Neologisms in Revived Manx Gaelic

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Abstract

During its life Goidelic in the Isle of Man has taken on board external vocabulary and terms from a variety of sources (e.g. Latin, Old Norse, Anglo-Norman & Romance, and English) to fulfil various requirements of the time. When Goidelic (later known as Manx in Man) was becoming obsolescent and was subject to revival activity, additional accretions, usually in the form of neologisms, from various sources were taken into the language, again to fulfil the requirements of the time. This article looks at such accretions, particularly during the revival period (ca. 1930s to present), and examines their provenances and entry into Manx.

1. Introduction

The year 2012 marks the twentieth anniversary of Isle of Man Government financial support for the promotion of Manx Gaelic within the Isle of Man,[1] primarily in island schools, but also via the Manx Heritage Foundation liaising with private groups and individuals, and promoting Manx Gaelic programmes on Manx Radio.

In looking at what has been done—and is still being done—to promote Manx in the Isle of Man, the track-record is quite impressive. In comparison with the 1950s-80s, when any promotion of Manx lay essentially in the domain of private individuals and groups, the achievements of today are staggering. There is no doubt about that.

However, there are differences. During the 1950s there still lived a number of native Manx speakers, and some dozen or so enthusiasts regularly visited the native speakers to make occasional sound-recordings from them (1951-53),[2] but essentially to help them bring back to memory the Manx of their earlier days.[3] In so doing, the enthusiasts themselves improved their knowledge of spoken Manx, and it was patent that whenever they spoke Manx, these enthusiasts had clearly learned their spoken Manx from native speakers—they had acquired a real feel for the language from the native speakers. The enthusiasts passed on their spoken knowledge to people of my generation during the 1970s/80s—I was fortunate

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1   For fuller details of the moves towards Isle of Man Government promotion of Manx Gaelic in the Isle of Man, see Gawne 2004.
2   For fuller details of the various recordings made of the Manx native speakers, see Broderick (1999: 54-76).
3   as intimated to me verbally by former enthusiasts, the late Douglas C. Faragher, the late Walter Clarke, the late Leslie Quirk, 1970/80s.

enough to meet the last reputed native Manx speaker, Ned Maddrell, at his home in Glen Chiass, Port St. Mary, in August 1972.

The vast majority of traditional Manx literature comprises religious works in translation, ranging from the Bible to prayer-books, religious tracts, etc., and Manx classes organised by *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh*[4] (the Manx Language Society) from its inception in 1899 until ca. 1970 consisted of learning one's Manx from reading the Manx Bible, regarded as the standard for Classical Manx.[5] From ca. 1970 onwards, when a new dynamic committee to YCG was elected, there developed *inter alia* an aversion to such material, as it was felt that it would not attract younger people to learn Manx. In consequence, a swing to creating secular texts in Manx, e.g. a translation of the Medieval Latin *Chronicles of Man* into Manx (Broderick & Stowell 1973), took place, which inaugurated a period of the production of primarily original material in the language, albeit written by non-native Manx speakers.[6] New concepts were brought into Manx from its sister languages Irish and Scottish Gaelic (primarily from the former), resulting in Douglas Faragher's *English-Manx Dictionary* (Fargher 1979[7]), compiled specifically to enhance the promotion of Manx by giving it a boost in modern idiom and vocabulary.

2. The formation of neologisms to meet modern needs

In this section we take a look at the nature of the various borrowings and neologisms brought into Manx to serve the interests of the Revival.

2.1. Borrowings serving the interests of the Revival

The revival movement for Manx Gaelic began ca. 1875, seemingly as a result of the survey of the state of Manx published by Henry Jenner in 1875 (Jenner 1875) which revealed that out of a population of 41,084 at that time some 12,350 evidently spoke Manx habitually and 190 spoke no English at all (Jenner 1875: 23-24), with comment from J. J. Kneen (Kneen 1931: 18-19). The Revival was reinforced by the founding of *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* ('The Manx Language

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4   The forms *Gailckagh, Gaelgagh* 'Manx, pertaining to Manx Gaelic' derive from *Gailck* and *Gaelg* respectively. *Gailck* /gʹilʹkʹ/ is the Northern, *Gaelg* /gilg/ the Southern pronunciation. Both forms and their adjectives are interchangeable.

5   Manx is generally divided into three phases: Early Manx (17th century), Classical Manx (18th century), Late Manx (19th & 20th centuries).

6   e.g. in the columns of the weekly newspaper *Manx Star* (ca.1973 until its demise in the early1980s) and in the book *Skeealaght*, published by YCG in 1976, reprinted 2001.

7   This is the form of the name at the cover of the dictonary

Society') in 1899.[8] In commenting on the state of Manx in a letter to *Révue Celtique* XLIV (1927): 467 Kneen (1872-1938) wrote:

> When I was a boy between 40 and 50 years ago [ca. 1880-90], I was acquainted with several old people, who were 'not at home' –as one might say—in English and spoke Manx much better. And quite a few spoke a broken English dialect interspersed with Manx words and idioms. In the house [in Douglas] where I was reared, about 6 spoke Manx fluently, and at least 2 of them spoke English very haltingly.
>
> 30 years ago [ca. 1900] I have passed the Quarter Bridge, outside, Douglas, and have seen about a dozen men sitting on the bridge-wall and conversing in Manx only. I have gone into a country inn,—and on Saturday, market day, into a Douglas inn,—and heard nothing but Manx [...]

But then added:

> [...] But now it is all gone, and one has to search a great deal to find a Manx speaker (*Révue Celtique* XLIV (1927): 467).

The Manx Revival since the founding of YCG in 1899 has experienced phases in bursts of energy and activity and bouts of inactivity from time to time. The most recent burst of activity, it seems, began with the election to the committee of YCG in ca. 1970 of Douglas C. Faragher and his dynamic team, who began a vigorous publishing programme and the holding of regular Manx classes throughout the island, backed up by monthly *Oieghyn Gailckagh* ('Manx speaking evenings') held in a chosen hostelry for the occasion. This, particularly, drew in many young people into the movement.[9]

For the Revival up-to-date concepts and vocabulary were required to modernise the language. To this end J. J. Kneen (see above), one of the foremost exponents of the Revival during the earlier period, published an *English-Manx Pronouncing Dictionary* in the weekly newspaper *Mona's Herald* during 1937, which came out in book-form published by YCG in 1938. Kneen's *Dictionary* contains a number of neologisms intended to meet the then modern-day needs, e.g.

television:
foddey-reayrtys (JJK 73) (lit. 'far-viewer'), cf. G. *fada + radharc*,
translating the Greek (*tele*) and Latin (*vision*) components of the term,
cf. Ger. *Fernsehen, Fernseher* (set) (CGD 242).

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8   For details of contemporary opinion regarding Manx during the 19th and 20th centuries, see Broderick (1999: 26-37).
9   For details of the various phases of the Revival see Broderick (1999: 173-187).

Kneen's term here, evidently regarded as too clumsy, was replaced during the modern period (see §2.2.3. below).

telephone:
telefon (JJK 72), evidently derived from the English form.

The modern-day Revival, the 'Third Phase' (cf. Broderick 1999: 178-180), began in 1952 when on 30 September of that year Douglas C. Faragher (1926-1987), then secretary of YCG and one of the 'giants' of the language movement, together with Joe Woods, secretary of the Manx Branch of the Celtic Congress, printed an appeal in the *Mona's Herald* to 'Support the Manx Language' (Faragher and Woods 1952). This came at a time when YCG, following the examples of the Irish Folklore Commission (1948) and the Manx Museum Folklife Survey (1949-52), was making a series of sound-recordings of the last dozen or so native Manx Gaelic speakers (1951-53) and felt it had a sufficient corpus of material to get things going once more.

For the modern period (from the 1950s onward) up-to-date neologisms and phrase were once again required, and these were drawn from a variety of sources. The enthusiasts initially looked to Ireland, regarded as the font of Gaelic language revival activity, for inspiration (cf. Broderick 1999: 179). Additional sources were also resorted to. The material selected could be outlined as follows:

2.2. Modern borrowings

2.2.1. Re-application of traditional material for modern usage

1. *ronsaghey* 'search for, ransack' (C. 156) < ON *rannsaka* (CV 483), ScG. *rannsachadh* (Dw. 749).
→ *ronsaghey* (OT), *aa-ronsaghey* (Fargher 1979: 631) 'researching, doing research',
fer-ronsee m., *ben-ronsee,* f. 'researcher'.

2. *sy çheshvean* 'in the exact middle' (C. 29), ScG. *teis-meadhon* 'exact middle' (Dw. 944).
→ ç*heshveanagh* 'nuclear' (Fargher 1979: 527), cf. ScG. *teis-meadhonach* 'central, centrical' (Dw. 944).

2.2.2a. The coupling of two differing elements to express a particular concept, e.g.

1. *laue* 'hand' (G. *lámh*) + *cooilleeney* 'fulfilling, fulfilment', Ir. *cóimhlíonadh* (Di. 224), ScG. *comhlìonadh* (Dw. 245).
→ *laue-chooilheeney* 'hand-fulfilment', viz. 'masturbation' (Fargher 1979: 483). See also §2.12. below.

A similar expression is found in the Manx traditional song *She Inneen jeh Bochilley Boght* 'it is a daughter of a poor shepherd', viz. stanza 2 (after Moore 1981: 110-113):

Eisht ghow eh greim j'ee er e vean	Then he gripped her by the waist
as lhiegg eh er y thalloo ee	and laid her on the ground
*as **ghow cooilleeney-aigney j'ee***	and he took fulfilment of inclination of her[10]
eisht hrog eh ee dy hassoo	then raised her to stand.

cooilleeney + *aigney* 'mind, inclination', G. *aigne*.

2.2.2b. This coupling has a long tradition in Manx and is used profusely in the Manx Bible translation:

1. *dy bragh* 'for ever' + *farraghtyn* 'lasting', cf. ScG. *gu bràthach* + *faireachdainn.*
→ *dy bragh farraghtyn* 'everlasting'

2. *ard* 'high' + *sodjey* 'furthest' + *magh* 'out', G. *ard* + *is faide* + *amach.*
→ *yn ard sodjey magh* 'the utmost bound'

e.g. *Ta bannaghtyn dty ayrey erskyn bannaghtyn my henn ayryn, gys **yn ard sodjey magh** jeh ny sleityn **dy bragh farraghtyn** *(Genesis 49:26).
'The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills'.

3. *irree* 'rising' + *seose* 'up' + *reesht* 'again', cf. ScG. *èirich* + *suas* + *a-rithist*
→ *irre-seose-reesht* 'resurrection', e.g.

*As cheet ass ny oaieghyn oc lurg yn **irree-seose-reesht** echey, hie ad stiagh ayns yn ard-valley casherick, as hoilshee ad ad-hene da ymmodee* (Matthew 27:53).

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10   i.e. he had intercourse with her.

'And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many'.

2.2.3. Borrowings from English (< Anglo-Norman) adapted to Manx phonology:

1. *ashoon* 'nation' /a's´u:n/, Ir. *náisiún* (Di. 781), ScG. *nàisean* (Ma. 447) (< AN *naciun*). (with *y* *nashoon* re-analysed as *yn ashoon*).

2. *resoon* 'reason' /rə'su:n/, Ir. *réasún* (Di. 886), ScG. *reusan* (Dw. 756) (< AN *raisun*).

For the Revival:

3. *stashoon* 'station' /sta's´u:n/, Ir. *stáisiún* (EID 702), ScG. *stèisean* (Ma. 550).

4. *millioon* 'million' /mi'lju:n/, Ir. *milliún* (Di. 743, EID 449), ScG. *muillion* (Dw. 677, TYG 332), *millean* (Ma. 431).

As can be seen, the Manx version takes its cue from the Irish form, even though something like **steishan* and **millian* in Manx could have been expected, given that in disyllables containing original long syllables doublets in Manx are evidenced, i.e. that with initial stress corresponding with the Scottish (and Northern Irish[11]) form, that with forward stress the (Southern[12]) Irish form, e.g.

faasaag 'beard' /fə'sɛ:g/, /'fɛ:sag/ (HLSM/II: 155, HLSM/III: 148), Ir. *féasóg*, ScG. *feusag*.

faagail 'leaving' /fə'gɛ:l´/, /'fɛ:gal/ (HLSM/II: 154, HLSM/III: 148), Ir. f*ágáil*, ScG. *fàgail*.

The same argument could also be applied to *ashoon* and *resoon* above, for which doublets may once have existed: one doublet (that with initial stress) has seemingly been lost probably owing to reinforcement from the presence of the Anglo-Norman varieties (with forward stress) in Manx (cf. HLSM/III: 149). See also §2.2.8. below.

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11   cf. O'Rahilly (1932: 99-108).
12   cf. O'Rahilly (1932: 86-93).

In the following two cases the items were put into an 18th century[13] phonological setting where the following developments would take place:

5. <u>television</u>:
→ *çhellveeish* /t´s´el'vi:s´/, cf. Ir. *teilifís* (EID 745)*,* ScG. *telebhisean* (Ma. 575); (with vocalisation of the medial spirant) *çhellooish* /t´s´e'lu:s´/.

5a. <u>television set</u>:
→ *çhellooishan* /t´s´e'lu:s´an/, cf. Ir. *teilifíseán* (EID 745), ScG. *telebhisean* (Ma. 575).

6. <u>telephone</u>:
→ *çhellvane* /t´s´el'vɛn/, cf. Ir. *tealafón, fón* (EID 745), ScG. *fòn* (Ma. 310). See also §2.1.

So far as I am aware, there is only one term used for 'television set', namely, *çhellooishan*. I personally have not heard **çhellveeishan*.
As can be seen, the Irish version is adapted to Irish phonology, and in this regard Manx takes its cue from Irish. The Scottish Gaelic version takes over the English word, but dresses it up in ScG. orthography.

2.2.4. Borrowings from Irish and Scottish Gaelic:

A number of borrowings into Manx derive from these sources. Some examples:

1. <u>motor car</u>:

Ir. *gluaisteán* (EID 100) → Mx. *gleashtan* /gle:s´t´an/ < Mx. *gleash* 'move, stir' (C. 80K), G. *gluais* 'movement' (Di. 551, Dw. 506).
ScG. *càr* (Ma. 115).

As can be seen, Manx takes its cue from the Irish form, itself deriving from the verb 'to move'. ScG. uses English 'car', itself an older Celtic word for wagon, cf. Gaulish *carros* 'chariot' (DLG 107). The choice of Irish would likely stem from its developed vocabulary for mechanised transport after the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922 (Lynch 1967: 327), as probably also for aeroplane (next).

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13   As told to me by Robert L. Thomson ca. 1980, who was responsible for the said Manx versions.

G. *ua(i)* regularly gives /iː/, /eː/ in Manx, spelt *ea(y)*[14] (cf. Jackson 1955: 53-54, HLSM/III: 139-140).

2. aeroplane:

Ir. *eitleán* (EID 13), cf. Ir. *eiteall* 'fly' (Di. 406) → Mx. *etlan* /etlan/ (cf. Fargher 1979: 14).
ScG. *plèan* (Ma. 470).

Again, probably for the same reason as the foregoing (qv), Manx takes its cue from the Irish form, which itself is formed from the verb 'to fly'. The Scottish Gaelic form takes its cue from English '(aero)plane'.

Disyllables in Manx with an original long second vowel have this vowel shortened as a result of the stress on the first syllable, cf. Mx. *beggan* 'a little', ScG. *beagan*, Ir. *beagán*. For further details see HLSM/III: 148ff.

3. helicopter:

Ir. *héalacaptar* (EID 334).

Mx. *coptyr* (Fargher 1979: 384), an abbreviated variant of the English form.
etlan-cassee (lit. 'plane of winding, twisting') (Fargher 1979: 384) < Mx. *cassee* 'of winding, curling, or twisting (as stairs)' (C. 25), G. *casadh, -aidh* (Di. 168, Dw. 171).

bennaltagh 'hoverer' (Fargher 1979: 384) < Mx. *bennalt* 'hover' (C. 12), cf. Ir. *foluamhain* 'hover' (Di. 477), ScG. *iadhadh* 'surround, enclose; hover, flutter' (Dw. 536).

Here Manx seems to have been innovative; *etlan-cassee* is now regarded as the accepted form.[15]

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14 In Manx there seems to be the same variety with AO(I), as if UA(I) and AO(I) in Manx had fallen together (cf. Jackson 1955: 52, HLSM/III: 138).
15 Following on from this the Conamara traditional singer, the late Caitlín Maude (1941-82), brought *cas-eitleán* for 'helicopter' into the Irish language ca. 1975.

4. <u>interesting</u>:

Ir. *suimiúil* (EID 374) → Mx. *symoil* /si'mo:l′/, cf. Ir. *suimeamhail*[16] 'regardful, respectful, considerate, attentive; important, considerable, interesting' (Di. 1148), ScG. *suimeil* 'attentive, regardful; momentous, important, considerable' (Dw. 914), both a derivative of *suim* 'sum, amount, regard, respect, etc.' (Di. 1147, Dw. 914).

ScG. *annasach* 'novel, rare, unusual' (Dw. 35) → Mx. **aynyssagh* *\/ɔ:nəsax/, *\/u:nəsax/.
*annàsach, etc. → Mx. *anaasagh* /ə'nɛ:sax/.

   The recent term *anaasagh* derives from seeking an alternative to *symoil,* as it was felt that the latter did not express the concept 'interesting' as precisely as it might (in reality, some felt that too many neologisms in Manx derived from Irish). And so an alternative was sought, this time from Scottish Gaelic. The source-word used was apparently *annasach* 'rare, unusual, strange' (Dw. 35). If so, then this cannot give *anaasagh* /ə'nɛ:sax/ in Manx, for which something like **annàsach*, etc., would be required. ScG. *annasach* would yield something like **aynyssagh* in Manx (as above), cf. Mx. *eunyssagh* 'ecstatic, delightful' (C. 68), ScG. *aoibhneasach* (Dw. 39).

5. <u>oral-tradition</u>:

ScG. *beul-aithris* 'oral representation, or tradition' (Dw. 89), *béalaithris* 'oral account, tradition' (ÓD 96).

   On the recommendation of RLT the ScG. form was taken over into Manx as *beeal-arrish* and used for an LP record of traditional Manx songs.[17] It has since come into the language (cf. Fargher 1979: 538).

2.2.5. Traditional use of native and loanwords; native words preferred for the Revival:

freggyrt 'answer' /frɛgərt/, Ir./ScG. *freagairt* (Di. 487, Dw. 454).
ansoor 'answer' < ME *answer*.

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16   *suimiúil* and *suimeamhail* are two different spellings of the same word.
17   viz. *Arraneyn Beeal-Arrish Vannin. Manx Traditional Songs sung by Brian Stowell,* publ. George Broderick, Edinburgh, 1973. Re-released on CD under the same title by the Manx Heritage Foundation, 2010.

Son nee'n chlagh geamagh ass y voalley, as nee'n jeayst mastey'n fuygh **freggyrt** *eh* (Habakkuk 2:11).
'For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it'.
As va'n pobble nyn dost, as cha dooar ad fockle dy **ansoor***, son va sarey yn ree gra, Ny cur-jee* **ansoor** *da* (2 Kings 18:36).
'But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word. For the king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not'.

Although both terms are regularly found in TM, RM has chosen not to use the loanword.

2.2.6. The native and borrowed phrases **s'mie lhiam** *and* **s'liack lhiam** *'I like': both types are found in TM and RM as follows:*

Traditional: *s'mie lhiam,* lit. 'is good with me' (past tense *by vie lhiam* in RM only).
Borrowed: *s'liack lhiam*, lit. 'is good with me', past tense *b'liack lhiam* < EME *like*.

s'mie lhiam 'I like' /smai l´am/ (TM, RM), cf. Ir. *is maith liom*, ScG. *is math leam*.[18]
by vie lhiam 'I liked, would like' /bə vai l´am/ (RM, not in TM), cf. Ir. *ba mhaith leam*, ScG. *bu mhath leam*.

s'liack lhiam 'I like' /sl´ak l´am/ < EME 'like' (TM, RM).
b'liack lhiam 'I liked, would like' (TM, RM).

2.2.6.1. **s'mie lhiam**, etc. in TM:

1. *Ta'n sleih cairal fakin shoh, as* **s'mie lhieu** *eh*; *as t'ad ayns faghid er y vooinjer ôney* (Job 22:19).
'The righteous see it, and are glad; and the innocent laugh them to scorn'.

2. *As va'n saagh craie v'eh dy yannoo mhillit ayns laue yn phasheyder; myr shen dy ren eh jeh reesht saagh elley, myr* **s'mie lesh hene** *dy yannoo eh* (Jeremiah 18:4).
'And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it'.

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18   This expression is not usual in ScG., for which there is *is toil leam (is caomh leam* Lewis) 'like' and *tha e a' còrdadh rium* 'enjoy' (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 2008: 207, 204).

3. *As **s'mie lhiam** er y choontey euish, nagh row mee ayns shen (son niartaghey nyn gredjue) ny-yeih hooin-jee huggey* (John 11:15).
'And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him'.

4. *As dooyrt Saul, Lhig dooin goll sheese er-eiyrts ny Philistinee 'syn oie, as ad y spooilley derrey'n vadran; as ny lhig dooin dooinney jeu y aagail bio. As dooyrt ad, Jean myr **s'mie lhiat*** (1 Samuel 14:36).
'And Saul said, Let us go down after the Philistines by night, and spoil them them until the morning light, and let us not leave a man of them alive. And they said, Do whatever seemeth good unto there'.

2.2.6.2. ***s'mie lhiam*, *by vie lhiam***, etc. in RM:

The present form ***s'mie lhiam*** can be found in Kneen (1938: 45) (which could also imply the past tense form ***by vie lhiam****,* though this is not specifically stated). Both ***s'mie lhiam*** (also ***by vie lesh***, etc.) and ***s'laik lhiam, lhiat****,*etc. (also *b'laik lhiat*) can be found in Gell (1954: 33). This would suggest that ***by vie lhiam***, etc. entered RM between 1938 and 1954.

2.2.6.3. ***s'liack lhiam***, etc. in TM:

5. [...] *as dooyrt Samson rish e ayr, Fow dou ee, son **s'liack lhiam** ee dy mie* (Judges 14:3).
'...and Samson said to his father, Get her for me, for she pleaseth me well'.

6a. ***s'liack lhiam*** *y boayl shoh*   I like this place.
6b. ***cha lhiack lhiam*** *my laare noa* (negative)   I don't like my new mare.
/slak lʹɛm ə bɔːl sʹɔː/ HLSM/II: 415   /ha lʹak lʹɛm mə lɛːʳ noː/ HLSM/II: 67

2.2.6.4. ***b'liack (by-laik) lesh***, etc. in TM:

7. *As tra honnick Joseph, dy dug e ayr e laue yesh er kione Ephraim, **cha by-laik lesh** eh* (Genesis 48:17).
'And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him'.

8. *As **by-laik lesh** Haman y choyrle shoh, as doardee eh criy dy ve jeant* (Esther 5:14).
'And the thing pleased Haman; and he caused the gallows to be made'.

9. *As honnick Esau **nagh by-laik lesh** Isaac e ayr inneenyn Chanaan* (Genesis 28:8).
'And Esau seeing that the daughter of Canaan pleased not Isaac his father'.

2.2.6.5 ***b'liack lhiam***, etc. in RM:
The past tense form *b'liack lhiam* is attested in RM, and found, for example, in Mona Douglas's adaptation of the Manx traditional song *She lhong honnick mee* 'it is a ship that I saw', viz. in the refrain:

10. ***B'liack lhiams** dy beign goll ersooyl mârish sy baatey goll magh mârish my ghraih*
'I'd wish it that I'd go away with him / in the boat going out with my love'.

In the original text there is no refrain (Broderick 2008: 217-18).

laik is also found in the revised version of Goodwin (1974: 46) along with *s'mie lhien* 'we like', *cha mie lhien* 'we don't like', and the past tense form *by vie lhien* 'we liked, would like'.

<u>To recap</u>, both *s'mie lhiam* and *s'liack (s'laik) lhiam* (past tense *b'liack (by-laik) lhiam / lesh*, etc.) are found both in TM and RM, but past tense *by vie lhiam* is found only in RM.

2.2.7. Traditional English-derived forms compete with traditional native forms, with loss of semantic difference:

back 'back' < Eng. 'back', or *reesht* 'again' (TM, RM), Ir. *arís*, ScG. *a-rithist*:
haink eh back / haink eh reesht 'he came back' / 'he came again (= 'back')' (TM, RM).

çheet er-ash 'come into bloom, flourish' (TM),
'come back, return' (RM),cf. Ir. *tidheacht* (Di. 1204) + *air ais*, ScG. *tighinn* (Dw. 950) + *air ais*.

2.2.7.1. *çheet reesht, çheet back* (also *back* with other verbs):

The forms *cheet reesht, cheet back* are commonly used in TM (occasionally in RM) to mean 'come back'; *back* can also be used with other verbs, viz.

1. *Eisht ren Manoah guee gys y Chiarn, as dooyrt eh, O My Hiarn, lhig da'n dooinney dy Yee ren uss y choyrt* **cheet reesht** *hooin, as gynsaghey dooin kys hroggys mayd y lhiannoo vees er ny ruggey* (Judges 13:8).

'The Manoah entreated the Lord, and said, O my Lord, let the man of God which thou didst send come again unto us, and teach us what we shall do unto the child that shall be born'.

2. *As haink eh gy-kione, tra va Yeesey* **er jeet back**, *dy ghow yn pobble lane boggey jeh, son v'ad ooilley fieau er* (Luke 8:40).

'And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned, the people gladly received him, for they were all waiting for him'.

3. **immee shiu back**
/imi s´u 'bak/ HLSM/II: 20
'go ye back!'

4. **cur back** *eh tra bee oo rey rish*
/kür 'bak a trɛ: bi-u re: ris´/ HLSM/II: 20
'put it back when you are finished with it'.

5. *Ayns y laa shen, eshyn vees er mullagh y thie, as e chooid sthie, ny lhig da cheet neose dy chur lesh eh: as eshyn ta ayns y vagher, ny lhig dasyn myrgeddin* **chyndaa back** (Luke 17:31).
'In that day, he who shall be on the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away; and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back'.

In the next example *back* and *reesht* are used together, as if some sort of reinforcement, or a direct translation of the English:

6. **haink eh back reesht** *gys e ven*
/heŋk ɛ bak ris´ gəs ɛ ven/ HLSM/II: 20
'he came back again to his wife'.

2.2.7.2. *er-ash*:

For *er-ash* Cregeen (p. 66) has: 'to appear after being hid, hidden or concealed; to become damp, as such things as have salt in them, will in moist weather; in Ez. xvii. 9 it means prosper'.

    It is used in the Manx Bible thus:

7. *Ny bee aggle erriuish, shiuish beiyn y vagheragh, son ta aberyn yn aasagh* **cheet er-ash***, son ta'n billey gymmyrkey e vess, ta'n billey-figgagh, as yn billey feeyney cur magh nyn niart* (Job 2:22).
'be not afraid, ye beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness do spring, for the tree beareth her fruit, the fig-tree and the vine do yield their strength'.

8. *Son myr ta'n thalloo coyrt magh blaa, as myr ta ny rassyn ta cuirrit 'sy gharey* **cheet er-ash***; myr shen ver y Chiarn Jee er cairys as moylley dy vlaaghey magh kiongoyrt rish ooilley ny ashoonyn* (Isaiah 61:11).

'For as the earth bringeth forth her bud and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations'.

    However, in RM *cheet er-ash* is used (along with 'back' and *reesht*) to mean 'come back, return', just like its equivalents in Irish (*tidheacht air ais*) and Scottish Gaelic (*tighinn air ais*).

2.2.8. Traditional English-derived forms supplemented by native-based neologisms

2.2.8.1. English-derived form:

smookal 'to smoke, have a smoke' (TM) < Eng. dial. 'smook', cf. ScG. *smocadh* (Ma. 535).

v'ad ooilley **smookal** *as tombaghey oc*
/vad olju smuːkal as tɔmˈbaːgə ɔk/ HLSM/II: 419.
'they were all smoking and they had tobacco'.

2.2.8.2. Native-based neologisms:
taghan 'smoke (a pipe, etc.)' (JJK 66) (ERM).
jaaghey 'smoking' (C. 100) (as herring, cf. Fargher 1979: 704) < Mx. *jaagh*, G. *deathach* (RM).

toght / toghtaney 'smoke (cigarette, cigar, pipe)' (Fargher 1979: 704) (RM).

However, *toght* in TM means 'choke, strangle' (C. 199), 'awkward, tight' (HLSM/II: 452), cf. Ir. *tachta, tachttha* 'strangled, choked, suffocated; narrow' (Di. 1154), and *toghtey* 'choking, stifling' (HLSM/II: 452), Ir. *tachtadh* 'strangling, stifling' (Di. 1154), ScG. *tachdadh* 'choking, strangling, obstructing' (Dw. 919). In RM there has been a slight semantic shift from 'choking, stifling' to 'smoking', i.e. 'performing that which chokes, stifles'?

This form does not derive from Ir./ScG. *toit* 'smoke', which gives Mx. *tudjeen* 'cigarette' (Fargher 1979: 155), cf. Ir. *toitín (*EID 118), ScG. *toitean* (Ma. 592). The Manx form is modelled on the Irish, not the Scottish-Gaelic form, though as with ScG. *nàisean* Mx. *tudjeen* could well have become *tudjan* in Manx for the reasons given in §2.2.3. above.

The preference for a native, rather than an English-derived (though *smookal* is still used, particularly by the older generation), expression, would seem to serve the interests of purism within the language movement. This of itself inevitably leads to a reduction in available expressions.

2.2.9. Manx terminology following English semantic requirements

2.2.9.1. *ard-valley*:
ard-valley 'city, capital city' (TM) (C. 5 'city'); *ard-valley (*Fargher 1979: 131), ScG.
ard-bhaile 'city, metropolis' (Dw. 44), Ir. *ard-chathair* 'metropolis' (Di. 58).

1. [...] *hie ad seose liorish greeishyn **ard-valley** Ghavid* [...] ((Nehemiah 12:37).
'...and they went up by the stairs of the city of David...'.

As cheet ass ny oaieghyn oc lurg yn irree-seose-reesht echey, hie ad stiagh ayns yn ***ard-valley** casherick**, as hoilshee ad ad-hene da ymmodee* (Matthew 27:53).
'And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many'.

2.2.9.2. *preeu-valley*[19]:
preeu-valley 'capital city' (RRM), ScG. *prìomh-bhaile* 'chief town, metropolis, capital' (Dw. 736), also *prìomh-chathair* 'chief town, metropolis' (Dw. 736), Ir. *príomh-chathair* 'capital city' (Di. 861).

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19   I am grateful to Christopher Lewin, University of Edinburgh, for this example.

The term **preeu-** (from G. *prí(o)mh-* 'prime, principal, chief, etc.' (Di. 861, Dw. 736)) seems to have been recently created to represent the concept 'capital', for which the TM and RM term *ard-valley* has hitherto adequately served. There has clearly been a falling-into-line here with the English semantic requirements of 'city' and 'capital'.

2.2.9.3. *reih*:
reih 'choice' (TM), cf. Ir. *rogha, togha*, ScG. *rogha, roghainn, togha*.

3. [...] *shen-y-fa gow bea **myr reih*** [...] (Deuteronomy 30:19).
'...therefore choose life...' (lit. 'take life as a choice...').

4. *As haink ad noi Gibeah jeih thousane **reih deiney** ass ooilley Israel* [...] (Judges 20:34).
'And there came against Gibeah ten thousand chosen men out of all Israel...'.

2.2.9.4. *reihys*:
reihys 'election' (Fargher 1979: 274) (RM), cf. Ir. *toghchán*, ScG. *taghadh, roghnachadh*.

Here we see Manx applying the terminology following English semantic divisions in the same or similar way as both Irish and Scottish Gaelic have done, but not so German, for instance, as Lewin (fc. §3.3) points out. In German the word *Wahl* is used to mean 'choice', 'choice (quality)', and 'choice (political election)' (CGD 738).

2.2.10. Three Manx expressions for 'wait for', viz. fuirraghtyn rish, farkiaght er, er-son, and fieau er, er-son. Their uses or otherwise in TM and RM (cf. also Lewin 2011).

2.2.10.1. *fuirraghtyn rish*:
fuirraghtyn rish 'wait for' (*fuirree* JJK 82)*,* as in Scottish Gaelic cf. ScG. *fuirich, a' fuireachd* 'stay, wait; abide' (w. *ri(s)* = 'for'): *fuirich rium* 'wait for me' (Dw. 463-64), is rare in TM with this meaning, but has become common in RM with the said meaning.

In TM this verb, with no accompanying preposition, is used to mean 'stay, tarry':

1. *As ren ad berreenyn jeh'n theayst hug ad lhieu magh ass Egypt, son cha row eh slane fuinnit, er-yn-oyr dy row ad eiyrit magh ass Egypt ayns siyr, as cha row traa*

oc son **fuirraghtyn***, chamoo v'ad er n'aarlaghey daue hene veg y veaghey gour
nyn yurnah* (Exodus 12:39).
'And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of
Egypt, for it was not leavened, because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not
tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victural'.

2.210.2. *farkiaght er, er-son*:
Instead, the verbs *farkiaght er, er-son* and *fieau er, er-son* are used to mean 'wait
for' in Classical and Late Manx. They are almost unknown in Revived Manx:

- *farkiaght er / son* 'wait for' cf. Ir. *faircsin* 'watch, look, inspect; spy' (Di. 418).

2.2.10.2.1. In Classical Manx:
2. *Ta'n Chiarn dooie dauesyn ta* **farkiaght er***, da'n annym ta shirrey huggey*
(Lamentations 3:25).
'The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him'.

3. *Son shickyrys nee ny ellanyn* **farkiaght er-my-hon***, as lhongyn Tarshish
hoshiaght...*(Isaiah 60:9).
'Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first...'.

2.2.10.2.2. In Late Manx:
4. *my nee oo* **fark** (*sic*) *aynshoh mârym...*
 /ma: nji-u faːk ə'sɔ: mɛːrəms.../ HLSM/II: 158
'if you stay here with me...'.

2.2.10.3. *fieau er, er-son*
- *fieau er, er-son* 'wait for', Ir. *feitheamh ar* 'wait on, for' (Di. 446), ScG. *feitheamh
air / ri(s)* 'wait on, for' (Dw. 428).

2.2.10.3.1. In Classical Manx:
5. *As sluight Yacob ayns mean ymmodee pobble, myr y druight veihyn Chiarn,
myr ny frassyn er y faiyr, nagh vel lurg aigney dooinney, ny* **fieau son** *mec deiney*
(Micah 5:7).
'And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the
Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the
sons of men'.

6. *As yn laa er-giyn haink ad gys Caesarea: as va Cornelius* **fieau orroo***, as v'eh er
n'eamagh er e gheiney-mooinjerey cooidjagh, as e reih caarjyn* (Acts 10:4).

'And the morrow after they entered into Caesarea. And Cornelius waited for them, and he had called together his kinsmen and near friends'.

2.2.10.3.2. In Late Manx:

7. ta mee fieau ort
/ta mi fju: o:rt/ HLSM/II: 166
'I am waiting for you'.

8. ta mee fieau son echey
/tɛ: mi fju: sɔn ea (sic)/ HLSM/II: 166
'I am waiting for him'.

There does not seem to be any cogent reason why *farkiaght* and *fieau* could not have been retained in RM. The rise to prominence of *fuirraghtyn rish* to mean 'wait for' in RM may derive from a Scottish Gaelic preference, as may be implied from its presence, first in Goodwin (1901 (1974): 17), then in Kneen (1938: 82) followed by Gell (1954: 7, ex. 9).

2.2.11. Recent Revived Manx from the medium of Manx Radio:
As an example of recently-coined neologisms Lewin (fc. §3.3) presents the following example:

She co-yannoo CCG as Radio Vannin ta 'Traa dy Liooar'.
'*Traa dy Liooar* ("Time Enough") is a co-production (lit. "co-doing") of the BBC and Manx Radio'.

CCG - *Corprailys Creealey Goaldagh* (BBC).
Lewin (*ibid*.) explains the component parts as follows (here with modification):
- *Corprailys* 'corporation', usu. *Co-chorp* (Fargher 1979: 195).
- *Creealey* 'broadcasting', cf. Ir. *craolaim* 'I announce, esp. from the altar or pulpit' (Di. 259, cf. *creidhill* 'knell', *c. báis* 'death-knell'; 'proclamation'), ScG. *craoladh* 'broadcast, transmit' (Ma. 176). *Craoladh* is not found in Dwelly. Eng. 'broadcast' itself originally meant 'sowing of seed' (SOED 286).
- *Goaldagh* '(here) British', from *goaldagh* 'guest' (C. 80L) < G. *gall* '(a) Oldest meaning *a Gaul*: *Gaill .i. Frainc*, (b) *a Scandinavian invader* (finn-gaill being the Northmen, dub-gaill the Danes), (c) *an Anglo-Norman or Irishman of Norman descent, an Englishman,*(d) *a foreigner*' (DIL G 38 s.v. *Gall*).

Concerning the term *Goaldagh*, there is no known term in Manx (of all periods) to express 'British'. Manx has to particularise the country by name, whether it be Scotland (*Nalbin*[20]) or England (*Sostyn*). The Manx form *Bretyn* (which may once have referred to Britain as a whole, but for which there is now no recorded evidence) refers to Wales, Ir. *Breatainn* (otherwise *Yn Thalloo Vretnagh* 'the Welsh land', G. **an Talamh Bhreatnach*), and for the language *Bretnish* 'Welsh', Ir. *Breathnais, Breatnais* (Di. 121).

In the context of the Revival the term *Goal* is used in the phrase *Inshyn Goal* (G. *Ínse Gall*) to translate 'Hebrides' in the Manx translation of the *Chronicles of Man* (see above §1).

It seems somewhat curious to create a Manx translation for BBC, when elsewhere BBC is simply left as it is. In addition, the resurrection of a dubious archaic form (*Goaldagh*) also adds to its bizzare character. The use of abstract nouns (*co-yannoo* 'co-production') with verbs is quite un-Manx, but is common in English. Manx would have used a direct verbal expression, such as that given below. In this regard Lewin (fc. §3.3) points out that there is a long-standing tradition of paraphrasing in Traditional Manx in order to avoid 'unnatural' phrasing, e.g.

Traditional Manx:
geaishtagh rish sleih aegey ta gynsaghey nyn Gredjue – 'catechising'.
lit. 'listening to young people who are learning their faith' (*Fer-rauee Creestee*, cf. Thomson 1998: 52).

and he does not see why this tradition cannot be continued in Revived Manx. He therefore offers the following paraphrase to avoid what he regards as the unnatural Manx of *co-yannoo*, viz.

Revived Manx:
Ren y BBC as Radio Vannin gobbraghey ry-cheilley dy chroo 'Traa dy Liooar'.
'The BBC and Manx Radio worked together (co-operated) to create "Traa dy Liooar"'.

Nonetheless, as can be seen, the paraphrase can be quite word-consuming and for 'officialese' or 'Government Manx' compact forms of the sort found today in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (and now Manx) are now required to meet modern needs. Taking compounds with *féin* 'self' (all seemingly based on English models) just as an example, we find:

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[20]   though Mx. *Nalbin*, G. *i n-Albain*, OIr. *Albu* < OCelt. *Albion* would originally have referred to the entire island of Britain (cf. DCCPN 6).

Ir. *féindiúltú* 'self-denial', *féinchosaint* 'self-defence', *féinrialaitheach* 'self-governing', etc. (ÓD 533-34). See also in §2.10 below.
ScG. *fèin-àicheadh* 'self-denial', *fèin-earbsa* 'self-confidence', *fèin-riaghlach* 'self-governing' (Ma. 293).
Mx. *hene-jiooldey* 'self-abnegation', *hene-barrantys* 'self-confidence', *hene-reiltagh* 'self-governing' (Fargher 1979: 671-72).

2.2.12. Deriving neologisms from non-European languages
Caarjys ny laue 'friendliness of the hand', G. **cáirdeas na láimhe* → 'masturbation' (Fargher 1979: 483) < Bemba. See also §2.2.2b. above.

This concept derives from Faragher, who from 1956-62 worked as an overseer in the copper-mines in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia). He used to tell us ca. 1980 that of an evening he would visit his African workers in their quarters, from whom he learned their language (chiBemba) and much about their folklore and traditions. It was from them, he said, that he heard the term in their own language for 'masturbation', which translates into English as 'friendliness of the hand', and into Manx as *caarjys ny laue*. He said that their description fitted the concept quite accurately and appealingly,[21] rather than Ir. *féintruailliú* (lit. 'self-pollution'), as given by de Bhaldraithe (EID 439), which Faragher seemingly felt to be derogatory and pejorative, probably deriving from a narrow Christian outlook.

3. Conclusion

As noted earlier, work undertaken over the past twenty years in the service of Manx Gaelic promotion, whether in the schools, for the Manx Heritage Foundation, or on Manx Radio, has been consistent and thorough, and thereby quite impressive. Unlike her sister languages in Ireland and Scotland, Manx is free from the psychological burden of language death, which is at present (and has been the case for some time past) eating its way with a vengeance into the very fabric of both Irish and Scottish Gaelic. In both cases the language is quickly passing from the traditional heartlands,[22] even though a rear guard action in active language maintenance and promotion both inside and outside the heartlands has been underway in both countries now for quite some time.[23]

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21   cf. also Ger. S*elbstbefriedigung* ‚self-satisfaction' (CGD 599), ScG. *fèin-bhrodadh* 'self-stimulation' (Ma. 293).
22   For Ireland see Ó Curnáin 2004, for Scotland see Müller 2000.
23   For details see Ó hIfearnáin 2010 for Ireland and MacKinnon 2010 for Scotland and bibliographies therein contained.

As Manx passed formally into history in 1974 with the death of the last reputed native speaker Ned Maddrell, Manx in its revived form can only go in one direction, namely upwards.

Manx Gaelic, once spurned by its own people and government, now serves the interests of the Isle of Man Government in terms of its support for Manx, but more importantly in terms of its keeping in step with similar policies at present being pursued throughout Europe as part of the support for minority languages espoused by the European Union. So long as this is the case, Manx will flourish.

In such circumstances appropriate neologisms will likely be created to meet required needs for the future.

Abbreviations

AN - Anglo-Norman.
C - Creggen's Manx Dictionary (Cregeen 1835).
CCG - Corprailys Creealey Goaldagh (BBC).
CGD - Collins German Dictionary (Terrell 1980).
CMCS - Cambridge (later Cambrian) Medieval Celtic Studies.
DCCPN - Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names (Falileyev 2010).
Di. - Dinneen's Irish Dictionary (Dinneen 1927).
DIL - Dictionary of the Irish Language (Royal Irish Academy 1913-76).
DLG - Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise (Delamarre 2003).
Dw. - Dwelly's Gaelic Dictionary (Dwelly 1901-11).
EID - English-Irish Dictionary (de Bhaldraithe 1959).
EME - Early Modern English.
Eng. - English.
ERM - Early Revived Manx (ca. 1900-1930s).
G - Gaelic.
Ger. - German.
HLSM - Handbook of Late Spoken Manx (Broderick 1984-86).
JJK - J. J. Kneen (qv).
Lewin fc. - Lewin (forthcoming).
Ma. - Mark's Gaelic Dictionary (Mark 2006).
ME – Middle English.
Mx. - Manx.
NBHR - Ned Beg Hom Ruy (Edward Faragher, Cregneash; cf. Broderick 1982-83).
OCelt. - Old Celtic.
ÓD - Ó Dónaill's Irish Dictionary (Ó Dónaill 1977).
OIr. - Old Irish.
OT – oral tradition.
RLT - Robert L. Thomson (1924-2006).
RM - Revived Manx (1950s-1990s).
RRM - Recent Revived Manx (since ca. 2000).

TM - Traditional Manx.
TYG - Teach Yourself Gaelic (Robertson & Taylor 2003).
YCG – Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh.

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