

RECORDING
THE LAST NATIVE MANX SPEAKERS
1909–1972

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1. Introduction

The first known scientific collection of Manx Gaelic material was made in 1703–04 by Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, or his agent,¹ of a number of Manx Gaelic lexical items as part of a greater survey of the Insular Celtic languages, etc., ninety-five of which were published in his *Archaeologia Britannica of 1707*. In 1977 a further thousand or so of such items were discovered by Dafydd Ifans of the *Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru* National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, in the Mysevin Collection of manuscripts formed from the papers of Welsh grammarian and lexicographer William Owen[-Pughe] (1759–1835). They were transcribed by Ifans and edited with full commentary by Robert L. Thomson (cf. Ifans & Thomson 1979–80). Lhuyd’s Manx word-list is arranged under various sections according to topic, e.g. trees, fish, domestic animals, etc., using John Ray’s *Dictionariolum* as the basis of the questionnaire.²

However, during the nineteenth century Manx Gaelic, the everyday community language of the ordinary people of the Isle of Man, found itself more and more in competition with English which for various reasons began taking a foothold in Man. Towards the end of the same century Manx entered a critical phase of its existence, and as from 1880 or so onwards, if not before, Manx gradually ceased to be passed on to following generations, with the result that, from a number of 4598 native Manx speakers recorded in the 1901 census only a figure of some twenty such speakers could be announced by A. S. B. Davies in 1946.³ This noticeable decline in Manx speech began to attract the attention of scholars who sought to elicit examples of Manx from existing native speakers. So far as is known, this exercise began with the visit made by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (1813–1891)

1. It is not at all certain that Lhuyd ever visited Man at all (cf. Thomson 1969).

2. The “General Alphabet” as used by Lhuyd was intended to render as accurately as possible the sounds of Manx. Unfortunately for us Lhuyd’s actual work-books do not survive, only copies of them, in which it can be shown that errors have crept in during copying. Nevertheless, Lhuyd’s collection is an event of the first importance in Manx studies.

3. cf. Davies 1946 (1948), 89–91.

c.1856⁴ who collected samples of initial changes in Manx (and from other Celtic languages) which he published in Bonaparte (1884).⁵ He was then followed by Prof. Sir John Rhÿs (1840–1915), University of Oxford, whose visits to Man 1886–1893 resulted in the publication of his *Outlines* (Rhÿs 1895).⁶ He was followed by Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch (1876–1918), Kaiserliche (later Österreichische) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, who made a series of what turned out to be the oldest surviving sound-recordings⁷ of native Manx speech from four informants in August 1909 (cf. Lechleitner & Remmer 2003), then by Prof. Carl J. S. Marstrander (1883–1965), University of Oslo (1929–33), who noted / interviewed some forty or so informants and sound-recorded six (DLMS/I: 573); his findings were published in Marstrander (1932, 1934, 1937). However, it was seemingly as a result of Marstrander’s visits to Man that Manx Gaelic enthusiasts began combing the countryside in search of surviving native Manx speakers and, using their information, A. S. B. Davies of North Wales (drawing also on Loch 1946), was able to publish twenty names in Davies (1946 (1948)). This in turn led to sound-recordings being made by the Irish Folklore Commission (1948), by Francis J. Carmody (1907–1982) (1949),⁸ the Manx Museum (1950–52), *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* / The Manx Gaelic Society (1951–53), and to scientific acquisition of material via questionnaires by Prof. Francis

4. H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (1813–1891) was the third son of Napoleon’s second surviving brother Lucien Bonaparte. He was evidently born at Thorngrove, Grimley, Worcestershire, England, where his family were temporarily interned after their capture by the British en route to America. A philologist and politician by profession, he spent his early life in Italy and did not go to France until 1848 when he served two brief terms in the Assembly as representative for Corsica (1848) and for the Seine départements (1849) before moving to London where he spent most of the remainder of his life. His classification of the Basque dialects, his main linguistic interest, is seemingly still in use today. He also took an interest in the Insular Celtic languages, including Manx, and visited Man c.1856. He died in Fano, Italy, on 3 November 1891 and was buried in St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, NW London, shortly after (cf. “Out of the confusion of tongues: Louis Lucien Bonaparte (1813–1891)”, British Library (accessed 05.03.2016). For details of Bonaparte’s associations with Manx see Cubbon (1939 II: 1521), on aspects of Manx see Bonaparte (1884: 155–202). His material concentrates on the initial changes in the various Insular Celtic languages studied, including Manx.

5. It may be pertinent to mention here the visit to Man of John Strachan in company with Father Henebry of Co. Waterford in 1883. They interviewed Tom Kermode (1825–1901) of Bradda RU when Strachan took down from him in his own phonetic script the Manx traditional song *Ec ny Fiddleryn* and again from him in September 1896 (cf. Strachan 1897).

6. For details of Rhÿs’s visits to Man (1886–93) and his informants based on his notebooks and diaries see Broderick (2016). For an assessment of Rhÿs’s work in Man see Lewin (2019).

7. Early sound-recordings of native Manx speech and Manx traditional songs, etc., made c.1905–1913 by *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* are not included here, as they have seemingly not survived. For details see Miller (2014: 1–9).

8. Carmody arranges his material under the following headings: I Phonetics, II Morphology, thus producing a mini-grammar of spoken Manx (cf. Carmody 1954).

J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley (1949), Dr. Heinrich Wagner (1923–1988), Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1950)⁹ and Prof. Kenneth Jackson (1909–1991), University of Edinburgh (1950/51).¹⁰ In August 1972 Prof. Jackson sent David Clement on behalf of the Scottish Gaelic Linguistic Survey, University of Edinburgh, to Man, using Jackson’s questionnaire of 1950/51 to record what he could from Ned Maddrell, believed to be the then sole surviving native Manx speaker. Clement used his visit also to record Ewan Christian of Peel, a semi-speaker, interviewed also by myself later in 1978–83. In addition, three known Private Recordings of Manx native speech were made in 1947, c.1960, and 1962 respectively.¹¹

In order to give as full a picture as possible, all known native Manx speakers recorded from 1909 to 1983 are hereby listed, with details of the collectors and their comments on the informants, as well as the material elicited by them. This serves as a continuum to those native Manx speakers recorded by Prof. John Rhÿs (1886–1893) (qv), thus completing the story.

2. The performers

Subjoined is a list of individuals and bodies seeking to obtain linguistic material, either in sound-recorded or questionnaire form for archival or academic use from 1909 to 1972, and of potential native Manx speakers that could be interviewed by such bodies. Not all potential informants were in fact interviewed. Informants whose names are marked solely (ASBD1946) or solely (CM1929 **Noted**) were not interviewed at all. For ease of reference such names are hyphen-indented. All the rest were dealt with by those individuals and bodies listed (with initials and year) against the respective informants’ names.

2.1. List of collecting individuals / bodies

1909: Vienna Recordings: Kaiserliche (later Österreichische) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna (Dr. Rudolf Trebitsch, 5–8 August 1909).

1929–33: Marstrander: University of Oslo, Norway (Prof. Dr. Carl J. S. Marstrander, 1929–1933).

9. The material in Wagner’s questionnaire is presented in sentence form, thus giving the realisation of each word as it naturally appears in connected speech. But the individual items need to be marshalled into some sort of order before any phonological study can be made of them (cf. Wagner 1958–69).

10. Jackson worked from a phonological questionnaire, hence his material consists of individual lexical items under various phonological headings, thus enabling easy reference to the Manx form or reflex showing the development of a particular sound in “Common Gaelc” (cf. Jackson 1951, 1955). But the shortage of prose pieces makes it difficult to assess the realisation of each word in connected speech, thus the organisation of his material is in fact opposite to that of Wagner.

11. For full details here, see LDIM/54–76.

1946 (1948): A. S. B. Davies, Moelfre, Colwyn Bay, Wales (List of native Manx speakers, 1946 (1948)).

1947–1962: Private Recordings: 1 (Gelling, 1947), 2 (Clarke, c.1960), 3 (Stowell / Caine, 1962).

1948: Irish Folklore Commission Recordings (22 April–5 May 1948).

1949: Carmody: University of California at Berkeley (Prof. Francis J. Carmody, July 1949).

1950: Wagner: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dr. Heinrich Wagner, summer 1950).

1950–51: Jackson: University of Edinburgh (Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson, Christmas / New Year 1950–51).

1950–52: Manx Museum Recordings (Early 1950–autumn 1952).

1951–53: *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* / The Manx Gaelic Society Recordings (Late 1951–mid-1953).

1972: Linguistic Survey of Scotland Recordings (David Clement, August 1972).

2.2. The informants

Subjoined is a lists of potential native Manx speakers that could be interviewed by the aforementioned bodies / individuals. Not all potential informants were in fact interviewed. Informants whose names are marked solely (ASBD1946) or solely (CM1929 **Noted**) were not interviewed at all. For ease of reference such names are hyphen-indented. All the rest were dealt with by those individuals and bodies listed (with initials and year) against the respective informants' names.

1. **Boyde**, Harry (1870/71–1953), Ballaugh BA (of Bishop's Court BA) (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, MM1950, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1951/1952).
2. **Cain**, Daniel (1860/61–1952), Little London MI (CM1929 **Noted**, YCG1952).
3. **Cain**, John (1850/51–1939), Ballamoar JU (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
4. **Cain**, William Joseph (1825/26–1911), Douglas (of Conchan) (VR1909). **Rhÿs informant** (qv).
5. **Cashen**, Caesar (1856/57–1943), Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**). Younger brother to William Cashen (**Rhÿs informant**, qv).
6. **Christian**, Ewan (1907/08–1985), 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE (LSS1972, GB1978–83).
7. **Christian**, John (1844/45–1931), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
8. **Christian**, Thomas (1850/51–1930), 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA) (CM1929)
- 9. **Clague**, Mrs. Annie (1868/69–1954), Niarbyl, Dalby PA (ASBD1946).
- 10. **Collister**, Mrs. ?, the Dolly MI (“near the station at Kirk Michael”) (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 11. **Corkill**, Mrs. ?, Peel (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 12. **Corlett**, William (1849/50–1932), Kirk Michael (CM1929. **Noted**).

13. **Corrin**, John Joseph (1857/58–1930), Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh) (CM1929).
14. **Cowley**, William (1842/43–1921), Douglas ON (of Lezayre) (VR1909).
15. **Cowley**, Thomas (1846/47–??), Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE (CM1929).
- 16. **Craine**, Elizabeth (1872/73–1945), Cooil Bane Cottage, Sulby LE (CM1929 **Noted**).
17. **Crebbin**, Thomas (1847/48–1935), Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU (CM1929, 1930).
- 18. **Crebbin**, Thomas, Cregneash RU (ASBD1946).
19. **Crebbin**, Thomas (1853/54–1940), Four Roads, Port St. Mary RU (CM1930).
20. **Faragher**, Thomas Edward (1865/66–1942), Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).
21. **Fayle**, Robert (1852/53–1938), Stauard, Sulby LE (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
- 22. **Fayle**, Robert, Ramsey (ASBD1946).
23. **Gawne**, John (1860/61–1934), West Nappin JU (CM1929).
- 24. **Harrison**, Thomas (1845/46–1929), Ballasalla ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 25. **Johnson**, Mrs. ?, 90+ (c.1839–??), nr. Grenaby ML (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 26. **Joughin**, Robert (1853/54–1929), Dhoon Church MA (CM1929 **Noted**).
27. **Kaighin**, John Tom (1861/62–1954), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, MM1950, 1951, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952, 1953).
28. **Karran**, Henry (1859/60–1947), The Howe RU (CM1929).
29. **Karran**, Walter James (1873/74–1939) (“somewhat younger brother [to Henry]”), The Howe RU (CM1929).
30. **Karran**, John (1866/67–1955), Cregneash RU (FJC1949),
31. **Karran**, Mrs. Eleanor (1870/71–1953), (wife) Cregneash RU (ASBD1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM 1952).
- 32. **Karran**, James, Cregneash RU (Mrs. Karran’s brother) (1877/78–1960) (ASBD 1946).
- English only.**
33. **Karran**, Thomas (1875/76–1959), Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (Mrs. Karran’s brother) (MM1950, YCG1952/1953).
- 34. **Kaye**, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA) (ASBD1946).
35. **Kelly**, Harry (“Harry Nancy”) (1852/53–1935), Cregneash RU (CM1929, 1930, 1933 **rec.**).
- 36. **Kelly**, Mr. J., 80+ (c.1849–??), Laxey (“on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines”) (CM1929. **Noted**).
37. **Kennah**, Edward (1860/61–1938), Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
38. **Kennah**, William (1867/68–1959), Balladuggan ML (CM1929).
39. **Kewley**, James (1849/50–1939), Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, “brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)”) (CM 1929).
40. **Killip**, John (1853/54–1935), Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE (CM1929).
- 41. **Killip**, Mrs. Catherine (1852/53–1934), Lhen AN (CM1929. **Noted**).
- 42. **?Kinrade**, Ben, c.76 (c.1853–??), of Arbory (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 43. **Kinvig**, John Dan (1860/61–1953), Ronague AR (of Garey Mooar AR) (ASBD1946).
44. **Kinvig**, Mrs. Sage Jane (1869/70–1962) (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR (ASBD1946, IFC1948, YCG1952, 1953).

45. **Kissack**, John (1857/58–1947), Ballachrink MI (CM1929).
- 46. **Kneale**, Charles (1856/57–1946), Ballagarrett BR (ASBD1946).
47. **Kneale**, Mrs. Annie (wife) (1864/65–1949), Balla-garrett BR (ASBD1946, IFC1948).
48. **Kneen**, John (the Gaau) (1858/59–1958), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude’s AN) (CM1929 **Noted**, ASBD 1946, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, MM1952, YCG1951/52).
- 49. **Kneen**, William (1856/57–1938), Croit-y-Caley RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
50. **Leece**, Thomas (1859/60–1956), Kerroomoar, Kerrookiel ML (CM1929 **Noted**, ASBD1946, IFC1948, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952).
51. **Looney**, Thomas (1852/53–1930), nr. churchyard, Maughold MA (CM1929).
52. **Lowey**, Mrs. Emily (1868/69–1947), Kirkill RU (ASBD1946, PRI1947).
- 53. **Maddrell**, Edmund (1841/42–1935), 36 Athol[^l] Park, Port Erin RU (CM1929 **Noted**).
- 54. **Maddrell**, John (1879/80–1948), Port St. Mary RU (brother to Ned) (ASBD1946).
55. **Maddrell**, Ned (1877–1974), Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU) (ASBD1946, PRI/1947, IFC1948, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51, YCG1952/53, PR21960, PR31962, LSS1972).
56. **Maddrell**, Thomas (1851/52–1931), Glenchass RU (CM1930).
57. **Moore**, Thomas (1836/37–1923), Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglioney RU) (VR1909).
58. **Mylechreest**, Mr. ?, 74 (1855–??), ?Ballaskeig Beg MA (CM1929).
59. **Nelson**, John (1839/40–1910), Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN) (VR1909).
- 60. **Preston**, William (1844/46–1934), Grenaby ML (CM1929. **Noted**).
61. **Quane**, William (1849/50–1935), 30 St. German’s Place, Peel GE (of Patrick) (CM1929, 1933 **rec.**).
62. **Quayle**, Thomas “the Gardener” (1848/49–1935), Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool) (CM1929 **Noted**, 1930).
63. **Quayle**, John Thomas (1863–1945), Squeen BA (CM1933 **rec.**)
- 64. **Sayle**, John (1849/50–1932), Ballathona AN (CM1929. **Noted**).
65. **Taggart**, Thomas (1846/47–1933), Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert ML) (CM1929, 1930).
- 66. **Taubman**, Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh) (1879–1966), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU) (CM 1929 **Noted**).
- 67. **Wade**, Mrs. Mary (1838/39–1933), Barrule Road, Foxdale ML (CM1929 **Noted**).
68. **Wade**, Wilfred (1868/69–1948), Sandygate JU (CM1929, ASBD1946, PRI1947).
69. **Watterson**, William (1863/64–1938), Glenchass RU (CM1929).
70. **Watterson**, Mrs. Catherine (1859/60–1951), Colby RU (of Glenchass RU) (ASBD1946, FJC1949, HW1950, KHJ1950/51).
71. **Woodworth**, Joseph, 75 (1853/54–1931), Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Port Erin RU) (CM1929, 1930).

71	Total number of informants
47	Total number of informants interviewed
24	Total number of informants <i>not</i> interviewed

2.3. List of informants by parish

Three figures are set against each parish name. The first figure gives the total number of informants from each parish, the second the number actually interviewed, the third those not interviewed

2.3.1. The Northern Parishes

ANDREAS (4/2/2)

–**Killip**, Mrs. Catherine, Lhen AN.

Kneen, John (the Gaaue), Ballaugh Curragh BA (of St. Jude’s AN).

Nelson, John, Ramsey MA (of Andreas AN).

–**Sayle**, John, Ballathona AN.

BALLAUGH (3/3/0)

Boyde, Harry, Ballaugh BA (of Bishop’s Court BA).

Corrin, John Joseph, Ballachurry JU (of Ballacroshey BA).

Quayle, John Thomas, Squeen BA.

BRIDE (3/2/1)

Kaighin, John Tom, Ballagarrett BR.

–**Kneale**, Charles, Ballagarrett BR.

Kneale, Mrs. Annie (wife), Ballagarrett BR.

GERMAN (2/1/1)

Christian, Ewan, 58 Patrick Street, Peel GE.

–**Corkill**, Mr. ?, Peel GE.

JURBY (3/3/0)

Cain, John, Ballamoar JU.

Gawne, Mr. John, West Nappin JU.

Wade, Wilfred, Sandygate JU.

LEZAYRE (6/5/1)

Christian, John, Sulby Glen LE (CM1929).

Cowley, John, Creggan, Tholt-y-Will LE.

–**Craine**, Mrs. Elizabeth, Cooil Bane Cottages, Sulby LE.

Faragher (Farakel), Mr. ?, Sulby Glen LE .

Fayle, Robert, Stauard, Sulby LE.

Killip, John, Ballaugh Road (nr. Sulby station), Sulby LE.

MICHAEL (4/2/2)

Cain, Daniel, Little London MI.

–**Collister**, Mrs. ? the Dolly MI (“near the station at Kirk Michael”).

–**Corlett**, William, carpenter, Kirk Michael MI.

Kissack, John, Ballachrink MI.

PATRICK (4/2/2)

Cashen, Caesar, Peel GE (of Dalby PA), younger brother to William Cashen (cf. under Rhÿs).

–**Clague**, Mrs. Annie, Niarbyl, Dalby PA.

–**Keye**, Miss ?, Onchan ON (of Glen Maye PA).

Quane, William, 30 St. German’s Place, Peel GE (of Ballachrink PA).

2.3.2. The Southern Parishes

ARBORY (7/5/2)

Kennah, Edward, Port Erin RU (of Ronague AR).

–**Kinrade**, Ben, of Arbory.

–**Kinvig**, John Dan, Ronague AR.

Kinvig, Mrs. Sage (wife), Garey Hollin, Ronague AR.

Quayle, Thomas “the Gardener”, Shore Road, Castle-town (of Liverpool).

Taggart, Thomas, Schoolhouse, Grenaby ML (of Ballagilbert AR).

Woodworth, Joseph, Port Erin RU, later at The Smelt, Gansey RU (of Ronague AR).

BRADDAN (0/0/0) none.

LONAN (2/1/1)

–**Kelly**, Mr. J., Laxey LO (“on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines”).

Kewley, James, Maughold MA (of Lezayre LE, “brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey)”).

MALEW (7/3/4)

–**Harrison**, Thomas, Ballasalla ML.

–**Johnson**, Mrs. ?, nr. Grenaby ML.

Kennah, William, Balladuggan (“just south of Grenaby”) ML.

Leece, Thomas, Kerroomoar, Kerrookiel ML.

–**Preston**, William, Grenaby ML.

Quayle, Thomas “the Gardener”, Shore Road, Castletown (of Liverpool).

–**Wade**, Mrs. Mary, Barrule, Foxdale ML.

MAROWN (0/0/0) none.

MAUGHOLD (5/3/2)

Christian, Thomas, 4 College Street, Ramsey MA (of Lewaigue MA). **Marstrander’s main informant in the North.**

Fayle, Robert, Ramsey.

Joughin, Robert, Dhoon Church MA.

- Looney**, Thomas, nr. churchyard, Maughold MA.
Mylechreest, Mr. ?, ?Ballaskeig Beg MA.
 ONCHAN (2/2/0)
Cain, William Joseph, Douglas (of Onchan). **Rhÿs informant**.
Cowley, William, Douglas ON.
 RUSHEN (20/14/6)
 -**Crebbin**, Thomas, Cregneash RU.
Crebbin, Thomas, Bradda Village. nr. Port Erin RU.
Crebbin, Thomas, Four Roads, nr. Port Erin RU.
Karran, Henry, The Howe RU.
Karran, Mr. ? (“somewhat younger brother [to William]”), The Howe RU.
Karran, John, Cregneash RU.
Karran, Mrs. Eleanor (wife), Cregneash RU.
 -**Karran**, James, Cregneash RU (Mrs. Karran’s brother).
Karran, Thomas, Douglas (of Cregneash RU) (Mrs. Karran’s brother).
Kelly, Harry (“Harry Nancy”), Cregneash RU. **Marstrander’s main informant in the South**.
 -**Kneen**, William, Croit-y-Caley RU.
Lowey, Mrs. Emily, Kirkill RU.
 -**Maddrell**, Edmund, tailor, 36 Athol Park, Port Erin RU.
 -**Maddrell**, John, Port St. Mary RU (brother to Ned).
Maddrell, Ned, Glenchass RU (of Corvalley RU).
Maddrell, Thomas, Glenchass RU.
Moore, Thomas, Brookfield, Port Erin RU (of Ballaglionney Lhag RU).
 -**Taubman**, Mrs. Catherine (i.e. Mrs. Catherine Jane Kennaugh), Port Erin RU (of Cregneash RU).
Watterson, William, Glenchass RU.
Watterson, Mrs. Catherine, Colby RU (of Glenchass RU).
 SANTAN (0/0/0) none.

29	Total number of informants for the North
20	Total number of informants interviewed
9	Total number of informants <i>not</i> interviewed
42	Total number of informants for the South
27	Total number of informants interviewed
15	Total number of informants <i>not</i> interviewed

71	Total number of informants North & South
47	Total number of informants interviewed
24	Total number of informants <i>not</i> interviewed

3. Written comments made by collectors on the informants and their contributions

Written comments on informants and their contributions were made by the following individuals: Marstrander (1929–33), Carmody (1949), Wagner (1950), Jackson (1950/51), Clement (1972).

3.1. Carl J. S. Marstrander, University of Oslo, Norway (1929–33)

Marstrander's comments on the situation of Manx and on his informants and their contributions appear in his *Dagbok*, his 'Diary' of his visits to Man (1929–33). Written in Norwegian in an exercise book, *Dagbok* was translated into English at my request by Knut Janson, a Norwegian national living in Dublin, in 1983.¹² *Dagbok* comprises eighty-five pages of script and details Marstrander's three visits to Man as follows:

- (1) in 1929 (04(12).06.192913–09.09.1929, pp.1–66), the longest visit.
- (2) in 1930 (early 08.1930–27.09.1930, pp. 67–78).
- (3) in 1933 (07(16).01.1933–06.02.1933, pp. 78–85).

Dagbok is housed in the Manx National Archive within Manx National Heritage, Douglas, Isle of Man, under the reference number MNH MS.5358B.¹⁴ Although Marstrander sought information and guidance regarding possible informants from William Cubbon (1865–1955), Librarian (1922–1932) and Director of the Manx Museum (1932–40), and *Heimatforscher* J. J. Kneen (1872–1938), so far as is known, he had no local Manx assistance to accompany him on his travels in Man. He did everything himself.

According to his diary, Marstrander's first (and most extensive) visit to Man

12. The Norwegian text was transcribed in 1998 by Anne Fevang and Lars Anders Ruden, Norwegian students then in the University of Mannheim, and printed in LDIM/229–252. Knut Janson's English translation was printed in LDIM/205–229.

13. The figure in brackets in the first date of each visit marks the actual date he landed in Man. On his way there Marstrander would spend some time in London first, visiting Celtic scholar Robin Flower before proceeding on his journey to Man via Liverpool (cf. *Dagbok* 1–6 (1929); 67 (1930); 78–79 (1933)).

14. For further details see LDIM/203–204.

took place from 12 June to 9 September 1929. On his arrival in Man he sought accommodation in the British Hotel on the North Quay in Douglas, the island's capital, and after settling himself in and seeking guidance from local worthies (see above) regarding the situation of Manx and its speakers, he began making a tour of the island by bicycle on the afternoon of 15 June, travelling in a clockwise direction, starting from Douglas and heading first for Castletown. On the way he would stop at various places to enquire of local Manx people about Manx and who still spoke it, etc., and in this way Marstrander was able to build up a picture of the distribution of Manx speakers, including semi-speakers and those who had a smattering of Manx, in the island at that time. He had, he says (§3.1.1.3), no Manx at all when he came to Man, and would assess the competence of individual speakers from his knowledge of Irish. His main aim at this time was to find someone with whom he could work regularly to learn from and question (§3.1.1.10/4). He found his ideal person in Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey, (cf. §3.1.1.24, he began working with him systematically on 25 June 1929, mornings from 10 to 12 and afternoons from 2 to 4 seemingly five days a week (see below), and on 8 September he was able to announce (§3.1.1.34) that he had “really got the hang of Manx”, and that he hoped to visit Man the following year (1930) to concentrate on the southern dialect.

From his diary (*passim*) we also learn that Marstrander had a penchant for acquiring old Manx Bibles, whether he bought them from his informants or had them give them to him, and he would be put out if an informant would not sell it!

3.1.1. Marstrander's 1929 visit to Man (12 June–9 September)

The first part of this 1929 visit was spent in finding a suitable informant to learn Manx from and, as already noted, Marstrander found him in Thomas Christian (1851–1930), Ramsey (§3.1.1.24). The main part was henceforth devoted to collecting material of the northern Manx dialect, since he had ascertained that there were noticeable dialect differences between northern and southern Manx.

3.1.1.1a. Kewaique¹⁵ (15.06.1929)

My first victim was a 60-year old man from the farm Kewaique [Kewaique], 1–2km from Douglas. The old people in those parts didn't speak Manx any longer, he said. His old parents spoke a little Manx, but they preferred English, and refused to have their children speak Manx. His grandparents, however, spoke mainly Manx and spoke English with an accent.

(*Dagbok* 9)

15. Irregularly spelled names or names rendered in phonetic script in *Dagbok* are here silently regularised. *Dagbok* can be viewed in full in LDIM/229–252 (original Norwegian), LDIM/205–229 (English translation)).

3.1.1.1b. Baconsfield (15.06.1929)

A man from Baconsfield (not on the map, but not too far from Kewaigue) ca. 55 yrs. old. Said one did not hear Manx any longer. His own father and mother spoke only English. Apart from that he was rather vague and not very precise in his statements.

(*Dagbok* 9–10)

3.1.1.1c. Castletown and environs (15.06.1929)

Rather a lot of rain on the east side, and I was rather wet when I arrived in Castletown where I booked a room in the Union Hotel. Later on that evening I had a pleasant conversation [in the Union Hotel] with the older and younger people from Castletown and the surrounding area. However, none of them spoke Manx. There was one exception, however, in a relatively young man whom I estimated to be in his forties: he had learned a little Manx, typically enough, from his grandmother. When I took a random sample and asked him what was “it is a cold day” in Manx, his reply was quite correct [...].

(*Dagbok* 10–11)

3.1.1.1d. To Derbyhaven (16.06.1929)

“Quayle the Gardener”, nr. Castletown ML, over 80.

Thomas Taggart, Grenaby ML, 80–85.

Tom Harrison, Ballasalla ML, well over 80.

Archdeacon [John] Kewley (1860–1941).¹⁶

16th June left Castletown around 11.00am for Grenaby. Good weather, even though rather windy. Just outside Castletown I had a chat with a 70 yr. old man. He was from Derbyhaven (born there) and did *not* [M’s italics] speak Manx; neither did his father, but his mother who was significantly from Ballabeg near Grenaby¹⁷ did speak it, however. Someone who spoke good Manx, according to him, was “Quayle the Gardener”. He is a man of over 80 yrs. born in Arbory¹⁸ and he lives just north of Castletown. Turned off to Derbyhaven. Met here 2 younger and 1 older Manxman. They gave me as good Manx speakers Thomas Taggart, the tailor in Grenaby, 80–85 yrs. old, born, according to them, in Kerrookiel (near Castletown). Further

16. For details of his life and times, see *John Kewley wikipedia* (retrieved 04.08.2016).

17. Marstrander’s note: “near Grenaby is my own comment. There is a Ballabeg close to Arbory which is probably meant here as a bigger place; see the map”.

18. Marstrander’s note: “approx. 3 km east of Colby on the road to Port Erin”.

they mentioned Tom Harrison in Ballasalla; he was well over 80 yrs. old. Then they mentioned Archdeacon Kewley who in turn mentioned Thomas Taggart [...]. 1/2 km west of Ballasalla at “Cross Four Ways” (I’ve marked this in the Manx guide, but it is not on the Ordnance Survey [map]). A woman of 40 declared that no one in the neighbourhood could speak Manx, but further on in the direction of Grenaby one could find “lots of them”. This was an exaggeration, however.

(*Dagbok* 11–13)

3.1.1.1e. To the Grenaby turn-off (16.06.1929)

- Mrs. Wade, ca.90.
- Mrs. Johnson, ca.90.
- William Preston, Grenaby ML, over 80.
- William Kneen, Croit y Caley RU, over 70.
- ?Ben Kinrade, ?Arbory, ca. 76.

A little to the north from here [Cross Four Ways, by Ballasalla] and before the side-road turns off for Grenaby from the main road (to Peel) I had a chat with a man in his 50s. He was born in Ballasalla. The father understood Manx, but ordinarily spoke English. His grandfather, however, preferred to speak Manx, but understood English nevertheless. As good Manx speakers he mentioned two old women Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Johnson, both ca. 90 yrs. and living quite near. In addition, he mentioned the tailor Taggart in Grenaby and a shoemaker in the same place William Preston who was over 80; he thought it was useless to go to him, as he would probably “slam the door in my face if I called on him”.

From this man I also heard the first bit of Manx. He was familiar with some ordinary greetings and some other phrases and had often heard about [dʒɔx ən dɔrəs] *jough yn dorrys* ‘drink at the door’, he said, the last drink before one leaves (Ir. *deoch an doruis*) [...].

It was this man, however, who told me about William Kneen as a good speaker. This Kneen is over 70 yrs., born in Croit-e-Caley (somewhat south-west of Colby) where he now lives.

Another speaker is ?Ben Kinrade [...], ca. 76 yrs. probably born in Arbory. But I cannot remember from whom I got this information

(*Dagbok* 13–15).

3.1.1.2. William Kennah, Balladuggan ML (16.06.1929)

William Kennah from Balladuggan just south of Grenaby, 62 yrs. old; he says he can express himself using ordinary sentences in Manx. A random sample ‘I am going

to Castletown' he translated correctly. His father and mother both spoke Manx, but also a bit of English. When they spoke to each other they used Manx in preference, and especially when there was something they did not wish the children to understand (this trait I have heard emphasised from many other quarters).

(Dagbok 15)

3.1.1.3. Thomas Taggart, Grenaby ML (16.06.1929)

Thomas Taggart turned out to be a jolly old man with a great apostolic beard, and quite a talkative man with a brilliant sense of humour. His 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). He lisps a little bit; certainly he doesn't have all his teeth, and some of the words appear to stick in his beard. But as far as I can see his Manx is impeccable [...]. I'm quite sure I can use the man; I have to keep him in mind [...].

(Dagbok 16)

3.1.1.4. Mr. Karran I (69), Mr. Karran II (55), The Howe RU (17.06.1929)

17th June: Glorious weather. Started walking to the south [from the Falcon's Nest Hotel, Port Erin] to get a glimpse of the Calf of Man. In the village of Cregneish I had a chat with a 69 yr. old man (Karran). He was from [the] Howe (on the map Howe) just north of Cregneish, but his father was born in Cregneish. He was able to express himself in Manx, as long as the sentence wasn't too complicated. A sentence like 'I would not have beaten him if he were not a bad man' neither he nor another older man could translate. But a sentence like 'I shall go to the fair tomorrow', 'I went to the fair yesterday, but bought nothing' they both managed without any difficulty [...]. Also met Karran's somewhat younger brother (55 yrs.), a sailor. His father spoke good Manx; he even preferred it to English and was well able to read it.

(Dagbok 17–18)

3.1.1.5. Harry Kelly, Cregneash RU (17.06.1929)

Harry Kelly, 77 yrs. old who lives at the bottom of the village on the right hand (south) side of the road. A nice old man with a clear pronunciation. The few sentences I gave him to translate—they were quite simple—he managed without any difficulty. His father spoke practically only Manx [...]. Kelly can be used without doubt.

(Dagbok 18)

3.1.1.6. [William] Watterson, Glenchass RU (17.06.1929)

An old man in the village of Fistard who was about 70 told me that his father spoke only Manx; his mother, however, spoke both. He was himself only able to manage a simple sentence in Manx. As a good speaker he mentioned Watterson in Glenchass near Howe, c.65 yrs. I called on this man [...]. Watterson gave me the impression that he was able to hold a conversation in Manx, although his knowledge of the language probably wasn't perfect judging from several examples. He gave me several forms of numerals which I noted in a hurry [exx. 1–100]. Watterson was, however, not quite certain when he exceeded 40. He mentioned 60 as *tree keead* which has to be 300, but he corrected himself later [exx. of several words] [su:l'] 'eye' (which he, however, couldn't remember immediately, and it was only after I mentioned the Irish word for it that he did remember it) [...]. Manx speakers one could find at Balakilpheric and in Lingague, both near Colby, says Watterson.

(*Dagbok* 20–22)

3.1.1.7. Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin RU (17.06.1929)

Joseph Woodworth is 75 yrs. old and appears really to know a good deal of Manx. He is a fisherman and his day much depends on the weather. 'I would like to go to Douglas tomorrow' he translates *liack lhiam dy ghill gys Doolish mairagh*. 'If he hadn't been a bad man...' he translates: *mannagh beagh eh er ve drogh ghooiney*. He was willing to talk Manx with me if I came back to Port Erin.

(*Dagbok* 23)

3.1.1.8a. From Barrule Farm ML to Peel GE (17.06.1929)

- William Keggan (no Manx), nr. Barrule Farm ML.
- Manx advocate [Henry Percy] Kelly, Douglas CO.
- Archdeacon [John] Kewley, Andreas AN.

From Rushen Abbey back to Four Cross Ways [Cross Four Ways] where I took the main road northwards to Peel. The steep-hill [Ballamodha Straight] was very difficult because of the heavy load on the back of the bike. On the top near Barrule Farm (on the Peel Road) I met a 53 yr. old man, William Keggan, who himself doesn't speak Manx. No one spoke Manx in the district, he said. The only one, if any, had to be Taggart in Grenaby (which he mentioned without being prompted), but his father spoke Manx (and English) [...]. A short distance from Peel ca. 3 miles—I met two men in their 60s. Manx wasn't spoken there, they said. The old ones who once spoke it were all gone. Their parents spoke Manx, they admitted, especially when

the children were not to know what was talked about. In the same direction, said the younger man who was in his 50s, and a short distance from Peel (ca. 2 miles from there). He mentioned as excellent speakers of Manx Advocate [Henry Percy] Kelly in Douglas and Archdeacon [John] Kewley in Andreas. Arrived at Peel around 9.00pm and booked into the Marine Hotel just by the beach.

(*Dagbok* 25–27)

3.1.1.8b. Kirk Michael MI (18.06.1929)

- C. H. Cowley (archaeologist), Peel GE.
- Caesar Cashen, Peel GE.
- William Quane, Peel GE.

18th June: Mire Hotel, Kirk Michael (good but expensive; 7/6 bed and breakfast). Before I left Peel I called to see the chemist C[harles] H[enry] Cowley [1874–1944, a local archaeologist], who had been recommended to me in Douglas. One cannot say he is a native speaker, although he has often heard Manx spoken in his childhood and has learned a great deal later on. He recommended Caesar Cashen and William Quane, the same as Cubbon and Kneen had mentioned in Douglas.

(*Dagbok* 27)

3.1.1.9. William Quane, Peel GE (18.06.1929)

Quane lives in St. German's Place [Peel] together with his sister. He is 79 yrs. old (born 1850) and gives the impression of being able to speak Manx quite well. He quite often speaks it with Caesar Cashen at the Market Place. But I notice he doesn't get much practice, which is understandable. His pronunciation was quite clear [...].¹⁹ But Quane in fast speech doesn't seem to distinguish between *aige* and *aice*, as in Irish. However, more examples would obviously make clearer the Manx forms [some exx.].

(*Dagbok* 27–28; 31–32)

3.1.1.10. Caesar Cashen, Peel GE (18.06.1929)

- “Quayle the Gardner”, nr. Castletown ML

Together with Quane I walked down to the Market Place and here met Caesar Cashen (ca. 70 yrs.) He remembered Rhÿs quite well whom he had often spoken to when

19. There now follows two pages of examples (cf. LDIM/29–31).

he came to consult his [Cashen's] older brother [William Cashen]. Cashen seems to speak quite good Manx. The sentence 'I would like to go to Douglas' he repeated immediately like Woodworth, but Quane used a different expression: *ta mee bwooish...* 'I am wishing' which doesn't appear to be very idiomatic. Both Quane and Cashen were extremely pleasant. It is very likely that with help from them it should be possible to outline the main features of the Peel dialect — phonetic and grammatical.

Without being asked Cashen mentioned as a good speaker 'Quayle the Gardner', the same as I'd heard mentioned in Castletown, and the same one as Mr. Cubbon in a later letter from Castletown had brought to my attention (Quayle's address is Shore Road [Castletown]; he is, writes, Cubbon, the "most fluent speaker in the town" [...]).

Left Peel at 6.00pm in the afternoon and came to Kirk Michael on the western road (the coast road) at 8.00pm. Booked into the Mitre Hotel.

(*Dagbok* 32–35)

3.1.1.11. Mrs. Corkill, Peel GE (18.06.1929)

–Mrs. [Catherine] Taubman, Port Erin RU.

Mrs. Corkill, Peel, who Cubbon told me was a good speaker, was not at home, neither was Mrs. Taubman (c/o Mr. Kennaugh, grocer), Port Erin (she is, of course, mentioned by Rhys).²⁰ But first of all it is important that I find an individual whose speech I can make daily notes of, who is patient and co-operative and women are hardly suitable for that.

(*Dagbok* 34)

3.1.1.11a. Kirk Michael MI (19.06.1929)

–Vicar [Charles Alfred] Cannan, Kirk Michael MI.

19th June. In Kirk Michael one can say that Manx is completely dead. No one was

20. cf. Rhys (1895:ix). He notes that he "knew of only one family where Manx appeared to be more talked than English and that was Mrs. Keggins' [Cregneash Farm]. She was an octogenarian who had two sons living with her [Thomas & John], together with a granddaughter in her teens. That girl was the only Manx-speaking child that I recollect meeting with in the whole island." Concerning the granddaughter, Stephen Miller (p.c. 16.04.2016) draws my attention to a pencilled note made by former Manx Museum Director, the late William Cubbon (1865–1955), in the Manx Museum's copy of Rhys (1895:ix) in 1929, in which Cubbon tells us that "this child was Catherine Taubman, later Mrs. Kennaugh of Port Erin".

able to name even a single old man around here who spoke it. Vicar Cannan²¹ here is supposed to be quite knowledgeable in the language, it is said [...]. But Cashen said that his Manx and his pronunciation appeared to be somewhat strange, and that he didn't understand what he said all the time²².

(*Dagbok* 35)

3.1.1.12. John Kissack, Ballachrink MI (19.06.1929)

-Daniel Cain, Little London MI.

P.S. Kirk Michael: John Kissack in Ballachrink on the Douglas road just on the outskirts of Kirk Michael; he is a man of over 70 yrs. He knows amongst other things the Our Father [Lord's Prayer] in Manx—but appears strangely enough not to be able to count to 10. As a good Manx speaker he mentioned Daniel Cain²³ 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.

(*Dagbok* 37 top)

3.1.1.13/14. William Corlett & Mrs. Collister, Kirk Michael MI (19.06.1929)

-Mrs. Collister, The Dolly MI.

-Mr. [John] Gawne, West Nappin JU.

20th June: Sulby Glen Hotel. The carpenter William Corlett, ca. 80 yrs. old, from what I've heard was from Kirk Michael. He was not at home when I enquired about him. I did not visit Mrs. Collister, the Dolly, near the station at Kirk Michael.

Route 19th June: Kirk Michael-Ballaugh-Jurby-Sulby. At Bishop's Court between Kirk Michael and Ballaugh I met a man around 50. He was born in Ballaugh parish and could count from 1–20 (12 [deidʒεg] [expected [deijεg] GB]). But apart from that he hadn't a lot more knowledge of Manx. A good speaker is Mr. Gawne, W. Nappin, just south of Jurby Church.

(*Dagbok* 35–36)

21. i.e. Rev. Canon Charles Alfred Cannan, Chaplain to the House of Keys, 1924–1929 (cf. <http://www.tynwald.org.im/memoff/former/FormerBiogs/CannanJDQ.pdf>) (accessed 04.08.2016).

22. Along with other members of *Yn Çhesbaght Ghailckagh* / The Manx Gaelic Society, I attended a church service led by Vicar Cannan one Sunday c.1975 and can confirm Cashen's comments.

23. Daniel Cain, noted but not visited by Marstrander, but recorded briefly by YCG in ?April 1952 (YCG21).

3.1.1.15. Mr. [John] Gawne, West Nappin JU (20.06.1929)

He [Mr. Gawne] is about 70 yrs. old and has quite a good pronunciation. The man gives you the impression of being somewhat older [...]. I think Gawne is fairly usable and given some time would be able to squeeze the complete Manx system out of him. He is extremely willing to co-operate. Here are a couple of words and expressions which I noted (in sufficient phonetic script) [some exx.].

(*Dagbok* 36–37)

3.1.1.16. Wilfred Wade, Sandygate JU (20.06.1929)

–John Cain, Ballamoar JU.

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 Bible (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 [more exx.]. As a good speaker he mentioned to me John Cain, Ballamoar [JU].

(*Dagbok* 38–39)

3.1.1.17. John Cain, Ballamoar JU (20.06.1929)

–John Killip, Sulby Glen LE.

He [Wade] gave me Cain's age as 80-odd yrs., but he [Cain] didn't give me the impression of being more than 70-odd. He unfortunately had visitors when I came [...], but I got the impression that he knew a bit of Manx [...]. Nevertheless, he recited *stante pede* a good deal of Manx poems.²⁴ His pronunciation seemed to be clear and correct. He would probably be of some help if I settled down here to work with Gawne. As a good speaker he mentioned a young man at the Railway Hotel in Ballaugh, a John Killip, Sulby Glen. The same man was also recommended by Fayle. He lives about 200 meters from the railway station [at Sulby].

(*Dagbok* 40)

3.1.1.18. Mr. [Robert] Fayle, Stauard, Sulby LE (20.06.1929)

Mr Fayle [...], Stauard [...], is 76 yrs. old. He lives a few hundred metres from the [Sulby

24. Some of these can be found in HLSM/II: 312–315.

Glen] hotel on a line which goes from it and across to the chapel or a little bit to the right of it. His father spoke only Manx and spoke in a thick accent when speaking English. His mother spoke both Manx and English. He gives the impression of being quite knowledgeable in Manx, but lacks practice. The sentence ‘I would not have beaten him, if he hadn’t been a bad man’ he hesitated for a while; for ‘beat’ he used [betal] [*beatal*] or something like it, which has to be the English word. He did not know any Manx for Sulby. *Glen* is here pronounced with *dn*. Without doubt he would be quite useful, but I think rather difficult to work with.

(*Dagbok* 40–41)

3.1.1.19. Mr. [Thomas Edward] Faragher, Sulby Glen LE (21.06.1929)

–Mrs. [Elizabeth] Craine, Cooilbane Cottage, Sulby LE

Up Sulby Glen. A man of 64 (his name was Farakel [?Faragher]) born “at the bottom of the glen” said that his father spoke Manx and his grandfather only Manx. But his own knowledge of the language was rather fragmentary. He recommended as a good speaker Mrs. Craine, ca. 55 yrs. old (whose grandfather spoke only Manx); she lives on the road to Ballaugh (Cooilbane Cottage) [some exx. from Faragher].

(*Dagbok* 41–42)

3.1.1.20. Mr. [Thomas] Cowley, Creggan, Tholty Will, Sulby Glen LE (21.06.1929)

–Mr. Christian, Lhergyrhenny LE

Lunch in Tholt y Will. From there up a steep road to the south; ca. 1 mile up there is a side-road to the left. It leads to Creggan [...] where Cowley [...] lives. He is now 85 yrs. old, almost blind and rather rheumatic, but his pronunciation is quite clear. His memory seems somewhat weakened. Even when he speaks English he hesitates and seems to be rooting for the words. It was impossible for him to remember what ‘head’ was in Manx. It wasn’t until I mentioned the southern Manx [kʲɔːn] [*kione*] that he gave me his pronunciation of it as [kʲɔːn]. He also had problems differentiating between ‘with him’ and ‘with her’, but things like that will hopefully diminish fairly naturally in more connected speech [a number of exx. follow].

(*Dagbok* 42)

As a good speaker Cowley mentioned Christian in Lhergyrhenny (on the map Lhergyrhenny south-east of Creggan). But he is almost deaf. He also has a brother.

(*Dagbok* 44–45)

3.1.1.21. John Christian, Sulby Glen LE (21.06.1929)

John Christian, carpenter, 84 yrs. old (several years older than his brother). He lives a short distance from the chapel near the Sulby Glen road. Faragher also recommended him and he seems really to be one of the best [gives Lord's Prayer + some exx.].

(Dagbok 45–46)

3.1.1.22. John Killip, Sulby Glen LE (21.06.1929)

21st June: Ramsey, Saddle Hotel. I called on Mr. Killip before I left Sulby. He lives on the Ballaugh road a couple of hundred metres from Sulby railway station. He turned out to be identical with a man I had stopped the previous night and asked directions to the Sulby Glen Hotel. The man was quite sure of himself and spoke a little about his knowledge of Manx, which in fact was deficient. He couldn't even recite the Our Father and naturally got stuck rather quickly when I gave him the ordinary test sentences [some exx.].

(Dagbok 46)

3.1.1.23a. Andreas village AN (21.06.1929)

Left Sulby in the afternoon to go to Andreas, which appeared to be an excellent starting point for my excursion to the flat northerly part of the island. I met a young man a couple of miles from Andreas. He didn't know of any Manx speakers in the district. He had heard Manx in his childhood, he told me, and the old ones spoke it when it was something they didn't want the younger ones to understand. The hotel in Andreas (Grosvenor) was fully booked, therefore I continued to Ramsey, Saddle Hotel, Market Place [...]

(Dagbok 47)

3.1.1.24. Thomas Christian, College Street, Ramsey MA (21.06.1929)

Thomas Christian whom I visited today lives in College Street quite near the [Saddle] hotel. He is an excellent old man, a Nordic type through and through. Here I seem finally to have found the man to work with. His pronunciation is clear; the man is intelligent, patient, and understands that he can be of great service to scholarship by making himself available. He answers small test examples quickly and idiomatically.

(Dagbok 47–48)

25th June: Had my first lesson with Christian today. 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.

(*Dagbok* 53)

31st [*sic*] June: Have now worked with Christian for appr. a week (from ca. 10–12 and from 2–4), and beginning to get the hang of the system. Chr. without doubt knows a lot of Manx. But it is quite clear that even he is a long time without practice at speaking the language. He often neglects the ordinary rules of mutation (aspiration [i.e. lenition], eclipsis), but maybe that is part of the development of the dialect he is speaking.

(*Dagbok* 53–54)

3.1.1.25. Mr. Mylechreest, Ballaskeig Beg MA (22.06.1929)

–Tom Looney, Maughold, c.75.

Stopped at Maughold Church [on his way to Douglas] to have a look at the Celtic cross and the runic crosses which are collected under a half-roof in the churchyard [...]. A digger at the churchyard gave me Tom Looney, ca. 75 yrs., as one who spoke Manx. He lives quite close to the churchyard. He was not at home when I came, but his brother's son said he had only heard "an odd word of Manx" from him. So he can probably be erased from my list of Manx speakers.

(*Dagbok* 48–50)

In Ballaskeig Beg on the road from Maughold to Ballaglass I met a man of 74 yrs. with the well-known name Mylechreest. His father and mother spoke only Manx. He appeared to have a good grasp of the language. "Good subject" my notes tell me. Words and expressions from him [several exx. follow]. Mylechreest lives alone; his wife has a bed and breakfast place in Douglas. He seems to be excellent and I think it would be useful to have a chat with him later on when I've got a better grasp of the language.

(*Dagbok* 50–51)

3.1.1.26. Robert Joughin, Dhoon Church MA (22.06.1929)

As a Manx speaker he [Mylechreest] gave me a Robert Joughin, Dhoon Church, a man over 70; but I didn't manage to get a hold of him.

(*Dagbok* 51)

3.1.1.27. James Kewley, south of Laxey LO (22.06.1929)

My next victim was James Kewley, 79 yrs. old (b. 1850) the youngest of only surviving one of 10 brothers. Born in Lezayre, but brought up in Lonan parish (south of Laxey). He had also lived for some time in Maughold. Met him on the island somewhat south of Laxey and had a long chat with him. He certainly knows a lot of Manx [several exx. follow]. He recites some verses he had heard from an older brother: [re Castle Mona].²⁵ There were several verses, but I only remember this one [stanza given]. A nice man and quite informative.

23rd June (Sunday). Went out to look for lodgings. I'll probably book into the Bridge Inn [Ramsey], 30s. a week (bed and breakfast).

(Dagbok 51–52)

3.1.1.28. John Joseph Corrin, Ballachurry JU (of Ballaugh) (01.07.1929)

On the Jurby Road some miles or so from Ramsey I had a chat with John Joseph Corrin, 71 yrs. old, born in Ballaugh parish in Ballacroshey, now lives in Jurby in Ballachurry (on Jurby Road). Fifty years ago when he came to Jurby Manx was in extensive use. He appears to have quite some proficiency in spoken Manx. The test sentence 'if you don't come at once, I shall beat you' he managed quite well (with the exception of 'at once' which he did not translate); the weekdays he rattled off at a surprising rate (Christian got stuck on 'Tuesday' which can be attributed to his lack of memory in general. Even in English he seemed sometimes to hesitate). I'll have to call on him [Corrin] later. He is more than willing to receive me again.

(Dagbok 55–56)

3.1.1.29. John Sayle, Ballathona AN (01.07.1929)

North of Jurby Church I got some more information from Sartfield farm from a man in his 50s. He gave me as a good Manx speaker John Sayle in Ballathona [AN] about 3 miles north of Jurby, North Road (Shore-road), ca. 70–80 yrs. old.

(Dagbok 56–57)

25. A satirical song on the building of the Castle Mona in 1804, formerly the residence of John Murray, Fourth Duke of Atholl and Governor of Man (1793–1830). For a fuller text (4 stanzas) see Broderick (1982: 11–12).

3.1.1.30. Mr. [John] Kneen,²⁶ Lhen AN (01.07.1929)²⁷

Furthermore he [the man from Sartfield gave me as a good Manx speaker] Mr. Kneen, Lhen (a short distance from Sartfield).

(*Dagbok* 57)

3.1.1.31. Mrs. [Catherine] Killip, Lhen AN (01.07.1929)

and Mrs. Killip (also in Lhen judging from my notes). Her husband died more than 40 yrs. ago. She is different from the Mrs. Killip I met in Sulby whose husband is still alive.

(*Dagbok* 57)

3.1.1.32. Mr. J. Kelly, Laxey LO (11.07.1929)

As a good Manx speaker he [William Cubbon] mentioned Mr. J. Kelly, Laxey, on the Ramsey side of the glen and at the mines. He is over 80 yrs. old.

(*Dagbok* 62)

3.1.1.33. Edmund Maddrell, 36 Athol Park, Port Erin RU (15.07.1929)

As a good Manx speaker in Port Erin he [J. J. Kneen] mentioned Edmond Maddrell, a tailor, ca. 80 yrs. old, Athol Park.

(*Dagbok* 63)

26 Although recommended to Marstrander, Kneen was for some reason not visited by him and thereby passed temporarily into oblivion. He was “rediscovered” seven years later, in 1936, as John Kneen (The Gaaue) (1859–1958), Ballaugh Curragh, by Manx field-worker, the late Charles 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 (1862–1954), Ballagarrett, Bride, and Harry Boyde (c.1870–1953), 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.

27 David Craine, author of *Manannan’s Isle* 1955 (qv) who apparently knew the Gaaue 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 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 from people he had met in Man at that time who had been close to David Craine himself.

3.1.1.34. Marstrander's final report of his 1929 visit (08.09.1929)

8th Sept: Will travel tomorrow morning [09.09.1929] to Douglas and afterwards on the 4.30pm boat to Liverpool-Newcastle-Oslo ("Bessheim").

I am quite satisfied with my stay here. The material I have collected will without doubt have significant value when Celtic speech has completely disappeared from the island in 5–10 yrs. time, even though the phonetic interpretations on several points are naturally only tentative.

I have really got the hang of Manx and I hope that when I return next year I can start on the southern dialect, which in my opinion differs to a significantly greater degree than is generally thought from that in the northern part of the island.

My plan for next summer [1930] is: to investigate the southern dialect [...].

(*Dagbok* 63–65)

3.1.2. Marstrander's 1930 visit to Man (early August–27.09.1930)

In contradistinction to 1929 Marstrander's visit in 1930 during August and September was spent in the South gathering material there from a number of informants, particularly from Joseph Woodworth and Harry Kelly (qv). In addition, he collected some material from Peel where he also noticed peculiarities of dialect.

3.1.2.1. Thomas Taggart, Grenaby ML (08.1930)

Now working with Taggart in Grenaby. He is a bit of a disappointment; he is very overrated. He has forgotten most of his Manx; he does not remember the most ordinary of words like 'shoulder', 'knee', etc., and this is probably not because of his great age. I will probably give him up shortly.

(*Dagbok* 67–68)

[28.08.1930] Taggart is a very difficult subject to put it mildly. First of all he's deaf and a continuous conversation with him is almost impossible. His memory is also weakened to a considerable degree. All his information will have to be checked and used with the greatest care. False associations with synonymous or similar sounding English or Manx words would often lead him to produce completely mad forms, such as [æ:-kəl] 'lime-kiln' (under the influence of Eng. 'kiln') for [i:l] = [G] *aoil*!! I'll have to arrange some phonetic system of what he has explained. Yesterday [27.08.30] we were shouting for a full 4½ hours, which I'm sure could be heard all over the parish — and we were both completely knackered when we were finished.

(*Dagbok* 70–71)

3.1.2.2. Edward Kennah, Ballaclery AR (08.1930)

Edward Kennah from Ballaclery, a short distance from Grenaby, is better [than Taggart]. The man is from the Port Erin area. He is an absolutely trustworthy man. But he doesn't speak Manx with ease.

(*Dagbok* 68)

3.1.2.3. Joseph Woodworth, Port Erin RU (08.1930)

The best is Jos. Woodworth, Port Erin, with whom I am now writing down the story of Joseph. He is clear and certain, and his Manx seems to be with him something more than just memories.

(*Dagbok* 68)

3.1.2.4. Harry Kelly, Cregneash RU (29.08.1930)

Woodw. sick today; for that reason I took a trip to Cregneish and met old Kelly. He makes a very good impression. He grew up in a home where the parents spoke Manx to each other. He has always understood Manx himself — even as a small boy he was able to speak a little. He only achieved complete mastery of the language when, as with Woodw., he went fishing with the older men when he was around 15 yrs. old. It was most interesting to observe that K. did not have a broad fronted / [viz. [L]], as in *laa* 'day'. There is a question here whether we are up against a change in the old Manx dialect in the Port Erin district, or the loss of this feature could be that W. and K. grew up with English as their main language. The problem will have to be solved. It is of considerable general interest.

30/8. Took a trip to Cregneish yesterday evening and paid a visit to Harry Kelly. Arranged to meet him tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and have just arrived back from my first session with him. He will be 79 next year. He appears to have an extraordinarily good knowledge of Manx. I've still not been able to get to know him well at all, but it would not surprise me that of all the speakers I have met he is the one who speaks best and most idiomatically. Made him tell me his "Life" in English; I'll take it down in Manx tomorrow morning about 9 o'clock. Kelly is supposed to be very unapproachable — a fish-monger who passed by was surprised that I ever got Kelly to speak Manx.

1/9/30. My impression of Kelly is confirmed. He appears to be an excellent speaker considering the position of Manx. I noted down his *vita* yesterday, which contained many interesting pieces of information about manners and customs in the old days.

But he is a difficult man to handle. When I called in this morning at 9 o'clock as we had agreed he had no time to spare. I'll have to come to a permanent arrangement with him.

(*Dagbok* 71–73)

3.1.2.5. Thomas Crebbin, Bradda Village RU (01.09.1930)

Called on Thomas Crebbin in Bradda Village today, and am going to meet him tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. He appears to have a clear pronunciation. A palatal *n* came evry clearly from him. He was born in Port Erin (half way between P. Er. and Bradda Village). Like his father and grandfather he has spoken Manx from early childhood. He appears to pronounce *laa* 'day' with a broad fronted *l*. In other words Woodw. and Kelly's pronunciation is flavoured by the dialect from which they learned Manx [some odd words].

(*Dagbok* 73–74)

3.1.2.6. T[homas] Maddrell, Glenchass RU (20.09.1930)

T. Maddrell in Glenchass was an uncongenial man between 70 and 80 and did not appear to be much worthwhile as a subject. He told me himself that he could not speak Manx before he was 18, when from that time he learned it from the old people. But he couldn't keep up a conversation nor speak it fluently.

(*Dagbok* 75–76)

3.1.2.7. T[homas] Crebbin, Four Roads, Port Erin RU (20.09.1930)

T. Crebbin at Four Roads near Port Erin. He is an old man of around 80. His knowledge of Manx is rather limited from several angles. I did not miss much by not visiting him earlier.

(*Dagbok* 76)

3.1.2.8. William Quane, Peel GE (24/25.09.1930)

Worked in Peel with Quane Wednesday afternoon and Thursday morning and managed to get some fairly good material during the short time. Characteristic of Peel Manx is amongst other things are *a*-sounds. I hope to get the opportunity to come back to Peel to spend a week or two another year.

(*Dagbok* 77)

3.1.2.9. Marstrander's final report of his 1930 visit (20.09–30.09.1930)

20/9 [Saturday]. Finished off my work in Grenaby and P[ort] E[rin]. Kelly is an excellent subject and I must come back another year and make further use of him. Woodw. is reliable, but his Manx does not seem to be as genuine (vernacular) as Kelly's or Crebbin's. The latter is the one I can probably do nothing much with, because he is quite ill. It is rather doubtful whether I will find him alive in another year. He has forgotten the most part of his Manx, but the little he has gives the same genuine impression as Kelly's.

I will have to get hold of Maddrell before I leave and will have to throw some light on Crebbin's [palatal] [I] (same as Kelly's?). I'll also have to arrange it that I get a few days in Peel, in other words tomorrow Sunday [21.09.1930]: Peel; Thursday [25.09.1930]: farewell to Douglas; Friday [26.09. 1930] to Liverpool.

30/9/30. Home again. Finished the work with Kelly and Woodworth. Visited Crebbin in Bradda Village and got all the 32 points of the compass from him.

(*Dagbok* 74–77)

Thursday afternoon [25.09.30] in Douglas [...].

Saturday 27th from Newcastle on Bessheim [...].

(*Dagbok* 77)

3.1.3. Marstrander's 1933 visit to Man (16.01–06.02.1933). Sound-recordings

The main purpose of this visit was to obtain sound-recordings on wax cylinders by means of an Ediphone machine. According to his notes (DLMS/I: 573, 597), Marstrander was able to make 54 cylinder recordings from the following informants: Harry Kelly, Cregneash RU (28), William Quane, Peel GE (5), Caesar Cashen, Peel GE (9), Mr. Fyale, Sulby LE (2), John Cain, Jurby JU (2), Thomas Quayle, Castletown (of Arbory) (1) (Total 47). In addition, three other cylinder recordings were made of Harry Kelly, one of Manx local historian J. J. Kneen (not a native speaker) and three of William Cubbon, then librarian in the Manx Museum (also not a native speaker), bringing the total to 54 cylinder recordings in all. Of these recordings only 23 have so far come to light; one is of J. J. Kneen, the rest are of Harry Kelly (nos. 2–24, excluding no. 7 (missing, as is also part of no. 14). They were evidently retrieved after Marstrander's death (1965) in a cardboard box in his attic directly under the roof, where they had apparently been stored for several years and exposed to very great variations in temperature; they then came into the possession of Marstrander's former pupil, the late Magne Oftedal, Professor of Celtic Studies in the University of Oslo (Oftedal p.c. April 1978, Oftedal 1982: 18). I received a copy-tape of the extant cylinder recordings during April 1978 from Oftedal GB.

3.1.3.1. Harry Kelly, Cregneish RU (24/25–30.01.1933)

Brought with me part 1 of the phonographic recordings which Selmer and Leip had used in America. Selmer pointed out that there was something wrong with the stylus, and that this was a great handicap here. It is a pity, because at least 1/5 of the wax cylinder cannot be used, and the whole thing could have been easily fixed by changing the stylus only. It has to be done as soon as I get back home. Apart from that the recording apparatus is functioning well. I cannot use it when the temperature is less than 20 degrees which is what Selmer prefers. It is cold here [in Manx] and practically impossible to get the temperature up in the rooms.

I tried to get in contact with Kelly on 24th Jan; walked over the hill from Port Erin (Station Hotel as in 1930), and started the recordings here in the hotel on 25th. My impression is that the recordings are rather uneven. Kelly's voice is somewhat hoarse, is a bit squeaky and not very sonorous, but the result improves when he speaks relatively softly and has his mouth well close to the horn. Have worked with him for four days now; will probably finish tomorrow morning the 30th Jan.

The second apparatus I brought with me is a graph by which I can determine the sonority, nasality, consonant and vowel sounds, pitch, and as far as I can see it is not functioning very satisfactorily and I cannot compare it with the French apparatus I used in Brittany. It is very difficult to get the oscillations to show on the paper here. Maybe it could be improved if I changed the nibs; it is probably there that the fault lies. Have not yet used the apparatus here, but will try it tomorrow morning with Kelly.

30/1/33. Finished my work with Harry Kelly today, 29 cylinders for "metalisation". I also tried the other apparatus on him. The oscillations were more visible when I used a *short* [M's italics] arm. The main result: faintly voiced media χ [x] ζ [y] in *dorcha* are voiced; *p, t, k* considerably weaker aspiration than in Norwegian; [aun'] 'river', [daun'] 'deep' have a non-nasal vowel.

(*Dagbok* 81–83)

3.1.3.2. William Quane, St. German's Place, Peel GE (28.01.1933)

29/1/33. Visited Quane yesterday. Recorded the Lord's Prayer, some verses of a hymn (see Peel material) together with a couple of small sentences. Quane's voice didn't turn out to be very good either for the recordings, and his knowledge of Manx is probably rather limited. He is not like Kelly and Cashen born with Manx, but has learned it, as he says himself, by listening to the old people when he was a boy. His pronunciation often varies for the same words, it seems to me.

(*Dagbok* 83–84)

3.1.3.3. Mr. [Robert] Fayle, Stauard, Sulby LE (03.02.1933)

3/2. To Sulby where I used a couple of cylinders on Fayle. He was an impossible subject, hoarse and had a squeaky voice, and barked the words into the horn — and his memory of Manx was rather limited.

(*Dagbok* 84)

3.1.3.4. John Cain, Jurby JU (04.02.1933)

4/2. To Jurby. John Cain confirmed completely the good impression I got of him in 1929. Used the two last cylinders on him. It is a pity I hadn't met him before. He would have been one of my main informants together with Christian, Woodworth, and Kelly.

(*Dagbok* 84–85)²⁸

3.1.3.5. Marstrander's final report for 1933 (05.02.1933)

5/2/33. Recorded several cylinders in Peel with Quane and Cashen. 12 long cylinders from Liverpool. Came in handy. I have to mention that the 18cm cylinders which Selmer mentions in his letter as quite useful cannot be cut, as they are cone-shaped. [up left side of page 41] 1933 Mr. Killip, Sulby, has forgotten everything. His parents spoke Manx. 1933: 2/2 took two cylinders with me to Fayle; almost impossible. But the man was very careful and told me that his pronunciation was not quite idiomatic.

(*Dagbok* 41–42)

3.2. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley, USA (July 1949)

Prof. Francis J. Carmody, University of California at Berkeley USA, spent some time in July 1949 interviewing some of the remaining native Manx speakers, as Carmody himself tells us (Carmody 1954: 59) “taking notes and making four hours of consecutive electric tape recordings”²⁹ which he published in Carmody (1954). He adds (*ibid.*),

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,

28. Inside back cover of Diary: “Edmond Maddrell, tailor, P[ort] E[rin], no. 36 Athol Park, Mrs. Taubman, P. Erin, Mrs. Corkil[], Peel. Gawne. no. 18 Jurby. Kane [Cain] no. 20 Sulby”.

29. Carmody apparently provided the Manx Museum with paper-tapes in 1949 to make its own recordings (Walter Clarke pc. c.1973).

which I reserve for a new dictionary.³⁰ 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)

Before introducing his informants Carmody (1954: 59) makes the following general comment about the native speakers he interviewed:

The few remaining native speakers are very old; several happened to be brought up with grandparents, 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)

He then interviewed the following native speakers, providing biographical details on each informant accordingly (Carmody 1954: 59–60). Additional information on some of the speakers is provided in the footnotes, either from the General Registry in Douglas, from the sound-recordings themselves, or from local Manx field-workers who had worked with the native speakers and had got to know them personally. All the known original material gleaned from the sound-recordings was published with English translation as texts in HLSM/I: 168–479, or in sentence form in the Dictionary in HLSM/II.

3.2.1. John Kneen (The Gaue) (1859–1958), Ballaugh Curragh, Ballaugh

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 submitted to him orally, and gave these with conviction. His speech, hesitant in 1948, was completely free in 1949³¹.

(Carmody 1954: 59)

30. Nothing seems to have come of this dictionary.

31. John Kneen, better known by his contemporaries as ‘The Gaue’ (blacksmith). Most of the material we have of him is folklife in character, along with a number of stories, mostly of his younger days (cf.

3.2.2. John Tom Kaighin (1862–1954), Ballagarrett, Bride

John Tom Kaighin, then 88, was born in and lives at Ballagarrett [Bride], was awhile at Ballaugh 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. 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)

3.2.3. Harry Boyde (1871–1953), Ballaugh

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-formula, 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 extensive³².

(Carmody 1954: 59–60)

3.2.4. Mrs. Catherine Watterson (née Kinley) (1860–1951), Colby, Rushen

Mrs. (Catherine Kinley) Watterson, then 89, living at Colby, was born in Glen Chass and brought up with her grandparents in Port Erin;³³ 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)

3.2.5. Ned Maddrell (1877–1974), Glen Chass, Rushen

Ned Maddrell, then 71, of Glen Chass, was born at Corvalley (The Howe) and lived with his grandparents³⁴ at Cregneash. He was at sea for many years with a Scottish

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).

32. This was confirmed to me by Manx field-worker, the late Charles 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 Gaaue and John Tom Kaighin in 1936. For details see 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).

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

34. Apparently not so. According to Maddrell himself, he was reared by a great-aunt (see §3.5.1 footnote).

engineer, and claims to have learned something of his language. He 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)

3.2.6. Mr. [John] Karran (1867–1955) (husband to Mrs. Eleanor Karran), Cregneash, Rushen

“I note[d] several constructions used by Mr. Karran [...]” (Carmody 1954: 60). Carmody (1954: 60) also interviewed Mr. Karran’s wife, Mrs. Eleanor Karran (1871–1953), but obtained “excellent Bible readings” from her. He also obtained material from good Manx speakers, namely from Captain Kinley and Mr. Tom Dodd, Peel, and from Mr. John Gell, Port St. Mary. But as they are not native Manx speakers, they are not considered here.

3.3. Heinrich Wagner, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin (Summer 1950)

From the information provided in Davies (1946 (1948)) Dr. (afterwards Prof. Dr.) Heinrich Wagner, then of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, spent three weeks in Man (two of them with Celtic scholar Miles Dillon) during the summer of 1950.³⁵ Like Marstrander Wagner, too, noticed dialectal differences between North and South and he classified his material accordingly. In section IX of the introduction to Vol. 1 of LASID Wagner (LASID/I: xxi–xxii) comments on his visit as follows: “I collected a fair amount of material from the remaining native speakers of Manx Gaelic, which is practically dead now”. He views Manx as:

[...] 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.

(Wagner LASID/I: xxii)

He collected material from six native Manx speakers and listed them as follows (without any information attributed to them individually):

From the North:

3.3.1. John Kneen (the Gaaue), Ballaugh Curragh BA

35. Walter Clarke, Ramsey, functioned on this occasion as chauffeur for both Wagner and Dillon, and later accompanied Jackson, according to him. During the early 1980s he told us that Wagner had at the time of his visit to Man little English and what he had was laden with a heavy Swiss-German accent. He said that he had to interpret Wagner in interviews with the native speakers.

3.3.2. Harry Boyde, Ballaugh BA (c/o Mannin Infirmary, Braddan)

3.3.3. John Tom Kaighin, Ballagarrett BR

From the South:

3.3.4. Mrs. Catherine Watterson, Colby RU

3.3.5. Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash RU

3.3.6. Ned Maddrell, Glenchass RU

3.3.7. Of his informants he had this to say:

All these informants belong to the rural population of the island [...]. 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.

(Wagner LASID/I: xxii)

In his review of Jackson (1955), Wagner (1956: 107) noted that Jackson’s questionnaire approach was “antiquated or neogrammarian but proves quite useful in the case of Manx.” He adds:

The phonetics of about five hundred Manx words taken from speakers who may be called half-native speakers of Manx are given. The speakers [...] proved to have retained the skeleton of a Manx language as spoken by their grandparents.

(Wagner 1956: 107)

However, in a discussion I had with Wagner during 1983 in the DIAS about the native Manx speakers I asked him about their competence in Manx outside the formal interviews. He said that they were much more at ease. One of the best, he said, was Harry Boyde, Ballaugh.³⁶ From the sound-recordings, however, one could get the opposite impression, a situation that can prove deceiving.³⁷ Wagner published his findings in LASID/I and LASID/IV, point 88.

36 On Harry Boyde see also Jackson (§3.4.7).

37 For apparent confirmation of this, see Carmody’s comment on John Kneen (§3.2.1 above).

3.4. Kenneth Jackson, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh (Christmas–New Year period 1950/51)

Prompted by Wagner’s visit to Man some months earlier Prof. Kenneth H. Jackson of the Dept. of Celtic Studies, University of Edinburgh, spent two weeks during the Christmas and New Year of 1950/51 in Man and collected material from the following speakers:

From the South:

3.4.1. Mrs. Eleanor Karran, Cregneash, Rushen³⁸

About 80. She was my chief source, with whom I worked right through the questionnaire.

(Jackson 1955: 2)

3.4.2. Mr. Thomas Karran, her brother, now of 30 Peel Street, Douglas. About 75

I had no opportunity of using him.

(Jackson 1955: 2)

3.4.3. Ned Maddrell, Glenchass, Rushen. Aged 72

He learned his Manx when he went at the age of five to live with a[n] [great] aunt who knew no English.

(Jackson 1955: 2)

3.4.4. Mrs. [Catherine] Watterson, Colby, Rushen. Aged 91

38. 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:ft] *eisht*, he dropped his notebook in apparent disbelief at the survival of Early Irish *éasca*, *éisce* in Manx, as he had been expecting the taboo word *gealach* ‘the bright thing’, as in Ir. and ScG. 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 apparent irritation at the question she said, “I’ve just told you twice, *yn eisht*, *yn eisht*!”

Mrs. Karran’s son, Stanley Karran (then still living in the Karran household in Cregneash), told me during an interview with him for the Manx Place-Name Survey on 21 January 1991 that, although he was born in 1910, he said, he does not remember Manx ever having been spoken regularly in Cregneash. He said that known speakers, such as Harry Kelly, would speak English, not Manx, to other known native Manx speakers in the village as their normal everyday language. He said that the only time he remembers Manx ever being spoken was by his mother to a neighbour when accompanying her back home to Corvalley (Howe) after a Christmas visit, and she would bring her son Stanley along with her for company on the way back. That was the only Manx I ever heard, he said. The young people in Cregneash in my time, he said, spoke only English.

3.4.5. Mr. Thomas Leece, Kerroomoar, Kerrookeil, Arbory

Aged 91. A very good speaker, from whom I got some valuable material [...].

(Jackson 1955: 3)

3.4.6. Mr. and Mrs. [John Dan and Sage] Kinvig, Garey Hollin, Ronague, Arbory

Aged about 90 and 80. Mrs. Kinvig can read Manx. I was unable to visit them at all.

(Jackson 1955: 3)

From the North:

3.4.7. Harry Boyde, Ballaugh

Now in the [Mannin] Infirmary, Douglas. Aged 82. Blind. Another very good speaker, who was most useful³⁹.

(Jackson 1955: 3)

3.4.8. John Kneen [the Gaaue], Ballaugh Curragh. Aged 97⁴⁰

3.4.9. John Tom Kaighin, Ballagarrett, Bride. Aged 89. Blind

3.4.10. Jackson's visit to Man, as he himself says (Jackson 1955: v)

Was undertaken under the auspices of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (Gaelic Section) and was able to justify it as follows:

Though Man is not part of Scotland, the Manx language is so closely linked to Scottish Gaelic that it may be regarded as an early offshoot of it; or more properly, the two are really comparatively recently formed dialects of a common Eastern Gaelic ancestor [cf. here Jackson 1951]. Hence the great importance of Manx for any historical study of Scottish Gaelic, and the interest of the Linguistic Survey in it.

(Jackson 1955: v)

39. Thus confirming Wagner's view, related to myself 1983, of Harry Boyde.

40. Walter Clarke told me some years ago (1980s) that when they went to visit John Kneen (the Gaaue) in Ballaugh Curragh, Jackson began his interview by speaking to Kneen in Manx, which he apparently had difficulty in understanding owing to Jackson's middle class English accent. Clarke added that Jackson in turn had considerable difficulty in understanding Kneen, who by that time was 90 years old and had few teeth, and after about twenty minutes or so broke off the interview as a fruitless exercise. Nevertheless, Jackson managed to obtain some useful material from Kneen.

3.4.11. With regard to the above speakers Jackson (1955: 3–4) made the following comments:

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.⁴¹

(Jackson 1955: 3–4)

3.4.12. Concerning alleged dialect differences Jackson (1955: 4) had this to say:

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.⁴²

(Jackson 1955: 4)

41. 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 Rhŷs, qv), shows that it also had its imperfections.

42. 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).

3.4.13. On his return to Edinburgh Jackson was able to make the following notes of his visit:

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]). 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. 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. 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)

3.5. David Clement, Linguistic Survey of Scotland (August 1972, August 1973)

3.5.1. Ned Maddrell, Glenchass RU

In August 1972 Jackson sent David Clement of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS) to Man in order to interview Ned (Edward) Maddrell, by then the last reputed native Manx speaker, and to see what he could obtain from him. The first recording session took place on Thursday 17 August 1972 in Ned Maddrell's house in Glenchass near Port St. Mary. Also at the recording session was Walter Clarke of the Manx Museum and myself. Clarke was one of a number of field-workers who had learned their spoken Manx from the native speakers themselves (in Clarke's case largely from John Kneen (The Gaue)) and knew what they could offer. The function of the field-worker here was to ensure the flow of the interview and to intervene (in Manx) should the informant for whatever reason become flummoxed or bewildered.

Although Maddrell had difficulty seeing, his diction was clear and he was more than willing to help us. However, he had quite some difficulty hearing, and once or twice the interview had to be interrupted by contributions from Walter Clarke (who knew Maddrell well) to enable him to tell one or two short stories and to regain

his composure. The information elicited included a number of lexical items sought through the same questionnaire Jackson had used in Man more than twenty years before. Some short stories and anecdotes were also collected. It is clear from the material elicited that Maddrell knew a lot more Manx than the IFC, MM and YCG recordings imply (even though there Maddrell is alert and fluent, though occasionally hesitant). Clement returned to Maddrell the following day on his own and obtained additional material, some of it in English. Clement came again to Man the following year (in August 1973) to seek to obtain more material from Maddrell. However, by that time Maddrell's hearing had deteriorated to such an extent that an interview was hopeless. Nothing at all, Clement told me, was obtained from him.

(cf. LDIM/74–75)

Ned Maddrell was by far the “youngest” of the last native speakers recorded, and he was exceptional in that most of his contemporaries were brought up with English only. Maddrell told us when we visited him in 1972 that he was born in the Corvalley, about 1.5km north-east of Cregneash, and because of the size of his family was farmed out to relatives when he was about five years' old to be brought up by an aunt of his mother's and a great aunt of his, i.e. Paaie Humman (Margaret Taubman) (1809–1890) in Cregneash who had little or no English.⁴³ That is to say, he was reared by someone born early in the nineteenth century and therefore contemporary with many of Rhÿs's informants (qv). In this respect, in the context of his abilities in Manx, Ned Maddrell would be placed among the ranks of earlier nineteenth century generations, rather than among those of his contemporaries?⁴⁴

43. cf. HLSM/I: 361: *Tra va mee queig bleeantyn 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 bleeantyn jeig ren ee geddyn baase, as hoght bleeantyn 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: 18.02.1953).

(“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 [17.07.1890, aged 82], and eight years after that her son [Thomas (1836–1898)] died [25.05.1898, 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).

44.. In this regard see Broderick (2010: 329, note 15).

3.5.2. Ewan Christian, Peel GE

The other informant recorded by the LSS in August 1972 was Ewan Christian of Peel, then an energetic 65-year old semi-speaker. The first recording session took place in his house at 58 Patrick Street, Peel, on Thursday 24 August 1972, with David Clement of LSS, Christian's close friend Louis Crellin of Peel, and myself. Ewan Christian was chosen as a subject, as (Ned Maddrell apart) he was the only other person in the Isle of Man, so far as we knew, who had learned his Manx at an early date.

He told us 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 (and Marstrander for that matter) had had earlier, e.g. he could not remember plural forms, etc. (cf. §3.4.11 above). Instead Christian would reel off *stante pede* the Manx names of various birds and fish, sometimes giving the Peel variant. The information we obtained was mainly elicited for us 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. 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.⁴⁵

(GB, LDIM/75)

3.6. The last native Manx speakers and the local Manx field-workers

During the 1930s, as noted above, seemingly as a result of Marstrander's visits to Man some years before (1929–33), a number of Manx Gaelic enthusiasts began combing the Manx countryside for surviving native Manx speakers. Using their findings A. S. B. Davies, drawing also on a list prepared by Charles W. Loch in 1946 (cf. Loch 1946) based on the same information, was able to publish twenty names in Davies (1946 (1948)). These enthusiasts then turned their attention to field-work,

45. 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).

initially assisting with sound-recordings made by the Irish Folklore Commission in April-May 1948 (IFC1948), then chauffeuring Wagner (1950) and Jackson (1950–51) round on their visits to the native speakers. They then assisted with those sound-recordings made by the Manx Museum (MM1950–52) as members of the Museum’s Folklife Survey, and finishing in their own right as YCG members with those of *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* in 1951–53 (YCG1951–53). Some participated also in private recordings (qv).

3.6.1. Field-workers attending on the recording bodies and individuals

So far as is known, the following field-workers attended on the aforementioned recording bodies and individuals:

3.6.1.1. Irish Folklore Commission (1948)

William Radcliffe (Ramsey), Mark Braide, (Baldrine LO), Tom Braide (Douglas) (IFC Tape Register; Interview with Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danchair, UCD 27.05.1981).

3.6.1.2. Francis J. Carmody (1949)

Leslie Quirk (Peel) & others unnamed. (Carmody 1954: 58)

3.6.1.3. Heinrich Wagner (1950)

Walter Clarke (Ramsey) (Walter Clarke p.c. c.1984).

3.6.1.4. Kenneth H. Jackson (1950–51)

William Radcliffe, John Gell (Port St. Mary), Leslie Quirk, Charles Clarke (Douglas),

Mr. W. Matheson (Onchan), his driver (Jackson 1955: vi). Also Walter Clarke (Walter Clarke p.c. c.1984).

3.6.1.5. Manx Museum (1950–52)

Basil Megaw (Manx Museum Director 1940–57), William Radcliffe, Walter Clarke, Charles Craine (Ballagh), Leslie Quirk (MM Tape Register).

3.6.1.6. *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* / The Manx Gaelic Society (1951–53)

William Radcliffe, Walter Clarke, Douglas C. Faragher (Douglas), Tom Braide, John

Gell, Leslie Quirk, Charles Clarke, Robert L. Thomson (Glasgow) (YCG Tape Register).

3.6.1.7. Private Recordings 1 (Gelling 1947)

John Gell (YCG Tape Register).

3.6.1.8. Private Recordings 2 (Clarke c.1960)

Walter Clarke (Walter Clarke p.c. c.1984).

3.6.1.9. Private Recordings 3 (Stowell / Caine 1962)

Brian Stowell (Douglas), Bernard Caine (Onchan), Douglas C. Faragher (Brian Stowell p.c. 1979).

3.6.1.10. Linguistic Survey of Scotland (David Clement 1972)

Walter Clarke, Louis Crellin (Peel) (George Broderick was also present at the LSS recording sessions).⁴⁶

4. Conclusion

As we have seen, this article concentrates on those native Manx Gaelic speaking informants recorded during the last phase of obsolescence in Manx which took place during the course of the twentieth century, from 1909 to 1972. The aim here is to include as much detail and information about the circumstances of the recording sessions, their interviewers, the interviewees, comments made on their Manx by the interviewers, and additional information and comment from the field-workers who accompanied the recording sessions, and who had got to know the informants individually and knew what they could offer. All in all, it is hoped that we now have a complete a picture as possible of this unique events that accompanied the end-phase of Manx Gaelic of the Isle of Man that had functioned as the community language of Manx men and women for some 1500 years, from c.500 CE down the the passing of the last reputed native Manx speaker, Ned Maddrell, on 27 December 1974.

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46. Others also involved include: Charles Craine, John Gell, Leslie Quirk, Eric Cregeen, Sheila Cregeen, Tom Braide, Joseph D. Qualtrough, SHK, Arthur Karran (Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danachair, Dept. of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin, p.c. 1977).

Manx parish abbreviations

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

Other abbreviations

- ASBD**—A.S.B. Davies (1946 (1948)).
- CM**—Carl J. S. Marstrander (1929, 1930, 1933).
- CnM**—*Çhengey ny Mayrey* (Broderick 1977).
- CRD**—Central Registry Douglas.
- DIAS**—Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- DLMS**—*Defunctae Linguae Manniae Specimina* (Marstrander 1929/33a).
- FEMD**—*English-Manx Dictionary* (Fargher 1979).
- FJC**—Francis J. Carmody (July 1949).
- GB**—George Broderick (1978–83).
- GR**—General Registry (Douglas).
- HLSM**—*Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (Broderick 1984–86).
- HW**—Heinrich Wagner (summer 1950).
- IFC**—Irish Folklore Commission (April–May 1948).
- IMFHS**—Isle of Man Family History Society.
- IMPR**—Isle of Man Parish Registers.
- KHJ**—Kenneth H. Jackson (Christmas/New Year 1950/51).
- LASID**—*Lingusitic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Wagner 1958–69).
- LDIM**—*Language Death in the Isle of Man* (Broderick 1999).
- LIB**—Lawson’s Index of Burials (IMFHS online resource).
- LSS**—Linguistic Survey of Scotland (August 1972).
- MM**—Manx Museum (Early 1950–Autumn 1952).
- MNHL**—Manx National Heritage Library.
- PR1**—Private Recording 1: Mr. Gelling (1947).
- PR2**—Private Recording 2: Walter Clarke (c.1960).
- PR3**—Private Recording 3: Brian Stowell / Bernard Caine (1962).
- SHK**—Speaker of the House of Keys.
- SPCK**—Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.
- VR**—Vienna Recordings (August 1909).
- YCG**—*Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* / The Manx Gaelic Society Recordings (late 1951–?mid-1953).

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