

The Last Native Manx Gaelic Speakers. The Final Phase: ‘Full’ or ‘Terminal’ in speech?¹

George Broderick

Introduction

The term ‘Last Native Manx Gaelic speakers’ refers to those seventy informants² interviewed, in the form of either sound-record or questionnaire, etc., between 1909 and 1972.³ These interviews were conducted in three phases, the “Final Phase” of which refers to the last fifteen informants (Phase 3):

Phase 1: The Vienna Recordings (1909). Interval of 20 years follows between 1 and 2.

Phase 2: The Marstrander Recordings (1929-1933). Interval of 14 years follows between 2 and 3.

Phase 3: The Final Phase (1947-1972)⁴

The intervals between the phases were sufficiently long enough to ensure that the informants for each individual phase were almost exclusive to that phase. Nevertheless, there was some overlap between Phases 2 and 3. Common to Phases 2 and 3 were the following four informants: Daniel Caine, John Kneen (The Gaaue), Thomas Leece, and Wilfred Wade. In Phase 2 they may have been ‘noted’ and perhaps visited, but were certainly visited in Phase 3. This article will concentrate on the fifteen endspeakers of Phase 3. The task in hand here is to determine whether any or all of the endspeakers could be regarded as ‘terminal’ or ‘full’ in their speech.

‘Terminal’ here refers to the speakers who had not learned their mother-tongue fully (in this case Manx), including the nuances of idiom, before circumstances obliged them to shift to the dominant language (English) to be able to communicate with monolingual English-speaking Manx men and women. That is to say, their

1 I would like to thank Nancy C. Dorian for helpful comments and Max Wheeler for additional biographical material in the preparation of this article. Copies of all photographs of the native Manx Gaelic speakers recorded by the Irish Folklore Commission (April-May 1948) were donated in 1948 to the Manx Museum, now Manx National Heritage. All photographs courtesy of Manx National Heritage, Douglas, Isle of Man.

2 For details of these informants see Broderick (forthcoming II).

3 Details of the recordings can be found in Broderick (1999, 54-76).

4 Viz. IFC (1948), FJC (1949), HW (1950), KHJ (1950/51), MM (1950-52), YCG (1951-53); PR1 (1947), PR2 (c. 1960), PR3 (1962), LSS (1972).

knowledge of Manx was not complete before the change-over from Manx to English.

'Full' here refers to the speakers who had in fact learned their mother-tongue fully and were competent in all aspects of its use, including the nuances of idiom, before the change-over.⁵ Nancy Dorian (2010, 106) uses the term *formerly fluent speakers*, in the case of East Sutherland Gaelic, for those who

were raised in homes where Gaelic was the normal language of family interactions. They had siblings [...] whose full fluency reflected the family's regular use of Gaelic, but these individuals had married English monolinguals [who had] spent a major part of their lives in an entirely English-speaking environment. Their fluency had suffered as a result, and they frequently struggled with lexical retrieval; less commonly used grammatical constructions tended to elude their grasp, and English influence could be seen not just in borrowings but sometimes also in the way they put Gaelic sentences together (Dorian 2010, 106).

Dorian's *formerly fluent speakers* would equate with the term 'full' here.

The last native Manx Gaelic speakers

Below is a listing of the last fifteen native Manx speakers, the so-called 'endspeakers'. Attached to each name is information relating to those bodies and individuals 'in abbreviated form' who noted the names or made recordings of the speakers concerned in the year(s) entered. The speakers are as follows:

1. BOYDE, Harry (1870/71-1953), Bishop's Demesne, Ballaugh. (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, MM 1950-52, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1951-53).

5 Even those competent in Manx will have learned some English at school (though it was not until 1858 that Man became part of the English compulsory education system - before then it was evidently a 'hit and miss' affair; (cf. Clamp 1988a-c). Even then there was no guarantee that they were competent in English, as John Tom Kaighin tells us: Tra ren mee goll dy schoill va mee bunnys hoght vleeaney [sic] as va mee toiggal Gailck foddee share na va mee toiggal Baarle, as ren ad goll dy gynsaghey mee son dy gra... 'nane' - they were saying 'one' and I was saying nane, and they were saying 'two' a[s] va mee gra 'jees', as ren ad gra 'three' as ren mee gra strass [sic], as v'ad gra 'four' as va mee gra 'kiare', as ren ad goll dys y mainshter dy geddyn yn fer shoh, 'Cha jarg mee gynsaghey, cha jarg mee gynsaghey, t'eh loayrt Gailck [...] ('when I went to school I was almost eight years old, and I was understanding Manx far better than I was understanding English, and they went to teach me for to say "one" - they were saying "one" and I was saying nane, and they were saying "two" and I was saying jees, and they were saying "three" and I said strass (i.e. trass [= a third; rect. tree], and they were saying "four" and I was saying kiare, and they went to the master to get this one (sorted) [and said], "I cannot teach him, I cannot teach him", he's talking Manx...') (HLSM/I, 286-287).

2. CAIN, Danny (1861/62-1952), Little London, Michael (of Eary MI) (CM1929 Noted, YCG1952).
3. KAIGHIN, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, MM1950, 1951, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952, 1953).
4. KARRAN, John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash (also given as Cregneish), Rushen (FJC1949).
5. KARRAN, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953), his wife, Cregneash, Rushen (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC 1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952).
6. KARRAN, Tom (1875/76-1959), Cregneash, Rushen (MM1950, YCG1953).
7. KINVIG, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Garey Hollin, Arbory (of Garey Mooar AR) (ASBD1946).
8. KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962), his wife, Garey Hollin, Arbory (ASBD1946, IFC1948, YCG1952, 1953).
9. KNEALE, Mrs. Annie (1864/65-1949), Ballagarrett, Bride (ASBD1946, IFC1948).
10. KNEEN, John (The Gaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh (of Andreas) (CM1929 Noted, ASBD 1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952, YCG1951/52).
11. LEECE, Tommy (1859/60-1956), Kerrookeil, Kerroomoar, Malew (CM1929 Noted, ASBD1946, IFC1948, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952).
12. LOWEY, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill, Rushen (ASBD1946, PRI/1947).
13. MADDRELL, Ned (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen (of Corvalley, Rushen) (ASBD1946, PR1/1947, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952/53, PR2/1960, PR3/1962, LSS1972).
14. WADE, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate, Jurby (CM1929, ASBD1946, PRI1947).
15. WATTERSON, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1959), Colby, Rushen (of Glenchass, Rushen) (ASBD1946, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51).
The Semi-Speaker:
16. CHRISTIAN, Ewan (1907/08-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel (LSS1972).

The birth-dates of the fifteen range from 1858/59 (John Kneen) to 1877 (Ned Maddrell) and their death-dates from 1947 (Emily Lowey) to 1974 (Ned Maddrell), the total span covering the years 1858/59-1974. The semi-speaker Ewan Christian is not included in this exercise, though his details are given in the interests of completeness.

In seeking to establish the status of the Manx of the last native speakers of Phase 3, the following points are observed:

1. Comments from the interviewers. Comments made on the speakers and their Manx by the various interviewers (Marstrandner, Carmody, Wagner, Jackson), or from the sound-recordings themselves are first taken into consideration. In the cases of Wagner and Jackson, for instance, they provide personal details only⁶ against each of their informants' names, but supply general comments about them as a body separately later on (see §4).

6 Sometimes (especially with Jackson) additional information is also provided.

2a. Information from the census returns. Family details are then supplied from the relevant census returns which set the particular speaker's acquisition and use of Manx in context.

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers. Additional general information on the informants provided by the field-workers follows, where appropriate.

3. Comments on the speaker and his / her connection with Manx. After brief personal details, comments are then provided on the native speaker and his / her connection with Manx.

Additional information on some of the speakers is provided in the footnotes, either from various documentary sources, from the sound-recordings themselves, or from local Manx field workers.

All the known original material gleaned from the sound-recordings was published as texts with English translation in HLSM/I, 168-479, or in sentence form in HLSM/II (Dictionary). A thorough assessment of the Manx of the last native speakers can be found in LDIM 77-171.

The speakers

1. *BOYDE, Harry (1870/71-1953), Bishop's Demesne Farm, Ballaugh.*

1. *Comments from the interviewers:*

Davies: 'Harry Boyde, Ballaugh' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Carmody: 'Harry Boyd, about 80, recounted his stock of short yarns with fixed end-formulae or "punch-lines", mi[l]dly amusing but not autobiographical; when retold, these stories vary slightly in wording except for the end-formulae, in which appear certain definite archaisms. He has been speaking Gaelic actively since 1935; his fund of lexical knowledge, notably of names of plants and animals, is very extensive'⁷ (Carmody 1954, 59-60).⁸

Wagner: 'Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh (ba'l:a:) [N], age: 82' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. Harry Boyde, of Ballaugh, now in the [Mannin] Infirmary, Douglas. Aged 82. Blind. Another very good speaker, who was most useful'⁹ (Jackson 1955, 3).¹⁰

7 This was confirmed to me by Manx field-worker, the late Chalse Craine, at his home at Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, on 8 July 1974. It was on the same occasion that he also told me he had 'discovered' Harry Boyde, along with the Gaue and John Tom Kaighin in 1936. See also fn. 23 below. Of the three, he said, he got on best with Harry Boyde, from whom he learned much of his Manx and obtained a number of Manx traditional songs, including Hie mee stiagh (cf. Broderick 1982, 20-21).

8 For personal profiles of each of the speakers, see Broderick (forthcoming II).

9 Thus confirming Wagner's view, related to myself c. 1983, of Harry Boyde. In a discussion I had with Wagner during 1983 in the DIAS about the native Manx speakers he interviewed I mentioned to him that on the sound-recordings of them they show much hesitancy in their speech, thus leading to difficulties in their grammar. I asked him about their general competence in Manx outside the formal interviews. Wagner said that they were much more at ease in an informal setting. One of the best speakers was Harry Boyde, Ballaugh, he said.

10 For details of HB's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 270-283.

2. Information from the census returns:

1881: So far as is known, Harry Boyde (HB) first appears in the 1881 census as William H. Boyde, 11, scholar, of Ballaugh, grandson to John Boyde, 74, ‘farmer of 70 acres’, and his wife Isabella, 72, living in Bishop Court farm, Ballaugh. Also living there were William Cottier, 54, John Boyde’s brother-in-law, of Ballaugh, and Margaret Cottier, his sister-in-law, also of Ballaugh (RG11/5598 74 28).

1891: HB next appears in the 1891 census as Harry Boyde, 22, ‘farmer’s grandson’, along with his grandfather John, 85, and John’s daughter Jane, 45, of Ballaugh, as well as Isabella Wade, John’s granddaughter, 13, and William, 5, another grandson, of Ballaugh, and his brother-in-law William Cottier, all living in ‘Bishops Domain’ (i.e. Bishop’s Demesne) farm (RG12/4684 14 14).

1901: HB here as Henry Boyde, 30, agricultural labourer, and nephew to John J. Boyde, head, M, 54, farmer, own account, and his wife Catherine, M, 48, both of Ballaugh, living in Bishops Domain along with their children Robert, 13, Thomas, 11, Anne, 17, and John J.’s sister Jane, 53, and his niece Bella, 23, all of Ballaugh.

Manx: All, including Harry, are entered here as English only speakers (but see Note below) (RG13/5300 44 20).

1911: HB here as Harry Boyde, 40, nephew, single, farm labourer, of Ballaugh, living in Bishop’s Domain along with his uncle John J. Boyde, head, 60, M, farmer of 100 acres, employer, of Ballaugh, and his wife Catherine, 56, M, of Ballaugh, along with their children William H., 26, S, Thomas D., 21, S, John J.’s sister Jane, 64, S, all of Ballaugh. Also living with them were John J.’s other nephew’s and nieces, viz. Isabella, niece, 33, S, Florence Wade, niece, 9, and Bertie Wade, 5, nephew, all of Ballaugh. The parents of Harry Boyde are to date unknown.¹¹

Manx: As in 1901 all are entered as English speakers (s.v. 1901), though we know from later interviews and recordings (see above) that Harry Boyde could also speak Manx, and no doubt his grandparents (and his parents), and probably his uncle John J. Boyde, but not necessarily his uncle’s wife or children (RG14/34637 0035 18).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

BOYDE, Harry:

Born: 1870/71.

English introduced into the household: c. 1900/01.

Manx as the home language: c. 30-31 years.

Harry Boyde died on 2 February 1953, aged 82, and was buried in Ballaugh on 6 February 1953 (GR, LIB).

¹¹ Former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh, told me privately in July 1974 that Harry Boyde was born illegitimately.

Comment: I have taken it that HB's grandparents spoke Manx, as did his parents (though they are to date unknown), as well as his uncle John J., but not necessarily his uncle's wife or their children. It may be, of course, that English was introduced into the household when HB's grandfather John and his grand-daughter Isabella Wade, 13 (1891), came on the scene c. 1878 (ie. some seven years or so after HB's birth), but we just do not know. I have therefore taken the introduction of English into the home to start from 1901 when we know for certain that English was already the language of the household, though it may well have started much earlier.

However, given the evidence of Jackson (backed up in a later interview with Wagner, see fn. 9 above) that Boyde was regarded as 'a good speaker', i.e. competent in Manx, and the evidence by Carmody (backed up later in interview with former field-worker Chalse Craine) that Boyde had an extensive lexical knowledge of plants and animals, which could only have been acquired through long contact with Manx, we are inclined to believe that Boyde's constant use of English began later rather than earlier, and posit c. 1900/01 as the most likely date when he started to speak English regularly.

2. CAIN, Daniel ('Danny') (1860/61-1952), Little London, Michael (of Braddan).

1. Comments from the interviewers:

Marstrander: 'As a good Manx speaker he [John Kisack MI] mentioned Daniel Cain¹² in Little London, 2-3 miles further south on the Douglas road (the place is marked on the map). But the place was too far off my route' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 37 top).¹³

2. Information from the census returns:

1871: So far as we are aware, Daniel Cain (DC) first appears in the 1871 census as Daniel H. Cain, 9, scholar, of Braddan, son to William Cain (1811-1895), M, 59, labourer, of Braddan, and his wife Ellen, M, 55, labourer's wife, also of Braddan. They lived in Pisco House (SC3683), Baldwin, Braddan, with their other sons William, S, 29, farmer of 5 acres, Philip, S, 21, tailor, and James, S, 14, labourer, all of Braddan (RG10/5777 52 32).

1881: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 18, farmer's son, of Braddan, living now in Eary farm, Michael with his parents William Caine, head, M, 69, farmer of 130 acres, and wife Ellen, M, 62, also of Braddan, and his elder brother William, S, 35, farmer's son, and sister Eleanor, S, 30, both of Braddan (RG11/5598 46 13).

12 Daniel Cain, noted but not visited by Marstrander, was recorded briefly by YCG in April 1952 (YCG21). For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 310-311.

13 For details of Marstrander's visits to Man, see Oftedal (1982, 11-19), LDIM 54-61, 67-69.

1891: DC here as Daniel H. Caine, S, 28, farmer's son, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI along with his parents William, head, M, 80, of Braddan, and Eleanor (*sic*), M, 74, also of Braddan, as well as his sister Eleanor, S, 42, farmer's daughter, and brother James, S, 31, farmer's son, both of Braddan (RG12/4683 128 34).

1901: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 38, of Braddan, still living in Eary farm MI, but now with his mother Eleanor, head, widow, 83, of Braddan (his father William having died in 1895). Also living in the same household were Daniel's sister Eleanor, S, 52, and brother James, S, 42, 'farmer's son farm relief', both of Braddan.

Manx: All four are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5300 22 4).

1911: DC here as Daniel Caine, S, 49, farmer, is entered as born in Michael. He is still living and working in Eary farm MI, but now with his older brother James, head, M, 53, and his wife Elizabeth, 34, of German, both married 10 years (c. 1900/01). Also living with them were their children William, 9, 'school', Eleanor, 7, 'school', Maggie, 5, Annie, 3, and Fanny, 1, all of Michael.

Manx: Listed as a speaker of Manx is Daniel alone; his brother James and his wife English only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census (above) that James was also a Manx speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (of [the parish of] German) was probably not, and neither were their children (RG14/34730 0057 29).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

CAIN, Daniel:

Year of birth: 1861/62.

English introduced into the household: c. 1900/01.

Manx as the home language: c. 39-40 years.

Daniel Caine died, aged 84, and was buried in Michael on 19 August 1952 (LIB).

Comment: Daniel alone is listed as a speaker of Manx in the 1911 census; his brother James and his wife Elizabeth (married c. 1900/01) English only. No entry is made for the children. We know from the 1901 census that James (53) was also a Manx speaker, but his much younger wife Elizabeth (34) (of German) probably was not, and also their children. For the reasons given above, and considering the date of marriage of James and his wife (c. 1900) I would estimate that English was introduced into the household around that time (1900/01). Nevertheless, it is likely that Daniel and his brother James continued to speak Manx together when on their own. Marstrander is given Cain's name as 'a good Manx speaker.' Given also the fact that Manx was his home language for some 40 years there is no reason in my view to doubt his competence in that language.

3. KAIGHIN, John Tom (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride.

1. *Comment from the interviewers:*

Davies: 'John Tom Kaighin, Ballagarrett, Bride' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Carmody: 'John Tom Kaighin, then 88, was born in and lives at Ballagarrett [Bride], was awhile at Ballaugh¹⁴ with his grandfather, spent his life as a farmer and used Gaelic regularly at the market. His fluency returned quickly when he was discovered in 1946 [*rect.* 1936]. His speech is careless and his articulation often obscure; but he was eager to propose interesting words and constructions and to translate key sentences from English' (Carmody 1954, 59).

Wagner: 'Mr. John Tom Kaighin, of Ballagarrett, Kirk Bride [N], age: 89' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. John Tom Kaighin, of Ballagarrett, Kirk Bride. Aged 89. Blind' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. *Information from the census returns:*

1871: So far as is known, John Tom Kaighin (JTK) is first noticed in the 1871 census as John T. Kaighin, 8, scholar, grandson to Thomas Kaighin,¹⁵ head, widower, 74, farmer, and son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., M, 27, both of Ballagarrett Farm House, Bride. Living with them is Jane Kaighin, S, 30, and Eliza Alice Kaighin, 23, daughters to Thomas and sisters to John Thomas Sr., as well as Thomas's remaining grandchildren: William, 5, scholar, Ann Jane, 7, Cathrine, 8 months, all of 'Isle of Man'. Also living with them is Thomas Martin, servant, S, 16, farm servant indoor, also of 'Isle of Man' (RG10/5773 16 65).

1881: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 18, farmer's son, of Bride, son to John Thos. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 38, farmer of 53 acres, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 41, of Andreas, living in Ballagarrett BR along with their remaining children: Ann Jane, S, 17, farmer's daughter, William, 15, scholar, Catharine, 10 scholar, Elizabeth, 9, scholar, Sophia A., 7, scholar, Esther M., 5, scholar, Elenor, 3, and Isabella, 1, all of Bride. Living with them is John Thomas Sr's father Thomas Kaighin, widower, 84, farmer, here entered of Jurby, and Elizabeth Kaighin, John Thomas Sr's sister, S, 33, farmer's daughter, of Lezayre (RG11/5599 64 14).

1891: JTK here as John T. Kaighin, 28, S, farm labourer, employed, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 49, farmer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 54, of Andreas, living now in Ballamin, Bride, along with their remaining children: Margaret E., S, 23, dressmaker, Elizabeth, S, 19, dressmaker, Sophia A., S, 17, scholar, Esther M., S, 15, scholar, Eleanor, S, 13, scholar, and James J. S,

14 At Close Rhenney, Ballaugh (cf. HO107/2523 350 31).

15 Born 1791 in Jurby, died aged 72 and buried in Jurby on 6 January 1863 (cf. HO107/2523 350 31; LIB).

6, scholar, all of Bride. Living with them is William B. W. Lawson, S, 16 farm servant, of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 102 10).

1901: JTK here as John Thos. Kaighin, S, 38 farmers son, worker, at home, of Bride, son to John T. Kaighin Sr., head, M, 59, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, M, 61, farmers wife, of Andreas, living still in Ballamin along with their other children: Henry, S, 18, farmers son, worker, at home, James J., S, 17, farmers son, worker, at home, Esther M, S, 24, worker, at home, Eleanor, S, 22, worker, at home, Annie, gdr. 9, and Alice J., gdr. 6, all of Bride. Living with them is Thomas Crennell, S, 18, cattleman, worker of Bride.

Manx: entered here as Manx speakers are John T. Kaighin Sr, his wife Anne, and the following children: John Thomas, Henry, James J., Esther M, and Eleanor. Entered as English only speakers are the granddaughters Annie and Alice J. and the cattleman Thomas Crennell (RG13/5302 39 10).

1911: JTK here as John Thomas Kaighin, 48, S, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, son to John Thomas Kaighin Sr., head, 69, farmer, employer, of Lezayre, and his wife Jane, 71, of Andreas, both married 49 years (c. 1861/62). Living with them now in Ballagarrett BR are their other children: William, 44, M, farmer's son working on farm, worker, of Bride, Eleanor, 33, S, farmer's daughter, worker, of Bride, Jane Alice Kaighin, granddaughter, 16, S, milliner, of Bride, John William Kaighin, grandson, 14, S, school, of Douglas, and Thomas Ernest Kaighin, grandson, 2, of Douglas. Also living with them is William Cannell, servant, 15, working indoor, of Douglas.

Manx: entered here as Manx speakers are John Thomas Sr., his wife Jane, John Thomas Jr., and his brother William. The rest, viz. Eleanor, and the grandchildren Jane Alice, 16, and Thomas Ernest, 2, and the servant William Cannell, are entered as English only speakers (RG14/34648 0049 25).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

John Tom Kaighin, son of John Thomas Kaighin Sr., a farmer in Ballagarrett, Bride, and Jane Cormode, was born in 1862 in Ballagarrett and christened at Bride parish church on 7 September 1862. The Kaighin family, according to John Tom, had their origins in Kirk German but moved to Jurby parish where they were some three generations in Ballachrink. John Tom's great-grandfather was William Cowley of The Close, Braddan, near the upper reaches of the Sulby River. He was better known as Illiam y Close and was a renowned Methodist preacher (cf. MM Tape 32). He was buried in Ballaugh in 1848 'at a ripe age' (MNH MS 0147A). Illiam y Close is celebrated in the Manx traditional song *Ushtey Millish sy Gharee* ('sweet water in the common') (cf. Moore 1896, 56) which dates from c. 1770-75; his father, also William and also from The Close, was buried in Ballaugh 16 March 1788. John Tom Kaighin died on 10 June 1954. He was reared in a Gaelic-speaking

environment, and, according to local knowledge, used Manx regularly with local farmers. His diction could at times be jerky and uneven. He was blind when the sound-recordings were made of him.¹⁶

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KAIGHIN, John Tom:

Born: 1861/62.

English introduced into the household: c. 1884/85.

Manx as the home language: c. 21 years.

John Tom Kaighin died on 10 June 1954, aged 91, and was buried in Bride on 12 June 1954 (GR, LIB).

Comment: From the 1901 census we learn that the parents and all six children, from John Thomas downwards to Eleanor, are entered as Manx speakers. Only the two granddaughters Annie and Alice J. are entered as English only speakers. From the 1911 census, however, we learn that only the parents and the two eldest children John Thomas and his brother William are entered as Manx speakers, Eleanor is entered as an English only speaker along with the three grandchildren. However, from the 1901 census Eleanor is entered as a Manx speaker. It may be that in the meantime she had chosen to speak English. The situation seems to be that Manx was the language of the household as far as the parents and children were concerned, but that English was spoken to the grandchildren. If this is the case, then the parents made a conscious decision not to pass on Manx to the grandchildren, the eldest of whom, James J. was born c. 1884/ 85. That is to say, English was formally introduced into the Kaighin household in that year, in which case John Tom Kaighin had over 20 years' experience of Manx in the home. In addition, Carmody comments that he lived for a time with his grandfather Thomas Kaighin (1791-1863) (in Close Rhenney, Ballaugh, which would suggest that he was in receipt of good Manx there). The sound-recordings make clear that John Tom Kaighin was competent in Manx.

4. KARRAN, John (1866/67-1955), Cregneash, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Carmody: "I note[d] several constructions used by Mr. Karran [...]" (Carmody 1954: 60).

2. Information from the census returns:

16 Information also from the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey. For details of JTK's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 284-305.



Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (1870-1953), Cregneash, Rushen, 1948.

1881: So far as is known, John Karran (JK) is first noticed in the 1881 census as John Karran, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, aboard the fishing-boat *Seek* CT50 (RG11/5609 88 31).

1901: JK here as John Karran, head, M, 34, stonemason, worker, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, with his wife Eleanor C. (qv), M 29, of Rushen, along with their daughter Emily, J., 1, of Rushen.

Manx: Both John and Eleanor are entered as Manx speakers; no entry is made for the daughter, as under-aged (RG13/5301 108 149).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KARRAN, John:

Born: 1866/67.

English introduced into the household: c. 1900.

Manx as the home language: c. 34 years.

John Karran died, aged 88, and was buried in Rushen on 16 July 1955 (LIB).

See next.

5. KARRAN, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71-1953) (wife of foregoing),¹⁷ Cregneash, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Carmody: '[...] and have excellent Bible readings by his wife [Mrs. Eleanor Karran] [...]' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mrs. Eleanor Karran, of Cregneash [S], age: about 80' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mrs. Eleanor Karan, of Cregneish.¹⁸ About 80. She was my chief source, with whom I worked right through the questionnaire' (Jackson 1955, 2).¹⁹

17 Although Eleanor Karran bore as her maiden name the same surname as her husband John before their marriage, to our knowledge, the two families are unrelated.

18 Walter Clarke told me some years ago (1980s) that when they went to visit Mrs Eleanor Karran, there came a point in the interview where Jackson asked Mrs. Karran for the Manx word for the moon. When Mrs. Karran told him [e:ʃt] eayst, he dropped his notebook in apparent disbelief at the survival of Early Irish *éasca*, *éisce* in Manx, as he had been expecting the euphemism *gealach* 'the bright thing', as in Irish and Scottish Gaelic. Jackson then asked Mrs. Karran to repeat what she had just said, which she did, and again still under the spell of disbelief asked her a third time, to which in some apparent irritation at the question she said, 'I've just told you twice, yn eish, yn eish!'

19 For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 382-383.

2. Information from the census returns:

1881: So far as is known, Mrs. Eleanor Karran (EK) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Eleanor Karran, 9, of Rushen, daughter of Isabella Karran, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash RU, with her other children: Jane, 7, Thomas, 5, James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: EK here as Eleanor Karran, S, 20, of Rushen, daughter of Thomas Karran, head, M, 51, farmer, of Rushen, and his wife Isabella, M, 46, also of Rushen, living in Cregneash Farm, Cregneash RU, along with their other children: William, 12, scholar, John F., 9, scholar, Isabella, 4, Margaret A., 1, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 48 97).

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 22 April 1899 John Karran, 32, bachelor, mason, Cregneish, f. Henry Karran, farmer ~ Eleanor Catharine Karran, 27, spinster, -, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, fisherman and farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 April 1899, 942).

1900: Baptism, Rushen, 18 February 1900 Emily Isabel, John Karran / Eleanor (Karran), Cregneish, mason, C. H. Leece, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Rushen, 18 February 1900, 42).

1901: EK here as Eleanor Karran, M, 29, of Rushen, wife of John Karran (qv), head, M, 34, stonemason, of Rushen, living in Cregneash along with their daughter Emily J., 1, of Rushen.

Manx: Both John and Eleanor Karran are entered as Manx speakers (RG13/5301 108 149).

1911: EK here as Eleanor Karran, wife, 40 M, of Rushen, married 12 years (c. 1898/99), living in Cregneash, Port St. Mary, with her three children: Emily Isabel, 11, Catharine Millicent, 7, Stanley James Maddrell, 8, all of Rushen.

Manx: Only Eleanor Karran is here entered as a Manx speaker; the rest English only (RG14/ 34746 0089 41).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:

KARRAN, Eleanor:

Born: 1870/71.

English introduced into the household: c. 1900.

Manx as the home language: c. 30 years.

Mrs. Eleanor Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 11 October 1953 (LIB).

Comment: Given that John and Eleanor Karran (1901) and Eleanor alone (1911) are alone listed as Manx speakers, it is clear that they had decided not to pass on Manx to their children. English would have likely been introduced into the household, as elsewhere, on the birth of their first child Emily Isabel (c. 1899/1900) (baptised 18 February 1900). Both Carmody's and Jackson's comments make clear that Mrs.

Eleanor Karran was a competent, and therefore a ‘full’ speaker of Manx. This is also backed up by the 30 years (34 in the case of her husband) that Manx had been the home language.

6. KARRAN, Tom (1875/76-1959) (brother to Eleanor Catherine), Cregneash, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Jackson: ‘Mr. Thomas Karran, her brother, now of 30 Peel Street, Douglas. About 75. I had no opportunity of using him’ (Jackson 1955, 2).²⁰

2. Information from the census returns:

1881: So far as is known, Thomas Karran (TC) is first attested in the census for 1881 as Thomas Karran, 5, of Rushen, son to Mrs. Isabella Karran, M, 36, fisherman’s wife, of Rushen, living in Cregneash, Rushen, along with her other children: Eleanor, 9, Jane, 7, and James, 3, all of Rushen (RG11/5609 8 55).

1891: TC here as Thomas Karran, S, 15, fisherman, of Rushen, boat *Sylph* CT 59 (RG12/4692 78).

1899: Marriage, Rushen, 03 March 1899 Thomas Karran, 23, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Karran, farmer ~ Annie Louisa Collister, 20, spinster, -, Port Erin, f. William Collister, boatsman (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03 March 1899, 939).

1911: TC turns up next in the 1911 census as Thomas Karran, head, 35, M, mariner, of Rushen with his wife Annie, 32, also of Rushen, both married 12 years [c. 1898/99], living on Dandy Hill, Port Erin, Rushen, along with their children: Wilfrid, 10, school, Lena, 9, William, 8, James, 6, Emily Jane, 3, and Edith, 1, all of Rushen.

Manx: Only Thomas Karran is entered as a Manx speaker, the rest English only (RG14/ 34745 0123 109).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KARRAN, Tom:

Born: 1875/76.

English introduced into the household: c. 1899.

Manx as the home language: c. 24 years.

Thomas Karran died, aged 83, and was buried in Rushen on 17 March 1959 (LIB). Comment: English would have been introduced formally into the family when Thomas married his wife Annie (03 March 1899), as Annie was an English only speaker. Tom’s experience of 24 years Manx as the home language would speak for him as a ‘full’ speaker.

20 For details of his recorded contributions, see HLSM/1, 384-385.

7. KINVIG, John Dan (1860/61-1953), Garey Mooar, Ronague, Arbory.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'John Kinvig, Ronague, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Jackson: 'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garee Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2. Information from the census returns:

1871: So far as is known, John Dan Kinvig (JDK) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as John Kinvig, 9, scholar, of Arbory, son to Elenor Kinvig, M, 35, fisherman's wife, of Patrick, living in Garey Mooar, Arbory,²¹ also with her other children: Jane, 7, William, 5, Ann, 3, Robert, 1, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 32 59).

1881: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 19, agricultural labourer, of Arbory, son to Eleanor Kinvig, M, 47, fisherman's wife, farming 10 acres, of Patrick, living still in Garey Mooar AR, also with her other children: Ann, 13, fisherman's daughter, Robert, 12, scholar, George, 8, scholar, Alfred, 4, all of Arbory (RG11/5608 79 54).

1891: JDK here as John Kinvig, S, 29, stonemason, employed, of Arbory, son to Daniel Kinvig, head, M, 66, farmer, employer, of Arbory, and Eleanor Kinvig, wife, M, 58, of Patrick, living in Ronague AR also with their other children: George, S, 17, farm servant, employed, and Alfred, 14, employed, both of Arbory (RG12/4691 82 27).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01 November 1892 John Kinvig, full [31/32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).

1901: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living now in Gaa helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Sage Kinvig (qv), M, 30 of Arbory, and their children: John F., 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, all of Arbory. Living with them is Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, widow, 62, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

Manx: The following are entered as Manx speakers: John and Sage Kinvig, John F. Kinvig, and Mrs. Jane Clarke; the rest are English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: JDK here as John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen (Garey Hollin) AR, along with his wife Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, both married 18 years [c. 1892/93], and their children: John F., 17, worker, William D, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servant, Bessie, 14, school,

21 The father was Daniel Kinvig (1835-1916) (IMPR-Arbory, Baptisms 1834-1883, MS.10356-2).

Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, the rest English only. Note that John F[letcher] was entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911. The latter may represent his later developed preference for English.²² (RG14/34635 0027 14).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KINVIG, John Dan:

Born: 1860/61.

English introduced into the household: c. 1895.

Manx as the home language: c. 33-35 years.

John Dan Kinvig died, aged 92, and was buried in Arbory on 28 April 1953 (LIB).

Comment: In 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F. (7), and Sage Jane's mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c. 1895).

See next.

8. KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70-1962) (wife to John Dan), Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'Mrs. Kinvig, Ronague, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Jackson: 'Mr. and Mrs. Kinvig, of Garey Hollin, Ronague. Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. Information from the census returns:

1870: Baptism, Arbory, 6 November 1870: Sage Jane daughter, f. William Clarke and m. Jane (Kelly), Ronnag, farmer, J. Qualtrough, Vicar (IMPR Baptism, Arbory, 06 November 1870, 1860).

1871: So far as is known, Sage Jane Kinvig (SJK) is first notice in the census for 1871 as Sage J. Clarke, 6 months, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 47, farmer of 10 acres, employing 1 man, of Malew, living in Gar helen (*sic*) [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 30, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Also living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 28, general servant,

22 For comment here see Broderick (forthcoming II, §7.2.1.4).

of Arbory, and Edward Kelly, brother-in-law, S, 20, farm servant indoor, also of Arbory (RG10/5778 30 35).

1881: SJK here as Sage Clarke, 10, scholar, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 57, farmer (13 acres), of Malew, living in Ballaquinney, Arbory, along with his wife Jane, M, 42, farmer's wife, of Arbory. Living with them is Elizabeth Kelly, sister-in-law, S, 40, general servant domestic, of Arbory, and Esther Clarke, mother, widow, 85, farmer's widow, of Patrick (RG11/5608 76 31).

1891: SJK here as Sage Clarke, S, 20, dressmaker, of Arbory, daughter to William Clarke, head, M, 69, farmer, of Patrick, living still in Ballaquinney AR along with his wife Jane, M, 57, farmer's wife, of Arbory (RG12/4691 84 38).

1892: Marriage, Arbory, 01 November 1892 John Kinvig, full [31/32], bachelor, farmer, Gearey Moar [Garey Mooar], f. Daniel Kinvig, farmer ~ Sage Jane Clarke, full [22/23], spinster, [no entry], Ronague, f. William Clarke, farmer (IMPR Arbory, 01 November 1892, 378).

1901: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, M, 30, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig (qv), head, M, 39, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living in Gar helen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, along with their children: John F., 7, Eleanor J., 6, Elizabeth E., 4, Gertie M., 3, and Blanche, 1, all of Arbory. Living with them is Mrs. Jane Clarke, mother-in-law, 62, widow, retired farmer's wife, of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig, their eldest son John F., and the mother-in-law Mrs. Jane Clarke, the rest English only (RG13/5301 169 37).

1911: SJK here as Sage Kinvig, 40, M, assisting, of Arbory, wife to John Kinvig, head, 49, M, farmer, own account, of Arbory, living still in Gahelen [Garey Hollin], Arbory, both married 18 years [c. 1892/93] and their children: John F., 17, worker, William, 9, school, Nellie, 16, domestic servant, Bessie, 14, school, Gertie, 13, school, Blanche, 11, school, Elsie, 6, at home, and Myra, 1, at home, all of Arbory.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are John and Sage Kinvig alone, the rest English only. As noted under John Dan Kinvig above, John F. is entered as a Manx speaker in 1901, but English only in 1911, which likely reflects his developed preference for the latter or a result of his being taunted by non-Manx-speaking children at school for having Manx when seven years old (c. 1901/02) (cf. Broderick (forthcoming II, §7.2.1.4)) (RG14/34635 0027 14).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Mrs. Sage Kinvig was born Sage Clarke in 1870 in Garey Hollin, Ronague AR, where she lived all her life. She was the daughter of William Clarke of Glen Rushen PA and Jane Kelly and was christened in Arbory parish church on 06 November 1870. She learned her trade as a dressmaker in Castletown and conducted her business from the house. On 01 November 1892, aged 22, she married John Dan

Kinvig of nearby Garey Mooar AR and he came to live with his wife and her parents in Garey Hollin. He was also known locally as ‘The Contractor’ from his time as a stonemason (cf. 1891 census). He lived from 1860 to 1953; his wife Sage passed away on 13 April 1962. So far as is known, she was one of three of the few surviving native speakers who could read Manx (the others being Mrs. Eleanor Karran and Wil Wade). She was apparently not given much to conversation, that being the domain of her husband. Her command of Manx was seemingly deficient as, on her own admission, her husband accused her of being scrappy with her Manx: *ren yn dooinney aym’s gra dy vel mee jannoo brooillagh jeh* ‘my husband said that I am scrappy with it’ (cf. HLSM/II, 48 s.v. *brooillagh*) (Information also from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975. For details of SJK’s recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 376-381).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:

KINVIG, Mrs. Sage Jane:

Born: 1869/70.

English introduced into the household: c. 1894/95.

Manx as the home language: c. 24-26 years.

Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig died on 13 April 1962, aged 91, and was buried in Arbory on 17 April 1962 (GR, LIB).

Comment: As noted under John Dan above, in 1901 we learn that the Manx speakers comprise John Dan Kinvig, his wife Sage Jane, their eldest son John F. (7), and Sage Jane’s mother Mrs. Jane Clarke. This suggests that John Dan and his wife Sage Jane ceased to pass on Manx after their first born, introducing English after the birth of their second child Eleanor (c. 1894/95).

Nevertheless, the years of experience of Manx as the home language (33-35 John Dan, 24-26 Sage Jane) would speak for both as full speakers. Manx lexicographer and former field-worker, the late Douglas C. Faragher, who knew the Kinvigs very well, told me (late 1970s) that John Dan had better Manx than Sage Jane. Witness the comment allegedly made by John Dan that her Manx (in later years) was scrappy (cf. above). Her “rustiness” in Manx, in view of the years Manx was her home language, would be more due to lack of use than an imperfect learning of it when young.

9. KNEALE, Mrs. Annie (1864/65-1949), Ballagarrett, Bride.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: ‘Mrs. Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride’ (Davies 1946[1948]).

2a. Information from the census returns:

1901: So far as is known, Mrs. Annie Kneale (AK) is first noticed in the 1901 census as Ann J. Kneale, M, 36, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, M, 44, farmer, own account, here of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, with their children: Hilda, 14, Wilfred, 9, Louise, 4, John C., 3, Willie A., 1, and Bertha J., 4 months, all of Bride.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Ann J., the rest English only. No entry for those children under 3 years (RG13/5302 46 1).

1911: AK here as Annie Kneale, 46, M, of Bride, wife to Charles Kneale, head, 56, M, farmer, of Bride, living in Ballagarrett, Bride, both married 15 years [c. 1895/96] along with their children: Wilfred, 18, S, farmer's son working on farm, Louise, 14, farmer's daughter, dairy work, John-Chas, 12, school, William Allen, 11, school, Bertha, 10, school, Margaret A., 8, Eva Edith, 6, Robert, 4, and Fred[er]ick Edward, 1, all of Bride.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Charles Kneale and his wife Annie, the rest English only (RG14/34649 0001 1).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Mrs. Annie Kneale was recorded only once (by IFC1948), as she died the following year (1949). She lived with her husband Charles (1856/57-1946) and children on the same quarterland as John Tom Kaighin (Ballagarrett BR), and was therefore a neighbour of his. Mrs. Annie Kneale (née Howland) was born in Ballaghennie Cottage BR, c. 1864. After about two years there she moved with her family to Larkhill BR where she remained till she married Charles Kneale, Ballacregga BR, c. 1893-94. Mr. Kneale inherited a farm at Ballagarrett BR from his grandfather, but as there was no house to live in there, they stayed in Ballawannal BR for some two years while the new house at Ballagarrett was being built. Mrs. Kneale farmed at Ballagarrett with her husband Charles till her death on 1 May 1949; she was aged 85. She was reared with Manx and spoke it all the time at home with her husband (Information also from Manx field-worker, the late William Radcliffe, Ramsey. For details of AK's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 306-309).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:

KNEALE, Mrs. Annie:

Born: 1864/65.

English introduced into the household: c. 1886/87.

Manx as the home language: c. 22-23 years.

Mrs. Annie Kneale died on 1 May 1949, aged 85, and was buried in Bride on 4 May 1949 (GR, LIB).

Comment: In both 1901 and 1911 Mrs. Annie Kneale and her husband Charles are entered as Manx speakers. Nevertheless, they chose not to pass on Manx to their offspring. This would likely start from the birth of their eldest child Hilda (c. 1886/87). Hilda's non-appearance in the 1911 census may be for various reasons, e.g. she may have died in the meantime. Nevertheless, the decision of Charles and Annie Kneale to introduce English into the household is in my view to be taken from Hilda's birth. Nonetheless, the 22-23 years' experience of Manx as her home language would support classifying her as a 'full' speaker.

10. KNEEN, John (The Gaue) (1858/59-1958), Ballaugh Curragh, Ballaugh (of Andreas)

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'John Kneen, Lhen Mooar, Andreas' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Marstrander: 'Furthermore [the man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx speaker] Mr. Kneen,²³ Lane [Lhen] (a short distance from Sartfield...)' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 57).

Carmody: 'Jackie Kneen, then 96, was born at Kirk Andreas of local parents and spent his active days as a blacksmith in Jurby East, in constant contact with Gaelic speaking farmers. He speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm, describes old-time situations and tells anecdotes of his early life; none of his stories show[s] traces of fixed wording or narrative techniques. He was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences



Kneen, John (The Gaue) (1859-1958) & Kaighin, John Tom (1862-1954), IFC 1948.

23 Although recommended to Marstrander, Kneen was for some reason not visited by him and thereby passed temporarily into oblivion. He was 'rediscovered' some seven years later, c. 1936, as John Kneen (The Gaue) (1859-1958), Ballaugh Curragh, by Manx fieldworker, the late Chalse Craine, Mwyllin Squeen, Ballaugh, then a counter clerk in the Isle of Man Bank, Ramsey (later its manager). Craine told me in July 1974 that around the same time he also 'discovered' John Tom Kaighin (1861/62-1954), Ballagarrett, Bride, and Harry Boyde (1870/71-1953), Ballaugh, as all three used to come into his bank every Saturday morning to deposit their week's takings. He said they all looked old enough to be Manx speakers and one Saturday, he said, he bucked up enough courage to speak to them in Manx when they came to his counter. They each replied in Manx, Craine said, and he then introduced himself to them, and thereafter spoke to them in Manx whenever they would come to his counter.

submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949'²⁴ (Carmody 1954, 59).

Wagner: 'Mr. John Kneen, of Ballaugh (skil'ə ba:'l:a: 'parish of Ballaugh') [N], age: 97' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. John Kneen, of Ballaugh. Aged 97' (Jackson 1953, 3).

2. Information from the census returns:

1861: So far as is known, John Kneen (The Gaaue) (JK) is first noticed in the census for 1861 as John Kneen, 1,²⁵ of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor K., M, 33, of Kirk German, living at Cross Four Ways, Andreas, along with their other children: Esther A, 14, agricultural labourer, of Kirk German, William, 13, scholar, also of Kirk German, Eleanor, 10 scholar, of Andreas, Catherine, 7, scholar, of Andreas, and Elizabeth, 4, also of Andreas (RG9/4410 45 91).

1871: JK here as John Kneen, 10, scholar, son to John Kneen, head, M, 53, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Ellen, M, 48, of Michael, living in Lheaney Voar House, Jurby, along with their children: William, S, 22, blacksmith's son, of German, Catharine, S, 16, blacksmith's daughter, of Lezayre, Elizabeth, S, 13, blacksmith's daughter, of Andreas, Thomas, 4, and Robert, 1, both of Andreas (RG10/5772 138 49).

1881: JK here as John Kneen, S, 21, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to John Kneen, head, M, 62, blacksmith, of Andreas, and his wife Eleanor M, 58, blacksmith's wife, of German, living still in Lheaney Voar, Jurby, along with their other son Robert, 11, scholar, of Jurby (RG11/5598 113 4).

1891: JK here as John Kneen, S, 31, blacksmith, of Andreas, son to Ellan Kneen, head, widow, 67, of German, living still in Lheney Voar, Jurby, along with her daughter: Ellan, S, 40, farmer's daughter, of Andreas, as well as her granddaughter Florence, 7, scholar, of Liverpool, and her two grandsons: John A. Pooley, 5, of Liverpool, and John R. Corlett, 17, blacksmith's apprentice, of Jurby (RG12/4684 4 13).

1897: Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897 John Kneen, full, bachelor, blacksmith, Jurby, f. John Kneen, blacksmith ~ Esther Kennish, full, spinster, - , Jurby, Caesar Kennish (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 21 August 1897, 127).

24 John Kneen was better known by his contemporaries as 'The Gaaue' (blacksmith). Most of the material we have of him is folklore in character, along with a number of stories, mostly of his younger days (cf. HLSM/I, 230-269). His articulation on the sound-recordings presents some problems of interpretation, and he is one of the more difficult of informants to understand (GB).

25 Christened on 22 February 1860 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas, f. John Kneen, m. Eleanor Margaret Cannan (IMPR Baptisms Andreas, St. Jude's 1849-1863 (MS09992/3/1, 624).

1901: JK here as John Kneen, head, M, 42, blacksmith, of Andreas, living in Lheaney Voar with his wife²⁶ Esther, M,²⁷ 26, of Andreas, along with their two children: Ethel M, 2, of Jurby, and John F. 9 months, of Liverpool, and their nephew John A, Pooley, 15, blacksmith's apprentice [of Liverpool].

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG13/5302 67 12).

1911: JK here as John Kneen, head, 49, M, blacksmith, own account, of Andreas, living now in Loughan, Jurby, along with his wife Esther, 36, M, also of Andreas, both married 13 years [c. 1897], and their children: Ethel May, 12, John Francis, 10, school, Edward, 9, school, Esther Mildred, 6, and Emily Florence, 2, all of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely John Kneen, the rest English only (RG14/34694 0021 13).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

KNEEN, John (The Gaau):

Born: 1858/59.

English introduced into the household: c. 1897.

Manx as the home language: c. 28-29 years.

John Kneen (The Gaau) died on 6 June 1958, aged 99, and was buried in Andreas on 8 June 1958 (GR, LIB).

Comment: As John Kneen's wife had no Manx, it was clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be formally introduced into their household on their marriage on 21 August 1897.

Although many of the examples of grammar collapse to be heard on the sound-recordings of John Kneen may give the impression that Kneen had learned Manx imperfectly, the following would in my view speak for the opposite:

1) that Marstrander was given Kneen's name 'as a good Manx speaker',

2) that Carmody makes clear that he 'speaks clearly, converses with enthusiasm' and that 'he was able to propose Gaelic translations for English sentences submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948 [i.e. probably at the time of the IFC recordings], was completely free in 1949', and

3) David Craine, author of *Manannan's Isle* 1955 (qv) who apparently knew the Gaau during his younger days c. 1915, said of him that he had good Manx (irrespective of what it might later have become), thus confirming the view

26 John Kneen was married to Esther Kennish on 21 August 1897 in St. Patrick's Church, Jurby (IMPR 1598-2009, Film Nr., 005837064, MNH).

27 Esther Kneen (alias Kennish), f. Caesar Kennish, m. Ann Cormode, was christened on 2 November 1873 in St. Jude's Church, Kirk Andreas (IMPR Baptisms, Andreas, St Jude's, 1863-1908; MS09992/3/2, 618).



Kneen, John (*The Gaue*) (1859-1958) & Boyde, Harry (ca.1870-1953), centre right.

that Kneen was reputed to have been 'a good Manx speaker' recommended to Marstrander. I received this information from the late Michael Dolley (1927-1983), former Professor of Numismatics in the Queen's University of Belfast, during the summer of 1975, who in turn had received it, according to him, from people he had met in Man at that time who had been close to David Craine himself.

Along with the foregoing his 28-29 years of Manx at home would speak for him as a 'full' speaker.

11. LEECE, Thomas ('Tommy') (1859/60-1956), Kerrookeil, Kerroomooar, Malew (of Arbory).

1. *Comment from the interviewers:*

Davies: 'Thomas Leece, Moaney Mooar, Malew' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Jackson: 'Mr. Tommy Leece, of Kerroomooar, Rushen [*rect.* Malew]. Aged 91. A very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material. He remembered an old woman living next door about 80 years ago who spoke no English' (Jackson 1955, 3).

2a. *Information from the census returns:*

1861: So far as is known Thomas (Tommy) Leece (TL) is first noticed in the 1861 census as Thos. Leece, 1, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 35, lead ore washer, of Arbory, living on the Ronague Road AR with his wife Margaret, M,

26, of Patrick, and their other children: Edna, 5, and Louisa, 3, both of Arbory (RG9/4409 41 13).

1871: TL here as Thomas Leece, 11, scholar, of Arbory, son to Samuel Leece, head, M, 46, lead miner, of Arbory, living in Ronague, Arbory, with his wife Mary Ann, M, 36, lead miner's wife, of Patrick, and their other children: Louisa, 13, scholar, Edward, 10, scholar, and Robert, 8, scholar, all of Arbory (RG10/5778 31 51).

1881: TL here as Thomas Leece, S, 21, labourer, of Arbory, living in Malew, boat Hope (fishing boat based in Castletown) (RG11/5609 101 103).

1901: TL here as Thomas Leece, M, 41, farmer, employer, of Malew, living in Ballarobbin AR/ML with his father-in-law William Watterson, head, M, 67, farmer, own account, of Malew, and his wife, M, 66, of Malew, along with his (TL's) wife Elizabeth Leece, 34, of Malew, and the Watterson children: William E., S, 27, general farm servant, worker, at home, of Malew, and Elenor J., S, 24, also of Malew, as well as their grandchildren (Thomas Leece's children): Annie, gdr., 10, Florie, 7, Bertha, 3, and Thomas H., 4, all of Malew.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are: William Watterson and his wife Ann, and Thomas Leece, the rest English only (RG13/5308 68 18).

1911: TL here as Thomas Leece, head, 50, M, farmer, employer, of Arbory, living in Moaney Moar, Malew, along with his wife Elizabeth Ann, 45, M, of Patrick, both married 25 years [c. 1885/86], and their children: Florence, 17, S, dairy worker, Thomas Henry, 11, Isabel, 7, and Alfred, 5, all of Malew.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is solely Thomas Leece Sr., the rest English only (RG14/ 34714 0017 9).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Thomas Leece was born in 1860 in Ronague AR of local parents Samuel Leece, a farmer, and Mary Cain, and went to school in Ballabeg AR. He began work at nine years of age on the farm. After a while in Ronague he went to Ballayack AR and from there farmed at Earystane AR. During the winter he would mine at the slate quarries on (South) Barrule and worked for a while with his father, a lead-miner by profession, on the plantation there. He then worked in the mines at Foxdale and c. 1885 he went to South Africa for a year to work in the mines there. He also mined in England, as well as spending some time at the fishing, as he himself says, when he was about seventeen. He fished out of Port St. Mary, Castletown and Peel. He left the fishing to work in the mines. On 03 February 1887, he married Elizabeth Ann Watterson of Kerrookeil ML, where he was then living, and shortly after moved to Ballarobin ML a short distance away. He was eleven years farming Moanee Mooar ML and ten years in Glen Cam ML. He came to Kerroomooar ML in 1925 and lived there till his death on 12 April 1956, aged 96 (Information also

from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975. For details of TL's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 374-375).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

LEECE, Thomas:

Born: 1859/60.

English introduced into the household: c. 1885/86.

Manx as the home language: c. 26-27 years.

Thomas Leece died, aged 96, and was buried in Arbory on 15 April 1956 (LIB).

Comment: In 1901 Thomas Leece along with his parents-in-law are entered as Manx speakers. Thomas Leece is entered as the sole Manx speaker in his household in 1911. As his wife and their children are entered as English only speakers, English is likely to have been introduced formally into the family on TL's marriage to his wife Elizabeth Ann in 1885/86. Although Tommy Leece comes across as somewhat hesitant on the few sound-recordings we have of him (see above), nevertheless, Jackson, who experienced him first hand, was of the opinion that Leece was a 'very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material.' Although he was away from home for long stretches working in various mines, his time spent at home as a bachelor would have been sufficient to guarantee that he had learned Manx as a 'full' speaker.

12. LOWEY, Mrs. Emily (1868/69-1947), Kirkill, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'Mrs. Lowey, Kirkill, Rushen' (Davies 1946[1948]).²⁸

2. Information from the census returns:

1867: Baptism, Rushen, 29 September 1867 Emily Jane Taylor, Lingague RU, m. Margaret Taylor, illegitimate (MNH iMuseum, Baptism, Rushen, 29 September 1867).

1871: So far as is known Mrs. Emily Lowey (EL) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Emily Taylor, 3, scholar, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 66, labourer, of Rushen and his wife Elizabeth, M, 63, of Rushen, living on the Lengage [Lingague] Road RU, along with their children: Richard, S, 22, miner, and Margaret, S, 25, general servant, both of Rushen.

1881: EL here as Emily Taylor, 13, of Rushen, granddaughter to Henry Taylor, head, M, 76, formerly farm labourer, living in Lingague with his wife Elizabeth, M, 72, of Rushen, and their daughter Margaret, S, 35, also of Rushen (RG11/5608 85 29).

²⁸ For details of her recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 386-387.

1896: Marriage Rushen, 22 February 1896 Henry Lowey, full [34/35], bachelor, farmer, Kirkill, f. William Lowey, farmer ~ Emily Jane Taylor, full [28/29], [no entry], Lingague, [father unknown] (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 22 February 1896, 887).

1901: EL here as Emily Lowey, M, 35, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, M, 40, farmer, own account, of Rushen, living in Kirkill, Rushen. with their two sons William, 5, and John, 4 both of Rushen.

Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their sons English only (RG13/5301 128 9).

1911: EL here as Emily Lowey, 42, M, of Rushen, wife to Henry Lowey, head, 50, M, farmer, worker, of Rushen, both married 15 years [c. 1896], living in Kirkill, Colby, Rushen, along with their children: William H., 15, S, working on farm, John, 14, school, Margaret A., 6, Elenor, 5, Richard W., 8, and Thomas E., 1 [all of Rushen?]. Living with them is Henry Taylor, boarder, 72.

Manx: Both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, William and the rest English only (RG14/34748 0047 83).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:

LOWEY, Mrs. Emily:

Born: 1868/69.

English introduced into the household: c. 1895/96.

Manx as the home language: c. 27-28 years.

Mrs. Emily Lowey died, aged 79, and was buried in Rushen in 1947 (MBMD 208, 606).

Comment: In 1901 and 1911 both Henry and Emily Lowey are entered as Manx speakers, their children English only. English would likely have been introduced into the household on the birth of their eldest child William H. c. 1895/96. Mrs. Lowey comes across as somewhat shy on the sound-recording of her. But her experience of 27-28 years with Manx at home would support the view of her being a 'full' speaker.

13. MADDRELL, Edward (Ned) (1877-1974), Glenchass, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'Edward Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Carmody: 'Ned Maddrell, then 71, of Glen Chass, was born at Corvalley (The Howe) and lived with his grandparents²⁹ at Cregneash. He was at sea for many years with a Scottish engineer, and claims to have learned something of his language. He

²⁹ Apparently not so. According to Maddrell himself, he was reared by a great-aunt (see next).

landed in Southern Ireland frequently and spoke Gaelic with the Irish. I cannot believe that any part of his usage shows foreign influence' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass [S], age: 72' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mr. Ned Maddrell, of Glenchass, near Cregneish. Aged 72 [...]. He learned his Manx when he went at the age of five to live with an aunt³⁰ who knew no English' (Jackson 1955, 2). 'Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him' (Jackson 1955, v, vi).

2a. Information from the census returns:

1881: So far as is known, Edward (Ned) Maddrell (NM) is first noticed in the census for 1881 as Edward Maddrell, 3, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 27, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Rushen with her other son: John T., 1, of Rushen. Also living with them was her aunt Margaret Taubman [Paaie Humman], widow, 72, of Rushen, and Ann Kelly, servant, S, 21, of Rushen (RG11/5609 9 67).

1891: NM here as Edward Maddrell, 13, scholar, of Rushen, son to Margaret Maddrell, wife, M, 36, fisherman's wife, of Rushen, living in Port Erin, Rushen, along with her other children: John, 11, scholar, Isabella, 8, Sarah, 6, William, 4, George, 2, and James, 6 months, all of Rushen (RG12/4692 45 50).

1906: Marriage, Rushen 03 January 1906 Edward Maddrell, 28, bachelor, mariner, Cregneish, f. Thomas Maddrell, mariner ~ Mary Margaret Skelly, 24, spinster, -, Croit e Caley, f. John Skelly, mariner (IMPR Marriage, Rushen, 03 January 1906, 49).

30 Cf. HLSM/I, 361: Tra va mee queig bleeanyn dy eash va mee goit son sheshaght da my çhenn naunt, as tra veagh shin ayns y lhiabbee cooidjagh yinnagh ee gra rhym: 'My bee uss guilley mie as my nee uss fuirraghtyn aynsh sho son sheshaght dooys, yiow oo yn thie shoh as ooilley ny t'ayn tra ta shynyn marroo'. As tra va mish tree bleeanyn jeig ren ee geddyn baase, as hoght bleeanyn lurg shen yn vac (sic) eck geddyn baase as hooar mee [...] yn thie as [...] ooilley ny va ayn, as ta ny reddyn er cooid aym ayns y thie aym nish. Shen v'ad gyllagh ree, Paaie Humman. V'ee naunt da my vummig as naunt vooar dooys (Ned Maddrell YCG13, 18 February 1953).

('when I was five years old I was taken for company for my old aunt. And when we would be in bed together she would say to me, "if you are a good boy and stay here to keep me company, you will get this house and everything in it when we are dead". And when I was thirteen she died [17 July 1890, aged 82], and eight years after that her son [Thomas (1836-1898)] died [25 May 1898, aged 62], and I got the house and everything in it, and this is what I have now in my house. That is what they were calling her, Paaie Humman. She was an aunt of my mother's and a great aunt of mine').

Ned Maddrell, the last reputed native speaker of Manx, died on 27 December 1974 (cf. IMFHS Burials Index Vol. 187, page 689). The Isle of Man census for 1881 records Margaret Taubman living in the Maddrell household and as an aunt to Margaret Maddrell, Ned's mother. Ned Maddrell himself is entered as her three-year-old son (RG11/5609 9 67).

1911: (Census for England and Wales, Barrow in Furness, hence no reference to language(s) known / spoken) NM here as Edward Maddrell, crew, 33, M, AB seaman, Isle of Man Steam Packet, worker, of Rushen.

Manx: not requested on the form (RG14, PN25702 RD 482 SD1 ED52 SN0).

1911: NM's wife is entered as Mary M. Maddrell, wife, 29, M, of Rushen, married 5 years [1906], living in Howe, Port St. Mary, with her two children Emily M., 5, and Stanley, 3, both of Rushen.

Manx: All are entered as English only speakers (RG14/34746 0037 15).

2b. Information from local Manx field-workers:

Edward (Ned) Maddrell was born in the Corvalley, near Cregneash, RU on 20 August 1877, son of Thomas Maddrell and Margaret Watterson, both of Cregneash. Because of the size of the family Ned was farmed out at an early age to be reared by a great-aunt (Paie Humman / Margaret Taubman, 1809-1890), who had little or no English. In his youth Ned sailed with the herring fleet from Port St. Mary, fishing mainly in the Hebrides and around Shetland, and for mackerel off the southern Irish coast around Kinsale. Most of his adult life, however, was spent as an able seaman apparently working for the Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. Ltd. Following his retirement he became skipper of the vessel belonging to the former Marine Biological Station in Port Erin, then curator of the Manx Folk Museum, Cregneash, in 1948. After 1962 he was regarded as the last reputed native speaker of Manx Gaelic (Catherine Taubman (1879-1966), Cregneash, later of Port Erin RU, a native Manx speaker, was at that time unknown) and many came to visit him. The visit he cherished most (as he told us at an LSS interview with him in August 1972), was that made on him in Cregneash in July 1947 by the then Taoiseach Éamon de Valéra. Ned Maddrell died on 27 December 1974, aged 97, and was buried in Rushen on 30 December 1974 (Burial Register Rushen 1926, no. 365) (Additional information also from Manx lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher, c. 1975-80, who, according to him, was a cousin to Ned Maddrell from whom he learned his Manx; cf. also FEMD vi. For details of NM's recorded contributions, see HLSM/I, 342-381).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

MADDRELL, Ned:

Born: 1877.

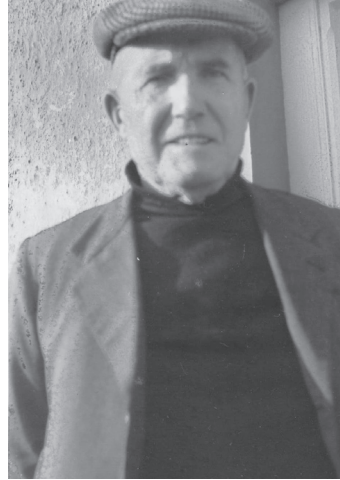
English introduced into the household: c. 1906.

Manx as the home language: c. 29 years.

Edward (Ned) Maddrell died on 27 December 1974, aged 97, and was buried in Rushen on 30 December 1974 (Burial Register for Rushen for 1926, no. 365).

Comment: Ned Maddrell seems to have been the only Manx speaker in the household. This would suggest that English was introduced formally into the household on his marriage to Mary Margaret Skelly in 1906.

Although English was, according to himself, Maddrell's home language for the first five years of his life, he was then (c. 1882) allocated to live with a great-aunt who apparently had little or no English (see above) and was from then on until her death eight years later (1890) spoken to in Manx both by the great aunt and by her son Thomas (d. 1898). He was also often at the fishing where, he said, Manx only was spoken.³¹ However, he was aware that after he had left Cregneash to go out to work his Manx left him almost, but it came back to him when he came back home.³² Nevertheless, Maddrell experienced 29 years of Manx at home, and because he was brought



*Maddrell, Ned (1877-1974),
Glenchass, Rushen, 1948.*

up with a great-aunt born in the first decade (1809) of the 19th century, his Manx, unlike that of his peers, would be of that vintage. He is the only one of the last fifteen speakers who makes use of the inflected synthetic tenses of the verb (cf. HLSM/I, 342-373) and distinguishes between the imperfect and conditional forms of the verb 'be' (cf. Broderick 2011, 307-332). Jackson regards Maddrell as 'the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers', making clear that he belongs to the family of 'full' speakers.

31 Tra va mee guilley veg hie mee magh gys y skaddan un oie ayns baatey ennyssit yn 'Puffin'. Hie shin woish Purt Çhiarn. Va shiaight deiney aynjee as cha row un ockle dy Baarle loayrt, ooilley Gaelg (Ned Maddrell HLSM/I: 372-373). ('When I was a small boy I went out to the herring one night in a boat called the "Puffin". We went from Port Erin. There were seven men in her and there was not one word of English spoken - all Manx').

32 Ta cooinaghtyn aym tra va mee abyl loayrt yn Gaelg cha mie as y Baarle, ny share na'n Baarle neesht, agh cha nel mee son... lurg mee faagail Creneash as goll magh ayns y theihll cha row mee clashtyn monney Gaelg as ren eh bunnys faagail mee, as neayr's ren mee cheet er y thalloo reesht ta paart jeh er cheet rhym as ta mee abyl jannoo bit beg, agh cha nel mee jannoo eh cha mie as bare lhiam (Ned Maddrell HLSM/I, 362-363). ('I remember when I was able to speak the Manx as well as the English, better than the English as well, but I am not able... after I left Cregneash and went out into the world I wasn't hearing any Manx and it almost left me., and since I came back some of it has come (back) to me and I am able to do a wee bit, but not as much as I'd like to').

14. WADE, Wilfred (1868/69-1948), Sandygate, Jurby.

1. *Comment from the interviewers:*

Marstrander: 'From there [West Nappin] I called on carpenter Wilfred Wade, Sandygate, Jurby, who is hardly much of a number. His pronunciation seems quite clear. He can read quite a lot of the Manx Bible³³ (which he has at least one copy of), which one notices in all his conversation. Provided I can manage to work with Gawne, Wade might be useful [some exx.]. Wade was extremely dissatisfied with my pronunciation' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 38-39).

2. *Information from the census returns:*

1871: So far as is known, Wilfred Wade (WW) is first noticed in the census for 1871 as Wilfred Wade, 8, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 71, domestic servant, of Ballaugh, son to her daughter Sophia Wade, widow, 31, domestic servant, of Jurby, living in Ballaworrey Cottage, Jurby, also with her (Isabella's) other grandchildren: Sophia Cottier, granddaughter, 8, scholar, of Maughold, James, grandson, 11, scholar, of Jurby, and Frederick, grandson, 8, scholar, also of Jurby (RG10/5772 126 19).

1881: WW here as Wilfred Wade, 12, scholar, of Jurby, grandson to Isabella Cottier, head, widow, 81, annuitant, of Ballaugh, son to Sophia Wade, widow, 44, annuitant, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran Cottage, Jurby, along with Thomas Cottier, son to above Isabella, widower, 56, agricultural labourer, of Ballaugh, and Frederick Wade, grandson, S, 18, joiner, of Jurby (RG11/5598 107 27).

1891: WW here as Wilfred Wade, S, 22, joiner & builder, of Jurby, nephew to Thomas Cottier, head, widower, 66, gardener, of Ballaugh, living in Ballavarran, Jurby, with Sophia Wade, sister, widow, 54, housekeeper, also of Ballaugh (RG12/4684 44 25).

1898: Marriage, Jurby, 15 October 1898 Wilfred Wade, 30, bachelor, joiner, Ballavarran [JU], f. Robert Wade, farmer ~ Sophia Kewin, 29, spinster, -, [Jurby], f. John Kewin, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Jurby, 15 October 1898, 179).

1901: WW here as Wilfred Wade, M, 32, joiner, own account, at home, of Jurby, son-in-law to Ann Kewin, head, widow, 73, living on own means, of Patrick, living at Sandy Gate, Jurby, along with Frederick Kewin, son, S, 36, of Jurby, Sophia Wade, daughter, M, 31, of Jurby, Sophia M. Wade, granddaughter, 2, of Jurby, and Lillian I. A. Wade, granddaughter, 5 months, of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are Ann Kewin and Wilfred Wade, as English only Frederick Kewin and Sophia Wade. No entry for the very young children (RG13/5302 62 25).

33 Note that, along with Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash, and Mrs. Sage Jane Kinvig, Ronague, Wil Wade could also read Manx (GB).

1911: WW here as W. Wade, head, 42, M, joiner, worker, at home, of Jurby, living at Lough, Sandygate, Jurby along with his wife Sophia Wade, 41, M., assisting in the business, of Jurby, both married 12 years [c. 1898/99] their daughter Sophia M., 12, S, school, Lillian I. A, 10, school, Mona E., 8, school, Elizabeth M. B., 6, at home, and Esther A. C., 4, at home, all of Jurby.

Manx: Entered as a Manx speaker is Wilfred Wade, the rest English only (RG14/34693 0063 30).

3. Comments on the speaker and his connection with Manx:

WADE, Wilfred:

Born: 1868/69.

English introduced into the household: c. 1898.

Manx as the home language: c. 29-30 years.

Wilfred Wade died, aged 79, and was buried in Lezayre on 14 March 1948 (LIB).

Comment: As Wilfred Wade alone is entered as a Manx speaker, it is clear that English would be the language of the household. This would likely be introduced formally on his marriage to Sophia Kewin in 1898. Marstrander regarded Wade as 'all right' but nothing brilliant. Nevertheless, Wade's experience of 29-30 years of Manx as his home language would support the view of his being a 'full' speaker.

15. WATTERSON, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60-1951), Colby, Rushen.

1. Comment from the interviewers:

Davies: 'Mrs. Watterson, Colby, Arbory' (Davies 1946[1948]).

Carmody: 'Mrs. (Catherine Kinley) Watterson, then 89, living at Colby, was born in Glen Chass and brought up with her grandparents in Port-Erin;³⁴ they refused to use English. She speaks readily and with enthusiasm, tells stories and experiences of former times, but with no trace of fixed wording. I made no attempt to have her translate from English; she had spoken very little before 1949' (Carmody 1954, 60).

Wagner: 'Mrs. Watterson of Colby[S], age: 91' (Wagner LASID I, xxii).

Jackson: 'Mrs. Watterson, of Colby. Aged 91' (Jackson 1953, 2).

2. Information from the census returns:

1890: Marriage: Rushen, 06 March 1890 James Watterson, full [32/33], bachelor, mariner, the Howe, f. James Watterson, mariner ~ Catherine Ann Kinley, full [28/29], spinster, [no entry], Glenchass, f. William Kinley, farmer (IMPR Marriage, Rushen 06 March 1890, 805).

34 In fact in Fistard Road in nearby Port St. Mary.

1891: So far as is known, Catherine Watterson (CW) is first noticed in the census for 1891 as Catherine Watterson, M, 30, lodger, of Rushen, daughter to Ann Kinley, head, widow, 57, living on own means, of Rushen, living in Glensast [Glenchass], Rushen, along with her two sons Thomas, S, 19, farmer's son, and John, S, 16, shoemaker's apprentice, both of Rushen (RG12/4692 51 136).

1901: CW here as Catherine Watterson, 40, wife to James Watterson, head, M, 44, mariner, of Rushen, living in Glenchass, Rushen, along with their three daughters: Edith A., 7, Janet C., 5, and Marion, 1, all of Rushen.

Manx: Entered as Manx speakers are James and Catherine Watterson, their daughters English only (RG13/5301 105 101).

3. Comments on the speaker and her connection with Manx:

WATTERSON, Catherine:

Born: 1859/60.

English introduced into the household: c. 1893/94.

Manx as the home language: c. 34-35 years.

Mrs. Catherine Watterson died, aged 91, and was buried in Rushen on 5 August 1951 (LIB).

Comment: As Catherine Watterson and her husband James were enumerated as Manx speakers, but not their daughters, this would indicate that a conscious decision was taken not to pass on Manx to their offspring. As in other similar cases (qv), English was likely introduced into the household on the birth of their first child Edith A., c. 1893/94.

Nevertheless, Carmody's comments (above) about Mrs. Watterson's ability in Manx would be reflected in the 34-35 years' experience of Manx as her home language before she got married and had a family, which would speak for her as a 'full' speaker.

16. The Semi-Speaker: CHRISTIAN, Ewan (1907/98-1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel.

[Ewan Christian] told LSS (Aug. 1972) that he first learned Manx from two old ladies in the same street when he was about five years old, and later from farmers and fishermen in and around Peel. He admitted to us that he had also attended Caesar Cashen's Manx classes that were held in Peel before the Second World War. In the recording sessions Jackson's questionnaire was not used because it became clear that Clement was beginning to experience the same problems Jackson had had earlier, e.g. he could not remember plurals forms, etc. Instead Christian would reel off *stante pede* the Manx names of various birds and fish, sometimes giving the Peel variant. The information obtained was mainly elicited by Louis Crellin who knew what Christian could offer. Without being asked Christian would relate a couple of stories in Manx about incidents in and around Peel during his younger

days. He was also literate in Manx and could recite long passages from the Manx Bible. One suspects that some of his vocabulary was derived from literary sources, and at times his grammar was somewhat shaky, owing either to lack of practice or to imperfect learning, or both. Nevertheless, it was quite clear from his pronunciation that he had had contact with native Manx speakers at an early date in his life, and in that respect his contribution is valuable. Christian was apparently great friends with Ned Maddrell, and he told us that they would visit each other fairly regularly to talk Manx together (GB, LDIM 75).³⁵

Ewan Christian died [aged 77] in Douglas in [January] 1985 (MBMD 10211 115).

Additional general comments made by Carmody, Wagner and Jackson

As can be seen above, sometimes Carmody but mainly Wagner and Jackson provide no additional information, other than personal details, for each of their informants, but enter general comments on their informants and their situation as a whole afterwards. Their comments are in turn commented on by myself in order to complete the picture.

1. Carmody's additional comments (Carmody 1954, 59)

1.1. The nature of the Carmody recordings:

The notes include a few selected constructions translated into Manx by the speakers and the recordings are completely free conversations between the speakers and one of the local field workers, in almost all cases Mr. Leslie Quirk of the Manx Museum. This sort of material is not calculated to yield extensive lexical information, which I reserve for a new dictionary.³⁶ Nor did it produce the traces of dialectal usage which I had hoped to find.

The free conversation and the notes, set forth in the first place entirely in phonetic symbols, are as free from literary or grammatical considerations as possible. (Carmody 1954, 59)

35 I myself made two tape recordings of Ewan Christian in May and August of 1978, and visited him on occasion thereafter to make some notes in phonetic script until 1983. The material collected was similar to that of LSS, but with additional vocabulary plus some traditional songs and chants in English. Christian died in January 1985 (GB, LDIM 75).

36 Nothing seems to have come of this dictionary.

1.2. General comment on the native speakers themselves:

The few remaining native speakers are very old; several happened to be brought up with grand-parents, went to school totally ignorant of English, and used Gaelic to some extent in later life. Their Gaelic had become rusty when field-workers began, in some cases as early as 1938, to speak with them in Manx; these field-workers know more and purer Manx than native speakers, but it is obvious that the latter have learned nothing from them. The language of the native speakers is no doubt more advanced today than it was in their youth, with extensive loss of nuances; but the proximity of English cannot be said to have had any significant part in the surviving constructions. (Carmody 1954, 59)

Comment:

So far as I am aware, some of the native speakers were ‘discovered’ as early as 1936, e.g. the three Northern speakers John Kneen, John Tom Kaighin and Harry Boyde, according to former field-worker the late Chalse Craine, Ballaugh (see above).

2. Wagner’s comments (LASID I, xxi-xxii):

IX. *Isle of Man* (point 88, not represented geographically on our map). In 1950, I collected a fair amount of material from the remaining native speakers of Manx Gaelic, which is practically dead now. It was from the same speakers that Professor *Carmody* had collected the material for his article ‘Spoken Manx’ (*ZCPH* 24, 58ff.) and that Professor Jackson subsequently collected material for his booklet ‘Contributions to the study of Manx Phonology’ (Edinburgh 1955). Further details on recent Manx studies are found in my review of Jackson’s book in *Modern Language Review* LI, I, p. 109. A section of my own Manx material will be published in my book ‘Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln’ (*Beiheft zur ZCPH*, Tübingen 1959).

Owing to a statement made by C. Marstrander some twenty years ago, it was generally believed that spoken Manx had died out completely. But during the late thirties and the forties a small group of Manx enthusiasts, having acquired a knowledge of literary Bible Manx, began to comb the countryside in search of surviving Manx speakers. Finding about twelve to twenty old people who spoke some Manx in their youth, they sought to revive the old native tongue in these people by visiting them at regular intervals. Gradually the old people began to remember phrases of ordinary conversation, little sayings and stories which they had used or heard many years before.

The pronunciation of our informants was mostly unclear and therefore an accurate acoustic reception was seldom forthcoming. Our phonetic notations must be used with great care. In how far our material is ‘corrupted’ is hard to say (cf. also

Jackson *op. cit.* 3 s.) Manx is a Gaelic language which has been influenced in its structure by Britannic Celtic and later by English, in its phonetics and vocabulary also by Norse. It is a very mixed Celtic dialect [...]. All these [listed] informants belong to the rural population of the island (LASID I, xxi-xxii).

Comment:

Contrary to the general layout of LASID, in which the Irish and Scottish Gaelic material gathered is arranged according to a 1175-item questionnaire (with or without additional vocabulary and texts), the Manx material appears in alphabetical order under English headwords. Wagner told me (1982) that this arrangement was decided upon, as he had difficulty applying the questionnaire, he said, owing to the imperfect memory of his informants. The Manx material is presented in sentence form (LASID IV, 172-188), thus giving the realisation of each word as it naturally appears in connected speech. But the individual lexical items would need to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phonological study could be made of them.

There are one or two curious phrases in the collection that deviate from the norm, e.g. [ta la:m l'ej̥ ɛɾə 'va:njə] N 'there is a lot of froth on the milk', with [la:m] probably for [ra:m] *ram* 'a lot' and [l'ej̥] for [keʃ] *kes̥h* 'froth', with [l'] likely influenced from [l] in [la:m]. Wagner puts this down to the 'mostly unclear' pronunciation of his informants (see above). That may be. But more likely he was generally unfamiliar with Manx sounds (as apparently was Marstrander on his own admission, cf. *Dagbok* 16).³⁷ Like Marstrander, Wagner was likely dependent on his knowledge of Irish when dealing with Manx, and, like Marstrander, probably realised that Manx did not behave like Irish phonetically.³⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of some odd forms, Wagner's material contains vocabulary and idiom not encountered on the sound-recordings, or even in other collections, and in that respect it is of much value (cf. also Wagner 1956 & 1959).

37 'His [Taggart's, qv] pronunciation appears to me to be inarticulate, not only in Manx but also in English (which, however, doesn't say much, because my knowledge of Manx is practically nil)' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 16).

38 Later, when he started working with his main Northern informant, Thomas Christian, Marstrander realised that getting round Manx was not going to be an easy task. He admits, 'Manx is going to be a complicated study when it comes to phonetics. It is not possible at this stage to make detailed phonetic notes. I'll have to work my way into the language first and then check details later on when my ear is more attuned to it. The phonetic system is much different from Irish, and I will have to orientate myself from scratch' (CM1929 *Dagbok* 53).

3. Jackson's comments:

3.1. *On the speakers he interviewed (1955, 3-4):*

Some of the above are a good deal more fluent than others, but all have long ceased to use Manx as their daily medium of intercourse, mostly for many years, though the efforts of the new generation of Manx students have caused them to rub some of the rust off more recently. Hence they frequently forget, especially since in addition they are almost all very old, and it was often impossible therefore for me to get anything like all the words and phrases I asked for. Thus some would often know a singular but not its plural, and so on, and would be unable to give the Manx for the commonest things. 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 the treatment 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. The uncorrupted fluent Manx which was still available to Marstrander exists no longer in its purity. (1) (Jackson 1955, 3-4)

3.2. *On dialect differences in Manx (1955, 4):*

Some previous writers, such as Rhys, claim to have noted certain features of dialect difference between North Side and South Side, and some of these are clearly based on popular tradition going back to a time when solid blocks of Manx speakers, divided by the mountain massif of the centre, made such differences easy. Nowadays it is no longer possible to trace divergences of this sort, and such generalizations break down when tested by the actual pronunciations of the surviving speakers. (2) (Jackson 1955, 4)

3.3. *On his visit to Man (Jackson 1955, v, vi):*

I took with me a questionnaire already prepared to cover the phonology of Manx from a historical point of view, but circumstances prevented my collecting information quite as complete as I could have wished (hence the qualified title of this book [Jackson 1955, v]). Some of the words and forms in the questionnaire were not known to my informants (cf. p. 3); for instance, where a genitive was included to illustrate attenuation, they could very rarely give anything but the nominative (3). Only two speakers had any real fund of continuous narrative material, in the form of little anecdotes or verses; and the inaccessibility of their homes, the number of distracting casual visitors present, and the fact that of the two one is blind [Harry Boyde] and the other very old [Thomas Leece], made in their case an insuperable barrier to the accurate recording of phonetic texts other

than single words and brief phrases (4). Unluckily the youngest and much the most fluent and alert of the surviving speakers, Mr. Maddrell, was in hospital until the last day of my stay, when I got some very valuable material from him. In spite of these difficulties, I was able to make use of seven of the ten remaining native speakers of Manx, and to get quite enough matter recorded in phonetic script to constitute a pretty complete picture of the outlines of the phonology of present-day spoken Manx. (Jackson 1955, v, vi)

Comment:

Note 1: It is not certain what Jackson means here by “uncorrupted” and “purity”. Presumably he felt that Marstrander’s informants had a firmer command of Manx than his. However, a perusal of the Manx of some of Marstrander’s informants (or even of those of Rhÿs for that matter³⁹), shows that it also had its imperfections.

Note 2: It is perhaps easy for Jackson to make this claim, given that his material concentrates largely on phonology. However, when we assess the native-speaker corpus now available to us as a whole it is in my view possible to discern some measure of dialect difference between North and South. In this regard I make preliminary notes in Broderick 2010, 353.

Note 3: The genitive as a distinct case form, except perhaps in fossilised phrases or in other circumstances, had by and large disappeared from Manx altogether (cf. Broderick 1999, 107-116). It is therefore not surprising that Jackson found little evidence of the genitive in Manx. It is not that his informants could not remember it; it was no longer present in the language in the first place.

Note 4: Nevertheless, the sound-recordings make clear the extent of textual material gleaned from the last native speakers, which in a number of cases is quite considerable. For details see HLSM/I, 168-405, (translations) 406-479.

General comment on the sound-recordings

The difficulties Jackson experienced, as he tells us above, would need to be seen in the context of the informant being subjected to a questionnaire and asked to produce words and phrases in a non-natural environment. This would also apply to the sound-recordings, as Carmody (1954, 59) makes clear when talking about John Kneen: ‘His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949’. As noted earlier, 1948 would no doubt refer to sound-recordings made by the Irish Folklore Commission, during which informants would be interviewed on their own, or in some cases be brought together to talk to each other in Manx. This is the case with the Northern speakers, John Kneen, John Tom Kaighin, and Harry Boyde. Kneen was brought together with Kaighin and with Boyde. Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danchair,

39 For details see Rhÿs (1895), Broderick (forthcoming I).

who set up the IFC recording sessions for the Irish Folklore Commission in 1948, told me in an interview on 27 May 1981 in UCD that the above speakers knew each other and they would meet fairly frequently as part of their daily work, or in the bank on Saturdays when they came to Ramsey to deposit their earnings (Chalse Craine). But whenever they would meet, although they all knew that the others could speak Manx, they would speak to each other in English. Ó Danchair remarked to me that when they were brought together to speak Manx to each other, initially he had to give them some time to acclimatise and to feel at ease before he would start the recordings. He did say that outside the recordings they were all much more at ease.

In other words, we cannot assume one hundred percent reliance on the recordings themselves as such as examples of everyday Manx, given the unnatural ambience of the scene. At most they can only give us a hint of what the individual speakers were capable of. Nevertheless, the evidence, albeit circumstantial, from all those who had to do with the speakers - the interviewers, the field-workers, etc., - makes clear that the Manx of the speakers on the recordings was not as good as it was when they were not being interviewed or recorded.

Conclusion

In this article we have set ourselves the task to come to some sort of decision as to whether we regard the ‘endspeakers of Manx Gaelic’ as ‘terminal’ or as ‘full’ speakers, or perhaps something in between. In working towards this end, we have sought to assemble as much evidence concerning the speakers and their Manx, etc., as possible.

In the context of the Manx speakers, so far as is known, we have no record of the Manx of the last native speakers during their early days from which we can form a judgement, only in their latter years. Nevertheless, in looking at the evidence from the comments made by the various interviewers (Marstrander, Carmody, Wagner, and Jackson) and field-workers (with whom I was in regular contact 1970s-90s), and that of the sound-recordings and questionnaires, I am of the opinion that *all* fifteen of our speakers are to be regarded as ‘full’ (i.e. ‘formerly fluent’) speakers of Manx. That is to say, they had gone through the gamut of the language during their formative years (their pronunciation is largely consistent with what is to be expected), but that there is clearly some loss to be seen is due, in my view, not to imperfect learning when young, but to lack of use in later life.

Manx parish abbreviations

AN - Andreas.	LO - Lonan.
AR - Arbory.	MA - Maughold.
BA - Ballaugh.	MI - Michael.
BN - Braddan.	ML - Malew.
BR - Bride.	MR - Marown.
CO - Conchan.	PA - Patrick.
GE - German.	RU - Rushen.
JU - Jurby.	SA - Santan.
LE - Lezayre.	

Other abbreviations

ASBD - A.S.B. Davies (1946[1948])
CM - Carl J. S. Marstrander (1929, 1930, 1933)
CRD - Central Registry Douglas
DIAS - Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DLMS - <i>Defunctae Linguae Manniae Specimina</i> (Marstrander 1929/33a)
E > + year - English introduced + year
FEMD - <i>Fargher's English-Manx Dictionary</i> (Fargher 1979)
FJC - Francis J. Carmody (July 1949)
GB - George Broderick
GR - General Registry (Douglas)
HLSM - <i>Handbook of Late Spoken Manx</i> (Broderick 1984-86)
HW - Heinrich Wagner (Summer 1950)
IFC - Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (April-May 1948)
IMFHS - Isle of Man Family History Society
IMPR - Isle of Man Parish Registers
Ir. - Irish
KHJ - Kenneth H. Jackson (Christmas/New Year 1950/51)
LASID - <i>Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects</i> (Wagner 1958-69)
LDIM - <i>Language death in the Isle of Man</i> (Broderick 1999)
LIB - Lawson's Index of Burials (IMFHS online resource)
LSS - Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings (August 1972)
MFLS - Manx Folklife Survey (Manx National Heritage)
MM - Manx Museum Recordings (Early 1950-Autumn 1952)
[N] - North (Wagner 1969)

PR1 - Private Recording 1: Mr. Gelling (1947)
PR2 - Private Recording 2: Walter Clarke (c. 1960)
PR3 - Private Recording 3: Brian Stowell / Bernard Caine (1962)
RDC - David Clement (LSS August 1972, 1973)
rec. - sound-recording
rect. - *rectius* 'more correctly'
[S] - South (Wagner 1969)
ScG. - Scottish Gaelic
SHK - Speaker of the House of Keys
SPCK - Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge
UCD - University College Dublin
VR - Vienna Recordings (August 1909)
YCG - Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh Recordings (late 1951-?mid-1953)
ZCP - *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

Bibliography

- Broderick, G. 1982. 'Manx traditional songs and song-fragments II'. *Béaloideas* 50, 1-41.
- Broderick, G. 1984-86. *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 3 vols.
- Broderick, G. 1999. *Language death in the Isle of Man*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Broderick, G. 2010. 'Manx'. In M. J. Ball & N. Müller (eds.) (2010): *The Celtic languages*. Routledge: London & New York, 305-356.
- Broderick, G. 2011. 'The imperfect and secondary future in Late Spoken Manx'. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 28, 307-332.
- Broderick, G. (forthcoming I). 'Sir John Rhÿs and the Manx Gaelic notebooks of his visits to the Isle of Man (1886-1893)'.
- Broderick, G. (forthcoming II): 'Manx Gaelic: the End Game'.
- Carmody, F. J. 1954. 'Spoken Manx'. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 24, 58-80.
- Clamp, P. 1988a: 'English schooling in the Isle of Man 1660-1700: the Barrovian Design'. *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 20/2, 10-21.
- Clamp, P. 1988b. 'The struggle for the Common School System in the Isle of Man: a compulsory Education Bill for Mona!'. *History of Education Society Bulletin* 42, 10-21.
- Clamp, P. 1988c. 'Bishop Wilson's Discipline: Language schooling and confrontation in the Isle of Man 1698-1755'. *Journal of Religious History* 15/2, 185-198.
- Craine, D. 1955. *Manannan's Isle. A collection of Manx historical essays*. Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust.
- Davies, A. S. B. 1946(1948). 'Cyflwr presennol iaith Geltaidd Ynys Manaw'. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 12, 89-91.
- Dorian, N. C. 2010. *Investigating variation. The effects of social organization and social setting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fargher, D. C. 1979. *Fargher's English-Manx Dictionary*. Onchan: Shearwater Press.
- Jackson, K. H. 1955. *Contributions to the study of Manx phonology*. Edinburgh: Nelson.
- Lewin, C. 2016. 'The syntax of the verbal noun in Manx Gaelic'. *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 17, 147-239.

- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1929-1933a. *Defunctae linguae Manniae specimina quae collegit Carolus Marstrander 1929-1933*. Manx National Heritage MSS. 5354-57B. Five volumes containing specimens of native Manx Gaelic speech collected in the Isle of Man 1929-1933 by Prof. Carl. J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo. Presented by Marstrander to the Manx Museum on behalf of the Norwegian Government, 2 July 1951, on the occasion of the "Festival of Britain", 1951.
- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1929-1933b. *Dagbok*. Douglas: Manx National Heritage MNH MS. 5357B. In G. Broderick, *Language death in the Isle of Man*. 1999 Tübingen: Niemeyer, 203-229 (English trans.); 229-252 (orig. Norwegian).
- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1932. 'Det norske landnãm på Man'. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 6, 40-386. With English summary.
- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1934. 'Remarks on the Place-Names of the Isle of Man'. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 7, 287-334.
- Marstrander, C. J. S. 1937. 'Treen og Keeill'. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 8, 287-500. With English summary.
- Oftedal, M. 1982. 'Professor Carl Marstrander and his work in the Isle of Man'. *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 9/1 (April 1980 - March 1982), 11-19.
- Rhÿs, J. 1895. *The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Appended to Manx Society Vol. 33 (1893-94). Published separately 1895.
- Schüller, D. (ed.) 2003. *The Collections of Rudolf Trebitsch. Celtic Recordings - Ireland, Wales, Brittany, Isle of Man, and Scotland (1907-09)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Series 5/2. 2 CDs. (Tondokumente aus dem Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Gesamtausgabe der Historischen Bestände 1899-1950. Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The Complete Historical Collections 1899-1950). 4 CDs plus accompanying booklet of texts, etc. Manx material, 63-70.
- Wagner, H. 1956. 'Review of Kenneth H. Jackson, 1955. Contributions to the Study of Manx Phonology. Edinburgh'. *The Modern Language Review* 51, 107-109.
- Wagner, H. 1958-69. *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*. Dublin: DIAS. 4 vols. See Vol. 4 (1969) for his Manx material.
- Wagner, H. 1959. *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. Manx material, 88-94.