in all but one of the Island's parishes (Broderick 1999: 17). It is likely that Hildesley's acknowledgement and facilitation of the people's need to hear and use their own language may have prolonged the life of the Manx language, and it is certain that the publication of the Bible in Manx afforded the language much needed status and laid the foundations for future study and revival.

After Hildesley's death in 1772 any support given by the Established Church to the Manx language waned, and by 1825 Bishop Murray had informed the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) that:

there is no longer any necessity for impressions of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in the Manx Tongue: but that in the English tongue they are much wanted and sought after with great avidity (quoted in Bird 1991: 218)

Whether there was 'any necessity' for Manx language impressions at this time may be considered against the claim made by the *Manks Society for promoting the Education of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Man, through the medium of their own Language* in the *Manx Advertiser* 22.11.1821 quoted in Harrison (2000: 403):

> it is known that there are from fifteen to twenty thousand of the inhabitants who are incapable of receiving religious instruction in any other language than the Manks, and when it is considered that a large proportion of that number are unable to read, who does not perceive the necessity of making vigorous efforts to teach them to read their vernacular tongue?

Established in 1821, *The Manks Society for promoting the Education of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Man, through the medium of their own Language* was modeled on *The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools* (Scotland) and *The Irish Society for promoting the education of the Native Irish through the medium of their own Language*. The intention of the Society was:

> by no means to perpetuate the Manks language, or in the smallest degree to impede the progress of the English tongue amongst the inhabitants of the Island, but simply to teach both children and adults to read their Bible in the only language which they fully comprehend (*Manks Advertiser* 22.11.1821)

Both the Anglican Church and the Methodists[10] were pragmatic enough to have their religious material translated into Manx, although their intentions were not to safeguard

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[10] Methodism arrived on the Island in the 1770s and its stance regarding the Manx language was contradictory, with John Wesley both recommending and deploring its use on different occasions (Broderick 1999:19).

the Manx language, but rather to employ it to propagate their respective religious standpoints. All such religious material translated into Manx was done so with the avowed intention of encouraging Manx speakers to become literate, and through literacy to embrace English. Manx might be employed temporarily for the good of their souls, that is, to facilitate understanding until such time as they were fully proficient in English.

The Manx dictionary compilers, Kelly (written 1805 published 1866) and Cregeen (1834) both introduced their work with a caveat: Kelly, 'this cultivation of the Gaelic language will destroy the language itself as a living language, but it will have produced the knowledge of a better language' (Kelly, 1805 Introduction), and Cregeen, 'that no work of this description will hinder the progress of the English, but in fact have the contrary effect' (Cregeen, 1834 Introduction).

After 4-500 years of diglossic co-existence with English the Manx language entered the nineteenth century with a sizeable body of speakers. This body of speakers, however, had already begun to feel the need to apologize for its very existence, clearly indicating future vulnerability to the social and demographic changes to come.

The social and economic changes in the Island which began in the late eighteenth century and gathered momentum throughout the nineteenth century brought about a shift from a diglossic situation to one where bilingualism, facilitated by the education system and sheer economic necessity, rapidly became the norm. In 1821 it was claimed that between fifteen and twenty thousand people were 'incapable of receiving instruction in

any other language but Manks' (out of a population of around 40,000); by 1871 the census gave a figure of 13,530 Manx speakers (population 54,042) of which 190 were reported as being monoglot Manx speakers (Broderick 1999:41). When the stability of diglossia gives way to the social and economic mobility enabled by bilingualism, language shift seems inevitable.

In a bilingual situation where one of the languages carries much greater prestige and is in fact more useful in the day-to-day business of making a living, it is only a question of time before it encroaches on all the linguistic domains which formerly ensured the continuity of the vernacular language. Language shift from Manx to English for the majority of the Island's speech community had already been accomplished by 1871, according to the census figures. As the numbers of speakers of any given language continue to fall, as was the case with Manx, the point where there are no longer any younger speakers gives credence to the feeling that the language has entered a fatal phase from which there can be no return. The language is not only *considered* to be the preserve of the old, that is exactly what it is.

2.6 The Manx Language Revival Movement
The Manx language revival to all intents and purposes began with the founding, in 1899, of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh,* 'The Manx Language Society', by which time the language had virtually disappeared as a vernacular. The society initially adopted the aims of both preservation and promotion. *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* (YCG) sought to publish all existing literature in Manx, and facilitate the collection of whatever oral literature remained in the shape of songs or poems. The society wanted to promote the

language by organizing Manx classes for adults and having Manx taught in the Island's

schools. All aspects of Manx culture were (and are) encouraged by YCG including the

performance of Manx music and dance (Stowell & Ó Bréasláin 1996: 19).

However not all the society's members were in favour of the active promotion of the

language when it came to passing it on to children. YCG's first president A.W. Moore

felt that teaching Manx to the young would be of no practical value to them:

> Much as I regret to think of the day when the grand and sonorous language of
> Ellan Vannan will be no more heard, yet I feel that I must prefer the practical to
> the sentimental and acquiesce in its disappearance (Manx Language Society
> 1899-1931: 6)

In any event *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* (YCG) met with little success in its attempts to

have Manx taught in the Island's schools. After the introduction of the 1872 English

Elementary Education Act, it was necessary to obtain permission from the British

authorities to teach Manx:

> After three years of correspondence between Whitehall and YCG it was decided
> to leave the matter to individual schools, with the result that evidently only one
> school was willing to teach Manx. The half-hour lesson per week was shortly
> after withdrawn, and efforts to have Manx brought into the schools on a more
> permanent and professional basis had to wait until 1992 (Broderick 1999: 175)

Lessons for adult learners were greatly assisted by the publication in 1901 of Edmund

Goodwin's *First Lessons in Manx*. The lessons were not originally intended for

publication but were written for use in Manx classes held in Peel. They are not, and in

Goodwin's own words in the introduction, 'do not claim to be a complete theoretical grammar' (*First Lessons in Manx*, 1901; reprinted in subsequent editions), but both the original, and a revised version of the book (Thomson, 1965), were, for most of the twentieth century, (and remain) a valuable resource for Manx language learners and teachers.

A number of factors have contributed to the continuing rise in numbers of Manx learners and in the profile of the language generally. The population of the Island has increased by around 20,000 (largely due to immigration from mainland Britain) over the past thirty years. The 1971 census shows a population of 54,581 compared with an estimated 76,315 in 2001. The percentage of the population which is Manx-born has fallen from 67.2% in 1961 to 49.9% in 1996.[11] One might speculate that the fact that less than 50% of the population is Manx has affected both the indigenous population to the effect that the language is seen, by some, as part of a threatened identity to be protected; it is also seen by many newcomers as an aspect of Manx life to be embraced as part of their own and their children's new identity.

The decline in the number of visitors from Britain throughout the 1960s and 70s was a serious blow to the Island's economy, and other ways of creating wealth had to be found to compensate. Government policies to attract and sustain high technology companies and financial institutions have been largely successful in economic terms. However, prosperity has not always been seen as an unequivocal benefit to the Island, bringing as it does changes to the 'Manx way of life', many new housing estates offering property at

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[11] http://www.gov.im/treasury/economic/census/1996/population/manxborn.xml 30/03/06

prices difficult for locals to afford, and accentuating inequalities in society. Throughout the 1970s and 80s indigenous protest movements made themselves heard, to the discomfort of the government of the day (Belcher 2000: 9-12).

As far as the language is concerned, it is the last of these protests which appears to have had a contributory effect to the more favourable official attitudes to the Manx language. In the late 1980s a campaign of protests against the burgeoning finance industry and its economic effects on the indigenous population culminated in the conviction and imprisonment of three young men (one of whom is now a Member of the House of Keys and former chairman of Mooinjer Veggey) for arson. Partly built houses, destined to be sold for prices no local could afford, were burnt (Gawne 2002: 179). Subsequent letters of support for the three young men and a general refusal on the part of the general public to condemn their action made it very clear to the Manx government of the day that their own policies were not universally popular. All three of the perpetrators were Manx speakers. It is not possible to state with certainty that the Manx government found it expedient to promote certain aspects of language and culture in response to these or any other protests. It is, however, true, to say that the official stance on the Manx language and culture became one of promotion rather than denigration or indifference. Those who might have been alienated by a heavy-handed response have been disarmed by a reasonable one.

In April 2003 the United Kingdom Government ratified (on behalf of the Isle of Man Government) the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages thereby agreeing to extend the Charter at Part II protection level to the Isle of Man. Although

Part III has much more specific requirements for regional or minority language provision, in practice many of these requirements are already satisfied by the Isle of Man Government, particularly with regard to education and heritage. The possibility of signing up to Part III and accepting these more specific requirements is being kept under review.[12] The Island's increased prosperity has also resulted in the fact that funds are available for bodies such as the Manx Heritage Foundation which contribute to many aspects of Manx culture and language.

In fact, the Manx language has an unprecedentedly high profile at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Bilingual street signs are to be seen in every town, government departments have bilingual names and letter heads, likewise with local authority vehicles and services - the language is on display as never before. Public transport timetables are bilingual and buses occasionally display their destination in Manx only, much to the bemusement, and frequently, derision of the bus traveling public. It is evident that the profile and status of Manx are completely out of proportion with the number of speakers (a total of 1,527 speakers of unspecified and widely varying competency out of a population of 76,315 as shown in 2001 census). However, this public display of language consciousness is in itself a contributory factor to the revival of Manx.

The signal the Isle of Man Government sends to the outside world is that we not only value and are aware of our heritage, but we can also afford to indulge it. It makes economic sense in terms of what remains of the tourist industry to market the Island as having a unique culture within the British Isles, and the language is part of that culture.

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[12] http://www.gaelg.iofm.net/INFO/gaelg.htm 30/03/06

Thus increased prosperity has been good for the Manx language and the preservation of a certain stereotypical version of culture and Island life. The fate of a language lies to some extent in timing, and just at the end of the twentieth century the time was right in terms of will and resources for language revival.

2.7 The Manx Language in Education

In 1990 the Isle of Man Government commissioned a Gallup poll survey on the Quality of Life in the Isle of Man which found that 36% of those who responded were in favour of Manx being taught in the Island's schools:

> This significant finding came at the same time as the Department of Education was being approached by the Manx Language Working Party, among others, to have Manx introduced into the school system (Gawne 2002: 178).

This led to the appointment of a Manx Language Officer in 1992 by the Isle of Man Department of Education. The position of Manx Language Officer is currently held by Rosemary Derbyshire. She is responsible for a peripatetic teaching team currently consisting of herself and three other teachers. This team offers weekly, thirty-minute, optional Manx lessons in all schools run by the Isle of Man Department of Education. Take-up numbers were initially high and, despite difficulties, still average around 750-800 primary schoolchildren (out of a total of approximately 6,600). Teaching resources and materials were not available in Manx, and had to be produced by the team themselves, using desk-top publishing. A three-year modular course is currently offered

to the children beginning at Year 4 (aged 8-9) of primary school, and continuing into the first year of secondary education.[13]

The school time-table presents a problem for optional Manx lessons, as to opt *for* Manx lessons pupils have to opt out of another lesson, or even use their own free time – this is at the individual Head Teacher's discretion. Another problem is the lack of classrooms available for Manx lessons. Lessons are frequently conducted in reception areas or corridors where other children are coming and going, which is distracting and not at all conducive to language acquisition. Lessons are also apt to be cancelled without warning if, for example, there is an activity which all children in a particular year group are expected to attend. I spent an afternoon with one of the peripatetic team in which two lessons were cancelled, in one instance due to a cycling proficiency test, in another, a Maths test. In both of these instances the peripatetic Manx teacher was not informed until arriving at the school. Another factor worth noting is that, although the Manx lessons are intended to be of thirty minutes' duration, it is frequently the case that by the time the children have assembled in the Hall or Reception area, or wherever the lesson is due to take place, and are settled with chairs, tables etc., between five and ten minutes of contact time has already elapsed, which would not be the case if a classroom were available for the lesson.

A more productive option of studying Manx is available to pupils in one of the Island's secondary schools, where the *Teisht Cadjin Ghaelgagh* (TCG), a level equivalent to GCSE is offered. Studying a second language for GCSE is not obligatory, but is an

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[13] http://www.gaelg.iofm.net/INFO/gaelg.htm

optional extra subject, and a few pupils each year choose to study Manx as a foreign language, which ensures that it is timetabled as any other option would be. These pupils receive three fifty-minute lessons per week. The other four secondary schools offer Manx as an extra subject, and it is not timetabled, but must be studied either at lunchtime or after school. Contact time is less, but is more than that designated for the peripatetic lessons available to younger children. The TCG is a modular two year course which is designed, set, moderated and validated by the Isle of Man Department of Education, which also issues the certificates.

Figures for Manx speakers recorded in the 2001 census show an increase from 643 (1991) to 1,689. Questions relating to Manx Gaelic in the 2001 census[14] and their corresponding answers were as follows:

Do you speak, read or write Manx Gaelic?	1,689
Do you speak Manx Gaelic?	1,527
Do you write Manx Gaelic?	706
Do you read Manx Gaelic?	910

It is reasonable to suppose that this increase is due to the teaching of Manx Gaelic in schools, and indeed a breakdown according to the age groups of speakers confirms this.

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[14] http://www.gaelg.iofm.net/INFO/gaelg 30/03/06

Table 1 Manx Speakers by Age: Comparison of Numbers 1991-2001

Age group	Numbers in1991	Numbers in2001
0-4 years	13	41
5-9 years	23	217
10-14 years	64	340
15-19 years	47	146
20-24 years	41	64
25-29 years	64	79
30-34 years	60	64
35-39 years	62	80
40-44 years	74	90
45-49 years	41	70
50-54 years	45	71
55-59 years	38	61
60-64 years	39	50
65-69 years	32	45
70-74 years	28	31
75-79 years	22	33
80-84 years	16	36
85+ years	22	25

Source: IOM Census Report 1991 Vol.1 Tab.3 in MacKinnon 2004 Appendix

As can be seen from Table 1 the most dramatic increase in the number of Manx speakers occurs in the wider age range of 5-19 years but most particularly in the 10-14 band, the number leaping from 64 to 340 in ten years. These figures do not however contain any information on either the fluency or competence of the speakers. On the basis of an informal assessment made in 2003, Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin, University of Limerick (29th January 2006, pers. comm.) considered the number of highly competent Manx speakers was likely to number around fifty. The evaluation was made on the basis of peer group assessment, that is, highly competent Manx speakers' assessments on their own and each other's levels of fluency. Fluency was considered on the basis of the speaker's ability to use Manx competently in a wide variety of situations. The term 'fluency' is rather

difficult to evaluate, many, if not most, people tend to use it when referring to someone with a ready flow of language, or about someone who knows more Manx than they do themselves. It frequently implies little about the accuracy of the language used, and I therefore prefer to use terms such as proficient or competent apart from circumstances where 'fluent' would be better understood.

The reality facing the Manx language at the end of the twentieth century was that of any language when it reaches the point where intergenerational transmission has ceased. Few fluent (and it is debatable what is meant by fluency in this situation) speakers result from limited contact language lessons. If any language is to have a viable future, then children must be made the main focus of a sustained and determined effort in its transmission.

Conclusion

Social and economic factors combined to make language shift inevitable after the number of Manx speakers had been reduced to the point where pragmatic considerations precipitated the almost fatal decline of the language. The real surprise must surely be that Manx survived at all. That it did is a tribute to all those who refused to let the language die, and gave their time to teaching Manx and campaigning to secure its future as a spoken language. The Manx language revival is now entering a new phase with the founding of Manx medium playgroups, nurseries and *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh*, the first Manx medium primary school. Before turning specifically to the topic of Manx immersion education, the next chapter will discuss the more general theories of second

language acquisition which have some bearing on the success or otherwise of language

revival.

Chapter 3

Overview Second Language Acquisition Research

> SLA researchers began their quest for an understanding of the 'natural' SLA
> process in hopes that language learning would be enhanced when language
> teaching harmonised with it (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: 45)

This chapter gives a general overview of second language acquisition (SLA) theories.

The field is so large that this cannot hope to be comprehensive, but instead seeks to

provide a brief outline of the more influential theories as they pertain to immersion

education, and the terminology as it will be used in this thesis.

3.1 Language Acquisition as Habit Formation – The Behaviourist Approach

B. F. Skinner's book *Verbal Behavior*, (first published in 1957) applied the behaviourist

psychologist approach to language learning as a logical extension of the point of view

that *all* learning consists of habit formation constructed through stimulus response

associations. Therefore, a child learning his/her first language (L1), or anyone learning

a second or subsequent language, can be seen as participating in a learning process: a

learning process which involves habit formation, reinforcement and conditioning,

analogous to any other form of learned behaviour. MacCorquodale (1969: 831) writes

that:

> *Verbal Behavior* is best conceived as a *hypothesis* that speech is within the
> domain of behaviors which can be accounted for by existing functional laws,
> based upon the assumption that it is orderly, lawful, and determined, and that it
> has no unique emergent properties that require either a separate causal system, an
> augmented general system, or recourse to mental way-stations.

The process of learning a *second* language was regarded as a process of overcoming the

habits of the first language in order to learn the habits of the second language.

Lado cited in Larsen- Freeman and Long (1991: 53) states that: 'those elements that are

similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are

different will be difficult.' Where the two languages, the learner's first language (L1)

and the language to be learned, the target language (TL) are alike, positive transfer

should occur and in the areas where they markedly differ, negative transfer. The

language teacher was encouraged to take into account the learner's L1 and to anticipate

problems in areas of greatest difference between the L1 and the TL by carrying out a

systematic comparison between the two languages.

3.2 Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis

The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis proposed by Wardhaugh (1970: 123-30) puts

forward a strong and a weak version of contrastive analysis. The strong version was

predictive, based on an *a priori* comparison of the learner's L1 and L2 which when

subjected to empirical testing revealed 'serious flaws' (Larsen- Freeman and Long

1991:55) in that it both under- and over-predicted the type of errors expected in learner

language. The weak version, however, takes the learner's errors as a starting point and

seeks to explain them by reference to the learner's L1.

Commenting on the CAH with regard to the behaviourist view of language learning,

Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 55) say:

The contrastive analysis hypothesis was important to this view of language learning, since if trouble spots in the target language could be anticipated, errors might be prevented or at least held to a minimum. In this way, the formation of bad habits could be avoided.

However, the close association of the CAH with behaviourism, together with its

unreliability as a predictor of errors, resulted in its loss of credibility as far as the *study*

of SLA was concerned. Although as Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 56) point out:

> Despite these criticisms, CAs continued to be carried out, particularly in Europe, and the problem of identifying just when and where L1 influence can be expected to take place has continued to be of interest. [....] Suffice it to say that, although the CAH was unproven, CA as a methodological option was not abandoned.

3.3 Nativist Theories of Language Acquisition

Despite the fact that the learner's L1 undoubtedly informs his/her acquisition of L2 in

some areas, phonology (a foreign accent) to name but one, interest in contrastive

analysis in second language acquisition studies declined along with the theory of

behaviourism in language learning which had inspired it. De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor

(2005: 34) state that:

> When Chomskyan thinking came into vogue, the interest in contrasting L1 and L2 declined because it was believed that the process of L2 acquisition was very similar to the process of L1 acquisition, which takes place without explicit attention to language forms.

Nativist theories of language acquisition regard language an innate property of humans.

Humans are, they contend, biologically programmed for language learning (Chomsky

1965; Bickerton 1981; Pinker 1984; and Krashen 1985). The genetic endowment of

universal linguistic principles is known as Universal Grammar which, according to Chomsky: 'may be thought of as some system of principles, common to the species and available to each individual prior to experience' (1981: 7).

According to nativist theories a child acquiring his or her L1 induces the rules and sets the parameters of his or her native language from input received. Thus, language acquisition, rather than being the result of habit formation, is a matter of rule formulation and elaboration. The child is then also enabled to produce and understand 'novel utterances' which it is claimed they could not have done were they confined to mere imitation of input.

Empirical research in child language acquisition appears to confirm the above. Young L1 English children frequently produce forms such as 'I goed' for 'I went' and this seems to occur at a particular stage in their language development. A child who may previously have used the form 'I went' may substitute 'I goed' or produce both forms in free variation. This appears to be a regressive step (and parents often regard it as such) unless considered in the light of rule internalization and elaboration. The child is at the point in language development where he or she has observed that, when speaking of past events, the ending -ed is applied, and initially applies it indiscriminately. When English plural 's' rule is acquired and observed, the child who has previously quite happily pointed to a field of *sheep* may now begin to refer to them as *sheeps*. Thus, demonstrably, the child is producing forms which he or she has never before heard, generating these forms from internalized rules.

To quote Chomsky (1959: 48):

> The fact that all normal children acquire essentially comparable grammars of
> great complexity with remarkable rapidity suggests that human beings are
> somehow specially designed to do this, with data-handling or "hypothesis-
> formulating" ability of unknown character and complexity.

This ability is referred to as the Language Acquisition Device (LAD).

3.4 Competence versus Performance

> We thus make a fundamental distinction between *competence* (the speaker-
> hearer's knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language
> in concrete situations) (Chomsky 1965: 4).

Competence is the internal knowledge that we all have about the language we speak

which includes the ability, as native speakers of any given language, to correctly

interpret ambiguity and ungrammatical utterances in that language. Performance refers

to the language we actually produce. Chomsky claims that it is only competence that

provides the data for linguistic study.

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in
> completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its (the speech
> community's) language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically
> irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and
> interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of this
> language in actual performance (Chomsky 1965: 3).

3.4.1 Communicative Competence

Hymes (1972: 279) coined the term 'communicative competence' to describe the

knowledge required by speakers to use language in meaningful interaction.

Communicative competence refers to functional knowledge and use (performance) in

addition to the grammatical competence referred to by Chomsky. Gumperz (1997: 41)

proposes a redefinition of the term 'communicative competence' as:

> the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers
> must have to initiate and sustain conversational involvement.

The reports and studies on immersion education discussed in this thesis use the term

'competence' when referring to active, as well as passive, language skills. Competence

in their terms is closer to communicative and conversational competence than to

Chomsky's narrow definition of grammatical competence.

3.5 Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Research

The question addressed by SLA researchers subsequent to the work of Chomsky and

other nativist theorists focussed on how closely the process of L2 acquisition mirrored

that of children acquiring their L1. For example, do L2 learners, after exposure to the

target language (TL), make certain assumptions about the rules of the TL and apply

them? If errors are made, and can be shown to be due to the over- and under-

generalization of TL rules, are L2 learners therefore undergoing the same process as

young children acquiring L1? As to the performance versus competence distinction

made in **3.4** above, performance is clearly dependent on competence, but it is not

necessarily reflective of it. This is often the case in second language

performance/production. The learner's performance in conversation may fall far short

of their internal knowledge of the TL. Second language acquisition studies indicate that

L2 learners produce developmental errors apparently unconnected to L1 interference,

therefore leading researchers in the field of SLA to conclude that SLA is analogous to

L1 acquisition in so far as SLA can also be regarded as a process of rule-formation and

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elaboration in response to input. As Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991: 116) point out, SLA research has a 'somewhat broader focus' than research into child language acquisition:

> First like its child language counterpart, it seeks to determine how speech addressed to non-native speakers, whether children or adults, differs from language used in adult native speaker conversation, and whether the differences aid comprehension and/or acquisition or perhaps are necessary for acquisition to take place at all. The role that modified input plays in this regard is of even greater potential importance in SLA, given that many learners are adults, and given the evidence that the innate capacity for language learning declines with age. Second, some of the work is motivated by broad sociolinguistic interest in describing what Ferguson (1971) has called one of the 'conventional varieties of "simplified" speech available to a speech community'. Third, still other interest has arisen from the search for features common to 'simple codes' of various kinds, including foreigner talk, child language, pidgins, early second language, telegraphese and lecture notes, and for common processes in their creation.

3.5.1 Error Analysis

The weaker form of CA, described above in **3.2** was highly influential in the concept of error analysis (EA). In an influential 1967 paper, 'The significance of learner's errors', Corder (1967: 161-70)[15] rightly says that no-one expects a child learning his/her L1 to produce adult-like language:

> We interpret his 'incorrect' utterances as being evidence that he is in the process of acquiring language and indeed, for those who attempt to describe his knowledge of the language at any point in its development, it is the 'errors' which provide the important evidence (Corder 2005: 126).

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[15] This article is reproduced in de Bot, Lowie and Verspoor (2005) and the page numbers cited refer to that volume rather than the original publication

The 'key concept' in both child language acquisition (CLA) and SLA is that at each

stage of the acquisition process the learner is using a system of language which differs

substantially from the TL, (the target language being the child's L1 in the first instance

and the language learner's L2 in the second). It is for this reason that Corder considers

the study of learner's errors in SLA should be regarded as equivalent to such studies in

the field of CLA.

3.5.2 Errors and Mistakes

Corder was the first person to make a distinction between errors which are part of the

system of learner language and those which are not. All native language speech between

adults is subject to errors due to a variety of reasons. The speaker may be tired, or in an

emotional state, or simply suffer from memory lapse. Whatever the reason may be,

speech performances are rarely a true reflection of the internal L1 knowledge that all

native speakers possess. However, in the case of this type of error the speaker is usually

aware of it and is able, if necessary, to self-correct. It would, Corder suggests, be 'quite

unreasonable not to expect the learner of a second language not to exhibit such slips of

the tongue' (Corder 2005: 127).

He therefore suggests a distinction be made between errors which are random and

unsystematic and those which reflect the speaker's underlying knowledge of the

language at a given point in the acquisition process. The errors of performance (speech)

are characterised as unsystematic and those of competence (underlying knowledge) are

systematic.

It will be useful therefore hereafter to refer to errors of performance as mistakes, reserving the term error to refer to the systematic errors of the learner from which we are able to reconstruct his knowledge of the language to date, i.e. his transitional competence. (Corder 2005: 127).

3.6 Interlanguage

The language system that the learner constructs out of the linguistic input to which he or she has been exposed has been variously referred to as 'an idiosyncratic dialect' (Corder, 1971), 'an approximate system' (Nemser, 1971), and 'an interlanguage' (Selinker, 1972). (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: 60).

Selinker's term 'interlanguage' is widely used in the field of SLA research to refer to learner language. Interlanguage (IL) may be described as a continuum moving from the L2 learner, equipped only with knowledge of his/her own L1, through the process of acquiring the TL with the goal of native-like proficiency in the TL as its end point.

L1   Interlanguage   TL
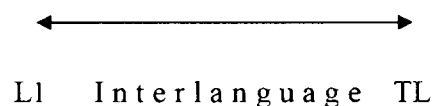
Applied linguists such as Nemser, Corder and Selinker observed that the 'language system' of IL is derived neither from the learner's L1 nor that of the TL (although it may contain elements of both) but is, in itself, a separate language system. The chief learning strategies employed by the learner in the creation of IL (as described by Selinker) are summarized as follows:

- Language transfer: the learner's L1 is used as a resource and as a result some language rules of the L1 are transferred to the TL.

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- Overgeneralization: the learner acquires TL rules and overuses them.

- Simplification: the learner uses a simplified language system reminiscent of child language or a pidgin language.

Typically, L2 learners do not invariably proceed in an orderly fashion along the IL continuum to achieve native-like proficiency of the TL. In fact, as the majority of SLA studies indicate, native-like proficiency of the TL is rare. It is also the case that native-like attainment for adult L2 learners is ruled out in principle by those who argue in favour of the Critical Period Hypothesis (wherein the age of the learner is considered a crucial component in the acquisition of L2), and consider that Universal Grammar is not a resource available to learners past the age of adolescence. Interlanguage, unless arrested by fossilization, is inherently unstable, and must be permeable to TL influence if fluency in the TL is to be attained.

3.6.1 Fossilization in Interlanguage

The phenomenon of 'fossilization' in IL is described by Selinker (1972:36) as follows:

> Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL.

Two basic types of explanation have been offered to account for the phenomena of partial success and fossilization in the SLA of older learners. One group of explanations favours a psycholinguistic approach holding that:

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the language-specific learning mechanisms available to the young child simply cease to work for older learners, at least partly and no amount of study and effort can recreate them (Mitchell & Myles 2004: 19).

On the other hand the second group of explanations favour the sociolinguistic approach:

older second language learners do not have the social opportunities, or the motivation, to identify completely with the native speaker community, but may instead value their distinctive identity as learners or as members of an identifiable minority group (Mitchell & Myles 2004: 19).

Fossilization can also be reinforced by the discourse of native speakers with non-native speakers. Descriptions of native speaker to non-native speaker discourse (see Ferguson 1975; Meisel 1977) show that native speakers use a simplified variety of the TL which Ferguson calls 'foreigner talk'. Foreigner talk is used to facilitate understanding when speaking to non-native speakers and is characterized by its ungrammaticality. That is to say there may be deletion of some linguistic features of the TL and insertion of others. In English TL 'foreigner talk', for example, there is a preference for uninverted question forms (relying on intonation and obviating the need for 'do' support) (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: 117). Once the ability to communicate effectively in the TL is achieved there is little motivation to move along the interlanguage continuum. Communication is more important to speakers than grammaticality.

It is also in the context of discourse that the language learner has the opportunity to hear the TL used in a natural setting between native speakers, and thus, the opportunity to observe pragmatic differences and style as well as differences of syntax, phonology and lexis.

3.6.2 Interlanguage of End-state L2 Learners

Research by Birdsong (2003) on end-state or ultimate attainment L2 learners is of particular interest in that, so far as one can judge, all highly competent, fluent Manx speakers fall into this category. Birdsong (2003: 20) asserts that in the eyes of some SLA researchers such as Cook (1999), Grosjean (1989) the L2 learner 'can never be or become a native speaker'. This opinion is, of course, dependent on the existence of native speakers as a point of comparison.

The IL system of a highly competent end-state L2 speaker may only be evident in pragmatic areas. The idea often held by monoglot English speakers that 'foreigners are rude' arises from situations where L2 English speakers are not quite attuned to social mores, and use more direct language than is considered appropriate by native English speakers.

Birdsong (2003: 21) suggests that learners at the 'end-state' may possess a grammar lacking in some property present in the TL grammar, or a grammatical property may be present in the end-state learners' language which is not compatible with TL grammar. End-state grammars may be characterized by uncertainty and variability which may in part be influenced by optionality in TL grammar, for example, in English relative clauses;

    a) The man *that* I saw

    b) The man *whom* I saw

    c) The man I saw

All are standard and with the exception of b) in common usage. There are also forms

such as 'I seen' rather than 'I saw' which are non-standard but frequently encountered.

It would be difficult to say whether the appearance of these forms in a highly competent

L2 speaker's language could be attributed to overgeneralising a TL rule (unlikely in a

proficient speaker), or because both forms are present in native speaker speech.

Birdsong therefore suggests that the mature state of L2 grammar is not stable due to

variability and uncertainty, rather than backsliding in an ongoing learning process

(Birdsong 2003:7). This brief discussion illustrates how difficult it is to define the 'end-

state' of L2 acquisition and native like competence, even in a language such English,

where native speaker intuition with regard to performance and competence are available

for grammaticality judgements.

3.6.3 Interlanguage Variability

> Interlanguage variability occurs when the learner produces the language in
> communicative situations, and is due to production processes, performance error
> and the permeability of the IL system (Tarone 1988: 133).

According to Tarone (1988), theories of IL variation fall into two groups. The first

group focuses on 'inner processing factors'. Inner processing theories include Monitor

theory (see section **3.7)**, Chomskyan models, inner processing models, and the Labovian

'attention to speech' model. The Chomskyan theory in particular has a rationalist view

of systematicity in IL. The systematicity is in the mind, and learner *performance* 'seems

to be viewed as an imperfect reflection of that systematicity' (Tarone 1988:9).

However, as Tarone points out, 'inner processes' proposed as the causes of IL variation

cannot be tested empirically.

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The second group of theories focuses on sociolinguistic and discourse theories. In these theories observable factors such as the 'identity or role of the interlocutor or the communicative function of the variable form' are key factors in IL variation (Tarone 1988:43). They do not discount 'inner processing' or psychological theories, but concentrate on those factors which are external and thus observable.

3.7 Krashen's Five Hypotheses of SLA

Krashen's work in the field of SLA has been highly influential and it was he who first made the following distinction between the terms 'acquisition' and 'learning'. Krashen's five hypotheses (Krashen & Terrell 1983: 30-38) are summarized below:

1. THE ACQUISITION-LEARNING DISTINCTION

Adults have two different ways to develop competence in a language: language acquisition and language learning.

Language acquisition is a subconscious process not unlike the way a child acquires language. Language acquirers are not consciously aware of the grammatical rules of the language, but rather develop a 'feel' for correctness.

Language learning, on the other hand, refers to the 'conscious knowledge of a second language, knowing the rules, being aware of them, and being able to talk about them' (Krashen 1982: 10). Thus language learning can be compared to learning about a

language. The acquisition-learning distinction hypothesis claims that SLA acquisition is analogous to CLA.

2. THE MONITOR HYPOTHESIS

People do not use *learned* knowledge when they speak. Therefore learning has only one function, and that is as a monitor or editor. The function of the monitor is to plan, edit or correct speech, but this can only occur when the learner has time to focus on form, correctness and knows the rule.

3. THE NATURAL ORDER HYPOTHESIS

The acquisition of L2 follows a predictable natural order – some grammatical structures are acquired early in the process of SLA, others later. This hypothesis is not affected by factors such as age, linguistic background or amount of L2 input.

4. THE INPUT HYPOTHESIS

We acquire (not learn) language by understanding input that is a little beyond the current level of competence. Speaking fluency is therefore not directly taught but 'emerges' after the acquirer has built up his/her competence through comprehending input. It follows, therefore, that input must be pitched at the right level for the acquirer to benefit from it. If the language acquirer is regarded as stage i then 'comprehensible input' should be pitched at one stage of difficulty beyond this (i+1).

5. THE AFFECTIVE FILTER HYPOTHESIS

There are a number of 'affective variables' such as motivation, self-confidence and low anxiety which can positively affect the successful acquisition of L2. The reverse of

these variables can raise an 'affective filter' and cause a mental block which prevents the uptake of 'comprehensible input' for acquisition.

The Monitor Hypothesis claims that learning has only one function, and that is as a monitor or editor. Learning in this context contributes to acquisition by revising the utterance, after it has been 'produced' by the acquired system. Krashen is, therefore, claiming that production is acquired via communication and that learning serves only to correct that which is acquired. If this view is taken it follows that the emphasis in language teaching should be on conversational discourse and communication in the TL rather than rule learning. For Krashen it is the 'conscious attending to rules that distinguishes language acquisition from language learning'(Krashen & Terrell 1983: 23). The difficulty with this approach, as McLaughlin (1987: 21) points out, is that it is surely not possible to say with any certainty whether an individual is subconsciously or consciously processing information about language.

While Krashen's Input Hypothesis makes the point that 'speaking fluency emerges' after competence is built up following comprehensible input, Swain (1985) goes further and proposes the *output hypothesis* wherein the act of putting together comprehensible utterances in the TL has the effect of making the learner aware of any gaps in their L2, and provides the opportunity to rectify them, as well as practising new structures and forms. Long (1981: 126-41) proposed that greater attention should be paid to learner interaction in SLA. He suggested that input should not be regarded as a one-way process with the learner absorbing input pitched at the optimum level for comprehension but rather an interactive process between the learner and the TL speaker. The learner

plays an active role in the *interaction hypothesis*, and it is through the recasting, querying and paraphrasing of the input that its usefulness to the learner is enhanced.

3.8 Age and SLA

Although the quote from Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991:116) in **3.5** above contains the statement 'given the evidence that the innate capacity for language learning declines with age', when discussing the relevance of age in SLA the authors state: 'the SL age results look chaotic, some studies appearing to show child superiority, some favouring adults' (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991: 154). The question of whether language is acquired more easily by children than by adults has some implications for the theories of SLA, and the uses to which these theories are put.

Those who feel that adults and children learn differently and at different rates are likely to favour a different approach for teaching based on age differences, whereas those who feel that adults and children are capable of achieving the same levels favour the L1 = L2 approach. This approach claims that the same acquisition process is activated whatever the age of the learner. Krashen, Long and Scarcella (1979: 573-82) claim that 'some fairly clear patterns emerge once long-term and short-term studies are distinguished.' Those patterns indicate that while adults and older children may appear to learn *faster* particularly in the initial stages of L2 acquisition, younger children are *better* especially when it comes to 'ultimate attainment' that is to say their L2 performance will be superior, particularly with regard to phonology, to that of an adult or older child.

It is interesting to note that young children of pre-reading age imitate the sound of the TL without knowing how this sound is represented orthographically. I am not aware of

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any specific studies in this area, but feel that this could contribute to the superiority that they demonstrate in acquiring native-like skills in the TL phonology. Young children are not influenced by the appearance of the TL, anymore than they are by the appearance of their L1 when first acquiring language, and the lack of this distraction is likely to be helpful to them when acquiring their L2 phonology.

3.9 Dynamic Systems Theory and SLA

De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor (2005: 14-25) look at SLA and multilingualism from a Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) perspective. DST comes originally from the field of Biology and 'seeks to clarify systems that seem to be chaotic and self-organizing' (de Bot et al: 14). A dynamic system has two main properties namely that:

- All variables interact
- Continuous interaction keeps changing the system as a whole over time

De Bot et al (2005:15) refer to Van Geert's 1994 work claiming that a system is a system 'primarily because the variables mutually interact. That is, each variable affect all the other variables contained in the system and thus also affects itself'. In addition:

> The principle distinctive property - compared to a constant - is that it changes over time. Consequently, mutual interaction among variables implies that they influence and co-determine each other's changes over time. In this sense, a system is by definition, a dynamic system and so we define a dynamic system as a set of variables that mutually affect each other's changes over time.

In ascribing these properties to SLA de Bot et al (2005: 16) state that: 'Any language is a complex system in its own right with variation at any moment in time and continuous change.' They go on to point out the degree of variation within the dialect of any given language and in the registers and idiolects which are the features of any individual's language. The language of an individual is referred to as a 'sub-system' within the larger system of language. DST can be applied to both a child's L1 and subsequent SLA because a person's knowledge of a language, even their L1, is never stable, but keeps developing as long as that language is used.

Within dynamic systems there are periods of stability and periods of increased variation. Increased internal variation can be an indicator that the system is in the process of rapid change, or in the case of endangered languages, rapid 'decay' or loss. Broderick, (1999: 168) refers to variation in the phonological system of Late Manx, 'particularly in the vowel phonemes' resulting in 'an inability to understand or be understood' as one of the key factors in accelerating language death.

Periods of little internal variation are indicators of stability within the system. De Bot et al (2005: 17) liken such periods to 'attractor states' using the analogy of a pendulum. When a pendulum is first set to swing there are, typically, a few seconds of 'great internal variation', after which 'the pendulum will find its natural path' in which it will continue to swing in a measured way until it is stopped by some external means – the stop is preceded by internal variation analogous to that which occurs before the pendulum finds its natural path. De Bot et al (2005) characterize the 'attractor state' in young children acquiring L1 as the time after the child has acquired one of the 'sub-

systems' of the L1, for example, the formation of the past tense. Once the child is able

to use the past tense correctly, applying both its regular, rule-based form and exceptions

to the rule (according to the speech norms of the child's linguistic environment), the sub-

system of the past tense can be said to be in an 'attractor state' and unlikely to undergo

further change.

Tomasello (2000: 61-82) argues for a 'usage-based theory of language acquisition.'

This theory is based on a number of studies in which children's linguistic input and

output are recorded and studied over a period of time. These studies persuasively

indicate that children learn linguistic rules from input. One study in which the

language of a two year old child was recorded over a six week period showed the child

using set phrases at first, then developing these phrases and using them as framework for

her own utterances. The child discerns a pattern in the construction which Tomasello

calls an 'utterance schema', for example, 'I want X' and is ultimately able to fill the 'X'

slot with the object of choice while retaining the utterance schema. The child absorbs,

learns and eventually repeats complete adult utterances. Linguistic creativity enables

the child to recognize the pattern and utilize it for his/her own needs. Tomasello likens

this process to 'cutting and pasting' and says:

> It is important that in doing their cutting and pasting, children co-ordinate not
> just the linguistic forms involved but also the conventional communicative
> functions of these forms – as otherwise they would be speaking creative
> nonsense (Tomasello 2000: 77).

As de Bot et al (2005: 33) point out, studies such as those conducted by Tomasello

described above seem to encompass both the Skinner and Chomsky approach to

language acquisition. Tomasello shows that Skinner was partly correct in saying that children repeat and imitate adult utterances, but he also takes into account the creativity in child language identified by Chomsky.

> A UG approach postulates that the child already knows the general rules of language, which s/he progressively refines and applies to his/her own language, and a usage-based approach assumes that the child has a general learning mechanism that enables him/her to recognize patterns in utterances and build rules for his/her own language (de Bot et al 2005: 33).

The emphasis Krashen puts on input is compatible with DST in that the learner needs to be exposed to new information in order to progress, but DST also recognizes that any external factor, and this would include formal teaching, affects the system as a whole. DST, in regarding all language as essentially part of one system can acknowledge the cross-linguistic influences of L1 and L2 (as variables of the same system). The attractor state described by DST also serves to describe the state known as 'fossilization' in Interlanguage theory (see **3.6.1** above).

3.10 Conclusion

SLA theories have been drawn from, and in their turn have been influential on, methodologies of second language teaching. There is no area in SLA where 'function-focussed methodology' is more evident than immersion education. Krashen (1984), quoted in Salomone (1992:109) on the subject of French immersion claims that it is 'the most successful programme ever recorded in the professional language-teaching literature.' Immersion education will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Immersion Education

This chapter discusses the immersion education model. A description of immersion methodology will be given with reference to particular examples from the original modern immersion programme in Canada. An account of the educational concerns voiced about this type of education will follow. Studies and reports prepared in response to these concerns will be considered and the phenomenon of 'speaking immersion' will be discussed.

4.1 The Development of Immersion Programmes

Immersion education programmes have become increasingly widespread throughout the world since the development of immersion programmes in Canada. St. Lambert, Quebec, was the first of this type of programme to be implemented, in 1965. To quote Johnson and Swain (1997:2):

> By the mid-1960s, it was already becoming apparent to the English-speaking population of the Canadian province of Quebec that economic survival there would require high levels of proficiency in French. French was (and still is) Quebec's official language, and the language spoken by the majority of its population. However, large enclaves of English speakers knew little of the language. Many had studied French in school, but the small amounts provided and the focus on grammar, memorization, and drill had not provided them with sufficient skills to work in French, or to socialize with French speakers.

A group of parents, who had investigated various types of bilingual education and consulted academics in the field of bilingualism at McGill University, proposed 'a

radical departure from any existing FSL (French Second Language) program in Canada'
(Johnson & Swain 1997:2) to their local school board in St Lambert. They proposed
that French would be used as the *medium* of instruction (and not simply taught as a
subject) for their monolingual English-speaking children from school entry at
kindergarten. The parents and the school board used the term 'immersion program' to
refer to this type of education (Johnson and Swain 1997: 2-3).

Historically, it is by no means unusual for children to be educated through the medium
of a language which is not their L1. The languages of empires and colonial powers have
consistently been employed as the medium of formal education. Latin was used as the
medium of instruction throughout Europe for a thousand years after the fall of the
Roman Empire. English, French and Portuguese are often still the media of instruction
in the schools of their former colonies. The reasons for this vary from lack of agreement
in multilingual societies on which language to appoint as an 'official' language, to the
acknowledgment that L2 instruction in a global language can give advantages which
being monolingual in a minority language cannot (Johnson & Swain 1997: 1). However,
the ethos of immersion programmes differs from that of other forms of L2 medium
because as Johnson and Swain (1997: 2) point out:

> Many second language programs exist today because of the ability of one social
> group to impose its language, or choice of language, on others, coupled with the
> desire to promote linguistic, cultural, and national conformity. Immersion
> education, by contrast, has generally been associated with linguistic choice and
> cultural pluralism.

Immersion education, and in particular the Canadian model, is the first type of L2

medium education to have been the subject of intensive and long term research. Thirty

years of research have been summarized in several volumes (Genesee, 1987; Johnson &

Swain, 1997; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1989) and numerous journal

articles (Mougeon & Rehner, 2001; Tarone & Swain, 1995; Safty, 1992; Barik & Swain,

1976).

The three basic models of immersion education are characterised as follows:

Early immersion (sometimes referred to as Early Total Immersion) beginning at

kindergarten or reception class (aged 4)

Middle immersion beginning at grade/year 4-5 (aged 8-10)

Late immersion beginning at grade/year 7 (aged 11-12)

In early total immersion programmes the entire curriculum is taught through the target

language for the first two years. In the second or third year the L1 is introduced as a

subject for one period per week. Reading is introduced in the TL. The aim is that by the

last year in primary school (year 5/6) the curriculum is taught 50% in the TL and 50%

L1. All immersion programmes offer at least 50% of the curriculum in the TL.

(Cummins 2000: 1-2).

4.2 Immersion or Submersion?

A distinction must be made between the type of immersion programme described in **4.1,**

and the type of education offered to children from ethnic minorities whose home

language is not the community language. Children from these communities have frequently been 'immersed' in schools which replace the child's own L1 with that of the majority community language. Cummins (2001: 148) claims that:

> [...] many US politicians and educational administrators have endorsed 'English immersion' (i.e. a monolingual English programme) as the appropriate response to minority student underachievement.

He goes on to say that controversy in the United States regarding the effectiveness of 'immersion' relative to other bilingual education programmes for underachieving minority students is due two main sources:

> 1) faulty assumptions on both sides of the debate about the causes of minority student underachievement; 2) misunderstanding about what exactly an immersion programme entails (Cummins 2001: 149).

Underachievement, as Cummins points out, can be due to societal rather than linguistic factors.

Cohen and Swain (1976: 45-53) use the term 'submersion,' rather than immersion to describe the experience of minority language students educated in mainstream majority language education. They liken submersion to a 'sink or swim' approach, where the minority child's cultural and linguistic differences are ignored.

The starting point for children in submersion programmes differs from that of children in immersion programmes. Children in submersion programmes are mixed together with children whose L1 is that of the school and community, whereas in the Canadian

immersion model all children start with little or no competence in the TL. This can lead to a situation where the submersion child's (understandable) lack of proficiency is attributed to 'limited intellectual and academic ability'. Teachers in immersion programmes are expected to be bilingual, and able to communicate with the child in his/her L1 where necessary. This is not the case in submersion programmes where, by contrast, the teacher is unlikely to be able to understand the child's L1. Aspects of the minority language child's identity which are associated with their L1 and home culture are not positively reinforced by the school. The submersion child cannot help but feel his/her own linguistic shortcomings in an environment where the majority of the other children are using their L1. By contrast, children in an L2 immersion environment find their every utterance in the TL enthusiastically received, and feel proud of their achievement (Cohen and Swain 1976: 51).

Submersion programmes, therefore, despite their superficial resemblance to immersion programmes, (they both offer L2 medium education) are subtractive. One language (the child's L1) is replaced by another (the majority L2). Immersion programmes to quote Johnson and Swain (1997: 7 'aim for additive bilingualism' that is, children acquire a 'high level' of L2 proficiency in addition to their L1, rather than replacing it.

4.3 Features of Immersion Programmes

Johnson and Swain (1997: 6-7) identify eight core features of a prototypical immersion programme, summarized as follows:

1. The L2 is a medium of instruction. The assumption underlying the use of L2 as the medium of instruction is that of the communicative approach to language teaching and the use of L2 medium maximises the quantity of comprehensible input and purposeful use of the TL.

2. The immersion programme parallels the local L1 curriculum. It is therefore defined in terms of L1 speakers' needs, aspirations and educational norms.

3. Overt support exists for the L1. This is an essential element within the curriculum and attitudes towards the L1 are assumed to be positive. At a minimum the L1 is taught as a curriculum subject from around grade/year 3 and in partial immersion programmes up to half of the curriculum is taught in the L1.

4. The programme aims for additive bilingualism. By the end of the programme L1 proficiency should be comparable to that of students who have studied through their L1. In addition, a high, though not native-speaker, level of proficiency is achieved in the L2.

5. Exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom. The prototypical immersion context would be one in which students have little or no exposure to the L2 outside the classroom.

6. Students enter with similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency.

7. The teachers are bilingual.

8. The classroom culture is that of the local L1 community. The classroom culture of the prototypical immersion programme, like its curriculum, is that of the community from which the students are drawn and not that of a community where the target language is the L1.

Johnson and Swain do not claim that all the above eight features must be present in every immersion programme, only that they must be present to 'some extent' for the term immersion to be applied in a meaningful manner. They do however point out that variation in the core features has 'implications for programme administration and planning, pedagogy and learning outcomes' (Johnson & Swain 1997: 8).

As I have indicated above in **4.1,** the level within the educational system at which the immersion programme is introduced can vary according to the age at which children

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enter the immersion programme (early, middle or late immersion), as can the ratio of L1 to L2 medium instruction (from a minimum of 50% target language to total immersion). Immersion programmes also vary in that some are able to offer continuity from primary to secondary levels. This is clearly preferable to those which end at primary level, given that the prototypical immersion programme entails that there is little exposure to the L2 outside the classroom.

The special features of immersion programmes, as compared with L1 mainstream education create the need for extra resources. Maintaining two educational media, L1 and L2, makes heavier demands than a monolingual programme. Ideally, language specific materials should be provided and additional teacher training should be implemented. However, many immersion programmes are initiated without any additional resources, particularly in the area of language revival immersion programmes, which by their very nature are deficient in language specific teaching materials. Johnson and Swain (1997: 10) state:

> [...] extra resources have been influential in the success of some immersion programs, and their absence has contributed to the relative failure of others

In recognition of the above, some local authorities give additional funding to immersion schools in their area. For example, in Northern Ireland the Belfast Education and Library Board provide an extra £100 per pupil in primary Irish medium education and £25 per post primary pupil (Jennifer Henderson, Acting Local Management of Schools Officer, BELB, pers. comm. 1/04/06).

In prototypical immersion programmes as defined by Johnson and Swain the equality in status of L1 and L2 is held to be an important factor. That is, there are equal (but not the same) advantages to be gained from either L1 or L2 as a medium of instruction. In some instances, for example, L2 English immersion programmes in Hong Kong, there are perceived economic and academic advantages to be gained from fluency in the L2 and consequently it may be difficult to maintain a comparable L1 programme at the higher levels in the educational system. On the other hand, where the economic or career opportunities offered by the L2 are limited, the case for the continuity of immersion programmes at higher levels (where exam performance is evaluated through L1) may be adversely affected (Johnson & Swain 1997: 11).

In the domain of the immersion school/unit, concepts and objects which the children may never have encountered before are introduced to them in the immersion language. This may cause some short term problems for primary immersion children if they subsequently attend L1 medium secondary schools. Maguire (1991: 175) observes:

> One of the minor difficulties encountered by SRC [Shaw's Road Children attending Irish medium school] when they transferred to local secondary schools concerned their unfamiliarity with school terminology in English

It should be pointed out, however, that the original nine children attending the Shaw's Road Irish-medium school in Belfast all spoke Irish in the home and were being educated in their L1 (rather than L2 immersion) their contact with English (the majority language of the wider community) was, therefore, more restricted than is usual in

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immersion programmes. Nonetheless, this is a matter worth addressing when considering the transition of children from L2 primary immersion to L1 mainstream secondary schools.

4.4 Benefits of a Bilingual Education

The purpose of immersion programmes is to provide children with an L2 medium education which both parallels the local L1 curriculum and enables them to achieve additive bilingualism. Johnson and Swain (1997: 15) state that:

> Under conditions favourable to immersion, claims based on research have gone beyond additive bilingualism to include cognitive, cultural, and psychological advantages.

It is evident that a bilingual child, exposed to more than one language system, becomes aware at a very young age that objects and concepts may have more than one referent or phonological representation. Cummins (2000: 6) summarises the conclusions drawn from research on the academic, linguistic, and intellectual effects of bilingualism as follows:

> The development of additive bilingual and biliteracy skills entails no negative consequences for children's academic, linguistic, or intellectual development. On the contrary, although not conclusive, the evidence points in the direction of subtle metalinguistic, academic and intellectual benefits for bilingual children.

4.5 Cummins' Hypotheses

The difference in outcome between submersion and immersion in a second language as described in **4.2** above led Cummins to posit two well-known hypotheses, the threshold

hypothesis and the interdependence hypothesis. These two hypotheses are frequently used to explain the results of studies of the effects of second language acquisition on first language skills. They are summarised below:

Cummins' Threshold Hypothesis

The threshold hypothesis seeks to account for the apparent contradiction between the positive effect of immersion and the negative effect of submersion. After considering linguistic, social and school programme factors, Cummins suggests that the level of the student's existing L1 competence is a crucial factor in determining whether s/he will experience cognitive benefits or deficits from L2 education (Cummins, 1976; 1978a). In order to experience the benefits of L2 education it is necessary for the child to have reached a certain 'threshold' in L1 competence. In the case of minority children, who start their education before their L1 is fully developed, this threshold is unlikely to have been reached. A child speaking the majority language does not have this problem because their L1 is both the language of the home and of the wider community and thus their L1 competency continues to develop. Cummins (1979: 222) developed the threshold hypothesis further by claiming that to 'allow the potentially beneficial aspects of second language learning to influence a student's cognitive and academic functioning' a threshold in L2 competence must also be reached.

An obvious difficulty with the threshold hypothesis as Bournot-Trites and Tellowitz (2002: 20) point out is that:

> it cannot be supported experimentally since there is no definition to the "threshold level necessary".

Nonetheless, this hypothesis has been highly influential. Cummins cited comparative studies between total and partial French immersion in support of his threshold hypothesis. Students in total immersion programmes not only attained a level of functional competence faster than those in partial immersion, but also, according to Swain (1978) performed at a significantly higher level in L1 English tests than control groups. The conclusion drawn by Cummins (1979: 232) was that the higher level of French achieved by the total immersion students also made it possible for them to enhance their L1 academic skills.

Cummins' Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis

This hypothesis proposes that there is:

> an interaction between the language of instruction and the type of competence a child has developed in his L1 prior to school (Cummins 1979: 233).

Cummins regards the development of L2 to be dependent on the level or threshold of the immersion educated child's L1. A high level of L2 competence is likely to occur where there is ongoing and sufficient L1 support outside school. The interdependence hypothesis of L2 and L1 achievement is described by Cummins (1984: 41) as follows:

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly.

Observing that there is little correlation between the time spent teaching in the majority first language and achievement in that language Cummins concludes (2000:7) that 'first and second language skills are interdependent, that is, they are manifestations of a

common underlying proficiency.' And it is this 'common underlying proficiency' which

facilitates the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy related skills across languages.

In an extension of his interdependence hypothesis Cummins introduces the concepts of

'basic interpersonal communication skills' (BICS) and 'cognitive academic language

proficiency' (CALP) and observes that:

> with the exception of severely retarded and autistic children everybody acquires
> basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in a first language regardless of
> IQ or academic aptitude. (Cummins 2001: 112)

This does not imply that there are no individual differences of degree, in for example,

oral fluency, but these differences are not considered to be related to cognitive or

academic performance. Cummins uses the term 'cognitive academic language

proficiency' (CALP) to refer to 'the dimension of language proficiency that is related to

literacy skills.' Despite the fact that the development of both L1 BICS and L1 CALP is

dependent on interpersonal communication, proficiency in L1 BICS is not necessarily

predictive of the level of L1 CALP. Similarly, a high level of L2 BICS does not imply

a commensurate level of L2 CALP. Cummins regards the main implication for

bilingual education to be that:

> just as in a unilingual situation, L1 BICS (e.g. fluency) tells us virtually nothing
> about L1 CALP; native-like L2 BICS in a bilingual situation tells us very little
> about a child's ability to survive educationally in an L2 only classroom
> (Cummins 2001:117).

This is because native-like L2 BICS can be misleading in so far as it can conceal large gaps in L2 CALP.

4.6 Immersion Education Research

Immersion education has been the subject of many studies, particularly those which seek to discover the influence of second language learning on first language skills. The question of whether learning through a second language would adversely affect their child's L1 abilities and overall academic development is one which continues to be asked by parents considering this type of education programme. However, the results of empirical research show no such adverse effects. The following representative examples of immersion education research serve to illustrate the benefits of a bilingual education implemented under optimum immersion conditions.

Typically immersion students show some initial lag in first language literacy skills when compared with monolinguals, but this is no longer evident when instruction in L1 is introduced, usually in the third or fourth year of immersion.

Lambert and Tucker (1972: 43) showed that in oral L1 English skills (listening comprehension, oral production and vocabulary) immersion students performed equally as well as the control group in mainstream education. The speaking skills of grade 1 and grade 2 students were tested by asking them to create a story for a comic strip. The stories were recorded and the number of nouns, verbs, adjectives and grammatical errors counted. This gives a clear indication that their oral skills in their first language, English, continued to develop out of the school environment. Lambert and Tucker attributed these results to the development of a linguistic 'detective' capacity (1972:

208). They suggested that French immersion (or presumably any L2 immersion) encourages the student to compare differences and similarities in both languages and stimulates them 'to build vocabulary and to comprehend complex linguistic functions' (1972: 208). They suggest that there is either a transfer of skills from one language to the other, or the development of a higher order cognitive skill which may be developed in one language and utilised in the other. This is analogous to Cummins' interdependence hypothesis. In a study of the acquisition of reading skills Genesee (1979: 77) found that there was also a high correlation between L1 and L2 reading skills, and concluded that proficiency in reading was transferred from one language to the other.

Research continues to show that L2 education has no detrimental effect on L1 skills. Bournot-Trites and Tellowitz (2002) cite a report to the Ontario Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO), conducted by Turnbull, Hart and Lapkin (2000), in which French immersion is evaluated with regard to its effect on English literacy and mathematics. EQAO test results of French immersion students were compared with those of mainstream English programmes and students in enrichment programmes (a highly selected group of good students). Bournot-Trites and Tellowitz (2002: 18) state that: 'the tests are now curriculum based and include a greater variety of test types than did the tests in the 1970s and 1980s'.

The students were drawn from sixty-two school districts. The results show that grade 3 immersion students performed at comparable levels to the English programme students in reading and writing (apart from the expected lag in grade 3 early total immersion prior

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to formal English instruction). Test results for grade 6 showed all the immersion students outperforming the mainstream students in all skill areas (2002: 17). These results confirm and reinforce the outcome of earlier research by, for example, Lambert and Tucker (1972), Swain and Lapkin (1982) which show there is no threat to English literacy from L2 immersion.

Turnbull et al (2000) also found that the performance of immersion students in mathematics at grade 3 was similar for French immersion and mainstream students (the maths test is in French for the immersion students at this stage). At grade 6, where most schools chose to take the test in English, the immersion students outperformed the mainstream students, including those in enrichment programmes.

Bournot-Trites and Reeder (2001) carried out a study in a Vancouver immersion school to ascertain whether the students' proficiency in mathematics would change when it was taught in L2 French rather than L1 English. This was a longitudinal study designed to address parental concerns regarding their children's achievement in mathematics taught through French rather than English. Mathematics tests are usually in English in Canadian provincial exams. The researchers used English tests for two groups of students. The first group had been taught maths in French from grade 4-7, and the second had been taught maths in English. The test was taken at the end of grade 6. The first group, which had been taught maths through French, gained higher results than the comparison group (2001: 12) in all areas tested. Bournot-Trites and Reeder (2001: 13) consider that these results indicate:

> [...] the students who had acquired their mathematical knowledge were able to retrieve it in English. Concepts learned in one language could be expressed in the second language without any cost.

4.7 Speaking Immersion

The above results have all been drawn from the successful and extensively researched French immersion models in Canada. There is little doubt that their success has been an encouragement and inspiration to those wishing to implement immersion programmes elsewhere in the world. Although these programmes vary to a greater or lesser extent from the prototypical Johnson and Swain core features, this does not alter the fact that contextual, functional learning of a second language (in immersion situations) is regarded as more successful than traditional form-focussed language lessons.

Initial concerns regarding immersion education focussed on the possible adverse effects on L1, and whether learning through the medium of a second language would result in lower achievements across the core curriculum. Studies of immersion education in Canada, the United States (see above) and elsewhere clearly show no adverse effects on L1 skills, and equal or higher achievements than peer groups in mainstream education. In addition, high proficiency is attained in the immersion language without recourse to formal language learning.

Immersion education produces highly competent speakers of the target language (TL); however, the language they produce is open to the charge of attaining fluency at the price of accuracy. Commenting on French immersion, Kowal and Swain (1997: 285) say:

It has been found that although immersion students can reach native-speaker levels on receptive tasks such as listening and reading comprehension, their productive skills, spoken and written remain below these levels. Indeed, the immersion classroom environment, which might typically consist of approximately twenty-five learners of French and one native speaker – or near native-speaker – of French as the teacher, produces a distinct interlanguage by the grade 8 level.

The question of how 'success' is evaluated in immersion programmes is dependent on what standard of L2 proficiency is used as a yardstick against which the immersion student's L2 is to be measured.

When L2 proficiency is evaluated against students who have studied the target language as a subject, immersion students are frequently considered to be highly successful. Against native speakers of a target language, immersion students' proficiency is evaluated more critically as non-standard in terms of grammar and pronunciation and limited in its range of communicative functions that can be performed. Insofar as native-speaker competence is its aim, an immersion program may be perceived as having failed (Johnson and Swain 1997: 11).

Once a level of communicative competence is reached and mutual understanding is achieved the motivation for accuracy decreases accordingly. Children in immersion programmes 'focus more on content than language, that is, more on meaning than syntax' (Kowal and Swain 1997: 286).

Hammerly's 1987 paper *'The Immersion Approach: Litmus Test of Second Language Acquisition through Classroom Communication'* is particularly critical of the language production of immersion educated children which he refers to as 'an error-laden classroom pidgin' (1987: 399). He claims that over the years 'certain scholars have found that when it comes to the productive skills of speaking and writing, immersion students are far from linguistically competent' (1987: 395). The paper quotes from a

study carried out by Pellerin and Hammerly in 1986 in which they interviewed six students after almost thirteen years of French immersion. Only non-native-like errors were counted, yet the researchers found that 'the mean number of sentences containing one or more grammatical or lexical errors was 53.8 per cent.' In addition they considered the students' language to be 'repetitive, with frequent false starts, circumlocutions and so forth' (1987: 396). On the whole the students produced short sentences, only attempting complex sentences in which the structure was common to both languages, and kept to familiar topics. According to Hammerly there were errors in most structures, but the majority related to the verb system, use of idiom, prepositions, noun gender, pronouns and articles. In short, Hammerly believes that 'immersion programmes may be communicatively and culturally successful, and politically very successful, but linguistically they are a failure' (1987: 399). This point of view totally discounts the fact that immersion programmes produce many more *speakers* of the TL than any other language programme and assumes that any problems are permanent and irreversible. Hammerly makes the point that 'immersion' is an inaccurate term for the reality of immersion programmes. He uses the analogy of an object immersed in water, in the sense of being *surrounded* by water which implies that the child in an immersion programme is similarly surrounded by native language speakers of the target language, and points out that this is not what happens in immersion programmes:

> The sociolinguistically natural environment of second-language acquisition involves being surrounded by older native speakers or native language-speaking peers. This does not happen and cannot happen in the second or foreign language classroom. Instead, there is one native speaker, if that, and each learner is surrounded by, and interacts with thirty other learners who misuse the target language just as badly as he or she does (Hammerly 1987: 398)

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It is now twenty years since the publication of Hammerly's paper, and immersion

education programmes continue to flourish and increase in number. The criticisms made

by Hammerly were perfectly valid, although extrapolated from a very small study, and

others (Lyster 1987; Kowal & Swain 1997) have also made similar observations

regarding the nature of immersion French.

Kowal and Swain (1997) hypothesised that activities incorporated into grammar

teaching which encouraged students to consider the source of their output would help

syntactic processing. Output and interaction in language learning/acquisition provide

the learner with the opportunity for both practice in the TL and the development of

automaticity (which cannot well be achieved any other way).

In producing language, learners may discover what they do not know, which triggers an
analysis of incoming data (syntactic analysis of input) or an analysis of existing internal
linguistic resources, in order to fill the knowledge gap (Kowal & Swain 1997: 293).

Kowal and Swain consider that the development of syntactic processing may be

'insufficiently exploited' in immersion programmes and that the classroom environment

can hamper interlanguage development.

The language variety produced by majority language immersion students may be a

matter of some concern on a local level but it is unlikely to have any impact on the

language itself. Majority languages such as French or Spanish are global languages

with millions of native speakers, strong enough to withstand the influence of immersion

varieties, but minority language immersion may well be vulnerable to their influence.

Thomas (1991: 46) claims that the Welsh spoken by new speakers in south-east Wales,

that is, by children who have attended Welsh medium schools 'is characteristically

marked by features which are not characteristic of other, traditional varieties'. He

stresses that these children have good communicative competence but expresses concern

with regard to 'grammatical and sociolinguistic competence and performance.' Native

Welsh speakers of traditional Welsh varieties have been, according to Thomas, less than

complimentary about the new speakers' language to the extent of calling the language

spoken by pupils attending a school called *Ysgol Rhydfelen* 'Rhydfelenese'.

A random sample of 60 children aged 12 was chosen to take part in a test to establish

levels of native-speaker-like production of Welsh prepositional pronouns. The children

consisted of three groups; L1 Welsh speakers from south-east Wales, L2 speakers who

attended schools with L1 peers and a group labelled L3 who had minimal L1 contact.

The percentage of standard forms produced by the groups were as follows:

L1 74%

L2 61%

L3 62%

Thomas says 'our own native-speaker intuition tells us that we would expect 12 year

olds to have completely mastered this piece of inflectional morphology', but points out

that the L1 Welsh speaking children in the sample are from south-east Wales rather from

the 'high density Welsh speaking communities in west Wales', and goes on to conclude

that:

> So-called L1 Welsh speakers in the anglicised south-east Wales do not
> necessarily have native-speaker-like control of all aspects of the language (Wynn
> Thomas 1991: 53)

He does, however, state that all the variants produced by the children were 'entirely credible creations' (1991: 52) and comments on the degree of uniformity with respect to one particular feature that appears across the three groups although they had had no contact with each other. This leads him to speculate on the 'possible sociolinguistic significance of "errors"', which he believes in this instance may be an example of L2-led development in the spoken language or the 'manifestations of the linguistic vitality of the children as they draw on the stock of native morphological processes to create their own linguistic identity.'

'Developing Linguistic Accuracy in Irish-medium Primary Schools' (2002) - a report by Henry, Andrews and Ó Cainín sets out to identify areas of difficulty, to consider possible reasons for their occurrence, and how they might be addressed. The study begins by acknowledging the fact that children attending Irish-medium[16] primary schools have little difficulty in acquiring most aspects of the language and generally become competent and fluent speakers. However, their spoken language 'remains non-native-like in a few areas for some time during the course of their development' (2002: 2). Teachers in Irish-medium schools (often the main or sole providers of TL input) have expressed concerns about levels of linguistic accuracy, at what stage they should be attained, and interest in the strategies which might be employed to address areas of particular concern.

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[16] The Irish-medium schools referred to in this report are situated in Northern Ireland and are immersion schools. The overwhelming majority of children who attend are L1 English speakers.

Errors are a natural part of the language acquisition process and can be expected to be a feature of the learner's interlanguage. However, in an immersion setting where access to native speakers of the TL is limited or non-existent, it is easy for errors to become fossilized and reinforced by peer group interaction. The main objectives of this study were, therefore:

- To identify those errors that are part of the language acquisition process and can be expected to be resolved with increasing proficiency, and those which need attention from the teachers.

- To consider strategies for improving accuracy in these areas.

Data were collected from *Gaelscoil na bhFál* in Belfast. Twenty-one children, all from English-speaking homes and without older siblings in Irish-medium education, were chosen, and their language was recorded and analyzed. Henry et al stress the point:

> [...] that the children at all ages from P3 onwards have a very high level of communicative skill; they rarely have problems getting a point across, and they use Irish willingly and without hesitation' (2002: 4).

The communicative approach used in immersion education produces 'very fluent and competent Irish speakers' who are able to increase their range of vocabulary and syntax as they move up through the school.

The errors of interest to the researchers were those which appeared to fossilize and become part of the children's internal grammars. Overt correction of errors is avoided in the immersion classroom, as this is believed to impede the process of natural acquisition. It is important to reiterate the key difference in outcome between

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immersion programmes and traditional language teaching in the classroom, which is the fact that it is the norm for almost all children in immersion programmes to emerge as competent speakers of the TL. This is far from the case with traditional, taught L2 acquisition, where levels of achievement and performance tend to vary widely with only a few children emerging with good communicative competence.

The areas of Irish syntax with which the children had most difficulty and produced non-native-like forms were: object placement in infinitival clauses, use of the copula, and failure to incorporate prepositions in prepositional pronoun constructions.

Lack of sufficient exposure to target forms of the language, and the reinforcing effect of using non-target forms with peer groups encourages the continued misuse of these forms. An increase of feedback, giving the correct structure (recasts), rather than overt correction, is recommended by the researchers as being the most likely to effect progress, together with the development of materials such as rhymes and repetitive songs thereby increasing early exposure to the full range of, for example, appropriate copula usage (2002: 26). Overall, Henry et al concluded:

> there are very few aspects of the language where particular difficulty is experienced, and where the focused work, and means of increasing exposure to these structures in a classroom setting is needed (2002: 26).

4.8 Conclusion

The first immersion programmes in Canada laid the foundations for others to build on and extend in the field of second language acquisition. Immersion education

programmes which fulfil the needs of the school curriculum, whilst, at the same time, providing children with a high level of L2 proficiency, contrast favourably with the type of bilingual programme which is achieved at the expense of the minority language child's L1. The evidence shows that children educated in immersion programmes achieve functional bilingualism. Immersion education has been extensively researched over the past thirty years, and its strengths and weaknesses are well documented as are the additional cognitive, social and cultural benefits likely to ensue from it.

The studies which I have discussed in this chapter have largely addressed initial concerns about the effects of L2 immersion on L1 skills. As these reports show, immersion education, as exemplified by Johnson and Swain's core features, causes no detrimental effects on the L1. The question of non-native-like speech, which I have addressed in section **4.7** is, as I have indicated, of rather more importance in the situation of heritage or minority language immersion. The next chapter will cover the topic of immersion education in minority languages and language revival, specifically that of the Celtic languages in the Britain and Ireland.

Chapter 5

Immersion Education in Minority Language Support and Revival

In this chapter I discuss the effectiveness of immersion education for minority language support and revival. All the Celtic languages with the exception of Cornish now have immersion programmes in place, with the aim of halting/reversing language shift. The studies discussed cover an age range from pre-school to secondary school and point to possible problems of mixing L1 speakers of the target language with L2 learners. These examples are followed by a detailed account of the foundation of the Manx-medium playgroups, nurseries, and in due course, Bunscoill Ghaelgagh.

> Wherever the number of native speakers declines in a community that is nevertheless determined to maintain its language, identity, and culture, immersion is likely to be an important means, perhaps the only one, for reversing or halting the process of extinction (Johnson and Swain 1997: 5).

5.1 Minority Language Immersion Programmes

Minority language immersion programmes are, as Johnson and Swain indicate, the only realistic way of increasing or maintaining the number of speakers of a language when intergenerational transfer (for whatever reason) ceases to happen. Examples include the Maori immersion programme in New Zealand, immersion in the native language of Hawaii, and Native American language immersion programmes in Canada and the United States. Problems common to minority language immersion programmes are: the lack of teachers with sufficient training and proficiency in the TL, lack of TL resources, and the need for the creation of relevant vocabulary for using the TL as a teaching medium. These problems are acute in languages which are spoken by a minority but

nonetheless do have a population of native speakers. They present an even greater

challenge in the small number of instances where there are no surviving native speakers.

The revival of Hebrew as a vernacular language in Israel was inspired and instigated as a

response to very particular circumstances, but is, nonetheless, a demonstration of what it

is possible to achieve. Although the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language began in

the 1880s in Palestine, Garside (1999: 11), commenting on Ben-Yehuda's idea to adopt

Hebrew as the language of instruction in schools says 'it is perhaps here, in the field of

his teaching, that Ben Yehuda succeeded most in making his dream a reality.'

It is interesting to note the pivotal role religion may play with regard to language. In the

case of Hebrew the language was always employed for sacred use, which ensured its

continued existence in at least one domain. In many countries of the world Christian

colonisers, wishing to exert spiritual as well as temporal power over subject peoples,

have caused the Bible to be translated into indigenous languages to facilitate their

conversion, thereby providing them with a future resource for language revival.

For example, the Mashantucket Pequot Native Americans are currently involved in

reviving their native language, which has had no native speaker for six generations,

using a Bible translation and a small number of documents as a resource (Margaret

Seguin Anderson, Professor, UNBC pers. comm. 30/05/06).

Revival immersion programmes, without the luxury of native-speaker comparisons, have

as their goal, an increase in *speakers* of the revived language. Adult L2 learners show a

greater reluctance to use their emerging language skills and it is clearly preferable to target children if there is to be a realistic hope of either avoiding language death or promoting language revival.

5.2 Bilingual/ Immersion Education in the Britain and Ireland
5.2.1 Welsh-medium Education

Welsh and Irish medium education both predate the concept of immersion education as described in the previous chapter.

The first Welsh-medium primary school to be supported by public funding was established in Llanelli in 1947, and the first Welsh-medium secondary school (initially in Rhyl, subsequently St Asaph) followed in 1956[17]. These schools were not immersion schools but rather provided Welsh-medium education for L1 Welsh speaking children. However, by the 1960s increasing numbers of children in Welsh-medium education came from non-Welsh-speaking homes.

Children from both Welsh speaking and non Welsh speaking homes also have the opportunity to attend Welsh medium playgroups and nurseries from an early age. *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin,* the movement for Welsh medium nursery schools is responsible for setting up *Cylchoedd Meithrin* (nursery circles) and *Ti a Fi* parent and toddler groups, where parents attend with their children, thus enabling them to socialise and speak/learn some Welsh along with their young children[18].

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[17] http://bwrdd.yriaith.org.uk
[18] www.bbc.co.uk/wales/schoolgate/aboutschool 15/08/06

In a draft report[19] for the Welsh Language Board, Colin Baker, (2004 personal

communication) observes:

> responding initially to the needs of non-Welsh speaking parents who wished their children to be educated in Welsh, Welsh medium provision rapidly became the desired option for increasing numbers of parents and pupils whose home language was English.

Baker also believes that the:

> significant growth in numbers that has characterised the Welsh medium sector is due in no small part to the success of immersion teaching methods used in order to maximise pupils' competence in the language.

Immersion teaching in Wales differs in two respects from Johnson and Swain's

prototypical eight core features. Firstly, there are still areas particularly in North Wales,

where Welsh is the community language and is therefore the L1 of many children who

attend Welsh-medium schools (see feature 5 'exposure to the L2 is largely confined to

the classroom'). Secondly, as a consequence of this, there is a mixture of L1 and L2

Welsh speakers in some immersion classrooms (see feature 6 students enter with similar

levels of L2 proficiency). However, mixing L1 and L2 speakers is not unusual in

minority language immersion classrooms (see, for example, Johnstone et al 1999,

section **5.24**; Roberts 1990, section **5.24**; Hickey 2001 section **5.3** below). Baker's report

also draws attention to the fact that examination results for children in Welsh-language

education have more than reassured parents concerned about the 'possible negative

effects on children of having to deal with two languages', as the following data show:

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[19] Subsequently unpublished

- A greater proportion of 15 year olds in Welsh medium schools achieved 5 or more A*- C grades at GCSE (59% compared to 47% in English medium schools)

- The average GCSE/GNVQ points score of fifteen year old pupils in Welsh medium schools was higher than in English-medium schools (45 compared to 36)

- A greater proportion of 16-18 year olds who were entered for two or more A levels (or who achieved vocational equivalents) achieved two or more A levels at grade A-C (65% Welsh-medium compared to 58% in English medium schools)

The National Assembly's Statistics Office analysis shows that the increased performance cannot be explained by social factors such as the relative prosperity or deprivation of pupils. Welsh medium pupils still outperform English medium pupils after these factors are taken into account.

Welsh-medium education, whilst an inspiring example, in terms of educational outcomes, does not provide an especially good comparison for the first Manx-medium immersion school. This is not only because of the mix of L1 and L2 Welsh speakers in immersion classrooms, but also because there is, to quote Baker (2004): 'a substantial difference in the medium of instruction offered by the various models of Welsh medium schools.' Welsh-medium is used for all subjects in some schools, but in others, English is the medium for mathematics and science. It is also the case that in some 'traditionally Welsh-medium primary schools' Welsh is the language of the infant section but English

is the medium of instruction in the junior section. There is, as Baker states: 'a marked lack of consistency in the way in which schools are categorised according to their language provision.' This is despite the fact that the 1988 Education Reform Act gave Welsh the status of a core curriculum subject in predominantly Welsh-speaking and bilingual schools, and a foundation subject in all other Welsh schools[20].

However, statistics in the Baker 2004 draft report indicate that:

> with the development of the Welsh medium school model, both in anglicised areas of Wales, and in the more Welsh speaking counties of Môn, Gwynedd, Ceredigion, and Carmarthen, there has been an equivalent increase in the numbers of pupils judged by school heads to be fluent in Welsh in spite of a decrease in the number of pupils who have learnt Welsh at home.

Percentage of pupils aged 5 and over fluent in Welsh

	% fluent at home	% fluent through schooling	total
1987/8	7.1%	6.0%	13.2%
1994/5	6.5%	8.8%	15.3%
2001/2	6.2%	10.5%	16.8%

These figures would seem to give great encouragement to language revival movements wherein the only access to the TL is through schooling but the report also points out the need for consistency in the definition of 'fluency' by school heads and that:

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[20] www.bbc.co.uk/wales/schoolgate/aboutschool 15/08/06

all pupils who sit Key Stage 2 Welsh (age 10-11) are defined as fluent, although, because of anglicized home and society background, they are likely to be less fluent than those defined as such in traditionally Welsh-speaking parts of Wales (Baker 2004).

This, therefore, renders the above figures somewhat more ambiguous than is immediately apparent.

An interesting study by Cen Williams (2002) *A Language Gained: A Study of Language Immersion at 11-16 years of age in a Welsh secondary school,* shows the approach to immersion and bilingual education taken by one secondary school in Wales (1994-1999). The particular school chosen for this study is a bilingual comprehensive secondary school and was at the time the 'only example of an immersion situation at 11 years of age in Wales' (2002: 6). In his introduction to this study Williams observes:

> Cummins' basic theory of BICS and CALP throws some light on our lack of success in second language teaching in the past and explains why it is only the designated bilingual schools that have had real success in teaching Welsh as a second language.

The study of immersion at secondary school age also contributes to the 'older is faster, younger is better' debate (see Chapter 3.8), which suggests that younger children are better than both adults and older children at acquiring a second language.

There were originally sixteen pupils in the study group, which represented 20% of the total number of pupils entering the secondary school at year 7. Of the other children entering the school that year, 18% were classed as Welsh speakers (they spoke Welsh at home and had attended Welsh medium primary schools) and 62% were classed as

learners (they attended Welsh medium primary schools but came from English speaking homes). We are told nothing further regarding the pupils' background, save 'most of the pupils live in the new Flintshire County area that was formed after the reorganisation of local authorities in 1996. The area's socio-linguistic, cultural and industrial background is extremely varied.'

It is, I feel, somewhat misleading to classify the 20% as 'learners who attended English medium primary schools and who come from homes where English is spoken.' This gives the initial impression that none of the sixteen had any knowledge of Welsh, whereas, as is made clear later, only one of the pupils had 'no experience whatsoever of the Welsh language.' The remaining members of the group had attended English medium primary schools in Wales and consequently all had received some Welsh lessons[21]. Therefore, the group as a whole had 'similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency' (see Chapter 4.3 core features). There would, however, be greater opportunities to hear the target language in a bilingual school than is usually the case in an immersion setting. As it is the policy of the school to academically stream within subject areas at year 9, this group of students was dispersed with their year group after two years.

It is usual for pupils about to transfer from primary to secondary education to make a one-day visit to the secondary school to familiarise themselves with their new

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[21] Welsh became a compulsory subject for all pupils in Wales at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 (up to age 14) in 1990. Key Stage 4 (up to age 16) was made a compulsory subject in 1999. In theory all pupils attending Welsh schools now study Welsh (either as a L1 or L2) for 12 years.
www.bbc.co.uk/wales/schoolgate/aboutschool 15/08/06

environment. For the pupils in this class, a week-long visit was arranged, where they had the opportunity to get to know each other, the geography of the school, and the teachers. They also followed an intensive Welsh course each morning with the Welsh teacher and/or the History and Geography teachers (both also Welsh teachers), and were given a foretaste of Welsh medium subject lessons. In addition they were able to familiarise themselves with 'the vocabulary of communication used daily at the school' (2002: 11), the importance of which has been observed in Chapter 4.3 with regard to children transferring from Irish medium primary to English medium secondary school. Williams also felt that an important feature of the visit was to reassure the pupils that the aim of the school was to increase bilingualism and not to 'abandon their mother tongue' and, accordingly, respect was shown to both languages.

Curricular Changes

It was necessary for the school to make certain curricular changes in order to give this group of students a more extensive experience of Welsh in their first year of Welsh medium secondary education. These changes included integrating History, Geography and Drama with Welsh, and not offering French or choir lessons. The group did not lose the opportunity to study French because they were given an intensive 10 hour French course in the July of that school year and would have three French lessons a week in the following school year (year 8). Williams points out (2002: 13) 'There is no evidence that group members who chose French as a GCSE subject suffered in any way because of this arrangement' and furthermore he considers that 'by adapting the curriculum in this way, pupils were able to:

- master the communicative aspects (BICS)

- use the second language in their subject areas in an academic, cognitive way (CALP) from the outset.

It should also be noted that as CALP is the 'dimension of language proficiency related to literacy skill' (see Chapter 4.5) this study is also an illustration of the interpendence hypothesis (transfer of skills). The use of CALP only occurs 'from the outset' in literate older children or adults.

The following factors are some of those identified by Williams as being 'instrumental in accelerating the pupils' development' (2002: 17):

- The liveliness of teaching, the oral use of some unfamiliar 'text book' forms, the use of English, creating an agreeable environment for the learners and introducing grammatical points from the start.

- The Glan Llyn (outdoor activities centre) course, held for each group of year 7 learners. This is an intensive language course which combines opportunities for social language use interspersed with physical and educational activities.

In particular, the Glan Llyn course was regarded as being a 'turning point in the Welsh language development of this class' (2002: 20). The children were able to interact with their teachers in a more relaxed way, and were more willing to use the language away from the formal school environment. It was felt that 'each child progressed and some

showed substantial progress in that they gave full responses in the form of sentences and initiated discourse in Welsh.'

Williams concluded that GCSE results show 'that this group was not disadvantaged in any way when sitting external examinations through the medium of Welsh.' I am not convinced that this is a valid conclusion as there is no way of telling how this group would have performed if they had sat the exams in English. The figures of the percentage of the target group who obtained A-C grades at GCSE in English (language), Welsh (language), Maths and Science did not seem to support this conclusion either. The study group consisted of twelve children at this stage and the highest percentage of the target group gaining A-C grades was 20% in Maths. This, surely, entails that 80% of the target group did not gain A-C grades in Maths (their highest percentage). I feel that the number of children in this study is too small for a quantative analysis such as this, and that very little can be extrapolated from the best results of two children out of a group of twelve.

The report is both interesting and informative in evaluating and discussing which teaching methods appeared to work well with this group. The school:

> did not have one consistent policy for the subject teachers. Each department, and each teacher within the departments, adopted their own teaching methods in order to guarantee understanding and to teach their subject successfully. (2002: 21)

The two teachers singled out for their different (and successful) teaching methods were the Physical Education and Science teachers.

Physical Education is a subject in which pupils are expected to perform physical tasks in response to verbal instructions. The PE teacher is commended for using Welsh at all times and 'short purposeful sentences and his own natural language rather than attempting to adapt it to any great degree for the sake of the learners.' An obvious advantage in a PE class (2002: 22) is that anyone in the group who feels uncertain as to the meaning of instructions is able to observe and imitate the actions of others around them. Teaching language through PE resembles a method of language learning known as Total Physical Response (TPR). TPR[22] was developed by James Asher, a psychology professor at San Jose State University, California and is based on the co-ordination of speech and action. In essence the theory of TPR learning proposes :

- Listening should develop before speaking
- When listening comprehension has been developed, speech develops naturally and effortlessly out of it
- Delaying speech reduces stress
- Adults should use right-brain motor activities while the left hemisphere watches and learns

The main activity of TPR is 'using action-based drills in the imperative form.' The success of the PE teacher may, therefore owe something to the intrinsic nature of the lesson as well as the teacher's performance.

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[22] http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/languagelearning 20/08/06

Teaching L2 medium Science is clearly a very different matter from teaching PE. To quote Williams, (2002: 23), 'this is an academic subject in which concept formation depends on total understanding', and the teacher responded to this in a number of appropriate ways including 'making greater use of the English language when presenting general or subject specific terminology.'

The use of both L1 and L2 to present subject information and discuss more abstract concepts within the subject was a method which Williams (2002: 41) felt 'could be a major factor in the school's success' and he compares it to 'translanguaging.'

Translanguaging

The term translanguaging is described by Baker (2000: 104) as:

> the hearing or reading of a lesson, a passage in a book or a section of work in one language and development of the work in the other language by discussion, writing work sheet activities, experiments or group work. In translanguaging the input (hearing or reading) is in one language and the output (speaking or writing) is in the other.

Baker suggests (2000: 105) that 'translanguaging may help students develop skills in their weaker language.'

It is generally the practice in immersion classrooms not to mix languages. Rhodes, Christian and Barfield (1997: 274) state that it is 'the tenet of immersion instruction that the two languages be completely separate.' However, it seems counter-productive to enforce this as a principle if it can be shown that using both languages can be mutually

beneficial, as the interdependence hypothesis implies. Commenting on French

immersion Cummins (2000:8) remarks:

> if children are slow to read through French (L2), it makes sense to promote
> literacy development in their stronger language (English) and to work for transfer
> to their weaker language after they have made the initial breakthrough.

Williams' study of secondary level immersion education in Wales shows that CALP can

be achieved with a more flexible approach than is indicated by the Canadian prototype;

it is less easy to assess whether the Welsh language skills gained by the study group

would result in a greater number of Welsh speakers.

5.2.2 Irish-medium Education in the Republic of Ireland

Irish-medium education was instigated by the first independent government of the Irish

Free State after the political division of Ireland in 1922. Policies were adopted in order

to 'realise the objectives of the Language Movement' (Maguire 1991:41). These

objectives were twofold, and aimed to:

- Preserve the language in areas where it was still the vernacular
- Revive the language in areas from which it had been lost

The commitment on the part of the Irish Government to reverse the decline of the Irish

language involved policies designed to change the official status of the language. These

included Irish language road signs, media use of Irish, Government literature to be

bilingual in Irish and English, and proficiency in the Irish language to be made a

necessary requirement for Civil Service positions. Significantly, the educational system

was 'perceived as the principal hope for propagating the language outside the

Gaeltacht[23]' (Maguire 1991: 41). Accordingly, Irish was made a compulsory entry

requirement for the National University, and a compulsory subject in all primary and

secondary schools. In addition to ensuring that Irish was taught as a subject in all

schools, Irish-medium schools were founded, wherein children were taught entirely or

partially through Irish. Commenting on the considerable strain that the new language

policies placed on the new state, Maguire points out (1991: 41) that 'teachers were ill

equipped to respond confidently to the demands placed upon them.' This resulted in the

introduction of new teacher training facilities with Irish competence made 'mandatory

for entry into Teacher Training Colleges.'

By the late 1930s there were almost 300 Irish medium schools in English- speaking

areas of Ireland. In his paper *Immersion Programs: The Irish Experience* Cummins

(2001: 56-61) contrasts the Irish medium schools set up by the Irish Government and the

later more successful immersion programmes in the United States and Canada.

The relative prestige of Irish and English, and the more formal method of instruction in

Irish contributed to the lack of success and consequent dissatisfaction with earlier

models of Irish medium education:

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[23] Irish speaking areas mainly situated on the west coast. English speaking areas are sometimes referred to as the *Galltacht*

the situation differs from North American situations in that Irish is not a prestigious language of wider communication (such as French or Spanish) and the only incentives to learn Irish are ethnic and cultural (Cummins 2001: 56).

The incentives to learn Irish were not great enough to favour the home-school language switch which occurs in successful additive bilingual situations (2001:56). In addition, Cummins states, 'Teachers were often evaluated by Department of Education inspectors solely on how well they could teach Irish regardless of competence in other areas' (2001: 57).

The 1975 Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR) report quoted in Cummins' article (2001: 57) showed that although the majority of the population were in favour of Irish teaching in schools, they were unhappy with the way the language was taught and:

> Almost 80% of the population felt that many children failed their exams because of Irish and 60% considered that children doing subjects through Irish did not do so well in school as those doing them through English.

Consequently, there was a decline in the number of Irish-medium schools in English-speaking areas, with only 18 remaining in the 1970s.

There has, however, been a resurgence of interest in Irish-medium education, and figures from 1999-2000 give a total of 24,552 pupils being educated in144 Irish medium schools outside the Gaeltacht with a further 11,483 pupils in 130 schools in the

Gaeltacht areas[24]. Unlike the first Irish-medium schools, and schools where Irish was taught as a subject, the 'element of compulsion' (Cummins 2001: 57) is no longer the driving force. Irish-medium schools are now established in response to parental demand which ensures that the children in immersion schools have positive attitudes to Irish reinforced in the home. The type of programme followed in today's Irish medium schools also has also changed:

> like immersion programmes elsewhere but unlike many earlier Irish immersion programmes, emphasis in the earlier grades is on oral communication rather than grammatical correctness.

Cummins' paper also seeks to counter the negative claims regarding Irish medium education made by John Macnamara (1966) in his book *Bilingualism and Primary Education*. Macnamara claimed that Irish-medium education was detrimental to children's academic progress. Cummins (2001: 58) cites Macnamara's test results which showed:

1. teaching arithmetic through Irish-medium to L1 English resulted in lower levels of achievement in 'problem but not mechanical'

2. the immersion group performed no better on an Irish achievement test than those taught Irish as a school subject

3. the English attainment of the *entire sample* of Irish children was 'very much below' that of English children

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[24] www.colmcille.net/content 21/08/06

Macnamara concluded that the first result indicated that the use of the bilingual's weaker language as a medium of instruction resulted in 'retardation in the subject matter taught', and claimed that the second two results indicate that there is a 'balance effect' involved in language learning - that 'bilinguals pay for their L2 skills by a decrease in L1 skills' (Cummins 2001: 59)

Cummins countered these claims by arguing that in the case of point 1, 'the effects of *testing* through a weaker language are confounded with the effects of *instruction* in a weaker language' (the immersion group was tested in Irish, their weaker language, the comparison groups were tested in English). With regard to point 2, a reading competence test, Cummins pointed out 'the limitations of using only a reading test as a criterion measure;' and to counter point 3 he suggested that there were likely to be cultural and curricular differences which had not been taken into account, for example, less time spent on English instruction.   Furthermore, within the Irish national sample, the immersion group and the English medium group attained the same level of achievement in English which 'is clearly inconsistent with a balance effect interpretation' (2001: 59).

> In summary, Macnamara's conclusions that there is a balance effect in language
> learning and that instruction through a weaker language leads to retardation in
> subject matter taught are by no means clearly supported by his data. In fact,
> when one considers the unfavourable context (in comparison to North American
> immersion programs) in which Irish immersion programs operated (e.g. low-
> prestige, low utility language, non-supportive parental attitudes) what is
> surprising is that there is so little evidence of negative academic effects!
> (Cummins 2001: 59)

From the late 1970s, (see Cummins 1977, 1978) evaluations of Irish-medium schools have shown similar, positive, results to immersion programmes elsewhere.

Na Naíonraí

Hickey's 1997 research on immersion education in Ireland focuses on pre-school children attending the *naíonraí* (Irish language pre-school nurseries), which are attended by children usually between 3-5 years old. Naíonraí are well established in Ireland and this is a large-scale study involving almost 2,000 parents, 170 teachers and advisers and 225 children. The intention of this study is to provide a comprehensive overview of the naíonraí including:

- a profile of the characteristics of parents, children and *Stiúthóirí* (nursery leaders)
- the views of parents and Stiúthóirí regarding the naíonraí
- a profile of the Irish competence of a sample of naíonraí children

This study sets out to:

> determine the factors which contribute to the successful Irish acquisition within the naíonraí in a descriptive and evaluative overview. It aims to profile the parents who choose naíonraí for their children in order to assess the relevant characteristics of this group and their needs. It also aims to study the Stiúthóirí 'in terms of qualifications and practices' (Hickey1997: 2)

Naíonraí were developed in response to the shift away from the provision of Irish medium primary and secondary schools. The example of Welsh medium play groups indicated that pre-school immersion 'might provide a model for establishing a sound

base for Irish among young children' (1997: 2). The first naíonra opened in 1968, therefore, Hickey's study is able to asses almost thirty years of pre-school immersion based on 'the principles of immersion education and pre-school children's development.' As this is the largest, most detailed study available on early immersion, it is worth considering at some length for comparative purposes.

Children attend a naíonra several times a week, or, ideally, every week day for two to three hour sessions, where they are spoken to by the Stiúthoír in Irish only. The children's English utterances are responded to in Irish, and they are encouraged to use their developing Irish language skills as they are acquired. The principles of the naíonraí are based on the belief that:

1. pre-school education is beneficial to the child, family and community;

2. young children acquire a second language naturally in appropriate conditions;

3. pre-schooling through Irish assists in expanding the use of Irish in the realm of the family, which in turn helps to promote integration in the community.

(Hickey 1997: 4)

The majority of the children attending naíonraí are L1 English speakers. I have changed Hickey's figures (1997: 5), which are in fractions, to percentages which show that 75% of the children are L1 English, 20% from homes where both Irish and English are spoken with the remaining 5% from L1 Irish backgrounds. The majority of L1 Irish children live in the Gaeltacht, but some come from English speaking areas, notably in Dublin. It is necessary therefore, for some Stiúthóirí to be flexible enough to present

language appropriate for beginners, whilst at the same time enabling and enriching the language skills of the L1 Irish speakers.

Occupational and Educational Profile of Parents

The occupation and educational levels reached by naíonra parents were established by a questionnaire and are as follows:

25% of fathers and 10% of mothers are in 'professional/managerial' or 'higher civil service' occupations; this compares with 10% of fathers and 2% of mothers in the general population. 5% of fathers and 9% of mothers give their occupation as teachers. The percentage of teachers in the general population was 2% of fathers and 4% of mothers (1997: 37). Hickey, however, points out that this still implies that 'a substantial proportion (at least a third) of naíonra children, both in the Galltacht and the Gaeltacht, come from homes in which the breadwinner or breadwinners are in manual occupations.'

The educational achievements of naíonra parents, compared with the general population (1997: 38), showed that 30% of naíonra mothers had reached third level education. This is compared with 15% in the general population. The figures are similar for the fathers. 30% of naíonra fathers had been educated to third level compared with 19% of general population fathers. From these results it is clear that the naíonra parents are 'significantly more likely to have had a third level education than the corresponding general populations' (1997: 39). These figures accord with a commonly held belief that immersion education, partly as a result of its parent-driven nature, is more likely to be a preserve of the middle classes. It is also a clear indication that languages such as

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Irish, formerly regarded as 'low prestige' have undergone a revaluation in the eyes of the educated classes.

The Stiúthóirí

The key to success or otherwise of the naíonraí is dependent on the skills of the Stiúthóirí or nursery leaders and Hickey's study recognises that fact. The ideal Stiúthóir is represented as having 'native-speaker like competence in Irish, and a range of other characteristics such as: an open personality, patience, a sense of humour, sensitivity with strength, diligence, practicality, good health and interpersonal skills' (1997: 68). There is no doubt that the aforementioned skills would be equally desirable qualities in anyone involved in the teaching of young children but the immersion teacher/ nursery leader must also possess the requisite language skills and be suitably trained to effectively transmit them.

Hickey (1997: 70) refers to a compulsory 'intensive preparatory course' for Stiúthóirí but concedes that as some Stiúthóirí were already running naíonraí before the course was set up 'its take up was less than 100%'. The course consists of an introduction to pre-school education with particular emphasis on second language acquisition. Although over half of the Stiúthóirí had raised their children as Irish speakers, giving them experience of using Irish with young children, this is not considered, of itself, to be sufficient for the task of immersing young children in a second language. Hickey (1997: 72) feels that 'it is essential that the particular requirements of immersion pre-schooling be considered in relation to every aspect of the preparatory training for Stiúthóirí.' In addition, it is suggested that:

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it is also important that courses in Irish and in the teaching of Irish as a first and second language, plus a residential stay in the Gaeltacht should be included in the training for Stiúthóirí, given the importance of establishing high levels of Irish competence.

An assessment of the Irish competence[25] of Stiúthóirí (1997: 74) indicates that 'over half have native speaker or native-speaker-like competence' and 30% have 'good competence.' The remainder of the Stiúthóirí and 44% of Stiúthóirí Cúnta (assistant leaders) were considered to have lower levels of competence. The assessments were made by *Comhairleoirí* (advisors to the naíonraí who run in-service courses for Stiúthóirí). The question of whether or not Stiúthóirí competence matters at this stage of immersion is answered by the evidence of Hickey's analysis of the children's test scores: which show (1997: 74) that those children whose Stiúthóirí are rated as having satisfactory or weak Irish perform less well on Irish production tests than those whose Stiúthóirí have native speaker or native-speaker-like competence.

In commenting on the need for Stiúthóirí to possess good levels of fluency Hickey observes:

> Only this level of fluency is likely to allow the necessary modifications, such as the need for a high degree of regularity in the language used, the importance of repetition with variation, and language 'scaffolding.' (1997: 76)

Measuring Achievement in the Naíonra

The tests used to measure the achievement of children after one year in the naíonra are summarised as follows:

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[25] The term competence as used in Hickey's study includes performance skills

Development and achievement were tested in three ways:

1. an objective comprehension, production and imitation test in Irish

2. a test of general cognitive development in the child's L1

3. an assessment of the child's linguistic, social and physical skills by the
   Stiúthóir

Tests were devised appropriate to the young age of the children (3-5). At this stage
in immersion (or indeed any process of L2 acquisition) the children's comprehension
skills were expected to exceed production, and consequently there were more items
in the comprehension than the production test. The children were shown pictures
and asked to point to named objects in them, and then asked to carry out various
actions such as *dún do shúile* (close your eyes). The production test consisted of the
tester pointing at objects, pictures or body parts and asking the child to name the
object or its colour. The children were also tested on their ability to imitate Irish
phrases, 'in order to test the link between imitative ability and second language
skills' (1997: 103).

The child's general cognitive ability was assessed by asking

- personal details (name, address etc.)
- memory (number repetition, order of appearance of objects)
- time concepts (days of the week, today, tomorrow)
- number concepts (counting objects)
- L1 skills (knowledge of nursery rhymes, story re-telling, understanding complex
  prepositions, ability to follow instructions and list differences between animals)

Each child was also assessed by the Stiúthóir on

- independence
- social development
- drawing
- manual skills
- mobility
- story telling and comprehension
- music and rhymes
- L1 skill
- L2 acquisition skills

Hickey concludes that the test results show:

> [...] about half of the children answered most of the comprehension test
> correctly, and 95% had made at least minimal progress in comprehension
> (answering at least 40% of those items correctly). As expected the children's
> production of Irish lagged behind their comprehension and only 14% could
> accurately answer most of the production test items. Nevertheless, almost 60%
> had made minimal progress in Irish production (1997: 115).

In Hickey's opinion theses tests show that the children have made 'appreciable
progress' in the naíonra achieving basic levels of comprehension and a 'limited ability
to express themselves in Irish.' These children, therefore, begin Irish-medium primary
school with an advantage over those children who have not attended a naíonra (Hickey
1997: 115).

It is interesting to note that analysis of the scores on general cognitive ability showed
that 41% of the sample scored in the top third, 50% of children scored between 33%
and 66% while only 8% scored in the lowest third of the test. While acknowledging
that it is not possible to compare these scores with other pre-school models, Hickey,
nonetheless, feels that they indicate:

some level of selection in operation, with parents being more likely to choose Irish immersion pre-schooling over mother-tongue pre-schooling if they perceive their child to be very able (1997: 115).

As stated above, the results of this study were intended 'to determine the factors which contribute to successful Irish acquisition within the naíonraí.' After multivariate analyses (when interactions between different factors have been taken into account) Hickey (1997: 161) regards the following factors to be significant predictors of higher levels of Irish production:

- an above average score in the General Cognitive Ability Test
- at least one parent with moderate or high ability in Irish
- had Irish spoken to him or her as a toddler
- at least some Irish used currently in his or her home
- lived in the Gaeltacht
- had a Stiúthóir with a good fluent knowledge of Irish
- attended a naíonra that was not situated in a school
- attended a relatively small naíonra

It is important to note, however, with regard to general cognitive ability, that children with the lowest cognitive ability scores did relatively well in Irish comprehension tests (53% compared with 73% for high ability children) 'indicating that their rate of L2 learning is slower but not that their overall ability to learn the language is inadequate' (1997: 144). This is an outcome that is supported by Cummins' observations on the lack of correlation between BICS and IQ scores (see Chapter 4.5).

The other factor of interest as an important contributor to Irish acquisition is the emphasis on the positive effects of parental involvement. This differs from the 'prototypical immersion context' as described by Johnson and Swain (core features Chapter 4.3), where exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom, a point

which Johnson and Swain (1997: 7) regard as a disadvantage of immersion programmes when compared with other bilingual programmes. One of the desired effects of immersion education in an endangered language is that the language acquired by the children will encourage use within the family, and to this end the value of offering Irish classes to parents is stressed by Hickey (1997: 145). The point is also made that classes for parents would be more effective if they were more closely allied to the type of language used and heard by their children in immersion. Classes aimed at adults are often of little use in terms of parent and child interaction. Knowledge of terms used in school would be helpful for parents when, for example, helping with homework.

Most Effective Activities for Promoting Irish Acquisition

Stiúthóirí were asked which activities they regarded as the most effective in promoting Irish acquisition. The majority selected five activities in the following order of importance: songs and rhymes, story telling, home corner, group games and card matching. These findings are based on many years of experience and apply to any L2 immersion experience. Formulaic phrases and rhymes, tied to daily activities such as putting on coats, hand washing and eating are excellent opportunities for children to acquire language. The highly predictable and repetitive nature of stories which young children are accustomed to hear in their L1 are likely to be just as effective in L2 acquisition, in that they assist children in deducing meaning from input, especially when accompanied by pictures. The surprising activity mentioned as beneficial to Irish acquisition is the 'home corner' (an area set aside for the children to dress up and engage in role play). Hickey (1997: 80) observes that unsupervised play in the home corner is likely to result in high usage of English (where the majority of children are L1

English). I have observed Manx immersion children playing in the home corner and noted the language used by 4-5 year olds to be exclusively English unless an adult is present to model language for them and initiate exchanges in Manx. It would have been surprising had this not been the case.

5.2.3 Irish-medium Education in Northern Ireland

The above summary of Irish-medium education does not, of course apply to Northern Ireland which was, and remains, part of the United Kingdom. For historical and political reasons the Irish language in Northern Ireland is associated, rightly or wrongly, with the Catholic minority population, and therefore attitudes towards it are burdened with the results of decades of political and community divisions and tensions.

The Irish language, as perceived by the Northern Ireland authorities, was a ghost of the past. Officially, it did not exist. As a logical consequence to this attitude, special provision for its preservation or promotion could never arrive on the agenda (Maguire 1991: 42).

As a consequence, the establishment of the first Irish-medium school had to be accomplished by the parents themselves with no official support, financial or otherwise.

Gabrielle Maguire's unpublished PhD thesis (1986) 'A Study of an Urban Gaeltacht Community: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives' and subsequent book *Our Own Language: An Irish Initiative* (1991) discuss the growth of the Irish language in Belfast and the setting up of the first Irish-medium school as part of the 'Urban Gaeltacht' of the title. A linguistic analysis of the Irish acquired and spoken under these circumstances is integral to the work. Maguire's research covers much that is relevant

to the Manx language immersion programme, in so far as it concerns the revival of a language in a situation where for the most part there is no native speaker community.

The founders of what Maguire calls the 'Shaw's Road Community' (1991: 18) were a small group of Irish speakers who, during the 1960s, came together with the intention of raising their children through Irish 'in a favourable, supportive environment' in West Belfast. None of these people were native Irish speakers: all had learned the language as young adults. The problem of financing the enterprise was overcome by collective means, as Maguire explains, 'a company was created which could secure the necessary loans. Local legal and architectural consultants provided their services gratis' (1991: 17).

Five families ultimately came together to build their own houses at Shaw's Road, and the first house was occupied in 1969. It was not unheard of, as Maguire points out (1991: 67), for couples to raise their children as L1 Irish speakers in Belfast, but a bilingual child whose school and community environment is non-Irish speaking risks social isolation from his/her peers. In order to avoid this problem, and create a wider domain for their L1 Irish speaking children and themselves, the Shaw's Road families created 'an Irish-speaking nucleus wherein social interaction could be carried out through Irish' (Maguire 1991: 2).

There had been an Irish-medium 'nursery playgroup' in Belfast from the mid-1960s but the children (having no alternative) went on to attend local English-medium primary schools. However, the Shaw's Road Community parents wanted Irish-medium primary

education for their children, and set about providing it themselves. The original school was situated in a mobile hut which community members bought and assembled on the Shaw's Road site. *Bunscoil Phobal Feirste* (Belfast community primary school) opened with nine pupils in September 1971.

The first teacher appointed was a native Irish speaker from the Donegal Gaeltacht,[26] as it was felt by some members 'that this would give the children an advantage in acquiring the language' (1991: 76). This teacher was replaced two years later by a local teacher raised in an Irish speaking home.

Although the first children to attend the school were all being raised as Irish speakers, it became apparent that their number would not be sufficient to maintain a viable school. Consequently, in 1978 the pre-school nursery affiliated to Bunscoil Phobal Feirste began taking children from non-Irish speaking families. These children, whose home language is English, made the natural progression from Irish-medium nursery to Irish-medium primary education. The widening of the school catchment area to include L1 English speaking children had the desired effect of increasing school numbers to 162 by the school year 1984-1985.

For the first two years of its existence the school was largely financed by the fund-raising efforts of parents, who contributed to the running of the school in every way, from providing educational materials and paying the teacher's salary, to cleaning rotas.

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[26] There are three main Irish dialects and learners generally model their dialect on that of the nearest Gaeltacht. For Belfast learners, this is the Ulster dialect spoken in County Donegal.

Bunscoil Phobal Feirste eventually received recognition as a Voluntary Maintained School in 1984 and thus entitled to official financial backing. A second Irish-medium primary school *Bunscoil na bhFal* (Falls Road primary school) opened in 1987.

The sociolinguistic aspect of Maguire's work largely concerns the predominantly English speaking families from the extended catchment area who chose to send their children to an Irish-medium primary school. Their motivation for doing so, their background (linguistic and socio-economic) and the degree of language diffusion into the home via their immersion educated children, were investigated by a questionnaire which was personally administered to all 98 of the 'Bunscoil families' (as distinct from the Shaw's Road families) and filled in by Maguire.

It is interesting to compare the occupational status of the fathers of the Bunscoil children with those of the fathers in Hickey's research in the Republic of Ireland cited above: 25% of fathers in Hickey's study gave their occupation as 'managerial/professional or higher civil service' compared with 16.3% of Bunscoil fathers. A further 34% of Bunscoil fathers were unemployed and 38% were in unskilled or semi skilled employment (Maguire 1991: 103). Although Hickey points out that 'at least a third' of the naíonra children came from homes where the breadwinner was in a manual occupation, her figures confirm the impression that middle-class, well educated parents are proportionately more likely to choose immersion education. The percentage of Bunscoil fathers in professional occupations seems small in comparison with Hickey's figures; but it is high compared with the percentage employed in professional occupations for Belfast as a whole, which is only 4.5%. The percentage of unskilled

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manual workers among the Bunscoil families is 24.6% which is more than double the

average figure for the city as a whole (Maguire 1991: 93). Maguire cites these figures as

evidence that the Bunscoil families are a fairly diverse group in economic terms: It is

evident, therefore, that the cohesion and sense of community which the Bunscoil

families exhibit so strongly cannot be explained by the socio-economic variables

examined (Maguire 1991: 93).

The Irish language skills of the Bunscoil parents were described as 'often minimal'

(Maguire 1991: 96); Irish was not their home language, nor were they raising their

children as L1 Irish. A detailed assessment of Irish use in the home after children began

attending the Bunscoil showed 'some increase in 90% of households after the first child

began at the Irish school' (Maguire 1991: 115). The fact that parents in this instance

wanted to both acquire and use more Irish in the home to support their children, as the

majority of them stated, argues well for the language diffusion effects of immersion

education in minority languages.

The reasons parents gave for choosing immersion education, or the advantages they

foresaw for their children, are shown below:

Table 2 Anticipated Advantages of Bunscoil Attendence

Advantage	Percentage
Quality of education	73.5
Irish identity	71.0
Cultural awareness	48.0
Child acquires 2nd language	36.0
Language survival	26.0
Nationalist/Republican tradition	9.0
Parental involvement	9.0
Other	12.0

(After Maguire 1991: 99)

While it can be seen that the quality of education is the most important consideration, it is interesting to note how strongly the Irish language is rated as a marker of identity.

A detailed linguistic analysis carried out on the children's Irish uses data collected from the Shaw's Road children (SRC) only. These children are, as Maguire says (1991:6), the first generation (within the context of the Irish language revival in Northern Ireland) to be raised and educated as L1 Irish speakers.

> A record of their language behaviour in this particular urban bilingual setting, as well as their attitudes towards the role of Irish in their lives merits attention in any future framework of language planning. Subsequent revival endeavours could learn much from these children (Maguire 1997: 6-7).

Data was not collected from the L1 English children attending the Bunscoil because at the time the study began, due to a combination of their young age and the fact that their L2 skills were 'more receptive than active', Maguire considered it more appropriate to describe the language of the SRC (1991: 5). She does make the point, however, that the linguistic trends which are a feature of the SRC's Irish are also characteristic of the Bunscoil children and of the L2 learner Irish generally (1991: 7).

The revival of Irish in Belfast when viewed in purely linguistic terms is instructive and relevant to the Manx language revival. Aside from the fact that there are linguistic similarities between Manx and Ulster Irish, an attempt is being made in both cases (with every indication of success in Northern Ireland) to create and sustain a bilingual speech community where none has existed within living memory.

Irish medium education in Northern Ireland continues to expand: in 2002 over 2,000 children were participating in Irish-medium education. There are 24 Irish-medium primary schools, (19 free standing, the others Irish-medium units within mainstream schools) and one secondary school, *Méanscoil Feirste* in Belfast.[27]

5.2.4 Gaelic-medium Education in Scotland

A 1994 report by H M Inspectors of Schools indicated a large increase in the number of Gaelic-medium classes from two in 1985 to over forty by 1992. The majority of children attending had no Gaelic background. The Inspectors report commented favourably on Gaelic-medium education when compared with the Gaelic-English alternatives wherein both languages were used across the curriculum:

> With few exceptions, the bilingual approach has not been implemented successfully, whereas the Gaelic-medium approach has worked well.
>
> (H M Inspectors 1994: 17 in Johnstone et al 1999: 9).

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[27] www.colmcille.net 21/08/06

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Enrolment figures for children in Gaelic-medium education 2004-05 compiled by the Faculty of Education, University of Strathclyde[28] give 2,008 primary pupils and inidicate that 61 out of a total of 2,248 primary schools offer Gaelic-medium education. At secondary school level 18 out of Scotland's 386 secondary schools offer some form of Gaelic-medium education. The figure for secondary schools includes those which only offer a small number of subjects through Gaelic-medium, and therefore the majority of pupils attending receive no Gaelic-medium teaching.

Gaelic-medium education in Scotland has been an option since the 1980s, and as such is a fairly recent development when compared with the situation in Ireland (north and south of the border) and Wales. *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* (CNSA- the Gaelic playgroup movement) has been instrumental in establishing Gaelic-medium playgroups and pre-school nurseries since its inception in 1982,[29] and Gaelic-medium primary education was an extension of the bilingual policy operated in the schools of the Western Isles from the 1980s (Roberts 1990:1). About half of Scotland's Gaelic speakers live in the 'traditional core areas' in the Western Isles, the Highlands, and Argyll, the rest live in towns and cities (there are 5,731 Gaelic speakers in Glasgow)[30].

Gaelic-medium education in Scotland generally refers to Gaelic-medium classes or units within schools which are otherwise English-medium. The first stand-alone Gaelic-medium unit in Scotland, *Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu,* (Glasgow Gaelic Primary

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[28] http://www.scotland.gov.uk 16/07/07
[29] www.hie.co.uk 28/08/06
[30] http://www.cnag.org.org 2001 census 16/07/07

School) did not open until 1999. Both studies referred to in the sections that follow

apply to the period before that, and discuss Gaelic-medium units in mainstream schools.

The first study is *Gaelic across the Curriculum? Parental Attitudes to Gaelic-Medium*

Education in the Western Isles by Alasdair Roberts (1990) a report commissioned by

Comhairle nan Eilean (the Western Isles Council) to enable them to estimate future

demands for Gaelic-medium education. The second report, *The Attainments of Pupils*

Receiving Gaelic-medium Primary Education in Scotland co-ordinated by Richard

Johnstone was published in 1999. This report was commissioned by the then Scottish

Office Education and Industry Department, and concerns the progress of pupils

receiving Gaelic-medium education in comparison with pupils being educated through

English.

Roberts addresses three questions, namely:

- What is the position of Gaelic in the homes of pre-school children in the Western Isles?
- How do parents view the option of education through the medium of Gaelic?
- How long after Primary 1 do they think that Gaelic should continue as the language of learning, teaching and resources? (Roberts 1990: 1)

A questionnaire was sent to the parents of all 1989 Primary 1 school entrants and all

prospective 1990 entrants and was completed by 329 respondents. Interviews were

carried out with a 1 in 10 sample of those approached, involving visits to 55 homes.

It was clear from questionnaire responses that a majority of children from the Western

Isles came from families where Gaelic was 'not normally' spoken: just 39% of the 4-5

year age group had two parents who were native speakers. However, Roberts states:

> there is a great deal of goodwill towards the language among parents of young
> children and a quite general agreement which extends way beyond native-
> speakers that, during the early years when language is being acquired, Western
> Isles children should be encouraged to speak Gaelic (1990: 1).

Reading or discussing Gaelic books with their children was an activity which over half

of the parents claimed to do; those who did not were either unable to read Gaelic, or

found difficulty in sourcing Gaelic books. Roberts mentions a scheme in the Western

Isles where volunteers take age-appropriate Gaelic books into the homes of pre-school

children. Apparently these visits were very much appreciated. He also identifies the

local school as a more accessible source of Gaelic books for pre-school children. The

books which older brothers or sisters attending Gaelic-medium units bring home could

be of benefit to younger children in the home.

The majority of Western Isles parents (86%) stated that they wanted their children to be

bilingual, and this included those who were not themselves bilingual. Their

understanding of what was meant by bilingual was expressed by most parents in

interviews as the ability to *speak* both languages, rather than attaining biliteracy.

Western Isles bilingual policy for native-speakers is that they should 'read and write

Gaelic at the same level as English' (1990: 2).

In commenting on the 71% positive response to the question 'Do you support the idea of Gaelic-medium education as part of the Western Isles bilingual policy?' Roberts makes a valid point that 'it is perfectly possible to be in favour of Gaelic-medium education without having the desire to involve one's own child' (1990: 3). Following on from the question of theoretical support for Gaelic, parents were asked if they would use a Gaelic-medium unit if one were to be opened 'within reasonable travelling distance' (rather than the local school), 49% of parents said that they would. Therefore, Roberts concludes that if the 49% of parents of 4-5year olds in the Western Isles who support actual or potential Gaelic-medium units and the 71% who support Gaelic-medium education as part of the bilingual policy were taken together, then 'majority support for Gaelic-medium can be claimed.'

The third question asks how long Gaelic should continue as the language of learning, teaching and resources after Primary 1. This seems rather strange question when viewed from an immersion education point of view, and it highlights the difference between the Gaelic-medium classroom which mixes native-speakers and non-native speakers, and the immersion classroom, which ideally does not. According to Roberts:

> Many teachers have traditionally operated a policy of using oral Gaelic with young native-speakers in first year primary while making the inevitable start to reading schemes in English' (1990: 3).

I presume this practice relates to the period before the introduction of Gaelic medium education and it is one with which the parents may have been familiar from their own schooldays. If Gaelic medium education were only to cover Primary 1, it would be no

more than a transition period for L1 Gaelic children from the language of home to school; and for children entering school with no Gaelic, a school year of immersion would hardly bring about proficiency in the language. Roberts presents the parents' response to this question as follows; 'fewer than one set of parents in four (still a solid minority) was in favour of education entirely through Gaelic ending by Primary 4' (1990: 3). From this, I understand that the majority were in favour of continuing Gaelic medium education. In discussing answers given to this question Roberts comments that it became clear whilst interviewing the parents that they were uncertain of the distinction between Gaelic medium education and bilingual education. As he rightly says:

> any policy which is based on response to parental demand must give serious attention to explaining the relationship between bilingual education, as variously interpreted in practice, and the innovation of Gaelic-medium education (1990: 2).

In fact, people do seem to find it difficult to understand the concept of teaching across the entire curriculum through the medium of a second language. It is five years now since the first Manx-medium unit (subsequently school) opened, and despite extensive media coverage there is still a generally held opinion that the children 'learn Manx' at the school and people still express surprise when hearing that they are taught the entire curriculum through the medium of Manx. This may well be a more difficult perception to change in a situation where some level of bilingual education has operated previously, as in Scotland. Roberts summed up the findings of his survey by saying that the evidence showed 'parents were not ready for the general application of something which is still experimental beyond the early stages of primary education' (1990: 4). He also observes that 'parental opinion ranges from positive to negative in the homes of all these

groups of children, and educational policies need to be devised to meet their varying

needs.' An interesting quote from the Director of Education in 1989 is included in

Roberts' conclusions (1990: 4) which I reproduce below:

> One can have nothing but admiration for the teaching staff who had to become
> jugglers to deal with the mother-tongue learners, the second language learners
> and the foreign language learner

Mixing children with varying levels of proficiency from native speaker to absolute

beginners, and the positive or negative attitudes of their parents, are two key areas of

difference between the Gaelic medium education described by Roberts, and prototypical

immersion programmes, shown to be successful elsewhere. Above all, it is parents who

have been instrumental in setting up immersion education programmes, which would not

otherwise exist.

The second report, *The Attainments of Pupils Receiving Gaelic-Medium Primary*

Education, also aims to answer three questions:

- Do the attainments of pupils receiving Gaelic-medium primary education match
  the national attainment targets in Gaelic at P3 and P5, and in Gaelic and English
  at P7?
- How do the attainments of pupils in Gaelic-medium primary education in
  Mathematics and Environmental Studies (Science) compare with national
  attainment targets?
- What contextual factors in the home, school or community are perceived by
  parents, headteachers and representatives of local authorities as influencing
  pupils' progress and attainments in Gaelic-medium and English-medium
  education?

By the third year of research there would be 34 primary schools with Gaelic-medium

units up to and including Primary 7 (1999: 6). Data were gathered from these schools

as the report intended to describe both the progress in early years and the outcome of

Gaelic-medium primary education at the end of Primary 7. Data from three kinds of

classroom were compared:

- Gaelic medium and corresponding English medium classrooms from the same
  schools;
- English medium classrooms from schools without Gaelic medium units (selected
  with help from local authorities).

Aggregated information in preference to information on individual pupils was collected

from the English medium schools. Two sources of data were used: one was supplied by

schools and followed children's progress through the national 5-14 programme, and the

other was based on children's attainments in the national Assessment of Achievement

Programme (AAP) (1999: 5). Data were obtained from assessments carried out during

three school years: 1995-96, 1996-97 and 1997-98. The report begins with a description

of the family background of pupils receiving Gaelic medium education, and makes the

point that families who speak and regularly use Gaelic are not necessarily those who

send their children to Gaelic medium units. This results in the situation, noted in the

Roberts report, and also in Wales and Ireland, of children starting school with a range of

language abilities. Some children come from families where Gaelic is the home

language, some from families where one or both parents are Gaelic speakers and use the

language on an occasional basis, and in other families one or the other parent has some

knowledge of the language but rarely uses it. Children whose parents do not speak

Gaelic often have grandparents or other extended family who are Gaelic speakers, but

there are also families with no overt connection with the language who choose Gaelic

medium education for their children. Therefore the Gaelic medium classroom in some units will consist of native speakers, non-native speakers with reasonable competence/performance, speakers with a few words and absolute beginners. According to Johnstone et al (1999: 8) this diversity has the following implications for 'the process of teaching and learning':

- Problems for teachers of coping with differing levels of fluency within the one class.

- Possible benefits for children who start school with no Gaelic in that they will hear fluent Gaelic spoken by other children as well as their teacher, and will therefore have access to a wider range of input and interaction.

- It would not be reasonable to expect those children who have entered school with no/minimal knowledge of Gaelic to make the same initial progress in learning the subject matter of the Scottish primary curriculum as their peers in an English medium class. In the early years of primary education the focus will be on language acquisition rather than on the curriculum. However, by the end of their primary school education such children would not be disadvantaged

Johnstone et al believe that any such pupils will have caught up in their learning of subject-matter by the end of primary school, and so would not be disadvantaged in comparison with their English-medium educated counterparts. In addition as a result of becoming bilingual they would have improved their cognitive abilities. Two of the research questions in this report seek to establish whether this is, in fact, the case. The findings of the report (1999: 1-2) are summarised below:

The 5-14 assessments showed:

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- The attainments for the Gaelic-medium pupils (L1 and L2 Gaelic) on whom assessment data were available matched the national attainment targets for Gaelic at P3, P5 and P7.

- Gaelic medium children do not appear to be disadvantaged in English or Mathematics at P5 and P7, when compared with English medium pupils either from the same schools or from schools without Gaelic medium units.

- Gaelic medium pupils' attainments in Gaelic tended to be slightly below their attainments in English by P7 (suggesting a need to focus more on Gaelic language competences particularly, Gaelic writing).

- Factors such as gender, size of school, or size of class did not appear to be significant.

The AAP assessments showed that by the end of primary education:

- Gaelic-medium pupils were not at a disadvantage when compared with pupils educated through English in the same schools or with the national average.

- Gaelic-medium pupils performed less well in Science than English- medium pupils, but better in English and Mathematics. In schools with both Gaelic-medium and English-medium classes, performance was above the national average for both Science and Mathematics, and equal to it in English.

- In schools with Gaelic-medium units, boys tend to do better than girls in Science, whether in Gaelic-medium classes or English-medium classes. Boys in these same schools did less well than girls in English. Gaelic-medium boys outperformed Gaelic-medium girls in Mathematics but English-medium boys did less well in this subject than girls.

Johnstone et al state that the variability of the above findings suggests two possible

conclusions:

> The weaker conclusion is that the performance of Gaelic-medium and English-medium pupils is at a similar level but that from subject to subject there is a variation in which of the two does better. The stronger conclusion is that the Gaelic- medium pupils generally perform better than their English-medium counterparts, but that science is one exception to this (Johnstone et al 1999: 2).

The views of headteachers and parents were based on surveys carried out in the course of the research, and provide the contextual background sought in the third research question.

Headteachers' Survey Findings

A survey of headteachers was carried out in the final year of the project 1998-99 (1999: 44-56). The objective of this survey was to 'provide a context for interpreting patterns of attainment which had emerged in the analysis of three years of outcome data.' Factors such as parental and community involvement in schools, resourcing, class size, the number of children entitled to free school meals, and professional support from local authorities were covered by the survey. Questionnaires were sent to the headteachers of the 34 schools with Gaelic medium units from P1 to P7 which had taken part in the survey.

Twenty-seven questionnaires were returned. The schools represented in this response covered a range of locations, the majority in the Western Isles or Highland Council. Three-quarters of the schools were in rural locations, with just two of the twenty-seven schools located in cities. The headteachers estimated the number of Gaelic speakers living in the community local to their schools as follows:

Three quarters of the community Gaelic-speaking	7 schools
Half of the community Gaelic-speaking	6 schools
Quarter of the community Gaelic-speaking	6 schools
Almost no-one in the community Gaelic-speaking	8 schools (1999: 48)

However, the headteachers considered that the levels of support for their schools were high, in terms of social events and fund-raising, regardless of the number of Gaelic speakers in the community.

Finding from the headteachers' surveys (1999: 55-56) are summarised as follows:

- Gaelic-medium parents are marginally more likely to be involved in fund-raising, organising social functions and helping 'resource-based needs'. They are marginally more likely than the English-medium parents to be interested in educational issues and seeing themselves in a partnership with the school.

- Gaelic-medium classrooms are regarded as marginally better equipped than the English medium classrooms in the same schools, but less extensively resourced across the curriculum.

- Over two thirds of headteachers felt that their schools were well integrated, perceiving more similarities than differences between the two groups.

- Integration was enhanced by shared aspects of schooling, such as specialist teaching, and activities such as assemblies and outings which took place on a 'whole-school' basis.

- A high proportion of headteachers made conscious efforts to achieve a united ethos, as did teachers, parents and pupils.

- One in five headteachers considered the Gaelic-medium parents to be more politically and educationally aware, active on behalf both of the language, and their children's education. Some headteachers commented on the differences in class and cultural backgrounds of the two groups of parents.

- Where an environment of Gaelic language immersion was sought outside the classroom, (for example, Gaelic youth clubs), the headteachers felt that this might be regarded as exclusive.

Headteachers were also asked to evaluate the levels of support provided by the local authorities. This refers to visits carried out by advisory staff, such as educational

psychologists and speech therapists. The headteachers indicated that in a 'high proportion' of schools the same advisory staff was shared between the Gaelic- medium and English-medium teachers. No specific information was sought on classroom assistants, auxiliaries or classroom-based language support, but the headteachers considered there to be no difference between Gaelic-medium and English-medium in the provision of these services.

Parents' Survey Findings

A survey of the parents of children in Gaelic-medium education took place in 1997. Parents' views were sought on: the quality of education received by their children, their reasons for choosing Gaelic-medium education, the perceived benefits, the problems/challenges facing Gaelic-medium teachers and units, and the extent to which Gaelic-medium education is supported in the home, community and media. Information was obtained on 577 children from 238 families and 32 schools. The majority of questionnaire forms were completed by mothers. A profile of the parents contained the following information:

Occupation

The socio-economic status of the parents was high. Over a quarter of fathers were employed in a professional occupation and one in five mothers/female partners was in the same professional category. A little over half of the fathers were in clerical or skilled manual occupations and one in five mothers was unwaged. There were very few replies from unskilled or unemployed parents.

Gaelic competence[31] and use

Two-thirds of mothers and a little over half of fathers claimed to have basic Gaelic competence. About a quarter of both fathers and mothers were estimated to be L1 Gaelic speakers (slightly more fathers than mothers). The language used in the home was English for the most part, with approximately one in five parents claiming to use Gaelic as often as English. Gaelic reading material was present to some extent in two-thirds of homes, and a third of parents said they watched or listened to 'up to three Gaelic programmes per week.'

Parents indicated that two-thirds of children spoke 'at least as much Gaelic as English' in the home. Children spoke mostly Gaelic in 17% of homes. Two-thirds of the parents reported that English was the language of the playground, and according to 70% of parents, English was the predominant community language.

Additional comments by some parents indicated that they gave their children opportunities to speak Gaelic whenever possible, and kept in regular contact with Gaelic speaking relatives and friends.

Reasons for choosing Gaelic-medium education

A total of 446 statement and comments were provided by 224 respondents (1999: 62) giving their reasons for choosing Gaelic-medium education which were, in order of preference:

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[31] The term competence as used in the report refers to communicative competence which includes production and performance not grammatical competence in the Chomskyan sense.

- Linguistic heritage

- Cultural heritage

- Bilingualism

- Perception of quality including: a general perception of the quality of Gaelic-medium education, the high standards of teachers, small classes, the success of older siblings, parents liked the atmosphere of Gaelic-medium classes, they felt their children's confidence was boosted, and many had chosen Gaelic-medium education after a good experience of Gaelic-medium playgroup

- Advice of others

- Employment prospects.

Perceived benefits of Gaelic-medium education

Parents' perceptions of the benefits of Gaelic-medium (1999: 62) education were similar (unsurprisingly) to their reasons for making the original choice of Gaelic medium education and are stated below in order of importance:

- Children will be bilingual

- A good quality education which they expect to: boost their children's confidence, provide additional extra-curricular activities, be of good quality generally, have small classes with a good atmosphere and teachers of quality and commitment.
- Children will be aware of their cultural heritage

- Children will be aware of their linguistic heritage.

The parents commented favourably on the commitment and involvement of the teachers in Gaelic-medium education, but expressed concern about teacher supply, teacher support, and professional development, particularly with regard to delivery across the curriculum as a whole. Some questioned whether it was possible to teach maths and science adequately through Gaelic, because they felt that subject-relevant terminology

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did not translate well. Continuity was another area of concern, especially the transition into the secondary phase of Gaelic medium education.

One in ten of the parents commented on the potentially negative social effects for Gaelic-medium children. Johnstone et al (1999: 4) quote a parent as saying 'Gaelic in the playground is not feasible and causes friction and emphasises difficulties in the playground.' A small number of parents also felt that the negative attitude of some English-medium teachers and parents of English-medium children to Gaelic-medium education was leading to 'ill-feeling.' This is more likely to be a problem specific to Gaelic-medium units within mainstream school; there were no freestanding Gaelic-medium schools at the time the project was carried out. Parents also felt that more support in helping their children to acquire and use more Gaelic would be desirable. However, 'a large majority was satisfied with the quality of the educational experience provided for their children' (1999: 4).

A summary of the report's findings concludes that pupils in Gaelic medium education, irrespective of whether Gaelic is their home language, are not disadvantaged in comparison with pupils in English medium education. They gain the advantage of proficiency in a second language and are able, in some instances, to out-perform English-medium pupils.

Demand for Gaelic medium education in Scotland continues to grow across the entire school age spectrum. The first Gaelic-medium free-standing (as opposed to Gaelic-

medium unit) school *Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu* (Glasgow Gaelic primary school) in

Scotland opened in Glasgow in 1999. In August 2006 a new Gaelic medium school

opened in Glasgow incorporating nursery, primary and secondary phases therefore

catering for children from age 3-18.

5.3 Mixing Beginners and Native Speakers in Immersion Education

A feature common to minority language immersion classrooms is the mixture of native

speakers and beginners. It has been noted in all of the studies discussed, with the

exception of the Bunscoil children in Belfast. This feature is presented as an added

opportunity for the beginner to hear the target language spoken by native speakers,

although they do acknowledge the difficulties such a mixed class may present for the

teacher. Tina Hickey (2001) explores the linguistic consequences of this practice for

native speakers of the target language.

The 60 children in Hickey's study were drawn from three language backgrounds: 20

came from Irish-only homes and were therefore L1 Irish speakers, 20 were from

bilingual homes and had some knowledge of both Irish and English, and the remaining

20 were from English-only homes and were L1 English. They were aged between three

and five years old, and were attending naíonraí (Irish medium pre-school nurseries).

Hickey says (2001: 2) that mixing native-speaker pupils with L2 learners is 'both an

opportunity and a challenge.' The L2 learners have the opportunity to interact with their

native-speaker peers, but the teachers and nursery leaders have the challenge of

enriching and supporting the L1 speakers in their native language, while at the same time catering for the needs of the L2 learners.

There are two problems for the L1 speakers of a minority language in the immersion classroom or nursery. Firstly, the language used by the teacher may be aimed at children with no knowledge of the TL, and may fail to be sufficiently stimulating or enriching for the L1 children; secondly, the L1 children are being exposed to, or in a sense 'immersed' in the majority language of their peers. In her paper Hickey argues (2001: 4) that in a situation where majority language speakers are acquiring a minority language:

> L1 minority speakers may be more motivated to acquire and switch to the higher-status language than the L2 learners, struggling with their low levels of competence in the lower-status target language, are to learn the target language.

Hickey focuses on the actual language use of children, whose language mix is described above, during their interactions with each other and with nursery leaders.

Data results showed (2001:4) that 'actual language use by children in these Irish-medium pre-schools is skewed towards English.' The L1 Irish children spoke in English for about half of their utterances, the children from bilingual homes used English for two-thirds of their utterances, and the L2 learners for three-quarters of their utterances. The mean Irish output of L1 Irish children in a group with a majority of Irish L1 speakers or bilinguals was between 50 and 61 utterances during two twenty minute observation periods. This output fell to 23 Irish utterances when in groups with a majority of L2 Irish learners. Hickey (2001: 9) points out that this is equivalent to the number of Irish utterances produced by the English-speaking children themselves, and

suggests that 'Irish L1 children were mirroring the target language output of the L2 learners, rather than providing them with increased input or stimulating them to speak more Irish.'

Children from bilingual homes were the most susceptible to the majority language of the group. They produced more Irish with L1 Irish dominant groups but less Irish than the L1 English speaking children in L1 English dominant groups. The Irish production of the L2 learners remained relatively stable and impervious to the language mix in the naíonra.

At such a young age, the L1 Irish speakers are not yet fully competent in their L1, a factor which makes them highly subject to the linguistic influence of English-speaking peers. By this stage they will also be aware of the predominance of English in the media and entertainment industries. However, as it is not feasible to separate L1 from L2 learners in minority language immersion (due to small numbers involved), this study shows how important it is not to overlook the linguistic needs of L1 minority language children when furthering the L2 acquisition of the majority.

Hickey's study is a reminder that peer influence on language should not be forgotten or discounted. In particular, she raises the question of the wider implications of such influence on a minority endangered language.

5.4 Immersion Education in the Isle of Man

All the factual details in this section regarding the foundation of Yn Chied Chesmayd, Mooinjer Veggey and Bunscoill Ghaelgagh were supplied to me by Annie Kissack, Education Officer, Mooinjer Veggey.

Following the example of Gaelic medium playgroups in Scotland and Ireland, and in particular the Gaelic Pre-Schools Association, (CNSA), a small number of Manx speaking parents with young children established Yn Chied Chesmayd *(The First Step)* in 1990.

Yn Chied Chesmayd was a playgroup intended for children whose parents were Manx speakers, and who wanted to give their children a bilingual upbringing. Yn Chied Chesmayd was run successfully for five years until the inception of Mooinjer Veggey

Mooinjer Veggey (Little People) the Manx Gaelic Nursery and Playgroup Organisation is aimed at the wider population of the Isle of Man, seeking to make the provision of Manx Gaelic nursery education available to all pre-school children irrespective of language background. Mooinjer Veggey is affiliated to the CNSA.

In April 2000 thirty-five children were registered with Mooinjer Veggey, the majority of whom attended more than two sessions per week. At that time there were three playgroups up and running and further one expected to open after Easter 2000, bringing the number of children attending Mooinjer Veggey playgroups to more than fifty.

In 1998 the chairman of Mooinjer Veggey, Phil Gawne, was appointed jointly by the Manx Heritage Foundation and Manx National Heritage to the newly created post of *Yn*

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Greinneyder (the encourager). Yn Greinneyder advises and assists organizations in the use of Manx, thus raising the profile of the language. This position is distinct from that of the Manx Language Officer (first appointed in 1992), who is employed by the Isle of Man Department of Education with the responsibility of organizing Manx courses for schools, with particular regard to the peripatetic team of Manx teachers for schools.

Yn Greinneyder's draft development plan for the future of the Manx language - July 2000 stated:

> While there is undoubtedly room for expansion in family language transmission, the Manx preschool movement will remain the most important vehicle for language transmission to preschool children. Already Mooinjer Veggey offers places to 60 children each week (approximately 2.5% of 2 – 5 year olds) and it plans to increase this level of provision over the next ten years to 10% of all preschool children (Gawne 2000).

The draft document also put forward two targets as follows:

TARGET 1 – to provide information, advice, guidance and support to new parents on the advantages of early bilingualism:

By December 2001:
Yn Greinneyder to ensure that materials supporting the use of Manx in the home and at preschool groups are produced and distributed to parents through the IOM hospital maternity wing, to all Manx speakers and learners and to all relevant health visitors and midwives.

TARGET 2 – to support the development and expansion of Manx preschool groups, ensuring the highest standards of language transmission are obtained:

By September 2001:

The Isle of Man Department of Education/Manx Heritage Foundation to establish a secure funding source for all groups which provide a Manx preschool educational service.

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The above targets make no mention of the provision of primary level education for

children attending Mooinjer Veggey pre-school groups although a weekly 'Gael-Scoill'

Manx-medium half-day provision was available from the autumn term of 1996. The

Gael-Scoill was held at one of the Island's primary schools and was introduced both as a

compromise to parents and a means of assessing the level of support which might be

expected for Gaelic-medium education. However, to quote the *Sheshaght ny Parentyn*

(Parent's Association) submission to the Department of Education requesting the

provision of Manx-medium primary education:

> it (the Gael-Scoill) can never provide the next step in language acquisition
> which a growing number of parents want for their children (i.e. from fluent
> understanders/semi-speakers of Manx to elementary fluency in the language).

In response to parental demand the first Manx-medium class was established by the Isle

of Man Department of Education in partnership with Mooinjer Veggey and Sheshaght

ny Parentyn. The Manx-medium class operated within a mainstream primary school,

Ballacottier School in Douglas. The Headteacher of Ballacottier held responsibility for

the overall running of the class, and the children attending the Manx class integrated

with the rest of the school during assemblies, playtimes and lunchtimes and participated

in whole-school events. The class was open to all children in either their Reception

Year or the following Year 1. Nine children attended the first Manx-medium class and

were taught by a teacher assisted by a nursery nurse. The stated long-term aims of the

Manx-medium class were as follows:

1. to provide children with the same opportunities for learning as their
   contemporaries in other Manx classrooms;

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2. to have achieved comparable competency[32] in Manx and English by Y6;

3. to give children the opportunity to understand and use Manx with ease, through continual exposure to the language;

4. to enable children to learn through the native language of the Isle of Man.

There is some discrepancy between aim number 2; that the children should have achieved *comparable competency* in Manx and English by Y6 (Year 6), and the *Sheshaght ny Parentyn* submission to the Department of Education, which states that in seeking the provision of Manx-medium primary education, parents want their children to progress from 'fluent understanders/semispeakers to elementary fluency in the language.' It is not clear what is meant by 'elementary fluency,' the terms seem somewhat contradictory. The possession of 'elementary' language skills usually implies that the speaker is in the early stages of acquisition and has a limited range in the TL, and cannot therefore be regarded as having achieved fluency. It is difficult to know what is meant by 'fluency'; does it refer to the ability to use the L2 in an appropriate and target-like manner in all situations, or does it refer to a ready flow of the L2 even if it contains many non-target features? On the other hand, the aim of comparable L1 and L2 competency by Y6 (the final year of primary immersion) is not a realistic one. Six years of L2 immersion would not produce comparable L1 and L2 competence; exposure to the L1 in the home, the community, and the media ensures that the L1 remains the dominant language.

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[32] Communicative competence

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The fourth feature of Johnson and Swain's core immersion features (see Chapter 4.3)

suggests that by the end of the programme 'a high though not native-speaker level of

proficiency is achieved in the TL.' There is a difficulty in defining what can be

expected in an immersion programme where there are no native speakers of the TL, and

the number of highly competent adult speakers is small. It is, therefore, not surprising

that the expectations of the programme were not easily definable in the initial stages.

Two years later in January 2003, following the opening of a new school building in the

village of St Johns, the Manx-medium class, now known as *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh* (Manx

Gaelic primary school) relocated to the vacated old school building with twenty-five

children. The twenty-five children were divided into two classes, Brastyl 1 (Reception

and Year 1 children) with a teacher and nursery nurse and Brastyl 2 (Years 2 and 3) with

a second teacher. Although the classes were based in a different building which

effectively gave the feeling of a separate school they were, ultimately, the responsibility

of the headteacher of St John's Primary School (mainstream English-medium). The

Department of Education's Manx Language Team of peripatetic teachers *Yn Unnid*

Ghaelgagh (the Manx Language Unit) is also based at St John's old school building.

In addition to the partnership with the Department of Education to run Bunscoill

Ghaelgagh, Mooinjer Veggey also has a contract with the Department to run three

preschool nurseries.

Ten nursery school units are financed by the Isle of Man Department of Education and

are attached to primary schools. Children usually attend the nursery attached to the

primary school which they will attend at age five. The nurseries are intended for

children from the age of three, whose fourth birthday occurs during their nursery school

year. A Foundation Stage Curriculum produced by the Department is followed in the

nurseries.[33]

Key differences between the nursery schools and the Mooinjer Veggey playgroups are

as follows:

Mooinjer Veggey Playgroups

- run directly by Mooinjer Veggey
- fee-paying
- children can attend from age 2 upwards
- groups are run by playgroup leaders who have a childcare qualification but are not teachers
- they are not obliged to follow the Foundation Stage Curriculum (but are encouraged to do so)
- are not associated with any particular school
- are inspected and reported on by DHSS with an emphasis on health and safety rather than educational issues
- Leaders have independence to run playgroups under Mooinjer Veggey guidelines
- major policy decisions taken by Mooinjer Veggey committee
- adult child ratio 1 to 8 (DHSS rules)

Nurseries

- are run in conjunction with DoE as part of schools
- are free to children in their pre-school year
- are for 3-4 year olds only
- DoE stipulates they must be run by a qualified teacher (employed by MV)
- follow Foundation Stage Curriculum as part of contract
- subject to schools inspection
- major policy decisions are made by the school in matters other than Manx language issues
- teacher/NNEB supported in delivering Manx with books, tapes, letters home to parents, and practical sessions from Education Officer and Support Officer
- adult child ratio 1 to 10 (DoE rules)

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[33] http://www.gov.im/education/provision/pre-school.xml 10/06/06

A significant difference between the playgroups and nurseries, which may not be apparent from the above, is the amount of Manx that the children are likely to hear. The playgroups are run directly by Mooinjer Veggey and every effort is made to employ staff with a good command of the language. However, the combination of proficiency in Manx and a recognized childcare qualification is not so common as to provide a uniform experience in all groups. At best Manx is used 'at all times', but this is only possible at one of the playgroups. In the other playgroups Manx is used according to the ability of the leader and helpers, but at the very least Manx is used in songs, rhymes and routine greetings. Employees of Mooinjer Veggey are encouraged and assisted with increasing their knowledge of Manx. One of the playgroups (Ballasalla) is the only playgroup in the village, therefore parents choosing to send their children there do not necessarily do so on the basis that it is a Manx-medium playgroup.

The nurseries, run in conjunction with the Department of Education, represent a different problem with regard to Manx speaking staff. A qualified nursery teacher must be employed, the wishes of the head teacher of the school to which the nursery is attached must be taken into account when employing staff, and the Foundation Stage Curriculum has to be followed. This entails a certain amount of compromise with regard to the quantity and quality of Manx used. In an ideal situation Mooinjer Veggey would employ only highly competent, fluent speakers but in the absence of such conditions compromise is seen as the best and only option, (A.Kissack, Education Officer, Mooinjer Veggey, pers. comm. 26/10/03).

The playgroups and nurseries are intended to not only to give as many children as possible the experience of hearing and using the Manx language, whether they are from Manx speaking homes or not, but to be a starting point for children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh.

Before setting up Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, the Education Officer of Mooinjer Veggey and the prospective class teacher for the first Manx-medium class visited *Bunscoil Ghàidhlig Glaschu* (Glasgow Gaelic Primary School) to observe immersion education theory in practice, and the Immersion Phase Policy followed in the Isle of Man is modelled on that of Bunscoil Ghàidhlig Glaschu. The 'immersion phase' is identified as the period from YR (Reception age 4-5) until the end of Y2 (age 6-7) - a three year period (nine school terms) for most children.

The aims of the Immersion Phase, reproduced from Brastyl Ghaelgagh Immersion Phase Policy, are:

- To provide children from non-Manx speaking backgrounds with a sound grasp of Manx oral language.

- To reinforce and develop the oral skills of children with some knowledge of the language.

Objectives

- To ensure that the children hear and use the language in a variety of contexts and activities.

- To develop the children's confidence and comprehension when using and hearing the language.

Methodology

- Teachers and support staff will speak Manx extensively, using visual cues, pictures and gestures to explain new words and concepts.

- Action and repetition will form the basis of the Immersion Phase. Standard rituals and routines will be developed to give children confidence to use the language in a secure setting.

- Use will be made of other children and adults as a useful resource in teaching new concepts.

- Songs and rhymes are an integral part of the Immersion Phase. The use of colourful books posters and displays will create a stimulating environment. Manx must be on display around the classroom.

- Children will learn Manx simply by being in a class where this is the main medium for delivering the whole curriculum. At times they will need to learn certain concepts in a much more structured manner, however. Language games will be used to support the individual learner in this way.

- Records of the children's achievements in oral Manx during the Immersion Phase will be maintained, to ensure progress and to enable easy reporting to parents and others. Such records take the form of an Immersion Grid for each child at this stage, which records progress in expressive and comprehensive skills. This will be regularly updated to reflect individual progress in relation to targets modelled on those set by Bunscoil Ghàidhlig Glaschu.

Further to the Immersion Phase Policy outlined above, Bunscoil Ghaelgagh literature makes clear the intent to follow the National Curriculum in all areas except for the teaching of English, which will be gradually introduced at Key Stage 2 (Y3, age 7-8). Parents are warned of the possibility of a delay in reading skills as the child is coping with two languages, and due to the phonic differences between Manx and English initial reading skills will focus on sentence and whole word recognition.

Tape-recordings of songs, phrases, and Manx lessons are available for parents who are interested in learning some Manx to support their child. However, this is not an area in which the school is particularly forceful in promoting. The information is there for those who want and request it, and tape recordings of reading books are provided to assist parents with their child's reading homework.

Conclusion

The examples of Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic immersion education in the reports referred in this chapter have all been successful, resulting in continued demand for this type of education. The features which they all have in common and which have undoubtedly contributed to their successes are listed below:

- The impetus for the immersion programme is parent-led
- The socio-economic class of the parents (this seems to be a factor in choosing immersion education)
- The linguistic ability of the teachers (highly competent, not necessarily native speakers)
- The enthusiasm and quality of the teachers

The position of the Irish language in Northern Ireland traditionally has a political and sectarian dimension which is reflected in the somewhat different parental profile.

In all reports where parents expressed an interest in attending adult classes in the TL (to support their children) either as beginners, or to improve existing language skills, the point was made that parents would prefer these classes to have some relevance to the

language used by their children at school, rather than the typical grammar-based adult evening classes.

Research into L1 and L2 attainments has reassured parents that L2 immersion education has no adverse effect on L1 skills and performance, and may even enhance them. Subject areas in which immersion students appear to do less well are science and problem solving in mathematics. Interestingly, this is an area also identified by Macnamara (1966) in his negative assessment of Irish medium education (see section **5.2.2**) and it may be due, as Williams (2002: 23, section **5.2.1** says, to the fact that 'concept formation depends on total understanding' in which case greater use of the L1 could be employed to ensure such understanding has taken place.

The section on the foundation of Manx-medium education refers to the inspiration drawn from other Gaelic medium pre-schools and primary schools, particularly in Scotland. All the models of immersion referred to in this chapter relate to minority languages but, of the Celtic languages referred to, Manx is the only one without native speakers. Maguire's 'urban Gaeltacht' comes close in linguistic terms, but the socio-economic situation and political climate are very different.

Chapter 6

Methodology

The research questions addressed in my thesis are:

1. What is the parental motivation for choosing immersion education for their children?

2. What is the linguistic background of the children? Does it have an identifiable effect on their language competence/production at this stage of immersion?

3. Are the children producing a recognizable 'variety' of Manx at this stage of immersion?

4. What might be the linguistic implications for a revived language if the majority of its most competent speakers have acquired the language in the same immersion education programme?

The four questions referred to above fall into two categories. The first two relate to the sociolinguistic aspect of the thesis, and were addressed by means of a questionnaire sent home with every child in January 2004. The second two questions relate to the linguistic aspect of the thesis, and were addressed by collecting and recording examples of the children's spoken Manx. I made regular visits to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh from the autumn of 2003, and spent time getting to know the children, helping with craft activities, nature walks, and school outings. I worked as a part-time LSA (Learning Support Assistant) at the school for the school year 2005-2006. In order to observe successful, well-established immersion models I visited two Irish-medium schools, one in the Republic of Ireland and the other in Northern Ireland.

6.1 The Questionnaire

Questionnaires are most often used in situations where data are required from a large number of respondents. However, I decided to use this method of enquiry into parental motivation and the children's linguistic background, rather than attempting to conduct individual interviews with the parents, for two reasons. Firstly, it seemed less of an imposition on their time to ask them to complete a short questionnaire rather than take up their time in either the evening or weekend. Secondly, it gave them the opportunity to consider their answers without the possible influence of an interlocutor.

The small number of children who attend Bunscoill Ghaelgagh entailed that in order to gain any overall impressions I wanted to hear from as many of their parents as possible. Space was provided on the questionnaire for parents to add comments of their own if they so wished. Included with the questionnaire was a letter requesting permission for their child to be included in my study and their language recorded (Appendix 1).

There were four sets of siblings among the twenty-five children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh in the school year 2003-2004 so questionnaires were sent out to twenty-one families. This is a small number of families compared with, for example, Maguire's (1991:6) study of the Shaw's Road Community *Bunscoil*, Belfast (98 families) and Hickey's (1997:33) study *Early Immersion in Ireland: Na Naíonraí* for which questionnaires were sent to the families of 2,487 children. A quantitive study such as those of Maguire and Hickey will have to wait until such time as the numbers of children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh are high enough to facilitate it. The questionnaire and its results are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

6.2 Visits to Gaelscoileanna

The two Irish-medium schools I visited were alike in that the majority of their pupils came from English-speaking homes and the school was the main source of Irish language input. I wanted to discover, at first hand, how much of a problem this was considered to be, and what measures, if any, were taken to compensate for it.

The schools I visited were *Gaelscoil Bharra* in Dublin and *Gaelscoil na bhFal* in Belfast. Both of these schools are situated in poor, working class areas and therefore neither fulfilled the 'children of middle-class professionals' stereotypical profile for immersion schools.

More than two hundred pupils attend *Gaelscoil Bharra,* which is a National School, that is to say, it is officially funded. The majority of children attended *Naionrai* (Irish medium nursery school) before beginning at primary school. As stated above, the majority of parents are not Irish speakers, and those that are, speak it as a second language. Involvement in Irish culture in the form of sport and traditional music are an important part of school life which can be (and is) extended to out-of-school activities. The older children in the school take part in an annual trip to the *Gaeltacht* (Irish-speaking area), which is regarded as invaluable opportunity to hear native-speaker Irish. As the children do not live in an Irish speaking area, and for the most part do not speak Irish in the home, trips to the Gaeltacht and cultural activities are regarded as integral to the immersion experience. Most children attending *Gaelscoil Bharra* go on to attend Irish-medium secondary schools. A connection has been established between the older

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children at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh and children of the same age group at *Gaelscoil Bharra*. The children regularly exchange letters, and teachers from *Gaelscoil Bharra* have visited Bunscoill Ghaelgagh on a number of occasions. It is also proposed that a group of children from Bunscoill Ghaelgagh should visit *Gaelscoil Bharra* in the near future. This would be an interesting experience for both sets of children, and an opportunity for the Manx children to forge links with the wider Gaelic-speaking community.

The visit to *Gaelscoil na bhFál* was of particular interest because the principal, Áine Andrews, had begun her teaching career at *Bunscoil Phobal Feirste*, Northern Ireland's first Irish-medium school and the subject of Gabrielle Maguire's 1986 doctoral thesis, subsequently published as *Our Own Language: an Irish Initiative*. I was, therefore, fortunate in being able to discuss the delivery of immersion education in a language revival situation with a person of longstanding and extensive experience in the field.

Gaelscoil na bhFál, which is a new purpose built school with over 200 children, has an integral pre-school nursery unit, and it is a requirement that all children spend two years/ six terms attending the nursery unit before entering school at P1 (aged 5). Andrews considers that parents in language revival immersion situations must be heavily involved, and encouraged and enabled to take courses in the target language. It was, she felt, extremely important for children to hear the target language outside school used by people other than their teachers. Ideally, out of school activities involving the use of Irish/TL should be organised by parents. The long summer break was identified by

teachers in both schools as being especially detrimental and causing a falling off in language skills, hence the need for extra-curricular language contact which would not involve school. Most children attending *Gaelscoil na bhFal* go on to attend Irish medium secondary school. Andrews considers that children who do not attend Irish medium secondary schools are likely to lose the Irish language skills they have gained if they come from English-speaking homes and communities.

In short, teachers in both the Irish immersion schools I visited did consider the lack of target language contact available outside school to be a problem in terms of a successful L2 acquisition outcome, and that the best way to overcome it was by means of out-of-school activities organised by parents, participation in cultural events where the TL is likely to be heard, and in the case of *Gaelscoil Bharra* regular visits to the *Gaeltacht* to hear native-speaker Irish.

6.3 Collecting the data

The second two research questions require the collection of examples of spoken data. To obtain these data I made audio-recordings of examples of the children's spoken language and, made field notes on anything I felt to be of interest in the children's speech on my visits to the school.

Various methods of eliciting 'natural speech' had been suggested to me, including fitting the children with individual microphones to record them as they played or chatted informally to each other, but this would presume that they would continue to use Manx

as their main language of communication in the playground and outside the classroom.

Observation shows that on the whole they do not. They naturally revert to their L1 (English) when playing or chatting outside the classroom. This is not to say that they never use Manx outside school, or while playing with their peers, but any material recorded under the above circumstances would be patchy and unlikely to reveal the extent of their linguistic competence in terms of performance.

I chose not to conduct interviews with the older children or orchestrate discussions between them for the following reasons: I did not feel that my own competency and performance in Manx was equal to eliciting a wide ranging example of spoken language and I wanted enough data from the children's language to enable a comparison of the sound, form and function of the children's Manx to be made across the group. If I had used the interview technique my data would have been more limited in scope, and would have involved the risk of my own language choices influencing the children's responses. It is evident in Owens (1992), which is the study of her own daughter's acquisition of L2 Irish that the recorded data contains as much, if not more of Owens' own voice as she 'scaffolds'[34] the child's utterances in the following exchange: (M = mother, E = child)

M: *Cé hé sin?*
   Who's that?

E: *Béar*
   A bear

M: *Cad a dhein an béar?*
   What did the bear do?

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[34] Scaffolding – a range of strategies including modelling language, using pictures and props, and adjusting language levels to that of the learner or L1 child in order to elicit language

E: Don't know

M: *Nil fhios agat. Cad a dhein sé?*
   You don't know. What did he do?

E: T-shirt. (Owens, 1992: 54)

The above exchange is an attempt to elicit the past tense and as such the ratio of adult to child speech is unimportant, but it does serve to demonstrate just how much scaffolding is needed to elicit speech from a young child (Owens' daughter was aged 3 when the study began).

It is customary for sociolinguists to attempt to elicit narratives by various means such as recording interviews with individuals, or setting up and recording group sessions with the aim of capturing 'natural speech' but as Wolfson in Coupland and Jaworski (1997: 123) points out: 'the fact is that, try as we may to distract the subject so that he forgets that he is being recorded, we do not have the right to assume that our subjects are unconscious of observation'.   Wolfson goes on to doubt whether such an entity as 'natural speech' exists and to suggest that:

> If speech is felt to be appropriate to a situation and the goal, then it is natural in
> that context. The context itself may be formal or informal, interview or
> conversation. It is only when norms of speaking are uncertain or violated that
> one gets 'unnatural' speech. (Wolfson in Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 124).

For all the audio-recordings I used a portable Aiwa HS-JS145 with an external stereo microphone recording onto TDK cassettes. It should be noted, that as these children are the first in the Isle of Man to be educated through the medium of Manx, the school unit

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has attracted a certain amount of publicity, and has been the subject of many visits including those from off-island radio and television crews. Thus, many of the children, in particular the older ones, have had their language attended to and recorded on previous occasions.

The twenty-five children were divided into two classes: *Brastyl 'Nane* (Class 1) and *Brastyl Jees* (Class 2). The fourteen children in Brastyl 'Nane consisted of eleven *Blein Toshee* (Reception Year) children aged 4-5, and three *Blein 'Nane* (Year One) children aged 5-6; they had a teacher and a nursery nurse. A second teacher taught Brastyl Jees which consisted of eleven children, Year Two and Year Three, aged 6-8.

6.4 Brastyl 'Nane Data

At the time of recording, the reception children in Brastyl 'Nane had only experienced two complete school terms of Manx immersion and were therefore at the earliest stage of acquisition. I had no way of assessing the amount of Manx acquired by individual children who had attended a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup or a pre-school nursery, and chose to regard entry at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh as the start of their immersion education with attendance at playgroup or nursery to be taken into account when looking at their test outcomes. Levels of achievement in Manx are assessed in the school using assessment sheets closely modelled on those used in Gaelic medium immersion, for example, after one term of immersion the child is expected:

1. to use a small number of courtesy expressions
2. to understand and respond to everyday classroom instructions

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3. to understand words and phrases related to current topics/ routine situations (e.g. colours, weather)

4. to regularly use words and phrases related to current topics /routine situations.

Their achievement levels are graded as follows:

- Level 1 is the most basic level indicating a limited understanding of phrases used with limited verbal response possibly with inaccurate pronunciation.

- Level 2 indicates an average understanding of most phrases and some confidence in using simple words and phrases.

- Level 3 indicates above average understanding, and confident, accurate responses with some spontaneity and good pronunciation.

The aim is to reach Level 2 by the end of the first term.

In order to ascertain the production and comprehension skills of the Brastyl 'Nane children, I devised a test based both on what they could be expected to know, as set out in the above levels of achievement, and on a similar test devised by Hickey (1997: 102) for three to four year olds in Irish-medium nurseries.

I used *The First Thousand Words in Manx,* which is the Manx language version of a series of language books for children, which contain full page colourful illustrations of

familiar every day scenes such as the park, the beach, shops, and inside the home. The school has a copy of the book, with which the children were all familiar.

I was able to use a quiet corner of the hall where there were no other children present, and where I could record each child individually. I used the book illustrations for both comprehension and production purposes. For comprehension, I asked the child in Manx to show me where in the picture certain animals or objects were, and for production I asked the child to identify the objects or animals I was pointing at. I followed this up by briefly asking each child about their family, for example, whether they had any brothers or sisters or pets.

I also made further recordings of one of the Reception Year children throughout the school summer holiday of that year (2004). These recordings were made with the specific aim of ascertaining whether repeated exposure to the verbal echo question and answer system used in Manx would elicit a target-like use of tense in verb (see p.195); that is to say, if the child were asked a question with the verb in the past tense, would he respond in the same tense, or continue to use present tense responses which have come to assume the semantic force of English 'yes' and 'no' for early stage L2 learners of Manx.

The recordings of the younger children could only be expected to yield a fairly limited set of data, owing to the relatively short immersion period experienced. In order to obtain a larger volume of recorded data from the children in Brastyl Jees the majority of

whom were coming to the end of their third year of immersion I used a different method of elicitation.

6.5 Brastyl Jees Data

The Brastyl Jees children consisted of the first nine children to begin the immersion programme in 2001 and two who started the following year. They all participated in the same language assessment task. I recorded the eleven children in Brastyl Jees narrating a picture story book *Frog, Where Are you?* by Mercer Meyer. This book is one of a series of picture story books frequently used to elicit language acquisition skills in both L1 child language acquisition studies and crosslinguistic studies. I felt it was age appropriate and attractive to both boys and girls. The pictures show the adventures of a little boy and his dog as they search for a frog which has escaped from a jar in the boy's bedroom.

In seeking to record examples of speech it is necessary to bear in mind the question of the 'observer paradox,' wherein the very act of recording can distort the material recorded, in so far as speakers can, and do change the style and register of their speech to fit the occasion as they see it. The visible presence of the recording equipment can also be an inhibiting factor. However, I believe that two factors served to neutralise or obviate any problems of this nature. Firstly, I think it unlikely that children at this stage of acquiring L2 through immersion would have the necessary language skills to change register or style, and secondly, I believe that the task itself was sufficiently absorbing and required a level of concentration in constructing the narrative which alleviated any serious problems of inhibition. The children had been recorded and televised on

previous occasions, and were to some extent used to the experience. Constructing the narrative gave the children the opportunity to use a range of semantic and syntactic strategies, indicating which structures were common to them at this stage in their interlanguage.

I was able to record the children individually in a quiet classroom. None of them had seen the book previously and they were all offered a few moments to look through the book before starting the recording, although none of them chose to do so. I also told them that if they felt they really needed a word, and did not know it, they could ask me and I would supply it. I avoided sitting close enough to see pictures myself, and avoided eye-contact with the child to deter them from pointing at the pictures and using deictic expressions such as 'this, that, he.' I found that most of the children very quickly became absorbed in the task of describing the pictures, and discovering the story as they did so. The recordings were then transcribed using standard Manx orthography, apart from instances of non-target like pronunciation, showing L1 influence, and other features such as mutation, which I indicated with IPA symbols. These recordings have been transferred to CD and are included with the thesis.

I made a further set of recordings of Brastyl Jees in the Spring term of the following year, 2005. I wanted some examples of recorded speech outside the narrative framework but more sustained than random discourse. These recordings were made in a classroom setting with all the class present at a session where each child reviewed (in Manx) a favourite story book or a book they were currently reading. The books reviewed were all English-language medium. The quality of these recordings was

somewhat patchy due to a combination of background classroom noise and the positioning of the microphone. On this occasion the children each stood up to give their review and consequently moved around more than on the previous occasion when they were seated next to the microphone. Nonetheless, on transcription, these recordings proved to contain interesting and rather unexpected examples of their developing language skills.

6.6 Manx - Standards and Usage

Observations, comparisons, and comments made on the language produced by the children were made on the basis of 'norms' or standards established by the available literature and grammatical descriptions: for phonology and language in use *Skeealyn Vannin* (2003) – the last native speaker recordings, the 1909 Trebitsch recordings and Broderick's (1984) *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx.*

Yn Fer-raauee Creestee (The Christian Monitor, Rev John Rawlet, 1687) translated into Manx by the Rev. Paul Crebbin in 1763, *Pargys Caillt* (an abridgment of Milton's Paradise Lost) by the Rev. Thomas Christian c.1796 and the *Bible Casherick yn Lught Thie* (the Manx Family Bible) published in 1819, represent the bulk of accessible written Manx, from which standards or 'norms' have been drawn. The Bible in Manx is regarded as representative of the period in the history of the Manx which Broderick has styled 'Classical Manx' (1999: 77). Broderick states that 'Manx Gaelic was in full flow and vibrancy up until the Classical Manx Period at least' (1999: 80). Edmund Goodwin's *First Lessons in Manx*, first published in 1901and revised by Robert Thomson for its sixth reprint in 1997, was intended to be an aid to reading the Manx

Bible and Prayer Book. *First Lessons in Manx* was for many years the main resource for Manx learners.

Attempts to capture the flavour of spoken Manx in print can be found in two publications: *Manx Idioms and Phrases* by J. J. Kneen (first appeared in instalments in the "Mona's Herald" newspaper in 1938), and John Gell's *Conversational Manx* (1954) in which he uses a system for indicating the sounds and stresses of Manx devised by Kneen in his *English-Manx Pronouncing Dictionary* (1938).

The earliest known audio recordings made of Manx speakers are in the Collections of Rudolf Trebitsch. Trebitsch recorded examples of the remaining Insular Celtic languages on phonograph cylinders in Ireland, Wales, Brittany, the Isle of Man and Scotland between 1907 and 1909. The Manx recordings were made in Douglas in August 1909 and consist of readings from the Bible, hymns and folk songs (spoken rather than sung), and the recounting of some Manx customs. The collection has now been transferred onto 3 compact disks. The speakers were all men aged between 66 and 83 years old. Broderick (1997:54), who transcribed and translated the Manx examples, considers them to be of limited usefulness, as there are no examples of 'connected speech' on them. Although the sound quality is not good these early recordings enable us to hear Manx at a time when there still remained up to 4,500 native Manx speakers (1901 census 4,657 Manx speakers including 59 monoglot Manx).

In 2003 Manx National Heritage published the entire collection of recordings of the last few native Manx speakers made in 1948 by Kevin Danaher of the Irish Folklore

Commission. The recordings were originally on acetate discs, but have been digitally restored and are now available in compact disk format along with a book of transcripts *Skeealyn Vannin* 2003 (Stories of Man). The recordings were made over a sixteen day period and consist mainly of dialogue with some recitation. The nine native speakers on these recordings were six men and three women. The eldest of them was aged 96 at the time of the recordings and the youngest was aged 70. The technical quality of these recordings is far better than those made in 1909 and the native speakers recorded are the people with whom Manx language learners from the 1940s regularly conversed and drew their influence from.

The most comprehensive description of late Manx Gaelic speech is Broderick's 1984 *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx, Vol. 1-3,* which consists of a descriptive grammar, dictionary, and detailed phonological descriptions of speech of 'the last thirty or so native Manx speakers' based on all the available recordings and transcriptions extant. These include: the Trebitsch recordings; the Marstrander recordings – phonograph cylinder recordings and additional phonetic transcripts made by Professor Carl Marstrander, University of Oslo in the period 1929-1933; the Irish Folklore Commission recordings; the Manx Museum recordings (1949-50); *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* recordings (1951-53); the Linguistic Survey of Scotland recordings (1972); private recordings made by individuals between 1947 and 1962. Broderick also refers to collections of phonetic material by Professor Francis Carmody, University of California (1949), Professor Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1950) and Professor Kenneth Jackson, University of Edinburgh (1950). The texts included in Vol. 1 of *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* contain the main contribution of the

speakers involved and all entries in Vol. 2 – the Dictionary are given phonetically with variants.

There are no living native Manx speakers but I was fortunate in being able to record Leslie Quirk narrating the same picture story as the children, *(Frog, Where Are You?)* a few months before his death at the age of 90 in October 2004. Mr Quirk was, at that time, the oldest L2 Manx speaker. He was one of a small group who learned Manx from the last native speakers, and attended Manx classes in Peel from 1931. The next chapter discusses the results of the questionnaire.

Chapter 7

Questionnaire and Results

In January 2004, I sent a letter accompanied by a questionnaire to the parents of the twenty-five children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. The letter requested parental permission to include their children in my proposed study on immersion education in the Isle of Man. The parents were assured that their children would not be named or identified in any way in the study. The parents had, however, prior to my own study, been made aware by teachers that, owing to the unique nature of the school, they could expect a certain amount of media interest, and none took the opportunity to object or ensure their child's exclusion from either media attention or any study likely to be carried out.

7.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) consisted of ten questions designed to elicit information regarding motivation for parental choice of this particular school; and the amount of Manx (the target language) the children could be expected to hear in the home, or at any rate outside the school domain. I did not feel that it was valid to include questions on the socio-economic background of the families for the following reasons. The twenty-five children involved in the study come from just twenty-one families. The Isle of Man is a small community, and many of the children's families and their circumstances are already known to me.

As numbers of children attending the school increase, questions relating to their socio-economic background will become more feasible and valid. A questionnaire carried out by Tina Hickey (1997:48) in *Early Immersion Education in Ireland: Na Naíonraí* nto the socio-economic background of parents who sent their children to naíonraí indicated that:

> the naíonraí parents differ as a group from comparable groups in the general population in their educational achievements, labour force status and occupation. Whilst this indicates a greater take-up of naíonraí provision among the better educated and better-off, it must be noted that there is a significant proportion of naíonraí parents (roughly a third) who have low educational levels, having left school before the Leaving Certificate and who work in manual jobs (Hickey 1997: 48).

Hickey's questionnaires were distributed to 2,487 children and yielded a return of 1,807 replies. This represented a response rate of almost 73% which Hickey regarded as very good for a 'self-administered postal questionnaire' (1997: 33). Based on personal observation and knowledge, I would expect a survey carried out on the Buscoill Ghaelgagh parents to indicate that they were of a similar socio-economic mix as the naíonraí parents

The majority of children come from Manx families (this was ascertained partly on the basis of personal acquaintance, and partly by counting the number of distinctive Manx surnames) with a small minority of incomers. The children reflect the general population of the Isle of Man, in so far as they tend to have family members from other parts of the British Isles, and are not exclusively Manx in origin. They live in a variety of island-wide wide locations (see map Fig. 1, page 1), although none live in the catchment area of the school itself. In using the term catchment area I am referring to

the catchment area of St. John's mainstream primary school of which Bunscoill Ghaelgagh is a Manx-medium unit.

The Manx medium unit was originally a class at Ballacottier school in the Braddan catchment area (see map Fig. 1, page 1). When a new village school was built in the village of St. John's, the Manx medium unit was initially a class within that school, subsequently moving, in September 2003, to the old school building a short walk's distance from the new school building.

The new St. John's mainstream primary school is a well equipped, modern, spacious building in contrast with the rather cramped conditions of the older building which dates from the Victorian era, and it is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that parents choose to send their children there. There is also the factor that the majority of reception aged children in the catchment area will have attended the pre-school nursery at St Johns mainstream school and are likely to have become integrated into the main school and established patterns of friendship.

It is, rather, the motivation for choosing to commit their children to what is, for most people, an unknown and perhaps risky alternative to mainstream education that I wish to ascertain from this questionnaire.

Twenty-five questionnaires were sent out to parents, representing one per child[35], rather

than one per family. Twenty-one out of twenty-five questionnaires were returned

completed. The questions, together with their replies and my comments, appear below.

1(a). Did your child attend a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup or nursery school?

Table 3 Number of children who attended Mooinjer Veggey Playgroup/Nursery

Yes	19
No	2

(b) If 'yes' which playgroup or nursery did the child attend?

The majority of the children, 16, attended Braddan Mooinjer Veggey playgroup. Six

children attended a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup other than, or in addition to, Braddan

Mooinjer Veggey. In one instance the name of the Mooinjer Veggey playgroup was not

given.

As can be seen above the majority of the children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh

attended a Manx medium playgroup or nursery. Differences between Mooinjer Veggey

playgroups and pre-school nurseries are detailed in Chapter 5.4. It is notable that the

majority of children, sixteen out of twenty-one, attended one playgroup, Braddan

Mooinjer Veggey, where the Manx language content is high. The parents of these

children presumably have an existing commitment to and interest in the Manx language.

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[35] This was done to establish if there were any individual differences with regard to language use.

The majority of children attending Mooinjer Veggey playgroups and pre-school nurseries go on to attend mainstream English medium primary schools.

2. **Which of the following factors influenced you to send your child to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh? Please circle on a scale of 1 for least important to 5 for most important.**

   a) The general benefits of a bilingual education
   b) Small class size
   c) An interest in the long term revival of the Manx language
   d) A wish to build on/continue the success of Mooinjer Veggey
   e) Other

The first option, the general benefits of a bilingual education, was offered on the basis that all the parents had been given literature which outlined these benefits prior to making their choice of school and therefore were all aware of what was meant by this. For example the brochure *6 Oyryn Mie,*[36] '6 Good Reasons' sums up the case for bilingualism as follows:

- Children who learn two languages have a head start when reading and counting. They often do better in exams later on.
- Learning two languages is easier for young children
- Knowledge of two languages provides increased skills to employers. There are a growing number of jobs for Manx speakers, particularly in education.
- It gives you a buzz to be able to switch from one language to another. Speaking both languages opens doors to make new friends
- Most people throughout the world can speak more than one language. After learning two, it's much easier to learn more. Manx gives you a good start.
- Both English and Manx are like treasure troves, full of stories and songs, history and fun. Your child will have the best of both worlds

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[36] Produced by Undinys Eiraght Vannin, Manx Heritage Foundation

Table 4 gives the results in terms of a cumulative score. This is calculated by allotting

points according to the rating given by the parents (i.e. 5 points for the reason selected as

the most important, and so on).

Table 4 Cumulative scores influencing choice of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh

		Cumulative score
a)	The general educational benefits of a bilingual education	87
b)	Small class size	60
c)	An interest in the long term revival of the Manx language	84
d)	A wish to build on/ continue the success of Mooinjer Veggey	61
e)	Other (please give details)	9

In order of preference
1. General benefits of a bilingual education
2. Long term interest in Manx language revival
3. Success of Mooinjer Veggey
4. Small class size
5. Other

Option number 5, 'other,' was given in addition to, rather than in place of, other choices

and reasons given under this option were as follows:

- Dissatisfaction with the catchment area system
- Dissatisfaction with mainstream educational system
- Parental desire for child to have an opportunity to learn Manx that they themselves did not have
- Child's personal happiness
- The class teacher at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh had taught older siblings in mainstream school
- Medical condition of child: parent felt this would be better coped with in the smaller class sizes of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh
- Success and happiness of older siblings already attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh gave parent the confidence to send younger child
- Parents no longer together, but one was very much in favour of Manx medium nursery and primary education – the other parent, having researched immersion education was not opposed and is now very happy with the ongoing result and proud of the child's achievements

- A chance for the child to learn about her own history/ culture rather than 'imported' British history only.

3. Do you or your partner or any other family members speak/understand Manx?

a) fluently[37]

b) with reasonable competence

c) few words

d) not at all

Table 5 Manx language competency in children's families

Child	a	b	c	d	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v
Fluently	3			2					1									2			
Reasonable Competence	1						1	1			1	1	1					1		1	1
Few words	1	2	1	2	2	2			1		2			3	1	2	1	2	2		

The children allocated the letters a-k are Brastyl Jees children, while j-v are Brastyl 'Nane children. The numbers in the cells indicate the number of speakers in the family who fall into each category. The Brastyl Jees children are referred to by the same letters in the tables in Chapters 9 and 10 which refer to the Frog Story data. A questionnaire was not returned for the child allocated letter 'e' in the other tables. The questionnaire indicates that four children have family members with fluent Manx. In the case of child 'a' both parents and one grandparent are fluent speakers, a sibling has 'reasonable

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[37] The terms 'fluency' and 'competency' are used in the questionnaire to convey widely accepted generalisations regarding ability

competence and a second grandparent has a 'few words'; 'd' has two Manx speaking grandparents, parents and siblings have a 'few words'; 'j' has one grandparent who speaks Manx and a parent with a 'few words'; for the fourth child 's' the fluent speakers referred to are an aunt and a cousin, 'with reasonable competence' refers to a family friend, and parents have a 'few words'. Seven of the children have one parent with 'reasonable competence', but those with family members speaking only a 'few words' of Manx are clearly in the majority which necessarily entails that few of the children have access to the language in the home – see question 4 below.

4. If you and/or your partner are Manx speakers, do you use the language in the home with your child?

Table 6 How often Manx is used in the home

a)	Always	2
b)	Sometimes	12
c)	Never	3

The figures refer to the number of children whose parents speak Manx in the home (thus 4 children whose parents are not Manx speakers are excluded). The level of Manx speaking in terms of competency is not addressed by this question.

It is clear that even if the parents are themselves Manx speakers, they generally do not habitually speak Manx in the home. I should point out that, although there are two children counted who always hear Manx in the home, these two children are, in fact, siblings, which entails that it is only in one home that a parent claims to use the language

with the children 'always.' Moreover, this parent does not regard himself to be a fluent

speaker. Questions 3 and 4 establish which children have the most contact with the

target language outside school and it will be interesting to see what, if any, advantage

this gives them in the language task set.

5. **Has the level of Manx used in the home decreased/increased since your child's attendance at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh?**

Table 7 Level of of Manx used in the home since attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh

a)	Increased	20
b)	Remained the same	1
c)	Decreased	0

This question may seem rather odd as it seems counter-intuitive to expect less Manx to

be spoken in the home *after* the child has begun to attend a Manx language medium

school, but it seeks to address the question of the child's perception of language

domains. Maguire claims:

> a number of parents mentioned that their children had been happy to use bits of
> Irish as they were acquiring it in nursery school and in Primary 1 at the Bunscoil.
> A changed attitude emerged around the second year of primary schooling. At
> this stage, children rejected the use of Irish outside school, or more specifically
> in the home (1991: 124).

None of the parents who responded to this questionnaire had observed this type of

behaviour in their children at that time. However, subsequently, the mother of a child in

his second year of primary immersion experienced a similar reluctance on the part of her

child to speak Manx with her in the home. The mother had decided to attend Manx

language evening classes, hoping and expecting that the lessons would be of mutual

benefit to herself and her son, only to find that he resolutely refused to speak to her in Manx, and seemed to feel resentful and annoyed with her for making the attempt. Maguire (1991: 125) attributes the change in attitude on the part of immersion educated children in Belfast to the children's growing awareness of their parents' linguistic limitations, which occurs as the children's own language skills begin to draw ahead of those of their parents, typically around the end of the second year/beginning of the third year of immersion education.

In a case where the parent(s) of immersion educated children have no pre-existing knowledge of the Target Language, their efforts to learn the TL, and evidence of normal L2 learner errors and mistakes, may embarrass the child as well as seeming inappropriate in terms of time and place, i.e. outside the immersion language's natural domain which, for the majority of children, is the school classroom. In the Manx immersion situation, it is extremely unlikely that the above-mentioned child has heard Manx spoken anywhere other than school. He was one of the only two children in his age group to attend Bunscoill Ghaelgagh from the town where he lives. His after school playmates and peer group all attend the local mainstream primary school.

6. **If you are not attending any Manx classes and are not Manx speakers could you tick the following reason(s) for this if applicable to you**

The answers of the 15 parents who responded to this question were distributed as follows:

Table 8 Reasons for not attending Manx classes

a)	lack of time, pressure of work/domestic arrangements	9
b)	do not feel that it is important	0
c)	other	6

Other reasons given were;

- No interest
- Lack of sufficient motivation
- Found the Manx language difficult to learn
- Found the syntax difficult

The first two of the above four reasons could, in reality, be construed as the option of

'not important', although they chose not to answer it in this way. The second two

reasons reflect a feeling I have heard expressed by other people, namely that the Manx

language is particularly difficult. I can only ascribe this to the fact that there is L1- L2

dissimilarity between English and Manx syntax and phonology, which some adult

learners find more difficult than they expect, and the fact they may have attended classes

which over-emphasise grammar and syntax in the early stages.

7. If the child is the only Manx speaker in the home, do you consider this to be a disadvantage for him/her?

Table 9 Number who consider the lack of Manx in the home a disadvantage

Yes	6
No	7
N/A	8

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These answers contrast with those of parents interviewed at the Irish medium primary school, Shaw's Road, Belfast, Maguire (1991: 101) where the lack of Irish in the home was seen as the 'principal problem by the largest group of parents'.

8. Does your child have opportunities to use Manx socially outside of school hours? (if 'yes' could you include an example?)

Table 10 Opportunities to use Manx outside school

Yes	17
No	4

Examples of attendance at Manx dance and music groups were offered as evidence of 'opportunities to speak Manx.' However, whilst these are undoubtedly opportunities to engage in what is perceived of as 'Manx culture', they are not necessarily opportunities to speak Manx, as many of those involved in such activities are not Manx speakers. Nonetheless, these activities could be a rare opportunity for the children to socialise outside of school hours. Other opportunities arose when friends from school came to play or stayed overnight.

This question highlights an obvious problem with questionnaires dependent on the respondents' self-assessed knowledge: i.e. the assessment in question may be based more on perception than fact. I find it interesting to note that parents with fluent Manx, and both the opportunity and ability to use Manx with their children, tended to underplay this (or are perhaps more linguistically aware and realistic), whereas, in at least one case

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(the family is known to me personally) where it was stated that the child 'had the

opportunity to speak Manx with family friends', this meant simply that the child was

able to exchange occasional greetings with a person whose knowledge of Manx consists

solely of basic greetings.

9. Does the child use Manx when playing in the home? For example if he/she

plays school with toys or other children does he/she use Manx as the language of

play?

Table 11 Children who use Manx in play

Yes	21
No	0

Examples given of the children using Manx during play frequently involved role-play.

Unsurprisingly, playing 'school' was the game where the child was most likely to be

heard speaking Manx, and when friends from school came to play. Parents also noted

that their children sang Manx songs and counted in Manx. This is an interesting

observation given the value that Hickey (see Chapter 5.2.3) places songs and rhymes as

the most effective teaching resource for language acquisition in young children.

10. Would you ideally like to see the provision of Manx-medium education?

Table 12 Those in favour of Manx-medium secondary education

Yes	17
No	0
Unsure	2

This question was asked not in the expectation that there would be Manx medium secondary education available in the foreseeable future, but rather, to indicate the extent of future need and parental desire for such an option. The replies above show a high degree of satisfaction thus far with Manx immersion education. At the time the questionnaires were returned the provision of secondary level education for the present and future pupils of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh had yet to be resolved. However, as of September 2007 arrangements have been made for some continued Manx-medium teaching for the first children to leave Bunscoill Ghaelgagh to attend secondary school (see Chapter 12. 2).

7.2 Conclusion

From the answers above the primary motivation of the parents in choosing Bunscoill Ghaelgagh and Manx medium immersion education for their children would seem to be a combination of commitment to the future development of the Manx language, and awareness of the benefits of bilingual education.

The benefits of bilingualism have been given a certain amount of positive media attention in recent years. The belief that the bilingual child may be adversely affected by speaking two languages to the detriment of both (semilingualism) has been discredited by the results of research carried out on immersion education models in which additive rather than subtractive bilingualism is the goal (Chapter 4.2). The prospect of a child achieving fluency in a second language, at no cost to the first, is an attractive one, as is the idea that bilingualism is beneficial to the development of the intellect. The point made in the '6 Good Reasons' booklet, that: 'Children who learn two languages have a head start when reading and counting. They often do better in exams later on' is very appealing at a time when it is perceived that exam-passing is the end goal of education.

The second most important choice cited for choosing Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, 'an interest in the long term revival of the Manx language' is rather more intriguing, given the answers to the subsequent language related questions. The number of children with parents or other family members who speak Manx is low. Only four out of the twenty-one children have parents or other family members who are fluent Manx speakers, and they do not claim to speak Manx as the main language of the home. This is a difficult question to self-assess unless one is constantly monitoring one's own and one's partner's speech and there may well be more Manx spoken in the home of the fluent speakers than is perceived by the speakers themselves.

The choice of the reply 'always' to the question of frequency of use in the home of a less fluent speaker may equally well imply 'I always use the language when possible and

when I am able', but the end result may well be that there is less Manx spoken than in the homes of those more proficient who have chosen the option 'sometimes.'

The number of respondents who highly rated the importance of the Manx language revival is not reflected in the number of parents who are either Manx speakers or who are attending Manx lessons. Only one set of parents replied that they were currently attending language classes. The majority of the parents gave 'lack of time' as their reason for not doing so, and this is unsurprising, given the heavy demands on time that caring for a young family, and in many cases combining this with full or part time work, involves. The amount of spare time that is involved in learning a second language is considerable, if any degree of fluency and proficiency is to be attained. The Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children and their families do not form part of a physical community, but rather, live in different locations throughout the island. This makes it difficult to provide the type of Manx lessons which might be of the most benefit to parents and which could be attended as a group.

Maguire (1991: 142) cited parents as rating a 'school terminology' class 'as the most valuable method of encouraging their progress.' I can also cite the grandmother of one of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children, who in conversation with me said that she (a fluent Manx speaker) found it very difficult to offer help with homework, particularly Maths, because she was simply not familiar with the relevant Manx terminology for the concepts involved. Manx classes for parents have been offered previously but I understand (from informal discussions) that the uptake and attendance were poor. Parents can obtain a cassette tape, or CD with booklet, *Gaelg son Mummigyn as*

Jishagyn (Manx for Mummies and Daddies): a course designed to provide parents and

carers of children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh with some basic Manx, relevant to the

school environment, and familiar to their children.

Despite their own difficulties either with learning Manx or finding the time to attend

classes, there is clearly a feeling of *owning* language and cultural associations among the

parents, borne out by the following comments made on two of the questionnaire forms:

- the opportunity was not there for me to learn *my* language, even the dialect was corrected at school
- a chance to learn about *own* history and culture rather than 'imported' British history.

There was, in fact, only one respondent who claimed to have 'no interest' in the

Manx language and who rated 'general benefits of a bilingual education' and 'small

class size' as the most important of the given options.

It is evident that the future of the Manx language revival matters a great deal to the

families whose children attend Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. However, Manx does not have the

property of defining either identity or community loyalties, as for example Irish does in

Northern Ireland (Maguire 1991: 27-33).

The Manx language is not a badge of identity for the majority of the Manx people. We

are physically separate by virtue of being an island, and are, for the most part, under our

own jurisdiction. Adult Manx L2 speakers often feel and say that the language is part of

their 'heritage' and nationality, but they represent a minority of Manx people, most of whom do not regard the ability to speak Manx as central to their Manx identity. The Manx language is not generally regarded by Manx speakers as a tool of exclusivity, and most tend to applaud the incomer who chooses to learn and speak Manx.

In choosing to send their children to the Manx immersion school parents are expressing a greater than average interest in their children's education, as well as in the Manx language and culture. The inconvenience of getting their children to and from school, when they might attend a school nearer to their home, is also worth noting, as is the fact that it was parents who lobbied the Department of Education for a Manx-medium primary school to follow on from Mooinjer Veggey playgroup. Small classes are important to many parents, but there is no guarantee, with a growing number of pupils and a limited number of qualified staff, that classes in the Bunscoill will remain small.

Parents in Ireland (Republic and Northern) and Scotland all gave similar replies regarding the link between language and culture. They were, however, more likely to be either speakers or learners of the language themselves (see Chapter 5.2.2; 5.2.3; 5.24) than is the case in the Isle of Man. It may be that if language classes could be made more accessible in terms of time, location and content, there would be a greater parental involvement. Parents in all the studies of Celtic language immersion also praised the quality of teaching and were confident that their children were happy at school. Children are frequently in mixed age classes in immersion education and can remain with the same class teacher for several years, making a good relationship between children, parents and teacher all the more important.

Chapter 8

Brastyl 'Nane Data

The next four chapters of the thesis comprise a linguistic analysis of the interlanguage or learner language of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children at the stage in their immersion education reached at the time the data was recorded. In order to contextualise the analysis, it will be useful to first sketch the current situation regarding the Manx language and, in particular, the language to which the children are exposed at school, which represents the main, and in some cases, the only input that they receive.

Broderick (1999: 77) considers that Manx can be regarded as having three identifiable phases which he characterises as follows (for the sake of clarity the same terms will be employed in this thesis):

1. EM: Early Manx – 17th century; essentially that of the Manannan or Traditionary Ballad (MB ca. 1500; cf. Thomson 1961-62) and Bishop John Phillips' Manx Gaelic translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer (PB ca 1610; cf. Moore & Rhys 1893-94, Thomson 1954-57).

2. CM: Classical Manx – 18th century; essentially that of the Manx Bible translation (1744-75) and various tracts, sermons, and traditional song texts (cf. Thomson 1969a)

3. LM/LSM: Late Manx/Late Spoken Manx – 19th/20th centuries; essentially that of the stories of Ned Beg Hom Ruy (1831 – 1908 cf. Broderick 1981-82) and the

native speakers (ca. 1840-1974; cf. Broderick 1984-86). The period of language death falls within the latter phase of the native speakers.

In terms of general language usage amongst present-day speakers of Manx, there are individual differences: for example whether to use synthetic as opposed to analytic tense forms, and conscious avoidance of loan words and forms calqued on English (see Chapters 10 and 11 for a more detailed discussion). However, the small number of Manx speakers has discouraged any degree of factionalism. It is true that some adult L2 speakers favour the use of synthetic tenses above the use of the analytic or periphrastic forms favoured by the last native speakers, citing the Manx translation of the Bible as an authoritative source and more representative of a 'standard'. However, this is a rather selective view of the language in the Bible which actually contains very many examples of analytic as well as synthetic forms (for a further discussion see Chapter 11).

Maguire (1991) commenting on linguistic competence and language variety regarding *Bunscoil Phobal Feirste* in Belfast states:

> The question of language variety has never had a prominent place among the priority questions to be resolved within the context of active bilingualism (Maguire 1991: 235)

This also seems to be true in the case of Manx. The emphasis in the Manx language revival has also been focused chiefly on encouraging language use, and any disagreements on language form remain a matter for individual choice. Those promoting the maintenance and revival of minority languages in education have of

necessity to employ a degree of pragmatism in the classroom. Thomas (1991) writing

on the subject of Welsh-medium education observed that:

> The investigation of linguistic acceptability is, of course, a notoriously difficult area, and one which has only recently been probed for standard Welsh (Thomas 1991: 47)

Thomas's comments were made when Welsh-medium education had been available for

more than four decades, which serves to illustrate the difficulties involved in making

decisions regarding language standards, and suggests that such issues may only become

pressing in relation to Manx in the future when the revival is more firmly established.

If we now focus more narrowly on the situation at school, the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh staff

have attempted to standardize their linguistic input to the extent that, initially, staff

meetings were held after school with the teacher whom the others considered to have a

'greater linguistic understanding of Manx grammar' leading the discussions. Decisions

were taken to avoid unduly complicated language in the first few years but not to the

extent of consciously avoiding synthetic tenses. This teacher has now been given

responsibility for developing the standard of Manx used by the children used by the

children and staff (A. Kissack pers. comm. 10/08/07).

As is the practice in immersion classrooms (see chapters 4 and 5) Manx is the language

spoken by the teachers to the children from their first day in school. If any child is

distressed and/or needs to be spoken to in their L1 they are usually taken aside outside

the classroom so that Manx remains the language of the classroom. The children's L1

utterances are replied to in Manx and all attempts at speaking Manx are praised and

encouraged. Non-target utterances are usually re-cast for the children in the desired form of the TL without critical comment. Immersion acquired language has been criticised (see Chapter 4.7) on the grounds that functional language use is attained without sufficient attention to language form. This does not appear to be the case at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh as a degree of attention is focussed on language form in Brastyl Jees when the children have attained some proficiency and confidence in the TL. The teacher uses the TL metalinguistically to increase the children's awareness of different language forms in the TL in addition to using the language for the functional purpose of communication, for example, the use of synthetic and periphrastic tenses is explained and exemplified in the TL (interview with Paul Rogers, teacher Brastyl Jees 27/07/2004).

Some variation occurs in teacher input and in written materials. When the school first opened, all educational materials, including reading books, had to be translated into Manx. This task was initially carried out by individual volunteers and their language choices naturally varied somewhat. Since 2006 (see Chapter 10) one person has had responsibility for translating all written resources, and his literary Manx is 'consciously based on the nineteenth century and Neddy Beg Hom Ruy in particular' (A. Kissack pers. comm. 10/08/07). Neddy Beg Hom Ruy (Edward Faragher c.1831-1908) was a fisherman and crofter, who wrote many stories and reminiscences in a conversational style of Manx, and is referred to above in Broderick's description of Late Manx. Neddy Beg's use of analytical tenses and other periphrastic constructions is typical of the Late Manx period.

As time goes on, it appears likely that there will be a greater consistency in the children's input than there was in the early years and at the time the data discussed in this thesis was recorded.

This chapter begins the analysis which forms the linguistic core of the present study by an evaluation of the data collected from Brastyl Nane. In examples where a particular word or construction is discussed, a literal word for word translation is given, along with the Standard English version.

8.1 Brastyl 'Nane Data

The Brastyl 'Nane data is by its nature some what limited, as the children involved are very young, and have had limited exposure to the target language. Brastyl 'Nane (Class 1) consists of two year groups; ten of the children are Blein Toshee (YR -Reception) and the remaining four children are Blein 'Nane (Y1 -Year 1). The youngest child at the time of data collection was 4 years and 9 months, and the oldest 6 years and 9 months. One of the Blein Toshee children was absent, so the data is from nine rather than ten Reception children. I had, however, spoken with this child on other visits to the school and am confident that his language skills are equal to those of his peers. As I have indicated in Chapter 6.3 the children's language skills are assessed in the school by means of Pupil Targets and Levels of Achievement, closely modelled on those used in Scottish immersion schools. They are also tested using a list of high frequency Manx words. Based on this information and my own observations, a short test was devised which would both demonstrate that they had reached the targeted levels of achievement for their age groups, and would incorporate certain additional linguistic features which

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they may or may not have acquired thus far. The test was based on twenty short questions using a picture book, with which they were all familiar, *The First Thousand Words in Manx.*

I focussed especially on four features which I felt would be particularly interesting. I had observed some input variation in a specific consonant phoneme and wanted to see how much this was reflected in the children's output. I also focused on a word containing a vowel phoneme which could either be realised in a manner typical of the TL or the children's L1. Semantic choices in number and colour terms which do not occur in the children's L1 are present in the TL input, and opportunities to observe children's current usage of two such features were included in the test questions.

Two of the items which the children were asked to name consisted of some flowers and a bag. I knew they had heard the Manx for flowers because I had been present on a spring visit to the park where they had been shown *blaaghyn* 'flowers' growing and had helped some of the children plant flowers in the garden. I also had reason to believe that they were all familiar with *poaghey* 'bag' as it was a word they heard used on a daily basis to refer to their school bags. My interest in these two words concerned the realisation of the consonant phoneme represented orthographically as 'gh' in *blaaghyn* and the vowel phoneme represented as 'oa' in *poaghey.*

I had observed on previous visits to the school that the children were exposed to a variation in their input of the realisation of the consonant phoneme represented orthographically as 'gh' which occurs word medially in the word *blaaghyn* 'flowers'.

The phonetic realisation of 'gh' in Manx when it appears in word medial/intervocalic

position can be a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, a voiced velar stop /g/, a voiceless velar

fricative /x/ or it need not be sounded at all as in /ble:ən/. There is no general consensus

by adult L2 Manx speakers and all four realisations of orthographic 'gh' regularly occur.

O'Rahilly (1932: 118) comments that: 'Manx shows a remarkable tendency to soften

consonants in medial position by voicing the tenues and by turning the mediae into the

corresponding spirants.'

The tendency in Manx is to voice stop consonants and turn velar stops into fricatives.

Stowell observes in *Y Coorse Mooar* a 'comprehensive Manx course' (1998: 39) that;

'consonants in the middle of Manx words are often softened in speech, which may

puzzle you if you're relying on the spelling'. For example:

skeddan ske[ð]an 'herring'; *shickyr* shi[g]yr 'certain'; *cabbyl* ca[v]il 'horse'; *magher*

ma[ø]er 'field'.

I did not expect that any child would produce /blɛ:ɣən/ with a medial voiced velar

fricative, as it does not occur in English, and English speakers generally find it difficult

to produce. Broderick (1999: 88) regards /ɣ/ as largely having disappeared in word

initial position by the LM period along with the voiceless velar fricative /x/, and

attributes this to 'the absence of these two phonemes in English'.

Broderick describes internal and final 'gh' and 'dh' as follows:

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GH and DH fell together as [ɣ] probably in the middle Irish period. In LSM[38]
GH, DH internally and finally are everywhere silent. (Broderick 1986: 94)

However, some transcriptions indicate that medial [ɣ] was still realised by some LM
speakers. Phonetic transcriptions in *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx Volume 2
Dictionary* (Broderick 1984) indicate that /ɣ/ still occured in word medial position, for
example; *baghey* [beːɣə] living, dwelling; *aghin* [aːɣən] request, petition; *caggey*
[kaːɣə] war; *doghan,* [dɑːɣən] disease and *dorraghys* [daraɣəs] darkness. Each example
shows [ɣ] in free variation with either [x] or zero phoneme and sometimes with both. It
is not possible to say which phoneme is perceived as the base phoneme and which are
allophones.

In commenting on the 'loss of medial spirants' Broderick (1984, vol.1: 163) claims that
they are 'better preserved' in the South of the Island in the Late Manx period. It is
impossible to say with certainty whether the children have heard (or noticed) the
appearance of word medial /ɣ/. The fact that it may not occur in the majority of their
school input does not necessarily imply that none of them have ever heard it. I had on
previous occasions heard the medial consonant in *blaaghyn* 'flowers' realised by
different teachers as a voiceless velar fricative /x/, a voiced velar stop /g/ or with zero
realisation, and was interested to see whether the children's data would show any
variation.

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[38] Late Spoken Manx

Broderick (1986: 40) lists the open-mid back vowel [ɔ:] as an allophone of the close-mid back vowel /o:/ when it occurs in 'stressed monosyllables and initial stressed syllables in polysyllables'. Destabilisation of the vowel phonemes was a feature of Late Manx resulting in 'a wider range of allophones for each phoneme than was formerly the case' Broderick (1999: 81). The stressed vowel in the word *poaghey* 'bag' is usually realised as [ɔ:], or less frequently as [o:]. My purpose was to discover whether the children were producing a vowel sound more typical of their L1 than either /ɔ:/ or /o:/ would be in this position, that is, either the RP English diphthong /aʊ/ or /əʊ/.

I included a question which would require the child to use the number two followed by a noun. The question asked if there were any dogs were in the park (there were two). The children were all able to count using the cardinal numbers *'nane, jees, tree, kiare* and so on (one, two, three four) but when used to quantify a noun *un* is used for one rather than *'nane,* and *daa* for two rather than *jees* and both cause initial consonant mutation in the following noun, for example:

moddey dog, *un voddey* one dog, *daa voddey* two dog(s), the initial 'm' in moddey becomes 'v'. The other point to note is that the noun does not show plural morphology with *daa.* The noun only becomes plural when the number three is reached, for example, *tree moddee* (- initial consonant mutation). The children had heard numbers used with nouns on previous occasions, in stories for example, the question was whether they had acquired the 'rule' well enough to use it.

Some of the questions referred to names of colours and pointing to each colour or item of a particular colour I asked

Cre'n daah ta shen?
what colour is that?

The colour questions, as well as demonstrating the children's knowledge of colours in Manx also gave me the opportunity to discover which of the children, if any, were aware that they had a semantic choice to make in the case of the colour green.

It is usual in present day Manx to use the word *glass* to refer to the green of plants or the sea or anything occurring in nature whereas *geayney* is used to refer to the manufactured colour green. In fact, the distinction between the uses of *glass* and *geayney* is not necessarily quite so discrete and *glass* can describe any pale grey/green/blue colour (cf Irish, Scottish Gaelic *glas*).

The following example taken from *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx Vol. 2* (Broderick, 1984:189) indicates that for at least one native-speaker of Manx it is the intensity of the colour described, rather than its 'naturalness' that determines the adjectival choice:

Cabbyl glass ayns magher geayney

Horse grey in field green

A grey horse in a green field   (Thomas Christian, Ramsey)

Moreover, Kelly's *Dictionary of Manks* (1977) offers *cabbyl geayney* for 'a bay coloured horse'. However, the above explanation regarding the usage of *glass* versus *geayney* is the one generally used today, and describes the contextual use encountered by the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children.

Using the information gained from the questionnaires (see Chapter 7) I would also be in a position to observe whether the children with Manx speakers in their families would show any advantage at this stage. A transcript of the data may be found in Appendix 3.

The children were recorded separately in a quiet room. I went to the classroom to get each child, which gave me the opportunity to use Manx to exchange greetings with the child, and ask them to come with me to the other room and sit down. We then sat down together at a table and looked at the book. The picture chosen was of a park scene with dogs and children playing, a pond with ducks, swans and toy boats - familiar child-centred vocabulary.

My first questions were a continuation of establishing whether the children understood and could respond to my questions. They had already shown that they understood and could respond to greetings at the appropriate level. I began by asking if a particular object was in the picture, for example:

Vel billey ayns y jalloo shoh?
Is there a tree in this picture?

If the child responded in the affirmative I asked:

C'raad t'eh?
Where is it?

This presented no problem to the children, apart from some momentary confusion in

distinguishing ducks from swans. Two of the younger children pointed to a swan when

asked to point out a duck but when asked;

Vel shen thunnag?
Is that a duck?

they both realised their error and pointed to a duck. The rest of the questions were

designed to elicit speech from the children which I did firstly by pointing to objects in

the picture and asking;

C'red ta shen?
What is that?

The rest of the questions concerned the children and their families. I asked them to

describe themselves in terms of their hair/eye colour and whether they had short or long

hair; whether they had any brothers or sisters, if so, how many and what were their

names; and lastly we talked about their pet animals, if they had any, what sort they were

and what were their names.

The recorded results for each child are not identical, because some of the children were

more willing to talk than others. One of the children in particular was rather shy and

was a little reluctant to use Manx; she was, however later in the interview keen to tell me

all about her pet dog and his adventures in English and naturally, I let her do so.   There were no instances of any child declining to use Manx; most answered everything they were asked in Manx. A few expanded their answers using English but four out of the thirteen children enlarged their answers using Manx and gave me more than I had asked for.

8.2 Test Outcomes for Blein Toshee

None of the Blein Toshee children had any difficulty with the questions which matched the levels expected at this stage of immersion, that is, they were able to respond to greetings, follow simple instructions and use words/phrases related to classroom topics (see Chapter 6.3).

Consonant Phonemes /ɣ, g, x/

In pronouncing *blaaghyn*, three out of the nine children opted for a voiced velar stop /g/, four the voiceless velar stop /k/ and two did not know the word.

Vowel Phonemes /ɔ:, o:/

I had expected all the children to know the word *poaghey*, given that they heard it on a regular basis. However, a surprising number of them failed to identify the object in the picture as *poaghey*. I can only suppose that rather than regarding the word *poaghey* as a generic term for bag, many of them had assumed that the term *poaghey* signified a specific type of bag only.

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Out of the nine children six did not identify the bag in the picture as *poaghey*. Of the three who did use the word, two realised the vowel phoneme as [ɔ:], while the other child who speaks RP English realised the vowel as the diphthong [əʊ] and was, therefore, realising a typical L1 vowel phoneme.

Jees/daa

None of the nine Blein Toshee children used *daa* + noun when asked how many dogs were pictured (target form *daa voddee*). Eight used *jees* (the cardinal number used when counting). They were not aware of the singular, dual, plural distinction. One child did not answer, or did not understand the question.

Geayney/glass

One child out of the nine offered *glass* as the colour of plants. The others all used *geayney*.

Summary

I had no background information on three of the nine Blein Toshee children, (questionnaires were not returned); of the remaining six, five had attended Braddan Mooinjer Veggey play group and one attended Peel Clothworkers pre-school nursery (run by Mooinjer Veggey, see Chapter 5.4 for description of Manx-medium playgroups and nurseries). Four out of the six came from homes where a 'few words' of Manx were spoken, and two where Manx was spoken 'with reasonable competence'.

Bearing in mind that none of the children in Blein Toshee had the opportunity to hear or speak significant amounts of Manx outside the school environment and that, realistically, school represented the main, if not only, TL input for all of these children, I was impressed by their willingness to use the language to the fullest extent they were able. Two children, in particular, offered more than they were asked, and interestingly, both had attended a pre-school nursery (with minimal Manx input) rather than a *Mooinjer Veggey* playgroup, and neither have any access to Manx outside school.

The factor both these children have in common appears to be enthusiasm and lack of inhibition. Among this group of children language background appears to be of little importance as far as can be ascertained in terms of output.

All the Blein Toshee children would have been exposed to the additional phonological and lexical items present in the test above, but that does not imply that they will have absorbed them to the point of appropriate use. Language acquisition in immersion education occurs in a 'natural' way through interaction and language use but that does not make it the equivalent of L1 child language acquisition, wherein the child is exposed to a greater variety of language use, and for a longer period of time than is possible in the immersion classroom.

8.3 Test Outcomes for Blein 'Nane

There are four children in Blein 'Nane, all of whom attended a *Mooinjer Veggey* playgroup. Three of them come from homes where at least one parent has 'reasonable competence' in Manx, and in the case of the fourth child, three family members have 'a

few words' of Manx. One of the parents with reasonable competence always speaks Manx with the children. All the Blein 'Nane children answered my questions happily, with no problems, either of comprehension or production.

Phonemes /ɣ, g, x/

Word medial orthographic 'gh' in *blaaghyn* was realised by three children as [g], one child realised it as [k].

Phonemes /ɔ:, o:/

The first vowel phoneme in *poaghey* was realised by two children as [ɔ:], by one child as [əʊ] and the fourth child did not know the word.

Jees/daa

Three children used *jees* with the noun. One child used the target form *daa* with the noun but with the noun in the plural and the initial consonant unchanged.

Geayney/glass

Three children were able to make the distinction between *glass* and *geayney* for the colour green. One gave me the following explanation (the picture showed plants and a pair of green boots);

Cre	*em*	when it's *glass*	*t'eh bio*	*as*	when it's	*geayney*	*cha nel eh bio*
What	em	when it's *glass*	it's living	and	when it's	*geayney*	it's not living

Cha nel shen bio
That's not living (pointing to picture of boot)

Summary

Two out of the four children knew and used more Manx than the other two, and they

each had one parent with reasonable competence in Manx. At this stage, for these two

children, additional input in the home appeared to make a difference in comprehension

and in output. It would be wrong, however, to make any definitive claims or draw any

conclusion from the performance of four children. Although the great achievement of

immersion education is that 'success in becoming an effective speaker is the norm in

immersion settings' (Henry et al 2002: 3), this does not imply that all children progress

at the same rate.

The questionnaire findings showed that three out of the four children in Blein 'Nane had

a parent with reasonable competence in Manx, and one of these three came from a home

where Manx was 'always' spoken. It is not possible to claim with any degree of

certainty that additional access to Manx was the definitive factor in their differing

performances. The child who produced the most spontaneous Manx, on this and other

observed occasions, was from a home where Manx was spoken 'more than sometimes

but not always' which leads me to conclude that individual ability is at least as important

as exposure to the target language at this early stage.

Hickey's 1997 assessment of influences on Irish achievement in the naíonraí cites

'general cognitive ability' as a factor 'strongly predictive' of success on production

scores (Hickey 1997: 119). Hickey's study (see Chapter 5.2.2) involved 225 children who were all given a general cognitive ability test prior to their assessment in Irish achievement. There is, as Hickey observes, 'an enduring controversy about the relationship between general intelligence, language proficiency and language aptitude' (Hickey 1997: 143). However, Hickey's research showed that general cognitive ability was a 'highly significant' predictor of language production skills in Irish, closely following the two most important influential factors which were: Irish used as the main language of the home, and the level of parental speaking ability in Irish. This result does not indicate that children with lower general cognitive ability scores have particular difficulties in immersion language acquisition, merely that the rate of L2 acquisition is somewhat slower (Hickey 1997: 144).

It is noticeable that children with somewhat more advanced language production skills act to some extent as instigators of target language use. The example below comes from an additional recording made of a small group of Brastyl 'Nane children playing in a 'ghost train'. There are five children playing, the nursery nurse is also present. The children, prompted by the nursery nurse, begin by making 'scary' noises, then one child pretends to be the ghost:

Child A *Ta mee* **geddyn oo** *ta mee cheet sheese* *yn greeishyn* *woooo*
         I am   getting you   I am coming down   the stairs   woooo

         Ta mee **geddyn oo** *as gee oo son yn son yn braghtanyn aym*
         I am   getting you and eating you for my for my sandwiches

(Lots of slurping noises here ....)

Ta mee **geddyn oo** nish *ta mee* **geddyn oo** nish *ta mee* **geddyn oo** nish
I am   getting you now I am   getting you now I am   getting you now

Ta mee **geddyn** *ta my caarjyn ta my caarjyn em gearree gee uss as mish*
I am   getting my friends are my friends are em wanting to eat you and me

Ta mee **geddyn oo**   *ta mee* **geddyn oo** *ta mee*   **geddyn oo**
I am   getting you   I am   getting you I am   getting you

Your turn ---- your turn (English only)

Child B   *Ta mee* **geddyn**... (names other children)
            I am   getting....

Child A   *Ta mee* **geddyn**....(names other children)

The child who talks the most on this recording is the child referred to in the Blein 'Nane

test outcomes (described above) as producing more spontaneous Manx in the course of

the questions. In using the phrase *ta mee geddyn oo* (I am getting you) she is clearly

aiming for a calque on traditional English ghost-speak 'I'm gonna get you'. None of the

other children speak until prompted by this child near the end of the recording, then

another girl responds adopting the same Manx phrase. The other children in the *Traen*

Scaa (ghost train) make 'ghost' noises but do not speak. Child A, whether because of

increased exposure to the target language, individual ability, (or more likely a

combination of the two) is able to produce language which fits the occasion and

influences the other speaker to do the same.

Additional Data: YNQs

In response to yes/no questions Manx uses an echo-system (characteristic of the Celtic languages) wherein the answer to the question is supplied by repeating the verb of the question (minus the pronoun) in positive or negative form, for example;

Vel shiu skee?
Are you tired?
(dep. pres.tense)

Row shiu anmagh jea?
Were you late yesterday?
(dep.past tense)

Ta	*cha nel*	*va*	*cha row*
is	not is	was	not was
(indep. pres. tense)	(dep. pres. tense)	(indep. past tense)	(dep. past tense)

Note that the verb in Manx has two forms; dependent and independent (see Chapter 11.2 for more details). The dependent form is used in questions and after pre-verbal particles such as *nagh, cha* and *dy.*

The echo response system causes some difficulty for learners and it requires a good deal of practice to get the response correct. There is a general tendency for English speakers to extend the use of *ta* and *cha nel* (is/not is) as yes/no substitutes. This is exacerbated by the fact that the present tense of all verbs in Manx is formed periphrastically using the present tense of the substantive verb *bee* (be) plus the verbal noun. *Ta* and *cha nel* are, therefore, the responses first acquired by learners to yes/no questions in Manx.

Owens, (1992: 53) writes in her account of daughter's acquisition of Irish that 'from my observations in the Naíonra I had the impression that the children were using *tá* and *níl* (positive and negative forms of the substantive verb) as yes/no substitutes', (also see Maguire 1991: 223). Broderick (1999: 130) also observes with regard to Late Manx.

However in Late Manx sometimes the present tense of the substantive verb can answer a question asked with a different verb in a different tense, i.e. using *ta* and *cha nel* ('is, not is') to mean 'yes' and 'no' respectively, thus copying English syntax:

It almost goes without saying that children in Manx immersion education begin by

believing (and stating) that *ta* 'means' yes and *cha nel* 'means' no. Many of the

children, particularly those who attended a *Mooinjer Veggey* playgroup or nursery, will

also have encountered the verbal response pattern to the question *by vie lhiat?* for

example:

by vie	*lhiat*	*brishtag?*
would-be good	with-you	biscuit?

would you like a biscuit?

by vie	*lhiam*	*cha by vie*	*lhiam*
would-be good	with-me	neg+ would-be good	with-me
I would like (yes)		I wouldn't like (no)	

This would, in theory, give them access to two differing verbal response forms in

situations where they would use 'yes' or 'no' in English. However, it is likely that the

children vary individually as regards the time when they begin to notice that *ta* or *cha*

nel are not the invariable answers to yes/no questions. Any yes/no questions used in the

interviews were in the present tense and required either a *ta* or *cha nel* response as the

use of appropriately tensed responses does not appear to be a targeted level of

achievement until Immersion Stage 4 (see Appendix 2).

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One of the Blein Toshee children is a neighbour of mine and the son of a family friend (he is also one of the two children out of the nine who produced more Manx than asked for in the tests referred to above). I therefore took the opportunity (offered to me by his mother) to chat to him in Manx on a weekly basis over the school summer holiday period which followed his first year in immersion. We talked generally about where he had been and what he had been doing, using the past as well as the present tense, so that there were opportunities for him to respond to my questions in the past tense.

The occasion of our first chat happened to be the day after his birthday, which gave us both an appealing topic to talk about in the past tense. However, on this and subsequent occasions, although he had no difficulty in understanding the questions put to him in the past tense, his answers were always either *ta* or *cha nel* confirming my impression that he believed them to be the equivalent of yes/no (it made no difference if I recast his replies using simple past tense responses - *va* or *cha row*). No conclusion can be drawn from the evidence of one child's language production as to whether a year of immersion education provides enough evidence through input for acquisition of the verbal echo response system. There was no opportunity or time to ascertain in a more systematic way at what stage children in Manx immersion begin to use the echo system appropriately, but it would be an interesting question for further research.

8.4 Collective Results

The test results of Brastyl 'Nane (thirteen children, Blein Toshee and Blein 'Nane) are as follows:

Word medial orthographic 'gh'

/g/   /k/   not known

6   5   2

Orthographic 'oa'

/ɔ:/   /əʊ/   not known

4   2   7

Daa **+ noun**

One child out of thirteen used *daa* with the noun but without the additional target forms

of + initial consonant mutation and –plural

Glass vs geayney

Four out of thirteen children used *glass* to refer to the colour of natural phenomena. One

child explained (without being asked) that the adjective depended on the nature of the

object.

8.5 Conclusion

It would be unwise and premature to draw any conclusions from the test results other

than the fact that they confirm that the immersion process is taking place at the expected

rate. The number of children is very small and their individual differences, while

interesting, cannot reveal very much at this stage. The following paragraphs discuss

observations made rather than conclusions drawn.

The influence of English phonology on their Manx is unsurprising and is of interest

primarily because if it persists and the school produces (as is hoped and expected) a

substantial number of Manx speakers, then the language which they produce may

ultimately be devoid of any phonemic content which has come to be considered as

particular to Manx as opposed to English.

For example, about half of this small group of children are using a voiceless velar stop in

a word medial position [blɛ:kən] and this is one instance which can be regarded (in

terms of what is recorded of LSM) as untypical.

A more natural development for native speaker Manx is exemplified by Broderick

(1991:186) who traces phonological development of a medial voiceless velar stop

laccal [lak̯l] 'wanting' originally a lexical borrowing from English 'lack' from

intervocalic [k] → [g]→[ɣ] →ø zero consonant: la[k]al; la[g]al; la[ɣ]al; [la: l]; [lɑ̯l] the

last two examples with zero medial consonant vary in the vowel phoneme; both versions

are given in Broderick (1991: 186). Intervocalic voiceless velar stops are frequently

heard in English but, as indicated, they are more usually voiced in Manx.

The number of children who knew and produced the word containing the vowel

phoneme /o:, ɔ:/ was small, and all except two realised the vowel as [ɔ:]. Realising the

vowel phoneme as [əʊ] is indicative of L1 English influence, which is to some extent

expected, particularly for a speaker of 'RP' English, as is the case with one of the children.

It is surprising that only one of the thirteen children used the target form number *daa* with a noun, as this form occurs in their input, and in stories and songs which they hear and participate in regularly. It is possible that had they been prompted or the question posed in a different way they would have responded differently but I was looking for spontaneous use in the appropriate circumstances which with one exception did not occur on this occasion.

Few children made the distinction between *glass* and *geayney*, although their input provides examples of both; those who did were, with one exception, from the older age group in the class.

The fact that English (the children's L1) does not employ different terms for the number two or the colour green (varying according to their usage) is likely to contribute to a delay in the acquisition of these forms. *Jees* which is used when counting objects is encountered early in immersion by the child. Naming colours is also an early activity and once an inventory of colours and numbers is acquired there is little motivation to acquire additional forms until later in the immersion process.

Any deviation from target language norms at this early stage of interlanguage can be seen as developmental although it is possible that the children are establishing patterns for their own future language use which will conform to their own eventual language

norms. The phonemes used at this stage may be transitional or they may, for example, indicate a trend away from the medial voiced stops and fricatives varying with zero consonants (a feature of LSM) towards voiceless medial stops and consonants.

The effect of parental knowledge of Manx and the extent to which Manx is spoken in the home do not appear to have a great impact on the children's own language use thus far. Other studies (see Chapter 5) from Ireland and Scotland indicate that use of the target language in the home is an important, positive factor as one would expect. It may well prove to be more important in the future, as the children acquire greater proficiency themselves.

Chapter 9

Phonology, Morphophonology, and Bunscoill Ghaelgagh Manx

Chapters 9-11 consist of a detailed description of the Brastyl Jees recorded data.

This chapter covers the sound of Manx spoken by Brastyl Jees in the context of the

recordings of the frog story narrative. A small number of phonemes will be focussed on

and compared with current L2 adult learner usage and last native speaker recordings and

transcriptions.

9.1 Phonology

The sound of Manx as it is spoken today is based on the perceptions of those who

learned the language from native speakers and taught it to subsequent generations of

Manx speakers, and on recordings and transcriptions made of the last native speakers.

Although we are fortunate in having this resource there are some problems associated

with the fact that the transcribers did not use the same phonetic transcription system,

which has resulted in the appearance of a high number of allophonic variants. This

applies particularly to the vowel phonemes which 'in all probability would have been

much lower in number had one person alone been responsible for the entire phonetic

transcription' (Broderick 1986: xxxiii). It must also be borne in mind that the last

native speakers were as Broderick puts it, 'living in a vacuum' (1986: xxxiii) in so far as

speaking Manx was concerned. They had long ceased to use Manx as their everyday

language and as a consequence were without the feedback of normal discourse, which,

combined with the uncertainty resulting from lack of use would 'result in a widening of the (hitherto) accepted range of possibilities for the pronunciation or articulation of a given sound or set of sounds or utterances' (Broderick 1986: xxxxiv).

Greater stability and therefore uniformity is apparent in the consonant phonemes, at least in word initial and word final positions. Word medially there is greater variation, for example, the medial phoneme (orthographically 'ss') in *shassoo* 'standing' can be realized as [s] [z] [d] or [ð], (Broderick 1984: 392). The majority of examples (five out of ten) give [ð]. Word medial orthographic 'dd' can also be realized as a voiced dental fricative [ð] varying with [d̪].

The children presently acquiring Manx through immersion education at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh will, as their numbers increase, represent the greatest number of Manx speakers to acquire the language as a part of an identifiable group receiving basically the same input. They can be expected, therefore, to speak a variety of Manx which will show a degree of regularity reflecting both their input and linguistic interaction with each other. This is far from the case with adult Manx speakers, who have learned the language in small groups which, to some extent, reflect all possible variations based on the idiolects of the native speaker recordings. This does not imply that there is no consensus regarding the pronunciation of Manx, simply that there is a greater degree of variation than one would expect among so small a group of speakers.

The last recorded native speakers were born and raised in isolated areas of the Island, some from the north and some from the south, and therefore some aspects of the variation in their speech were due to the north and south dialectal differences (Broderick 1999:71). It is not unnatural, therefore, that adult speakers attending classes in different parts of the Island still to some extent reflect (and enjoy) this variation, but it can make life difficult for the learner in the initial stages of wanting to understand and be understood.

The phonological system used by the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children will naturally be based on the phonological system of their L1 English, just as it is for the vast majority of Manx speakers today. Whether their Manx will retain an essentially English sound, or will acquire a Manx sound of its own will be interesting to hear. Maguire (1991: 199) commenting on the Irish of immersion educated children in Belfast states:

> '----the emerging sound system in the urban situation distinctly reflects
> anglicising influences. The English phonological system represents the
> substratum upon which the Irish system is built rather than the intrusive
> influence which acts upon the native system.'

The anglicizing influence to which Maguire refers with regard to Irish phonology, chiefly concerns the loss or weakening of the 'slender/broad opposition of consonants'– a process which had already taken place in Manx by the LM period. Palatal consonants still exist in Manx but they do not perform a contrastive function.

What follows is a brief description of some of the consonant phonemes of LM based on the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC) recordings and *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx:*

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Vol 3 Phonology Broderick (1986: 16-28). Some of the descriptions in Broderick are of

necessity idiolectal, therefore the following descriptions are of a more general nature,

and chosen for comparison with present day spoken Manx. For a fully comprehensive

description of the phonology of LM see Broderick 1986, Volume 3.

9.1.1 Laterals (liquids and rhotics) and Palatal Contrast

The alveolar lateral [l] is found in all positions in LM whereas in earlier Manx there

would have been a phonemic contrast between /l/ and the palatal alveolar /lʲ/

> Originally in all positions a phonemic contrast between /l/ and /lʲ/ would
> probably have existed. In LSM this contrast is realised only in medial and final
> positions and to a limited extent at that (Broderick 1986: 16).

For example the plural of *cabbyl* [ka: bəl] 'horse' is indicated by a palatal contrast in the

'l' phonemes, *cabbil* [ka: bɪlʲ] 'horses'' the vowel in the final syllable being raised

before palatal /l/ (Broderick 1999:110). As the palatal contrast disappeared, some

speakers used the more common -*yn* plural suffix as can be seen in the following

conversation:

Interviewer:	*Cha row*	*oo*	*geiyrt*	*er*	*ny* **cabbil?**
	neg+be+pret	you	following	on	the horses?
	You weren't following the horses? (ploughing)				

J.Kneen: *Cha row*   *eh*   *geiyrt*   *er cabbylyn*   *v'eh*   *gra.*

          Neg+be+pret he   following   on horses   was he   saying

          He wasn't following on horses he was saying

H. Boyde: *Cha row*   *mee* *rieau*   *goll*   *goll*   *monney* *geiyrt*

          neg+be+pret I   ever   going   going   much   following

          er   *cabbylyn*   *edyr*   *cha row*

          on   horses   at all   neg+be+pret

          I was never much going going following on horses at all, I was not

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003 CD 1 Track 11)

Present day Manx speakers sometimes indicate the plural by making a vowel contrast

between the grapheme 'y' in the singular which they realise as [ɪ] and the grapheme 'i'

which they realise as [iː] in the plural but without palatalising the /l/. The native

speakers tended to compensate for the loss of palatal contrast in a more marked manner

by the addition of a regular plural morpheme or to leave the number contrast to context

as is the case, for example, with the English word 'sheep' in which there is no

morphological contrast between the singular and the plural.

In LM palatal /lʲ/ was retained as an allophone of /l/ (as it is in spoken Manx today),

seldom as a meaningful contrast. For example *elley* 'other' can be realised as either

/e[lʲ]ə/ or /e[l]ə, Manx speakers today favour the former, but from the evidence of

recorded material the latter was more common in LM.

Palatal /l/ can occur in word initial, medial and final positions and is phonetically frequently indicated in the orthography as 'lh' [lʲj], for example *lheim* / [lʲj] em/ 'jump.' In word medial and final position palatal /l/ is indicated orthographically as a geminate 'll', for example *duillag* /du[lʲj]ag/ 'leaf'; *billey* /bi[lʲj]ə 'tree' (Broderick 1986: 16).

By the LM period /r/ had come to be realised in initial and medial position as an alveolar flap [r]. In most word final positions /r/ had become reduced to [ɹ] or [ə] much as it is realised in English. Although some speakers on the IFC recordings (for example, Annie Kneale CD 1 Track 6) do produce a trilled /r/ in word final position, for the most part /r/ is not strongly realised in LM.

> In addition it is probable that their Manx pronunciations have been considerably influenced by English, as is only to be expected now that Manx is no longer used in daily conversation, and is only more or less dimly remembered by a handful of people who have regularly spoken nothing but English for years. This appears to account for one aspect of r-sounds (see p. 18), and may also explain a number of other features in the speech of these people which appear un-Gaelic. (Jackson 1955: 3-4)

For the most part the 'r' sounds heard in spoken Manx today are identical to those of Standard English. In an account of the Manx language which combines 'a description of the classical language with some notice of the changes in the late Manx speakers', Thomson (1993: 102) states that:

> The contrast of neutral and palatal quality is well preserved in *n* and *l* but *rʲ* has become less frequent so that, for example, *roo* 'to them' and *rieau* 'ever', or *roa* 'row' and *rio* 'frost' may be indistinguishable.

9.1.2 Velar Fricatives

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ appears mostly in word final position in LM. On occasions it may vary with /s/ or /ʃ/, for example, *agh* /a[x]/, /a[s]/ 'but'; *aght* /a[x]/, /a[ʃ]/ 'way, method' (in the word final orthographic consonant cluster 'ght' /t/ is not usually realised in LM).

[x] may also occur word medially before a voiceless dental stop /t/, for example, *shiaghtin* [ʃa: [x]tən or as a medial consonant varying with /h/ /g/ /gʲ/, or it may not be realised at all. In word medial and final position it is represented orthographically by 'gh' or 'ght'. Word initially, /x/ occurs mainly as a result of mutation, and varies with /h/, /k/, /kʲ/, but is sometimes not realised in the negative particle *cha* /[x]a/, /[h]a/, /a/ (Broderick 1986: 21).

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, (referred to in Chapter 8.2) had virtually disappeared in word initial position in LM (due to failure of lenition) and was infrequently realised word medially. Speakers who are conscientious in their observation of mutation do endeavour to use it in present day spoken Manx.

9.1.3 Consonant Clusters

Where consonant clusters occur which end with a voiceless alveolar/dental stop, 'ght' /xt/ or 'sht' /ʃt/ the /t/ was frequently not realised in LM particularly in word final position, for example, *smooinaghtyn* /smu:ɲaxtən/, /smu:ɲaxən/, or sometimes /smuɲa:n/

'thinking'; *shiaght* /ʃaxt/, /ʃax/ 'seven'; *eisht* /eːʃt/, /eːʃ/ 'then'; *reesht* /riːʃt/ /riːʃ/ 'again'.

The /t/ was, and is, less likely to be realised in word final position in rapid speech.

9.1.4 Preocclusion

In certain phonological environments in LM, that is, before nasals and laterals (always

voiced in LM) preocclusion occured. Preocclusion was a characteristic feature of LM.

Immediately prior to the articulation of the nasal or lateral a voiced stop was realised,

corresponding in terms of place of articulation with the following nasal or lateral, that is,

/b/ before /m/, /d/ before /n/ and /l/ and /g/ before [ŋ] It occurred mainly in stressed

monosyllables, for example: *cam* /kʲe[b]m/ 'crooked', *kione* /kʲo[d]n/ 'head'. This

feature can frequently be heard in present day spoken Manx as some speakers believe it

lends a certain authenticity to the sound of the language. However, it is not apparent in

the speech of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children in these data.

There is no detailed description of the vowel phonemes in these data for two reasons:

firstly their extreme variability in LM makes them difficult to use as a point of

comparison with the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children; and secondly, within this group of

eleven children there appears to be little variation with regard to vowel phonemes apart

from the realisation of word-final schwa /ə/ by a minority of children which is described

below. The wide variation in the vowel phonemes of LM may in part be attributable to

different transcribers using different phonetic transcription systems, and may also be

symptomatic of language death (Broderick 1999: 168) but it must also be acknowledged

that any phonetic transcription is by its very nature to some extent subjective and

impressionistic:

> Speech sounds will always differ in different contexts; no two speakers
> pronounce the same word in exactly the same way; and even the same speaker
> rarely pronounces the same word twice in precisely the same way. (Giegerich
> 1998: 30)

Individual variation begins to cause difficulty in mutual understanding of a language

when that language ceases to be widely spoken. Many stories are told within the small

Manx speaking community of mispronunciation leading to varying degrees of

bafflement and amusement. One story with which I am familiar from various Manx

classes dates back to the period when Manx sermons were regularly preached in

churches (mid-late nineteenth century) and concerns a clergyman who had chosen as his

text from the Manx Bible, the story of the Prodigal Son. The much welcomed return

home of the son is celebrated by a feast given by his father in which *lheiy beiyht* 'a

fatted calf' was provided. The word *beiyht* 'fatted' in Manx is similar to *baiht*

'drowned' and the unfortunate clergyman (not a native Manx speaker) is said to have

referred to the *lheiy baiht* 'the drowned calf' throughout his sermon, much to the

amusement of his congregation. This story does indicate, however, that as far as the

congregation was concerned, the difference between *beihyt* and *baiht* was perfectly

clear.

This does not necessarily indicate that to a non-native speaker's ear they were as

distinctive as they appear to be in spoken Manx today where *beihyt* is usually realised as

/biːɪt/ and *baiht* as /baɪt/ or /baɪtʲ/, LM native speaker transcriptions give;

beihyt 'fatted' /beit/, / biət/, /biːtʲ/, /biːət/, /bit/

baiht 'drowned'/bɛː itʲ/, /bȩitʲ/, /bɛit/, /baitʲ/ /bɑitʲ/, /baitʲʃ/ /bɛitʲʃ/

The chief distinction between these sets of transcription would seem to be that the 't' is realised as a palatal consonant in all but one transcription of *baiht* – a distinction which may not have been obvious to a non-native speaker.

Transcriptions of the word *lheiy* 'calf' are a good example of variation in LM vowel phonemes, in that thirteen speakers appear from the transcriptions to produce the word in thirteen different ways. This surely cannot have been the case but it serves as an example to show the number of possible phonetic realisations of one phoneme.

There remains at present rather more variation in the sound of Manx than would be expected from such a small number of speakers. Recordings of the last native speakers influence different people to differing extents, and all adult Manx learners have learned the language in small disparate classes from teachers with differing styles and preferences.

The children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh as well as being the first children to acquire Manx in this way, are also the largest group of individuals with the most uniform input. The frog story narrative proved to be an efficient way of obtaining phonological data from the children. They were describing the same events, and were to that extent bound to use the same vocabulary. The fact that the narratives are connected speech makes it possible to gain an overall impression of the sound of the language in use. There may be phonemes or allophonic realisations present elsewhere in their speech which are not described or discussed because they do not occur in these data.

9.2 Findings

Reference has already been made in Chapter 8 to the realisation of the phoneme which is shown as word medial 'gh' in Manx orthography. The verbal noun *jeeaghyn* 'looking' occurs several times in each narrative and is therefore the example used for word medial 'gh'. Examples from LM show ø realisation varying with [ɣ] and [x] but with ø realisation the most common. Out of nine examples six show ø realisation, two [ɣ] and one [x]. In other words the most common LM pronunciation of *jeeaghyn* was [dʒiː ən].

Table 13 Realisation of the medial consonant in jeeaghyn

child	ø	k	kʰ	x	ɣ
a		1	2		
b		5			
c				5	
d		1		2	
e				5	
f				1	
g		2		1	
h		2			
i		4		1	
j		2		1	
k				3	
Total		17	2	19	

The realisation of the medial consonant in *jeeeaghyn* by the Brastyl Jees children varies /k/ with /x/ with two exceptions where the voiceless velar stop was noticeably aspirated /kʰ/. There were no examples of consonant voicing or deletion.

Word medial orthographic 'dd' is usually realised as a voiced dental fricative /ð/ both in LM and currently. The boy in the story has a dog who accompanies him on his adventures, as the Manx word for dog is *moddey* [mɔː ðə] which provides many opportunities for the realisation of the medial consonant. The verbal noun *geddyn* [geðən] 'getting/finding' (sometimes *feddyn*) is used by all the children and provides further examples of word medial orthographic 'dd'.

Table 14 Realisation of word medial 'dd'

child	d	v	ð	ø
a	3			
b	8			
c	6			
d	3			1
e		2	6	
f	7			
g	7	3		
h	17			1
i	5			
j	8			1
k	8	1		
total	75	6	6	3

As can be seen from Table 14 the majority of children realise medial 'dd' as a voiced dental/alveolar stop. The distinction has not been made narrowly enough to state whether the stop is dental or alveolar as this was not the feature I was comparing. Only one child realised the medial phoneme as [ð] but this realisation was confined to the word *moddey*. Elsewhere in *geddyn* 'getting' and *eaddeeyn* 'clothes' he realised the phoneme as a voiced labiodental fricative [v], suggesting that he varies /ð/ and /v/ in

the same phonological environment, and that /v/ may be a developmental stage in his speech.

There were six instances of the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ in an environment where the majority of adult speakers produce a voiced dental fricative /ð/. This was not a large number and may be a reflection of 'th fronting' which occurs developmentally in the speech of many L1 English children. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are acquired relatively late in relation to other English phonemes (Crystal 1995: 240) and bearing in mind the young age of these children the labiodental dental fricative may be produced as an approximation of the dental fricative because the child finds it easier to articulate. The voiceless dental fricative /θ/ does not occur in Manx.

Three children did not realise any medial consonant in *geddyn* 'getting' producing [gɛːn]. This is consistent with the tendency to soften medial consonants in Manx (see Chapter 8.2) and in this context the phonological similarity between *geddyn* and the English 'getting' frequently realised as [gɛʔn] may have encouraged this usage. One child did not realise the medial consonant in either *reddyn* 'things' realised as [ɹuːn] or *feddyn* realised as [fɛːn], although she did realise the medial consonant in *geddyn* as /d/, which suggests that for this child ø realisation can vary with /d/ in a similar environment. The phrase *red ennagh* 'a certain thing / something' was realised on occasions by some of the children as [ɹuɪŋæk] a development that not only avoids sounding an intervocalic consonant but is also indicative of rapid, casual speech, which must be regarded as positive in the acquisition of a second language.

Table 15 Realisation of word final /x/

child	k	k^h	x
a	4	1	1
b	1	1	4
c			3
d			6
e			12
f			12
g			5
h			6
i	2		2
j			4
k			10
total	7	2	65

Word final /x/ is realised as [x] by all of the children in at least one instance and by the majority of children on all occasions. The voiceless velar fricative is the only phoneme to be widely realised in Bunscoill Ghaelgagh Manx which does not occur in English. The use of /x/ is more frequently heard in the Manx of the Brastyl Jees children than it was in LM, due to the fact that many children also realise /x/ in word medial position (see Table 13) whereas the last native speakers frequently did not do so (see chapter 8.2).

It is also my impression (an impression because a comparative study has not been carried out) that the children realise /x/ much more strongly and frequently than do most adult L2 Manx speakers. Many adult speakers claim to be unable to produce this sound, presumably because of their lack of familiarity with it as it is not present in their L1, and more often replace it with a voiceless velar stop /k/. Maguire (1991: 203), when discussing the linguistic trends of the Irish language revival in Belfast, refers to the 'disappearing velar fricatives'. It is, therefore, interesting to note that in the case of the Manx language revival usage of the voiceless velar fricative, far from disappearing, appears to have increased in the language of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children. Their attention appears to have been drawn to the sound either by its marked difference to English or by focussed input.

Palatal consonants

All the examples of *elley* 'other' used in the frog story narratives were realised with a palatal /lʲ/ [ɛlʲə]. Most examples of LM realise *elley* as [ɛlə] with no palatalisation of /l/, and many of the older L2 Manx speakers follow their example. However, [ɛlʲə] does appear to be more widespread among younger Manx speakers generally. In this instance the difference in realisation is allophonic since there is no meaning contrast between palatal and non-palatal /l/. There remains, however, a minimal pair contrast between *ellan* [ɛlʲən] 'island' and *ellyn* 'manners, arts' despite the fact that the Isle of Man is popularly referred to in song and verse as *Ellan* [ɛlən] *Vannan* 'Mannan's Isle.'

Past participle endings in /t/ were sometimes realised with a palatal /t/ in LM. A rhyme recited by Annie Kneale in the IFC recordings (CD1 Track 6) contains a number of past participles, one of which *ceaut* [kautʲ] 'thrown' ends with palatal /t/. Two narratives included past participle endings in /t/, which both children realise as [tʃ] rather than as a true palatal /tʲ/. However, I regard the affrication of palatal /t/ to be influenced by the similarity of the English affricate /tʃ/.

va'n kione echey gortit

[gɔːtɪtʃ]

his head was   hurt

va'n moddey beggan agglit

[æglɪtʃ]

the dog was a little   frightened

va'n poteil   doonit   TF (target form) *dooint*

[dunɪtʃ]

the bottle was   closed

va'n moddey geddyn   stingit

[stɪŋɪtʃ]

the dog was getting   stung

These examples indicate that although the palatal and non-palatal contrasts no longer show meaningful contrast, palatal consonants are still realised within predictable environments.

Word final /t/ in consonant clusters

Word final /t/ in the consonant cluster /ʃt/ is rarely realised in these data. Some children used the words *eisht* 'then' and *reesht* 'again' frequently in their narratives particularly *eisht*. With very few exceptions (six occasions out of thirty) the /t/ was unrealised and *eisht* was sounded as [eːʃ] and *reesht* as [riːʃ]. It is also more usual to realise the consonant cluster /xt/ as [x]. The numbers *shiaght* 'seven' and *hoght* 'eight' are usually realised as [ʃʲæx] and [hɒx] by the children and many adult speakers. Word final /t/ in consonant clusters was not usually realised in LM and the realisation of /t/ in this environment can give the impression of over careful enunciation, perhaps influenced by the orthography.

Variation in word final vowels

Four children realised the word-final vowels in two very commonly used Manx words differently to the manner which is usually considered to be the norm or at any rate the choice of the majority. *Moghrey* 'morning' was used in all the narratives and all apart from two children realised the word final vowel as a schwa /ə/ [mɔː ɹə], which is the usual way of sounding this word. Two children raised and fronted the vowel to /i/ realising the word as [mɔːɹi]. The second word was *ooilley* 'all' was used less frequently

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in the narratives than *moghrey*. The final vowel in *ooilley* is also usually realised as a schwa /ə/ [uˡʲə], but two children raised the vowel to /ʉ/ realising the word as [uˡʲʉ].

These 'minority' realisations are worth noting because in both cases, from the available evidence, they were favoured by the last native speakers. The children who used these variants all have Manx speakers in their family background which suggests that they have heard these realisations outside the school, and have not yet been influenced by the majority of their peers to change them.

Glottal stops

In her study of accent development in children and adolescents in the west of the Isle of Man, Clague (2002: 134) commented on the high incidence of t-glottaling in primary school children, stating that 'it is common in all environments apart from pre-vocalic'. It is therefore interesting to note a few instances of t-glottaling in these data. Two children realised word-final /t/ as a glottal stop in the specific instance of the phrase *cheet magh* 'coming out' which they both consistently realised as [tʃɪʔ mæx]. Only one of the children used *cheet* in a different environment where the following word was not *magh* so it was not possible to tell whether *cheet* is invariably realised with a glottal stop by both of them. The only other example of *cheet* which occurred in the data of these two children happened to be pre-vocalic, *cheet eisht* 'coming then' and the /t/ was not glottalised in that environment. Word-final t-glottaling is universal in English speakers so it would not be surprising if it became a feature of the Bunscoill children's Manx.

9.3 Morphophonology - Initial Consonant Mutation

Initial consonant mutation is a feature shared by all the Celtic languages in which the initial phonemes of words are subject to systematic and predictable changes. The occurrence of initial consonant mutation is considered to be phonological in origin; however, the loss of final syllables (the phonological triggers for mutation) is believed to have been completed by the sixth century. The triggers for mutation are now of grammatical rather than phonological significance (Fife 2002: 8). The Goidelic languages (Manx, Irish and Scottish Gaelic) share a two-way system of mutation, lenition and nasalization. The effect of lenition on consonants is as follows:

p → ph /f/   g → gh /ɣ/

t, th, ch /tʃ / → h   m → v

k → ch /x/   s → h, t

b → v   sh /ʃ/→ h, ch /tʃ/

bw → w   sl → cl

d, dh → gh /ɣ/   str → tr

f → ø

Vowels are prefixed with /h/

The examples of lenition and nasalization which follow and the grammatical conditions under which they may occur are not intended to be exhaustive. They represent a general summary of the mutations used by speakers and writers of the Manx language in its

revived form, and are based on Broderick in Ball and Fife (2002: 237) and Goodwin

(1987: 62). In instances where the orthography does not give a reasonably accurate

impression of the sound change involved, phonemic symbols have been used.

Examples of lenition

- After the definite article with singular feminine nouns (excluding dental

  consonants)

  ben 'woman' *yn ven* 'the woman'; *paag* 'kiss' *yn phaag* /feːg/ 'the kiss'

- Masculine genitives *poosey* /puːsə/ 'wedding' *car y phoosee* /kaːrə 'fuːsi/

  'wedding reel'. The genitive case survives mainly in set phrases such as the

  example given, and, 'is not used in all cases where it would be expected',

  (Broderick 2002: 240)

- Genitive of proper names: *thie Hom* /tai 'hom/ 'Tom's house'

- The vocative case: this is a rare occurrence in spoken Manx today but it is

  retained as a permanent feature of Manx names which continued to be popular

  after the decline of Manx such as Voirrey (lenited form of Moirrey) and is used

  in correspondence: *caaryjn* /keː dʒn/ 'friends' *Chaarjyn Meeney* /xeː dʒn

  miːnə/ 'Dear Friends'

- After prepositions with definite article: *boayrd* 'table' *er y voayrd* 'on the

  table'

- After the possessive particles: *my* /mə/ 'my', *dty* /də/ 'your' (sg), *e* /ə/ 'his'

  mac 'son' *my vac* 'my son', *dty vac* 'your son', *e vac* 'his son'. The

feminine possessive particle *e* /ə/ 'her' does not cause mutation *e mac* 'her son'

- Adjectives following a feminine noun: *beg* 'little' *inneen veg* 'little girl'

  Adjectives which follow intensifiers / quantifying adverbs: *beg* 'small' *feer veg* 'very small'

- Verbs in the preterite, future relative, and independent conditional tenses and some verbal nouns following the perfective particle *er* :

  kionnaghey /kjonəxə/ 'buying', *chionnee* /xjoniː/ 'bought';

  clashtyn 'hearing' *chlinnys* /xlɪ nɪs/ 'will hear' (future relative);

  chluinnin /xluːnən/ 'I would hear'; *ta mee er chlashtyn* /xlaʃtʃən/ 'I am after hearing (I have heard)

- After the preposition *dy* /də/ with a verbal noun: *cheet* /tʃɪ t/ coming *dy heet* /də hɪt/ to come[39]; and *dy* /də/ 'of' *jough* 'drink' *bine dy yough* /bain də yox/ 'a drop of drink' (*dy* in this instance means 'of')

- Nouns following the cardinal numbers *un* 'one' and *daa* 'two' (as explained in Chapter 8). Lenition is not applied if the initial consonant of the noun following *un* is a dental. Ordinal numbers: *ben* 'woman' *yn chied ven* 'the first woman' (dentals do not mutate after *chied*), *yn nah ven* 'the second woman', *yn trass ven* 'the third woman', *yn chiarroo ven* 'the fourth woman' and so on.

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[39] The imperative of the verb is regarded as the root form but it is common to hear and see *dy* + verbal noun used as an infinive.

Nasalization occurs less frequently than lenition and affects the following consonants as shown:

p → b   g → ng /ŋ/

t, th → d, dh   f → v

k (c) → g   ch /tʃ/ → j /dʒ/

b → m   j /dʒ/→ ny /ɲ/

d → n

Vowels are prefixed with /n/

Examples of nasalization

- After the plural possessive particle *nyn* 'our, your (plural), their': *thie* 'house' *nyn dhie* 'our, your (plural), their house'

- After the genitive plural of the definite article: *keyrragh* 'of sheep' *giat ny geyrragh* 'gate of the sheep' (John 5: 2 Manx Bible)

- After the following pre-verbal particles *cha, dy, nagh, mannagh, roish my: dy* /də/ 'if' (conditional) *foddagh* 'could' *dy voddagh oo* 'if you could'

- after *er* perfective: *cheet* 'coming' *ta mee er jeet* 'I have come' (am after coming)

9.3.1 Lenition and Nasalisation in Late Manx

Recordings (written and audio) from the LM period regarding mutation suggest that 'the system of lenition is in a state of flux, sometimes it appears, sometimes not' and 'very

little has survived of eclipsis' (nasalization) (Broderick 1984: 7, 20). The same point

had also been made earlier by Thomson in respect of textual sources:

> It will be obvious to any Gaelic reader that Manx has much less in the way of
> mutation (lenition and nasalization) than its sister languages, and that according
> to the text examined what there is may seem to be in some disorder.
> (Thomson 1969: 189-90)

Mutations occur for grammatical reasons in Manx, but for the most part their presence or

absence does not adversely affect meaning. For example, if the verb is not lenited in the

preterite, intended meaning is not usually affected: either *caill mee /kail mi:/ or chaill

mee /xail mi:/ 'I lost' would convey the past tense of coayl 'losing'. However, a

problem of distinguishing between the preterite and the future tense could arise in verbs

with the initial consonant /k/ and ending in –agh-, if lenition fails. Verbs with the –agh-

suffix typically change their ending to –ee in the preterite, which is the same as the

future tense ending in regular, independent verb forms in all but the first person singular

and plural. For example, the independent forms of the preterite and future tenses of the

verbal noun kionnaghey, 'buying', are:

Preterite		Future	
chionnee mee /x/	1st pers. sing.	kionnym	1st pers. sing
chionnee oo /x/	2nd pers. sing	kionnee oo	2nd pers. sing
chionnee eh /x/	3rd pers. sing. (m)	kionnee eh	3rd pers. sing. (m)
chionnee ee /x/	3rd pers. sing. (f)	kionnee ee	3rd pers. sing. (f)
chionnee shin /x/	1st pers. pl.	kionnmayd	1st pers. pl
chionnee shiu /x/	2nd pers. pl.	kionnee shiu	2nd pers. pl
chionnee ad /x/	3rd pers. pl.	kionnee ad	3rd pers. pl.

Failure to lenite the /k/ to /x/ could, therefore, cause confusion between the preterite and future tenses. However, the periphrastic verb forms render the use of lenition as a meaningful contrast between the preterite and future tenses redundant, and the use of periphrastic forms was common by the LM period:

> The occurrence of the inflected forms of the verb in LM is not common, it being replaced by periphrastic forms with *jannoo* 'do,' and when at all then most often the preterite, but even here the exx. are scarce. However in most of the extant exx. of the preterite where lenition is possible lenition does not occur. (Broderick 1999: 102)

Revivalists who favour the use of inflected verb forms should also, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, focus on the appropriate use of the mutation system and its phonemic contrasts.

Another instance where confusion of meaning due to lack of lenition could occur is with the possessive particle *e* /ə/ which is the same in both the masculine and feminine except, that *e* 'his' lenites the following consonant whereas *e* 'hers' does not.

In LM the periphrastic construction consisting of the definite article and the noun followed by a prepositional pronoun, either *ec* 'at' or *lesh* 'with' declined for person and number, was more widely used than the possessive particle (Broderick 1984: 44), for example, *yn cooat echey* 'the coat at-him, his coat' *yn cooat eck* 'the coat at-her, her coat.' This construction not only avoids confusion in the third person singular possessive but also in the first, second and third person possessive plurals which are

identical. *Nyn gooatyn* 'our/your/their coats' can be rendered more clearly as *ny cooatyn ain* 'the coats at-us, our coats'; *ny cooatyn eu* 'the coats at-you (pl), your coats' and *ny cooatyn oc* 'the coats at-them, their coats.'

Maguire (1991) noted the omission of initial mutation in the Irish spoken by the Shaw's Road immersion educated children, and the effects of such omission on other phonological features:

> The mutational system is so prevalent in Celtic languages that its collapse leads to the reduction or disappearance of other grammatical and phonological features. For example, the disappearing velar fricatives, corresponding to the orthographical representations 'ch' and 'gh' can slip out of the system, almost unnoticed, partly because of the loss of lenition. (Maguire 1991: 203)

Manx velar fricatives are similarly 'endangered', particularly the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ which occurs in word initial position solely as a result of lenition.

Broderick (1999: 102) makes the point that in Late Manx 'failure of lenition does not occur in secondary forms without base forms' by which he refers to the fact that certain forms exist only in their lenited state, for example, the past tense of the substantive verb *va* 'was' and *hene* 'self'. He therefore considers that Manx is consistent in distinguishing between significant and non-significant mutation. It could equally well be assumed with regard to these forms, however, that the absence of an alternative is enough for them to be considered 'base forms' in themselves, despite the phonemic evidence to the contrary.

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The state of uncertainty of the mutational system in Late Manx is well attested in the literature (Broderick 1984, 1999) and recordings. The following examples are taken from the IFC 1948 recordings:

*Ta mee geddyn **feer shenn***   lenited form *feer henn*
I am getting   very old

Cha row ad   ***feer mie***   lenited form *feer vie*
They were not very good

This speaker is entirely consistent throughout the recording in not mutating after the intensifier *feer*. In a prepositional phrase with the definite article his use of lenition is variable.

Ooilley yn cleighyn ta ***er y clieau***   unlenited form ***slieau***
All the hedges that are on the mountain

***Ayns yn magher** shen*   lenited form ***ayns yn vagher** shen*
In that   field

Er my dreem   lenited form ***er my ghreem***
On my back   (preposition + poss. particle)

Variable lenition also appears in adjectives qualifying nouns

As   ***cooat vooar** orrym*   (*cooat* is a masculine noun so no lenition is required)
And a   coat   big   on me

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: H. Boyde, CD1 Tracks 1, 2)

Another speaker recited a rhyme remembered from her childhood (she was aged 85 when the recordings were made) in which lenition occurs naturally when the conditions indicate that it should, that is, following the pre-verbal particle *dy;* after the possessive particle *my;* and after the adjective *shenn,* which is one of a small number of adjectives

in Manx which precede the noun. However, when she returns to conversational speech

her use of mutation becomes less target-like, for example:

rish yn cabbyl beg as **yn booa** (after the definite article + feminine noun *yn vooa)*
for the little horse and the cow

ayns yn bayr shoh (lenited form *vayr)*
in this road

ren ee goll **dys yn margey** (lenited form *vargey)*
she went to the market

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: A. Kneale, CD1 Tracks 8,9)

Use of mutation in Late Manx seems from the available examples to be fairly

unsystematic, and varies from individual to individual. It is important to bear in mind

that, although Manx was the language of their childhood, most, if not all, of the last

native speakers had not spoken Manx on a regular basis for many years. It was not the

language of their daily discourse or home life, and none of them passed it on to their

children. It is interesting to note how the mutational effects were retained in the form of

a rhyme. This reinforces the impression that songs and rhymes (see Chapter 5.2.2) are a

particularly effective way of establishing language patterns in the target language.

9.4 Mutation in Brastyl Jees Recordings

The frog story narrative recordings of the Brastyl Jees children have been analyzed for

use of mutation using the criteria for lenition and nasalization outlined above. There

were no examples of nasalization, or where nasalization might have been expected, so

the following examples refer to lenition only.

9.4.1 Lenition in feminine nouns after the definite article

In most narratives this did not occur because there simply were not that many feminine nouns after the definite article with mutable consonants. The most frequently used feminine noun in the narratives was *rannag* 'frog' and 'r' is not affected by mutation. Altogether there were three occasions in which a feminine noun could have been lenited after the definite article, but none were. Each one was a single occurrence in the three narratives. They were:

yn podjal 'the jug' target form *yn phodjal*
/f/

yn clagh 'the stone' target form *yn chlagh*
/x/

yn stroin 'the nose' target form *yn troin*

9.4.2 Lenition of adjectives after a feminine noun

This was also an unproductive area for mutation owing to the small number of feminine nouns used. There were three occasions where an adjective could have shown lenition, again in three different narratives. Lenition was provided in two out of three instances. Adjectives follow the noun in Manx:

clagh vooar 'a big stone' *mooar* 'big' has been lenited as would ideally be expected.

inneen veg 'a little girl' *beg* 'little' has been lenited.

rannag beg boght 'poor little frog' shows no lenition. Target form *veg voght*.

In one child's narrative the little boy in the story is referred to interchangeably as both a *guilley beg* and a *guilley veg*. The non-target form *guilley veg* is used more frequently than the unlenited target form *guilley beg*. This is somewhat strange as the non-target form would not have occurred in the form of teacher input. None of the other children have used this form. This is perhaps an indication that the child is aware that some variation in form (but not meaning) is possible, even though it has no significance for him in terms of gender distinction.

9.4.3 Prepositional phrases with the definite article

All the children's narratives contained a number of prepositional phrases which could have been very productive in terms of lenition. Most of the children used a lenited noun in prepositional phrases with which they were familiar. In particular the phrase *ayns y voghrey* 'in the morning' in which *moghrey* 'morning' lenites to *voghrey* was used on five occasions by four children, each time in its lenited form. The other prepositional phrase used and lenited by two children was 'in the room' in which one child lenited *shamyr* 'room' to *hamyr* and the other to *chamyr* /tʃ/. *Ayns y hamyr* is the target form for a prepositional phrase with the definite article, although *chamyr* would follow a possessive particle.

One child out of the eleven was consistent in that he lenited the noun in five out of the six prepositional phrases that he used. In all, there was a total of fifty-three prepositional phrases in the eleven narratives where the noun could have been lenited. Fourteen out of the fifty-three examples showed lenition, five produced by one child.

9.4.4 Lenition after possessive particles

The majority of children used the periphrastic *'ec'* construction rather than the possessive particle, for example, *yn moddey echey* 'the dog at him' was used overwhelmingly in preference to *e voddey* 'his dog'. Periphrastic possessive constructions and possessive particles both occur in the children's input. Lenition occurs after a possessive particle and does not appear in the periphrastic possessive. Only three possessive particles were used throughout the narratives. One child used *my rannag* 'my frog' ('r' does not show mutation). One child used two possessive particles with target-form lenition: *e chione* 'his head' from *kione* 'head' and *e voddey* 'his dog'. The narratives contained thirty-four possessive constructions but only these three instances of possessive particle usage.

9.4.5 Lenition after intensifiers / quantifying adverbs

The only quantifying adverb used in the narratives is *feer* 'very' and it is followed on every occasion by target-form lenition. It was used on seven occasions by five children as shown by the following examples:

beg 'small'	*feer veg*	'very small'
maynrey 'happy'	*feer vaynrey*	'very happy'
mooar 'big'	*fuygh feer vooar*	'very big wood'

This is clearly a highly productive area for target-like lenition. As a quantifier, *feer* cannot appear alone, and in target form input is always followed by a lenited adjective (unless the initial consonant is not subject to mutation).

9.4.6 Lenition after *dy* 'to' / 'of'

There were no instances of *dy* being used to mean 'of', as in the phrase *bine dy yough* 'a drop of drink' but there were many instances of infinitival constructions consisting of *dy* 'to' followed by a verbal noun. In most of these instances the verbal noun was not lenited, as in the following examples:

prowal dy geddyn 'trying to get'	target form + lenition	*prowal dy gheddyn*
goll dy tuittym 'going to fall'	target form + lenition	*goll dy huittym*
dy jeeaghyn 'to look'	target form + lenition	*dy yeeaghyn*
prowal dy brishey 'trying to break'	target form + lenition	*prowal dy vrishey*

Three children lenited the verbal noun after *dy*. One child used the *dy* plus verbal noun construction on five occasions, leniting the verb form once. A second child used the construction twice, leniting the verb form once. The third child who used *dy* preceding a verbal noun did so four times, and lenited the verb form on each occasion as follows:

dy heet 'to come' verbal noun *cheet*

prowal dy gheddyn 'trying to get' verbal noun *geddyn* - this was used twice
     /ɣ/

dy akin 'to see' verbal noun *fakin*

The *dy* plus verbal noun construction appeared twenty-five times in total throughout the narratives, but instances of lenition in the verb form were confined to the six examples described.

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9.4.7 Lenition in the preterite

Only one out of the eleven children used the preterite past tense in her narrative: the other ten children all used periphrastic tenses. The child who used the preterite did so throughout her narrative, on a total of nineteen occasions. Three of the preterites were unlenitable as the initial consonants are not subject to mutation. Two of the preterites used, the past tenses of *cheet* 'come' and *fakin* 'see' are irregular: the independent preterite of *cheet* 'come' is *haink* 'came' and the independent preterite of *fakin* 'see' is *honnick* 'saw', and both were used.

This left fourteen possibilities for lenition out of which twelve were lenited according to target language norms. The production of twelve out of fourteen lenited preterites was impressive, indicating that the child was aware that there was a 'rule' or pattern to be observed and followed. The two preterite forms which she used unlenited were:

dooisht   yn guilley   lenited form *ghooist yn guilley*
                                       /ɣ/
awoke   the boy

the boy awoke

gettyl   yn hullad   ersooyl   lenited form *dettyl yn hullad*

flew   the owl   away

the owl flew away

Lenition of the preterite also appeared to influence two imperatives in the narrative, *yeeagh* 'look' was used twice but it was contextually evident that the imperative *jeeagh*

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'look!' was intended. One further instance of lenition occurred in one child's narrative after the particle *ny*:

va'n guilley ny   chadley
                        /x/
was   the boy   in-his sleeping

the boy was sleeping/asleep

This was the only instance of this type of construction in any of the children's narratives.

> 'In indicating a state of affairs or function the indefinite predicate noun appears in Manx usually with the substantive verb in the following formula *ta*+subj+'in'+poss.part+predicate' (Broderick 1999: 132).

In this instance the particle *ny* represents a coalescence of *in*, with the third person possessive particle *e* indicating a state of being. The possessive particle in this construction declines for person and number, for example *va mee my chadley* 'I was sleeping' (in my state of sleeping) but Broderick observes (1999: 132) 'already in CM (classical Manx) this was becoming generalised in the third person singular masculine'. It is, however, a construction encouraged in revived Manx, although it is surprising that it has been observed and used by one of the children at this early stage. If it had been used by more than one child, I should have concluded that the children's attention had been drawn to its existence and its use had been focused on.

9.5 Summary

It was possible for the total number of lenitions in the frog story narratives to have been as many as one hundred and four. In fact, however the total number of lenited consonants shown was forty-two and two children accounted for twenty-two of them.

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One of the children used a large number of lenited consonants by virtue of the fact that her narrative was almost exclusively in the preterite; the other child was able to use target-like forms of lenition in four different environments.

In assessing the number of lenitions used by the children there is no suggestion that circumstances for the triggering of lenition are encountered as a set of consciously learnt 'rules'. In immersion education the children's output is very much dependent on their input both from the teacher and from each other. Individual variation as to when language forms are acquired and used is to be expected.

The majority of children at this stage have used lenition where it is part of set phrases which they have acquired. This is evident from their production of prepositional phrases, for example, *ayns y voghrey* 'in the morning' was used by several children, and *moghrey* was lenited to *voghrey* on each occasion. They were also entirely consistent in using lenition after the intensifier *feer* 'very'.

The phrase *ayns y voghrey* occurs in a song familiar to the children from their time at Manx-medium playgroup: *Tra ta mee dooisht ayns y voghrey* 'when I awake in the morning'. The line containing the prepositional phrase *ayns y voghrey* is the first line of every verse. This again demonstrates the important role that songs and rhymes play in language acquisition. It is also virtually certain that the children will not have heard the intensifier *feer* unless followed by a lenited adjective in their input, *feer vie* 'very good' is an expression constantly heard in the context of the immersion classroom.

It is interesting to note that one of the native speakers (see examples) is equally

consistent in *not* leniting after *feer*. One can only speculate why this might be the case.

It may be that a wider range of quantifying adverbs was used, some of which did not

trigger lenition or simply that the mutational system had broken down to such an extent

that it was irrelevant. No meaningful contrast exists between the expressions *feer vie*

and *feer mie,* and extensive use of periphrasis resolves ambiguity in other circumstances.

Gender distinction in Manx nouns seems to have largely disappeared by the LM period

(Broderick 1999: 109) apart from occasions when the noun is clearly female or it is a

female personal name, in which case it is marked by lenition in the noun following the

definite article, or by a following adjective, for example, *ben* 'woman' *yn ven* 'the

woman'; *beg* 'little' *Joney veg* 'little Joney.' The referential pronoun was more likely to

be masculine than feminine as far back as the Classical Manx period (Thomson

1969:106); therefore it would appear that if Manx had continued to be spoken that

gender distinction in nouns would have become redundant, along with the mutational

effects which marked it. There is, however, a tendency for present day Manx to return

to gender distinction, which is why it has been considered in the context of the Bunscoill

Ghaelgagh children's narratives. The awareness of grammatical gender is obviously not

under consideration, but rather whether nouns or adjectives have acquired the

appearance of a feminine form due to lenition. There is a contrast in one child's

narrative, where the little boy in the story 'mutates' in to a little girl for a short time, and

the adjective is lenited accordingly. This narrative begins by referring to *guillev beg* 'a

little boy' who a few moments later, for no apparent reason, is referred to as *inneen veg*

'a little girl.' It is clear that there is no meaning contrast between *beg* and *veg,* simply that one is the form acquired with *guilley* and the other with *inneen.*

The extent of mutation found in these narratives was extremely variable. Most children lenited rarely, and then only in set phrases such as *feer vie,* but two children employed lenition systematically. The questionnaire data indicated that these two children had few opportunities to hear or speak Manx outside school. The four children in the group who have fluent Manx speakers in their immediate family only used very few examples of lenition, and then mainly as part of a set phrase, for example, *ayns y voghrey* 'in the morning' or in adjectives after *feer.* There was no indication that they were using lenition in a systematic fashion. The two children who were using lenition systematically had clearly noticed that when certain forms of expression were used, a predictable change occurred in the word form used.

The question of whether the application of the mutation system is important in terms of meaning depends to a great extent on the syntax used by the speaker. By the LM period periphrastic constructions were the norm, and therefore tense confusion and person confusion caused by failure of lenition had become redundant along with the mutation system. However, if revived Manx returns to widespread usage of synthetic forms such as the preterite and future tenses, then the mutation system will assume greater importance.

9.6 Conclusion

On the evidence of the phonological analysis of the Brastyl Jees recordings, the children's Manx does have its own distinctive sound, which differs in some respects from both adult L2 Manx speakers and native Manx speakers. There is little evidence of medial consonants being voiced or unrealised which was a common feature in LM although it is less prevalent in present day adult L2 speakers. The most distinctive sound of the spoken Manx of the Brastl Jees children is their enthusiastic use of the voiceless velar fricative /x/, which they realise in a greater number of environments than speakers of LM. Although only one child realised a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ as a mutated consonant, it is apparent that this phoneme must be present in all of the children's input, and therefore the possibility exists that the phoneme may become more widely used, dependent on the form of syntax ultimately favoured by the children themselves. Future recordings of this group of children may reveal more uniformity in their Manx phonology as they grow older.

Chapter 10

Lexis

This chapter will look at L1 lexical and semantic transference in relation to their occurrence in the frog story narrative and other recordings of the Brastyl Jees children. These data should indicate whether there is a degree of uniformity in their language use, that is, to what extent lexical transfers from L1 are used, and what strategies the children use to avoid them. The chapter will also assess whether lexical and semantic transference occur across the group as a whole.

In these data the children are all describing the same set of pictures, and with few exceptions, they have all had the same amount of exposure to the TL delivered by the same teachers in the same environment. Therefore, their Manx lexicon can be expected to be broadly similar, allowing for individual differences in the rate of language acquisition and usage. The examples of L1 lexical transference I have focussed on in these data show the language strategies the children employ on occasions when a word in the TL is unavailable to them, either because it is unknown to them, or because they cannot retrieve it at a particular time.

These data will also be compared with recordings of LM, and with the recording of Leslie Quirk narrating the same set of events, mentioned in Chapter 6.6. A second set of data will be discussed with regard to a specific area if lexis where the children in my study appear to be introducing a new usage in the L2: the occurrence of cross-linguistic

Discourse Markers in the language of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children will be compared with Discourse Marker occurrence in the language of the last native speakers, as exemplified in the 1948 IFC recordings.

10.1 L1 Lexical Transference

The children are naturally in the habit of substituting an English word on occasions where they either do not know or cannot retrieve the Manx one. However, the number of L1 words in these narratives was relatively small. I did not count the word 'pot', which was used by several children, as a lexical transference because it is has been part of the Manx lexicon for a considerable time. It is listed in Kelly's *Fockleyr* first published in 1866 and by the LM period had acquired a Manx internal plural *puiht* 'pots' (Broderick 1984: 353).

An approximate total of words in each child's narrative varied from one hundred and sixty to four hundred and thirty-eight words. The highest number of L1 words in any narrative was twenty which amounted to no more than seven per cent of the word total (approximately 285 words) However, the Manx for many of these L1 words was undoubtedly known to and used by this child on other occasions, for example, *ayns morning* and *wearin' big bootsyn* (*bootsyn* is an established loanword). It is unlikely that any child in their third year of immersion would not know the Manx for 'morning' or 'big', particularly one who had also attended a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup, as was the case with this child.

Although the number of L1 words in this child's narrative was the highest, this number did not, as I have stated, exceed seven per cent of the total of words used. In view of this, and the fact that the L1 words consisted of items such as 'morning', big', 'come' and 'bedtime', I do not take this as a true representation of this child's knowledge of Manx lexis at the time the recordings were made. It is possible that the desire to simply tell the story depicted made it more difficult for her to access her Manx vocabulary.

Five children did not use any L1 lexical transference and the remaining five children used an average of six L1 words each. The children were told before the recording began that I would supply them with a Manx word if they felt they needed it. Four words were supplied to four children; they were: *feeaih* 'deer'; *shelleig* 'beehive'; *corree* 'cross, angry' and *shellanyn* 'bees'.

All of the lexical transfers were known to some of the children, that is, there was no single lexical item that was unknown across the entire group of children. In some instances the child used both the L1 word and the Manx word interchangeably. Some children had strategies to get around the fact that they did not know a particular word: rather than use an English word they named the item by its function, for example, *thie shellan* 'bee house' was used by one child for *shelleig* 'beehive'.

Although the pictures in *Frog Where Are You?* form a continuous connected narrative, some of the children missed out some of the pictures, either because they did not have the vocabulary to comment on them, or because they did not find them significant. Therefore, the stories vary in length and consequently detail.

Some L1 English verbs were treated as Manx verbs; one has acquired a typical Manx -al verbal noun suffix:

smashal: *va   yn jar*   ***smashal***   (see picture 7)

        was   the jar   smashing

        the jar was smashing

two are treated as Manx past participles

creepit: **v'ad*   ***creepit*** *seose   er y   red*   (see pictures 21-22)

        *were they   crept   up   on the   thing

        *they were crept up on the thing

stingit: *va'n   moddey   geddyn* ***stingit*** *veih   'nane* (see picture 13)

        was the dog   getting stung   from   one

        the dog was getting stung by one

Sneachal appeared to be a blend of the English verb 'sneak' and the Manx verb *sleetchal* 'lurking, sneaking'; 'sleetch' is (was) a relatively common Manx English dialect word, meaning a deceitful, slimy sort of person, and may have been known to the child who used *sneachal* as follows:

ren   yn rannag ***sneachal***   *magh   ass   y poteil* (see picture 2)

did   the frog   sneak   out   out-of   the bottle

the frog sneaked out of the bottle

A few of the children produced the word *poteil* to describe the container in which the frog was kept. This appears to be a blend of *podjal* 'jug' and *boteil* 'bottle', and I have

taken its intended meaning as 'bottle', since the frog is kept in a large jar or bottle rather than a jug.

One noun, *ny waspyn* 'the wasps', acquired a Manx plural ending *–yn*. The Manx for 'wasp' is *shellan cabbyl* 'horse bee'.

The expression of ability in Manx can be expressed by a loanword of long standing *abyl:* 'able', *ta mee abyl* 'I am able, I can'; or *foddym*. *Foddym* is a 'defective' verb in that it has no verbal noun, and therefore cannot be used in periphrastic constructions. *Abyl* appears in Cregeen's Dictionary (first published 1835) and was used extensively by the last native speakers but it appears to have fallen out of favour with many L2 adult Manx speakers who are more likely to use *foddym*. However, the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children use *abyl* as the following examples show:

cha row   yn rannag   abyl   dy geddyn   er y   log
neg. be+pret   the frog   able   to get   on the log
the frog was not able to get on the log

cha row   eh   abyl   dy feddyn   eh
neg. be+pret   he   able   to find   him
he was not able to find him

Many examples with *abyl* occur in the IFC native speaker recordings:

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ta mee   abyl   fakin   yn   raad

am I   able   seeing   the road

I am able to see the road

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. T. Kaighin, CD4 Track 5)

t'ad   abyl   dy jannoo eh   nish   my ta

are they   able   to do   it   now   though

 they are able to do it now though

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. Kneen, CD4 Track 5)

cha row   'nane   jeu   ayn   va   abyl goaill   yn red   ayns Gailck

neg. be+pret one   of-them in   was abyl taking   the thing   in Manx

there was not one of them able to take the thing in Manx

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. T. Kaighin, CD4 Track 5)

The teachers at the Bunscoill all appear to use *abyl* rather than *foddym* and the children

naturally do the same. It will be interesting to see in future whether the Bunscoill

Ghaelgagh children continue to use *abyl* as many adult speakers prefer to use a Manx

word where one exists rather than a loanword, however long it may have been in the

language.

The following are further examples of L1 lexical transfers used by some of the children:

Cross: *ren yn guilley geddyn cross* 'the little boy got cross' (see picture 7). Although most children knew and used *corree* 'cross, angry', **cross** was used a few times.

Shout: *v'eh goll ayns y garey as shout* *'he was going (went) in the garden and shout (see picture 8). **Yell, call,** *call son* 'call for', *call magh* 'call out' and *shoutal* were also used. However, most children knew and used *gyllagh* or *yllagh* 'shouting, calling, a shout'.

Beehive: *v'eh make yn beehive tuittym* 'he was making the beehive fall'; note also the loan word 'make /cause' (this was the only example of 'make' as a loan word). Some children knew and used the word *shelleig* 'beehive', alternatives were; *edd* 'nest', *thie shellan* 'beehouse', *yn thie oc* 'their house', *y kiarkl* 'the circle'. The object referred to is circular in shape (see pictures 9-12) and this child referred to the emerging insects as *waspyn* 'wasps'. All the other children described it as a picture of bees, and their home as a beehive, but the 'beehive' does look rather like a wasps' nest.

Hole: *v'eh goll gra down hole* 'he was going (and) saying down a hole' (see picture 10). There was only one instance of 'hole' in place of the target word *towl*.

Groundhog, squirrel: *va groundhog cheet magh* 'there was a groundhog coming out'; this refers to a creature emerging out of a hole in the ground in picture 11. Alternatives were; *lugh* 'mouse', *roddan* 'rat', *beiyn 'beasts'. Some children avoided referring to this picture, perhaps because they were unsure of the creature's identity and did not want to guess.

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Chase: *va 'n shellan chase y moddey* 'the bee was chasing the dog' (see pictures 12-13). Alternatives were; *'prowal dy geddyn eh* 'trying to get him', *geiyrt er* 'following on-him', *goll ec yn moddey* 'going at the dog'.

Climb: *v 'eh climb er top of clagh vooar* 'he was climbing on top of a big stone' (see pictures 14-15). The use of 'climb' seems to have led to the further loan words 'top of'. Most children knew and used *drappal* 'climb'; alternatives used were; *goll seose* 'going up', **goll heose* 'going up' (non-target *heose* for *seose* 'up' with verbs of movement) and *goll er clagh* 'going on the stone'.

Deer: *eisht va deer ayns y raad* 'then there was a deer in the road' (see pictures 16-18). The deer in the story is also referred to as a **reindeer** and a **fawn**. *Feeaih* 'deer' was known and used by a few children, but *beiyn* 'beasts/animals' and *beiyn feer quaagh* 'very strange animals' were used several times. *Beiyn* is the plural form of *baagh* 'beast'. The children were evidently under the impression that it was singular at the time the recordings were made.

Horns: *va deer geddyn Jordan seose er y horns* 'the deer was getting Jordan up on his horns' (see pictures 15-17). Only one child referred directly to the deer's horns. Alternative descriptions of these events were as follows; *va 'guilley goll er feeaih* 'the boy was going on a deer', *va reindeer geddyn y guilley beg er kione* 'a reindeer was getting the little boy on (its) head', *va beiyn roie lesh yn guilley as geddyn eh er e kione* 'the animal was running with the boy and getting him on his head' (I have taken *beiyn* as

singular since that is obviously what is intended), and *ren yn fawn cur eh er yn skyn* 'the fawn put him above (him).'

Gallop: *v'eh gallop* 'he/it was galloping'. This was used to describe the deer running with the little boy on its head (see picture 17), alternatives were; *markiagh* 'riding' *tra va 'n feeaih markiagh* 'when the deer was riding', *roie ersooyl* 'running away'.

Cliff: *as ta cliff ayn* 'and there is a cliff' (see pictures 17-18). Several of the children described the bank as a 'cliff' and one child called it a **gorge**. Others described it as *cronk* 'hill'. One child knew and used *eaynin* 'precipice'.

Stop: *va yn beiyn stop* 'the deer was stopping' (see picture 18). *Scuirr* 'stop, stopping' was widely known and used in other narratives.

Lake, stream: *harrish yn gorge ayns y lake* 'over the gorge in the lake'. The little boy was thrown into a stretch of water (see pictures 19-22). Manx words used were; *awin* 'river', *ushtey* 'water', *logh* 'lake', *dubbey* 'pond' and *keayn* 'sea, ocean.'

Log: *v'ad jeeaghyn harrish yn log* 'they were looking over the log', **stick** and **tree stumps** were also used in describing picture 22. Alternatives were; *peesh jeh billey* 'piece of a tree', *billey* 'tree', *fuygh* 'wood' (a piece of wood, not *keyll*- an area of trees).

Frog: all the children knew and used *rannag* 'frog' but in one narrative 'frog'

appeared as an occasional variant of *rannag*. Another child referred to the missing

frog throughout the story as 'pet frog' leading me to suppose that he did not know the

word *rannag* until he reached picture 24. His story then continued as follows;

v'ad	*fakin*	*daa*	**rannagyn*	*geayney*	*as*	*nuy*	*rannagyn*	*beggey*	TF *rannag*
were they	seeing	two	frogs	green	and	nine	frogs	little	

they were seeing two green frogs and nine little frogs

the story concluded with;

va	*Jordan*	*as*	*yn moddey*	*echey*	*as*	*yn*	*pet frog*	*echey*	*goll ersooyl*
were	Jordan	and	the dog	at-him	and	the	pet frog	at-him	going away

Jordan and his dog and his pet frog were going away

'Pet frog' seems to have been a special term referring only to one particular frog.

Interestingly, this was the only narrative where the little boy in the story was given a

name (Jordan). In all the other narratives he was referred to as *yn guilley beg* 'the little

boy.' The illustrations in the book are pencil drawings but one other child also

described the frog in the bottle as green;

va	*rannag*	*ayn*	*as*	*v'eh*	*ayns*	*poteil*	*feer*	*vooar*	*as*	*v'eh*	*glass*
was	frog	in	and	was he	in	bottle	very	big	and	was he	green

there was a frog and he was in a very big bottle and he was green

The distinction between *glass* and *geayney* as colour terms for green is discussed in Chapter 8.1. Few adjectives were used in the narratives as a whole but the two children who described the frog as 'green' appeared to be more consciously using a 'story-telling' style and were able to be somewhat more descriptive than the others, for example, the child who stated that the frog was *glass* 'green' also referred to it as *rannag beg boght* 'a poor little frog'.

10.2 Avoidance of L1 Lexical Tranference

There were other occasions in the narratives where it appears that the children are using circumlocution as a descriptive strategy in preference to the use of L1 words. The jar or bottle in which the frog is kept is found to be empty when the little boy wakes in the morning (see picture 3). Some children simply said that the jar was *follym* empty, but others described the scene as follows;

va'n rannag goll ersooyl 'the frog was going away'

va'n rannag ersooyl 'the frog was away (gone)'

ren eh jeeaghyn as fakin dy row eh ersooyl 'he looked and saw that he was gone'

cha row rannag ayns y phot 'the frog was not in the pot'

v'eh fakin yn pot lesh veg ayn 'he was seeing the pot with nothing in it'

cha nel yn pet frog ayms ayn 'my pet frog isn't in it'

Another child described the frog's escape in picture 2 as follows:

ren   yn rannag   sneachal   magh   ass   y poteil   as   cur   un cass

did   the frog   sneaking   out   out-of   the bottle   and   putting   one foot

magh   as   yn cass elley   as   lheimmey   ersooyl

out   and   the foot other   and   jumping   away

the frog sneaked out of the bottle and put one foot out and the other foot and jumped

away

She then continued with picture 3:

va'n   poteil   doonit   as   cha row   as   cha row   eh   ayn

was the   bottle   closed   and   neg be +pret   and   neg be+pret   he   in-it

the bottle was closed and he was not in it

A scene which only two children included shows the little boy's dog with his head stuck

in the jar previously occupied by the frog (see pictures 4-6). They describe the picture

as follows;

lesh y pot er y chione echey 'with the pot on his head'

as ta yn voddey ceau yn pot va rannag ayn 'and the dog is wearing the pot that there was

a frog in'.

The creature emerging from the hole in the ground in picture 11 caused some problems

of identification and some children used L1 words such as groundhog or squirrel but one

child simply said:

*as   cha nel   fys   ec yn guilley *veg c'red   v'eh*

and   neg be+pres knowledge   at the boy   little   what thing   he was

and the little boy does not know what he was

TF (target form) *beg*

In these examples the children are demonstrating an admirable ability to manipulate

language. They have acquired enough of the TL to enable them to be creative in that

they can both construct a narrative and use the language they know to compensate for

any single lexical item unknown to them. From a story-telling point of view it could be

said that in their circumlocutions they are providing a more vivid description of the

events than could be inferred from a single word.

10.3 Semantic Transfers

Unlike lexical transference, where an L1 word is simply used in the L2 (with or without

L2 morphological additions), semantic transfers involve the extension of idiomatic

meaning and usage of L1 words or phrases into the L2.

Semantic transfers are embedded in the linguistic repertoire, rather than consciously borrowed into it. Examples are abundant and represent the way in which Irish is being adapted to the urban bilingual scene. However, they could easily be matched by a parallel list of examples from the Irish of rural Gaeltacht speakers. The sense of English idiom can be discerned from many of the expressions produced by 'seasoned' Irish speakers as well as the inexperienced learner who seeks to express himself through Irish. (Maguire 1991: 220)

Maguire then goes on to give examples of semantic transfers found in the Irish spoken by the first Irish immersion educated children in Belfast from the Shaw's Road Community. These children were in a similar position to the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children in the Isle of Man in that they were acquiring Irish in the midst of an English speaking society. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find many similar examples of semantic transfer in immersion Manx. It is also the case that the Manx of the last native speakers showed similar semantic transfers. For both groups, last native speakers and Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children, English was and is the dominant language and its influence on Manx then, and now is to be expected.

To be afraid or frightened in Manx is expressed as *goaill aggle roish* 'take fear before' or *bee aggle er* 'be fear on', for example, *ta mee goaill aggle roish* 'I am taking fear before him' / 'I am afraid of him' or *ta aggle orrym* 'fear is on-me' / 'I am afraid. The children tend to use a be + past participle construction, a semantic transfer calqued on the English 'be frightened, exemplified as follows:

va'n	*roddan*	*as*	*moddey*	*beggan*	*agglit*
be+pret the	rat	and	dog	little	fear+past participle

the rat and dog were a little frightened

This was the only example with *aggle* 'fear' which occurred in the narratives but in a DVD of a school play, made some time after these recordings the be+past participle form occurred frequently (the subject of the play was the Trojan War and the children had composed the dialogue themselves).

Maguire (1991: 221) lists numerous transfers in Irish based on the English verb 'to get' and it is the semantic transference of this verb in particular that stands out in the frog story narratives.

The English verb 'get' has a wide range of semantic uses and it is apparent that the semantic range of the Manx verbal noun *geddyn* 'getting, finding' is being extended to most circumstances where 'get' can be used in English. The phonological similarity of *geddyn* to 'getting' may well be a contributory factor to its widespread usage. Examples of *'geddyn'* as used in the frog story narratives:

1. *va   hullad   ayns billey   prowal dy geddyn eh*

   was   owl   in   tree   trying   to getting   him

   an owl in a tree was trying to get him

2. *va   reindeer   geddyn   y guilley   beg   er kione*

   was   reindeer   getting the boy   little   on head

   a reindeer was getting the little boy on (its) head

3. *cha row*   *un rannag abyl dy geddyn*   *er log*

    neg. be+pret   one frog   able   to getting   on log

    one frog could not get on a log

4. *eisht row*   *yn moddey prowal dy geddyn eh*   *dy ve*   *feer vaynrey*

    then was   the dog   trying   to getting   him   to being   very happy

    then the dog was trying to get him to be very happy

5. *ren eh*   *prowal dy geddyn ersooyl voish*   *yn hullad*

    did he   trying   to getting   away   from   the owl

    he tried to get away from the owl

6. *ren*   *beiyn*   *geddyn eh*

    did   animals   getting   him

    an animal got him

7. *v'eh*   *geddyn*   *e eaddeeyn er*

    was he   getting   his clothes   on

    he was getting his clothes on

8. *va*   *ram shellanyn*   *prowal dy gheddyn*   *yn moddey*

    were   lot bees   trying   to getting   the dog

    a lot of bees were trying to get the dog

9. *lheim eh   sheese   as   geddyn   moddey   er ash*

   jumped he   down   and   getting   dog   back

   he jumped down and getting dog (got the dog) back

10. *ta'n   rannag geddyn   magh ass y pot*

   is the   frog   getting   out out-of   the pot

   the frog is getting out of the pot

11. *va   yn guilley beg   geddyn*heose   TF seose*

   was   the boy   little   getting up

   the little boy was getting up (out of bed)

12. *va   yn squirrel   geddyn *heose   TF seose*

   was   the squirrel   getting up

   the squirrel was getting up (emerging from a hole in the ground)

13. *ta   ny waspyn   goll   dy geddyn   eh*

   are   the (pl) wasps   going   to get   him

   the wasps are going to get him

14.   **yn beiyn   goll   dy geddyn yn guilley beg off yn cliff   TF ny*

   ø fin.vb the animals   going   to get   the boy little   off the cliff

   the animal is going to get the little boy off the cliff

15. *va'n   hullad geddyn ad   dys red   ennagh   quaagh*

   was the   owl   getting them   to thing   some   strange

   the owl was getting them to something strange

16. *va'n   moddey   as   Jordan geddyn lhieggit   sheese*

were the   dog   and   Jordan   getting   fallen   down

the dog and Jordan were getting thrown down

17. *va'd   geddyn   corree   rishyn*

were they   getting   angry   with-him (emph.)

they were getting angry with him

18. *va'n   moddey geddyn stingit   veih 'nane*

was the   dog   getting   stung   from one

the dog was getting stung by one

19. *v'eh   geddyn   coodit   lesh   ooilley   ny honey   va   ayn*

was he   getting   covered with   all   the honey   was   in-it

he was getting covered with all the honey that was there

20. *va yn   moddey   lheimmey   dy prowal   dy geddyn   edd*

was the   dog   jumping   to try   to getting   nest

the dog was jumping trying to get a nest

21. *t'eh   geddyn   feer   fliugh*

is he   getting   very   wet

he is getting very wet

This is not an exhaustive list: most of the examples were chosen to exemplify the different uses to which *geddyn* was put. In examples 1, 6, 8, and 13 *geddyn* is used to describe the actions of bees or wasps (pictures 12 -13), an owl (pictures 13-15) and a

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deer (pictures 16-18). These actions were similar in so far as all the creatures pursuing the boy and his dog appeared to want to cause them some harm so that 'get' could be understood as meaning 'chasing', 'catching' or in the case of the bees or wasps 'stinging'. 'Get' was also used in a similar manner by the *Brastyl Nane* children (see ghost train examples in chapter 8).

Example 4 shows *'geddyn'* being used in a causative sense, the dog was attempting to 'get the boy to be very happy' or to make him happy. Examples 11 and 12 appear to be identical, but the boy in example 11 is, to use the target form, *girree seose* 'rising up' (out of bed) whereas the squirrel is coming up out of a hole (*heose* is marked for ungrammaticality because the target form for 'up' is *seose* where movement upwards is concerned).

In example 7 *geddyn* used in the sense of dressing or putting on clothes. The little boy is *geddyn e eaddeeyn er* 'getting his clothes on.' The Manx idiom for dressing oneself is *cur mysh* 'putting about oneself', therefore the target form in this instance would be *v'eh cur mysh* 'he was putting about-him' or dressing (it is not strictly necessary to include *e eaddeeyn* 'his clothes'). However, although the children are familiar with this idiom in that they are instructed to *cur mood dty cooat* 'put about-you your coat' on a regular basis, *geddyn e eaddeeyn er* or 'getting dressed' also seems like a perfectly reasonable way to describe the boy's actions in the context of immersion language acquisition where the focus is on function, rather than form at this stage.

Examples 16, 18 and 19; *geddyn lhieggit sheese* 'getting thrown/knocked down, *geddyn stingit* 'getting stung' and *geddyn coodit* 'getting covered' are calqued on English GET passives. Research carried out by Romaine on the acquisition of L1 English passives indicates that children between the ages of six and eight (the age of the Brastyl Jees) children are frequent users of GET passives. Out of a total of seventy-three passives used by six and eight year old children, sixty-seven were formed with GET as the auxiliary rather than BE (Romaine 1984: 71). This study is not concerned with the acquisition order of grammatical forms in L2 Manx, but it is interesting to note the correlation between L1 and L2 passives at this point. The passive can be formed in three ways in Manx:

1) *bee* 'be' plus the past participle, as in English: *t'eh dooint* 'it is closed'

2) verb + subj + *er* + possessive with subject agreement + verbal noun:

    t'eh   er   ny screeu

    is it   after its writing

    it has been written

3) verb + subj + *goll* 'going' + er + verbal noun:

    t'eh   goll   er troggal

    is it   going on building

    it is being built

hie   eh   er troggal

went it   on building

it was built

Although example 1) strictly refers to a state rather than an action it was the most

commonly used passive in Late Manx (Broderick 1984: 102). It is likely that its

similarity to the English BE and GET passive constructions encouraged its usage in LM,

and may well do so in the future.

Due to the process of semantic transference, a wide range of states and activities was

expressed by *geddyn* in these narratives including: finding, acquiring, lifting onto,

climbing into and out of, persuading, running away, catching, dressing, getting up

(rising), stinging, pushing, taking, and knocking down. Not all of the children placed

such heavy reliance on *geddyn*. Manx verbal nouns such as: *geiyrt er* 'following,

driving on', *drappal* climbing, *roie ersooyl* 'running away', *scapail* 'escaping' and

tuittym 'falling' were also used.

Semantic transference of 'getting' to *geddyn* was also a feature of LM. as can be seen in

the following examples from the 1948 IFC recordings:

1. *v'eh   geddyn g'accrys   as   ren eh   goll   dy jeeaghyn   dy geddyn*

    was he getting   hungry   and   did he   going   to looking   to getting

    bit dy vee   as   ooilley v'eh   abyl   dy geddyn

    bit of food   and   all   was he   able   to getting

    he was getting hungry and he went looking for a bit of food and all he was able
    to find
    (Skeealyn Vannin 2003: A. Kneale, CD1 Track2)

2. *t'eh   traa geddyn   seose   irree boy irree*

    is it   time getting   up   rise boy rise

    it's time to get up rise boy rise

    well   ren Juan   geddyn   irree

    well   did Juan   getting   rising

    well Juan got up

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: A.Kneale CD1 Track 8)

3. JK *t'ou   gaase   aeg*

    are you   growing   young

    you are growing young

    JTK *geddyn   aeg   geddyn aeg*

    getting   young   getting young

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. Kneen and J. T. Kaighin CD4 Track1)

There are many similar examples in LM. On an individual level some speakers were

more likely to use *geddyn* than others as example 3 indicates. The first speaker uses

gaase 'growing' young, whereas the second speaker responds with *geddyn* 'getting' young.

One phrase cropped up many times throughout the children's narratives, *prowal dy* 'trying to'+ verbal noun. It occurred most frequently with *geddyn,* see examples1, 4, 5, 8 and 20, but was also used with other verbal nouns, for example *prowal dy lheimmey* 'trying to jump', *prowal dy vrishey* 'trying to break', *prowal gyllagh* 'trying shouting' and one rather different example which refers to picture 4; *ta 'n guilley beg prowal yn edd* 'the little boy is trying the hat'. Other children who included picture 4 in their story (not all did) described the little boy as looking in the boot for the missing frog, but for one child this picture appeared to be of the little boy trying on a hat.

Prowal is a long established loanword from English 'prove or test' with the addition of the Manx verbal noun suffix -al. The following are examples of *prowal* from the Manx Bible:

> *Agh daase Saul ny s'dunnallee dy chooilley laa, as hug eh nyn dhost ny Hewnyn va cummal ec Damascus, **prowal dy nee yn eer Creest firrnagh (Jannoo** 'Acts' 1X xxii)*
>
> But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the very Christ.

> *As denee fer jeu ard-ynsit 'sy leigh, question jeh, **dy phrowal** eh, gra, (Mian* Matthew XX11 xxxv)
>
> Then one of them which was a lawyer asked him a question, tempting him saying,

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There are relatively few examples to be found in the Manx Bible of *prowal* or *prowal dy*, and where it does occur, *prowal* is used in the sense of testing or proving, as in the examples shown, rather than 'trying' in the sense of attempting. *Prowal* is also associated with fishing in the Isle of Man: when the nets were raised out of the water to assess the amount of fish in them they termed it *prowal* 'proving'.

However, *prowal* seems to have widened its semantic function to express 'trying' in the sense of attempting, as is apparent from the frog story narratives. There are many examples of *prowal*, 'trying', in *Contoyrtyssyn Ealish ayns Cheer Yindyssyn*, Brian Stowell's translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll, for example:

as **phrow** *ee* *dy heiltyn*

and try+pret. she to imagine

and she tried to imagine   (2006:6)

as *ish* **prowal** *dy feddyn raad magh*

and she (emph.) trying   to find   way   out

as she was trying to find a way out   (2006:11)

cha jean *eh* *assee* **dy phrowal**

neg. do+ fut. it   harm   to try +len.

it will do no harm to try   (2006:12)

Prowal continues to be used to express 'testing' or 'proving', but with the additional sense of 'trying, attempting' it seems to occur more frequently than in CM or LM.

10.4 Verbal Noun Diversity

The small number of children with a Manx speaking background appeared to show no particular advantage over the other children in most respects in these data but they did seem to have a greater range of diversity in terms of verbal noun usage. The total number of verbal nouns in each narrative was counted, one count for each time a verbal noun occurred, that is, four tokens of *geddyn* counted as four verbal nouns. A second count of types was then made, counting each verbal noun once only: for example, four instances of *geddyn* counted as one. When the verbal noun types were calculated as a percentage of the total number of verbal nouns in the narrative the children with Manx speaking family members were shown to have used a greater diversity of verbal nouns. 'Manx speaking' refers to those who had self-assessed themselves as having either reasonable competency or fluency in answer to question 3 in the questionnaire discussed in Chapter 7.1

Table 16 Verbal Noun Diversity

child	verbal noun types	verbal noun tokens	% verbal noun diversity in narratives	+/- Manx speaking family
a	17	27	62.96	+
d	15	27	55.50	+
h	14	28	50.00	+
j	21	46	45.65	+
i	13	29	44.82	-
k	12	27	44.44	-
e	19	44	43.18	-
f	14	33	42.42	-
b	17	45	37.77	-
c	11	36	30.55	-
g	13	47	27.66	-

Both the parents and one grandparent of child 'a', who has the highest percentage of verbal noun diversity (62.96%) in these data are fluent Manx speakers; child 'd' with the second highest percentage (55.50%) has two grandparents who are fluent Manx speakers; child 'h' who follows with (50.00%) has one parent 'with reasonable competence', however, this is a parent who 'always' uses the language in the home with the children (question 4 Chapter 7.1), and child 'j' (45.65%) has one Manx-speaking grandparent. Child 'i' whose percentage of 44.44% closely follows child 'j' has one parent who speaks Manx 'with reasonable competence'. The parents of the rest of the children in this group have no more than a 'few words' of Manx.

10.5 Use of Manx idiom

Examples of Manx idiom were also present in all of the narratives. Most of the children described picture 2 in which the little boy is asleep in bed. All but one example (*v'eh yn*

bedtime 'it was the bedtime') used the idiomatic phrase *goll dy lhie* 'going to lie
(down)'.

There were many examples of *ayn* 'in, in-it' as the predicate with the substantive verb.
Ayn in the predicate will be discussed in the following chapter on syntax but is
mentioned here as these constructions exemplify idiomatic Manx usage.   When the
substantive verb appears without a predicate in English, for example, 'there was a tree'
'there' acts as an existential subject. In Manx the existential sense is provided by the use
of *ayn* in-it (3rd pers. masc. prep. pronoun) in the predicate, for example, *va billey ayn*
'was tree in-it' (in existence) or 'there was a tree'. In LM the *ayn* was sometime omitted
(Broderick 1999:134). The following are some examples with *ayn* from the frog story
narratives:

Va lily pad   ayn

was lily pad   in-it

there was a lily pad

ta   guilley beg   ayn as ta   moddey   ayn

is   boy little   in-it and is   dog   in-it

there is a little boy and there is a dog

t'eh yn oie   t'ayn

is it   the night   is in-it

 it is the night

The above example would have been more target-like with copula 'be' *she yn oie t'ayn.*

Prepositions used with particular verbs were also used appropriately. For the most part

the children did not transfer the English preposition associated with a particular verb to

Manx. For example, the preposition *er* 'on' is used with *jeeaghyn* 'looking' rather than

'at' as in English:

ta'n   moddey jeeaghyn   er yn rannag

is the   dog   looking   on the frog

the dog is looking at the frog

Smooinaghtyn 'thinking' is also followed by *er* on, so that the Manx is *smooinaghtyn er*

'thinking on' rather than 'thinking of ' as in English:

v'eh   jeeaghyn ayns dagh ooilley   boayl   v'eh   abyl dy smooinaghtyn

was he   looking   in   each all   place   was he   able to think

er
on

he was looking in every place he was able to think on

Gra 'saying' and *loayrt* 'speaking' are associated with the preposition *rish* 'with, to,

unto' rather than *da* or *gys* 'to, for':

as   v'eh   gra   slane lhiu   rish ny family

and was he   saying   goodbye   to   the family

and he was saying goodbye to the family

Jeeaghyn ec and *gra gys* were isolated examples and occurred in the same narratives as

the target forms *jeeaghyn er* and *gra rish*; therefore it seems clear that the target forms,

which were used more frequently, will supersede them.

10.6 Adult L2 Manx

The IFC were assisted in recording the last native speakers in 1948 by a small group of

young Manx men. Leslie Quirk, Bill Radcliffe, Mark Braide, Tom Braide and Chalse

Craine, who were all members of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* (The Manx Language

Society), made regular visits to the last native speakers, and were present when they

were recorded by the IFC. In the 1950s Leslie Quirk was employed by the Manx

Museum as the first full time collector for the Manx Folk Life Survey (*Skeealyn Vannin*

2003: 18).

Leslie, who first attended Manx classes in the early 1930s, kindly allowed me to record

his version of *Frog Where Are You* for comparison with the learner language or

interlanguage of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children. He was a keen supporter of the

Bunscoill, and was often invited to talk to the children and read them stories. I have

noted the similarities between the children's language and that of the last native

speakers, but also seek to show the differences between both LM and interlanguage from

that of an experienced, highly competent, adult L2 speaker. The first Manx language

speakers, who attended Manx language classes in addition to learning what they could

from the last native speakers, sought to make their Manx as idiomatic and authentic as

they could, whilst avoiding the excesses of semantic transfer and lexical borrowing

characteristic of LM. Leslie Quirk died in October 2004, aged ninety, having been a Manx speaker for most of his adult life.

Leslie Quirk's version of *Frog Where Are You?* contained neither lexical nor semantic transfers. The wide range of verbs used did not include *geddyn* or *prowal*. The language of a highly competent, literate, adult speaker such as Leslie Quirk, who spoke Manx for most of his adult life, whenever and wherever possible, differs from both the last native speakers and early immersion speakers in several respects.

His use of idiom and avoidance of semantic and lexical transfer reflects both literacy and native speaker contact. Literacy enables the learner to become familiar with whatever written sources are readily available. Essentially, at the time that the early enthusiasts were learning Manx, the main written source was the Manx Bible. Although LM differs somewhat from the Manx of the Bible 'there are no grounds for regarding the latter as in any way artificial or archaic,' (Thomson 1993: 102). The purpose of the Bible translation was that it should be understood by eighteenth century Manx speakers and it is, therefore, a reflection of the language at a time when it was a widely spoken vernacular. Native speaker contact provided whatever was retained of idiom and phonology, and most importantly, opportunities to use the language.

The last native speakers, who were not literate in Manx, had to rely on their childhood memories of spoken Manx which they had acquired at a time when the language was infused with semantic and lexical transference. The language they used at the time when they were recorded in their old age was a reflection of a language in the process of being

abandoned. Semantic and lexical transference were a natural element of the language which the native speakers recalled, as they are, to some extent a natural development of any living language. The speakers were not conscious of any transference and, therefore, did not avoid it.

Children in immersion education are in the process of acquiring language and it is normal for them to use their L1 instincts to inform their L2 skills. Examples of language which is in the process of acquisition reflect the process, not the end result. The lack of self-consciousness which is characteristic of immersion acquisition prevents inhibition of speech, but also at this stage gives the immersion language a similarity to that of the last native speakers. The children's primary aim (quite rightly) is to use the language and communicate, and not to fret over every word.

One of the most obvious differences between Leslie Quirk's narrative and those of the children was his frequent use of the copula. None of the children used this construction, preferring at all times to use the substantive. The copula has a limited use in Manx and will be referred to more fully in the section on syntax. The way it was used in Leslie Quirk's narrative lent the story an informal, conversational style, for example:

quoi shoh   *ec yn uinnag?*   *oh she*   *yn eayst reesht*
who this   at the window?   oh be +cop   the moon again
what's this at the window? oh it's the moon again

foddee she   *shellanyn*   *ta*   *cheet*   *magh*

maybe be+pres+cop   bees   are   coming   out

maybe it's bees that are coming out

t'eh   *fakin*   *towl foddee*   *she*   *towl conning*   *agh*

is he   seeing   hole   maybe   be+pres+cop   hole rabbit   but

cha nee   *she*   *roddan*   *t'ayn*

neg.+be+pres+cop   be+pres+cop   rat   is in-it

he is seeing a hole maybe it's a rabbit hole but it's not it's a rat

Where some of the children used the phrase *prowal dy* 'trying to' Leslie has used *shirrey* 'seeking, endeavouring' to describe picture 12:

ta'n   *moddey shirrey*   *dy ghrappal*   *seose*   *yn billey*

is the   dog   seeking   to climb   up   the tree

the dog is trying to climb the tree

Leslie was a speaker who favoured the productive use of affixes and some examples are included in his narrative. *Do-* is a negative prefix similar to English un- or in- and *so-,* a prefix which is the opposite of *do-,* is similar to the English suffix –able, for example, *do-yannoo* 'unfeasible', *so-yannoo* ''feasible, do-able. Leslie uses *do-* in his narrative:

ta   *kione*   *y voddey*   *stiagh ayns*   *y pot*   *bee eh*   *do-roshtyn ass*

is the head   of the dog   inside in   the pot   be+fut it   unreaching out

the dog's head is inside the pot it will be unreachable

as   yn moddey   do-akin

and   the dog   unseeing

and the dog unseen

However, *do* and *so* are not commonly used by most speakers and seem not to have been used much in the past; Kelly's *Fockleyr* (Dictionary, first published 1866) has the following entry:

> *So*, in compound words, signifies goodness, ease, aptness, used much by the Irish, and seldom by the Manks

Therefore, although *do-* and *so-* are potentially productive prefixes, in this instance their usage is more representative of an idiolect than adult L2 Manx generally. A further example of Leslie's use of affixes is that of the diminutive prefix *myn-*. Towards the end of the narrative in describing the family of frogs, the children all use an adjective *beg*, or *beggey* 'little': *shiaght rannagyn beg/beggey* 'seven little frogs'; Leslie refers to them as *shiaght mynrannagyn* 'seven froglets'.

The fact that an older, highly competent speaker is in possession of a more extensive vocabulary and syntax is hardly to be wondered at, and the examples simply demonstrate that it is largely unnecessary for a Manx speaker to rely on semantic and lexical transfer. It is true, however that Manx has a relatively small lexicon, Thomson (1993: 101) comments that:

Manx appears lexically impoverished as a result of isolation and a lack of the literary cultivation that could have kept a larger non-utilitarian vocabulary in current use.

Archibald Cregeen, the compiler of the first Manx dictionary (first published in 1835) confirms this impression in the introduction to the dictionary:

> To place the present publication within the reach of the peasantry of the Isle of Man, it has been greatly abridged from what was at first purposed by the author; notwithstanding which, it is hoped it will give general satisfaction and be a standing memorial of that very ancient language- the Manks or Gaelic to generations as yet unborn; as it may with a degree of truth be asserted that we have little more than two-thirds of the language preserved in the published translations of the Scriptures and the Church Liturgy.

All spoken languages are subject to change and influence from other languages and it would be unrealistic not to expect a degree of semantic and lexical transfer to be present in spoken Manx.

10.7 Quotative Verbs

The above section has highlighted the fact that the children's lexicon is still inevitably less varied than that of highly competent adult L2 Manx speakers. However, there are intriguing signs that the children are not only increasing their communicative range but also expanding the resources of Manx, through two examples of semantic transfer in the areas of quotative verbs and discourse markers.

The substitution of 'go' for 'say' as a quotative verb introducing direct speech is a feature found in colloquial English, normally associated with the language of adolescents. One rather surprising semantic transfer of this nature occurred in the frog story narratives. In this instance it was a quotative attributed to the dog:

va'n   moddey   goll   "ruff ruff"

was the   dog   going   "ruff ruff"

the dog went "ruff ruff"

Clearly this is an example of 'go' for 'bark' rather than say, but it meets the following criterion for using 'go' for 'say': '*Go* appears to be an option for direct speech and non-lexicalised sounds' (Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999: 152) It is also an example of the lack of self-consciousness and ease with which the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children speak Manx.

10.8 Cross-linguistic Discourse Markers

Discourse markers or pragmatic markers are "a class of short, recurrent linguistic items that generally have little lexical import but serve significant pragmatic functions in conversation." Examples of discourse markers in English are **actually, and, but, I mean, like, so,** and **well** (Andersen 2001: 39). This section focuses on discourse markers because of a particularly interesting feature of their occurrence in additional recordings made of some of the Brastyl Jees children.

My intention in recording the same group of children again was both to obtain examples of their progress over the course of a year, and to record them using language outside the narrative framework offered by the previous recording. Therefore I attended and recorded a session where the children were talking about books they had read recently. Each child described (in Manx) a favourite, or recently read book. Due to the practical difficulties in the recording session referred to in Chapter 6 the main purpose of the

follow-up study was not achieved. However, a report of this session is included because it threw up a very valuable insight into the children's 'ownership' of Manx.

The books were English language books and the children's own choice. Some chose story books like *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (or *Chitty Chitty Polt Polt* as the child renamed it – an example of Manx onomatopoeia), other children chose folk tales or factual books about topics recently covered in class, such as the Ancient Egyptians. The book reviews were followed by questions from the teacher and classmates.

One of the books reviewed was called *Tara's Treehouse* by Helen Dunmore. The child reviewing this book had not finished reading it and made no mention in her review of the tree house in the book's title. Consequently the first question she was asked by one of her classmates was:

Cre mychione yn Treehouse?
What about the treehouse?

Confessing she had not read that far yet the child said:

1. *well*   *jeeaghyn*   *trooid*   *sy jalloo shen,*   *t'ee **gollrish**   geddyn eh*

   well   looking   through in the picture there is she **like**   getting it

   ansherbee
   anyway

   well looking through that picture she's **like** getting it **anyway**

In this sentence there is an English discourse marker in sentence initial **well,** and at the end of the sentence a Manx discourse marker **ansherbee** 'anyway';

but it is the third discourse marker which particularly surprised and interested me,

gollrish for 'like'; she's **like** getting it anyway.

Scandinavian Tales was the second book to be reviewed. The child began by saying:

2. *Ta shoh   yn skeeayl ta* **gollrish** *'neen ayn   as   t'ee   gearree feddyn ...*

   Is here   the story   is **like**   girl in   and   is she   wanting finding ...

   Here is the story there's **like** a girl and she wants to find ....

A little later in the narrative when describing a picture, the child said:

3. *t'ee   **gollrish** goll   stiagh   ayns   keyll*

   is she   **like**   going   into   in   wood

   she's **like** going into a wood

I consulted their class teacher who confirmed that some of the children do indeed use

gollrish 'like' in this way as a discourse marker.

The recording of the girls shows them using **gollrish** as a calque of the English discourse

marker **like,** so frequently employed by young people and adolescents, and said to have

its origins in southern California 'valley speak' (Dailey O'Cain, 2000), memorably

exemplified by Frank Zappa's 1982 hit *Valley Girl* ('I like buy the neatest mini skirts

and stuff').

In its usual semantic and syntactic role *gollrish* is a prepositional pronoun. In Manx, as

in the other Celtic languages, pronouns combine with prepositions and decline for

person and number. *Gollrish* is both the undeclined base form of the preposition and the third person masculine of the following paradigm:

Gollrish like

gollrhym	like-me	*gollrooin*	like-us
gollrhyt	like-you (s)	*gollriu*	like-you (pl)
gollrish	like-him/it	*gollroo*	like-them
gollree	like-her/it		

The semantics and sentence position of *gollrish* in general Manx usage mirror that of English 'like, resembling' as shown in the following examples (with the obvious difference that *gollrish* incorporates the pronoun in example 5)

4. *t'eh jeeaghyn gollrish e ayr*   he looks like his father

5. *t'ee jeeaghyn gollrhym*   she looks like-me (1st person sing. of paradigm)

There is another Manx word which equates with English 'like', *myr*, shown in example 6:

6. *ta shenn sleih myr shen*   old people are like that

Myr does not combine with pronouns to mean like-me, like-you, and so on, and perhaps in a native-speaking population would have been the more obvious candidate for 'like' as a discourse marker. In earlier Manx usage *myr* is used where English 'like' means 'behave like/as though'; *gollrish* occurs where English 'like' refers to 'resembling/looking like'.

However, a recording of one the last native speakers, Annie Kneale, reciting a verse she recalled from her childhood, shows both *myr* and *gollrish* used interchangeably.

Myr ooh ta mee dy jarroo
Like an egg I am indeed

Danjeyragh dy ve brisht
In danger of being broken

*As **gollrish** shenn vraagyn*
And **like** old shoes

Va ceauit as ayns corneil
That were thrown and in a corner

Faagit as treigit
Left and abandoned

As my chorrag ayns my veal
And my finger in my mouth

*As **gollrish** shenn vraagyn*
And **like** old shoes

Va ceauit as ayns corneil
That were thrown and in a corner

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: Annie Kneale CD 1 Track 6)

The adoption of *gollrish* rather than *myr* as a discourse marker is likely to be attributable to the children's greater familiarity with it. I have noticed in classroom observations that *gollrish* is more widely used in their input.

The use of **like** as a Discourse Marker and as a quotative verb introducing reported speech has been reported in urban centres throughout the English-speaking world. Cheshire et al (n.d.: 23) note that:

the idea that there is an international dimension here is strengthened by the similar contemporary grammaticalisations of forms with original meaning equivalent to 'like' that are in progress in several other languages including Hebrew (Maschler 2002) and German (Golato 2000) – though the mechanism by which this cross-linguistic phenomenon could occur is far from understood.

Grammaticalisation is a process wherein lexical forms gradually assume additional or different grammatical functions. The development of 'like' from a preposition, suffix and conjunction to a discourse marker and quotative verb appears to be occurring globally. Quirk et al (1985: 661) characterize 'like' as having 'functions difficult to clarify in terms of traditional word classes', and it may be that this is the reason that 'like' is vulnerable to grammaticalisation.

Anecdotal evidence (Paul Rogers, class teacher Brastyl Jees, pers. comm., 15/08/05) indicates that at least one of the girls in Brastyl Jees uses *gollrish* as a quotative verb as in example 7:

7. *ta mee **gollrish**, 'c'red t'ou jannoo?'*

   I'm **like**,   'what are you doing?'

This example is unconfirmed but it is unsurprising in the light of the discourse marker usage. I think it is fair to say that Manx can be added to the list of languages where the grammaticalisation of **like** or its equivalent is taking place - at least in the language of immersion-educated children. **Like** as a discourse marker and **like** as a quotative verb are both in general usage in their L1, and are both occurring cross-linguistically. I would, however, have expected them to use 'like' as a loan word and leave it in English

rather than transfer a lexical item whose functional significance is pragmatic rather than semantic.

Earlier examples of the cross-linguistic nature of discourse markers and the importance of their pragmatic function in conversation can be heard in the IFC recordings of the last native Manx speakers. English discourse markers **well** and **but** occur in both Manx and English examples.

Well is the English discourse marker which occurs most frequently cross-linguistically and there are many such examples in the native speaker recordings. According to Schiffrin (1987: 126) **well** shows the speaker's aliveness to the need to accomplish coherence, and is a 'response marker anchoring its user in conversational exchange'. Examples 8 and 9 show **well** as a discourse marker, introducing a Manx sentence in 8, followed by an English one in 9.

8. *well, ta mish, cha row mee   rieau poost*

   well am I   neg+be+past I   ever   married

   well I am I was never married

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. T. Kaighin, CD4 Track4)

9. **well,** I've been all night walking on the quaaltaghs, meself

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: N. Maddrell CD3   Track 8)

But also crosses the linguistic barrier as in example 10:

10. she **but** *cha nel*   *ollagh erbee aym*   **edyr, but** *ta mee goll*

      it is **but** neg+be pres cattle   any at-me   at all **but** am I   going

      dy kionnagh ollagh

      to buy   cattle

      yes **but** I don't have cattle at all **but** I am going to buy cattle ----

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. T. Kaighin CD4 Track 2)

Example 10 is part of a long sentence which includes **but** several more times. **But** as a discourse marker in English is a point making device analogous with 'however' and is used as such in the Manx sentence in example 10, and similarly in English in example 11

    11. I've not seen that. **But** in the barns, dancing there'd be one with a with an

       accordion   (Skeealyn Vannin 2003: Ned Maddrell CD3 Track 9)

Manx discourse markers are used frequently in these recordings by the native speakers, but are not to my knowledge used by Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children and rarely by adult L2 Manx speakers, with the exception of **ansherbee / aghterbee** which appears to be a calque on the English **anyway.** The discourse markers most frequently used on the IFC recordings are; **edyr, er cor erbee** and **my ta.**

My ta appears to be the equivalent of the Irish **má tá,** (Manx orthography does not represent Gaelic etymology, so can disguise similarities). Irish **má tá** is a possible source for Irish English 'as it is/so it is' (Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin, pers. comm. 26/09/05).

Manx **my ta** and Irish **má tá** occur in the same sentence-final position as invariant tags, similar to English **innit**. See example 12

12. *ta mee   er fakin   ny ferrishyn   my ta*

    am I   after seeing   the fairies   **though**

    I have seen the fairies, **though**

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. Kneen, CD 2 Track4)

The translation usually offered for **my ta** is 'though'. Unfortunately we do not seem to have a Manx English equivalent of the Irish English sentence final tag 'so it is/so I did'. However, given the similarities between **my ta** and the Irish **má tá** it would be reasonable to translate **my ta** as 'so I did/ so I am/so'

The most commonly used Manx discourse markers, on the evidence of the native speaker recordings is **edyr**. **Edyr** always occurs sentence finally and most frequently with a negative verb. Out of 34 tokens of **edyr** in the native speaker transcripts, 32 occurred with the verb in the negative, 1 with a negative question and 1 with a question. Examples 13-15 show the most typical usage of **edyr;**

13. *cha row   monney   grian ayn   ayns yn moghree   edyr*

    neg+be+past   much   sun   in   in   the morning   **at all**

    there wasn't much sun this morning **at all**

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: H.Boyde CD1 Track 4)

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14. *cha s'ayms*   *c'red*   *t'eh jannoo* **edyr**

    Neg+be+past knowledge at-me   what thing   is he doing   **at all**

    I don't know what he's doing **at all**

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: J. Kinvig, CD5 Track4)

15. *nee*   *Cleator Brothers*   *lhieggey shiu as*   *cha jean*   *ad cheet dy*

    will do Cl. Brothers   falling you and   neg+do+fut   they coming to

    hroggal   *shiu*   **edyr**

    raising   you   at all

    Cleator Brothers will make you fall and they won't come to raise you **at all**

    (Skeealyn Vannin 2003: H. Boyde, CD2 Track 3).

Cleator Brothers were licensed grocers in Ramsey c.1900 - their name was on a bottle found beside a drunken man in a ditch, and was thus referred to in a sermon concerning the evils of drink.

The use of sentence final discourse marker **edyr** is analogous in Manx English to the still prevalent habit of ending a sentence with 'at all', for example:

'Have you got any news at all?'

'I wouldn't like to say that at all'

'I don't know at all'

'Do you want to come to the pub at all?'

The fact that 'at all' was already present in English as a negative postmodifier/intensifier i.e. 'none at all', 'not at all' may well have encouraged its adoption in Manx English in place of **edyr's** function in Manx. Thus, just as **'at all'** in English is calqued on the use of **edyr** so is **gollrish** in Manx calqued on the use of **like.**

A noticeable characteristic in adult L2 Manx speakers is that they do not (on the whole) use many *Manx* discourse markers. Discourse markers are frequently not taught in formal language lessons, arising as they do from the norms of spoken discourse. The discourse markers L2 speakers use are more likely to come from their L1 hence **well** and **jus'** are common in L2 Manx, as they were in LM. This is why it seemed so surprising that the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children had transferred *like* into their Manx lexicon as **gollrish,** rather than simply using *like.*

10.9 Conclusion

None of the children relied to any great extent on L1 lexical transfers. Any L1 word that did occur was known and used in Manx by at least one of the other children. On another occasion any child who used an L1 word might well have been able to retrieve the Manx equivalent. The children are in the habit of using L1 lexical transfers where necessary, rather than halting their flow of speech, which would impede communication.

Some of the children were able to use circumlocution to get over the problem of unknown lexis. Rather than use an L1 word, they were able to describe the scene using the Manx that they did know to the best effect.

Semantic transfers were the feature most common to the group as a whole in these data. At the stage of immersion that the recordings were made, the nature of the semantic transfers (the frequency of *geddyn* and *prowal dy geddyn*) would make the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children identifiable as a linguistic group. Their resemblance to the last native speakers in their adoption of this particular semantic transfer is striking, but in the case of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children the overuse of *geddyn* is likely to be a temporary and highly productive stage before acquiring greater fluency. This appears to be borne out by the verbal noun diversity percentages in Table 16 which indicate that the children who are in a family situation where Manx can be heard and spoken have a greater verbal noun diversity and are less likely to be so reliant on *geddyn*. Adult L2 learners, particularly those who achieve high degrees of fluency, are linguistically aware enough to avoid semantic transference, and fluent L2 adult Manx speakers consciously try to avoid calques on English.

I mentioned in section 10.6 above the relatively limited lexicon of the children in comparison with a fluent adult speaker. However, this is likely to be a temporary state. Immersion education provides many opportunities for the enrichment of a revived language by virtue of the fact that all subject areas must be addressed in the immersion language. Nonetheless, when the domain of the immersion language is largely confined to the school the tendency to over use a limited lexicon could contribute to a temporary impoverishment. Immersion education, in creating literate speakers, also holds the key to lexical enrichment.

The Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children will be the first group of children to become literate in Manx. This raises the problem of age-appropriate literature for children. Since the foundation of Manx-medium education it has been necessary to rely on volunteers to translate stories, and educational material for children; the translations were then pasted over the original text. However, since the summer term of 2006, Bob Carswell has been employed jointly by the Department of Education and the Manx Heritage Foundation (MHF), and under the administration of Mooinjer Veggey as a Resource Officer, working three days a week at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh and two days a week on MHF projects. This is proving to be a successful and fruitful appointment; 'the amount of material available to the school has probably doubled in a few months' (A. Kissack, pers. comm. 2/02/07). For older children, the publication of two books in translation by Brian Stowell are a welcome addition to literature in Manx, they are: *Contoyrtyssyn Ealish ayns Cheer ny Yindyssyn* (Alice's Adventures in Wonderland by Lewis Carroll) and *Reks Carlo ayns Mannin* (Rex Carlo in Mann) – a translation from an Irish detective story *Reics Carló in Oileán Mhannan* by Cathal Ó Sandair, originally written in response to the lack of books for young Irish speakers.

Perhaps the most striking finding of the study is that the children are beginning to create their own innovations in Manx. The section on discourse markers shows that the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children are making the language their own even at this early stage in immersion. The creation of a variety of Manx 'youth speak' can only be regarded as encouraging in terms of language revival. In extending the TL to encompass current L1 usage of informal speech the children are extending the language domains of Manx.

Chapter 11

Syntax and Morphology

This chapter looks at the syntax and morphology used in the data with regard to Manx

language norms[40]. The chapter begins with a brief description of Manx syntax and

morphology in so far as it is relevant to these data. It does not, therefore, claim to be a

comprehensive account. The description which follows is based on Thomson (1993:

102-126) with the addition of some observations on current adult L2 usage:

> The following account attempts to combine a description of the classical
> language with some notice of the changes in the late Manx of the last generation
> of native speakers. (Thomson 1993: 102)

11.1 Word Order

The word order of a simple sentence, or 'neutral order', is verb, subject,

object/complement, prepositional phrase; adverbs come either within the verb phrase or

at the end of the clause:

1. *ta*   *mee*   *dy kinjagh*   **cur**   *yn lioar*   *er y*^{L41} *voayrd*

   be+pres 1st pers. (sg) advb.pt. always putting the book   on the   table

   I always put the book on the table

---

[40] The examples used in this chapter are my own unless otherwise stated
[41] Superscript *L* indicates that the following initial consonant is lenited

Adjectives, with few exceptions, follow the noun they qualify:

2. *guilley   beg*

    boy   little

    little boy

Interrogative words such as *quoi* 'who' and *cre* 'what' precede the verb and are followed

by the independent verb form (see 11.2):

3. *quoi hie   dys y^L phairk?*

    who   go+pret+indep   to   the   park

    who went to the park?

4. *cre   ta   shiu   jannoo?*

    what be+pres 2nd pers. (pl)   doing?

    what are you doing?

11.2 Verbs

The paradigm of a regular verb in Manx is composed of the imperative, future, preterite

and conditional which are inflected, and periphrastic forms composed of either 'be' or

'do' as auxiliaries together with a verbal noun (see below). However, there is a

tendency for some adult L2 Manx speakers to regard the usage of periphrastic past and

future tenses as evidence of 'poor' or 'inferior' Manx representative of the late

nineteenth to early twentieth century period of language shift when the number of

speakers went into a sharp decline. There is, therefore, a feeling among some adult L2

speakers that inflected tenses and older forms of the language drawn from Biblical usage

should be an integral part of the revival. The Manx Bible represents the largest, most

coherent corpus of Manx that we have access to; however, it should be pointed out that

all the structures and language forms objected to, do in fact, occur in the Bible

translation. Inflected past and future tenses are present in abundance in the Bible but

the periphrastic forms are also evident (see example 28)

The translation of the Manx Bible was carried out by at least twenty-four clergymen and

is therefore variable:

> Though the standard of Manx varies from book to book, and the editors seem
> rarely to have corrected their colleagues' grammar, the work as a whole is of a high
> standard and reflects great credit on those who produced it. (Thomson and Pilgrim
> 1988: 15)

As a result it is possible to justify the use of either inflected or periphrastic forms on the

grounds that both appear in the Bible translation. Broderick (1999:144) is right to point

out that:

> Translated material may or may not reflect what is actually spoken on the ground,
> since there will always be a certain amount of editorial interference for one
> particular reason or another.

However, as Thomson (1993: 102), observed there is no reason to assume that language

of the Bible translation is 'in any way artificial or archaic' and because of the variation

contained within it we cannot infer that it is more 'correct' to use inflected tenses in

preference to periphrastic.

The majority of verbal nouns are derived from the stem which is typically the same form

as the imperative. A suffix such as *–al,- ey,- agh, -aghtyn* on the verb stem forms the

verbal noun. There are a few verbs where the stem and verbal noun are identical, such

as *iu* 'drink' and *aase* 'grow'. The verbal noun predominates in Manx because as

Thomson points out:

> Manx does not absolutely require the formation of any inflected tenses and late
> usage avoids them all; the part played by the verb-noun is correspondingly
> eminent. A small number of verbs appear only as verb-nouns. (1993: 121)

The present tense is always formed with auxiliary be + pres + verbal noun; the past

continuous or habitual past is formed with be + past + verbal noun. The auxiliaries are

tensed and in some cases marked for person and the non-finite verbal noun carries the

meaning of the phrase.

Manx verbs have independent and dependent forms. Where the verb is preceded by a

negative, conjunctive, interrogative negative particle or is interrogative the dependent

form is used; elsewhere the independent form is used:

5. ***hie***   *mee*

   go +pret+indep   1st pers. (sg)

   I went

6. *cha*   ***jagh***   *mee*

   neg. pt.   go+pret+dep. 1st pers. (sg)

   I did not go

7. *dooyrt*   *ee*   *dy*   ***jagh***   *mee*

   say+pret. she   conj. go+pret+dep 1st pers. (sg)

   she said that I went

8. *dooyrt*   *ee*   *nagh*   ***jagh***   *mee*

   say+pret.   3rd pers.(sg) f   conj.neg.   go+pret+dep   1st pers. (sg)

   she said that I did not go

9. ***jagh***   *oo?*

   go+int+pret+dep   2nd pers. sing. (sg)

   did you go?

10. *nagh*   ***jagh***   *oo?*

   neg, int.pt   go+pret+dep   2nd pers.(sg)

   did you not go?

Examples 5-10 show the independent and dependent forms of the preterite of *goll* 'going'; one of a small group of common verbs which are irregular in form. The independent and dependent forms of regular verbs may differ only in terms of mutation (nasalization in example 11) in the future and conditional inflected tenses:

11. *Caill* 'lose'

	Future		Conditional	
	Indep.	Dep.	Indep.	Dep.
	caillym	*cha gaillym*	*chaillin*	*cha gaillin*
	I shall lose	I shall not lose	I would lose	I would not lose

The only examples of inflected tense in these data are of the preterite and the imperative. The imperative is usually identical in form to the verb stem and has two forms singular and plural:

12. *jeeagh* 2nd pers. (sg)   *jeeagh-jee* or *jeeagh-shiu* 2nd pers. (pl)
      look   look

It is also possible to form a construction, usually with the third person plural, calqued on the English 'let us, let's', for example, *lhig dooin gra* 'let's say'.

The preterite is formed on the stem or imperative of the verb and lenited:

13. *jeeagh* look   *yeeagh mee* I looked

The other tenses used in the data, the present tense, the past continuous and the periphrastic past tense are formed with auxiliaries 'be' and 'do'. The auxiliaries function as full verbs and have the full range of inflected tenses. 'Be' has a present tense.

11.2.1 The Substantive Verb

14. Present

Indep.	*ta*		Dep.	*nel, vel*	
ta mee	I am		*cha nel mee*	I am not	
t'ou	you are (sg)		*cha nel oo*	you are not (sg)	
t'eh, t'ee	he, she is		*cha nel eh, ee*	he, she is not	
ta shin	we are		*cha nel shin*	we are not	
ta shiu	you are (pl)		*cha nel shiu*	you are not (pl)	
t'ad	they are		*cha nel ad*	they are not	

15. Past (preterite)

Indep. *va*		Dep. *row*	
va mee	I was etc.	*cha row mee*	I was not etc.

16. Future

Indep. and Dep. *bee*

bee'm	I will be
bee oo	you will be (sg)
bee eh, ee	he, she will be
beemayd	we will be
bee shiu	you will be (pl)
bee ad	they will be

17. Conditional

Indep.		Dep. + neg. part.
veign	I would be	*cha beign*
veagh oo	you would be (sg)	*cha beagh oo*
veagh eh, ee	he, she would be	*cha beagh eh, ee*
veagh shin	we would be	*cha beagh shin*
veagh shiu	you would be (pl)	*cha beagh shiu*
veagh ad	they would be	*cha beagh ad*

The verbal noun is *ve* 'being'. The imperative is *bee* (singular) and *bee-jee, bee-shiu* (plural).

11.2.2 Tenses Formed with Auxiliary *bee* + verbal noun

The present tense of all Manx verbs is formed with the present tense of the substantive + verbal noun:

18. *ta*   *mee*   *fakin*   *yn moddey*

     be +pres   1st pers. (sg)   see + verb noun   the dog

     I am seeing/ I see the dog

Hence the present tense of any Manx verb is always continuous in form.

The continuous past tense, also used in the habitual sense, is formed with the preterite of the substantive + verbal noun:

19. *va*   *shin*   *troggal*   *eh*

     be+pret.   1st pers. (pl)   build + vb noun   it

     we were building it

20. *va*   *mee*   *goll*   **heose*   *bunnys*   *dy chooilley*   *oie*

     be + pret.   1st pers (sg)   go + vb noun   up   nearly   pt every   night

     dys   *Skyll*   *Mael*

     to   Kirk   Michael

     I was going / used to go up to Kirk Michael nearly every night

     (H. Boyde CD2 Track 3, IFC recordings)   **TF seose* (see **11.6.6** below)

The present and past tenses of the substantive are used with the preposition *er* + verb noun to express the present and past perfectives:

21. a) *ta   mee   er^L   chlastyn   eh*

    be+pres I   after   hear + vb noun   it

    I am after hearing it / I have heard it

    b) *va   shin   er^L   choayl   eh*

    be+pret we   after   lose + vb noun   it

    we were after losing it / we had lost it

A periphrastic future tense often occurs in learner language using the future tense of the substantive + verb noun:

22. * *bee   shiu   goll   dys Rhumsaa   mairagh*

    be+fut   you (pl)   go+vb noun   to   Ramsey   tomorrow

    you will be going/will go to Ramsey tomorrow

The target form of the periphrastic future is formed with the future tense of *jean* 'do' as the auxiliary (see **11.2.4** example 27 below).

11.2.3 *Jean* 'do'

The preterite of *jean* 'do' is *ren* 'did'. The dependent and independent forms are identical:

23. Indep.   Dep. + neg. prt.

   ren mee   *cha ren mee*

   I did   I did not

The paradigm continues unchanged with *ren* +pronoun throughout.

24. Future

Indep.		Dep. + neg. prt.	
nee'm	I shall do	*cha jeanym*	I shall not do
nee oo	you will do (sg)	*cha jean oo*	you will not do (sg)
nee eh, ee	he, she will do	*cha jean eh, ee*	he, she will not do
neemayd	we shall do	*cha jeanmayd*	we shall not do
nee shiu	you will do (pl)	*cha jean shiu*	you will not do
nee ad	they will do	*cha jean ad*	they will not do

25. Conditional

Indep.		Dep. + neg. prt.	
yinnin	I would do	*cha jinnin*	I would not do
yinnagh oo	you would do (sg)	*cha jinnagh oo*	you would not do

The paradigm continues with *yinnagh* + pronoun in the independent and *jinnagh* +pronoun in the dependent.

The verbal noun of *jean* 'do' is *jannoo*. The imperative is *jean* (sg) and *jean-jee, jean-shiu* (pl)

11.2.4 Tenses Formed with Auxiliary *jean* + verbal noun

The periphrastic past tense of any verb is formed with the preterite of *jean* 'do, make' + verbal noun:

26. *ren*   *mee*   *fakin*   *eh*

     do+pret   1st pers (sg)   see+vb noun   3rd pers. (sg) m

     I did seeing him / I saw him

Ren + verbal noun was by far the most common way of expressing the past tense in LM.

The periphrastic future tense of any verb can be expressed with the future of *jean* 'do, make'+ verbal noun:

27. a) *nee*   *ad*   *fakin*   *eh*   *shiaghtin*

     do+indep+fut   3rd pers (pl)   see+vb noun   3rd pers. (sg) m.   week

     shoh   *cheet*

     this   coming

     they will see him next week

     b) *jeanmayd*   *goll*   *dys*   *Sostyn*   *mairagh?*

     do+dep+fut+1st pers.(pl)   go+vb noun   to   England   tomorrow

     will we go to England tomorrow?

In LM *ren* and *nee* frequently occur as auxiliaries with the verbal noun *jannoo*. There also a few such examples in the Manx Bible:

28. a) *Ayns   ny banganyn   **ren**   ooilley eeanlee yn aer   **jannoo***

   In   the boughs   do+pret.   all   birds   the air   do+pret.

   nyn idd

   their nests

   In the boughs did all the birds of the air make their nests

   (Ezekiel XXXl vi)

   b) *As   **nee**   ad   **jannoo**   ad-hene   dy bollagh   meayl*

   And do+fut   3rd pers.(pl) do+vb noun   themselves completely   bald

   er dty hons

   for your sake

   And they will make them selves completely bald for your sake

   (1 Reeaghyn XVl xxx)

The periphrastic conditional of any verb can be expressed with the conditional of *jean* 'do' + verbal noun:

29. a) *yinnin*   *feddyn*   *eh*

   do+indep+cond+1st pers. (sg)   find +vb noun   it

   I would find it

b) *cha jinnagh*   *eh*   *ginsh*   *dou*

neg.pt do+dep+cond   3rd pers. sing. m   tell+vb noun   to-me

he would not tell me

The imperative of any verb can be expressed by the imperative of *jean* 'do' + verbal

noun:

30. *jean*   *mongey*

do+ imp   smile +vb noun

smile!

11.2.5 Copula 'be'

The primary functions of the copula are in expressing emphasis, with comparative forms

of adjectives, and expressing equivalence. It has a limited range of tense forms:

Independent	Dependent
Present/Future	Present/Future
's, is, she	*nee*
Past/Conditional	Past/Conditional
b' by	*b' by*

31. a) *she*   *Manninagh*   *mish*

be+cop+indep   Manxman   1st pers. (sg) emph.

I am a Manxman

b) *cha nee*   *Manninagh*   *mish*

neg.pt be +cop+dep   Manxman   1st pers. (sg) emph.

I'm not a Manxman

The copula may be in zero form in some statements of equivalence:

32.   *mish*   *eh*

ø cop.   1st pers sing +emph   3rd pers. (sg) m

I am he

The copula is also part of many set phrases such as *s'mie lhiam* 'is good with-me / I like', *by vie lhiat?* 'would you like?', *s'lhiams eh* 'it's mine' which are likely to be the main copula phrases known to the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children at their present stage of immersion. These phrases typify those areas where use of the copula is retained in Manx. However, these are expressions which seem to function as semantic units and, as Henry et al (2002: 18) suggest is the case in immersion acquired Irish, they are most probably acquired as discrete lexical items rather than syntactic structures.

11.2.6 Action and State

A distinction can be made between verbs expressing action and state:

33. a) *ta*   *mee*   *shassoo*

be+pres I   stand +vb noun

I stand (action)

b) *ta*   *mee*   *my^L*   *hassoo*

be+pres   I   in-my   stand+verb noun

I am standing (stative)

11.3 Predicative ayn

The use of *ayn* in the predicate has already been discussed in Chapter 10 with regard to

Manx idiom. On occasions where the substantive verb is used without a predicate, for

example, 'there was a dog' the position of the predicate is not left unfilled in Manx as it

is in English, but is filled by the third person masculine singular of the preposition *ayn*

'in, in-it'. *Ayn* in the predicate corresponds to existential 'it' or 'there' in English

subject position:

34. **va moddey*

     va   *moddey*   *ayn*

     be+pret   dog   in-it

     there was a dog

11.4 Relative Clauses

The only type of relative clause found in these data is the direct relative where the

relative is either nominative or accusative. In the affirmative the relative is zero +

independent verb form; in the negative the relative is *nagh* + dependent verb form:

35. *shen* *yn guilley* *ta* *goll* *dys y Vunscoill*

that the boy ø rel. be+pres+indep go+vb noun to the Bunscoill

that's the boy who goes to the Bunscoill

shen *yn guilley* *nagh* *vel* *goll* *dys y Vunscoill*

that the boy neg. rel be+pres +dep go+vb noun to the Bunscoill

that's the boy who doesn't go to the Bunscoill

11.5 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses vary as to whether they are introduced by the adverbial phrase + the

independent or dependent verb form. Those introduced by the conjunction *er yn oyr* 'on

the cause, because' are followed by *dy* + dependent verb form:

36. *hie* *mee* *dy lhie* *er yn oyr* *dy* *row* *mee* *skee*

go+pret I to lie on the cause that be+pret+dep 1st pers. sg tired

I went to bed because I was tired

11.6 Pronouns and Prepositions

11.6.1 Simple and Emphatic Pronouns

Pronouns can be either simple or emphatic and function as both subject and object:

37. Simple   Emphatic

Simple	Emphatic
mee	*mish*
oo	*uss*
eh	*eshyn*
ee	*ish*
shin	*shinyn*
shiu	*shiuish*
ad	*adsyn*

11.6.2 Prepositional Pronouns

Personal pronouns combine with prepositions and decline for person and number. They also have an emphatic form:

38. *ec* 'at'   Emphatic

ec 'at'		Emphatic
aym	at-me	*ayms*
ayd	at-you (sg)	*ayds*
echey	at-him	*echeysyn*
eck	at-her	*ecks*
ain	at-us	*ainyn*
*eu*at-you (pl)		*euish*
*oc*at-them		*ocsyn*

There was a tendency in LM to separate the preposition from the pronoun, for example, *da mish* 'to me +emph' TF *dou* 'to-me', *dooys* emph.

The base form of the preposition is frequently identical to the 3rd person masculine prepositional pronoun, for example, *marish* 'with-him, with'; *marish y ven* 'with the woman'.

11.6.3 Nominal / Phrasal Prepositions

Nominal or phrasal prepositions contain an infixed possessive particle:

39.   *son* 'for'

er-my^L-hon	for me
er-dty^L-hon	for you (sg)
er-e^L-hon	for him
er-e-son	for her
er-nyn-son	for us, you (pl), them

In order to resolve the ambiguity of the plural form, the appropriate form of *ec* was added in LM: *er-nyn-son ain* 'for us'; *er-nyn-son eu* 'for you'; *er-nyn-son oc* 'for them'. Eventually this came to be replaced either by *son* + *ec: son aym, son-ayd,* and so on, or simply by *son* +personal pronoun: *son mee* 'for me'.

11.6.4 Possessives

Ownership can either be expressed by possessive particles or periphrastically with the definite article and prepositional pronoun:

40. Possessive particles

my	my
dty	your (sg)
e	his, hers
nyn	our, your (pl), they

My, dty, and *e* 'his' cause lenition in the following noun where applicable; there is no mutation after *e* 'her' and *nyn* causes nasalization in the following noun:

41. *thie* house

my^L *hie* my house

dty^L *hie* your (sg) house

e^L *hie*   his house

e thie (-mut.) her house

nyn^{N42} *dhie* our, your (pl), their house.

Possession can also be expressed using a periphrastic construction with the definite article and prepositional pronouns, *ec* 'at' and *lesh* 'with'. This construction was very commonly used in LM in preference to the possessive particles and has the virtue of resolving any ambiguity which might occur with the plural possessive particle *nyn* 'our, your, their':

Nyn^N *dhie* our, your, their house;

yn thie ain the house at-us, our house

yn thie eu   the house at-you, your house

yn thie oc   the house at-them their house

There is no lexical verb 'have' in Manx. The prepositional pronoun *ec* is normally used to express possession in the physical sense, *lesh* 'with' is used to express ownership:

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[42] Superscript N indicates that the following initial consonant is nasalized

42. *ta'n*   *moddey ec Jamys*   *agh*   *s'lhiams*   *eh*

be+pres the   dog   at Jamys   but   be+cop with-me+emph   he

Jamys has the dog but he's mine

11.6.5 Marish and Lesh

'With' can be expressed by either of two prepositional pronouns *marish* or *lesh*

depending on whether the intended meaning is 'with' in the sense of 'accompanied by'

or 'with' in the instrumental sense:

43. *hie*   *mee*   *dy valley*   *marish*   *my 'neen*

go+pret 1st pers (sg)   home   with (accomp.)   my daughter

I went home with my daughter

44. *va*   *ny*   *paitchyn*   *cloie*   *lesh*   *bluckan*

be+pret art+pl children   play+vb noun   with (instr.)   ball

the children were playing with a ball

The distinction between the two was not always observed in LM.

45. *ren*   *eh*   *jannoo*   *coffin*   *marish*   *yn fuygh*

do+pret   he   do+vb noun   coffin   with (accomp.)   the wood

he made a coffin with the wood

(Skeealyn Vannin 2003: H. Boyde CD1 Track 5)

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11.6.6 Up and Down

Manx has a somewhat complex system of terms for 'up' and 'down', which to be used in target form must take into account whether state or movement is involved and which direction the movement up or down takes.

Movement upwards from a neutral base is *seose* associated with verbs such as *goll* 'going', *irree* 'rising'. When one is up in the static sense, as in at the top of a ladder or upstairs the term is *heose*. When one wishes to move down from being *heose* the term is *neose*, associated with verbs of movement such as *cheet* 'coming'. The static position of down is expressed by *heese*. Movement upwards from *heese* 'below' is *neese* also associated with verbs of movement. Finally, down from a neutral position is *sheese* associated with verbs such as *goll* 'going' and *tuittym* falling. The most commonly used are *seose, sheese, heose* and *heese*. *Neose* and *neese* have Biblical associations; *cheet neose veih Niau* 'coming down from Heaven' and *cheet neese veih Niurin* 'coming up from Hell'.

Figure 2 Up and Down
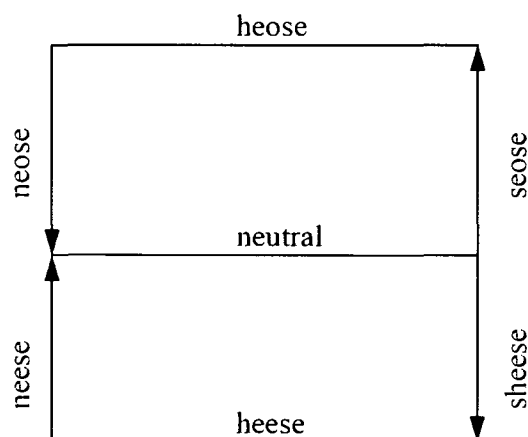
11.7 The Article

There is no indefinite article in Manx: *dooiney* 'man, a man'. The article has two forms

singular *y*, *yn* with a singular noun and *ny* with plural nouns. LM does not always

distinguish between the two. The feminine genitive article is *ny* but is not relevant for

theses data and occurs mainly in fixed phrases.

11.8 Number

The noun is singular after *un* 'one', *daa* 'two', *feed* 'twenty' *keead* 'hundred' and any

compound numbers where the preceding number is *un*, *daa*, *feed*, or *keead*, for example,

daa lioar yeig two book ten 'twelve books'. A further description of the number system

regarding plurality and lenition can be found in Chapter 8.1.

11.9 The T/V System in Manx

There are two distinct form of the second person in Manx, *oo* 'you' singular and *shiu* 'you' plural. The system is analogous to that of other languages which retain the two second person pronouns, known as the t/v system from the French forms *tu/vous*. In theory the second person plural *shiu* also functions as the 'polite' form, although in practice it is rarely used other than to mark the plural.

In the rest of this chapter I will explore the syntactic forms used in my data, referring back to the relevant part of the above outline as appropriate.

11.10 Frog Story Data: Word Order (see 11.1)

The children have no difficulty in acquiring the verb-subject-object order of simple sentences in Manx, despite the fact that their L1 word order is subject-verb-object. This is also the case for noun adjective order where the adjective generally follows the noun in Manx rather than precedes it as it does in English. Interestingly, I have observed in younger children's first Manx utterances that they tend to omit the finite verb which comes first in the sentence. A typical utterance on finishing a task is *mish jeant* 'I/me done' (me finished), - similar to early L1 acquisition. It also avoids positioning the finite verb until more language is acquired.

Word order was target-like throughout these data except for one example:

46. **tra va 'guilley cadley **yn rannag roie ersooyl***

The second clause *yn rannag roie ersooyl* either, a) contains a misplaced preterite

coming after *yn rannag* 'the frog', or b) the auxiliary be+pret has been omitted before

the subject. The preterite and the verbal noun of *roie* 'running/ran' are identical in form.

I think a) is more likely, although both would make sense:

47. a) *tra*   *va'n*   *guilley cadley*   **roie**   *yn rannag*   *ersooyl*

     when   be+pret   boy sleep+vb noun   run+pret   the frog   away

     when the boy was sleeping the frog ran away

b) *tra*   *va'n*   *guilley*   *cadley*   **va'n**   **rannag**

     when be+pret the   boy   sleep+vb noun   be+pret the   frog

     roie   *ersooyl*

     run+pret   away

     when the boy was sleeping the frog was running away

This was the only example of non-target word order and probably occurred as a result of

the relative complexity of the sentence.

11.11 Frog Story Data: Tense (see 11.2.2, 11.2.3)

Tenses used in the narratives were: the present be+verb noun; the past continuous

be+pret +verb noun; the periphrastic past tense do+pret+verb noun; the preterite past.

The majority of children switched between the present and past continuous. One child

used the present tense exclusively and another used the past continuous exclusively.

The periphrastic past tense was used by two children; for one child it was the predominant tense in the narrative, but she also use the past continuous and the present tense; the other child used a fairly even distribution of periphrastic past tenses and past continuous tenses with an occasional present tense. One child used the lenited preterite past tense for most of the narrative with the addition of a few past continuous tenses. In one of the longer sentences it appears that either an auxiliary is missed or there is a non-target preterite:

48. *huitt*   *yn moddey echey*   *magh*   *ass*   *uinnag*   ***lheim***   *eh*

    fall+pret   the dog   at-him out out-of window jump+pret he

    sheese   *as*   *ø*   *geddyn*   *moddey*   *er ash*

    down   and   get+ vb noun   dog   back

*His dog fell out of a window he jumped down and getting the dog back

The intention could have been either, a) to use the preterite of *geddyn (hooar),* or, b) to use a past continuous tense or, c) to use a periphrastic past tense:

49. a) *huitt yn moddey echey magh ass uinnag lheim eh sheese as **hooar** eh*

      moddey er ash

  b) *huitt yn moddey echey magh ass uinnag lheim eh sheese as v'eh **geddyn***

      moddey er ash

  c) *huitt yn moddey echey magh ass uinnag lheim eh sheese as **ren** eh **geddyn***

      moddey er ash

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The preterite of *geddyn* is irregular and may not have been known, therefore, I think that the intention was to use the past continuous as example 49 b) as this is the other tense used in the narrative. It is possible that having decided to use the preterite past tense the child was reluctant to use the periphrastic past in the same narrative. It was surprising to hear a narrative conducted almost exclusively in the preterite and, on enquiry, I was told by the class teacher that it was not usual for the child to use this tense. I assume that she felt it was an appropriate 'story-telling' convention. The fact that the tenses were lenited was particularly impressive.

The tenses most frequently used by the majority of the children (present and past continuous) were used in both positive and negative statements, using both the independent and dependent verb forms appropriately. The child who used the greatest range of tenses, the present, past continuous and periphrastic past, (independent and dependent forms) came from a Manx speaking family and is, therefore, likely to have heard a greater range of tenses in her input.

11.12 Frog Story Data: Copula 'be' (see 11.2.5)

The substantive was used exclusively throughout the narratives. The fact all but one of the children set their narratives in the past tense gave little opportunity to use the copula had they wished to do so. Their knowledge of the copula at this stage is probably confined to phrases which they use in conversation on a daily basis such as those exemplified in **11.2.5**

In the adult L2 version of the frog story narrative Leslie Quirk made frequent use of the copula 'be' construction. His narrative was set in the present tense, making use of both the substantive and the copula. In the narrative of a highly competent and linguistically aware speaker the copula was used to express equivalence rather than in the fixed expressions with which younger speaker are more familiar and comfortable:

50.a) *she   edd   shellanyn*

    be+cop   nest bees

    it's a bees' nest

b) *she   yn eayst   reesht*

  be+cop the moon   again

  it's the moon again

c) *she   towl conning   agh cha nee   she   roddan*

  be+cop hole rabbit   but neg+be +cop be+cop   rat   ø rel.

t'ayn

be+pres in-it

it's a rabbit hole but no there's a rat in it

11.13 Frog Story Data: Action and State (see 11.2.6)

One child used a target-like form of a stative verb. This example has been referred to in Chapter 9 as an example of target form mutation triggered by the possessive particle in the construction:

51. *va'n   guilley   ny^L chadley*

    be+pret the boy   in-his   sleep + vb noun

    the boy was sleeping

As I commented in Chapter 9, it was surprising to see that this structure had been noticed and acquired by any of the children as it is not invariably used by adult speakers and none of the other children used it. The child who used it is not from a Manx speaking family and therefore would be unlikely to have heard it outside the school environment. This is an example of individual language proficiency which is evident even in an immersion setting, that is, even though all children in immersion education reach high standards of comprehension and production, some individuals attain target form language to a greater extent more quickly than others. The structure is not yet a stable part of the child's language production as there was another occasion where it would have been appropriate but it was not used:

52. * *va'n   guilley   shassoo   er ram   claghyn*

    be+pret the   boy   stand +vb noun on lot   stones

    the boy was standing on a lot of stones

va'n		*guilley*	**ny^L**	**hassoo**		*er ram*	*claghyn*	TF
be+pret	the	boy	in-his	stand + vb noun	on lot	stones	

the boy was standing on a lot of stones

Some examples of this type of construction from Leslie Quirk's narrative include:

53. a) *as* | *ta'n* | *guilley* | **ny** | **lhie** | *cadley* | *as* | *ta'n*

| | and | be+pres | the | boy | in-his lying | sleep+vb noun | and | be+pres the |

moddey | **ny^L** | *chadley* | *neesht*

| | dog | in-his | sleep+vb noun | too |

and the boy is lying sleeping and the dog is sleeping too

b) *ta'n* | *moddey* **ny^L** | **hassoo** | *er y* | *lhiabbee* | *neesht*

| | be+pres | the | dog | in-his | stand+vb noun | on the | bed | too |

the dog is standing on the bed too

11.14 Frog Story Data: Predicative Ayn (see 11.3)

Target form use of this construction was universal. This is not a construction found in their L1 and therefore it was interesting to see that it had been acquired by the class as a whole, as the following examples show:

54. a) *va* | *guilley* | *ayn* | *jeeaghyn* | *er moddey*

| | be+pret | boy | in-it | look+ vb noun | on dog |

there was a boy looking at a dog

b) *ta*   *guilley *veg ayn as ta*   **voddey ayn*

be+pres   boy   little   in-it   and   be+ pres   dog   in-it

there is a little boy and there is a dog

TF *beg, moddey*

c)   *yn   oie   ayn*

ø vb   the   night   in-it

It was night

d) *as   ta   lussyn   ayn*

and   be+pres   plants   in-it

and there are plants

e) *va   rannag ayn as   v'eh   ayns boteil   feer vooar*

be+pret frog   in-it   and   be+pret 3rd pers m   in   bottle   very big

there was a frog and he was in a very big bottle

f) *t'eh   yn oie   t'ayn*

be+pres the night   be+pres in-it

it is the night

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11.15 Frog Story Data: Relative Clauses (see 11.4)

The relative clauses which occurred in the data were used appropriately:

55. *ta'n   moddey   ceau   yn pot   va   rannag ayn*

    be+pres the dog   wear +vb noun   the pot   ø rel be+pret frog   in-it

    the dog is wearing the pot that the frog was in

11.16 Frog Story Data: Adverbial Clauses (see 11.5)

Two instances of adverbial clauses occurred in the data, although in neither case was the target form used:

56. a) * *huitt eh er yn oyr va hullad cheet magh*

        huitt   *eh*   *er yn oyr*   ***dy***   ***row***   *hullad*

        fall + pret   3rd pers m on the cause conj be+pret+dep   owl

        cheet   *magh*

        come +vb noun   out

        he fell because the owl was coming out

    b) * *er yn oyr v'eh jannoo sheean*

        er yn oyr   ***dy***   ***row***   *eh*   *jannoo*   *sheean*   TF

        on the cause conj be+pret+dep he   do+vb noun   noise

        because he was making a noise

In view of the fact that there is no invariable 'rule' regarding the adverbial phrases which are followed by *dy* + dependent verb form, (some are, others are not) it is not surprising that the children are not yet producing target-like forms.

11.17 Frog Story Data: Pronouns and Prepositions

11.17.1 Simple and Emphatic Pronouns (see 11.6.1)

Henry et al (2002: 28) comment on the overuse of emphatic pronouns (particularly the first and second person emphatic pronouns) in immersion acquired Irish and suggest that more frequent exposure to the emphatic forms may be a feature of classroom acquisition. The frog story narratives are conducted mainly in the third person *eh* 'he' or *ad* 'they' so that first and second person pronouns do not occur but there are some examples of unnecessary emphatic pronouns:

57. a) *v'eh*   *gyllagh*   *son eshyn*   TF *eh, er*

be+pret he   shout+verb noun   for him+emph

he was shouting for *him*

b) *v'ad*   *geddyn*   *corree* ***rishyn***   TF *rish*

be+pret they   get+vb noun   angy   with-him+emph

they were getting angry with *him*

Although not applicable to these data my informal observations in class concur with those of Henry et al regarding the overuse of emphatic first and second person pronouns. The children do seem to use *mish* 'I, me' (emph.) and *uss* 'you' sing. (emph.) in

preference to the unemphatic forms *mee* and *oo*. It may well be a feature of classroom

usage if the teacher uses the emphatic to engage the attention of a particular child.

11.17.2 Prepositional Pronouns (see 11.6.2)

There were few examples of prepositional pronouns in the data apart from *echey* at-him

which was used extensively as part of the periphrastic possessive. The other examples

appeared as split forms apart from one target form *daue* 'to-them':

58. *ayn eh, ayns eh*	TF	*ayn*	'in-him, it'
harrish	TF	*harrish*	'over-him, it'
er eh	TF	*er*	'on-him, it'
rish ad	TF	*roo*	'to-them'

11.17.3 Nominal / Phrasal Prepositions (see 11.6.3)

There were two non-target form examples *son eshyn* (emph) and *son eh* 'for him.'

The Target Form is *er e hon* 'on his for, for him' with the infixed possessive particle *e*

'his'. The non-target form *son eh* occurs in the children's input and they may not be

familiar with the full form *er e hon*. Two examples of nominal prepositions used in

Leslie Quirk's narrative were:

59. a) *va 'n*	*thie*	*foddey*	*ec*	*nyn^N*	*gooyl*
be+pret the	house	far	at	3rd pers poss. prt	back

the house was far behind them

b) *ram   biljyn   as   reddyn cooyl   ainyn   aynshoh*

lots of   trees   and things back   at-us+emph here

lots of trees and things behind us here

Example 59 b) is typical of LM usage, favouring a prepositional pronoun following a preposition; *cooyl ainyn* 'behind at us', whereas example 59 a) is more typical of CM with the infixed possessive particle *nyn – ec nyn gooyl* 'at their back/behind them'. There is some ambiguity in 59 a) as *nyn* could mean 'our' or 'your' (pl); contextually 'their' seems the best option. The use of the prepositional pronoun as in 59b) makes the intended meaning clear and is no doubt the reason why this usage became more prevalent in the LM period.

11.17.4 Possessives (see 11.6.4)

The vast majority of possessive constructions were periphrastic; article + noun + ec. All the narratives contained many examples of periphrastic possessives:

60. *yn moddey echey*

the dog   at-him

his dog

yn stroin echey

the nose   at-him

his nose

yn rannag echey

the frog   at-him

his frog

Three children also used possessive particle constructions, all of which were lenited where applicable after the possessive particle:

61. e^L *chione*   his head

 e eaddeeyn   his clothes

 e lhiabbee   his bed

 e^L *voddey*   his dog

 my rannag   my frog

11.17.5 Marish and Lesh (see 11.6.5)

The children tended to favour the use of *lesh* 'with' for both the instrumental and accompanying sense of 'with' in these data:

62. a) *v'eh   coodit   lesh   honey*   TF

 be+pret cover+past part.   with (instr) honey

 he was covered with honey

b) *ren   eh   fakin   rannag   *lesh   rannagvn   feer veg*

   do+pret he   see+vb noun   frog   with (instr) frogs   very little

   elley

   other

   he saw a frog with other very little frogs   TF *marish*

c) *v'eh   goll   ersooyl   *lesh   y rannag*

   be+pret   go+ vb noun   away   with (instr) the frog

   he was going away with the frog   TF *marish*

Marish 'with' (accompanying) only occurred once in the data:

d) *va'n   moddey echey   roie   ersooyl   marish   yn deer*

   be+pret the dog   at-him   run+vb noun away   with (accomp) the deer

   the dog was running away with the deer

11.17.6 Up and Down (see 11.6.6)

Most examples of 'up and down' in the data were in the target form. The pictures gave
many opportunities to use the 'up and down' because the little boy is shown climbing up
rocks and trees and falling down on the ground or down into the river. There were only a
few examples which used the non-target form:

63. a) *v'eh   cheet *heose*   TF *seose* (movement upwards)

        he was coming up

b) *v'eh   prowal dy geddyn *heose*   TF *seose* (movement upwards)

   he was trying to get   up

c) *v'eh   goll *heose*   TF *seose* (movement upwards)

   he was going up

d) *va yn rannag *sheese er y grunt*   TF *heese* (stationary)

   the frog was down on the ground

It must be pointed out that every child who used a non-target form also used target forms, showing that the paradigm is in the process of acquisition. In practice the *neose, neese* forms are seldom used in speech. However, in the context of school it is possible that *neose* may become more commonly used as children, when climbing, frequently have to be addressed with *tar neose veih shen* 'come down from there.'

11.18 Frog Story Data: The Article (see 11.7)

The absence of an indefinite article caused no problems,and, for the most part, target forms of the definite article were produced, that is, the singular article with singular nouns and the plural form with plural nouns. There were a few exceptions:

64. *y bootyn, yn bootsyn* singular article + plural noun   TF *ny bootsyn*

    y rannagyn singular article + plural noun   TF *ny rannagyn*

    ny guilley beg plural article + singular noun   TF *yn guilley beg*

ny shellan plural article + plural   TF yn *shellan*

                                                  or more likely **ny** *shellanyn*

One might have expected more confusion for children acquiring a L2 with a definite article that shows plural morphology if their L1 does not. This does not appear to be the case. With very few exceptions target like use of the definite article was produced.

11.19 Frog Story Data: Number (see 11.8)

There were few examples of number + noun in the data but those that occurred did show some variation:

62. *jees towl*   TF *daa howl*   (*daa* + lenition with nouns)

    daa rannagyn TF *daa rannag* (no plural morphology until three)

11.20 Frog Story Data: The T/V System (see 11.9)

As these data did not contain a great deal of dialogue there were few examples of the second person singular or plural. Three narratives ended with the little boy saying goodbye to the frogs. Goodbye has a singular and plural form in Manx: *slane lhiat* 'wholeness/health with-you' (sing.) and *slane lhieu* (plural). The plural target form was used on each occasion. One narrative ended with the little boy saying *'gura mie ayd'* (sing.) 'thank you' and *slane lhieu* (plural); target form *gura mie eu slane lhieu*. From observation I would say that the children use and are far more familiar with the singular form of the second person than the plural at this stage. Possibly because of the element of formality associated with the second person plural they tend to be addressed in the

singular even as a group, for example, *cur seose dty laueyn* 'put up your (sing.) hands' rather than *cur seose nyn laueyn* 'put up your (plural) hands'. Arguably, it could be said that the teacher is addressing each child as an individual within the group. Other languages with t/v systems, such as French or German, have informal singular and plural possessive particles whereas in Manx (which does not) the issue of plurality and formality is less easily resolved.

11.21 Conclusion

The use of target form syntax in these data was impressive. Non-target forms were seldom used and those that were tended to be used along side target forms; an indication of the language acquisition process rather than the fossilisation of a non-target form. The use of *ayn* in the predicate was universal and word order (with minor slips) was free from L1 influence. Most of the children set their narrative in the past using the past continuous tense. It is possible that they may have wished to use a simple past tense rather than a continuous tense but had not yet acquired enough confidence with the form to do so. However, that is speculation, and all the tenses used functioned in target form.

Specific morphological and lexical features in the TL which do not occur in the children's L1 such as singular and plural articles, singular, dual and plural number forms, the t/v system, different functional forms of 'with', and multiple forms of 'up' and 'down' are all features which may take longer to acquire in target form. Some or all of these distinctive features may eventually fall victim to 'the principle of least effort' (Millward 1996: 11) if Manx, as is hoped and intended, becomes a more widely spoken language. The principle of least effort accounts for language change on the grounds

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that: 'speakers are "sloppy" and simplify their speech in various ways' (Millward 1996:11). In other words, if speakers feel that one definite article will suffice, or that two words for 'with' is one word too many, then these forms will eventually cease to be used.

Chapter 12

Conclusions

This study had two main foci; one sociolinguistic, and the other linguistic. The sociolinguistic aspect was to discover the motivation of parents in choosing Manx-medium education for their children, and to ascertain the extent to which the children were exposed to the TL outside school. The linguistic aspect was an analysis of the TL produced by the children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh with the aim of discovering whether their language was a characteristic variety of the TL, and if so the impact this variety might have on the TL, given that immersion educated children will eventually constitute the majority of Manx speakers. In this chapter the main findings are discussed, and checked against the aims of the study together with implications and suggestions for future studies

12.1 Parental motivation for choosing immersion education

The questionnaire provided information on the sociolinguistic background of the children. The Manx-medium class at Ballacottier School was set up by the Isle of Man Department of Education in response to lobbying by parents. The involvement of parents in the establishment of immersion programmes is widely recognised as an important factor in their success. The parents of the first children in Manx-medium were more likely to have an established involvement with the Manx language and culture. The decisive factor for most parents in choosing to send their children to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh was the perceived benefit of a bilingual education. This

perception, in itself, implies that parents who choose this form of education have given a greater than average consideration to their child's education, in that, so far as the Isle of Man and the Manx language are concerned, immersion education is an unknown quantity. Parents choosing this option will be aware of the cognitive, social, and cultural benefits that research indicates are conferred by a bilingual education.

There can be little doubt that the majority of parents are fully supportive of language revival even if they are not themselves Manx speakers. An interest in the revival of Manx was the second most important reason for sending children to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. Several parents added comments to the effect that they wanted their children to have the opportunity to learn Manx because that opportunity had not existed when they (the parents) were children. One parent also saw Manx-medium education as a chance for children to learn about the history and culture of the Isle of Man as opposed to general British history and culture. Parents clearly have feelings of language loyalty; one parent used the term 'my language' when referring to Manx despite not actually being a Manx speaker. Sending their children to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh may even be seen by some parents as a way of compensating for their own inability to speak the language, and as a significant contribution to the Manx language revival.

Choosing Manx-medium primary education was also the next logical progression from the choice of a Manx-medium playgroup. Most of the children had attended a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup and begun the language acquisition process in a nurturing atmosphere using play, songs, and rhymes which some of the parents were able to contrast with their own less happy experiences of language learning. Whatever their motivation for

choosing Bunscoill Ghaelgagh the parents of these children are, for the most part, highly

involved with and supportive of the school and expressed pride in their children's

language ability.

The small number of children in the initial stages of an immersion programme naturally

results in small class sizes which are generally regarded as desirable by parents.

Although no-one cited this option as the single most important reason for their choice of

school it was clearly an important additional factor for many parents. In the school year

of 2003-2004, when most of the data were recorded, there were twenty-five children

attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh; a staff of two teachers and a nursery nurse for that

number of children represented an extremely attractive pupil teacher ratio.

12.2 Linguistic background of the children

The second objective of the questionnaire was to establish the linguistic background of

the children. As part of the assessment of the children's spoken Manx, I wanted to

establish the extent of their language domains and their pre-school exposure to the

language. Children from homes where Manx was spoken and who attended a Mooinjer

Veggey playgroup could reasonably be expected to demonstrate a greater competency in

the TL.

What became apparent from the questionnaire was that very few children came from

homes where Manx was spoken to any significant extent; three children in Brastyl Jees

and one in Brastyl 'Nane. There was only one child whose parents were fluent Manx

speakers; in other families the fluent speakers were grandparents or other relatives and

did not live in the same household as the child. One parent spoke Manx in the home 'always' but did not claim to have more than 'reasonable competence' in the language. In this respect the majority of children can be said to have entered the immersion programme with limited or no competence in the TL. This at any rate avoids the problem of mixing highly competent or native speakers of the TL with absolute beginners a factor which can be detrimental to the former.

Attendance at a Mooinjer Veggey Manx-medium playgroup was the starting point for most children in their immersion language programme. Nineteen out of the twenty-one children represented in the questionnaire returns went to Manx-medium playgroup, and sixteen out the nineteen attended the same playgroup. It is very likely that the children whose parents did not return a questionnaire also attended a Mooinjer Veggey playgroup. The playgroup attended by the majority of the children was Braddan Mooinjer Veggey where the TL is used extensively, as the playgroup leader is a highly competent Manx speaker.

The school is the sole or main language domain for the majority of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children. Some children take part in activities such as Manx dancing and music but these activities are not necessarily language related. It was surprising in the light of the support expressed for the Manx language revival to discover that the number of parents learning the language themselves at that time was very low. There are, of course, many good reasons why this should be the case, and most parents cited lack of time or pressure of work as the main factors against attending Manx classes. The dissemination of the language from the school into the community is a necessary part of the success of

language revival, and yet may be the most difficult thing to achieve. Studies carried out on other Celtic language immersion programmes all found that parents would ideally like language classes to be more closely linked to the type of language used in school. This is not an easy matter to resolve, and from the evidence of the questionnaire, few parents considered it to be of any great importance whether they themselves were Manx speakers or not, and it certainly should not be regarded as a necessity that they should be. However, it is likely that the children who continue to speak Manx in the future will be those who are able to do so in the home with parents and siblings. Language dissemination is occurring to the extent that it is the norm for younger children to follow their older siblings in attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh.

Parents were asked on the questionnaire whether they would like to see some provision for Manx-medium secondary education. All parents replied that they would like to see some such provision, with one parent stating that it should not be the primary language. At the time the questionnaire was devised and distributed it did not by any means seem certain that any such provision would be available. The first children to experience a Manx-medium primary immersion education are now in their last year at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh and due to start secondary school in the autumn term of 2007. The catchment area of the nearest secondary school to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, Queen Elizabeth II High School, has been officially extended to include the Bunscoill children (who do not live in the school's catchment area). Three out of the five children due to start secondary school in the next school year will attend Queen Elizabeth II High School, and provision is being made for part of the curriculum to be taught to them in Manx. It is anticipated that Manx-medium teaching will amount to two or three hours a

week, and the children will be taught by teachers who are currently part of the

peripatetic Manx team (A. Kissack, pers. comm. 21/02/07).

12.3 The relationship between the linguistic background of the children and their language competence /production at this stage of immersion

The children who attended Braddan Mooinjer Veggey play group start Manx-medium

primary immersion with an advantage in that they are already familiar with basic Manx

instructions and greetings, and they know a good many songs and rhymes. The fact that

the majority of the children in this study attended Braddan Mooinjer Veggey makes it

difficult to assess whether this is a lasting advantage or not because there would have

had to have been a significant number of children who had attended a different pre-

school for comparison. I think it unlikely that any such advantage would persist, but the

first days at primary school are made less unfamiliar by virtue of the fact that the

immersion language is not an entirely unknown quantity to the child. There is also an

advantage for the minority of children who have not attended Manx-medium playgroup

in being part of a larger group who have. These children are able to copy the actions of

children who do understand some Manx, and by a combination of visual cues by the

teacher and watching the other children's responses they are enabled to achieve a degree

of comprehension quite quickly.

There were three children in Brastyl 'Nane with Manx speaking family members; one

child had Manx speakers in the extended family, one had a parent with 'reasonable

competence' in Manx who 'always' used Manx when speaking to the children, and the

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third had a parent with 'reasonable competence' who 'sometimes' spoke to the children in Manx. Of these three children it was the third child who appeared to be somewhat more linguistically aware than the rest of the class group. She produced more Manx than the other children and was able to explain in metalinguistic terms the reason for her choice of a particular colour term. The reasons for an individual difference in language acquisition such as this are complex, and probably attributable to a number of factors which would include a degree of aptitude and enthusiasm, but are evidently not entirely attributable to increased exposure to the TL. There appeared to be no difference at this stage between the language comprehension and performance of those children who had attended Manx-medium playgroup and the few children who had not.

The children in Brastyl Jees who produced some examples of phonological variation and used a slightly wider range of vocabulary in these data all had Manx speaking family members, indicating that their input is more varied than that of the other children. Linguistic background made no apparent difference in terms of language structure and syntax. One child out of this group showed more linguistic awareness than the other children. He was consistent in applying initial consonant mutation where appropriate and the only child to use a particular syntactic construction. This child's main if not only TL domain is school, and therefore any difference in TL performance can only be attributable to factors pertaining to ability and aptitude. Clearly there are individual differences in rates of language acquisition among the children but for the most part these differences are small.

From the point of view of these language data, the children who produce more of a particular type of structure or who demonstrate the fact that they have acquired a language 'rule' by consistently applying it, where their peers do not, are giving a good indication of the richness of their linguistic input. Children's rates of acquisition and production are different but their linguistic input has to contain language patterns before they can acquire them. It is notable that the children at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh whose language skills appear to be more highly developed frequently initiate the language switch from English to Manx when the children are talking together.

The linguistic background of the children is likely to be of greater importance in the future than it is now. Children who come from families with other Manx speakers are more likely to continue to speak Manx because they will have a domain in which to speak it. However, it is usual for all the children in families to attend the same school and this appears to be the case with Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. Several families of siblings already attend and more will do so in future. This factor seems likely to increase the chance of Manx being spoken in the family environment.

A comparison of the recorded data with what is known about the children's linguistic background does not indicate that children with Manx speakers in their immediate family background have any great advantage over those who do not at this stage of their immersion education. A wider range of verbal noun diversity as shown in Table 16 appeared to be the only measurable difference thus far.

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12.4 Are the children producing a recognizable 'variety' of Manx at this stage of immersion?

The language produced by Brastyl 'Nane is still in the earliest stage of acquisition and therefore cannot be evaluated in terms of 'variety'. However, it is possible to make some general observations on the data. The phonological influence of their L1 is still present at this early stage of immersion. Medial orthographic 'gh' was realised as a voiced velar stop /g/ varying with a voiceless velar stop /k/. The voiceless velar stop is the least target-like of the two realisations, but the phonological evidence from the Brastyl Jees data leads me to suppose that this realisation will be temporary. The vowel realisations are perhaps more likely to retain L1 influences as far as individuals are concerned unless particular attention is focused on them. One notable feature in the Brastyl 'Nane data was the use of the verb *geddyn* 'get'; the semantic transfer so evident in the Brastyl Jees data was also present in the younger children's language as they played in the *Traen Scaa* (Ghost Train). There is no doubt that they find *geddyn* extremely productive from the earliest stage of immersion.

A detailed analysis of the Brastyl Jees data recorded mainly in the summer term of their third immersion year showed their spoken language to be distinctive in a number of ways. The prevalence of the voiceless velar fricative /x/ which they realised in word medial and word final positions gave this sound a far greater prominence in the children's speech than is usual in the speech of most adult L2 speakers. Last native speaker transcripts and recordings indicate that both voiced /ɣ/ and voiceless /x/ velar

fricatives were rarely realised word medially. In addition, the realisation of velar fricatives in word initial position weakened in LM due to increased usage of periphrastic constructions which avoided the grammatical motivation for initial consonant mutation. In word medial positions where adult L2 speakers usually realise a voiced, dental fricative [ð] (orthographically 'dd') the majority of children realised a voiceless dental/alveolar stop.

Word final t-glottaling occurred on a small number of occasions in the data but it is sufficiently prevalent in the children's L1 English to raise the question of whether it might not be more evident in their Manx than is apparent here. More specific examples would need to be elicited to establish this.

In comparison with both LM and adult L2 Manx there is a strong tendency to produce voiceless stops rather than voiced fricatives or ø consonants in the word medial position. The exception is where the medial consonant can be realised as a voiceless velar fricative [x] which where possible seems to be preferred by the children.

At the time the data were recorded the children's language was characterised by the generous semantic transference afforded to the verb *geddyn*. In the frog story narratives *geddyn* became an 'all purpose' verb, encompassing the wide variety of semantic functions which can be fulfilled by the English verb 'get'. It is likely that over-reliance on a particular word, based on L1 semantics, is developmental, and will be temporary; however it may continue to be a feature of the children's *spoken* language after their

vocabulary has increased. The Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children, in addition to being the

first group of children to acquire Manx in an immersion programme, are also the first

generation of children to be literate in Manx. Literacy, and increased access to

literature, both original and in translation will undoubtedly be beneficial, and there is

every reason to suppose that their Manx will become enriched as a result.

Realistically, the majority of children have been exposed to the same amount of Manx,

have learned the same songs and rhymes, and read the same books. The majority of

discourse in the immersion classroom is between the children themselves, and therefore

they tend to express similar concepts in the same way. As a group their extensive use of

geddyn and *prowal dy geddyn*, at the time the narratives were recorded, was

characteristic of their language. The use of *abyl* to express ability is a common feature

of the children's language which is not particularly widespread among the adult L2

speech community.

The feature of the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children's language use which, if it could be

shown to occur throughout the group, would readily identify them as speakers of a

distinctive variety is the adoption of *gollrish* 'like' as a cross-linguistic discourse

marker and quotative verb. This usage is a phenomenon most unlikely to be

encountered in any other group of Manx speakers.

Syntactic characteristics of the children's language are less easy to identify as typical.

This is because the majority of adult Manx speakers are also, to a greater or lesser

extent, speakers of interlanguage. The variation in form present in the children's

language is also present in adult L2 Manx. Synthetic forms are generally preferred by adult speakers because of the widely held belief that they represent 'better' Manx, but most speakers begin by using periphrastic constructions.

A wide range of syntactic structures was used in the narratives. Examples of both synthetic and periphrastic constructions were found in all the narratives. The variation in constructions would seem to indicate the ongoing process of acquisition. The Dynamic Systems Theory of SLA suggests that the periods of increased variation in any system are characteristic of rapid change. In endangered language situations a high number of variants within the sound and structure of a language system may indicate the uncertainty of usage which presages language loss, but in a language acquisition situation variability indicates the uncertainty of usage that presages the choice of one form over another. For language choices to be made they must first be made available. The choice of synthetic or periphrastic forms in Manx has implications for the use of mutation. The use of periphrastic forms largely reduces the need for mutation and this affects the sound of the language, for example, word initial voiced velar fricatives only occur as a result of mutation. If the use of synthetic tenses becomes the norm as the children grow older, I would expect the use of mutation to increase accordingly. Split forms of prepositional pronouns which occurred in the narratives are the type of developmental error to be expected in interlanguage. The range and target-like use of syntax in these data was notable, and was an indication of the effectiveness of the attention to language form as well as function carried out by the Brastyl Jees class teacher, Paul Rogers. In many immersion programmes the TL is used solely in the

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functional sense, as a means of communication, and language forms are assumed to have been acquired 'naturally' without the need for either focus or exemplification.

The Brastyl Jees children already speak an identifiable variety of Manx. Some features currently present in their speech are part of the acquisition process, and therefore will be transitory but others will be retained. The children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh are, and will continue to be, especially as their number continues to rise, the largest group of speakers to acquire Manx together in the same place, at the same time and with the same teachers. These factors alone would be enough to create a recognizable language variety. However, the factor which should also be borne in mind is that it is quite likely that they will want to some extent to have their 'own' language. Language acquisition is an ongoing process and this includes L1 acquisition: it is usual for the language of children and adolescents to have features distinctive from that of their parents and older people. The fact that the first Manx-medium immersion educated children are confident enough after three years to be creative users of the TL, incorporating their own variety of youth speak should be regarded as very encouraging for the future of the language.

12.5 What might be the linguistic implications for a revived language if the majority of its most competent speakers have acquired the language in the same immersion education programme?

Criticisms of immersion acquired language (Hammerly 1987; Kowal & Swain 1997) claim that the productive skills of speaking and writing frequently fall short of TL norms. They cite examples of repetitive language, short sentences, frequent false starts,

non-target-like use of tenses and prepositions which are attributed to a tendency in the immersion classroom to simplify grammar in order to accommodate communication. Hammerly uses the expression 'a classroom pidgin' to describe immersion acquired language. Some of the criticisms made such as 'repetitive language and false starts' are typical of natural language production in L1 discourse, and should not be particularly ascribed to immersion language. The criticism of the use of non-target like language forms has been ascribed to the fact that immersion education focuses on language function to the detriment of language form. Concentration on language function produces speakers with high levels of comprehension, and the ability to communicate effectively in the TL. However, when the language of immersion educated French or Spanish speakers is compared with that of native speakers it is sometimes considered to be 'flawed' in that it is recognizably non-target like. It is undoubtedly the case that immersion education does not and cannot produce speakers whose language is comparable to that of native speakers. The circumstances of acquisition are different, and opportunities to speak the TL are often limited to the domain of school. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that immersion language is not directly comparable to native speaker language.

The quality of immersion acquired language can have no impact on widely spoken majority languages such as French and Spanish, but in the context of Manx the role of immersion education will undoubtedly be the crucial factor in increasing the number of highly competent speakers. A great deal will depend on how many children continue to speak Manx after leaving Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. Some children will continue to receive part of their education through Manx-medium at secondary school, and it may well be

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possible to increase the amount of secondary Manx-medium education available in the future. There will come a time when the majority of highly competent Manx speakers will have acquired the language through immersion education, and the language they speak will be regarded as the norm.

When a language has no surviving native speakers, worries over non-target like language do not necessarily disappear, rather they become the focus of different groups of L2 speakers who favour one form over another. Such is the case with spoken Manx. Manx speakers who have learned Manx as adults have had to draw on evidence from the recordings of the last native speakers and works in translation such as the Bible to establish their speech norms. Adult L2 Manx speakers are frequently uncertain of the 'right' way to realise a particular sound or whether one syntactic structure is 'better' than another. Under these circumstances it can be difficult to acknowledge the fact that all spoken languages change, and are constantly open to linguistic influences and preferences, some occurring from within the language itself and others from external influences.

Forms of language favoured by the majority of speakers are likely to become the spoken norm. If the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children become the majority and continue to prefer *ta mee abyl* to *foddym* for 'I can, am able', then *ta mee abyl* will prevail. I think it likely that where dual forms exist such as *marish* 'with' (accompanied by), and *lesh* 'with' (instrumental) one will fall into disuse. Under the influence of L1 English it is very probable that the formal use associated with the second person plural pronoun will disappear (it is already unusual to hear it in such a context). Some L1 influence is

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inevitable in a language which has no native speakers, all Manx speakers are L2

speakers, and the majority are L1 English speakers. The dominance of English,

internationally, in the community, and the media is such that it would be more surprising

if there were no English influence on the minority languages spoken in neighbouring

countries.

In a native speaker population the preference for periphrastic tenses over synthetic

would, I believe, prevail (as happened with the speakers of LM) but given that synthetic

tenses have a place in immersion input and occur in the written language it seems likely

that they will continue to be used and continue to provide the grammatical environment

for mutation. The area where immersion language could potentially have the greatest

impact is the phonology of the language. Bunscoill Ghaelgagh children are confident

speakers of rapid, connected speech. They have no reason to fear (as adult speakers

sometimes do) that they may not be understood by another speaker who has learned to

realise a particular sound in a different way. They are used to understanding what is said

to them and in turn being understood.

The linguistic implications for spoken Manx, on the evidence of these data seem entirely

positive. Manx as spoken by an increasing number of children and adolescents may

differ somewhat from adult L2 speaker Manx, but this is to be expected. In this respect

it will be more typical of a living language with passing preferences for one form or

another. Immersion acquired Manx is likely to contribute positively to the continued

use of TL synthetic constructions and mutation.

12.6 Bunscoill Ghaelgagh 2007

At the beginning of this study (autumn term 2003) there were twenty-five children attending Bunscoill Ghaelgagh and they had just moved into the old primary school building at St Johns. Although housed in a separate building, Bunscoill Ghaelgagh was administratively part of St John's mainstream primary school. By the autumn term of 2006 the number of children had increased to forty-seven, and there is now a complete range of primary school years from Reception to Year 6. Julie Matthews, who was the first teacher to be employed in the Manx-medium immersion programme, was appointed head teacher in 2006, and Bunscoill Ghaelgagh is now fully functional as a separate school and no longer part of St John's mainstream primary school. A third teacher was appointed from autumn 2006. There are now three full time teachers (including the head teacher) and a nursery nurse employed at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. The Education Officer for Mooinjer Veggey, Annie Kissack, teaches part-time and there are three learning support assistants who also work part-time. The success of the Manx-medium immersion programme at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh is encouraging more parents to send their children. It is at this point of expansion that difficulties begin to arise in immersion programmes. The success of the programme increases pupil numbers, thus raising the pupil teacher ratio which is in itself is an important contributory factor to the programme's success. Small classes facilitate immersion education. Parents with children in immersion programmes in Ireland (Northern and Republic) and Scotland express concern over the supply of future teachers. There is, and will continue to be in the near future, difficulty in recruiting qualified teachers for Bunscoill Ghaelgagh who are also highly proficient Manx speakers.

12.7 Contribution to immersion studies

This study is the first to be carried out on the acquisition of Manx. The establishment of the first Manx-medium primary immersion programme afforded an unprecedented opportunity to study the naturalistic acquisition of a revived language with no native speakers. Immersion programmes are seen as the most effective way to reverse language shift in communities where the native speaker population is low and intergenerational transmission has declined. The case of Manx is even more serious in that there has been no native speaker population/speech community for several generations. The establishment of Bunscoill Ghaelgagh offers a realistic opportunity to increase the number of competent speakers who can use the language for all purposes. This study covers a period when the programme was new to everyone involved. Despite this, the success of the programme in producing confident and competent speakers is evident from the Brastyl Jees data. I did not anticipate that these data would show such a high level of proficiency in the TL after so short a time. As the first study in Manx-immersion I anticipate that this work will be the basis for other studies to be carried out on this programme.

12.8 Further and Future Studies

In this study the wordless picture book *Frog Where Are You?* was used to assess L2 competence and production. A comparison of L1 and L2 data with the same children relating the same narrative would prove linguistically revealing in terms of the way children function bilingually, and whether there were other aspects of the narrative they might have wanted to include but were inhibited by the limitations of their L2.

The recordings of the Brastyl Jees children are examples of the language of a particular group of children made at a particular stage of their immersion. The special circumstances of this group of children make it less likely that data recorded of a subsequent set of children at the same stage of immersion would show such highly developed language skills in the TL. The Brastyl Jees children began their immersion education as a group of nine children who had attended a Manx-medium playgroup before starting school, then as a group of nine were taught by a teacher and a nursery nurse for the first year. The number of children rose to eleven in the second year. Four out of the original nine children had Manx speakers in their family. These children were the sole focus of attention of a teacher and nursery nurse for two years until moving into Brastyl Jees where they were taught as a group of eleven. Since that time class numbers have risen, and as a consequence subsequent year groups will not have the intensive language interaction and input available to the first group of children. Had time permitted it would have been interesting to record a subsequent third year immersion group using the same narrative task to discover if my impressions are correct.

Ideally, follow up studies should be carried out on the first group of Manx-immersion educated children as they begin their secondary school career, and later when contact time with Manx-medium education becomes much reduced. There is a wealth of studies which show the educational benefits to the child of a bilingual education, and the extent to which immersion educated children perform equally well or better than mainstream educated children in national exams. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that Manx-medium educated children will show similar benefits, but studies to confirm the fact would add to the body of immersion education research.

The oldest children from Brastyl Jees are now on the cusp of a transition: leaving the close-knit community of their pioneering Manx-medium school to enter mainstream secondary education. They take with them a competence in a second language which may have no currency for them in the wider world, yet will potentially enhance their learning ability.

Even if they do not maintain their use of Manx in this new environment, they will have lost nothing by their Manx-immersion education. They have been educated in a way that provides them with a strong, positive cultural identity and an awareness of multilingualism which should positively affect their attitude towards language learning. To be present as a researcher at the beginning of an immersion education programme, studying the effects on the learners and the language has provided me with an invaluable opportunity of observing language acquisition process.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Letter to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh Parents and Questionnaire

14 St.German's Place
Peel
Isle of Man
IM5 1BZ
10th January 2004

Dear Parent,

I am a postgraduate student at the University of Liverpool based at the Centre for Manx Studies in Douglas.

The subject of my research is the Immersion Education programme offered at Bunscoill Ghaelgagh in St. Johns. As you know, this is the first time this type of education has been offered through the medium of Manx.

I am interested in two areas - your motivation as parents in choosing this type of education for your child and the progress the children are making in acquiring Manx as their second language.

I would be very grateful if you could find the time to fill the questionnaire which I have included with this letter and return it in the prepaid envelope provided by January 30th 2004.

It is also my intention to spend some time at the school observing how the children learn through the medium of a second language, a process which would with your permission include making a record of your child's language development and on occasions recording the child on tape. I have included a section on your questionnaire for you to sign if you are willing for your child to be included in this study.

No real names will be used and neither you nor your child will be identified in any way other than mentioning the age or sex of the child or using an alias if necessary.

Thank you for your co-operation,

Marie Clague

Questionnaire: to be returned in the envelope provided by January 30th 2004

This information will not be used in any way that connects your answers to you personally, and any names that are used will be changed to ensure confidentiality.
....

1. Did your child attend a Mooinjer Veggey nursery school? Yes/No (delete as appl.)
If the answer is yes, could you please state which one he/she attended?

2. Which of the following factors influenced you to send your child to Bunscoill Ghaelgagh? Please circle on a scale of 1 for least important to 5 for most important.
    - a) The general educational benefits of a bilingual education.   1 2 3 4 5
    - b) Small class size   1 2 3 4 5
    - c) An interest in the long term revival of the Manx language   1 2 3 4 5
    - d) A wish to build on/ continue the success of Mooinjer Veggey
    - e) Other   1 2 3 4 5

3. Do you or your partner or any other family members speak or understand Manx?

    - a) fluently   ☐

    - b) with reasonable competence   ☐

    - c) few words   ☐

    - b) not at all   ☐

please tick boxes stating beside them whether applicable to self, partner or other.

4. If you or your partner are Manx speakers, do you use the language in the home with your child?

    - a) always   ☐

    - b) sometimes   ☐

    - c) never   ☐

5. Has the level of Manx used in the home since your child's attendance at the Bunscoill:

a) increased $\square$

b) remained the same $\square$

c) decreased

$\square$

(other studies suggest there is sometimes a period where the child refuses to use the 'language of school' in the home)

6. If you are not attending any Manx classes and are not Manx speakers could you tick the following reason(s) for this if they are applicable to you:

a) lack of time, pressure of work/domestic arrangements $\square$

b) do not feel that it is important $\square$

c) other $\square$

7. If your child is the only Manx speaker in the home do you feel that this is a disadvantage for him/her? Yes/No

8. Does your child have other opportunities to use Manx socially outside of school hours? Yes/No

if 'yes ' could you include an example,

9. Does your child use Manx when playing in the home? Yes/No

For example, if he/she 'plays school' with toys or other children do they use

Manx as the language of their play?

10. Would you like to see the provision and continuity of Manx medium

education at secondary level? Yes/No

Thank you for filling in this questionnaire. If you have any further you would like to add or discuss that I have not included or given adequate space for, please feel free to include any additional comments on a separate sheet of paper or contact me, Marie Clague telephone 843445.

I give/ do not give (delete as applicable) my permission for my child to be included in this study, I understand that he/she will not be identified by name.

Signed--(parent)

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STAGE	PUPIL TARGET	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT & DATE (see notes)			EXAMPLES (see notes)
5-14 Gaelic Pre- level A	1. Child uses a small number of courtesy expressions	1	2	3	eg child says; *Moghrey mie* 2 *Fastyr mie* 2 *Gura mie ayd* 2
IMM. STAGE 1	2 . Child understands and responds to everyday classroom instructions	1	2	3	eg responds to; Soie sheese Tar gys shoh Immee magh nish
	3. Child understands words and phrases related to current topics/ routine situations	1	2	3	eg responds to C'ren daah ta shoh? Dooys y ..... C'red ta'n emshyr jiu?
Aim to reach level 2 by end of first term	4. Regulalry uses words and phrases related to current topics/ routine situations	1	2	3	eg child says; *By vie lhiam cloie* 2 *Ta mee geearree* 2 *bainney*

NOTES

Level of Achievement *- Level 1 is the most basic level and would indicate a limited understanding of phrases used and a limited verbal response with possibly inaccurate pronounciation. Level 2 indicates an average understanding of most phrases and some confidence in using simple words and phrases. Level 3 indicates an above average understanding and confident, accurate responses at this level, including pronunciation. In assessing the level of spoken response, consideration must be given to the frequency of use of language and the context eg is the response heavily cued or spontaneous? Level 3 would indicate some sponateity.*

Appendix 2 Pupil Targets Bunscoill Ghaelgagh

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ENNYM...   Blein Toshee   Blein Nane   Blein Jees
Terms in Manx Class 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   YR   Y1   Y2

STAGE	PUPIL TARGET	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT & DATE (see notes)			EXAMPLES (see notes)	
5-14 Gaelic Pre- level A	1. Child uses a wider range of courtesy expressions.	1	2	3	*Gow my leshtal* *Dooys my chooat, my sailt*	2 2
IMM. STAGE 2	2 . Child understands and responds to more detailed and varied classroom instructions	1	2	3	Quoid bluckanyn? Quoi ta geearree....? C'raad ta (Gemma)? C'ren laa t'ayn jiu?	
Aim to reach level 2 by end of second term	3. Child uses more extensive vocabulary and replies with single words or short sentences in response to direct questions (See examples)	1	2	3	eg responds to"C'ren daah ta shoh?"; *Doo !* *Ta'n kayt shen doo*	2 3
					"C'red ta'n emshyr jiu?" *Fluigh* *T'eh fliugh as t'eh feayr*	2 3
					"Vel moddey ec peiagh erbee?" *Ta* *Ta moddey ayms* *Ta moddey mooar ec Daniel*	1 2 3
					"C'raad t'ou?" *Shoh* *Er y laare* *Ta mee fo yn voayrd*	1 2 3

ENNYM..   **Blein Toshee**   **Blein Nane**   **Blein Jees**
Terms In Manx Class 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   **YR**   **Y1**   **Y2**

STAGE	PUPIL TARGET	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT & DATE (see notes)			EXAMPLES (see notes)
5-14 Gaelic Pre- level A **IMM. STAGE 3** **Aim to reach level 2 by end of fourth term**	1. Child uses phrases from topic being studied to make simple statements in response to adult questioning. Statements may be 'scaffolded' by teacher.	1	2	3	*T'eh shenn* 1 *Shoh shenn as shoh noa!* 2 *Ta ollan cheet voish keyrrey.* 2 *Ayns ny shenn laghyn va sleih cummal ayns thieyn thooit* 3
	2 . Child talks to teacher in newstimes offering own comments/ observations using short sentences, which show some grammatical variation including, over time, some negatives and occasional familiar past tense	1	2	3	*Shen kayt!* 1 *Ta mee fakin kayt.* 2 *Vel oo fakin kayt jiarg?* 2 *Cha nel mee fakin eh.* 2 *Honnick mee kayt dhone* 3
	3. Child uses Manx more widely in one to one situations, including informal activities. He/ she occasionally links short sentences or uses longer ones(examples)	1	2	3	eg To another child *Ny jean roie!* 1 *Ny jean shen- t'eh mitchooragh!* 2 *Smie lhiam bainney agh cha mie lhiam ushtey* 3

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ENNYM... **Blein Toshee**   **Blein Nane**   **Blein Jees**

Terms In Manx Class 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   YR   Y1   Y2

STAGE	PUPIL TARGET	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT & DATE (see notes)			EXAMPLES (see notes)
5-14 Gaelic Pre- level A **IMM. STAGE 4** Aim to reach level 2 by end of sixth term	1. Child understancs most of what is said to it without need for gesture or prompting .	1	2	3	responds to requests eg *Cur yn rolley da Bnr Clugaash my sailt.* 2 *Immee gys y chamyr vrastyl Vnr Moore, my sailt, as fow magh c'ren traa shegin dooin goll stiagh sy halley* 3
	*2 . Child can and will use Manx to make itself understood on a regular basis.	1	2	3	*Ta my volg gonnagh!* 2 *Ta my volg gonnagh as by vie lhiam goll dy valley!* 3
	3. Child will correct own errors on prompting	1	2	3	*Shen foillan --aah ,follican gow my leshtal!* 2
	**4.Child will begin to converse fluently in group situations	1	2	3	*Va mee jeeaghyn er Lion King jea. Honnick mee er y chellveeish.* 3 *Cha mie lhiam y naim* 2 *Ren oo fakin eh, Joe?* 2 *Ren* 1

NOTES
Target 2 -Typically,L.1 indicates irregular use of very simple sentences with few connectives, L.2 indicates consistent mainly accurate , if short sentences.L. 3 indicates an awareness of a range of grammatical structures and more complex vocabulary
**Target 4*-Typically, L1 indicates child will usually give a limmited response to but not intiate conversation,
L2- will sometimes take a main role, L3 will usually lead/ initiate talk.

ENNYM.. **Blein Toshee**   **Blein Nane**   **Blein Jees**
Terms in Manx Class 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   YR   Y1   Y2

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STAGE	STRAND / PUPIL TARGET	LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT & DATE	EXAMPLES
5-14 Gaelic Level A **STAGE 5** Aim to reach stage 5 by end of ninth term	**STRAND 1. LISTENING FOR AND CONVEYING OF INFORMATION, INSTRUCTIONS AND DIRECTIONS** 1. By listening and talking children will be able to understand and convey a short straightforward item of information, instruction or direction through real situations eg during Newstime By routine training in above activities, children learn to listen, process and respond appropriately	1 2 3	Child conveying information eg *Cha nel Mnr Bennett ayn (1)* *Hie mee gys yn oik agh cha row Mnr Bennett ayn (2)* *Dooyrt ee, foshil yn liooar ec duillag 6 as jeeagh son beiyn ta cummal ayns ny biljyn. (3)*
	STRAND 2. TALKING AND LISTENING IN GROUPS 2. Children will interact in groups, demonstrating that they can listen attentively to others and respond freely in purposeful talk eg discussion after listening to a story, TV/ radio programme,songs	1 2 3	eg child in group discussion of story just heard eg *V'eh mie 1* *Vodmayd geaishtagh rish shen reesht? 2* *S'mie lhiam yn skeeal shen er y fa dy vel ny jallooyn g'al as aitt 3*
	STRAND 3. TALKING ABOUT EXPERIENCES, FEELINGS AND OPINIONS 3. Children will feel confident enough to talk freely about their own experiences, express their feelings and offer opinions eg as part of discussion of topic	1 2 3	eg Children discussing scary video *Cha nel mee trimshagh 1* *Va'n claare shen cur aggle orrym 2* *Bare lhiam yn claare elley dy row shin jeeaghyn er jea .Va tree bugganeyn ayn. 3*

NOTES
Level of Achievement *-* ***Examples*** *- Examples of possible oral responses from children have suggested levels or guidance. To achieve level 3 one would also typically expect good pronunciation, longer and more complex sentences or strings of several shorter sentences, spontaneity,and regular, willing contributions to all oral activities*

Appendix 3 Comprehension and Production Questions: Brastyl 'Nane

Moghrey mie, tar marym dys y chamyr elley, yn chamyr gorrym as soie sheese ec y voaryd
Good morning, come with me to the other room, the blue room and sit down at the table

Lhig dooin jeeaghyn er ny jallooyn ayns yn lioar shoh
Let's look at the pictures in this book

Vel billey ayns y jalloo?
Is there a tree in the picture?

C'raad t'eh?
Where is it?

Vel oo fakin thunnag ayns y jalloo?
Do you see a duck in the picture?

C'raad t'ee?
Where is it?

Vel moddey ayns y jalloo shoh?
Is there a dog in the picture?

Quoid moddee?
How many dogs?

Jeeagh er yn jalloo as insh dou c'raad ta'n scughag
Look at the picture and tell me where the scooter is

C'red ta ny paitchyn shoh cloie lesh?
What are these children playing with?

C'red ta shoh?   (pointing to a bag)
What is this?   (pointing to a bag)

C'red t'ad shen?
What are they? (pointing to patch of flowers)

Condaigyssyn – Opposites

Ta'n elefant mooar, vel yn lugh mooar neesht?
The elephant is big, is the mouse big too?

Jeeagh er yn dorrys shoh t'eh foshlit, cre mychione yn dorrys elley vel eh foshlit neesht?
Look at this door it's shut, what about the other door, is it shut too?

Ta dhiane shen liauyr as yn ta'n dhiane shoh?
That worm is long and this worm is ?

Daaghyn – Colours

Cre'n daah ta shen?
 What colour is that?

Cre'n daah ta'n ny lossreeyn?
What colour are the plants?

Cre'n daah ta'n folt ayd?
What colour is your hair?

Cre'n daah ta ny sooillyn ayd?
What colour are your eyes?

Lught-Thie –Family

Vel shuyraghyn ny braaraghyn ayd?
Do you have any sisters or brothers?

Cre'n eash t'ee (ny t'eh ny t'ad)?
How old is she (or he or they)?

Vel bigginyn erbee ayd?
Do you have any pets?

Insh dou mychione dty viggin(yn)
Tell me about your pet(s)

Cre ta'n enmyn orroo?
What are their names?

Shen ooilley nish, gura mie mooar ayd, va shen feer vie
That's all now, thank you very much, that was very good.

Appendix 4 Illustrations from *FROG, WHERE ARE YOU?* **by Mercer Mayer**
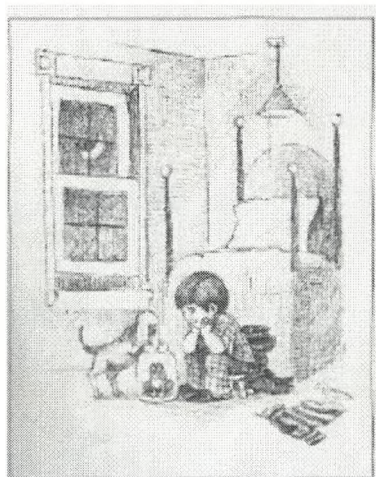
Picture 1

Picture 2

Picture 3

Picture 4
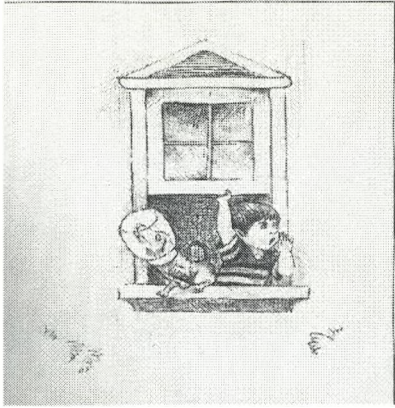
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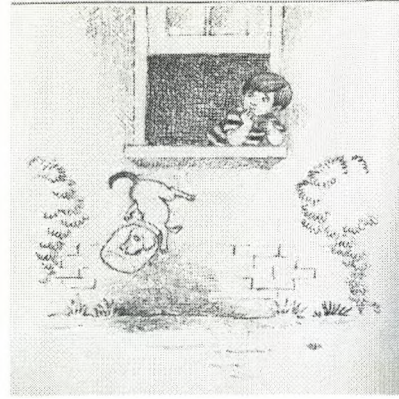
Picture 6

Picture 7

Picture 8
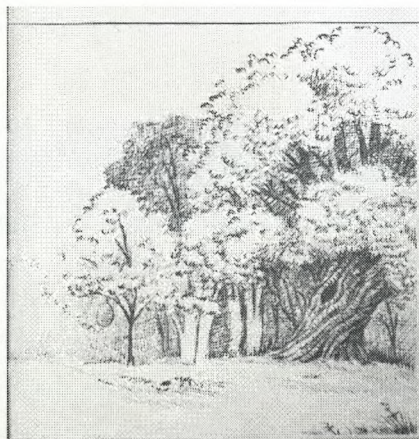
Picture 9

Picture 10

Picture 11
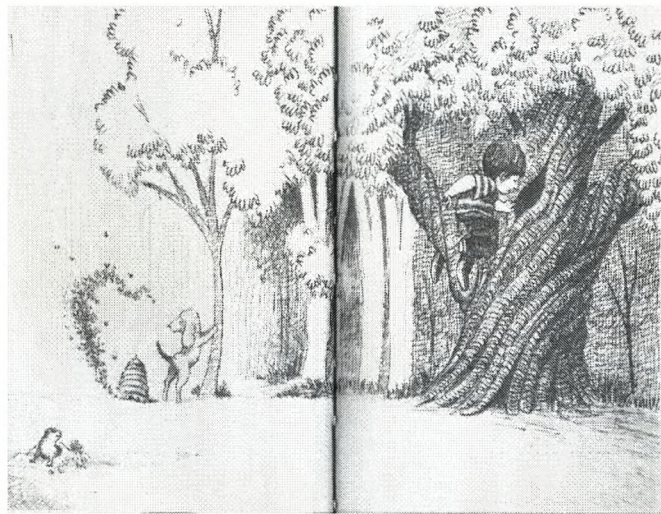
Picture 12
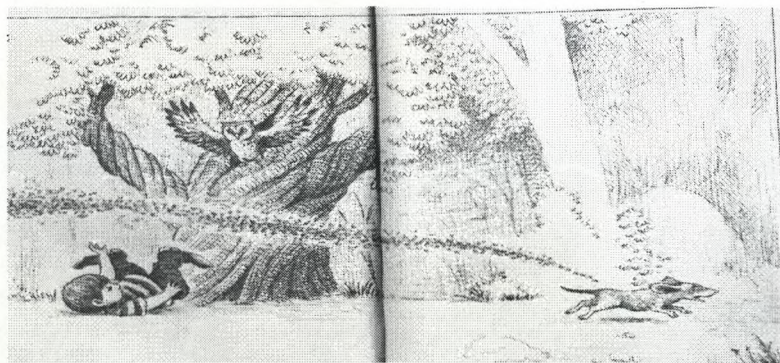
Picture 13

Picture 14

Picture 15
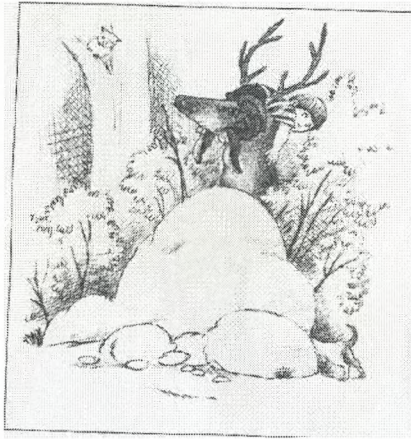
Picture 16

Picture 17

Picture 18

Picture 19

Picture 20

Picture 21

Picture 22

Picture 23

Picture 24

Picture 25

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