Putting a Sight on the Substrate, Yessir:

Lexical and syntactic items from the Manx Gaelic substratum in Manx English as resources for marking a Manx linguistic identity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IoM   Isle of Man

MxG   Manx Gaelic

MxE   Manx English

SED   Survey of English Dialects

SuRE   Survey of Regional Englishes

SRN   Sense Relation Network

LnQ   Language Questionnaire

IdQ   Identity Questionnaire

ISI   Identity Score Index

BrE   British English

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a sociolinguistic insight into an understudied variety of English spoken on the Isle of Man, referred to throughout this work as Manx English. The Isle of Man is an area of prolonged and intense linguistic contact, and immigration (largely from the UK) has gradually placed Manx-born residents into a minority on their home soil. This research seeks to shed light on remaining lexical and grammatical items from the Manx Gaelic substrate in Manx English and describes the ways in which these may be linked with the marking of a Manx identity.

Data was collected from 30 Manx residents aged between 19 and 86 using an adapted version of an existing sociolinguistic research approach, the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) method (Llamas 1999, 2001). This enabled the collection of data on the levels of lexis, grammar, and phonology.

The data revealed that there are a number of both lexical and grammatical features from the Manx Gaelic substratum in the perceived usage of present day Manx English. These items are analysed in terms of their sensitivity to the social variables of age, location, the Manx Gaelic proficiency of informants, and informant levels of local and cultural affiliation. The thesis proposes that the (non-)retention of Manx Gaelic substrate items is associated with dialect contact-induced dialect levelling, although there is evidence of some concentrated distinction marking amongst the most culturally-active speakers.

It was found that two substrate items, specifically *skeet* and *yessir,* prevailed across the whole sample, and were quickly identified by speakers in their own descriptions of Manx English. It is proposed that these items have the property of sociolinguistic salience and are perpetuated in the sale of language commodities. The data reveals that it is these items, then, which have the most prominence and capacity to communicate a Manx linguistic identity.

Key Words: Isle of Man, Manx Gaelic, language contact, identity, heritage language, salience, substrate influence, dialect levelling, local affiliation, linguistic ideology.

thirteen, years. To my mother, Sharon, for her endless support and encouragement, and belief in me that I would actually finish writing this eventually. To Joe, for being the best source of laughter and a wonderful friend. To James, Tom, and Sophie, for gin and wifi. Thanks also to my dad, who was a huge supporter of my academic pursuits and a great source of motivation for the completion of this thesis.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Will McCooey

and Dr Lourdes Burbano Elizondo.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research. It has not been submitted to any other institution or for any other academic award.

Katherine Elzabeth McCooey-Heap

1st September 2019

1 INTRODUCTION

'For most people, the Isle of Man is an enigma: often heard, sadly, is the comment 'I've always wanted to go but never got round to it'' (Marsh 2015: 1). The same can be said for academic focus on the Isle of Man.

This thesis is based on linguistic fieldwork conducted on the Isle of Man (henceforth IoM) in 2018. It utilises an existing method of data elicitation (namely the Survey of Regional English (henceforth SuRE) approach (Llamas 2001)) to identify remaining lexical and grammatical items from the Manx Gaelic (henceforth MxG) substratum in Manx English (henceforh MxE). This data fulfils the primary aim of the project, which is to understand whether the actual and perceived use of substrate variants is a resource for the construction of a Manx linguistic identity.

The present study is largely variationist in its approach, however following the successful use of supplementary ethnographic techniques in studies such as Llamas (2001), overt discussions of language and meaning-making enables this research to better understand speaker motivations for the use or perceived use of certain variants within the sociolinguistic setting. As in previous studies using the SuRE approach (such as Llamas 2001 and Burbano Elizondo 2008), this additional data elicitation took the form of attitudinal and perceptual questionnaires, as well as the quantitative measure of the Identity Score Index (IsI), discussed in chapter 4. Correlations were sought between the perceived or actual use of items from the MxG substrate and social groups, and the perceived or actual use of these items with perceptual and attitudinal findings. The data was then used to inform a discussion of both perceived and actual use of the MxG substrate in the context of projecting a distinctive Manx islander identity.

To understand the motivations for this research and its research questions, it is necessary to explain the research context. This chapter outlines the sociolinguistic environment on the IoM, before offering the research questions that form the basis of the study.

1.1   RESEARCH CONTEXT

> There are just two ideas which are associated in the popular imagination with the first thought of the Isle of Man. The one is that Manxmen have three legs, and the other that Manx cats have no tails (Caine 1891: 6).

As Hall Caine states as far back as 1891, popular perceptions of the IoM are often limited. With the addition of the annual Tourist Trophy (TT) races and tax relief, Caine's description is not far removed from more recent stereotypical perceptions. For many, however, the IoM remains something of a mystery. Despite the accessibility of the island, thanks to frequent ferry and catamaran crossings from Heysham and Liverpool respectively (with crossings also from Holyhead and Belfast) and regular flights to and from the IoM, it remains a place that many have yet to discover.

The IoM occupies an almost central position in the Irish Sea and the British Isles, sitting 32 miles east of County Down, Ireland, and 32 miles west of Cumbria. It is relatively small in size, at 33 miles (53km) in length and 13 miles (21km) in width, however it boasts a diverse topographical landscape. Figure 1.1 demonstrates the position of the IoM in the context of the British Isles. Figure 1.2 shows a more detailed map of the island itself.

Figure 1.1 IoM Map in Context of UK (Google Maps 2019)

The IoM is a self-governing Crown dependency, meaning that it falls under British sovereignty but is not part of the United Kingdom. When the reigning monarch of the UK acts in or on behalf of the IoM, they are referred to as the Lord of Mann[1]. Prior to the island obtaining British sovereignty in 1952, it has been under Scandinavian, Scottish, and English rule (for a detailed account, see sources such as Quayle 1990 or Belchem 2001).

The island's governmental system, the Tynwald, is reflective of its period of Norse rule following the arrival of the Vikings circa 800AD. As well as bringing with them cultural practices and religion, they also brought with them the customary 'annual open-air assembly of all the freemen at some central place' (Kinvig 1975: 72). At this event, new laws would be announced, and other business (including disputes on the

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[1] In the Channel Islands, another Crown dependency, the sovereign would have the title of Duke of Normandy, irrespective of their gender.

island) would be addressed. The place at which this meeting occurred was known as the Thingvollr (with a meaning similar to 'assembly field'), from which Tynwald is derived (Lewis 2004: 2). The High Court of Tynwald professes to be the oldest continuous parliament in the world (having celebrated its millennium in 1979), following its alleged introduction by the Norse King Gorry[2] in 979. Currently, Tynwald sits in two branches: The House of Keys (similar to the UK House of Commons) and the Legislative Council. The former is the 'lower house' that consists of 24 elected members, and the latter is the 'upper house' consisting of 11 members appointed by the lower house (King 2013: 122). Each year on 5th July all members of Tynwald process to Tynwald Hill in St. Johns, where laws passed in the previous year are declared both in English and in MxG.

Demographic Context

The IoM is home to 83,314 residents across four towns, four villages, and twelve parishes (-1.4% from the previous census) (IoM 2017). Less than half (49.8%) of the resident population are Manx born, with the highest immigrant population being English (33.9%), as shown in figure 1.3. The IoM continues to attract residents, particularly from the UK, often as a retirement destination. Others relocate for career moves, or to benefit from the slower paced and more rural way of life. Whatever the reason, continued levels of immigration, predominantly from the UK and Ireland, has seen 43,086 individuals relocate to the island since before 1956 (IoM 2016: 22).

Place of Birth	Male	% of Males	Female	% of Females	Total	% of Total
Isle of Man	20,871	50.6	20,610	49.0	41,481	49.8
Northern Ireland	882	2.1	778	1.9	1,660	2.0
England	13,972	33.9	14,242	33.9	28,214	33.9
Republic of Ireland	643	1.6	883	2.1	1,526	1.8
Wales	453	1.1	425	1.0	878	1.1
Scotland	1,179	2.9	1,294	3.1	2,473	3.0
Elsewhere	3,269	7.9	3,813	9.1	7,082	8.5
Total	**41,269**		**42,045**		**83,314**	

Figure 1.3 Manx Resident Population by Place of Birth and Sex (IoM Government 2017)

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[2] Also known as King Orry.

1.2   IOM LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

The large numbers of residents that have relocated to the IoM from the UK mean that it is an area of dialect contact, largely between speakers of Manx English (henceforth MxE) and other British English (BrE) varieties. To fully contextualise this research, however, a more detailed account of the island's linguistic background must be presented.

1.2.1   MxG

MxG is a descendent of Old Irish, diverging fully from Irish in the thirteenth century (Broderick 2002: 228). It is thought that the arrival of a Goidelic[3] dialect on the IoM was with the arrival of Irish speakers from the 5th century onwards (Russell 1995: 10). Before then, there is some evidence that a British language was spoken there, such as text on religious crosses at the Knock y Doonee burial site in Andreas.

The first written evidence of a MxG which was divergent from Irish and Scottish appears in the Book of Common Prayer translated by Bishop Phillips in 1611. Gawne states that it is from Phillips' orthography that the split between MxG and its 'linguistic neighbours' was established (2002: 173). He adds that Phillips' orthographical divergence from other forms of Goidelic, such as Scottish Gaelic and Irish was later ratified in Bishop Wilson's biblical translations (ibid). It is noted that the appearance of written MxG is late when the language itself is thought to have emerged some centuries earlier. This is because of the similarity, and possibly identicalness, of MxG in older texts to Scottish Gaelic and Irish. This means that 'it is impossible to identify any writings as being discernibly Manx' prior to the orthographic distinctions of Phillips' Book of Common Prayer (Stowell and O'Breaslain 1996: 1).

There is little early historical knowledge of MxG on the IoM, however it is noteworthy that the language survived centuries of Scandinavian presence, as well as Scottish and English ownership (Broderick 2002: 228). While the Viking presence on the island had significant influence on its administration, there was far less Norse

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[3] Goidelic dialects of Celtic are those spoken in the northern Celtic region, i.e. Ireland, Scotland and the IoM. Brythonic dialects of Celtic are spoken in the southern Celtic regions of Wales, Cornwall and Breton.

influence on MxG, with just some Norse borrowings evident. These include place names such as *Snaefell* ('snow mountain'), *Laxey* ('salmon river'), *Jurby,* and *Colby* (Ager 2009: 21). Despite the language's apparent endurance through long periods under the control of outsiders, it experienced a significant and steady decline in use. Over time, this lead to the perception of MxG as a dead language, with UNESCO classifying it as extinct in 2009[4].

1.2.2 The Perceived Death of MxG

The decline of MxG which led to common belief of its extinction is largely attributed to the presence of English on the IoM. Clague notes that the island has had an English-speaking administration since the 1300s (2009: 166). It is only later, however, that English comes to displace MxG as the dominant language in the nineteenth century (Gawne 2002: 174).

English-medium schools were set up on the island as early as the 17th century, as the then Bishop, Isaac Barrow, thought that MxG 'was an obstacle to the appreciation and understanding of the scriptures' (Ager 2009: 22). Barrow's successors Wilson and Hildesley had more positive attitudes towards MxG, with Hildesley encouraging his clergy to adopt 'their best endeavours to improve the use and practice of the Manx language' (Stowell 2005: 389). This period of positivity from the superiority of the church was, however, limited. Following Hildesley's death it is thought that attitudes towards MxG became progressively negative, with the Anglican church withdrawing support for Manx-medium schooling (Ager 2009: 22).

There is also a proposed link between the decline of MxG and the rise of English to the 1765 Revestment Act, whereby the IoM was sold to the British Crown (Gawne 2002: 174). It is thought that this caused a collapse of the Manx economy and mass emigration, which forced MxG speakers to use English. Language contact, which fostered the use of English, catalysed the displacement of MxG through immigration from North West England and Ireland. Also contributing to this was the growth of the tourism industry in the nineteenth century (ibid). What had previously been a

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[4] This classification was overturned following protest from IoM residents to 'critically endangered with evidence of revitalisation' (UNESCO 2009).

relatively isolated island was now becoming more diverse, and Manx residents were increasingly exposed to English.

There are two striking Manx proverbs which link the decline of MxG with external rather than internal forces. Firstly, there is *Tra haink ny skibbyltee boghtey stiagh hie yn Ghaelg magh* - meaning 'when the tourists came in, the Manx language went out' (Gawne 2004, cited in Ager 2009: 18), and also *Cha jean oo cosney ping lesh y Ghailck,* meaning 'you'll get no money with the Manx' (Manx proverb). Both of these sayings imply that contact with outsiders, specifically tourists, meant that the use of MxG was exclusive and affected business.

Considering such factors as tourism, demographic changes (including the marriage of Manx speakers with non-Manx speakers), and increased communication both on and off the island, Clague states that unsurprisingly, MxG speakers began to find their language 'an irrelevance and a hindrance in the modern age...at worst a badge of ignorance' (2009: 170). Therefore, external forces gave rise to internal motivations for the recession of MxG as Manx people responded to socioeconomic pressures from the outside.

In 1875, a survey was conducted by Henry Jenner in order to assess the number of MxG speakers remaining on the island. This survey found that 30% of the population (12,340) were thought to speak MxG as their 'mother tongue' by members of the clergy instructed to respond (Clague 2009: 167). While Jenner states that these figures are not representative, and do not include Douglas, he also claims that his data 'give[s] a fair approximate view of the philological state of the IoM in the year 1875' (Jenner 1875: 14). Jenner also found evidence of a generational shift towards English even within the same household, whereby older speakers used MxG, middle speakers used a combination of MxG and English, and the children exclusively used English.

It would seem that the generational changes observed by Jenner were an indication of the direction of language change on the IoM at the turn of the twentieth century. By the time of the 1901 census, the number of MxG speakers had fallen to 4,419 (8%) (Gawne 2002; Clague 2009). Numbers continued to fall, with the lowest reported number of speakers recorded in 1946 at 20 speakers (Clague 2009: 168). In 1974, when the last traditional native MxG speaker, Ned Maddrell, died, this led

some to claim that the language died with him. Unlike previous censuses, the census following Maddrell's death, conducted in 1981, did not ask any questions about MxG use. This perhaps suggests some governmental acceptance of the heritage language's fate at that time, despite the fact that there had never been a period where there were no MxG speakers at all (Clague 2009: 168).

Questions about MxG returned in the 1991 census. The return found that the number of self-reporting MxG speakers had increased to 740 (1% of the total population), an increase of almost 0.5% since the 1971 census. This rose by a further 1.2% in the 2001 census (Gawne 2002: 174). MxG data remained similar in the 2011 census (2.15%). Of course, these numbers remain relatively low and are reliant upon self-reported data which is not qualified further than *speaks, reads, or writes MxG*. The data is, however, suggestive that the decline in MxG has been halted or may even be somewhat reversed.

1.2.3   MxG Revival

'Against all odds, MxG has clawed itself back from the verge of extinction' (Gawne 2002: 173).

Broderick states that the revival of MxG can be considered to have started with the establishment of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* (The Manx Language Society) in March 1899 (1999: 173). Prior to this, however, there also existed the *Peel Manx Language Association*, founded in 1897 by Sophia Morrison (Harrison 2000: 403). The timing of the establishment of these organisations demonstrates the effects of the aforementioned decline in MxG use throughout the 19th century. It appears that the significance of the reduction in speakers was felt by the Manx people, many of whom took an active interest in the preservation and teaching of MxG amidst ongoing contact with English.

Although bottom-up language revitalisation initiatives are arguably more effective, on the IoM these are heavily supplemented by top-down, government-funded ones. Some literature raises the concern that 'relying on official support can hand control of an endangered language to structures which originally threatened it' (Sallabank 2013: 148). Official support for endangered languages is, however, a valuable preservative mechanism. On the IoM, this support takes the form of many bilingual

governmental road and building signs, and the inclusion of optional MxG in the school curriculum (discussed further below).

Official support for MxG also exists in the employment of a Manx language officer, the first of whom, the late Brian Stowell, was appointed in 1992. The role of this officer is to both raise the profile of MxG, both on and off the island, to develop resources for the acquisition of MxG, and to assist in the delivery of the Manx Language Strategy. Developed by Culture Vannin[5] in conjunction with the Manx Department for Education and the Manx speaking community, the current strategy (2017-2021) refers to its ethos as 'Manx language for all' (Cain *et al* 2017: 3). With primary foci of MxG education and awareness, it outlines strategic commitments such as the development of high-quality teaching resources and the encouragement of social MxG within the home.

While the Manx Language Strategy is clearly striving to promote and encourage the use of MxG, it also indicates an optionality - whereby MxG is made available for all those who want to learn. Dorian (1987: 66) highlights that compulsory learning of a minority language (specifically Irish) can create aversion to it, indicating that enthusiasm to learn heritage languages cannot be forced. This is especially the case for minority languages, as Dorian notes that, for example, not all Irish residents are particularly interested in their Celtic past, or in the symbolic potential of the Irish language. She states that because of this, some governmental revival attempts can be viewed as 'classically impractical and romantic' (ibid: 65). Therefore, the work to promote attitudes towards heritage languages, such as MxG, and their associated cultures is crucial, as it is this type of promotion and interest that generates the desire to opt-in to their acquisition.

MxG in Education

MxG in education has several forms, varying in intensity. MxG was first made available as an optional subject for children aged 8 and over in 1992. Since 1997, students are also able to take MxG as a GCSE (Teisht Chadjin Ghaelgagh) or A

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[5] Formerly known as the Manx Heritage Foundation, an organisation established by an Act of Tynwald in 1982 to support and promote Manx cultural activity including language and music.

Level equivalent, should they wish to. Usually, the teaching of MxG is delivered by a member of peripatetic teaching staff from the Manx Language Unit.

In addition to the optional learning of MxG in both primary and secondary schools, there is one Manx-medium primary school on the island, the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, situated in St. John's. As at February 2019, the Bunscoill were expecting to have 72 pupils on roll in September 2019 (J Matthews, personal communication, 15th February). The school has limited capacity, and therefore admission is often prioritised according to, for example, children of MxG speakers.

At a pre-school level, MxG is offered through an organisation called Mooinjer Veggey (MxG for 'little people'), who also jointly manage the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. Currently, Mooinjer Veggey operates two nurseries and a parent and child group which cater for 2-4 year olds. It is their aim to promote the use of MxG within young speakers, often through the use of song and individual MxG words and phrases.

There are, of course, also adult learning opportunities for individuals and businesses who wish to learn MxG. There is a wealth of online resources, many of which developed by the Manx Language Network[6].

As this section has shown, there are many opportunities for the acquisition of MxG as an L2. Combined with other elements, such as evidence of MxG within the linguistic landscape, there are clear efforts to revitalise MxG. The effect of these efforts is, however, not hugely evident in the most recent speaker numbers released in 2011 (see table 1.1), and it may be that in a sense, they are serving more as language maintenance strategies which protect MxG from further levels of decline.

Census Year	No, of residents who state they can 'speak, read, or write MxG'	% of Total Population
2001	1689	2.21
2011	1823	2.15

Table 1-1 MxG Data from 2001 and 2011 Censuses

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[6] Consisting of representatives from Bunscoill Ghaelgagh, Culture Vannin, the IoM Government, and Mooinjer Veggey.

Motives for Revitalisation

> *Gyn Chengey, gyn cheer* - 'No language, no country' (Manx Proverb)

The above Manx proverb was the motto of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh and clearly illustrates a perceived linkage between language and the identity of a nation or peoples. Where individuals subscribe to this idea, the motivations for revitalisation of ailing languages are clear. However, the case on the IoM is such that all living speakers exist within a sociolinguistic environment where English dominates. With English being the first language of the majority, many speakers do not have a close relationship with MxG and cannot speak it. Much of the data elicited in this research, however, suggests that speakers do value MxG and share the wish for it to continue. For many, this is perhaps a "someone should really do something" attitude, whereby a need is acknowledged but not actively responded to. Nevertheless, speakers seem to appreciate MxG as a 'peg to hang the culture on' (Abley 2004: 118). In this way, MxG has symbolic value as a cultural frame, and also as an identity marker in times of prolonged societal contact with speakers from elsewhere.

Gawne (2002) supports the idea of MxG cultural value, suggesting that the revival of MxG was prompted by the need for island residents to (re)negotiate a sense of national and cultural identity in the wake of immigration and foreign governmental systems. He states:

> Following the initial shock caused by the arrival of so many new residents, many Manx people were searching for a sense of identity and purpose. Urged on by the common perception that Government and new residents alike were treating the Manx as second-class citizens, a number of Manx people and some incomers looked to the Manx language and associated culture to re-establish a strong Manx identity (Gawne 2002: 174).

This view ascribes the demographic change experienced by island residents as a prompt for residents to seek cultural differentiation. Gawne suggests that residents who were so inclined recognised the semiotic potential of MxG, and so used it as a resource for divergence. This thesis explores whether MxG substrate items in MxE are also used in this way - to establish a distinctive, local linguistic repertoire. In order to explore whether this is the case, first there needs to be some explanation of the MxE variety.

1.2.4 Manx English

MxE, sometimes referred to as Anglo-Manx (e.g. Moore *et al* 1924; Maddrell 2011), is the name given to the variety of English spoken on the IoM[7]. Descriptive accounts of MxE are available, such as Barry (1984), to which the reader is directed for a more comprehensive outline of this variety. Important for the current research, however, is to briefly explain the distinctive features of MxE, and the ways in which it is influenced by the MxG substrate.

Phonology

The phonology of MxE is described as 'a much standardised form of north-west English, influenced by MxG' (Barry 1984: 168). Ellis (1889) documents this Lancashire influence on MxE[8], however Barry states that this account may have 'overstated the similarities with Lancashire dialect and understated the Celtic substratum' (1984: 168). By the 1930s, Liverpool influence was detected in Douglas (Gill 1934), and more recently Barry proposes that while Liverpool remains the main port of access, Liverpool phonology will be a forerunner for dominance in MxE pronunciation (1984: 177). Liverpool features are noted in Hamer's account of MxE, limited to a velarised voice quality, the affrication of /t/ and /k/, and what he describes as a 'Scouse-like variant of the diphthong /əʊ/'(Hamer 2007: 175). For reasons of capacity, phonology does not feature within the current thesis. Readers are, however, directed to Booth's forthcoming PhD thesis for more an exploration of current MxE phonological features, including vowel lengthening in words such as *wasp* and alveolar tapping in words such as *strange*.

Grammar

Accounts of MxE, such as Hamer (2007) note the existence of several non-standard grammatical features. These include, for example, non-standard use of past tense forms, e.g. *I seen* (found in many other English dialects). There are additionally several syntactic elements influenced by the MxG substrate which make MxE distinctive. These include the use of *at* as a marker of possession (e.g. *there's*

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[7] Sometimes this definition is limited to the 'traditional' dialect spoken on the IoM.

[8] Including, for example /ʊ/ where southern varieties would have /ʌ/, /a/ in words such as *dance* and word-final develarisation in words such as *going*.

money at him meaning 'he has money'). In this example, the construction takes the form of *there BE money at NP* rather than the StE *NP HAVE money*. Other grammatical examples from the MxE substrate include non-standard continuous forms where StE would have a habitual form (e.g. *They were getting a sap of straw,* meaning 'they usually got a wisp of straw') (Barry 1984: 176). Specific grammatical items selected for exploration in the current research are detailed further in chapter 4.

Lexis

MxE is noted to have many lexical borrowings from the MxG substrate. Older sources, such as Moore *et al* (1924) indicate over 700 of these, while more recent works such as the SED (Orton and Halliday 1962) found evidence of only 126[9]. The latter survey found that lexical borrowings from MxG tended to fall predominantly into the semantic fields of farming, sailing or fishing, human beings (including relationships, the body, and behaviour), the supernatural, and the house (Barry 1984: 175; Hamer 2007: 174).

Outlook

It appears to be accepted in several accounts that 'MxG died first, traditional regional Manx English seems to be following quite quickly' (Barry 1984: 168). Given the lack of recent studies of MxE, descriptive or otherwise, there is a need for the current situation to be explored. This thesis explores, within the parameters of the chosen method, what grammatical and lexical items from the Celtic substrate prevail in MxE in the present day. In order to assess whether these items are loaded with social meaning, particularly in an identity context, an existing sociolinguistic field method is adapted, as described in chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The sociolinguistic situation on the IoM is significantly under-investigated, with most recent accounts such as Preuß (1999) taking a more formal, descriptive linguistic viewpoint. The previous sections have, however, established that the IoM is an interesting environment from a sociolinguistic perspective. Along with intense and

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[9] It must be noted, however, that Moore *et al* is a dictionary of Anglo-Manx and not a dialect investigation. Therefore, these figures are compared cautiously.

prolonged contact between speakers of MxE and other BrE varieties, there is the added existence of the heritage language, MxG. This leads to MxE being described as having a 'hybrid character', with documented influence from the UK as well as its own Celtic roots (Kewley Draskau 2000: 322). The study of MxE is, therefore, warranted, particularly when one considers the consequences of its manifestation as a 'unique taxonomy of the concepts and perceptual linguistic habits of a language community translated and expressed through an alternative code' (ibid). This implies that the existence of MxE itself has identity implications, as older community traditions are often required to be carried out through English forms as MxG proficiency generally decreases.

Of interest to this thesis is whether the 'alternative code' to which Clague refers has now replaced the use of MxG variants within MxE through, for example, processes of dialect levelling and convergence through accommodation (see further chapter 2). These lines of enquiry are linked to the study of linguistic identity (see chapter 2), as this research explores how a decline in, or retention of, MxG features in MxE is linked to language attitudes and cultural values.

This considered, the research questions identified for this thesis are:

1. What lexical and grammatical items from the MxG substrate prevail in residents' perceptions of MxE?

2. Does the actual and perceived use of MxG substrate items in MxE correspond to social factors, including: age, location, and individual speaker proficiency in MxG?

3. Do speakers recognise MxG substrate items as markers of a Manx linguistic identity?

4. Do factors such as cultural involvement and local affiliation motivate the retention of specific MxG substrate items?

1.4   THESIS OUTLINE

Before the data and ensuing discussion can be presented, this thesis is structured to provide a theoretical outline and review of relevant literature - which appears in chapter 2. Key concepts relating to the research context and approach are discussed, including those which make the IoM a place of sociolinguistic interest.

A methodological review which explains the formulation of the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) approach and justifies its use within the current research is at chapter 3. An explanation of adaptations to SuRE made for the IoM study and a description of the fieldwork procedure is at chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the linguistic data elicited, outlining the sensitivity of certain social variables (namely age, location, and informant proficiency in MxG as an L2). Chapter 6 then presents the corresponding attitudinal data. Chapter 7 synthesises the data presented in chapters 5 and 6 to discuss them in relation to the research questions before chapter 8 concludes the thesis.

2   THEORETICAL REVIEW

This chapter explores existing literature and research in disciplines and sub-disciplines that are central to the current study on the IoM. It is divided into four sections, each addressing a particular research area or concept. Section 1 describes the way the field of sociolinguistics developed from the traditional discipline of dialectology; section 2 discusses the complex relationship between identity and language as it is explored in sociolinguistics; section 3 explores the linguistic identity of island nations; and section 4 examines situations of linguistic contact in the contexts of specific island locations.

2.1   DIALECTOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

2.1.1   Defining Dialect

Before the systematic study of dialects is discussed, it is important to establish what is meant by the term *dialect* in this work, and to highlight how this term has been problematised. Firstly, one needs to establish the difference between language and dialect. This distinction is not clear-cut. Simply speaking, however, it is usually accepted that languages are autonomous whereas dialects are heteronomous. Variety, on the other hand, refers to a relatively homogenous speech variety insofar as it can be described as a single entity.

Dialect is a useful term in that it is employed and understood by laypeople in a variety of contexts. As Coupland states, 'dialect is everyone's concern' (1988: 5) and is inherently born of comparison. Discussion of dialect in explicit terms by non-linguists is commonplace, particularly in tourist towns. It is also common to see this folk interest in dialect commodified in the production of items such as tea towels and t-shirts, which represent regional variation in some way. This is observable in Cooper's chapter which explores GOAT fronting as a possible newly enregistered feature of the Yorkshire dialect, Cooper (2017: 360). He uses the example of a T-shirt containing the phrase "Yorkshire: It's Turtley Amazing" as evidence of speaker awareness of dialectal difference, in this case of phonological variation. While popular use of the term, and awareness of, dialect is often positive, it can lack a universal definition in many contexts.

Francis states that dialect refers to 'varieties of a language used by groups smaller than the total community of speakers of a language' (1983: 1). Other definitions include Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 3) who state that dialects form an aggregate of mutually intelligible forms of a language. Therefore, in accordance with this claim, a language can be considered as a collection of dialects. For the purpose of this work, dialect is used as a label to describe linguistic varieties of one language local to specific regions, which subsume grammar, phonology and lexis.

2.1.2   The Dialect Continua Approach

Despite its use in established definitions (Chambers and Trudgill 1998; Trudgill 1986), the term 'mutual intelligibility' with reference to dialects is often rationally problematised both within these works and within the wider field. It is not simple enough to delimit dialects based on the criterion of mutual intelligibility. Instead, it is proposed that mutual intelligibility between varieties exists on a continuum of difference (Hudson 1996; Robins 1989).   Dialect continua (or dialect chains), address the issue of mutual intelligibility through accounting for different intensities of linguistic variation in a geographical area. Bloomfield (1933: 343) noted that rather than distinctive boundaries, dialect difference occurs through much more graduated transitions between areas. This alludes to the notion of cumulative difference, whereby the greater the distance between areas, the more dissimilar the varieties. According to the idea of dialect continua, boundaries between varieties are unclear and graduated, and there is a correlation between distance and linguistic dissimilarity.

2.1.3   The Dialect Area Approach

The notion of the dialect continuum is problematic when one considers the other approaches to the division of large areas into their respective linguistic regions, such as the dialect area approach. Rather than the dialect continuum scenario, which, as stated, claims that dialects are not delimited by sharp boundaries, there also exists the dialect area scenario. In contrast to dialect continua, dialect areas divide geographical areas into 'internally homogenous but mutually heterogeneous dialect areas' (Szmrecsanyi 2013: 89). Dialect areas are usually depicted visually in the form of boundary lines which indicate 'on one side of the boundary speakers use variant a, on the other side speakers use variant b' (Penhallurick 2018: 101). These

lines are called isoglosses, from the Greek meaning same or equal (iso) tongue (glossa) (Hudson 1996: 38).

Isogloss as a dialectological term was first employed by Bielensten in 1892 (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 89). It is thought that his coinage of the word was influenced by the term isotherm used in meteorology to describe lines depicting areas of equal average temperature (ibid). In common usage, the term often encompasses any kind of linguistic variation; lexical, phonetic, phonological, or grammatical. It should be mentioned, however, that some literature uses the term isophone to refer to phonetic or phonological variation (Trudgill 2016, Allen 1986). Moreover, further distinction can be made to refer to grammatical variation, where boundary lines are referred to as isomorphs (Pietsch 2009; Daan 1999). For the purpose of this thesis, the term isogloss will be adopted in the way used by Labov *et al* (2006: 41), to describe boundary lines separating varieties. An example of a map featuring isoglosses is in Figure 2.1.
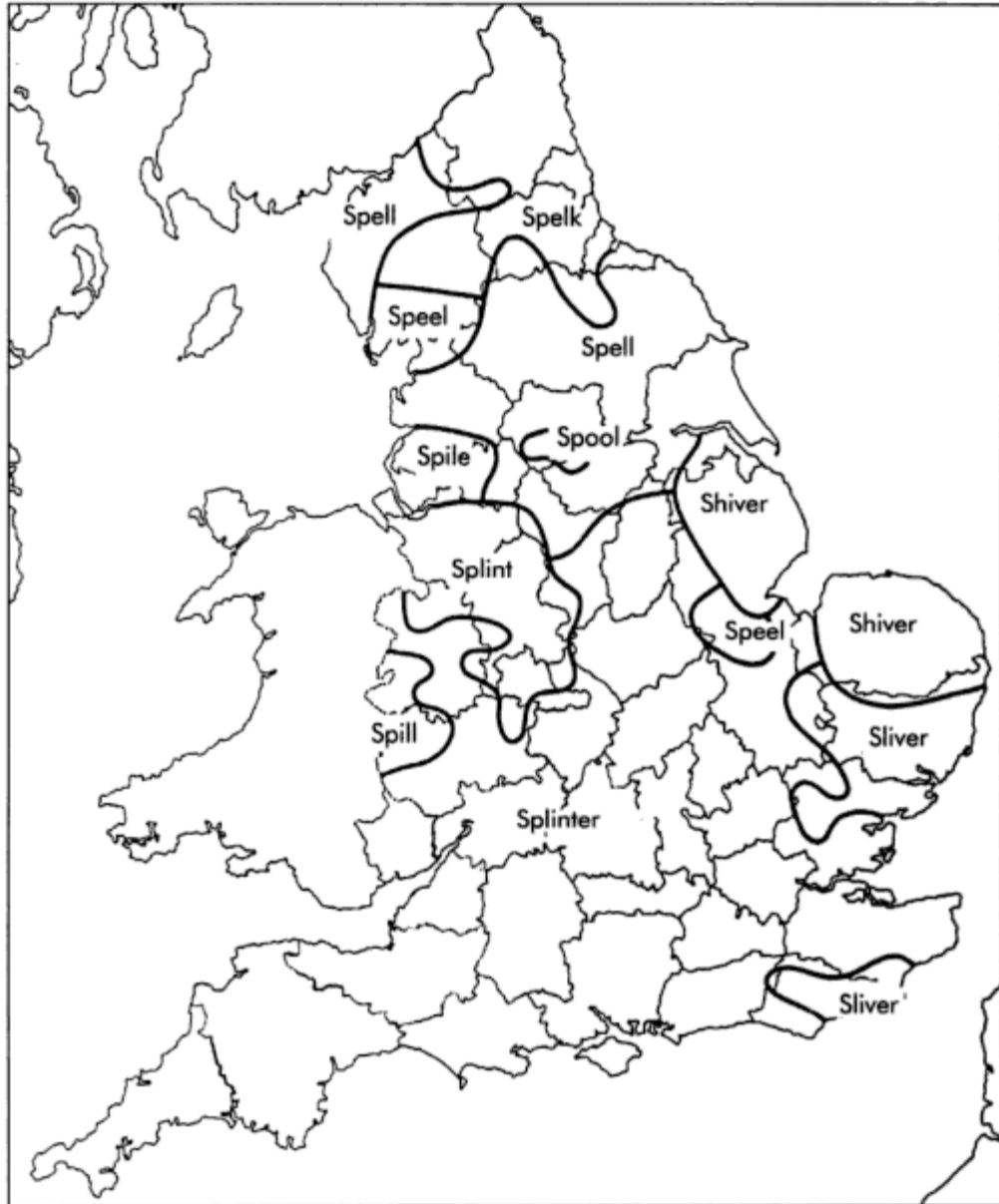
Figure 2.1 Words for 'splinter' in English Dialects (from Trudgill 2012: 24)

2.1.4   Constructing Isoglosses: Phonological Priority?

As the above figure demonstrates, isoglosses provide delimitations of geographically distributed linguistic variation, however Labov *et al* (2006) highlight that the establishment of features to define dialects can be problematic.   How does the researcher begin to decide what linguistic variables are sufficient evidence for the demarcation of dialect areas? In the Atlas of North American English, Labov *et al*

justify their predominant use of phonological variation in lieu of lexical variation (ibid: 41). They claim that research drawing conclusions about dialects from lexical items cannot make statements that are beyond modest, given existing criticism of lexical distribution as arbitrary (Kretzschmar 1992). Moreover, unlike lexical variation, phonological variants 'do not suffer obsolescence and they are of high frequency in the stream of speech' (Labov *et al* 2006: 41). This is echoed by Beal, who states that while educated speakers from any area will use more standard lexical and grammatical features (at least in more formal environments), 'features of regional accent tend to be retained' (2010: 10).

Despite Labov *et al*'s justification for the production of isoglosses with minimised focus on lexical variation, lexis is arguably the most accessible aspect of dialect variation for non-linguists. There is a 'particularly strong association of lexis with regional identity' (Durkin 2012: 3). Beal states that despite early dialectological concern with the creation of dialect dictionaries in the 1800s, 'the study of regional lexis has been the 'Cinderella' of academic dialectology in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries' (2010: 53). Known exceptions to this are Kolb's (1965) study of Northern England, Fischer's (1976) study of the Southwest of England and Glauser's (1974) study of the Scottish-English border. These studies draw on lexical data including that collected by the SED (Orton and Halliday 1962) in order to attempt to identify dialect areas. The recycling of the SED data for the purpose of traditional dialectological identification is potentially problematic, given the purpose for which the SED data was collected. As the following chapter describes, the SED was a linguistic ecological study which sought to document and preserve the dialect forms of older speakers. Orton wished for the SED data to establish a historical baseline that could be used as a tool of comparison for future studies. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that studies such as Glauser (1974) were drawing upon data which is somewhat inappropriate for the demarcation of current dialect regions. What this section emphasises is that the collection of lexical variants is useful in that they are accessible and visible aspects of langage that often interest the non-linguist. This assists data elicitation processes that seek overt social comment (such as the use of SuRE in the current project).

2.1.5 (In)Compatibility of Dialect Delimitation Approaches

Despite their obvious differences, concepts of dialect area (as presented by isoglosses) and dialect continuum are not 'divorced from one another' (Gilles and Siebenhaar 2010: 770). When considered in their polarised states, it is true that the approaches are incompatible. Yet the reality of the study of dialect is that 'these poles are idealised prototypes...actual dialect relationships will typically fall somewhere inbetween' (Szmrecsanyi 2013: 89). Rather than 'maximally smooth' linguistic transitions between areas, or indeed 'maximally abrupt' regionalised dialects, the true situation is often influenced by additional factors, such as cultural affiliation and local practices (Szmrecsanyi 2013: 156), as the current study explores.

Before the discussion progresses to the emergence of the field of sociolinguistics, it is important to highlight the usefulness of traditional dialectology to current studies in linguistics. Dialectology 'should not be seen as the linguistic counterpart of butterfly-collecting' (Coupland 1988: 6), whereby researchers seek to amass rare items and add them to a collection. Instead, as well as existing as a valuable and informative field in its own right, traditional dialectology provides the necessary foundations of numerous subfields, including perceptual dialectology and sociolinguistics, as described in the following section. Therefore, traditional dialectological approaches help to contextualise the current research in that they serve as the prologue for both the subfields and approaches that it straddles.

2.2 From Dialectology to Sociolinguistics

2.2.1 Relationship between dialectology and sociolinguistics

In 1995, Kretzschmar published *Dialectology and Sociolinguistics: Same coin, different currency*, a paper which describes the usefulness of dialectological research to the sociolinguistic field. Additionally, however, Kretzschmar also highlights what he describes as 'chief differences' between the two fields which are primarily associated with the size and scope of their enquiries. Although 'broad surveys of dialectologists cut across many speech communities, not just one at a time' (Krestzchmar 1995: 277), sociolinguistic study offers language study on a considerably more micro level, at the level of the speech community. The term *speech community* is used throughout this thesis to refer to a group of individuals who behave in similar ways linguistically. Although this term can be problematic, and

speech communities can have heterogeneic qualities, it has a wide, although perhaps over-simplified, use throughout the sociolinguistic field.

Labov acknowledges the difficulty created when one begins to separate sociolinguistics from dialectology, or indeed from other linguistic subfields. He states that he did not readily adopt the term *sociolinguistics* as it 'implies that there can be successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social' (Labov 1972a: xix). This is echoed by Fishman (1972: 15) who stresses that the interests and understandings of the dialectologist exceed the measurement of difference in terms of geographical space. He states that while, as this chapter establishes, dialectologists do indeed have an interest in the formation of linguistic atlases depicting areas of linguistic heterogeneity, they appreciate that 'the variations…of interest to them are not due to geographical distance per se, but rather to the interactional consequences of geographic and other kids of "distance"' (ibid). Therefore, as Trudgill argues, dialectology can be subsumed by the larger field of sociolinguistics, even though 'its objectives are primarily linguistic' (1992: 72).

It is claimed that some studies in dialectology may have lost the foci that enabled the field to become so established: the investigation of neogrammarian principles and the creation of linguistic atlases. Considering the earlier metaphor of dialectology being considered 'butterfly collecting', it might be thought that lexical data is amassed without ever fully realising its impact or usefulness to the field. However, is there a problem with the amassing of linguistic data of this kind? This thesis asserts that linguistic data has continued value, regardless of the original objectives with which it was elicited. As well as the ability for data sets to be recycled and fuel both new and existing enquiry, there is the argument that linguistic data of any type is documentary. Both qualitative and quantitative responses to elicitation materials can be acknowledged as anthropological snapshots, evidencing the state of a language within a specific environmental and historical context.

Trudgill (1992: 72) highlights that there has been some hostility and antagonism between the separate disciplines of dialectology and sociolinguistics, perhaps in terms of a more conservative and established field defending itself against a newer one. Alternatively, it might be that the newer field considers the older to be antiquated. However, Trudgill states that this friction is something now ascribed to

the past, as 'we are moving into a new era of co-operation, integration and synthesis within the field' (Trudgill 1992: 73). Some practical examples of this are that sociolinguistic studies often make use of dialectological data collection approaches or draw upon the existing findings of dialectologists in order to inform their hypotheses. It is important therefore, in this section of the chapter, to refer to Dell Hymes, who in the editorial introduction to the first issue of *Language in Society*, argued against this type of separation of disciplines into research silos. He called for 'mutual clarification' between disciplines, highlighting the ways in which their peaceful co-existence can benefit the field through the ratification of research findings (Hymes 1972: 1). Therefore, the label ascribed to a field of enquiry is not what holds value, but the tasks that are undertaken and their contribution to wider research entities. In the context of this thesis, the current project uses dialectological data to inform its design, emphasising the value of complementation between dialectology and sociolinguistics. Specifically, quantitative data from the SED (Orton and Halliday 1962, see chapter 3) and qualitative data from dialect dictionaries helps to triangulate the data elicited through this project.

Another way that these fields interact is through the development of theoretical approaches. Acknowledgement of interaction between the fields of sociolinguistics and dialectology is present in the description of a model which is helpful to the theoretical underpinning of this thesis: the wave model of variationist sociolinguistics.

The following sections (2.2.2-2.2.4) describe Eckert's wave model of variationist sociolinguistic study. She identifies that approaches to variation within the field have shifted in their analytic approaches in ways which can be organised into three distinctive trends which are known as first, second, and third wave variationist approaches. In the initial conference paper debuting this organisation, Eckert describes the nature of these waves as not strictly chronological or hierarchical, but instead operating together as part of a larger whole (Eckert 2005: 1). This is representative of the diversity within the variationist sociolinguistic discipline and provides an overview of the alternative approaches taken in both research approach and analysis.

2.2.2 First Wave Variationist Study

In simple terms, 'first-wave variationist sociolinguists focus on documenting language variation and change within communities' (Drummond and Schleef 2016: 51). First-wave studies seek to establish variation within a given geographical area or group of speakers, and to analyse the social constraints of observed variables, determining whether processes of linguistic change are occurring, or have occurred.

It is widely accepted that the first wave of variationist study began with the work of William Labov in the 1960s with his study of linguistic variation in New York, USA. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (in Labov 1972a) is considered monumental in the contribution it has made (and continues to make) to large-scale variationist research. Other early works that are recognised as heavily demonstrative of the first-wave approach are Wolfram's (1969) study of African-American speakers in Detroit and Trudgill's (1974) study *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Both of these studies utilise quantitative data collection tools on a large scale (in the form of interviews and questionnaires) in order to establish correlations between linguistic and social variables. First-wave studies are often thought of as classic variationism, seeking to establish broad correlational patterns according to demographic categories (such as age, gender, social class, and ethnicity) and use of specific variants.

First-wave sociolinguistic research can be criticised for its essentialism, as such studies can regard linguistic variants to be directly linked to predetermined, and often biological social factors. Essentialism has been described in the sociolinguistic context by Bucholtz, who states that:

> Essentialism is the position that the attributes and behaviour of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group (Bucholtz 2003: 400).

Generally speaking, essentialism in sociolinguistics can be problematic. However, as Moore and Montgomery (2017: 2) stress, 'it is important to remember that a degree of essentialism can be beneficial to our understanding of broad-scale patterns of language variation and change'. Although sociolinguistic research must acknowledge that homogeneity amongst social groups, such as those in the focus of first-wave

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variationist study, rarely exists, there are certain ways in which a macro overview is valuable both to the more nuanced approaches of second and third wave study and to wider linguistic research (ibid.). It is only through the consideration of linguistic data on this broad scale, when it is abstracted from the smaller units of sociocultural complexity, that more generalised patterns of language change can be observed.

First-wave studies can also be criticised for the need they present for the researcher to make certain judgements in order to make the direct links between language and social categories described (for example, the link between non-standard forms and social class posed by Trudgill (1974)). This can translate to the ascription of markedness[10] to non-standard variants (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 14). Rather than accepting the conclusions drawn by first-wave research, there is the need for research to examine more closely variation at local levels, gaining an appreciation for the dynamics that govern smaller social units within the larger speech community. This is the intention of second-wave variationist research, as described below.

2.2.3 Second Wave Variationist Study

Drager (2015: 7) states that second-wave variationist study 'examines variation that is correlated with locally constructed social categories'. Rather than attributing the use of linguistic variants to sociodemographic categories, second-wave studies are concerned with ethnographic approaches and speaker agency. Individuals are acknowledged to have membership in a number of smaller social constructs which together organise the larger speech communities, such as those at the centre of first-wave study. Crucially, there is sharp distinction in the way that linguistic variants are analysed, as well as in the way that social categories are delimited. Instead of the social meaning of variants being determined from above, by the researcher and existing data and literature, second-wave research allows this meaning to be discovered from below, at the level of the user (Schilling 2013: 156). Thus, social meaning emerges from such elicitation methods as participant observation, as variants are observed in a range of contexts.

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[10] Meaning that a variant becomes cognitively prominent in some way.

The identification of smaller social units appropriate for second-wave studies is less obvious for the researcher than the identification of abstract social categories such as gender and social class. For locally-relevant categories to emerge, an alternative methodological approach to that employed by first-wave studies is required. First-wave studies sought to obtain samples of informants who fulfilled researcher-identified requirements, whereas second-wave studies necessitate an ethnographic approach. A more detailed account of ethnographic approaches in linguistics is available in chapter 3 of this thesis, however in short, second-wave study requires prolonged observation of communities to identify locally-defined groupings. This is a crucial development in sociolinguistic analytical approaches, as it prescribes that in order to appropriately analyse the social meaning ascribed to linguistic variants, the social context in which these variants occur must be understood (Saville-Troike 2003: 22). It is therefore important to highlight that the conclusions drawn by second-wave research are often locally specific, and 'the information collected in one community would not necessarily be valid to explain the behaviour of others' (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 16).

The understanding of social groupings at an appropriate level for this type of research can only be achieved through lengthy, qualitative research that requires considerable investment of researcher resources, especially time. Given the shift of research intentions towards an examination of social categories which may be defined by the participants themselves, second-wave research requires the completion of observation, interaction, and immersion within the communities in focus.

An early study which is identified as second-wave in nature is Labov's 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard (demonstrating that studies in the respective waves do not necessarily occur chronologically). In his study of vowels in this island community, Labov asserts that in order to understand his data, an appreciation for the social context of the island is necessary. He states that a quantitative approach that utilises 'a simple bookkeeping approach' is not adequate, and instead 'we will have to gain an insight into the social structure of the island, and the pressures which motivate the sound changes' (Labov 1972b: 26).

Labov used information from the 1960 census to understand the social environment in which his data was collected, indicating that the economy of Martha's Vineyard was under pressure and very much reliant upon summer trade. The data enabled Labov to identify that 'high centralisation of (ay) and (aw) is closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the incursions of the summer people (Labov 1972b: 28). Deeper conclusions were based upon understandings of the informants as individuals; their language usage a reflection of their place in society and their family structures. From the elicitation of large amounts of qualitative data, Labov was able to begin to understand the social meaning of centralised diphthongs, which differs according to the challenges to their nativeness that informants had faced (ibid: 36).

Labov's conclusion of diphthongal centralisation as a marker of symbolic capital, whereby raised nuclei are indicative of Vineyarder status, was made possible by the collection of quantitative data and an appropriate amount of observation to allow categories for analysis to emerge themselves (such as *jock* or *burnout,* as in Eckert 1989). Additional theoretical approaches to the study of smaller social units have emerged since the completion of Labov's study on Martha's Vineyard and are equally important to the understanding of second-wave variationism, such as the social network approach (Milroy and Milroy 1978, 1992; Milroy 1987.) It is clear at this point that variationist sociolinguistics has different analytic approaches that have a number of broad similarities (such as the desire to identify patterns between linguistic and social variables), yet also possess stark theoretical differences. First-wave studies place individuals within predetermined social categories. Second-wave studies, however, acknowledge individuals as freer agents whose linguistic behaviour is linked instead to the dynamics of their social environment.

Before third-wave research is discussed, it is important to note that the distinction between the second and third waves is less distinct, as highlighted by Burbano Elizondo (2008: 21). It is also noted that there is some inconsistency in the literature surrounding these waves, with some (such as Tagliamonte 2011; Drummond and Schleef 2016: 53) including the community of practice within the second-wave. For

the purpose of this thesis, the current approach has been placed between the second and third waves[11], with appropriate justification outlined below.

2.2.4 Third-Wave Variationist Study

The final 'wave' described by Eckert is the third wave, which views linguistic variation as constitutive of 'a social semiotic system capable of expressing the full range of a community's social concerns' (Eckert 2012: 94). This means that variation is a system of meaning-making that is able to communicate information beyond the referential. As the concerns of a community are not fixed, Eckert suggests that neither is the social meaning attached to linguistic behaviour. Instead, 'variants are viewed as being fluid and functioning together to index qualities and stances, which in turn construct the social categories they have been believed to index' (Mallinson and Childs 2007: 174). This 'indexical mutuability' is something that is achieved through the use of speakers as stylistic agents, who are able to continually reinterpret variables in an 'ongoing process of bricolage' (Eckert 2012: 94). That is, individuals are able to construct and interpret linguistic variation as the sum of separate social facets. The idea that the social meaning of variables does not have indexical exclusivity (i.e. social meaning itself is variable), creates the need for a discussion of ordered indexicality and enregisterment in sociolinguistics.

The current study sits between the second and third waves, as it explores not only the frequency and nature of substrate features elicited, but also interprets these as semiotic markers of identity. Specifically, the present work explores the locally-specific factors that may motivate the (non)-use of substrate forms (such as immigration and tourism), but also considers these forms as tools for identity marking within the local context.

Indexicality

Indexicality is an adoption of the term *index*, which in the case of sociolinguistics refers to language behaviours as signs akin to a 'pointing finger' (Peirce 1885: 181). According to this notion, language is indicative of something other than itself; these indications being controlled by the contextual environment. As Silverstein states,

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[11] Although there are some first-wave elements, such as the stratification of the sample by predetermined social groups.

indexicality refers to 'signs where the occurrence of the sign vehicle token bears a connection of understood spacio-temporal contiguity to the occurrence of the entity signalled' (1979: 199). In other words, indexicality is the co-occurrence (or close occurrence in time) of two elements: the sign vehicle (in this case, the linguistic variant), and the entity signalled (for example, social group). This co-occurrence leads to the cognitive connection of these two previously unrelated elements, causing a symptomatic relationship to be perceived. Therefore, indexical signs are markers that are indicative of a meaning beyond the sign itself. A classic example of indexicality is dark clouds indicating that rain is likely to occur. Therefore, dark clouds are indexical of rain.

In terms of linguistics, Silverstein (1976) highlights that indexes can be both referential and non-referential in their meaning. Referential indexicality often signals aspects of person and space, such as personal and demonstrative pronouns. Non-referential indexicality, however, is the form most relevant to this thesis. According to Johnstone, non-referential indexes are those linguistic forms 'which evoke and/or construct…what is sometimes called "social meaning", a concept that encompasses matters such as register, […] stance, […] and social identity' (Johnstone *et al* 2006: 81). It is argued that the ability of language as an index of this kind of sociocultural information is governed by shared group norms, which Ochs describes as 'culturally constructed valances' (1996: 417). Through gaining access to such valences, researchers can begin to understand the construction of meaning in certain social contexts. This is explored further in section 2.3.

 Although it is not unreasonable to expect the implicit semiotic mechanisms controlling non-referential meaning of this kind to be somewhat arbitrary (i.e. the cognitive elements governing the links between sign and signifier), this is not the case. The relationship between language forms and different levels of non-referential meaning can 'stabilise at different levels of abstraction' (Johnstone *et al* 2006: 81). Therefore, non-referential indexicality is, in fact, structured in that it occurs in a systematic way known as *orders of indexicality* (Silverstein 2003; Blommaert 2007). Silverstein describes several of these orders, which 'make it possible to conceptualise extended chains of indexicality' (Snell 2017: 5). While Blommaert's (2007) reimagining of Silverstein's Peirce-inspired indexical order acknowledges deficits in the original model (largely to do with institutional context within which

these orders operate, where there is an imbalance of value between the different orders), it is important to identify that the orders proposed by Silverstein are still valuable in the understanding of ascribed sociolinguistic meaning. These orders are described below.

First-order Indexicality

Joseph (2010: 17) states that indexical relationships between linguistic form and sociocultural meaning begins with 'relatively value-free associations', usually in the form of broad associations with sociodemographic categories such as geographic location. For example, the realisation of the voiceless velar fricative /x/ in words such as *looking* can be indexical of Liverpool Englishness[12]. This relationship is sometimes referred to as *nth* order indices (Silverstein 2003), the *nth* order referring to the relationship between linguistic form and demographic identities. It is the establishment of the linkage between the variant and the social category that is considered to be first-order indexicality, however this meaning only comes to exist when it is noticed (Clark 2013: 100). It is important to note, therefore, that first-order indexicality only comes to be when it is perceived at the level of the individual or group. It is also crucial to note that first-order indexicality 'may be perceived and discussed differently by different communities' (Burbano Elizondo 2006: 114). It is this fluidity that gives rise to second-order indexicality, discussed below.

Second-order Indexicality

Johnstone *et al* state that 'second-order indexicality occurs when people begin to use first-order indexicality to do social work' (2006: 83). In other words, when the relationship between linguistic form and demographic identity (*n*th order indices) become available for social manipulation. For example, when in more formal settings, some speakers may attempt to minimise their use of certain *n*th order indices because they are aware of the indexical links between such forms and education. This then becomes an *n*+1st index (where *n* is the first order and the +1 is indicative of this additional layer of social functionality).

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[12] Labov used the term 'indicator' to refer to this type of linguistic sign relationship.

Building on the notion that linguistic behaviour can be directly linked to, for example, membership in a population, second-order indices are formulated through the manifestation and reproduction of ideologies. Rather than the sign merely indicating, for example, the geographic area or social class of a speaker, the sign also communicates metapragmatic meaning. Rather than displacing first-order indices, the second-order builds upon it to enable language users to ascribe additional social features based on such aspects as correctness or class identity, enabling the researcher to identify *why* first-order indexicality occurs. For example, speaker behaviours or observations of *n*th order indeces (such as h-dropping and social class, or the use of regional lexis and location) can aid an understanding of how the *n*th order is perpetuated. It is therefore recognised that second-order indexicality equips speakers with the ability to both acknowledge first-order indexical meaning (such as the ascription of linguistic features to broad sociodemographic categories) but also to rationalise their metapragmatic interpretations. It is these ideological interpretations that can also shape and justify the language behaviours of both individuals and groups.

Third-order Indexicality

Third-order indexicality occurs where the linguistic behaviours ascribed meaning through the first and second levels become an 'overt topic of social comment' to do with identity (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 152). In other words, after being noticed as features associated with area, variants associated with that particular geographic space begin to become linked to local identity. This reinforces the notion that there is an inextricable link between dialect and place, one that has been explored since the establishment of early dialectological research but is increasingly a commonly held belief of laypeople. When linguistic features undergo third-level indexicality, they begin to appear in 'highly-codified lists' such as semi-serious dialect dictionaries, produced by both insiders and outsiders to perform local identity (Kiesling 2011: 108).

The usefulness of Siverstein's model is evident in its ability to allow us to interpret the social potential of linguistic phenomena. 'Indexical order of this sort is a positive force, it produces social categories, recognisable semiotic emblems for groups and individuals, a more or less coherent semiotic habitat' (Blommaert 2007: 117). The current study explores third-order indexcality because it seeks to understand links

between dialect and national identity. As chapter 4 discusses, the project uses overt social comment and sources such as dialect plays and dialect dictionaries to both inform the data elicitation process.

Enregisterment

A key concept in the understanding of both the second and third orders of indexicality is *enregisterment*. This has been described as 'the identification of a set of linguistic norms as … a repertoire differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register' (Agha 2003: 231). Enregisterment is a 'useful heuristic' (Johnstone 2016: 632) that aids linguists in comprehending the process through which a feature, or set of features, come to be associated with particular varieties of speech. Often, enregiesterment occurs through the dissemination of metapragmatic links. Metapragmatics, in this sense, is the social framing and contextualisation of linguistic forms that highlight an association between these forms and social identities. Metapragmatics can occur as explicit 'talk about talk', whereby overt comments are made to link forms to location (e.g. the use of *ken* for *know* is a 'Scottish thing', or the use of *yinz* is an indicator of 'Pittsburghese'). These metapragmatic discourses often occur when acknowledging differences in the speech of others, or when conversations turn to the description of the speech of an area.

The purposes of enregisterment are often rhetorical in nature, and it is crucial to note that the same feature can undergo re-enregisterment: features do not necessarily obtain a fixed status as a dialect or identity marker and can be re-interpreted from different ideological standpoints. For example, Johnstone (2010: 35) notes how some Pittsburgh variants, which were associated with working-class male speech (in an n+1th order) came to be re-enregistered to index an authentic Pittsburgh identity - bearing in mind that related ideological stances suggest that authentic Pittsburghers are working class men (ibid). Hearers of these features will then come to associate them with an authentic Pittsburgh identity when their 'perceptions are shaped according to an ideological cline of authenticity' (ibid). Thus, these features have been re-enregistered and are now $(n+1)+1$-th order indices. Re-enregisterment can be a continual process, which is indicative of the layers of social meaning that can be construed through the interpretation of linguistic forms. Later in this thesis, at chapter 4, enregisterment will be discussed as means to delimit speech communities and

establish membership within them through processes of 'feature dropping' (Johnstone and Baumgart 2004).

Enregisterment has relevance to the current project as it is the process by which linguistic variants come to exist as part of a separate repertoire. In the case of the IoM, enregisterment can aid an understanding of how features from the MxG substrate have come to exist as part of MxE, and how these continue to be perpetuated as a part of this variety.

An interest in the semiotic mechanisms behind the production of social meaning has prompted a wealth of research into linguistic ideology. It is noted that linguistic variants are not static, nor non-dialectal, given that the ideological factors which govern the interpretation of variants are often fluid. Therefore, in order to gain access to the social meaning ascribed to linguistic variants by particular groups, it is necessary to access the ideological field within which the speakers operate. This is the focus of linguistic ideological approaches to language variation research, which is described in detail at section 2.3.

Salience

Salience is a term used in the linguistic field to refer to a property of language units which are perceptually or cognitively prominent, interpreted as encoding social information about the speaker or writer beyond the referential meaning (Kerswill and Williams 2002)[13]. In other words, salient forms are highly noticeable, and have associated meaning which causes them to index extralinguistic information, such as a speaker's (presumed) social background. Salience can vary in its strength, and forms with higher degrees of salience are 'argued to index social information more unequivocally than do forms with lower salience' (Llamas *et al* 2016: 2). Salient items are recognised rapidly as belonging to a particular repertoire and there is usually a consensus of agreement between listeners of this recognition. For example, where a

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[13] Some literature (such as Rácz 2013) distinguishes between *cognitive salience* (i.e. the objective property of the unit that makes it noticeable) and *social salience* (the ideologies and attitudes evoked by the unit). This thesis uses *salience* to refer to both the property of the unit and its associated ideological baggage.

speaker uses *howay* (a highly salient form), usually rapid associations will be made between this item and with the North-East of England and with a working-class identity (Snell 2017).

Salience has its roots in social indexation theory (Labov 1972a). Labov identifies linguistic forms as *indicators, markers* and *stereotypes*[14] which correspond to speaker awareness of these forms. According to Labov (1971), *indicators* are variants which map social information (and may therefore be socially stratified) but have 'attracted no notice and do not feature in variation across the formality order' (Eckert 2008: 465). These are what we have identified earlier in this chapter as first-order indeces which simply associate a linguistic form with membership in a particular social group. Indicators do not have the property of salience. *Markers* and *stereotypes* differ from indicators in the sense that these features have attracted sufficient notice to become part of stylistic variation (ibid). The difference between markers and stereotypes is the level of consciousness with which the variants are recognised by the speakers. Markers are units that signal difference which may lie either above or below the level of speaker consciousness (Labov 1972a: 314). Where these markers are mapped onto social identities, they may be subject to style-shifting as speakers have an awareness of the attitudes associated with them (even if they are unable to identify the marker itself). In such circumstances, as Rácz states, speakers aren't always aware of the marker which has provoked a certain attitude or response, but when the marker is removed, 'the attitude disappears along with it' (2013: 26). Markers have salience, but only to members of the in-group.

It is only linguistic *stereotypes* that speakers have a definite conscious awareness of. These are 'conscious characterisations' of the speech of particular social groups (Wardhaugh 2010: 148). Examples of linguistic stereotypes are the use of, for example, the velar fricative in Liverpool English in words such as *chicken* and *like*, and the vowel sounds in Boston English in words such as *park*. As Eckert states,

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[14] It is acknowledged that the indicator, marker, and stereotype relationship implies that no room is left for gradience between these statuses. This is not necessarily the case, and for a further discussion the reader is directed to Rácz (2013).

'stereotypes are subject to metapragmatic discussion, while markers are not' (2008: 463). Stereotypes are not necessarily representations of reality but are helpful in providing a broad indication of linguistic distinctiveness in particular repertoires. Stereotypes often appear in codified literature such as dialect dictionaries, and are examples of third-order (i.e. (n+1)+1) indexicality. Stereotypes have salience to both the in- and out-groups, and 'may enjoy prestige' within the in-group (Jensen 2017: 60).

In the case of the present study, salience is of relevance due to the nature of the IoM as an area of dialect contact. As Trudgill (1986) highlights, dialect contact is dissimilar to language contact in that it does not require speakers to learn a new language - either partially or fully. This means that the mixing of the dialects in contact is possible with 'minimal loss of intelligibility' (Kerswill and Williams 2002: 82). In the case of the IoM, this is of interest given the MxG substrate influence on MxE. This means that it is more difficult for the mixing of dialects as it is likely items from the substratum will not be mutually understood. Thus it is possible that MxG features of MxE will not be borrowed by BrE speakers on the IoM, nor will they be used in mixed interaction where accommodation is sought.

 Moreover, as Kerswill and Williams (2002: 83) note, 'sociolinguistic factors come to the fore in influencing the adoption or non-adoption of linguistic forms'. Salience can be used as an explanatory factor in contact-induced dialect change, or resistance to change. Salient features, specifically those with 'extra-strong' salience, meaning variants with particularly strong associations with social groups, are thought to be resistant to accommodation (discussed further in chapter 7). Therefore, salience may account for findings of this project which suggest that specific MxG features prevail despite long periods of dialect contact with BrE varieties.

Linguistic Commodification
The commodification of language has been the focus of numerous sociolinguistic studies concerned with identity, including Johnstone (2009b), Beal (2009), and more recently Cooper (2017). The term can refer to the capital value of language varieties more broadly, and also (as in this thesis) to the sale of wares displaying it. Popular examples include mugs and t-shirts containing dialectal phrases, such as those discussed in Johnstone (2009b).

The commodification of language is indicative of speaker awareness of the features in question and is very much linked to processes of enrergisterment discussed earlier in this chapter. Johnstone states that 'although linguistic variation is audible...a dialect is not' (2009b: 159). In other words, variation is observable whereas dialects are mental constructs. It is only when variants become linked to ideologies associated with place that they become evaluated as such. When these ideologies are widespread and shared, common descriptions of dialects are established. These ideologies may be overt and shared in metapragmatic talk, e.g. "you sound Mancunian because...", and it is when these associations are made 'with reference to an ideological scheme', features become enregistered (ibid).

Dialect items become commodified when they feature in/on goods for sale and are consumed. When such items are purchased, the language itself forms a part of that purchase. In other words, if one buys a mug with Geordie dialect words on it, they are purchasing not only the mug, but the dialect as well. Johnstone notes in the case of Pittsburgh that adding dialect to items increases their retail value, and thus the dialect itself must posess social capital which translates into monetary captial (2009b: 161). Linguistic variants can only become commodified when they are ascribed third-order indexicality - that is, they are overtly noticeable as features of a repertoire and have the property of salience.

In the case of the IoM, linguistic commodification is of interest as, particularly being a tourist destination, there are many opportunities to purchase items containing MxG such as bookmarks and postcards. It is of interest to this project to explore whether the MxG items which feature on these items are retained to a greater extent in MxE than those which are not. Additionally, it is of interest to see the extent to which MxG items are used on commodfied items to perpetuate the MxE dialect. This would indicate that MxG items in MxE have the property of salience, potentially making them resistent to change. This is discussed in chapter 7.

2.3 LOCATING IDENTITY IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

2.3.1 Defining Identity

As the previous section has demonstrated, more traditional approaches to linguistic variation as stable varieties that are geographically mappable have been 'productively complicated' by recent sociolinguistic study (Johnstone 2016: 632). Instead of describing the linkage between language and place or social category, the focus of research is increasingly on precisely *how* this linkage comes to be. One area in which the importance of understanding these processes is the study of linguistic identity. Before the discussion of identity specifically within the sociolinguistic field can be approached, it is at first necessary to describe the way in which this thesis uses the term *identity*.

The concept of 'identity' is the source of debate across multiple disciplines with varying degrees of specificity, sensitivity and scope. This theoretical framework will examine identity from four levels of understanding: that it is constructed, performed, maintained and experienced. Prior to this, however, it is necessary to discuss the term in isolation.

Martin-Rubio (2006: 680) observes that popular definitions of 'identity' imply that 'there **is** something that defines the individual, or the group'. This is commonly seen to denote such characteristics as hair colour (*e.g. James has brown hair*) or occupation (*James is a solicitor*) on an individual level, and stereotypical characteristics on a group level (e.g. women are more talkative than men). Such an essentialist approach towards identity is defined as:

> Labelling any number of normative characteristics or practices as constituting the
> core of an individual or group which are then used to define them and held true of
> all members of the group (Omoniyi 2006: 16).

Essentialism has been argued to promote shared in-group status by the imposition of assumed norms which provide a stable social environment (Bucholtz 2003: 401). This is due to the assumption of characteristic attribution and the presumption of homogeneity within a social group. Socially constructed selves are, from this viewpoint, somewhat disregarded. There are sociolinguistic studies that are essentialist in their approach, such as Labov (1966), which was based upon

predetermined social categories, such as gender and class, as having a causative relationship with language usage. It is also acknowledged that there are essentialist elements to the current research project, and this thesis recognises the value that some degree of essentialism can have to the field. Specifically, it can help to establish broad trends which can help to rationalise the data. These findings can then be approached in a complementary, socio-constructivist approach. In such approaches, individuals are seen to have creative responsibility for their sense of self. This is described in more detail below.

The notion of 'construction' implies some form of assembly of parts or units and is part of the postmodern approach to identity study which states that identity is a process of endless self-creation. The specific 'parts' or 'fragments' of identity that are combined to constitute the whole are the different facets of self. Typically, these facets are recognised to include, but are not limited to, aspects such as gender, social class and age. Crucial to any study into identity, however, is the idea that these individual components of identity will have variation which corresponds with an individual's self-definition (Vignoles *et al* 2006: 311). Moreover, individuals are not thought to operate each facet of identity in isolation. Instead, despite the aforementioned metaphorical amalgamation of parts, an individual is also a singular self. Craib (1998: 4) argues that an individual can be both the sum of parts and a singular self simultaneously. He states that 'the combination or dialectic of unity and diversity is built into, but by no means always, acknowledged by social theories of self' (ibid).

It has been established that identity is multifaceted and complex, and of interest is the nature of agency in the construction of identity. Ahearn (2011: 112) describes agency from a sociocultural perspective as the 'socially mediated capacity to act'. In the context of identity construction, this refers to the ability of individuals to exert a degree of control over the creation of self. Therefore, the construction of identity is the result of individual input and agentive motivations such as belonging, solidarity, differentiation and self-esteem. The following section will discuss how constructed identities are performed by individuals on a continuous basis.

It is the interpretation of the collective facets of identity that enable it to be performed within the social and personal context. The term 'performativity' is an anti-essentialist

term which indicates that identity is not something one *has*, but rather something one *does*. In certain disciplines, such as Speech Act Theory, performativity has been confined to the description of verbs that perform certain acts (e.g. 'I now pronounce you husband and wife' or 'I hereby sentence you to 4 years imprisonment'). The term has, however, become adopted in the study of sociological matters such as gender (Butler 1990), sexuality (Chirrey 2003) and identity. In terms of identity, performativity has been defined as 'the way we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than the expression of a prior identity' (Pennycook 2004: 8). Therefore, individuals engage in the communication of their constructed identities through continuous performance of abstract individual endeavours. These undertakings are semiotic displays which may claim or deny social norms in order to negotiate a contextual self.

As well as the fluid and continuous construction and performance of individual identity, there is also the matter of maintaining the sense of self. A full discussion of each of these interpretations is present in the thesis. The following section, however, will briefly discuss the maintenance of identity.

Reference to identity maintenance should not be seen to imply the sustenance of a singular way of being. Instead, it refers to the intention of the individual to manage their fluid identities coherently across a range of social contexts. Edwards (2012: 1) has discerned that identity maintenance rests upon the preservation of group boundaries. This implies that individual identity maintenance is equally reliant upon the ratification of group membership or distance from social groups: in-group or out-group status. This is reinforced by the notion that 'cognitively, people have better memory for information about ways in which in-group members are similar to and out-group members are dissimilar to the self' (Dovido *et al* 2010: 298).

Observations such as Dovido *et al*'s are in keeping with the common understanding in academia of identity as a reflection of 'sameness' and intrinsic positioning against an 'Other'. The very term 'identity' is derived from the Latin *identitas*, meaning 'sameness'; and this translation is often a point of much scholarly discussion about identity maintenance. Wodak *et al* state that 'sameness and selfhood stand in a dialectal relationship to one another' (2009: 14); whereby the constructed self

unfolds through the negotiation of both unity and distinction. This requires the maintenance of the inextricably linked unique self and in-group membership/s.

Group membership is thought to emerge as the result of cohesive or unifying behaviour between a number of at least two individuals. There is a presumed interdependency in all groups, and 'such interdependence leads to cooperative social interaction' (Turner 1982: 15). It is important to note that social cohesion is a primarily abstract and conceptual notion and is not restricted to the engagement principles of, for example, a Community of Practice model. With regard to identity maintenance, Turner (1982: 18) states that it is the sum of an individual's affiliations and group memberships that ascribe them a social identity. In order to manage as stable a sense of self as is realistic, given the dynamic nature of the identity concept, these memberships must be sustained either above or below the level of consciousness. At this point, a key theoretical stance of this thesis has been established in the claim that identity as constructed, performed and maintained. However, the effect of this has not yet been fully considered as an experience for both the self and for outsiders who experience the self. This is considered briefly in the following section.

The notion of identity has further layers of complexity in that individuals are both experienced by others and experiencing themselves simultaneously. Their constructed and maintained self is navigated in society and performed in a way which is experienced and interpreted by others. The plurality occurs in that one experiences others whilst being experienced themselves, and simultaneously experiencing oneself from an internal perspective.

There are several means by which identity is constructed, performed, maintained and experienced. These include aspects such as dress, social practices, and, as this section discusses, linguistic behaviour. There has been academic focus upon language usage and attitudes in the reflection and active negotiation of identity (Joseph 2010: 9). In this sense, language is a semiotic process not just of overt communicative meaning, but also of social significance. Semiosis refers to the 'instinctive capacity of all living organisms to produce and understand signs' (Sebeok 2001: 3). The study of language as a semiotic system is not limited to the overt referential interpretation of individual words, as discussed earlier within this chapter.

Rather, it encompasses the ability of linguistic acts to function as vehicles of social meaning. The understanding of language, therefore, gains social as well as referential currency which is context-dependent. As we have asserted, language can be charged with social factors and interpretation in accordance with ascription to certain ideological structures. This thesis proposes that identity emerges as the product of ideologies which can reveal themselves through processes of indexicality and linguistic attitudes. This triggers the need to discuss the ideological approach within the sociolinguistic field which encourages researchers to access attitudinal data, aiding explanations of linguistic variation and change.

2.3.2 Language Ideological Approach

The value that sociodemographic variationist analyses have contributed to the sociolinguistic field in the broad interpretation of usage and differentiation is not disputed. Studies such as Llamas (2001), Burbano Elizondo (2008), and Atkinson (2011) demonstrate the need for researchers to deviate from the traditional reliance upon quantitative linguistic analysis using 'top down approaches'. Potential issues with sociodemographic analyses arise where data has been collected systematically but then analysed in accordance with ideologies that may not belong to the community in focus. As established at section 2.2, the ideological weight of linguistic forms is not stable across communities and is dependent upon locally constructed belief systems. As Burbano Elizondo stresses, 'the same ideologies have been used to explain language variation in different community groupings' (2008: 24), which is inappropriate when we consider the local nature of ideologies within these communities.

Linguistic Ideology

It is of obvious importance for an explanation of linguistic ideologies to occur before a discussion of how they can be measured takes place. Defining ideology in its broadest sense is challenging, as it is 'associated with a confusing tangle of commonsense and semitechnical meanings' (Woolard 1998: 5). What appears to be shared amongst this tangle of definitions is the sense that ideologies are ideational and associated with mental constructs. This thesis adopts the idea that these constructs are not solely manifested within the minds of individuals but are the product of exposure to particular ideological experiences within both the immediate and wider social context.

According to Woolard, ideologies are culturally variable beliefs or values that are 'reflected of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular position, although they may be presented as universally true' (1992: 237). Ideology as a term can be considered pejorative, often evoking ideas of power imbalance and injustice. This may deter researchers from attempting to utilise ideology as an explorative tool, as the term itself has some connotative baggage. Yet its usefulness is evident in the sense that the definitions of ideology as a socioculturally-constructed set of ideals enable researchers to approach ideological variation between communities systematically. One area of ideological study in anthropology is in the exploration of ideology related to language behaviours. Blommaert describes language ideologies[15] as:

> the socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use and in themselves objects of discursive elaboration in metapragmatic discourse (Blommaert 1999: 1).

Other definitions echo this idea that language ideologies are, in short, a set of attitudes and beliefs about language behaviours that exist at the level of both the group and the individual. These belief systems can manifest themselves as mechanisms for social expression, in that they can appear in metapragmatic 'talk about talk' and also less overtly through their reflection in a speaker's agentive linguistic choices. However, a concern of sociolinguistic research into linguistic ideology is how beliefs about language are amassed by speakers. Here, it is important to refer to the different levels of consciousness on which linguistic ideologies, and ideologies more generally, are thought to operate.

Linguistic ideologies can form part of an overt discourse which involves an explicit awareness of linguistic attitudes that are highly culturally salient. Speakers are likely to be aware of the ways in which their language is affected by these ideologies, in what is described as *discursive* awareness (Kroskrity 1998). Alternatively, other language ideologies are 'less accessible to consciousness, being so much a part of everyday praxis' that they exist at the level of *practical* awareness (Field and Kroskrity 2009: 7). Here it is suggested that speakers do not regard ideology within

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[15] This thesis uses the terms *language ideology* and *linguistic ideology* interchangeably, as in Woolard (1992).

their conscious thought, but instead it forms an implicit facet of the 'lived relations' of speakers (Woolard 1992: 238). If this is taken to be the case, and ideologies are 'unconscious and behavioural' as Burbano Elizondo (2008: 27) highlights, the information we have about them is shaped by the intuitive analyses of researchers who have 'read ideologies from language practices' (ibid). This provokes the question of researcher subjectivity in the language ideological approach.

Researcher Subjectivity in Language Ideological Study

In the study of language ideology, the ideologies of the researcher must be considered as potentially impactful on the interpretation of data. As mentioned earlier, no individual is devoid of ideological stance, and 'linguistic ideologies are held not only by the immediate participants in a local sociolinguistic system...but by other observers such as linguists ' (Irvine and Gal 2009: 402). As well as the speakers at the focus of research, linguistic ideologies are also present in the minds of the researchers who seek to describe speaker ideologies objectively. This is problematic as there cannot exist a 'view from nowhere' (ibid) that is unclouded by the position of the researcher. As researchers observing language ideologies are generally outsiders to the communities in focus, it can also be argued that they are unable to fully access the projected values of a group. This is because 'individuals do not consciously project their ideologies through language' (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 28). Therefore, researchers are required to measure behaviours and responses that are accessible to them, through ethnographic methods of observation or through questioning opportunities designed to elicit qualitative responses (see chapter 3). In the case of the IoM, language ideological elements (as measured through the IdQ and IsI) strive to avoid researcher subjectivity through the design of materials following observation of the research context.

2.4   LINGUISTIC IDENTITY AND THE NATION

So far, this chapter has explored theoretical approaches and existing studies into sociolinguistic variation and identity. Also of great importance for the contextualisation of this thesis is the linkage between linguistic identity (shaped by ideologies the projection of self within larger social constructs), and nation. This section will investigate the concept of nation itself, before describing the ways in which language is used to index national identity. Specific cases of island nations will

be described at section 2.5, as this is of particular interest and relevance to the current study.

2.4.1 The Nation as an Imagined Community

Attempts to define nation, similarly to ideology, are problematic due to its abstract nature. Consequently, attempts to unpack a decisive ontological definition of 'nation' are often inconsistent. The combination of broad understandings (which often use the terms 'nation' and 'state' interchangeably) to those which are far narrower and prescribe detailed criteria to be met in order for a nation to be qualified as such. This work takes the view that nations are social constructions that are based upon shared practices, traditions, and territory. These different cultural and habitual elements 'interact with each other in different ways to produce the specificity of the various nationalisms' (Wright 1996: 1). This implies that cultural context, including the dominant ideological stances of a group, is what enables nations to become distinct entities, even where differences may be outwardly subtle.

The understanding of the nation is relevant to this thesis as it provides a foundation for the understanding of how nations are defined and perceived both academically and in the minds of the individuals within a nation. The current research is interested in the link between retention of MxG subsbtrate forms and national identity, and therefore it is important to establish the way in which the term *nation* is used throughout, particularly with reference to language (see 2.4.2).

This thesis adopts the definition used in the work of Anderson (2006) which translates effectively across numerous anthropological disciplines. This definition states that nations can be rationalised as 'imagined communities' with necessary combinations of traits which serve as their identifying criteria, which are described below.

Imagined

The first descriptive criteria described by Anderson refers to nations as being imagined. This does not imply that nations are entirely abstracted from reality, but instead proposes that their existence is significantly to do with the perception of common ground. Anderson states that nations are imagined 'because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (2006: 6). This suggests that

individuals gain a sense of national consciousness through these mentally constructed entities. Although it is not practically possible for members of a nation to form the types of social network or communities described in Milroy (1987) or Moore (2010), Anderson's definition proposes that individuals are united by their shared sense of membership. This criterion when considered in isolation indicates a possibility that members of a nation may have no common social ground, other than this shared sense of belonging to a larger entity. This perceived solidarity is the adhesive quality that would unite otherwise disparate individuals.

Limited

Anderson also proposes that nations are defined by their quality as limited, in the sense that they are delimited by boundaries of varying rigidity. He states that 'no nation imagines itself conterminous with mankind' (Anderson 2006: 7), which in itself requires nations to be finite and exclusive. National borders can be geographical, topographical, or administrative, but crucially - given the imagined nature of nations - they are potentially subjective. Regardless of potential idiosyncrasies and elasticity, however, limitations to even the largest of nations are what create the possibility for multiple nations to exist.

Sovereign

Anderson states that the sovereignity of nations has to do with challenges to the 'divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Greenfield and Eastwood 2007: 249). It is claimed that this is to do with the historical age of Enlightenment and Revolution in which the concept of nation began to reveal itself (Anderson 2006: 7). Given that religious pluralism was becoming more prevalent, resulting in 'allomorphism between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch' (ibid), divine sovereignty of nations comes to be problematic. Consequently, the adoption of sovereignty - whereby a nation can govern itself - enables nations to function independently of one another whilst accepting their multifaceted cultural make-ups.

Community

Anderson's final component in his definition of the imagined nation is the concept of nations as communities: aggregates of individuals who coexist, in the case of the nation, virtually or geographically. Virtuality here is important to note, given that national membership is not compromised where an individual travels beyond the

realms of the defined national territory. Mobility of this sort does not initially distort the aforementioned imagined comradeship or communion that exists between members of the same imagined group. Instead, where long-term relocation occurs, it might be the case that the individual begins to imagine a dualistic national identity. Crucially, however, their virtual membership of their 'original' nation is sustained.

Moreover, Anderson comments on the community as a 'deep horizontal comradeship' that prevails in the face of the inequalities and exploitations that may well exist within them (2006: 7). It is the very depth described of this solidarity which makes individuals willing to defend their nations and risk death in order to do so.

Xidias (2017: 13) describes Anderson's approach to the nation as modernist in its rejection of the view that nations are 'natural' entities that have existed since the beginning of time. As the criteria above demonstrate, Anderson's understanding of the nation is one that suggests it is a social construction that is founded on the notion that individuals coexist to form larger social units (which we come to know as nations). Supplementary to Anderson's defining criteria of the nation is the suggestions that there should be 'a distinct subjective awareness amongst the people of a nation that they indeed comprise such an entity' (Simpson 2007: 2). This level of awareness foregrounds nation within the negotiation of individual identity, justifying engagement within social practices to index this facet of the self.

The social practices that are used as semiotic vehicles to index national identity are many and varied, and can include aspects such as national dress, perpetuated folklore, customs, and traditions. Most relevant to this research, however, is the use of language as means to index national identity. The following sections will discuss the role of language in the construction of such an identity, before identifying ways in which language is controlled by national institutions in the projection of national identity.

2.4.2 Language as an Emblem of National Identity

Language is regularly called upon as means to identify nations, which can give rise to linguistic nationalism , whereby one language is imposed upon speakers of another for reasons such as power or control. However, the relationship between language and national identity is not a straightforward one. While numerous sources claim that shared linguistic norms are a key element of national identity (e.g.

Simpson 2007; Carter and Sealey 2007), Blommaert astutely highlights the issues presented by what he describes as 'official' belonging. He states that 'official administrative belonging - being a citizen of a state - is a poor indicator of sociolinguistic belonging, let alone of language behaviour in general' (Blommaert 2006: 238). This links back to the final point of the last section, which is to do with the difference between ascribed and inhabited identity[16]. According to Simpson, as cited earlier, it is important for members of a nation to perceive themselves as such. According to this notion, it is inappropriate for national identity to be ascribed to an individual by a researcher, regardless of the practices or beliefs they appear to share with others. For this reason, this thesis proposes that linguistic behaviours analysed in view of national identity are done so in the context of individual self-identification as a member of that nation.

It cannot be denied, as it has been recognised earlier in this chapter, that language is one of, if not the most important semiotic resource an individual can manipulate in order to construct and negotiate their identity and navigate through the complex social world. As we have also established in this chapter, language behaviour is means by which to affiliate oneself with, and distance oneself from, social groups. Therefore, it is not surprising that language is acknowledged as a key tool in both the perception and portrayal of national identity.

Fishman (1972: 49) claims that shared language is recognised as the most salient aspect of national identity given its powers of endurance - it can survive, for example, social disruption. McCrea adds to this that language is seen to be 'tapped as the secular symbol of the nation' (2015: 12), in its ability to provide the perpetual distinction that help to ratify a nation's separateness. This desire for separation can be rationalised through the self-defining notion of *Othering*, whereby language is used to identify those individuals or groups who do not conform to the defined norms of the in-group. This, in turn, asserts the nation as a recognisable entity which is stabilised by its linguistic distinction from other nations, strengthening the identities of those who share membership within it. This is echoed by Boyd-Barrett *et al* who state that 'claims to national identity are often strengthened by claims to linguistic

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[16] I.e. the identities one is given and the identity one perceives oneself to have.

separateness' (1996: 426). There are, of course, nations which share languages, and this thesis does not propose that these nations are any less distinctive. Instead, other aspects, such as those proposed by Anderson (2006) will define them.

In the context of the current research, it is important to stress that the linguistic separation discussed within this section is not limited to the use of a typologically disparate tongue. Instead, it is proposed that national identity can be constructed and maintained using alternative varieties of the same language, characterised by lexical, phonological, or morphological differences. This has been explored in such work as Watt *et al* (2014), described below.

Watt *et al* (2014) explores the language use in the construction of national identity in a location where the border a) does not represent a boundary between an unintelligible or unrelated language, and b) is not controlled. Their research concerns the ways in which dialects demarcate social identity in what they describe as the 'highly porous' border between Scotland and England (ibid: 10). This study utilised both vernacular speech data and overt attitudinal data in order to assess the ways in which identity data corresponds with phonetic variation. The data discussed, with regard to the selected variables of VOT (vowel onset time) and /r/ production, is suggestive that both Scottish and English speakers utilise the variants of their respective sides of the geographical border, perpetuating identity differences even in the absence of animosity. As Newman states, unlike the dialect continuum approach would suggest, not all border areas are areas of linguistic transition, nor do they wish to be, explaining the lack of 'transitional hybridity' in the data (2006: 181). The lack of transitional data means that there was little evidence of graded variation between the two separate areas of Scotland and England. This reiterates that 'language has the potential to function as an important boundary device' (Simpson 2007: 1).

The following section addresses the ways in which the status of a language is ascertained in multilingual environments, through the development and adoption of language policy and usage within the linguistic landscape.

2.4.3 The Linguistic Landscape and Language Policy

As the previous section suggests, language is a semiotic index of national identity. However, in the progressively globalised societies of the present day, it is never the case that a nation in both its administrative (relating to citizenship) and imagined

sense is monolingual. Therefore, without measures in place to govern the use of language in official contexts, there is a risk that the dominant language will lose its status, compromising a nation's distinctiveness. In some cases, this leads to authoritative institutions creating measures to maintain the status of the official variety, in the form of language policies. In other cases, what can be identified as language policies are less overt in the sense that they are not produced or regulated by authoritative agencies. Instead, 'the nature of their language policies must be derived from a study of their language practice or beliefs' (Spolsky 2004: 9). It is of greater relevance to this thesis, however, to address the influence of language policies when they are implemented from above, with particular reference to the linguistic landscape.

Language Policy

Blackledge states that 'when a language is symbolically linked to national identity, the bureaucratic nation-state faced with a multilingual population may exhibit monolingualising tendencies' (2005: 42), whereby preference of a dominant language is exhibited through language policy. This preference is often given to the dominant (although not necessarily the majority) language, regulating its use in official and administrative environments. Language policy, however, cannot be taken to be a reflection of the true linguistic situation within the area it encompasses, and is often 'at odds with the lived reality' (Moriarty 2014: 466). For example, in certain locations, language policy can prevent access to official texts and services, causing language conflict (where languages may vie for recognition and use in official domains). This is unsurprising when one considers the 2,000 written languages that exist with fewer than 200 sovereign states, and the aforementioned mobility of individuals between these states. Some claim that language policy is the 'social glue' that successfully manages and repairs the fractures of 'national disintegration' (Jacob and Beer 1985: 1). It is, however, important to note that language policy does not always favour one dominant language, and can be accommodatory. An example of this is the case of Belgium, which is characterised 'by the official institution of three different languages' (Hartig 1985: 67). Belgian language policy therefore recognises the more realistic situation of linguistic heterogeneity, and is more progressive in nature than the policies of, for example, France or Turkey, which adopt a more steadfastly monolingual approach to language policy and planning.

As well as acknowledging and defending dominant languages and, as some would argue, maintaining social cohesion, language policy can defend national identities in situations of extreme language contact or language loss, One example of this is the use of language policy in order to promote national distinction after attrition or language death has already occurred. Rather than a preventative force, therefore, language policy of this kind is more to do with the preservation of heritage languages and acknowledgement and celebration of cultural history. This type of policy can be observed in linguistic landscape of the locations of Dingle, Ireland (Moriarty 2014) and on the IoM (Sebba 2010).

The Linguistic Landscape

The notion of a landscape is one which is generally associated with imagery. Folk knowledge would suggest that landscapes relate to scenery and surroundings; postcard depictions of the environment. In terms of a landscape constructed of language, such a notion of imagery and representation is not far removed from the theoretical treatment of the linguistic landscape. The term 'linguistic landscape' in its current form is in its relative infancy, accredited to the work of Landry and Bourhis, who describe it as 'refer[ring] to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region' (1997: 23). In short, therefore, the linguistic landscape refers to displays of written language within the environment.

Despite earlier works related to issues of public discourse and meaning, such as Eastman and Stein (1993), the work of Landry and Bourhis (1997) is recognised as pioneering in the endeavour to associate the discourse of public spaces with sociolinguistic aspects. It is of note, however, that literature can apply such a term in looser ways than is the case in this paper and in related works. As Gorter (2006: 1) notes, some use the term synonymously with, or in ways which are connected to 'concepts such as linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, ecology of languages, diversity of languages or the linguistic situation'. It is also recognised that linguistic representation is considered as merely one semiotic facet through which meaning is negotiated. Although the presentation of language is central to interpretation, the nature of constructing meaning is very much multifaceted in nature, with interaction between written discourse and other discursive forms (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 2). Therefore, some literature adopts the term 'semiotic landscape', with reference to

'any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making' (ibid).

Landry and Bourhis acknowledge two primary functions of signage: the informational and the symbolic (1997: 25), which have implications for the understanding of the linguistic environment.

The Informational Function

Firstly, the informational function can be seen to demarcate geographical territory. Consistent linguistic usage on signage is a tangible marker of the language communities which inhabit a given area. Consistency within this signage can be seen to stabilise what may be tense neighbouring relationships between communities through the reinforcement of administrative boundaries.

The informational function of signage, as well as conveying referential infromation, can also manage linguistic expectations within the environment they appear. The appearance of a language serves as an indicator that 'the language in question can be used to communicate and obtain services within public and private establishments located in the pertinent territory' (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25). With reference to this, however, it must be acknowledged that there are environments where linguistic presentation is not reflective of the active language community. It is proposed that speakers may experience frustration 'when the language of public signs is not matched by services in the corresponding language within the establishments in question' (ibid). Such discrepancies of usage and presentation are not uncommon and are more prevalent in linguistic situations of language contact, where the status of competing languages may be unstable.

The Symbolic Function

The second function proposed by Landry and Bourhis is that of the symbolic function, which is thought to influence personal engagement with, and attitudes towards, a linguistic setting. It is proposed that the visibility of one's own language within the public space 'should contribute to the feeling that the in-group language has value and status relative to other languages within the sociolinguistic setting' (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 27). Therefore, the linguistic landscape provides

information on linguistic ideology and power, as well as projected ethnolinguistic vitality[17]. The inclusion of a language within public texts is suggestive that there is sufficient demographic reason to do so. Equally, exclusion of a language can indicate its relative weakness in terms of status and speaker number.

The symbolic function of the linguistic landscape extends to the maintenance of sociolinguistic norms, given that visual language use is something of an extension or manifestation of communicative reality. Brito (2016: 1) notes that it is from analysis of the linguistic landscape that one can begin to appreciate the negotiation and maintenance of group identities. The visible existence (or, indeed, absence) of languages within the public sphere 'sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society' (Shohamy 2006: 110). For example, the order in which languages appear on signage, or their visual prominence, can be indicative of its symbolic capital. However, what is crucial to note is that visual resources can be manipulated by speakers in order to resist linguistic minority status. Often in bottom-up signage and in artefacts such as graffiti, hegemonic linguistic norms can be challenged through the use of unofficial, minority languages. It is therefore evident that the linguistic landscape is shaped by both administrative agencies and those who experience them, meaning that its symbolic depiction of the sociolinguistic situation should not be underestimated.

Cenoz and Gorter note that 'the study of the linguistic landscape is particularly interesting in bilingual and multilingual contexts', given that it can be revealing of sociolinguistic contexts and differences between official language policy and lived experience of language usage (2006: 68). Moreover, it can reveal the ways in which identities interact within a given space (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 364).

The Linguistic Landscape in Dingle

The Constitution of 1937 prescribes that the official language of the Republic of Ireland is Irish, a Goidelic variety of insular Celtic. Despite this official status spanning over eighty years, 'the use of Irish in contemporary society is low' (Moriarty 2012: 77), with no remaining monolingual Irish speakers. In spite of the demographic

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[17] That is, a language's ability to maintain its distinctiveness, influenced by such factors as demographics and administrative support.

evidence presented in censuses which suggests that Irish proficiency levels are significantly low, Moriarty's study of the Dingle linguistic landscape suggests that 'the presence of Irish...is strong given that state policy dictates that all official road signs and place names must be bilingual' (Moriarty 2012: 78). She also observes that the use of Irish in tourist towns is particularly widespread, in that it appears not only where it is institutionally required, but also on items such as menus and 'tourist products' (ibid).

Moriarty's analysis suggests that the strength of the Irish linguistic presence is ideological, as 'support for the language...has always been an important marker of identity, a way of validating Irishness' (2012: 78). Therefore, even where individual proficiency is lacking, support in favour of a distinctive and separate language is considered to be an important mechanism in the construction of an Irish sense of self. Furthermore, Moriarty comments on the use of Irish in tourist locations as a tool for 'the spatialisation of culture and the commodification of space' (Leeman and Modan 2010: 196, cited in Moriarty 2014: 468). In this sense, the Irish language is used as its presence authenticates visitor experience of the 'Other'. Language is, in this way, commodified as means to attract visitors and provide them with cultural artefacts (such as fridge magnets, coasters etc.) to validate their experience when they leave.

The Dingle Wall

Moriarty also speaks of language policy as it is reflected in the linguistic landscape of Dingle through her discussion of the 'Dingle naming debate', a consequence of the 2004 *Placenames Order* (Moriarty 2014: 472). It was the intention of the government to replace bilingual Irish-English place name signage within Gaeltacht areas with monolingual Irish signage. Therefore, the name *Dingle* would be replaced in official and administrative capacities with the Irish form *An Daingean*. The implementation of the Placenames Order in 2005 was met with great resistance from the residents of Dingle, which Moriarty acknowledges to be twofold. Firstly, residents were concerned that the change would affect their tourism 'brand' and prevent visitors from locating Dingle on maps and signposts, and secondly, the translation proposed by the state was not the preferred translation of the residents themselves, who 'argued that the correct Irish language name for the town is in fact *Daingean Uí Chuis*' (Moriarty 2014: 472).

What became known as the *Dingle Wall* is the front of a building that 'became a space where key actors in the language debate that ensued posted communications...to campaign against the name change' (Moriarty 2014: 473). This is an example of a transgressive discourse that demonstrates how linguistic change from above can be rejected and resisted by communities. Engagement in, and appreciation of, the Dingle Wall is an display of identity that challenges the hegemonic forces behind the Placenames Order. It subverts the idea that linguistic distinction is the most important emblem of national identity, and demonstrates that it is not always appropriate for the state to assume that speakers of minority languages will crave this type of action. Instead, in this case, Moriarty claims that the local resistance is revealing of the 'complex nature' of Dingle's linguistic landscape, one that draws on the economic benefits of linguistic separation whilst preventing the exclusion of visitors through bilingual signage that they can access. Moreover, the presence of both Irish and English acknowledges the multilingual lived experience of Dingle residency, which locals value as a true reflection of linguistic practice (Moriarty 2014: 474).

It can therefore be acknowledged that language policy in support of minority languages is not always met with approval from users. The case of Dingle was one which attempted to promote Irish in its capacity of official language. The case examined in the following section is different, in the sense that the use of the minority language within the linguistic landscape is conservative as well as promotional.

The Linguistic Landscape on the Isle of Man

Sebba (2010) explores the visibility and function of MxG within the linguistic landscape on the IoM. Similar to Irish, MxG is a Goidelic variety of insular Celtic which has no remaining monolingual speakers and relatively few proficient users. The use of MxG on both 'top down' and 'bottom up' texts is of interest for several reasons, two of which are discussed below.

Revitalisation

As established elsewhere in this thesis, the heritage language of the IoM is MxG, which has something of a turbulent history. Declared extinct by UNESCO in 2009, and later reclassified after residential resistance, the Manx language has not always been considered a useful component of one's linguistic repertoire.

MxG was the dominant language on the IoM until the 18th century. Up to this point it was 'not only the vernacular but the general medium of communication' (Kewley Draskau 2001: 316). The rise of administrative English on the IOM did not create immediate damage to the functionality of MxG. Instead, it is thought that there was a period of diglossia whereby both MxG and English co-existed with different functions and in different contextual environments (Sallabank 2013: 289). Gradually, English became the language of advancement and of leadership (Kewley Draskau 2001: 217), and the island's insularity no longer protected its language. This, amongst other socioeconomic factors such as the island's economic reliance upon tourism and the steady influx of incoming settlers caused MxG to become 'dormant', substantiating UNESCO's branding of the language as extinct.

In more recent years, however, the island's government has recognised as having an important role in establishing a national identity 'separate from that of Great Britain/the United Kingdom/England, with all of which the IoM risks being conflated' (Sebba 2010: 64). Consequently, in the past three decades or so, the Manx government have invested in a number of initiatives to revitalise and promote MxG across a range of educational, cultural, and functional contexts. This includes the continued success of the state-run Manx-medium primary school opened in 2001, the *Bunscoill Gaelgagh*, the presence of bilingual street signage, and on some governmental buildings. The Manx Language Officer, a designated post with responsibility for the promotion of MxG, also offers a free translation service for businesses who wish to use Manx in their written materials.

The increased presence of MxG on the IoM certainly falls within the remit of language revitalisation, whereby displays of the language and educational access provides a positive environment to nurture its revival. Sebba comments, however, on inconsistencies in the presentation of MxG, as it 'appears with varying degrees of salience or prominence' (2010: 66). In his analysis of aspects such as font size, text position and content, Sebba proposes that often MxG is 'confined, quite literally, to the 'margins' (ibid: 72). Whether it is through the depiction of Manx in a decorative font, or is 'swamped' by the quantity of English content, MxG is being 'Othered' through its confinement to symbolic spaces rather than functional ones.

Preservation of Distinction and Linguistic Commodification

Another purpose MxG serves in its presence within the linguistic landscape on the IoM is to preserve distinction in a situation of intense and prolonged contact (see 2.6) with outsiders As mentioned, the IoM risks assimilation with the rest of the British Isles, partly to do with its large resident population who have settled after relocating from England. Minimal (if any) cultural adaptation is required for such a move to be made, contributing to the island's popularity with the English. Cheek *et al* (2008) also note that the extent of this contact is a threat to national distinction, with the possibility that the IoM could become 'little England' through people having 'moved next door' (2012: 65). With this in mind, the presence of MxG in the language environment is also a marker to reinforce a sense of place, reminding both visitors and comeovers of their position as such. Therefore, like the case of Dingle, the Manx linguistic landscape is 'configured with not only its permanent population, but also visitors in mind' (Sebba 2010: 65).

Parallels with Dingle can also be drawn from the idea of linguistic commodification. It is of note that 'throughout modern history the IoM has had to depend on the economic presence of 'stranger residents'' (Belchem 2001: 3). Given the limitations of growth potential internally, the island utilises sources of economic stability, such as tourism and the financial sector - both of which are heavily reliant upon external input.

The presence of a foreign language can be a key indexical marker to authenticate traveller experience, furnishing visitors with a sense of cultural attainment. In addition to the presence of MxG on bilingual signage and in official domains, there are also MxG souvenirs in a variety of forms, such as fridge magnets, book marks and t-shirts. These suggest that the 'critically endangered' minority language has developed value in its exoticism. The phonological and orthographical distinctiveness of MxG is such that it exudes difference and will undoubtedly validate the island's separation from the United Kingdom. Tourists may wish to purchase items which commodify MxG in order to amass cultural tokens, which can be used to contribute to their own sense of a cultured self.

As this section has demonstrated, language policies are 'means of social control which allow nation-states to define who is "in" and who is "out"' (Blackledge 2009:

70), but can also serve to acknowledge diverse social landscape, promote the use of heritage languages, and preserve local distinction.

2.5 THE LINGUISTIC IDENTITY OF ISLAND NATIONS

The following section discusses the use of English in the specific context of the island nation. So far, this chapter has presented a theoretical background of sociolinguistic study and of language and national identity, however for the purpose of this thesis it is crucial to explore the sociolinguistic contexts of island nations. Islands such as these are interesting for linguistic study as they are sites where both distinctive and hybrid varieties develop (Wolfram 2008: 1). While more nostalgic ideas of island languages are that they are isolated incubators of static varieties, the reality (as depicted in much of the sociolinguistic literature) is that island varieties are subject to variation and change in the same ways as non-island sites. What is of interest, particularly to this thesis, is the sociolinguistic response/s of speakers to this change in an island context. This chapter offers two examples: Malta and Ocracoke Island.

2.5.1 Malta

Malta is 'a tiny but densely populated country' with a population of 422,000 residing in only 316 square kilometres (Paggio and Gatt 2018: 1). It is an archipelago with two main islands of inhabitation (Malta and Gozo) situated in the Mediterranean, 100km south of Sicily and 300km north of Libya (Krug and Rosen 2012: 118). Its location is demonstrated in the map in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2 Geographic Location of Malta (Google Maps 2019)

The linguistic situation in the Republic of Malta is one in which bilingualism is common, where there are two official languages (Maltese, a standardised Semitic language, and English).

Maltese English

The English spoken in the Republic of Malta is a recognised variety known as Maltese English (MaltE). This label was first used by Broughton (1978) in the 1970s, and its initial definition was succinct in that it was 'the variety of English spoken by Maltese people' (Bonnici 2009: 395). This definition, however direct, does not account for the fact that not all Maltese people can speak English. In fact, Krug and Sönning (2018: 248) cite the most recent census conducted in 2012 as stating that 88% of the population over the age of 10 'reported to speak some English'. Therefore this qualifies that Broughton's definition of MaltE is a little too narrow. In response to this, Camilleri broadens this definition to acknowledge the existence of the population's 12% who are monolingual Maltese speakers. They state that MaltE

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is 'the English spoken in Malta by bilingual speakers of Maltese and English' (Camilleri 1992: 18).

MaltE is a distinctive variety which has systematic deviations from British varieties of English (both regional and standard) (Bonnici 2009: 395). Such deviations are often accounted for through diachronic factors, such as the influence of Maltese and of Received Pronunciation (Mazzon 1993). In order to understand whether these claims are entirely accurate, it is necessary to explore the history of Maltese English.

English has a long history in Malta, first gaining significance 'in the context of some 200 years of colonial rule' (Grech and Vella 2018: 204). As English become increasingly woven into Maltese society, the linguistic situation in Malta shifted to one of diglossic bilingualism, whereby English could be manipulated by the Maltese according to social contexts and norms (ibid). It is therefore important to recognise the emergence of MaltE not through opposition to an 'Other' or through institutional force, but through 'the potentially meaningful social range of variation within the variety itself' (ibid).

Grech and Vella (2018: 203) state that there are a number of features at various levels which distinguish MaltE, many of which are phonological in nature. For example, 'the preference for full over reduced vowels, the tendency to production of post-vocalic 'r', and gemination of consonants' (ibid). These distinctive phonological features 'extend across all social strata and speech styles' (Krug and Rosen 2012: 120) and are said to be striking to the listener. As mentioned earlier, these unusual deviations from StE and RP patterns in MaltE are usually attributed to Maltese influence. It is, however, interesting to note that 'Italian influences...are never mentioned' (Bonnici 2009: 209). This is particularly interesting considering that 'Italian was the official language in Malta until 1934' (Krug and Rosen 2012: 120), at which point it was displaced by MaltE and Maltese.

2.5.2 Ocracoke Island

Ocracoke Island is a barrier island in the United States, located in the outer banks of North Carolina. It is home to only 700 residents, although in the summer time is visited by thousands of visitors per day. What was once a relatively isolated island

has, in a similar way to the IoM, undergone social and economic shifts from maritime to tourism as its predominant industry[18]. This section describes the so-called 'relic features' (ibid: 6) of the Ocracoke dialect and their outlook, particularly in the context of dialect contact.

 Much work has been done on the traditional dialect of Ocraoke, or the 'Ocracoke Brogue' (henceforth OB) (e.g. Wolfram 2008; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995. 1999). In a similar way to MaltE, its main distinguishing features are phonological. Wolfram does, however, highlight the importance of lexical items in the Ocracoke variety as evidence of the dialect's current state at the time of publication, which is 'a combination of the old with the new' (2008: 5).

The outlook of OB is unfavourable, which is likely due to the large amounts of contact with tourists necessary for the island's economic stability, with accounts highlighting a recession in its distinctive features (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995). Certain features are, however, found to be retained by pockets of speakers involved in joint social endeavours. Middle-aged men participating in what Wolfram and Schilling-Estes identified as the 'Poker Game Network' 'showed more extensive use of [the island] vowel than men or women in the previous generation' (Wolfram 2008: 7). It is proposed that members of this network attach a high level of symbolic significance to OB and thus its use comes to index a specific island identity[19] (ibid).

There are some parallels between OB and MxE in that both dialects are subject to large amounts of contact with outsiders, threatening the longevity of more traditional ways of speaking (including the use of distinctive lexical items). Of interest in the case of the OB is that certain groups of speakers retain, and use more extensively, certain OB features. It is, therefore, interesting to see whether the same is the case on the IoM.

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[18] With the addition of business and the financial sector on the IoM.

[19] It must be acknowledged that other island identities are available which are not necessarily indexed in the same way.

2.6 LANGUAGE CONTACT

Even thirty years after its publication, Thomason and Kaufman's *Language Contact, Creolisation and Genetic Linguistics* (1988) is still considered to be 'the most influential work in the field since the publication of Weinrich's (1953) foundational *Languages in Contact*' (Hasselblatt *et al* 2010: 1). These sources have brought to attention the suggestion that no language is purely monolithic or homogenous (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14). Instead, languages are fluid products created by meeting situations between different speakers. This is not limited to different languages, but also to different accents and dialects of the same mother language. Scholarship relating to these situations and their outcomes often describes this field of interest as 'contact linguistics', a term first introduced in 1979 at the First World Congress on Language Contact and Conflict (Myers-Scotton 2002: 4).

Within contact linguistics, linguists are concerned with examining the impact of linguistic contact upon each language in the social contact environment. This includes possible influences across linguistic dimensions including the morphosyntactic, phonetic, orthographic and lexical aspects, as "change can occur at any and all levels of the linguistic system" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 9). There is definite value in the form/s of languages that emerge from contact situations, and moreover there is additional value in also attempting to further understand and describe the sociocultural implications[20] which drive the linguistic change; and it can be argued that these two aspects of linguistic interference are inextricably linked. This section is concerned with processes of language contact relevant to the research questions of this thesis, and their effects upon speaker usage.

2.6.1 Borrowing

When two languages come into contact, whether this is through the relocation of peoples or individuals, advances in travel and accessibility, or by other means, a long-term effect of this can be linguistic borrowing (henceforth borrowing). Borrowing of this kind refers to the 'reproduction in one language of patterns

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[20] Those social and cultural factors that influence speakers in their (non)-adoption or move towards linguistic variants within contact situations.

previously found in another' (Haugen 1950: 212), in what is often described as a donor-recipient relationship. In order for borrowing to occur, there must be contact to the extent where there is an initial level of bilingual understanding between the donor and recipient languages. What cannot be assumed, however, is that the result of borrowing is a 'hybrid' or 'mixed' language - as carries the implication that languages are in some way pure beforehand (ibid: 211). This type of notion of linguistic purity may, however, come from the embedding of borrowed items insofar as they become indistinguishable as such to speakers.

There are two prominent motivations for linguistic borrowing; prestige and lexical need (or the filling of what Crystal as termed 'lexical gaps') (Crystal 1997: 221)[21]. For the purpose of this discussion, borrowing will be explored in two categories as described by Grant (2002) as transfers of fabric and pattern.

Transfer of Fabric

Transfer of fabric refers to the transfer of lexis or morphemes (such as, for example - *able*) from a donor language to a recipient language. Most relevant to the current research on the IoM is the transfer of lexical items, often referred to as loanwords. Loanwords can be divided into two distinct categories based on their function in the recipient language: unique borrowings and synonymic borrowings (Bookless 1982; Clegg 2010). Unique lexical borrowings occur where there is no equivalent alternative in the recipient language. This type of borrowing occurs, for example, with the introduction of new concepts established elsewhere, such as the loan *karaoke*, borrowed from Japanese.

Synonymous borrowings, however, are those to which there is already a corresponding equivalent in the recipient language (Clegg 2010: 224). Despite the existence of a synonym, the new item is borrowed regardless. This may happen owing to what Weinreich calls insufficient differentiation (Weinreich 1964: 59). This means that regardless of the existence of a synonym in the recipient language, the synonym 'may not convey the same cultural or linguistic information as the donor language word', leading to the adoption of the new item (ibid). On the IoM, it might

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[21] There are, of course, other linguistic motivations, such as pattern pressures and structural imbalance (see Thomason 2010).

be the case that certain lexical items prevail due to their ability to convey cultural as well as referential meaning, even where other BrE varieties have a synonym.

Words can also be subject to borrowing where they are occur in high frequency, in that 'the more familiar or frequent a word is, the easier it is to access and retrieve' (Smead 1998: 120). Therefore, items which are produced and heard often in situations of language contact become candidates for borrowing through their accessibility.

On the other hand, there are lexical items which are less subject to borrowing. These are thought to occur within a *basic vocabulary* (Swadesh 1951). Based on intuitive ideas about lexis which would be both easily identifiable and conservative, Swadesh created a list of words for research into genealogical and historical linguistics. Items featured on the list include *I, you, we, bird, head,* and *hand.* There are flaws in the notion that all items on Swadesh's list are immune to borrowing (McMahon *et al* 2005; Embleton 1986), and each item has since been found to be subject to borrowing. This considered, Thomason highlights that Swadesh's lists continue to be useful as in most cases, these items are 'at least less likely to be borrowed than more culture-specific vocabulary' (Thomason 2001: 71-72). From this, it is more likely that the remaining MxG lexical items in MxE will be culturally-specific, as opposed to items that feature on the Swadesh list/s.

Transfer of Pattern
As well as lexical borrowing, this thesis also explores grammatical features borrowed from the MxG substrate into MxE. Grammatical transfer of this type is cross-linguistic influence which can be viewed as either borrowing or imposition, depending on the direction of agentivity (Winford 2010: 171). Winford adds that the distinction between imposition and borrowing also lies with ideas of linguistic dominance (ibid: 171). Borrowing occurs when items from a speaker's non-dominant language into their dominant language (which is not always from an L2 source language to an L1 recipient). Imposition, however, occurs when items from a speaker's dominant language are transferred to a non-dominant language. In the case of the IoM, it is likely that originally, transfer of items occurred as a result of imposition, given the historical prestige and necessity associated with speaking English. Imposition then

happens when 'speakers of the source language...have learned the receiving language imperfectly' (Thomason 2010: 41).

Transfer of grammatical items is sometimes referred to as *structural borrowing, calquing*, or *grammatical replication,* each with slightly different applications (see Heine and Kuteva 2010: 87). Various sources (now dated) suggest that grammatical borrowing is unlikely, or that it can only occur between similar systems, such as dialects of the same language (Givón 1979; Meillet 1921). Transfer of structural elements is, by some, thought to be impossible, as '[linguistic] systems have structure, and things incompatible with that structure cannot be borrowed' (Bickerton 1980: 50). While it may be the case that languages are resistant to grammatical borrowing or interference, Thomason and Kaufman highlight that this 'is only relevant to borrowing situations, not to cases of substratum influence' – such as that on the IoM (1988: 15).

Borrowing Scales

Thomason and Kaufman produced what they described as a 'tentative' borrowing probability scale, which proposes an increasing degree of linguistic consequence in line with increasing levels of language contact. An abbreviated version of the scale is included below in table 2.1. Note that features higher on the scale will not be borrowed until features lower down the scale are acquired (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 73-74).

Scale Number	Contact Level	Linguistic Implications
1	Casual contact	Lexical borrowing only (content words)
2	Slightly more intense contact	Slight structural borrowing Lexical borrowing (function words)
3	More intense contact	Slightly more structural borrowing Lexical borrowing (function words, adpositions)
4	Strong cultural pressure	Moderate structural borrowing
5	Very strong cultural pressure	Heavy structural borrowing

Table 2-1 Borrowing Scale: Adapted from Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-76)

Grant (2019, personal communication, 2nd July) supplements the above scale with the addition of the following levels in table 2.2:

Scale Number	Contact Level	Linguistic Implications
0	Contact occurs between speech communities	No transfer of material
1a	Casual contact	Lexical borrowing: cultural items only
1b	Casual contact	Lexical borrowing: non-basic and some basic 'replacive'[22] items

Table 2-2 Grant's Extended Borrowing Scale: Adapted from Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-76)

The borrowing scale proposes that it is only with a combination of intense language contact and cultural pressure that heavy levels of structural borrowing will occur. Therefore, borrowing cannot explain the existence of MxG grammatical material in MxE – as historically, cultural pressure was towards the direction of English, not Manx. This reinforces the idea that the transfer of grammatical items from MxG into MxE is a consequence of imposition.

2.6.2 Dialect Levelling

Dialect levelling occurs in 'mobile populations where there is a high level of dialect contact' (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 151). Where speakers find themselves in contact with speakers of other dialects, marked regional features may be avoided in individual acts of accommodation (Trudgill 1986: 25). When this happens on a large scale, it results in the gradual reduction of these marked local features and the prevalence of features which have the 'widest geographical (and social) usage' (ibid: 98). Thus, it is acts of convergence, and the avoidance of listener non-comprehension that leads to the gradual rise of supralocal varieties. This does not, however, happen for the first-generation of speakers in contact. As Williams and Kerswill note, these speakers are 'already adults who have passed the 'critical stage' of language acquisition (1999: 151). While they may make minor adaptations to the

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[22] That is, items which replace others.

contact environment in their speech, it is their children (the second generation) who will begin to produce features of the newer, levelled dialects (ibid).

Examples of dialect levelling can be found in Kerswill's study of Milton Keynes (Kerswill 1996). In studying ten linguistic variables in the speech of children and their caregivers, Kerswill found that although there was considerable variation in the speech of the caregivers, there was less variation in that of the children. Moreover, he found that the older children were more linguistically similar, perhaps 'foreshadow[ing] what the 'new' [levelled] accent will sound like' (ibid: 298).

Given the mobility and demographic fabric of the IoM resident population, it is likely that contact with speakers of other BrE varieties has caused a decrease in the number of MxG substratum items used in MxE through processes of dialect levelling. Although there is cultural value on the use of such items, the promotion of MxG as a separate, heritage language may contribute to levels of perceptual distance between speakers not proficient in MxG and the relatively small number who are. A combination of these factors may then lead to the avoidance of MxG substratum items, as speakers seek both to accommodate to speakers of other varieties and to avoid making claims to features that they do not feel proficient enough to access.

2.6.3 Dialect Loss

In cases of extreme levelling, dialects can be lost both structurally and functionally. Structural loss refers to 'changes in the linguistic system of the dialect itself' (Rys and Bonte 2006: 201), for example the loss of certain lexical or morphosyntactic items in favour of more standardised ones. Functional loss refers to the recession of situations in which a dialect can be employed, typically starting with more formal environments before affecting the informal and the home (ibid). Important to consider is the impact of dialect loss following dialect attrition, whereby structural and functional loss is in progress.

Wolfram (2008) writes of the language endangerment canon as disproportionately addressing the loss of languages and dialects, meaning that the value in the study of endangered dialects can be overlooked. He states, 'the endangerment canon seems to assume that the loss of cultural identity and intellectual diversity involved in dialect loss is not nearly as significant as that involved in the loss of a language (Wolfram 2008: 10).

This is because often, dialect endangerment occurs within an otherwise healthy language. Therefore, the study of these dialects may be considered 'inconsequential and superfluous' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995: 697). Dialects whose vitality is threatened by opposing varieties of the same language are claimed not to receive large amounts of academic attention. However, when one considers the ability of one's language to shape one's cultural identity, the threat posed by the loss of one's dialect is just as significant as the cultural threat of language death (ibid: 699). This is one factor in the motivation to study threatened dialects. Secondly, is the fact that dialects in danger of extreme levelling or structural and functional loss often contain unique linguistic features, not found in other varieties. Exploration and documentation of these features therefore contributes to the wider field of knowledge as well as having importance socioculturally.

This chapter has explored key theoretical ideas and theory which are central to the lines of enquiry pursued in this thesis. The following chapter presents a methodological review which outlines the origins of the chosen method for this research.

3 METHODOLOGICAL ADVANCES

3.1 DIALECT GEOGRAPHY

The systematic study of dialect is by no means a new endeavour, as Chambers and Trudgill highlight that such an interest surfaced within the second half of the 19th century (1998: 13). Prior to this, although dialect differences were observed and even a common topic of conversation, such observations were based upon intuition and the folk-knowledge of individuals within their own social parameters. Before formal, data-driven dialectological enquiry came casual observations of linguistic difference that are still often found in many every day interactions. Conversations about lexical and phonological variation between geographic locations are commonplace. Such talk of language variation is described as 'folk' observation (or folk linguistics), referring to the metalinguistic discourse of non-linguists (Niedzielski and Preston 2000). Folk linguistics in itself has developed as a discipline with distinctive data elicitation approaches. This discipline reinforces that differences in dialect spark the interest of a wide audience, regardless of any academic investment in them. For the purpose of the ongoing study, it is important to understand how these folk observations of dialect difference led to their systematic study and description.

Chambers and Trudgill state that interest in dialect study was evident many centuries ago, as far back as 1284 (1998: 13). At this time, the French poet Bernart d'Auriac coined terminology to describe the dialectal differences in the north and south of France, using the different lexical variants for *yes* (*oil* and *oc* respectively). His terminology, *langue d'oil* and *langue d'oc* continues to be used to describe this pervasive difference centuries later (ibid). Moreover, with specific regard to English dialect differences, John Trevisa wrote in 1378 of the issues with mutual intelligibility between northern and southern dialects, and his pejorative attitudes towards northern varieties are well cited. In his work on the translation of Ranulf Higden's theological tome, the *Polychronicon*, Trevisa expressed his opinion of Northern dialects as 'scharp, slitting, and frotynge and vnschape' (Blake 1996: 135). As can be seen, therefore, observations of linguistic variation in phonetics and lexis have a long history. The following section describes how these nuanced observations gave rise to systematic attempts to describe and delimit dialect areas, acknowledging

linguistic difference without inadvertently diverting speakers away from the use of non-standard items.

Dialectological literature generally acknowledges that the field of dialectology was born with Georg Wenker's 1876 survey of northern Germany (Wenker and Wrede 1895). This marked what is acknowledged as the first methodical attempt to understand dialectal differences, prompted by the neogrammarian movement initiated by Bopp in the early 1800s. Wenker's interest was in establishing the boundaries of dialect territories, initially in the Rhine Valley. He issued postal questionnaires, consisting of 40 sentences to be 'translated' into the local dialect, to schoolmasters. Over a ten-year period, Wenker's questionnaire captured data from a staggering 45,000 respondents after his postal questionnaire 'blanket[ed] the whole nation' (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 15). Despite the vast quantity of returns, Wenker found the data unmanageable and was only able to analyse limited variants within relatively narrow geographic parameters. He also struggled to present his work in an accessible format, leading to the production of two sets of hand-drawn dialect maps which were later published in various volumes of the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* (Wenker 1895). The 1,653 original maps of the Sprachatlas have now been digitised in their entirety for the first time and are searchable within a geographical information system (GIS) format (Herrgen 2010, Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas 2017).

There are several identified issues with Wenker's method of collecting data. Firstly, the postal nature of the questionnaires meant that there was potential for informants to misinterpret instructions without a researcher present to clarify these. This left the possibility of incomplete or unusable data being submitted, wasting participant and researcher resource. Furthermore, Wenker requested that his participants translate the sentences into their own dialect using the written word. As his informants were not trained phoneticians, the data elicited from the questionnaires could not (aside from any variation in spelling) provide Wenker with any phonetic data. The vast quantity of responses that Wenker elicited from untrained informants also would have compromised the consistency of data quality, affecting the integrity of the overall findings.

Another early dialectologist is Jules Gilliéron, whose study of French dialects commenced in 1896. Similarly to Wenker, Gilliéron utilised a questionnaire as the mechanism for data collection, although this was facilitated by a trained fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, (a grocer selected for the acuteness of his hearing), to 'assemble language data from informants by direct linguistic interactions' (Dash 2005: 22). Unlike the responses elicited from Wenker's informants, thanks to this fieldworker Gilliéron was able to access phonetic transcriptions of spoken words which were produced by an individual trained in such notation. Throughout the period of data collection, which lasted for some fourteen years, Edmont gathered data from 639 different sites (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 17). Despite the lack of clarity surrounding the homogeneity of the sample, the findings of the survey, along with the Wenker corpus, are considered influential to the wider field of dialectology. Despite their flaws, these studies demonstrated that the relatively large-scale study of dialectological difference was feasible, and their work has contributed to the design of numerous other localised investigations into dialect variation.

3.1.1 The Survey of English Dialects (SED)

SED: Approach

More recently, in the late 1940s, Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth initiated a questionnaire-based study of the 'traditional' dialects of rural England. The initiation of a linguistic survey of this kind would have potentially occurred as early as the 1930s; however, development was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Like any dialectological study, what was to become the Survey of English Dialects (SED) was conducted with the specific intention of 'establish[ing] regional reflexes of historical process or stages in the development of language' (Schneider 1988: 396). In other words, Orton and Dieth sought to identify and document linguistic variants as they existed within the usage of individuals in certain geographic areas. Orton is documented as having a sense of urgency to conduct the SED as a means to preserve varieties before levelling factors such as geographic mobility and communication altered them in some way, as demonstrated in the quote below.

> Harold Orton often told us that it was the eleventh hour, that dialect was rapidly
> disappearing, and that this [the Survey of English Dialects] was a last-minute

exercise to scoop out the last remaining vestige of dialect before it died out under

the pressures of modern movement and communication (Ellis, 1992: 7).

The data-collection method employed for the SED was centred around a specially designed, comprehensive questionnaire which aimed to elicit linguistic data of morphosyntactic, lexical, and phonological nature. Of note with regard to this questionnaire is that, unlike Wenker's sentence tasks, SED informants were 'never…asked to translate any word, phrase or sentence into his vernacular' (Orton and Halliday 1962: 14). Therefore, participants were not led towards certain variants, and the integrity of the data was safeguarded.

Similarly to Gilliéron's approach, Orton and Dieth made use of trained fieldworkers who had received training on its conduct. The SED was administered by nine individual fieldworkers over an eleven-year period. While there are advantages to having a team of fieldworkers, there is also the potential for inconsistencies within the fieldwork procedure. For example, the SED questionnaire relied partially on the use of visual stimuli to assist informants in naming objects. No such stimuli were standardised, as Orton and Halliday state that 'it was not necessary to the questions that a particular specimen should be employed except in the case of plants and flowers, where precise identification was essential' (1962: 17). Other pictures shown to informants to elicit a response were provided by the individual fieldworkers themselves, creating a potential issue with consistency.

In the case of the SED, the visual stimuli provided for the informants to identify were dependent upon researcher understanding of these concepts. Further consistency issues may exist in the fact that fieldworkers discarded previously used examples where they came across a more useful example (Orton and Halliday 1962: 17). This would benefit the ongoing efficiency of the data collection; however, it can be argued that it presents a quality issue with the data gathered beforehand. The questionnaires were completed in a recorded interview setting, often within the participants' homes. The home environment is a preferable site for the collection of linguistic data, in that it captures responses in a familiar and unobtrusive setting. In the case of the SED, however, participant involvement was arguably a significant commitment, with elicitation of the full questionnaire regularly taking several days. Data-collection processes taking place over a number of days may, however, be

advantageous to data quality. This is because theoretically, time is allowed for a trusting relationship to be formed between informants and fieldworker, mitigating the observer's paradox (see section 3.2.1) and also for the elicitation process not to be rushed.

SED: Sample

Macauley (2018: 241-242) notes that the sampling practices of dialectological research are often influenced by the assumptions made by the researcher with regard to the population in focus. For example, opportunity sampling is common amongst older studies due to what were common assumptions of dialect homogeneity (Kretzschmar and Schneider 1996: 33). The selection of informants for the SED was predominantly men over the age of 60, subscribing to the notion that 'in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women' (Orton and Halliday 1962: 15). Those fulfilling the criteria were later ascribed the term 'Non-mobile Older Rural Males' or NORMS (Chambers and Trudgill 1988: 30). This group was selected based upon the SED's intention to 'record traditional dialect usage before it was lost' (Stenroos 2017: 313). Therefore, the sampling principles applied are meaningfully different to those utilised in more recent dialectological study, largely owing to time pressures associated with language change. The SED may, therefore, be criticised for its underrepresentation of younger speakers, urban areas and females. However, its intentions and sociocultural context meant that the researchers deemed this sample as the most likely to produce traditional dialectal linguistic forms. This is because 'it is amongst the rural populations that the traditional types of vernacular English are best preserved' (Orton and Halliday 1962: 14). Control of the sample in this way also was a control measure to ensure a similar class status between the speakers.

In terms of sample size, there was inconsistent representation across the three hundred and eleven localities included in the SED. This is partly due to fieldworker resource and expertise. Orton and Halliday state that 'with experience, they [fieldworkers] usually found that they needed no more than two or three [informants per locality]' (1962: 16), claiming that the inclusion of 'as many as five' informants was excessive (ibid). Owing to the quantity of localities covered by the SED, small sample sizes can be accepted for reasons of limited human resource and for sufficient analysis that would require massive investments of time. Despite this, like

many dialect studies, such a sample cannot claim true representativeness. Therefore, while the SED makes an incredibly valuable contribution to the synchronic documentation of dialects, increased resource (both financial and human) enabling a greater number of informants would perhaps increase its weight in terms of representation and validity.

As the above section begins to suggest, the SED (although somewhat pioneering and valuable) is not free of limitations – largely in the form of the limited data set and the potential for inconsistencies created through the use of multiple fieldworkers. Although dialectology and its associated methods of data elicitation and analysis are useful in its description and delimitation of dialect regions, they are less concerned with intragroup variation and its relationship with social or contextual factors. This directs the discussion towards one specific method which combines an interest in regional variation with social aspects, which has been adapted and used in the current study.

3.2   SuRE

The Survey of Regional English (SuRE) approach is largely credited to the work of Carmen Llamas (1999; 2001), who devised it as an approach to meet the needs of a large-scale, collaborative research venture – the Survey of Regional English. The following sections will describe how the approach emerged with a concentrated purpose, and how adaptations and expansions to it have led to its wide adoption within the field of sociolinguistics. In order to appropriately introduce the SuRE methodology and enable its value to be communicated effectively, it is necessary to identify problematic areas of dialect research that it is designed to address, which are twofold.

Firstly, there is the issue of comparability between established, ongoing and completed research projects within the field. Individually, the findings of such research offer their own insights into their own areas of focus, and their value is not dismissed by the introduction of the SuRE approach. What Llamas identifies, however, is that 'researchers wishing to compare their findings with those of another study are faced with individual projects which have different aims and employ different methodologies' (1999: 95). This fact means that comparison efforts made by researchers are problematic, and further research into the field will continue to

produce lone-standing results which will continue to be considered in isolation. The SuRE approach, however, enables an easily adaptable and adoptable methodology which can be used by different researchers within different areas and research contexts in order to collect data which is easily comparable with others utilising the same approach. There are clear benefits to data triangulation and comparison of this kind. For example, studies relating to dialect levelling or the distribution of certain linguistic features may exist in what Llamas describes as 'regionally disparate' studies (ibid). Interaction between such studies through direct comparability would offer greater support to hypotheses and strengthen the basis for theoretical development. The potential for consistent application of this method also enables large research teams to work collaboratively, as the potential for issues with consistency are mitigated.

Secondly, the development of the SuRE approach is identified as novel in its ability to facilitate a combined investigation of social and linguistic variation in localised features of phonology, grammar, and lexis (Llamas 1999: 96). Although the SED collected data across these three linguistic levels, this was for descriptive purposes, in order to provide accounts of dialects and to identify and record their distinctive components. The SuRE, however, encompasses description of dialect along with biographical and attitudinal data, which enables meaningful sociolinguistic analysis to take place. The particulars associated with data collection using the SuRE approach can be found at section 3.2.1.

The initial intention of the SuRE approach was to create a digital database which held 'consistently collected material from a planned network of British localities which will record and document the facts of linguistic variation throughout Britain' (Llamas 1999: 96). The elicitation of data through the SuRE approach would enable comprehensive analyses to take place with relation to several areas of interest, including the diffusion and distribution of certain features. Corpora of data elicited using the SuRE approach can also potentially form the basis of retrospective and diachronic linguistic study, demonstrating its versatility and value to the field. In order for such detailed linguistic analysis to occur, and to produce a comprehensive depiction of a particular variety, the SuRE approach facilitates data collection across three levels; lexical, grammatical, and phonological. The specific elements and the scope of their application are described below.

3.2.1 SuRE Elements

Unlike the SED, which was relatively intensive in its use of human resources, Llamas intended for the SuRE to occupy minimal amounts of both researcher and informant time. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, data collection for the SED often took several days to complete per informant – with nine books of questions to be completed before each interview process could be concluded. Given the intentions of the SuRE and the greater number of informants required to elicit valid amounts of social and linguistic data, such an intensive approach would be inappropriate. This does not, however, automatically dictate the use of methods designed for the elicitation of large amounts of quantitative data, which Llamas also identifies as inappropriate for the intentions of the SuRE (1999: 96). This is because traditional methods of eliciting quantitative linguistic data, such as the written questionnaire, do not enable the researcher to access the informant's vernacular. Yet methods such as personal narratives and participant observation are also not fit for purpose, given that they do not produce data that is comparable. Therefore, the intention of the SuRE is to elicit quantifiable, comparable data which is analysable on the three prescribed levels. Given this intention to collect a large amount of data and administer the approach to a significant number of respondents, the design of a new approach was necessary. Consequently, the need to collect data quickly and efficiently while sampling informal speech caused Llamas to propose a two-step data collection process consisting of a written phase and an interview which would enable the efficient collection of both perceptual and productive linguistic data.

Sense Relation Networks

Aitchison (1987) proposes that lexicon exists within the mind in the form of a series of interconnected networks, or 'webs', whereby words are 'linked together in a gigantic multi-dimensional cobweb, in which every item is attached to scores of others' (1987: 72). Formally speaking, this refers to what is known as network theory. Network theory is perhaps best thought of in terms of the lexicon existing as a connected web or graph, in which nodes attach items to one another (Aitchison 2012: 99). These attaching nodes are aspects such as coordination (lexemes which are similar at the level of detail, such as *table* and *chair*), and collocation (lexemes which are likely to be found together, such as *fish* and *sea*). Less frequently, these nodes may represent synonymy (e.g. *hot* and *boiling*) and superordination (e.g.

furniture and *bed*) (ibid). Network theory in terms of meaning is perhaps most observable in the popular *word association game,* where players exchange words (usually verbally) which are associated with one another. Aitchison asserts that 'in such experiments, [or games] different people generally give rather similar responses' (1987: 73).

As described above, rather than producing responses related in terms of physical characteristics (such as *needle* → *poker* → *nail* or *cup* → *beaker* → *tumbler*) individuals are far more likely to produce items from the same semantic field (such as *girl* → *boy* or *tall* → *short)* (Aitchison 1987: 73). Understanding of the relationships between stimulus lexical items and their most common associates within a word-association experiment or game has led to the establishment of four categories of stimulus word and response linkage (or the 'nodes' described above), some of which are outlined above. These are coordination, collocation, superordination, and synonymy. It is these links that are thought to create the aforementioned metaphorical webs of words, organising them into semantic fields within the larger lexical matrix (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 52).

Based on Aitchison's (1987) description of word webs, Llamas devised Sense Relation Networks (SRNs) as a mechanism for the collection of lexical data. She designed visual webs, in which what are described as 'standard notion words' (Llamas 1999: 98) are connected with subdivisions, which are connected to a central semantic field term, such as *feelings, actions and states* (later revised to become *being, saying and doing*). The standard notion words (such as 'food' or 'toilet') elicit the dialectal responses. Participants are asked to complete the SRNs several days prior to the interview stage of the SuRE approach, filling the gaps provided with as terms as they know and/or use for each prescribed notion word. An example of a blank SRN is shown in Figure 3.1.
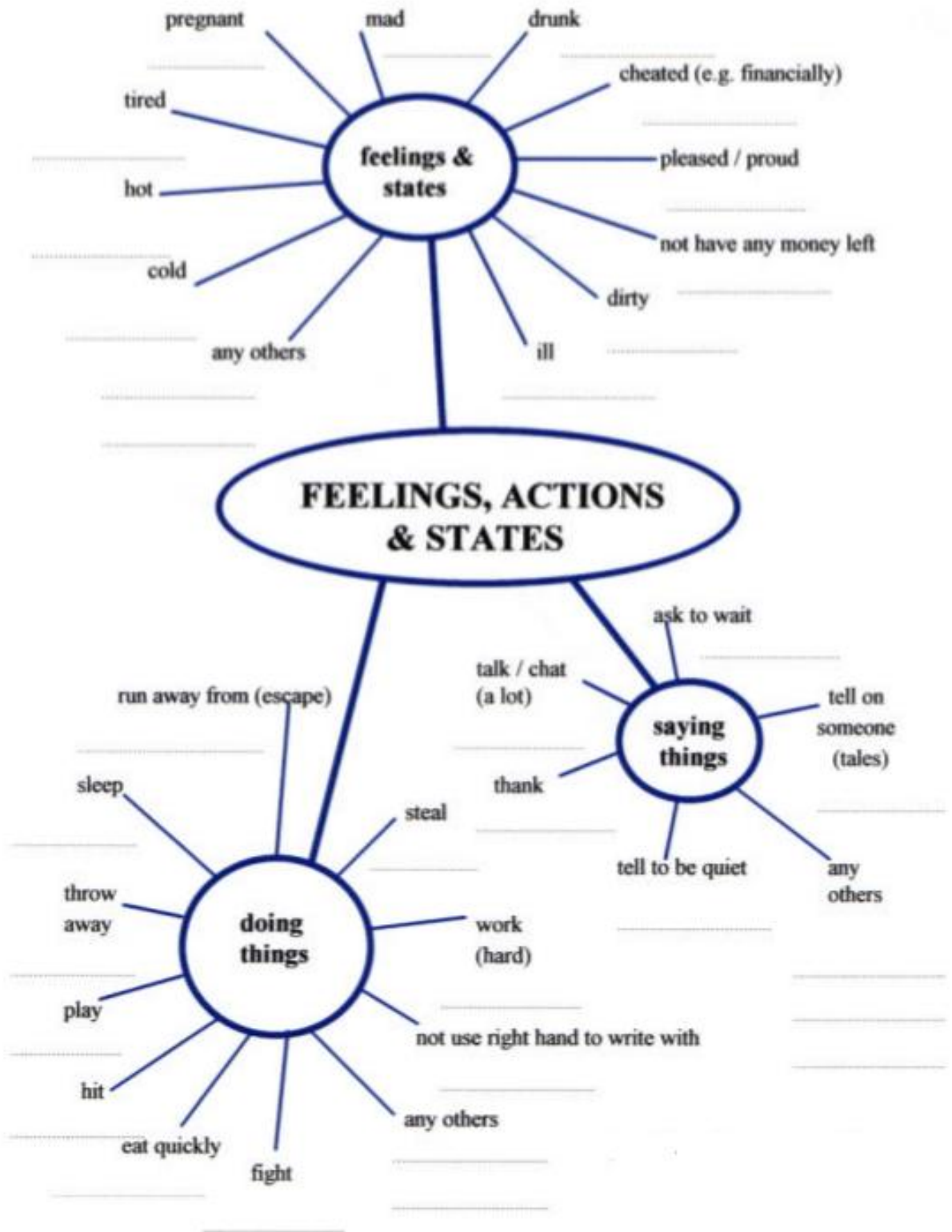
Figure 3.1 Blank SRN (Llamas 1999: 100)

There are numerous advantages to the utilisation of SRNs within the field. Not only do they yield large quantities of lexical data, their use 'allows the researcher to discover the full extent of lexical variation, without excluding words on the grounds that they are not 'dialectal'' (Beal 2010: 67). Their direct nature has also been acknowledged as beneficial to the elicitation procedure, in that there is less scope for participant misunderstanding through interpretation and processing. Instead, as described by Burbano Elizondo, the SRNs require only a translation process to occur (2008: 58), which also carries significant benefits in terms of time taken to complete them. Moreover, SRNs are completed several days in advance of the interview (described further later in this section) which prevents informants from experiencing pressure or anxiety associated with testing. Advance completion of the SRNs also enables participants to confer with others about their responses, which can lead to the elicitation of further lexical variants and, ultimately, a richer data set. In addition to the benefits within the immediate field, Beal (2010: 67) highlights the impact that SRNs have had in the wider research context, as they were adapted for use by the BBC voices project (in which non-linguists were trained to administer SRNs to groups of informants within given localities).

Now that the theoretical background of the SRNs has been established, it is necessary to describe how they sit within the SuRE data collection process. As mentioned, SRNs are provided to informants before the interview takes place. These are not issued to the participant in isolation, but as part of an interview pack, which also contains an identification questionnaire and, as a later addition made by Llamas for her Teesside study, a language questionnaire, both of which are described in the following sections. A description of the technique of SRN administration within the current research is present at section 3.3.

The Identification Questionnaire (IdQ)

The inclusion of a questioning process associated with identity is both a tool for the elicitation of extended samples of informal speech, and means to gather attitudinal and ideological data relating to language and the local area. Llamas describes the IdQ as a 'safety net' (1999: 105), as it enables informants to supply extended responses in the interview context to supplement their discussion of the SRNs.

Therefore, as well as triangulating the lexical data yielded through the SRN completion, the IdQs serve to produce sufficient non-scripted spoken data to enable a phonological analysis. For the benefit of this project, it also provides the additional layer of attitudinal information required to gain an insight into speakers' local identities.

Llamas's original IdQ consists of 15 questions separated into two sections entitled *Your Language* and *Your Area*. The first section, *Your Language*, asks informants direct questions concerning their own language use (*'what accent would you say that you had, and do you like it?'*) and their perception of linguistic difference in their area (*'do you think that older and younger people talk the same here?'*) (Llamas 1999: 105). The questions employed in the IdQ for such studies as Llamas (1999), Burbano Elizondo (2008) and Atkinson (2011) are designed to access the linkage between social beliefs, perception, and linguistic usage. These links have been described by Gouldner (1976: 23), who states that ideology is 'the part of consciousness which can be said'. It must, however, be acknowledged that linguistic forms and ideology can extend beyond deliberate or conscious thought, instead rooted below the level of consciousness.

The IdQ as a core element of the SuRE data elicitation process is valuable due to its ability to amass large amounts of information in terms of informant usage and linguistic attitudes. Moreover, as Llamas highlights, IdQ responses 'may show age and gender variation which can be correlated with any linguistic variation revealed' (Llamas 2001: 129).

The Language Questionnaire (LnQ)

A dedicated language questionnaire within the SuRE methodology was first included by Llamas as a supplementary addition for the study of Teesside English. Its design was largely based on the questionnaire utilised within the *Survey of British English Dialect Grammar* (Edwards and Cheshire 1989: 87) as described below, and its intention was to access different levels of participant usage and acceptability.

Before introducing the language questionnaire as designed and administrated by Llamas, it is appropriate to discuss its ancestral questionnaire, *The Survey of British Dialect Grammar.* At the time of its conception, it was noted that there had been 'no comparable studies that focus on morphology and syntax' (Cheshire *et al* 1993: 53),

and there were unanswered questions associated with the levelling of grammatical variation as a result of urbanisation. Although it is stressed that such enquiry can only be addressed through thorough empirical analysis of vernacular data, the survey enabled some preliminary understanding of shared morphosyntactic features within certain urban locations of Britain (ibid).

Carried out over a period of three years, between 1986 and 1989, the survey sought to address two main objectives. Firstly, *The Survey of British Dialect Grammar* simply hoped to increase what was, at the time, limited knowledge of the morphology and syntax of dialects of British English. Cheshire *et al* (1993: 54) acted on the concern that phonological knowledge of dialects far exceeded grammatical awareness or description, playing what is described as a 'peripheral role' in existing research. Such a description comes from the fact that not only was grammatical data limited, but what information there was had often been extrapolated indirectly through discussion of other elements such as lexis or phonology. Therefore, in an attempt to address this gap, and to prevent its further widening, *The Survey of British Dialect Grammar* was designed as a study which foregrounded variation of word and clause formation. A secondary intention of the survey was concerned with dialect variation in educational settings. The study acknowledged that there is a potentially problematic assumption that within the school environment, Standard English grammar will be used by both educators and students. The reality of the linguistic situation in such contexts, however, is that 'the majority of British children are speakers…of a non-standard variety of English' (Cheshire *et al* 1993: 54). This can create a host of potential issues for educational practitioners, who were not provided with appropriate material surrounding dialect diversity within the classroom to prevent attitudinal preference and pedagogical anxiety. This aim of the survey builds on previous work by Trudgill in his 1975 work: *Accent, Dialect and The School,* as it intended to use the data elicited in order to enhance the knowledge and resource base available to teachers in terms of grammatical diversity existing in the dialects of their students.

The grammatical items which formed the stimuli for the questionnaire were elicited from 'expert' speakers in the form of children and teachers at schools delivering language awareness programmes. This is fully justified in the expectation that:

By using collaborative techniques…the dialect features on the questionnaire would be discussed by groups of pupils and their teacher, and that the class as a whole would report on community usage, rather than on the usage of individual pupils (Cheshire *et al* 1993: 56).

One advantage of the survey taking the form of a questionnaire (sample questions from which can be seen in Figure 3.2), rather than the interview approach utilised in earlier work such as the SED, was that it enabled a more complete impression of variation to emerge. For example, it was found that in some locations multiple non-standard variant forms were reported for the same feature by individual speakers. For example, there were instances of reported usage of both 'give it me' and 'give me it' that a method such as the SED could not capture (Cheshire *et al* 1993: 59). Although *The Survey of British English Dialect Grammar* does not attempt to discredit the findings of the SED, there is clear supplementary value added by its findings.

Got a sweet tooth?

12. □ I likes toffees
13. □ We liken toffees
14. □ We likes toffees
15. □ Thee likes toffees
16. □ Thee like toffees
17. □ She like toffees

What an idiot!

18. □ Billy be stupid
19. □ Billy am stupid
20. □ He in arf stupid
21. □ He's stupid, him
22. □ It's stupid he is
23. □ There's stupid he is
24. □ He's stupid is Billy
25. □ It was stupid he was
26. □ He done that wrong
27. □ You has to see it to believe it

Wedding Bells

28. □ Mary and John is getting married on Saturday.
29. □ There's cars outside the Church
30. □ The bride's walking into the Church, is it?
31. □ I'm going to see them now, isn't it?
32. □ I done bought them a wedding present.

Figure 3.2 Sample of questionnaire used in the Survey of British Dialect Grammar (Cheshire *et al* 1993: 88)

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For its adaptation for inclusion within Llamas's study of Teesside (2001), Llamas sought to replicate the level of authenticity created through employing grammatical stimulus elicited from dialect speakers themselves. The majority of its grammatical examples in Llamas's LnQ are taken from data elicited in an earlier pilot study conducted in Middlesbrough (Llamas 1998); during recordings of informants' 'free' interaction. This prevented the inclusion of superfluous or unproductive questions and enhanced the possibility of obtaining rich data. Also of credit to this method is the use of an acceptability/usage scale, rather than an open answer box. This is less time consuming for the informant and enables the researcher to quantify responses easily. These responses can then be used to compare reported usage with actual usage measured in the interview element of the data collection. An example of a completed language questionnaire, taken from Llamas (1999: 117) can be seen in Figure 3.3.

Language Questionnaire

Tick (✓) this box if you would hear this in the area where you live	Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence yourself in speech	Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend.

1. ✓ ☐ ☐   He was just sat there by himself.
2. ✓ ☐ ☐   They can't do nothing without you saying.
3. ✓ ☐ ☐   There's a job going at our place if youse two want to go for it.
4. ✓ ☐ ☐   We all talk different.
5. ✓ ☐ ☐   You weren't stood there, were you?
6. ☐ ☐ ☐   Just say what you want, innit?
7. ✓ ☐ ☐   They said they were coming back on Monday and they never.
8. ☐ ☐ ☐   That's the best one what she's got on.
9. ✓ ☐ ☐   You're insured on them items for 80 days.
10. ☐ ☐ ☐   He's working 9 while 6 this week.

11. ✓ ☐ ☐   I'm going down London next week.
12. ✓ ☐ ☐   I don't fancy going up Stockton.
13. ☐ ☐ ☐   The sharks were only two foot long.
14. ✓ ☐ ☐   I seen Sarah at work yesterday.
15. ☐ ☐ ☐   I knew a bloke who were doing speech therapy.
16. ☐ ☐ ☐   We was walking along the road when it happened.
17. ☐ ☐ ☐   It were too cold to go out.
18. ✓ ✓ ✓   We usually gan down the pub on Thursday's.
19. ✓ ✓ ✓   I bet she was sick as.
20. ✓ ☐ ☐   They give me it the same day I opened the account.

21. ✓ ☐ ☐   I should've went to the medical really.
22. ☐ ☐ ☐   You wasn't listening to what I said.
23. ☐ ☐ ☐   She come in at 12 o'clock last night.
24. ☐ ☐ ☐   She don't like that sort of thing.
25. ☐ ☐ ☐   There's no Electron signs on any doors.
26. ☐ ☐ ☐   I'm not cooking for them, they can do it theirselves.
27. ✓ ✓ ✓   Lend us your catalogue, I want to have a flick through it.
28. ✓ ☐ ☐   There was kids there.
29. ✓ ☐ ☐   I've never heard of him like.
30. ✓ ☐ ☐   He said it wasn't scary but, mind you, he is about 45.

31. ✓ ☐ ☐   They proper hurt you when you crash.
32. ☐ ☐ ☐   The cops ain't gonna do anything.
33. ☐ ☐ ☐   They in't gonna pull you up.
34. ✓ ☐ ☐   It's the only like decent night out we have, isn't it?
35. ☐ ☐ ☐   He wouldn't could've worked, even if you had asked him.
36. ☐ ☐ ☐   Will I put the kettle on?
37. ☐ ☐ ☐   My hair needs washed.
38. ☐ ☐ ☐   I'm opening another account me.
39. ☐ ☐ ☐   If you're left-handed, you're more cleverer.
40. ✓ ☐ ☐   I've forgot my money, can you buy me a pint.

Figure 3.3 Language Questionnaire (Llamas 1999: 117)

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Identification Score Index (ISI)

The notion of the Identification Score Index (ISI) in the sociolinguistic study of identity is significantly attributed to the work of Underwood (1988). He proposed that group membership is an emotional endeavour, whereby 'one's identification with a group is in simple terms a feeling of closeness to members of that group' (Underwood 1988: 409). The conceptualisation and creation of the ISI was based upon the assertion that the strength of such a closeness could be measured on a numerically linear scale, in order to test the hypothesis of creolist Robert Le Page (Le page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Le Page proposes that individual linguistic repertoire is accounted for by a direct relationship with one's own sense of closeness to the group which share that repertoire. Therefore, according to Le Page's *acts of identity* hypothesis, speakers use features associated with particular groups of individuals to an extent which is qualified by the strength of their personal affiliation with that group (regardless of their social or geographic mobility). For example, a speaker may use a 'strong' Liverpool (Scouse) accent, when other speakers who share social qualities such as place of birth, place of residence etc. do not. According to Le Page's hypothesis, this could indicate that the Scouse speaker has an emotional affiliation with Liverpool.

Underwood highlights that Le Page's hypothesis appears to repeat the Sapirian standpoint that the use of certain linguistic features are 'shared by select individuals to symbolise their belonging' (1988: 409), and that group members are able to recognise their fellow members through these shared features. This would imply that usage is concordant with group membership. However, Le Page's hypothesis refers to identification with a group, rather than necessarily with group membership. This is explained by Reed, who states that 'the possibility exists that someone can identify with a group that he does not belong to – for instance, because he lacks the prerequisites or sees the group as closed to him' (Reed 1983: 9).

This is evident in the researcher's previous work involving non-native residents on the IoM (McCooey-Heap 2015). The ISI, as discussed below, found that even those who do not fulfil the prerequisite of Manx-born status can identify equally, or even more so, with Manx residents than those who are, by definition, existing members of that group.

It is this distinction between *identification* and *membership* that Underwood claims makes Le Page's hypothesis testable and distinctive from previous concepts such as Labov's suggestions around group membership. Based on Reed's (1972, 1983) research of Southern identification in the United States, Underwood devised an Index of Texan Identification (see Figure 3.4). Each response is allocated a score between zero and two, and ask informants about their closeness to Texans, and their 'in-group preference' (Reed 1983: 57). The sum of an individual's response scores provides the researchers with an indication of their 'level of Texan identification' (Underwood 1988: 410), ranging from low to high. When applied to the study of a localised variant, the scores from the Index of Texan Identification exhibited a 'clear linear relationship…[with]…the use of the localised variant, i.e. the closer the informant identified with the group in question, Texans, the higher the use of the localised variant' (Llamas 1999: 108).

Some people in Texas feel they have a lot in common with other Texans, but others don't feel this way. How about you? Would you say you feel pretty close to other Texans in general, or that you don't feel much closer to them than you would to people from somewhere else?

    a. Feel closer to Texans (2)
    b. No closer than to others (0)
    c. Don't know, can't say (0)

Suppose that you are the manager of a company that must hire a scientist. Two persons apply--one born and educated in another state, the other born and educated in Texas. If they were equally qualified, which would you prefer, the person from Texas or the person from somewhere else?

    a. Person from Texas (2)
    b. Person from some other state (0)
    c. It depends, don't know, etc. (1)

Suppose that two good persons are running for Congress in your district. One was born and raised in Texas, and the other was born and raised in another state. If both people had moved to the district five years ago, which one would you favor, the person born and raised in Texas or the person born and raised in some other state?

    a. Person from Texas (2)
    b. Person from some other state (0)
    c. It depends, don't know, etc. (1)

Figure 3.4 Index of Texan Identification (Underwood 1988: 410)

It is based upon this application of a systematic method of measuring participant affiliation to groups of interest that Llamas devised the ISI for the SuRE approach. Although the index was not designed to elicit linguistic data, the ISI is intended to be used alongside linguistic data in order for the researcher to explore possible correlations between local affiliation and linguistic usage.

In terms of the design of the ISI, Llamas highlights the effectiveness of the direct nature of the questioning mechanism it employs, in order to access immediate responses that are not over-considered. It is suggested that the index forms part of the initial data collection and exists within the SuRE pack alongside the biographical information questionnaire. As in the Index of Texan Identification, the questions are multiple choice in nature, with each response carrying a designated score – the sum of which will provide their total identification index score.

One example of the successful employment of the ISI is in Burbano Elizondo's (2008) study of language and identity in Sunderland. She states that the ISI elicits supplementary material which complements the qualitative data gathered through the IdQ. By enabling the researcher to 'quantify the strength of the participants' identification with their city', Burbano Elizondo was able to seek correlations between individual identification score and their usage of selected linguistic variables (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 60). Burbano Elizondo's ISI, as adapted for use within her study *Language Variation and Identity in Sunderland* can be seen in Figure 3.5.

Identification Score Index

1. If you were on holiday and saw someone you had never seen before but thought they came from Sunderland (e.g. you overheard their accent and recognised it, they were wearing the local football shirt), would you:
    - (a) Feel compelled to go and ask where they were from and strike up a relationship
    - (b) Feel you had something in common but not do anything about it
    - (c) Not feel any differently than you would towards any other stranger

2. Would you say you feel close to and you have something in common with people from Sunderland in general (that is people you don't know personally), or would you say you don't feel any closer to them than to people from somewhere else?
    - (a) Feel closer to people from Sunderland
    - (b) Don't feel any closer to people from Sunderland than to other people
    - (c) Don't know, can't say

3. Would you prefer your child's school teacher to be:
    - (a) A person with a local accent
    - (b) A person who spoke 'standard' English with a 'standard' accent
    - (c) It wouldn't matter what accent they had

4. If you were voting in a local election, would the fact that a candidate was a local person persuade you to vote for them?
    - (a) Yes, it would
    - (b) No, it wouldn't
    - (c) Don't know

5. If you wanted to leave something to a charitable organisation would you choose:
    - (a) A local one
    - (b) A national / international one
    - (c) Don't know, depends on the cause

6. If there was a programme on TV about your home town which clashed with your favourite programme and you couldn't record either would you:
    - (a) Watch it and miss your favourite programme
    - (b) Watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but wish you hadn't)
    - (c) Watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but not mind)

Figure 3.5 Sunderland Identification Index (Burbano-Eliondo 2008: 63)

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The Interview Procedure

Administration of the interview procedure is a critical component of the SuRE approach and is the final part of the data-collection process - an accumulation of parts to enable the multi-level analysis that SuRE seeks to convene. This section describes the nature of the interview as an event for the elicitation of data, before explaining how it is conducted within the context of SuRE.

The interview as a mechanism for data elicitation in sociolinguistic research is well-established and popular within the field. Its employment can range from the more conservative Labovian approach, which defines the sociolinguistic interview as having specific goals and conducted under 'optimal' conditions (Labov 1984: 33), to more progressive and flexible applications. The application and form of this approach are very much variable and adaptable to suit the needs of different research projects. The employment of the interview has, however, been described as as the 'most paradigmatic form of elicitation' (Figueroa 1994: 91) within linguistics, which requires the researcher to understand and respond to the *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972a: 61).

The term *observer's paradox* refers to the desire for researchers to elicit vernacular speech data of the kind that is reflective of usage when informants are not being observed. This creates a paradoxical relationship between the researcher as an observer with particular research goals, as the presence of an individual observing speech has been found to 'make a speaker speak self-consciously and therefore unnaturally' (Coupland 2007: 24). There is often a significant change in speaker style when speech is observed, affecting the representativeness of the data elicited and diverting it from the vernacular. For this reason, there are numerous measures that can be taken by researchers in order to mitigate the observer's paradox, while acknowledging that its elimination is not possible. Such methods of mitigation are many and varied, some of ethical questionability. For example, Labov (1966: 595) utilised what is known as the 'danger of death' question, whereby participants are asked whether they had ever thought there was a chance of them being killed. The motivation of this question relates in no way to the subjective content of the participant answer, but instead it hopes to decrease awareness of the formality of the interview situation and facilitate speech forms closer to the individual's vernacular.

There are obvious ethical implications to the utilisation of this technique, as described below.

Firstly, there is the issue of the researcher being entrusted with information which is of a potentially sensitive nature. In her chapter *Working with Adolescents*, Baran (2013: 163) describes unintentionally eliciting data from an informant about their struggles with mental health and their experience with thoughts of self-harm. In this instance, the response was not elicited in response to the 'danger of death' question, but the principals are much the same. A disclosure such as this alters the participant-researcher relationship potentially irretrievably, and regardless of any vernacular data elicited, there is the issue of causing the participant, a volunteer, emotional distress. There is also the possibility that the 'danger of death' question is not always productive, as suggested by Trudgill (1974) in his study of linguistic variation in Norwich. Instead of Labov's question, he asked informants to recount a time when something humorous happened to them, or to someone else. This alternative was selected due to the researcher's opinion that 'most Norwich people seemed to have lived rather more peaceful and uneventful lives…than the inhabitants of New York City' (Trudgill 1974: 52).

Other methods of mitigating the observer's paradox include responding to the triggers that are thought to induce it, which are (i) the presence of an observer, (ii) the presence of a recording device, and (iii) the task itself (Meyerhoff *et al* 2012: 132). Firstly, in response to the researcher presence, various studies have taken place in the absence of the researcher themselves, with instructions left for the participants on how to operate the recording device. The logic behind this is to remove the physical presence of the researcher in the hope that left only in the presence of other informants, the speech style produced will be closer to the vernacular. The removal of the researcher can, however, cause additional issues both in terms of the administration of the interview and in terms of operating the technology required to record it. These factors must be considered by the researcher when deciding if an absent researcher is appropriate for their work.

Secondly, the presence of a recording device is often mitigated through attempts to conduct an interview with a small device, or through its strategic location. Technological advances have meant that recording devices are now very compact

and are often smaller than a mobile phone. This, alongside the fact that technology is often present in informal situations (such as tablets, smart watches and mobile phones), can assist in the minimisation of the observer's paradox in that attention is not immediately drawn to the device as something alien to a typical interaction.

With regard to the actual interview task, it can be argued that the structure of proceedings is related to the degree of style shifting away from informant vernacular. Sociolinguistic interviews are often structured in such a way to divert speaker attention away from their speech, by asking purposefully designed questions thought to be of universal interest. However, some interviews are structured to include tasks which are more unnatural in their appearance and execution. These can include asking participants to read from prescribed word lists to elicit phonological data and can create more of an examination type of atmosphere – steering participants away from the vernacular. Although acceptable where the investigation is focused on style shifting, such tasks are not conductive to minimising the observer's paradox. Instead, looser structures which enable participants to speak at length about topics that interest them are often more fruitful in accessing vernacular speech data.

The administration of the interview in the SuRE approach attempts to mitigate the observer's paradox not through the methods described above, but through the acceptance of the interview for what it is. As Milroy and Gordon clearly state, interviews 'generally involve dyadic interaction between strangers, with the roles of the two participants being quite clearly defined' (2003: 61-62). This is echoed by Burbano Elizondo, who states that 'an interview is always an interview and there are principles that govern this speech event' (2008: 66). Even the most prepared and engaging interviews are confined by such principles, within which is the issue of asymmetry of power between the informant and researcher.

Although less evident in popular literature concerning sociolinguistic fieldwork, uneven power distribution within the interview setting, as identified by Milroy (1987: 49), can affect the success of the interview as a data collection tool. Llamas does not directly refer to the observer's paradox within her 1999 introduction to the SuRE approach. She does, however, describe potential issues created by this asymmetry of power, causing her to acknowledge that the interview is 'not the ideal means through which to elicit casual conversation' (1999: 98). Traditional interview methods

would find the confines of such a dyadic discourse interaction a stumbling block for the gathering of appropriate data. The SuRE interview acts upon the suggestions of variationist researchers such as Labov (1984) to overcome this and establish a more balanced researcher-participant relationship.

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 62) assert that within the interview environment 'turn-taking rights are not equally distributed' and that 'one participant (the interviewer) controls the discourse'. This highlights the dominance of the researcher, placing the informant at risk of feeling in some way under scrutiny. The SuRE attempts to redistribute this relationship through the provision of the SuRE pack of materials prior to the interview taking place. In doing so, the researcher gives the informant an advantage in enabling them to have a clear indication of the content of the interview, and chance to consider their responses beforehand. This also mitigates the chance of extended periods of silence in the interview.

Labov (1984: 40) suggests that, to assist in overcoming uneven power distribution within sociolinguistic interviews, researchers should be considerate in the manner that they approach their informants. He suggests that researchers place themselves in the role of 'student', where the informant is the 'master' – an expert in their own usage who will educate the researcher. This is similar to the approach taken within the SED, which was evidently successful in data elicitation. In treating the informants as experts, the researcher also mitigates researcher subjectivity. In her adoption of SuRE, Llamas (1999) utilises informant as 'master' to an extent in the design of her language questionnaire, as she utilises variants found in speech data from a pilot study. It can, however, be argued that this is an area which is underutilised. In the current study, as seen in section 3.2.1, the application of SuRE uses speaker input to more overtly contribute to the design of the data collection materials to make the most of the 'expert' knowledge pilot informants offer.

Labov (1972a) also suggests that power imbalances within sociolinguistic interviews can be addressed when the researcher is outnumbered. By interviewing groups of informants, he argues that the vernacular is more accessible, given that it is a collective, rather than an individual, entity (Labov 1972a: 256). The SuRE interview is conducted utilising pairs of informants which are socially matched, meaning that they share certain characteristics such as social class, and ideally the pair of

informants will already know one another prior to the context of the interview. This familiarity of the informants with each other should mitigate the formality of the interview context and encourage participants to engage more fully with the interview process without feeling under examination. Throughout the interview it is also likely that the informants will also monitor each other's style and aid the elicitation of their usual linguistic behaviours as they converse with one another.

This section has discussed the attempts of the SuRE approach in the mitigation of the observer's paradox and associated limiting factors of the interview as means of data collection. Despite all attempts to address such factors, it cannot be denied that an interview process is an artificial environment created by the researcher, motivated by their own academic agenda. This leads Llamas to state that interviews are 'not the ideal means' to elicit vernacular data (1999: 98). This is a significant consideration of the data collection process for researchers utilising this methodology, however, the inclusion of interviews within the SuRE approach is largely justified due to issues of practicality. By participating in the interview, participants enable the researcher to elicit data across the three areas of interest for the SuRE approach: phonology, grammar and lexis, whilst triangulating their responses to the written elements. The value of the interview as a data collection mechanism for SuRE is not, therefore, to be underestimated. For this reason, it is crucial that the structure of the interview is one that makes the process unintimidating and, wherever possible, an experience that can be enjoyed by informants.

The SuRE Interview Procedure

The interview element of the SuRE is partially structured on the written responses provided by the informants prior to it taking place. This section will describe the nature of the interview as outlined in Llamas (1999) and Burbano Elizondo (2008) in order to contextualise and inform the interview schedule of the current research.

As stated earlier in this chapter, informants are issued with the data-collection pack (in some literature described as the 'SuRE pack') several days in advance of the interview for participants to complete at their convenience. This gives the informants an indication of the interview content, which has a 'dramatic effect' on the quantity of data yielded both in written responses and in the interview as an environment for

data collection (Llamas 1999: 102). Due to the provision of adequate time for informants to prepare and discuss the written elements with others, it is likely that they will enter the interview context better prepared and more confident to engage in discussion.

In terms of this preparation for the interview, participants are asked to complete the written responses contained within the aforementioned SuRE pack. There have been numerous modifications to Llamas's original SuRE pack, which contained an instructions sheet, biographical information sheet and three SRNs. Such revisions, including those made by Asprey *et al* (2006) were largely aesthetic and associated with participant interaction with the materials. For example, a logo was included on the instructions sheet, with the intention of 'reinforce[ing], in the minds of the informants, the academic credentials of SuRE and to emphasise its status as a significant project' (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 47). Other amendments were made to enhance the clarity of Llamas's original instructions, alongside the removal of certain questions associated with unemployment and education from the IdQ, which may have caused informants undue embarrassment or reluctance to participate.

As stated, the interview is intended to take place within socially matched pairs, or 'social dyads' (Llamas 1999: 103) of informants, with a view to maximising the potential for more natural spoken data to be yielded. The interview is initially centred around a discussion of the SRN responses, which are to be read out by the informants themselves, differentiating between their own answers and answers they may have been given through discussion with others. The interviewer does not receive the completed SRNs until after the interview has concluded, and therefore has minimal preconceived notions of the responses they are going to receive. Each item discussed will trigger a conversation around individual respondent usage/awareness, situational usage, and lexical connotations, 'as well as anything else which informants may initiate' (Llamas 1999: 103). The last item is crucial in facilitating a more equal distribution of power between researcher and informants which is deemed so critical by Milroy and Gordon (2003), and discussed earlier in this chapter. By allowing participants the ability to direct the discussion (within certain limits), the interviewer is redistributing some of the authority associated with traditional interview situations, and – it can be argued – undoing preconceived expectations the informants may have had about the interview as a formal,

examination-style context. This is a valuable mechanism for the interviewer to deploy where possible, as it is likely to lead to the production of the type of relaxed speech that triangulates the SuRE data collection process so nicely – enabling a thorough analysis of data on the three prescribed levels of phonology, grammar and lexis.

It is suggested that the fieldworker conducting the interview utilises an interviewer guide which contains prompts to ensure that adequate material is covered. As the informants maintain possession of the SRNs until the close of the interview, such prompts are key to the prevention of missing items in the discussion, and also serve to sustain the general focus of the interview. Supplementary questions may also be present in the interviewer guide for use where appropriate to discuss 'the use of intensifiers, gender differences in use, age differences in use, varying degrees of a state, additional notion words or senses of the notion words given' (Llamas 1999: 103). These additions may be utilised to prolong the interview process to gather additional spoken and attitudinal data, or to annexe the discussion of a particularly interesting item. The interview component of the SuRE is designed in such a way to require minimal researcher prompts throughout. Instead, the interrogative approach is oriented towards a discussion between the two informants of the items they supply, with the researcher taking an overt learner role (as discussed elsewhere in this chapter).

There are some practical arrangements that must be in place prior to the administration of a SuRE interview, which are largely associated with the nature of the interview as a discussion of pre-written responses. Naturally, in the course of the interview, lexical items which have not been documented on participant SRNs may present themselves. Such items require documentation, however in such a way that the researcher can ascertain this item has been elicited through means other than the SRN itself. For this reason, the accepted approach is for the participant to record such items on their SRN using a different coloured ink. As well as contributing to the mass of lexical data created by the SRNs as an elicitation tool, this also facilitates a further level of analysis by the researcher in terms of evaluating the effectiveness of the interview as means of supplementing the lexical element of the SuRE approach.

It is crucial for the SuRE interview to be recorded in order to enable the level of analysis appropriate for the intentions of the research it informs. It is therefore

necessary to gather appropriate informed consent (see 3.5) in which the informants agree to the collection and storage of their spoken data. Without recorded interviews, the SuRE approach fails in its endeavour to provide data which permits the multi-level analysis of dialectal data.

3.2.2 Existing Applications of SuRE

The SuRE approach has been successfully utilised for the study of language and identity in such works as Burbano Elizondo (2008) and Atkinson (2011), each making adaptations as they saw fit for their specific research contexts. This section provides a brief account of their research in terms of its methodological approach, which in both cases has aided the design of the current research project on the IoM.

Burbano Elizondo (2008) – Sunderland

Burbano Elizondo conducted a study of language and identity in Sunderland, utilising the SuRE approach to collect linguistic and attitudinal data from a sample of 32 individuals, which was stratified by age and gender. Burbano Elizondo made a number of adaptations to the original SuRE approach described by Llamas (1999), which are summarised in Figure 3.6.

Llamas' SURE pack	Revised SuRE pack
• Instructions sheet	• Instructions sheet
• Biographical Information	• *About You* sheet
	• Consent and confidentiality form
• 3 SRNs	• 3 SRNs
i. Feelings, actions and states	i. Being, saying and doing
ii. The outside world	ii. Everyday life
iii. People	iii. People

Figure 3.6 Llamas and Burbano Elizondo's Respective SuRE Packs, from Burbano Elizondo (2008: 47)

Adjustments to Section Titles

As it can be observed from Figure 3.6, Asprey *et al* adjusted the titles of certain written elements, for example *biographical information* became *about you*, and the

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titles of two of the three SRNs were altered. The changes were largely down to the researcher's desire to maintain a level of informality associated with the data collection process, and avoid the documentation appearing intimidating in its use of technical vocabulary.

Adjustments to Content

In terms of content, Llamas's original *Biographical Information* sheet asked participants to include their name, housing status (ownership, locality, type of housing), social class, and the highest level of education that they received. These prompts are potentially problematic in that they may be considered to be intrusive. Participants may become embarrassed by, for example, being asked to state whether or not they owned their properties. In her rationale for the alterations made to the prompts on the *About You* questionnaire, Burbano Elizondo quotes Asprey *et al* (2006) who state that previous research conducted in the Black Country found informants to provide false reports of their housing status. Asking participants to provide what they may consider to be highly personal information may cause them to feel vulnerable and disengage with the research process, especially when these questions feature in an early element of data elicitation. Therefore, Burbano Elizondo did not ask respondents to provide this information.

The phrasing of the social class prompt was also changed so that it offered participants a level of optionality in their decision to answer. Rather than asking individuals to state their social class, the language was altered in such a way that participants were asked if they *felt* they belonged to a social class, and if so, which one. In the utilisation of less direct phrasing, it may be that respondents feel they have a greater level of control over their answer, contributing to the more even distribution of power in the data elicitation procedure. Given that the Sunderland study was interested in social class as a variable, if participants did not wish to provide this information in the questionnaire, it was hoped that it could be elicited within the interviews.

Adaptations were also made so that individuals were not asked to provide details of their highest academic qualification. Like the questions associated with social class and housing, it was felt that this question may cause embarrassment or insecurity. Instead, therefore, the question was rephrased to ask participants to quantify their

education in terms of age. Again, this provides the respondent with a greater level of control over the amount of information they choose to share with the researcher, encouraging them to feel more comfortable as a research subject and builds a more positive rapport with the researcher.

IdQ

Given that the focus of Burbano Elizondo's research was variation within the context of identity, the inclusion of an IdQ was vital to the elicitation of appropriate qualitative data to contribute to her analysis. The IdQ was designed to enable the:

> Examination of local language perceptions and ideologies [in order to] lead to an understanding of how Sunderland people as a speech community interpret the social meaning of variation and how they construct meaning (Burbano Elizondo 2008:59).

The IdQ administered in Sunderland drew on local symbols such as football, dialect and the city itself. Questions were phrased to elicit detailed answers which would be used to develop the researcher's understanding of both the informants' perceived and actual language use. Therefore, the IdQ in Sunderland served to supplement the lexical and grammatical data elicited elsewhere in the methodology, in that it provided valuable attitudinal data which can account for language use. As Garrett highlights, 'people hold attitudes to languages at all its levels' (2010: 2), yet despite this, 'they are not always publically articulated' (ibid: 1). The IdQ acts as a mechanism for respondents to share their attitudes in a relatively safe manner (given that all responses are anonymised). Moreover, Burbano Elizondo (2008) used questions that elicited data about the local area and local rivalries which provide an additional layer of information about speaker perception not just of their own linguistic behaviour and that of others, but also of the contexts within which that behaviour occurs. Given that positive evaluations of social groups often map thsmselves onto an individual's evaluation of that group's speech, this data is helpful in the understanding of attitudinal relationships between groups, in this case in close proximity (Geordies and Mackems).

LnQ

The design of the LnQ for use in the Sunderland study was done in such a way to 'investigate whether stereotypical grammatical constructions, identified by previous

studies of North-eastern dialects (particularly Tyneside English), occurred in the Sunderland variety' (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 58). Although the data collected from this element was judged to be beyond the scope of the study it was originally collected for, its design is influential to the LnQ of the current research on the IoM. The first page of the Sunderland LnQ can be seen in Figure 3.7.

Language Questionnaire

Please, tick as appropriate – do select more than one box for each sentence if necessary. Feel free to write any comments by the sentences.

| Tick (✓) this box if you would hear this in Sunderland | Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence yourself in speech. | Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend. |

1. ☐ ☐ ☐   When are yous two going home?
2. ☐ ☐ ☐   What are thou/tha doing?
3. ☐ ☐ ☐   Ye can get lost, Kevin!
4. ☐ ☐ ☐   Give us a pen, I want to write a letter.
5. ☐ ☐ ☐   Us'll do it.
6. ☐ ☐ ☐   This is wor car.
7. ☐ ☐ ☐   This is me cup.
8. ☐ ☐ ☐   Give I a cup of tea!
9. ☐ ☐ ☐   Them shoes there are very expensive.
10. ☐ ☐ ☐   My friend came to visit me last week lives in France.

11. ☐ ☐ ☐   The radio what I bought yesterday isn't working properly.
12. ☐ ☐ ☐   The man what I was talking to is my boss.
13. ☐ ☐ ☐   You know me cousin that her husband died?
14. ☐ ☐ ☐   My cousin which got married last year is getting divorced.
15. ☐ ☐ ☐   Would you like a chocolate? Yes, I'll have a one.
16. ☐ ☐ ☐   Their new house is much more bigger than the old one.
17. ☐ ☐ ☐   These are the most beautifullest paintings I've ever seen.
18. ☐ ☐ ☐   This is geet hard, Sir.
19. ☐ ☐ ☐   They're useless, them.
20. ☐ ☐ ☐   Never mind, I'll manage but.

21. ☐ ☐ ☐   I've never heard of him like.
22. ☐ ☐ ☐   I do all the work, dinnet I?
23. ☐ ☐ ☐   I dinnet like him.
24. ☐ ☐ ☐   Ye divvent like him, div ye?
25. ☐ ☐ ☐   There was ten kids playing in the street.
26. ☐ ☐ ☐   The carpets was soaked.
27. ☐ ☐ ☐   They was soaking.

Figure 3.7 Page 1 of the Sunderland LnQ (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 342)

Atkinson (2011) – Darlington

In 2011, Atkinson conducted a doctoral research project which focussed on linguistic variation and change in the town of Darlington. Although his study does not utilise the SuRE approach in its complete form, it is appropriate to mention its utilisation of an identity questionnaire. Atkinson is clearly influenced by the IdQ outlined by Llamas (1999) as he separates his questionnaire into two sections: *your accent* and *your area*. The utilisation of the IdQ in the study of variation in Darlington is justified as 'address[ing] how speakers assess which linguistic forms index their particular social identities' (Atkinson 2011: 81). This is enabled by the IdQ in that it serves to supply the researcher with information specifically relating to participants' responses to particular linguistic forms, both in terms of recognition and social evaluation. Instead of providing the IdQ as part of a written pack of information, Atkinson administered the IdQ verbally and recorded respondents. He states that this is to mitigate issues of inaccurate self-reporting and lack of spontaneity in the responses provided. Therefore, Atkinson used a structured set of questions (as seen in Figure 3.8) in order to ensure that the phraseology of the questioning process was identical for each respondent. Atkinson's question selection and phrasing is similar to that used in Sunderland by Burbano Elizondo (2008) and, thus, it is clear that these prompts are useful in the elicitation of adequate data for analysis. Unlike Burbano Elizondo, however, Atkinson's phrasing creates the possibility for single word answers to be provided. For example, *Do you like your accent?* is an example of a closed question. Unless participants chose to provide more information and elaborated upon their response, Atkinson would need to use additional questioning in order to understand what prompted the answer. Given that he states, 'each question was termed in exactly the same way' (Atkinson 2011: 82), inconsistencies might be created if he were to use additional qualifying questions which were not recorded. Having considered this, alongside the considerations of the additional time commitments associated with transcription, it was decided that the current research on the IoM would utilise written IdQs which contained within them qualifying questions, as in Burbano Elizondo (2008). These can be observed in Figure 3.9.

Your Accent

(1)   If you were to describe your accent what would you describe it as?

(2)   Do you like your accent?

(3)   If you could change your accent, what would you change and why?

(4)   If someone described you/your accent as being Geordie – how would you feel?

(5)   If someone described you/your accent as being Teesside(r) how would you feel?

(6)   What are the differences, if any, between your accent and Geordie?

(7)   What are the differences, if any, between your accent and Teesside?

Your Area

(8) Do you consider yourself to be a Darlingtonian, Durhamer, Teessider, Geordie or a Yorkshire(wo)man?

(9) If you were on holiday anywhere in the country or abroad – where would you say you came from?

(10) Would you say Darlington is an individual area or part of a larger area?

(11) Would you term yourself a Darlingtonian first and a North-Easterner second or vice-versa?

Figure3.8 Atkinson's IdQ Prompts (Atkinson 2011:83)

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Identity Questionnaire

1. Do you consider yourself a Mackem, a Geordie or neither of them?

....

2. What accent do you think you have (e.g. Sunderland, Newcastle, Durham accent, etc)?

....

3. Is your accent different from the accent of nearby cities such as Newcastle and Durham? Can you think of any specific ways in which it is different? For instance, are there any words which are pronounced differently?

....

....

4. Are you proud of your accent or would you rather not have any accent at all?

....

5. Would you prefer to have a different accent? If so, which one? Why?

....

6. Do you think it is good to have an accent? Why or why not?

....

7. Have you ever felt embarrassed about your accent? When? Why?

....

....

8. Are there different accents in the North-east? If there are, what are they? Do you like them? Can you tell them apart easily?

....

....

....

9. Where do you like going in your spare time within Tyne and Wear? What is your favourite shopping centre?

....

10. What football team do you mainly support? Who is its main rival?

....

....

Figure 3.9 Page 1 of the Sunderland IdQ (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 61)

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3.2.3 SuRE on the Isle of Man

In 2015, elements of the SuRE methodology were employed on the IoM in order to elicit data for the researcher's 2015 study, *There's a Boat in the Morning*, which focuses on the linguistic attitudes of both native Manx residents and residents who are non-native. This section describes how the SuRE method was employed in this study, explaining its successes and limitations, which have helped to inform the current research approach.

The 2015 study utilised a very much streamlined version of the SuRE approach, owing to constraints of time and resource. The IdQ and ISI formed the written SuRE pack issued to informants for them to complete prior to the interview. This was designed to elicit data concerning the linguistic attitudes and ideologies of participants, in order to establish whether there was any difference in the language perceptions and local affiliation of native and non-native residents. This data was then enriched through the interview process, where informants were invited to discuss their written responses in further detail. Although this adaptation of SuRE elements was useful for the research context of language attitudes and local identity, it did not lend itself to the collection of any solidly quantifiable or comparable linguistic data. Therefore, while this research has proved to be useful in allowing the researcher to work with SuRE elements in the field setting of the IoM, it is acknowledged that a much fuller application of SuRE is required in order to meet the needs of the current research.

It is acknowledged, despite this project's endorsement of SuRE as an effective elicitation method, that its approach (specifically the overt discussion of local lexis which encourages the sharing of attitudes) is uncommon, and does not necessarily guarantee the elicitation of comparable data (Llamas 2018: 262). Llamas explains how advances in technology have meant that large amounts of dialectological data, particularly lexical data, can now be amassed rapidly. She claims that online surveys, for example, enable participants to engage with stimuli 'in a more immediate and meaningful way' (ibid). The current project uses paper questionnaires to elicit lexical data (partly as means to include informants who cannot use, or without access to, technology), as in the past, however aknowledges that the dialect survey more broadly will continue to become increasingly electronically-based with time.

The following section describes the way in which the SuRE methodology is utilised in the current study, and the rationale for decisions associated with its application.

4 METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter describes how methods to elicit dialectological and sociolinguistic data have evolved - from early dialect geography to more recent approaches involving the use of mobile applications and online surveys. This chapter discusses how the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) elicitation method was adapted and administered in the IOM research, as well as the sampling method, analytical procedures, and an account of the fieldwork itself.

The successful conduct of any empirical research in linguistics is dependent upon an effective and justified research methodology. This study makes use of a combined data collection approach, heavily influenced by the SuRE methodology created by Carmen Llamas (Llamas 1999), as described in chapter 3. Such an approach is considered appropriate for use on IOM as it enables the relatively efficient collection of lexical and syntactic data with the context of interest. Also of note is that this method has not been administered in this social context previously, meaning that the project is likely to produce a new corpus of MxE data for use in a range of research and practical applications.

4.1 DATA COLLECTION APPROACH

4.1.1 Ethnographic Element

The pioneering nature of the SuRE methodology as it is described by Llamas (1999) is not disputed. Adaptions have, however, been made for this project in order to enhance its suitability for the research intentions. Fortunately, as Burbano Elizondo states in her own PhD thesis, the SuRE approach is inherently flexible, meaning that researchers can adapt and supplement the core elements without negatively impacting its efficacy (Burbano Elizondo 2008: 58).

The decision to include a supplementary ethnographic element to the SuRE approach for implementation in the current research has been made following the identification of limitations to the existing approach in previous works, such as Asprey *et al* (2006). When describing the investigative methods employed in *Language Variation and Identity in Sunderland*, Burbano Elizondo poses the question of how an ethnographic strand could be added to the existing approach (2008: 313). The benefits in doing so are potential ratifications of the questionnaire

design, and also a deeper understanding of meaningful variants and the often socially intricate contexts within which they occur.

Linguistic ethnography has its roots in human anthropology and is described as being 'associated with the study of people not ourselves, and with the use of methods other than those of experimental design and quantitative measurement' (Hymes 1996: 1). According to Hymes, therefore (and to many comparable definitions), ethnography is concerned with gleaning information on individuals through qualitative means which are often highly adaptable and often not prescribed in advance of the fieldwork taking place, such as extended periods of participant observation. Although much empirical work that attempts to study both individuals and communities uses overtly systematic and often scientific approaches, ethnographic research is born of the need for descriptive accounts of individuals and communities in a more organic way. This refers to the ability of ethnographic approaches to allow data to unfold by the lead of the community in focus rather than by a research agenda set by an outsider.

Linguistic ethnography is an epistemological and methodological approach which is a mechanism for the study of linguistic anthropology (see Malinowski (1920), Duranti (1997)). It addresses concerns raised by such scholars as Dell Hymes (1996), who criticised the separate disciplines of linguistics and anthropology for operating within their traditional silos, Hymes was critical of both disciplines for their non-incorporation of the other. He felt that linguistic analysis should be grounded in ethnography, and that anthropology should make more of linguistic evidence to understand both culture and context (Blackledge 2011: 121). In this way, Hymes was keen for the separate fields to see the value that each can offer the other. Considering these proposed shortcomings, an early form of linguistic ethnography, known as the *ethnography of communication,* was born. The intention of this was to unite the study of referential linguistics with the study of societal constructs, forming a 'socially constituted linguistics' (ibid).

Linguistic ethnography is interdisciplinary in that it combines language study with supplementary elements, such as the descriptive recording of cultural practices. Creese (2008: 233) describes how this interdisciplinary approach enables linguists to

make non-deterministic[23] data analyses, which foster the understanding of the social context and prevents generalised conclusions from being drawn[24].

Interpretative techniques employed by linguists undertaking ethnographic research include sustained periods of participant observation, researcher immersion within established groups, semi-structured interviews, photographing or videoing of practices, and the taking of often detailed field notes. Methods employed in linguistic ethnographic research can be time-consuming in relation to the more systematic methods of linguistic analysis that it seeks to supplement. The current research adapts the existing SuRE methodology as originally described to include an ethnographic strand, in order to contribute to the validity of the data analysis. This research, therefore, consulted with members of the Manx community to conduct semi-structured interviews which focus on describing the Manx English dialect; the rationale for this is presented below.

Firstly, it can be argued that existing applications of SuRE lack the overt input of the studied community in their research design. Although they may utilise variants elicited in pilot research, the variants selected for study are not validated as meaningful by speakers acting as representatives[25] of the variety in focus. While it is widely recommended that participants should take on the role of 'master' and the researcher 'student' within the interview process, these roles are confined to the data collection phase of the research timeline. The value of this is not underestimated. However, the current research argues for the inclusion of speaker input prior to the administration of the existing SuRE elements. This enables the ratification of the written questionnaire design and provides an additional level of metadata to contribute to a holistic analysis of the data elicited through SuRE.

The addition of speaker input also serves as a means to diminish researcher subjectivity and is influenced by the work of Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004). In their study of Pittsburgh English, emphasis is placed on the value of 'talk about talk

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[23] Meaning non-predictive.

[24] This is not to say that there is no place for deterministic analyses in sociolinguistics, but instead draws attention to the possibility of an alternative and the merits of this.

[25] I.e. speakers of a variety who are seen to be authoritative in their description of that variety.

and performances of dialect...as a potential source of data for studies of dialect forms' (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004: 116). They used data elicited from an online discussion of Pittsburgh speech in order to explore how normative talk about dialects can shape what the norms of those dialects will be (ibid). They utilise two concepts which are of particular usefulness to the current research and its employment of ethnography: *feature-dropping* and *vernacular lexicography*.

As stated, the current research utilises observation and semi-structured interviews of individuals. These individuals were selected based on their involvement with the former *Manks*[26] *Dialect Society* (disbanded at the time of research). Based on Johnstone and Baumgardt's findings, these individuals are likely to actively engage in conversation about their dialect and its features, and display what is referred to as 'feature-dropping' (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004: 115)[27]. Based upon the analogy of 'name-dropping', feature-dropping refers to the idea that individuals will either utilise themselves or discuss certain dialect features as means of demonstrating their right to evaluate the way locals speak, through overt displays of dialect knowledge. Feature-dropping in this way, therefore, can reinforce both local and supralocal beliefs about what MxE is, and can also propose the inclusion of new dialect norms (ibid).

The current research created an environment designed for 'talk about talk' in the form of a focus-group/semi-structured interview. Prompts were provided such as "what is your opinion of the Manx English dialect?", and "what is your favourite Manx English feature?". Key themes and ideas that this generated were documented and used to inform the design of the LnQ to be distributed within the SuRE pack. The knowledge of the speakers themselves as experts on their dialect ensures that the features investigated within the LnQ are appropriately meaningful to at least some speakers, which then also has implications for the public interest in the research outputs.

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[26] Manks is the preferred spelling of the group, and features in works such as Creegan's 1835 *Dictionary of the Manks Language*

[27] Potential issues regarding circularity are discussed overleaf.

Secondly, the current research utilises dialect speakers in order to act as what Johnston and Baumgardt refer to as 'vernacular lexicographers' (2004: 116). Vernacular lexicography as a means to inform the research process is an activity which involves the explicit discussion of dialect features that speakers feel should be acknowledged as part of their own dialect, and why this is the case. In taking part in the focus group activity and allowing me to observe them interacting about their dialect, speakers are informing the wider research process by providing both linguistic and attitudinal data. This enabled me to consider how the claims made about what constitutes the local dialect are ascribed such status by the speakers themselves. This can then be compared to the actual usage elicited from the informants throughout the SuRE process, to examine the extent of agreement between the vernacular lexicography exercise and the usage recorded in the sample.

The addition of the input from speakers as dialect experts fulfils, to an extent, the requirement for an additional strand to the SuRE approach. The time and resource constraints of the current research do not permit the completion of a more traditional immersion-style ethnographic observation over a period of months. The approach used is, however, time-efficient and provides direct access to the variants which are considered meaningful to some speakers. As well as limiting researcher preconceptions about the MxE dialect which have been gleaned from existing literature, it is thought that such an approach will give the MxE speaking community a sense of co-ownership of the research project. It is acknowledged, however, that there may be a degree of circularity in this approach, whereby the 'self-selecting group of people...have extreme views' (Stockwell 2002: 68). In the current project, data from these individuals acts as a screening tool which enabled the researcher to identify areas of further questioning in the interview phase of the data elicitation process. For example, it was through this exercise that the linguistic taboo surrounding the word *rat* was identified, which was later found to be prevalent across the whole sample.

4.1.2 The MxE SuRE Pack – Instructions, Confidentiality & Consent

Before participants were asked to complete any of the data collection elements, it was of course crucial to gain their informed consent. Therefore, as part of the SuRE pack administered on the IOM, a confidentiality and consent form exist which

explains to participants the implications of their involvement in the project. In addition to this, clear instructions were provided in order to guide participants in the completion of the SuRE's written elements. While these were intended to be as accessible as possible, clarification was available to informants should they have wished to seek it. Contact details of the researcher were communicated throughout the documents for this purpose. The instructions, confidentiality and consent forms can be seen in the SuRE pack which is present in appendix (i).

4.1.2 The MxE SuRE Pack – Biographical Information ('About You')

In order to enable the stratification of the sample, informants were required to provide some information about themselves, such as their date of birth, sex, and place of birth. The prompts used, and the change of title to 'About You' are based upon the adaptations to Llamas's (1999) original questionnaire discussed in the previous chapter. The rationale for these adaptations is associated with the desire to establish the SuRE as an entity interested in the individual, and to forge positive interactions between the participants and the prompt materials within the SuRE pack. It cannot be presumed that participants will understand the term 'biographical', and if this needs to be explained it may cause volunteers to feel alienated by the project. Therefore, removal of the term 'biographical information' is a move towards making the questionnaire accessible and its intentions clearer.

Moreover, as discussed earlier in this chapter, certain questions were removed or rephrased to pose less of a risk to participant engagement with the project. Therefore, questions about home ownership were removed, as they are considered superfluous to the requirements of the current research, as has the question regarding self-assessment of social class. Rather than asking overt questions about social class, this was measured and controlled through less overt means, as described in section 4.2.

A question regarding social class was included in previous work on the IOM in 2015. To reduce the risk of participants feeling uncomfortable providing an answer, the question was phrased as such that informants were asked whether they felt they belonged to a social class, and, if so, to indicate which one. In the field, this question was scarcely answered, and very few respondents felt able to both identify and indicate what social class they belonged to. The current research uses this

experience as an indication that class is not something that many informants on IOM feel confidently able to identify and/or share. This, combined with the optionality of the question, meant that the question was not productive and the few answers that were received could not be used to inform any meaningful analysis. Other questions on the 'About You' questionnaire can be seen within the SuRE pack at appendix (i).

4.1.3   The MxE SuRE Pack - Sense Relation Networks (SRNs)

The current research utilises SRNs based upon those utilised by Burbano Elizondo (2008), following the revisions to the approach made by Asprey *et al* (2006). The semantic fields which each of the three SRNs focuses on is based upon the non-arbitrary selection of topics used within Llamas's original approach, which were produced following pilots and subsequent revisions. Originally, there was the intention for eight SRNs to be utilised in the approach, which was found to be too time consuming, both in terms of in the informant completion prior to the interview and in terms of the interview itself. Consequently, these were revised and subsumed into three broader fields which formed the core SRNs:

a) *Feelings, Actions & States*

b) *People*

c) *The Outside World*

As can be seen in chapter 3, Burbano Elizondo utilised the above SRNs under their alternative titles (as revised by Asprey *et al* 2006), and the above three networks were presented as:

a) *Being, Saying & Doing*

b) *People*

c) *Everyday Life*

The SRNs as they are administered within the current research can be seen within the IOM SuRE pack at appendix (i).The method of administration remained largely true to the intentions of the original SuRE approach, and the SRNs form part of the written SuRE pack that most informants received several days in advance of the interview appointment. Participants were instructed to complete the SRNs as fully as possible, and were also notified that they were able to discuss their contents with others. As stated earlier, there are numerous benefits to the completion of the SRNs

in advance of the interview including the potential to increase participant confidence within the interview setting. The prompts used on the SRNs are the same as those used by Burbano Elizondo (2008).

The lexical data elicited from the SRNs forms a corpus which can be utilised in a variety of different ways. For the purpose of the current research, the data is inputted into a manageable format (a spreadsheet) and initially examined in terms of the social stratifications of age and gender. Importantly for the study of substrate items, the SRNs also enable the study of non-standard orthography (Llamas 2001: 86). Traditionally, MxG spelling is conservative, regardless of phonological shift. It is therefore interesting to use the SRNs as a means to observe participant spellings of substrate items. Given that dialect forms are often seen to be non-standard, environments for the use of MxG substrate items may be restricted to spoken contexts, especially for speakers with low L2 proficiency in MxG. There may, therefore, be signs of disagreement in the written data that warrants discussion.

The corpus can also be utilised for future research as it provides a bank of lexical items which can be interrogated further, either for descriptive or sociolinguistic purposes. The stratified sample of lexis is considered alongside the data elicited from the IdQ, LnQ, and ISI, as well as the spoken data from the interview procedure.

4.1.4 The MxE SuRE Pack - Questionnaires

Identity Questionnaire (IdQ)

Chapter 3 presents previous applications of the SuRE approach which have successfully incorporated, adapted, and utilised the IdQ as a means of eliciting qualitative data to enrich the data collected from the SRNs, LnQ and interview procedures. A full discussion of the link between linguistic behaviours and linguistic attitudes is present within chapter 3, however, in short, the purpose of the inclusion of the IdQ within the IOM study is to elicit data which will supplement the linguistic data obtained through the other SuRE elements. Where the SRN elicits lexical data, the LnQ, grammatical data (and, to an extent, attitudinal data), the IdQ serves as a written outlet for informants to provide opinions on aspects of their identities that are beyond the surface enquiry of language use. The data obtained through the IdQ is analysed alongside the linguistic data in order to form informed analyses of how variants may be ascribed social meaning. Such information is crucial to the current

research, due to its ideological nature. This seeks to understand the construction of Manx identity, in that it encourages informants to talk about their often covert feelings towards language as a semiotic resource. For example, participants are asked to share their knowledge and attitudes towards both MxG and towards specific island events. These are also shared through the IdQ to develop an understanding of speaker motivation and local affiliation.

The questions utilised in the IdQ for the IOM are presented in two sections (as in Llamas 1999 and Atkinson 2011). These focus firstly on language and secondly on the local area. Questions would ideally be constructed on significant local symbols such as sporting teams and cities. This is, however, challenging for the study of the IOM in that such symbols are less easily identifiable. In 2015, an IdQ was used on the IOM which enquired about the Tourist Trophy (TT) sporting event, in the absence of a local team with any renowned success or fame to follow. This proved to be enlightening as a prompt for the collection of data in that it enabled participants to demonstrate their attitudes towards the annual influx of visitors to the island, the riders themselves, and the course (which is made up of local roads). For this reason, attitudes towards the TT remains a significant question within the IdQ for the current study.

Also included in the design of the IdQ are questions about MxG proficiency. Informants were asked to describe their knowledge of MxG and also state whether, if they had children, they would want them to learn the language. This gleaned information on the informants' attitudes towards MxG, and allows the categorisation of speakers into different proficiency categories. This is of importance to the study, given that substrate usage is likely to correspond with ideologies towards MxG. As Dorian states, 'languages are seldom admired to death but frequently despised to death' (1998: 5). Therefore, it would be reasonable to expect that positive attitudes towards MxG will translate into a corresponding increased incidence of MxG tokens. However, as O'Rourke found in her research on Irish and Galician, positive attitudes towards minority languages does not always translate into active usage (O'Rourke 2005: 279). With this in mind, it was useful to add an additional layer of questioning. This was included to elicit attitudes towards MxG in the form of informants' preferences for their children's linguistic education.

Manx residents have a level of optionality about where they wish to send their children for their schooling. The Manx language has been an optional subject for children over the age of eight in all schools since 1992 (IOM 2018), and there is one dedicated Manx-medium primary school, the *Bunscoill Ghelgagh* (as described in chapter 2.1). At the time of writing, the Bunscoill states that it is becoming over-subscribed (for what appears to be the first time since its opening as a standalone school in 2006) and it has become necessary for the head teacher to alter their admissions policy. This indicates that an increasing number of families are keen for their children to access Manx-medium education. One informant from the sample (M39B) has a child that attends the Bunscoill. The IdQ asks informants whether they would like their children to learn the Manx language, but does not specify the medium through which this might happen. It was the case, however, that informants often interpreted this to refer to the Bunscoill.

Grocery shopping on the IOM also presents residents with choice which can depend upon whereabouts on the island they live. There is one large chain supermarket in Douglas, and the island is also served by a smaller chain as well as a local chain, *Shoprite*. Shoprite describes itself as locally oriented, supporting local farmers and over 160 Manx businesses (Shoprite 2019). The current research originally proposed to ask informants whereabouts they conducted their grocery shopping and why. The pilot study, however, concluded that this question was often misunderstood (with informants giving a location such as "Peel" – a town - rather than a store name). After discussing this with the pilot participants, it was decided it would be more productive to ask whether informants prefer to purchase local produce (such as Manx dairy products and meat), and their motivations for doing so. This enabled a discussion about attitudes towards the different chains of supermarket on the island, and gave an impression of whether informants prefer their money to be spent on local goods. As well as providing a good mechanism for semi-structured free speech in the interview setting, this information also ratifies the answers to the ISI element which can then be correlated with substrate usage, as in previous studies such as Underwood (1988), Llamas (2001) and Burbano Elizondo (2009).

Language Questionnaire (LnQ)
The format of the LnQ as it is administered on the IOM is inspired by Cheshire *et al* (1993) and Llamas (2001). The purpose of the LnQ is to obtain informant

perceptions of various non-standard grammatical constructions said to feature in their own variety. By providing a list of sentences containing these constructions, informants can indicate their perception of its usage in their area. Grammatical data can be difficult to obtain in an interview setting, given the possibility of morphosyntactic restriction posed by the pragmatics of an interview[28]. Therefore, provision of the LnQ gives direct access to speaker perception of features and forms a useful tool for metalinguistic discussion of these features. It is not claimed that the LnQ gives a reliable indication of speaker usage. The data can, however, be compared to actual usage within the analysis.

It was felt that the use of the tick boxes would be effective as it enables participants to provide different levels of response which are easily quantifiable and comparable, whilst being user-friendly and simple to understand. The selection of features for the LnQ comes from a combination of sources, including dialect plays (such as Quine (1909) and Kneen (1929), however is strongly based on the most authoritative and recent accounts of the Manx English dialect (such as Preuβ 1999 and Broderick 2002). Participant data elicited through the vernacular lexicography exercise was also used to both inform and test the selected features.

Feature 1: Possessive Constructions using 'at'

Gaelic languages, including MxG, do not lexicalise the verb 'to have', meaning that possessive constructions where StE would use 'have' often utilise a preposition in its place. Kewley Draskau (2008: 181) states that in MxG, 'the usual equivalent to express possession is the verb *ve* (to be) + preposition *ec* (at)'. For example, StE's *her brother* in MxE would be *y braar eck* (the + brother + at (fem)).

Dialect literature and descriptive accounts of the variety suggest that in MxE, the phrase *John has a nice house* would become *There is a nice house at John*. In her descriptive study of MxG substrate items in MxE, Preuβ (1999: 63) states that 85% (n=29) of her informants were familiar with this construction, indicating that twenty years ago, this was commonly encountered on the IOM. More recent data (McCooey-Heap 2015) suggests that *at* constructions are still found. When asked

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[28] E.g. question and answer contexts may not, however inforrmal, always foster the use of a full range of grammatical constructions.

about Manx English features, one informant stated "there's always something *at you*".

The use of 'at' within possessive constructions extends to the formulation of interrogatives in MxE. A common expression used in teaching materials promoting the learning of conversational Manx is *Vel Gaelg ayd?,* which translates as 'is there Manx at you?'. This can be seen in Figure 4.1, of a coaster which is sold in Manx Heritage gift shops.

Figure 4.1 Souvenir Coaster (Manx National Heritage 2017)

In her research. Preuβ comments that some speakers combine both the English possessive marker using the verb phrase 'have got' in addition to the calqued Gaelic possessive preposition 'at'. She states:

> The English verb *have got* is not sufficient enough a mark for possession for some speakers so that in their feeling the meaning of possession can only be conveyed one hundred per cent by combining both the English and the Manx mark (Preuβ 1999: 63).

Therefore, for the purpose of the LnQ, constructions with *have + at* were included, for example *Joe has a nice house at him.* Although most informants did not see the construction with the addition of *have* unusual, one informant noticed that this was not a correct calque from MxG and altered his questionnaire to reflect the literal translation, to *There's a mighty house at Joe.*

There is other evidence of *at* constructions within MxE, for example in traditional Manx songs. *A Manx Wedding,* featured in a book of Manx songs for troops in the First World War and more recently CDs of cultural music, is a well-known piece which contains examples of both dialect lexis and syntax (see appendix ii). In the third verse, when describing the music at the wedding (in particular the talent of two singers, Phillie the Desert and Tommy the Mate), is the line: *The singin' that's at them is really fus' rate.* Here, we can observe the use of *at* as a possessive, whereas the StE translation would be *their singing was first rate.* Similarly, in TE Brown's *Betsy Lee* (see appendix iii), is the line *I never knew the like was at him*. TE Brown is often referred to as the Manx National Poet, and his work often features in celebrations of Manx culture such as the annual *Oie'll Verrey* (Mary's eve) performance described in chapter 1. Here we can observe an example of an *at* possessive construction which in StE would translate as *I did not know he had such a thing.* In MxG, this translates as *Cha row yn lheid ayn.* A further example from dialect poetry comes from Kathleen Faragher's *A Good Cooish* (appendix iv); *theer's three gran'childer at her* (StE - *she has three grandchildren*).

The IOM LnQ also tests perceptions of 'at' as a marker of passive agency as an additional enquiry, given that Preuβ found evidence of this within MxE, in structures such as *I have forgotten* (1999: 63). Traditional MxE translation of this would include an expression of passive agency through use of *at* as the prepositional pronoun rather than the StE *by (e.g. It was forgotten at John* instead of *It was forgotten by John)* So in MxG, *I have forgotten* would be *T'eh jarroodit aym* (Literally 'it is forgotten at me'). In the 1999 data, Preuβ found that this construction was commonly recognised by informants as part of MxE, with suggestions of both the past participle *forgotten* and the preterite form *forgot + at me* (ibid). The LnQ for the current research therefore tests perceptions of *at* as a marker of passive agency (AT + agent

rather than BY + agent) in addition to 'at' as a maker of possession. The sentences used to elicit this are:

1. *Joe has a very big house at him.*
2. *I can't go to the shop, I don't have my purse at me.*
3. *It is forgotten at me.*

Feature 2: Lack of indefinite article

Broderick notes that, in a similar way to Russian and Latin (neither of which have an article), 'the article in Manx can only be definite' (2002: 245). Instead of utilising indefinite articles, equivalent to English *a* or *an*, MxG has multiple forms of the definite article which are employed (*y, yn* and *ny*) depending upon the circumstances (Kewley Draskau 2008: 259). Filppula *et al* comment that Manx English forms one of the core languages which makes 'much freer use of the definite article than other regional varieties spoken on the British Isles' (2008: 169). This is potentially associated with the lack of an indefinite article in MxG, leading to more instances of the definite article where StE would utilise either an indefinite or zero article. Filppula *et al* (2008) suggest that nonstandard usage of the definite article occurs in many varieties, including MxE. He states that these occur most significantly in the following contexts:

- Names of social institutions: *be at the school/in the hospital; go to the church;*

- Names of ailments and (unpleasant) physical sensations or states: *have the toothache, the headache*;

- Quantifying expressions involving *most/both* (when followed by *of* or *all*): *the most/both of them; all the day*;

Figure 4.2 Constructions with definite article (Filppula et al 2008: 170)

While there are several different forms of the definite article in MxE (see Figure 4.2), substrate influence on MxE is reflected in the non-standard use of the English definite article *the*, as outlined above. Evidence of this is visible in John Miller's 2014

poem in MxG which has the MxE title of *Let's go to <u>the fishing</u>, John* (appendix v), where StE would have 'let's go fishing, John'. Other examples can be seen in MxE dialect plays such as the lines below from *Magpies* by J.J. Kneen (1927):

> **HENRY**: This is me brother John, a dacent fella, but jus' <u>the shy.</u>
>
> **YSBAL**: Thou're an' old skinflint, John. Thou knows quite well I'm not extravagant with <u>the</u> <u>money.</u>

In the first example, we can see that a complement, *shy*, is premodified by the definite article, where StE would have *he's just shy*. In the second, the noun *money,* which in this context is an indefinite, also takes the definite article in a non-standard way.

Singular		Plural	
Nom/Acc/Dat Case	y or yn	All cases	ny
Gen. Masculine	y/yn + len		
Gen. Feminine	ny (when the fem. has a disctinctive form)		

Table 4-1 MxG Definite Article Forms, adapted from Broderick (1999: 120)

Data from the earlier 2015 study suggests that the definite article is used on the island to refer to such places as *the airport* or *the jail*. Perhaps problematic with this observation, however, is the fact that often there is only one referent to the noun pre-modified by the definite article on the IOM. Given the size of the island, this is unsurprising, however the investigation of definite article usage for this research will utilise referents which would certainly require the indefinite or zero article within the research context (such as *school* or an illness).

Feature 3: 'Absolute' usage of reflexive pronouns

Also documented as a MxE dialect feature is the unbound usage of reflexive pronouns, whereby the use of the reflexive pronoun lacks an antecedent within the same clause. Absolute usage of reflexives are, of course, also found in Hiberno English (HE), as noted by Hickey (1983), who states that in HE subjective forms can be replaced for progressive forms in a similar way to that which we can observe in

MxE. Given the relationship between HE and MxG as Goidelic varieties with high incidences of language contact, this is unsurprising.

Examples of this are evident in both Filppula's (2008) account of MxE as well as in dialect plays, such as *Kitty's Affair*, written by Robert Quine in 1909. Examples from this play include *'Aren't you going to have a smoke with <u>Himself</u>?'*. As can be seen, the reflexive *himself* here is not attached to an anaphoric referent. Similarly, in TE Brown's *Betsy Lee* is the line *Aw, it's himself that knew my very soul* – again without an anaphoric referent. Thirdly, and in the same way, the dialect play *The Quakers of Ballafayle*, by Cushag (also known as Josephine Kermode) contains the line:

> **CALLOW**: Mary Christen, go you up and tell <u>Herself</u>, quait like, that I am just called away on a bit of business and will likely be back to-morrow.

Also of note is the use of the reflexive *Themselves*, used by Manx residents to refer to mythical creatures at the centre of a local superstition, sometimes known as fairies or the Little People. In his 1961 poem *Draw the* Curtains (appendix vii), W.T. Quirk uses the lines *Draw the curtains, hide the light / Themselves are riding out tonight.* Therefore, should reference to be made to an individual one of these creatures, the construction may be *one of Themselves stole my purse.*

The LnQ in the current research tested perceptions of this construction in differing syntactic environments, both pre-verbal and in the prepositional phrase (e.g. *with himself*). Also included in the LnQ was a construction including *Themselves*, which provided an opportunity in the interview context to discuss local folklore and superstition.

Feature 4: The Progressive form of verbs

Belchem notes that 'Manx English is characterised by a high incidence of complex verbal clusters, frequently comprising catenatives...as well as aspectual, modal and tense-forming auxiliaries' (2001: 322). This is particularly evident in the construction of the passive voice, given that MxG itself does not have one. The complexity of expressing the passive in MxG leaves its substrate influence on MxE in the use of progressive verbs in contexts where StE would not. This is because progressive verb forms are one means by which to express passivity in MxG.

Examples of progressive verb forms in MxE where they would be non-standard in StE include the following:

I'm believing that those days are gone -- 'I believe that those days are gone'

They're calling him a miser -- 'They call him a miser'

I'm not thinking much of her dress -- 'I don't think much of her dress'

The perceived use of progressive verb forms was assessed as part of the LnQ, the results of which can be seen at chapter 5.

Feature 5: Put a sight on

The construction *put a sight on* is a calque of the MxG *cur shilley er.* There is evidence of this in MxE in both dialect literature and in previous accounts of the dialect. For example, in Faragher's poem *My! My!* (Faragher 1959), (appendix viii) is the line *I'll purra sight on the Quilliams* and in Preuβ's account, *when are you coming to put a sight on me?* (1999: 70). The meaning of this construction is debated in both the literature and in the data elicited in this research (see chapter 5). To *put a sight on* someone can refer to courtship, a short visitation, or to taking a look at something, and Preuβ's informants provided a range of definitions with varying specificity (ibid). The LnQ tests the frequency of usage and perception of this construction in present day MxE as well as its sensitivity to the social variables in focus.

Identity Score Index (ISI)

The nature and rationale of the ISI's inclusion in sociolinguistic works is discussed in the previous chapter, and its merits particularly for work with an identity focus are clear. The inclusion of an ISI was deemed appropriate in the current study following its successful administration both in previous applications of SuRE and, more specifically, on the IOM (McCooey-Heap 2015). As in previous applications discussed in the preceding chapter, participants will be given multiple choice questions each of which relate to attitudes towards their local area. Each answer corresponds to a points system which will be added together to form the informants' individual identity scores. As in Llamas (2001) and Burbano Elizondo (2008), each question carried a maximum score of 3 points (with 1 point being the least locally affiliated answer and 3 being the most). As outlined in the previous chapter, the

purpose of the ISI is not to elicit any linguistic data. Instead, it is a tool to provide an indicative measurement of participant attitudes which may correlate with the acutal and perceived use of certain linguistic variants.

ISI scores were collated and analysed in accordance with the informants' knowledge and usage of both MxG substrate and other enregistered features of MxE, and these can be seen at chapter 5. The ISI as it is used in this study can be seen in the SuRE pack at appendix (i).

4.1.5 Interviews

Participants who volunteered to take part in the IOM study were given the SuRE pack several days in advance of the interview taking place. As mentioned earlier within this chapter, the rationale for this is centred on giving informants plenty of time to complete the written elements at their leisure, and to consult others as they wish. The early distribution of the information to be discussed within the interview also has advantages in reducing informant anxiety and the possibility of extended silences.

Although it was the original intention of this study to conduct all interviews in the socially-paired dyads Llamas outlines in her description of the method, participant recruitment did not always permit this. Therefore, of the 30 informants, 9 were interviewed in dyads, 14 individually, and 7 in groups of three. A total of 33 informants were interviewed, although 3 of these were excluded from the sample due to either the non-completion of all elements or due to their non-fulfilment of the participation criteria.

The interview format is structured by working through an initial interview schedule, which can be seen at appendix (vi). These initial questions were used to elicit some free speech to supplement the discussion of the SuRE responses, providing some additional scope for the production of a wider range of grammatical and lexical features. It was also decided that the use of pictorial stimuli would be a helpful supplement to the interview process for the same purpose. Therefore, a series of line drawings taken from the *Pictorial Linguistic Interview Manual* (PLIM) were used (Sapon 1957). The original PLIM questionnaire consisted of 135 images that were designed to offer a comparable and time-efficient resource for the collection of linguistic data on several levels of analysis – quite like SuRE in this way.

The rest of each interview used the written SuRE responses as schematic for discussion, beginning with the SRN responses. By having overt metalinguistic discussion with an initially heavy focus on lexis, it can be that participants become less aware of other aspects of their language. Therefore, as Burbano Elizondo highlights, data which is more representative of a speaker's vernacular in terms of their grammar and accent can be accessed this way (2008: 68). Interviews are transcribed in full which enables a full analysis of grammatical and lexical features used in this setting. These transcriptions also contribute to the significant corpus of data produced by this project and will be utilised in future research.

Interviews took place in a variety of locations at the participants' choosing. The majority took place in the café at the sea terminal, a relatively quiet location that was presumably selected by informants due to its convenient location and free parking. 3 informants were interviewed in meeting rooms at local businesses, and 5 in their homes. All interviews were recorded using an Olympus LS-12 with high quality dual direction microphones.

4.2 SAMPLING

4.2.1 Nativeness and Representation

The current research is designed to examine actual and perceived use of the language of native Manx residents as a resource for the construction of a Manx identity. Consequently, the sample of residents recruited for involvement within this project must fulfil certain criteria associated with their place of birth and residency. This section will outline the sampling method utilised within SuRE on the IOM to ensure that an appropriate number of speakers who fulfil what is described within this work as the 'nativeness criteria' were recruited.

Criteria for Participation

As mentioned throughout this thesis, only residents on the IOM who were born on the island and have continued to reside there were considered for involvement in this study[29]. Those with residential gaps of more than six continuous years were

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[29] The sample contains one speaker who was born in Didsbury, UK but moved to IOM at the age of 3. They have 68 continuous years of residency on IOM and so were not discounted from the sample.

excluded from involvement. Rosen (2014: 45) enforced a similar criterion for participation in her study of grammatical variation and change on the island of Jersey. She states that 'the exclusion of an important part of the Jersey population (up to 50%) might be criticised, especially as incoming speakers probably initiate much linguistic variation and change' (ibid). Rosen justifies this in terms of sample homogeneity, however the current research justifies the exclusion of non-native Manx residents for reasons to do with identity construction.   While sample homogeneity in one aspect is important, the current research is interested in the maintenance of a Manx identity considering the great variation within the island's population. Therefore, it is felt that the initial research into this area should be concerned with native residents, with scope to include non-native residents in future administrations of this methodology.

Sampling Method

Buchstaller and Khattab (2013: 74) state that the most reliable linguistic sample would consist of every speaker within the speech community in focus. However, this is seldom possible due to the practical and financial constraints associated with data collection for small scale linguistic studies. Therefore, alternative means of obtaining a representative sample needed to be explored. Random sampling is one such means, whereby every member of a community has an equal chance of selection, with mutually independent decisions for both opting into a study and selecting participants. Random sampling can be applied through use of resources such as the electoral roll, however the residential situation on the IOM combined with the criteria for participation mean that this was not appropriate. Therefore, this study uses a stratified judgement sample. Judgement sampling involves the selection of informants based on their fulfilment of predetermined criteria. As explained by Milroy, the researcher determines the type of speaker they wish to participate, and then 'seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories' (1987: 26). This type of action was appropriate for the current study as it removes the need for suitability filtration.

In terms of participant recruitment, a letter inviting participants to take part in the study was sent to the administrative hub for local newspapers, *IOM Today*. After sending the letter to the organisation, a reporter made contact and ran a short article about the study. IOM Today has a significant online presence as well as in print, and

the publication of material is made visible on social media platforms. Additionally, calls for volunteers were shared online by organisations such as Culture Vannin, and through Manx community pages on social media.

4.2.2 Sample Size

The restraints of the current research in terms of time and researcher resource mean that the size of sample selected must remain within limits of manageability. The project recruited in the region of 50 volunteers, however a total of 33 were considered suitable when the participation criteria was applied. Of these 33, 30 speakers form the sample used. Full speaker profiles can be seen in chapter 5, however these are summarised in table 4.2.

Participant Reference	Gender	Age	Location
F19	F	19	Braddan (E)
M20	M	20	St Johns (W)
F21A	F	21	Onchan (E)
F21B	F	21	Douglas (E)
M23	M	23	Douglas (E)
F25	F	25	Onchan (E)
F26	F	26	Castletown (S)
M29	M	29	Colby (S)
F30	F	30	Ramsey (N)
M34	M	34	Peel (W)
M39A	M	39	Douglas (E)
M39B	M	39	Douglas (E)
M39C	M	39	Peel (W)
M42	M	42	Union Mills (E)
F46	F	46	Castletown (S)
F51	F	51	Ballaugh (N)
F53	F	53	Port St Mary (S)
M53	M	53	Ballakillowey (S)
M59A	M	59	Port St Mary (S)
F59A	F	59	Douglas (E)
M59B	M	59	Douglas (E)
F59B	F	59	Ballakillowey (S)
F63A	F	63	Port Erin (S)
F63B	F	63	Colby (S)
M67	M	67	Surby (S)
M69	M	69	Kirk Michael (W)
F72	F	72	Ballaugh (N)
F77	F	77	Colby (S)
M80	M	80	Douglas (E)
M86	M	86	Colby (S)

Table 4-2 IoM Sample Summary

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The sample, as presented above, consists of 30 individuals, 15 males and 15 females. It is ethnically homogenous in that all informants are Manx-born and Caucasian. The sample is stratified according to age, gender, and location, and the motivation for the examination of these is outlined in this section.

Age

Age as a social variable in this study refers to an informants' chronological age. As Eckert states, age is not merely the sum of calendar years, but is instead 'imbued with meaning by a variety of life landmarks, which are not necessarily evenly distributed over the life course' (Eckert 1997: 155). Therefore, the study of age as a social variable in sociolinguistic research considers how such life experiences may influence linguistic behaviours. This study is an *apparent time* study which seeks to identify differences in MxG substrate usage that may be associated with chronological age. Assuming that language changes according to different life experience and navigation through age-related social structures (such as employment and parenthood, stereotypically), the apparent time approach enables the researcher to identify what may be diachronic language changes in a synchronic manner. Often, the apparent time method arranges the sample into different classifications of age which directly map onto these life stages – typically adolescent, young adult, middle, and older. Sociolinguistic approaches using apparent time have been criticised for their embodiment of a middle-aged point of view (Eckert 1997). Traditionally, middle age has been seen as an uninterrupted life-stage. It is, therefore, treated outside of a developmental perspective – unlike younger and older categories. Consequently, caution must be taken with this approach to consider extralinguistic information from participants in middle age to understand their experiences and motivations, avoiding the presumption that their social roles are temporarily fixed.

This study approaches apparent time not through the delimitation of predefined age groups, as in such studies as Milroy and Milroy (1978) and Tagliamonte (1998), but through the treatment of chronological age as a continuous variable. The motivations for which are described below.

There is very little consensus on the most appropriate way to treat age as a social variable (Macauley 2009: 5). This leads to a variety of approaches to analysis, such

as the use of age in decades to group informants (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974). While not all scholars explain the rationale for their groupings, others such as McNair (2005) and Llamas (2006) present clear reasoning for the selection of deliberately distinctive cohorts. Pre-defined, distinct age groups in age graded studies often carry the labels of 'young', 'middle', and 'old', however the great variety within such groups in existing research suggests that this is a subjective measure.

The treatment of age within the current sample as representative of continuous apparent time does not discount the application of life-stage influence on language. Instead, it enables an analysis of more fine-grained change within these stages - without making assumptions about the most significant life stages within the specificity of this specific social context.

Gender

The study of language and the social construct of gender has a long history, and it is recognised that 'from the start, (socio)linguists have been interested in the relation between a speaker's gender and his or her use of language' (Rosen 2014: 47), and gender is one of the four extralinguistic factors (alongside age, social class, and ethnicity) which, over time, has proved its durability (Macauley 2009: 1), as outlined in chapter 2.1. The nature of gendered language studies has evolved, becoming more flexible in terms of the definition of 'gender' as a social construct (rather than a biological one). The additional stratification of the sample in terms of gender as well as age enables the researcher to identify whether there exists any gendered patterns of usage or attitude within the sample which can contribute to the understanding of the linguistic environment and identity on the IOM.

When stratifying a sample in terms of social criteria such as age and gender, as the current research does, there is a risk that the work may be considered to be essentialist in nature. *Essentialism* can be defined as the idea that certain qualities or attributes are necessities in order for members of certain groups to perform their societal functions. In terms of essentialism in research such as this, Mendoza-Denton states that essentialism manifests itself as 'the reductive tendency by analysts to designate a particular aspect of a person or group as explanations for their behaviour' (2004: 476). To avoid this within the research on the IOM, due consideration of any evident intra-group variation will be made. Data from the IdQ

and interview are used to help understand individual speaker motivation in cases where anomalous data may present itself.

Social Class

The social variables in focus for this research are age and gender, and for practical reasons it would not have been realistic for the sample to accommodate the additional variable of social class. For this reason, the sample forms a socially homogenous group, measured by the means of occupation and education. While there may be merit in asking informants to self-assess their social class, owing to the difficulty in obtaining this information in previous fieldwork in the same social context this was not used. For example, in previous work on the IoM, the researcher found informants unable to identify themselves as part of a traditional class (working, middle/upper middle, or upper). Moreover, they seemed uncomfortable with the question, meaning that this field did not yield much data in its previous application.

Rather than asking participants to assign themselves to a social class, their education was measured through the *About You* section of the SuRE pack. For participation, informants were required to have completed their secondary education. An additional measure of occupation (or last occupation prior to retirement) was used in order to place informants on the social class by occupation scale (see table 4.2). Labov states that 'it is generally agreed that…occupation is the most highly correlated with other conceptions of social class' (2001: 60), rather than the associated but separate conceptions of social prestige. Occupation as a means of measuring social class, and of controlling the social homogeneity of a sample, has been used in studies such as Smith and Durham's (2012) study of Lerwick, Shetland. They applied the social class based on occupation criteria (SC – formerly the Registrar General's Social Class Index) to ensure that all informants fell within classes 2-5 of this index. The IOM study uses the same criteria (see table 4.2), with some provision for the inclusion of students, whom the criteria does not acknowledge.

National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) - Five class version	
1.	Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations.
2.	Intermediate Occupations.
3.	Small employers and own account workers.
4.	Lower supervisory and technical occupations.
5.	Semi-routine and routine occupations.

Table 4-3 National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) (From Lamberdt and Bihagen 2016)

The use of the NS-SEC, like most continuous ways of measuring occupation, ascribes a numerical value to the occupations of informants. It must be mentioned, however, that this value carries limited meaning outside of its frame of reference. Therefore, it would be misleading to compare occupations ranked on one scale of measurement to another, which may use a different numerical ordering system. Therefore, in respect of the current study, attention is drawn to the condensed five-class scale, rather than the extended eight-class version, or further condensed three-class version.

4.3   ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

4.3.1   Informed Consent

When conducting any research involving human participants, it is vital that the appropriate ethical measures are taken to protect all parties involved, and also to protect the integrity of the research. The first ethical practice associated with this research is the requirement for informants to provide informed consent. Described as a 'fundamental element of ethical research' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 79), informed consent requires all participants to become involved with the project of their own volition and have a clear understanding of what it is that their involvement necessitates - both at the time of data collection and beyond. The British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) states that 'informed consent is…the foundation upon which trust and openness between researcher and informant is built' (2016: 4), and therefore it is a requirement of the researcher to provide an appropriate amount of information about the project, particularly where such information may influence willingness to participate.

Gaining informed consent in any academic research is often problematised. Given that informants are 'rarely familiar with the nature of academic activities' (BAAL 2016: 4), it is perhaps difficult for them to gain a full understanding of the possible outcomes of their involvement, including conference presentations, publications, and teaching materials. It is necessary, however, to endeavour to explain the nature of involvement to participants using language which is accessible. This includes explanation of data storage, confidentiality, and the scope for their data to be utilised in future research. The confidentiality and consent form utilised in the current research can be seen at appendix (i) as part of the SuRE pack.

It is also crucial for the researcher to communicate to participants the fact that they are able to withdraw their consent, without giving reason for doing so. Due to the nature of this research project and the time constraints which it must adhere to, participants were given a two-week window within which they may have withdrawn their consent and have their data removed from the project and deleted. Although it would be ideal for informants to have an infinite amount of time to withdraw, once the data has become anonymised and analysed within a larger corpus it may be problematic to identify and remove all of the data submitted by an individual. A two-week window is considered fair in that it enables participants to think about their contribution and whether they remain happy to be involved with the research. The deadline for withdrawal was recorded at the time individuals gave their consent and was reiterated to the participant at the end of their interview.

4.4 FIELDWORK PROCEDURE

After the design of the study was complete – from the point of delimiting the sample and the social variables to the adaptations of the elicitation method, the fieldwork was able to commence. The fieldwork for this research was carried out between February and September of 2018. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, participant recruitment was conducted through various channels, many of which were online. As well as yielding many individual informants, these channels also facilitated introduction to individuals who would become key contacts for the project, each of whom had links to cultural organisations or social clubs which would become other pools for participant recruitment through the 'friend of a friend' approach (Milroy 1987). Of the 30 informants who form the sample, 28 were recruited through this

method and 2 were known to me personally before the commencement of the research. No informant was paid for their involvement in the research.

The 30 informants were interviewed in a combination of individuals, pairs, and threes, and the total number of separate interviews was 23. All interviews took place on the IOM in locations selected by the informants as outlined earlier in this chapter. The mean length of an interview is 40.1 minutes, the longest being 81 minutes and the shortest being 18 minutes (due to recording failure). The majority of interviews are between 40 and 80 minutes in length and these are transcribed in full to enable an analysis of actual morphosyntactic and lexical usage. Due to the nature of recording in a combination of public spaces and participant homes, there is some inconsistency in the quality of recording obtained due to background noise. Thankfully, in transcription there are very few instances where speech is inaudible. The interviews of the highest quality may be subject to an acoustic phonetic analysis at a later date.

In order to aid the initial recruitment of participants, there was no specific criteria for the selection of informants according to their place of residence on the island, although efforts were made to recruit individuals from the north, south, east, and west. As mentioned earlier, 29 of the 30 informants were born on IOM, however the exceptional informant moved there at a young age and has over 68 continuous years of residence there. The degree of Manx heritage was measured through the collection of biographical information in the *About You* section of the questionnaire, which enquired about the birthplace of both informant parents. Additionally, localness was measured in enquiring about the number of occasions and amount of time spent away from the island, also in the *About You* section. Elicitation of this data was important for both the fulfilment of the participation criteria, and for enabling an understanding of outside linguistic influence. The recentness of outside residency is also considered, given that younger informants (specifically students) are likely to have had more recent, if not ongoing, contact with off-island speakers and communities.

Interview arrangements were made with the informants following an initial contact, either by email or telephone. Information was then given to them about the nature of the data collection method, and SuRE packs sent out through the post or delivered

by hand. Where interviewed in pairs or groups, informants self-identified their fellow interview participants. These were partners (7 informants), friends (7 informants), family (2 informants), or colleagues (2 informants). It is acknowledged that the social make-up of the interview groups in terms of gender and age may affect the observable linguistic behaviours of the informants within them – for example, single or mixed gender groups. This was noted by Llamas (2001: 96) in her sample, however as in the IOM study, she felt it was more important to avoid generational differences within the interview groups. Therefore, wherever possible informant groups were made up of informants of a similar age, except for two groups where a parent was interviewed with their child and a friend of their child. There is scope for variation between the social configuration of the interview groups to be analysed as part of a future work.

Some adaptations within the field were necessary as the fieldwork progressed. In terms of the administration of the questionnaires, the four most elderly informants did not feel able to complete the written elements independently. Without family members or friends able to assist, it was necessary for me to visit them and complete the questionnaires with them as part of the interview process. As mentioned earlier, adaptations were also necessary to the format of the interview taking place in a pair. Instead, in order to ensure the recruitment of a sufficient sample, it was necessary for me to interview a significant number of participants individually. Both the individual and group interviews were received warmly by informants who stated that they found the process enjoyable and simple to understand.

Data Extraction and Analysis

The data collected is organised into a combination of spreadsheets and transcriptions and is analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Data from the SRNs and LnQ are easily searchable and therefore can be quantified in a straightforward fashion. This is analysed in terms of overall distribution across the independent social variables. Qualitative data from the interviews is inherently 'messier' and therefore can be more difficult to analyse. Fully transcribed interviews were systematically searched for both lexical and grammatical substrate tokens which are then extracted and considered in terms of the stratified social categories and responses to the IdQ and ISI.

In terms of the interview data, the same systematic process of searching for MxG substrate tokens took place. Extracts of interest are presented in the following chapter, with the features in focus placed within their contextual frame of reference. Qualitative data is considered alongside the quantitative analysis in order to assess ideological influence on MxG substrate (non)usage and presented as written extracts within the results chapter.

Significance Testing

Due to the project's small sample size and the relatively small number of total observations (and some small numbers in some cross-tabulations), statistical significance testing is inappropriate for this research. Instead, quantitative observations are normalised in terms of raw frequencies and percentages of actual use or perceived use across the sample. Future research developed on the basis of this thesis should seek to obtain a much larger sample in order for sufficient data cells to exist for statistical analysis.

It is acknowledged that this project has elicited a large quantity of data from a range of elicitation approaches. The table below outlines the quantity of this data, how it was elicited, and how it is used for the purpose of the project.

Data Type	Elicitation Method	Quantity	Analytical Application
Perceptual Usage – Lexis and Grammar	LnQ	30 x written LnQ	Perception is quantified (raw scores and %) and used as basis of discussion in chapters 5 and 6.
	Interviews	15 hours, 33 minutes, 14 seconds.	
Actual Usage – Lexis	Interviews	15 hours, 33 mins, 14 seconds	Actual usage is cited in chapters 5 and 6, usually in the form of participant quotations.
Actual Usage – Grammar	Interviews	15 hours, 33 mins, 14 seconds	
Attitudinal Data	IdQ	30 x written IdQ	Qualitative attitudinal data is, wherever appropriate, quantified and individual responses are cited.
	Interviews	15 hours, 33 mins, 14 seconds	
Actual Usage - Phonology	Interviews	15 hours, 33 mins, 14 seconds	Elicited but not analysed in this thesis.

Table 4-4 Data Type and Application

The following chapters present the results obtained from the data elicitation, before we turn to discuss the data at chapter 7.

5 LINGUISTIC DATA

This chapter presents the data representing the knowledge and actual/perceived use of MxG substrate items using the SuRE approach which has been outlined in chapters 3 and 4. It is arranged into five parts. 5.1 describes the sample in detail, describing it in terms of its geographic and demographic distribution. 5.2 presents MxG substrate lexical items elicited from a combination of the SRNs and interview process, describing their etymology and parameters of usage as well as the spread of usage and recognition within the sample. 5.3 gives the MxG substrate morphosyntax data, and 5.4 discusses other items of interest that became apparent through the data collection process that may warrant further investigation.

Before presenting the data, it is important to note that this project hypothesised that identity factors, such as the local affiliation scores described at section 5.5.5, would correspond with the quantity of Manx substrate language in participants' use of English, in a similar way to Underwood's (1988) investigation of Texan English. As can be seen in the presentation of the sample, however, all thirty informants scored highly on the ISI which was designed to measure the strength of local affiliation, with the mean score obtained being 12.8 out of 15. For the purpose of this piece of research, therefore, it is not always possible to examine the ISI data in this way.

5.1 THE SAMPLE

The whole sample is presented in table 5.1, the informants appearing in order of age. This table also presents the total number of MxG substrate items elicited from each informant, their ISI score, and their graded level of MxG proficiency (where 1 is equivalent to *basic*, 2 is equivalent to *intermediate*, and 3 is *advanced,* as discussed at 5.2.3).

Participant Reference	Gender	Age	Location	Total MxG lex Items	Total MxG Gram Items	ISI	MxG Proficiency
F19	F	19	Braddan	1	7	13	1
M20	M	20	St Johns	11	14	13	2
F21A	F	21	Onchan	1	5	11	1
F21B	F	21	Douglas	1	5	14	1
M23	M	23	Douglas	2	9	11	1
F25	F	25	Onchan	2	8	14	1
F26	F	26	Castletown	7	6	14	3
M29	M	29	Colby	8	14	13	1
F30	F	30	Ramsey	1	13	12	1
M34	M	34	Peel	12	4	12	2
M39A	M	39	Douglas	2	7	12	1
M39C	M	39	Peel	9	15	14	2
M39B	M	39	Douglas	32	7	8	3
M42	M	42	Union Mills	6	11	13	1
F46	F	46	Castletown	9	14	14	2
F51	F	51	Ballaugh	5	12	13	1
F53	F	53	Port St Mary	17	12	14	3
M53	M	53	Ballakillowey	17	10	13	3
F59A	F	59	Douglas	3	10	12	1
M59B	M	59	Douglas	8	7	13	1
M59A	M	59	Port St Mary	29	15	13	3
F59B	F	59	Ballakillowey	18	12	11	3
F63A	F	63	Port Erin	3	8	13	1
F63B	F	63	Colby	1	2	14	1
M67	M	67	Surby	8	2	11	1
M69	M	69	Kirk Michael	11	11	15	2
F72	F	72	Ballaugh	12	10	14	1
F77	F	77	Colby	8	2	14	1
M80	M	80	Douglas	10	10	13	1
M86	M	86	Colby	9	2	14	1

Table 5-1 IoM Sample

The sample consists of fifteen females and fifteen males ranging from nineteen to eighty-six years of age. In terms of their geographical distribution across the island, the sample is also rationalised into four areas: North, East, South, and West, as indicated in the map in Figure 5.1 and in Table 5.2.

Figure 5.1 IOM Map (Isle of Man 2016: 9)

AREA	INFORMANTS
DOUGLAS, ONCHAN, UNION MILLS, BRADDAN (**The East**)	11
PEEL, KIRK MICHAEL, ST. JOHNS **(The West)**	4
COLBY, PORT ERIN, PORT ST MARY, SURBY, CASTLETOWN **(The South)**_	12
RAMSEY AND BALLAUGH **(The North)**	3
TOTAL	30

Table 5-2 Geographical Distribution of Informants

The participants have been placed in chronological groupings as dictated by the sample. In this way the sample is divided as follows:

Age Range	No. Of Participants
19-29	8
30-39	5
42-53	5
59-69	8
72-86	4

Table 5-3 IoM Sample - Age Distribution

5.2 LINGUISTIC DATA: MxG SUBSTRATE LEXIS

A total of 77 lexical items from the MxG substrate were elicited, as demonstrated in Figure 5.5. A full list of elicited items can be found in glossary at appendix (vii). This section will address the most commonly elicited lexical items as they are distributed across the sample in terms of age, gender, location, and MxG proficiency and attitudes. Later, at section 5.4, data concerning other items of interest which are not of MxG origin will be presented and discussed within the context of the current project.

5.2.1 Total items by age

Figure 5.2 depicts the mean number of MxG lexical items elicited by age. As can be seen, the youngest age group provided fewer items on average than the rest of the sample. Interestingly, however, the frequency of items does not increase with age in a monotonic relationship. Instead, the highest mean frequency of MxG items occurs within the 30-39 age bracket. This is an overall representation of MxG items elicited, and a large number of responses elicited within this data are not considered in the rest of this chapter – due to the relative infrequency of items such as *mwarree* (*n*=1).
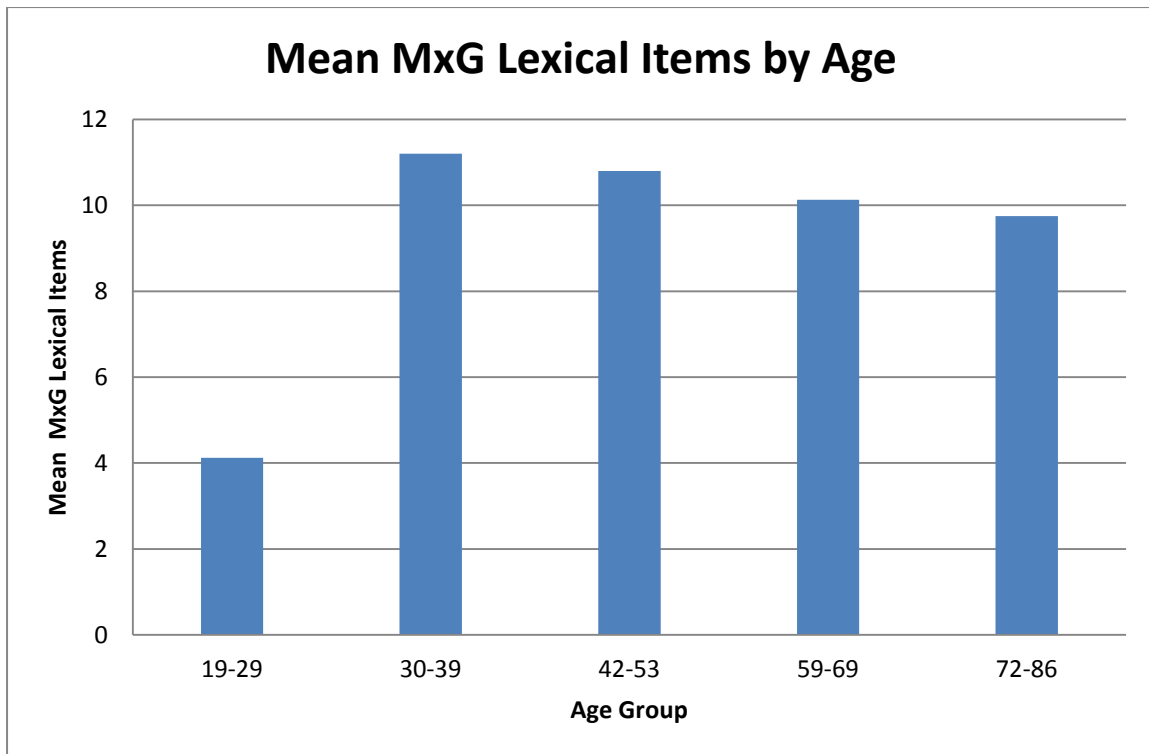
Figure 5.2 Mean MxG Lexical Items by Age

5.2.2 Total Items by Location

Figure 5.3 shows the mean number of MxG substrate lexical items elicited by location. As stated earlier, for location analysis the sample has been stratified into four separate areas based on the hometown of the informants: north, east, south, and west.
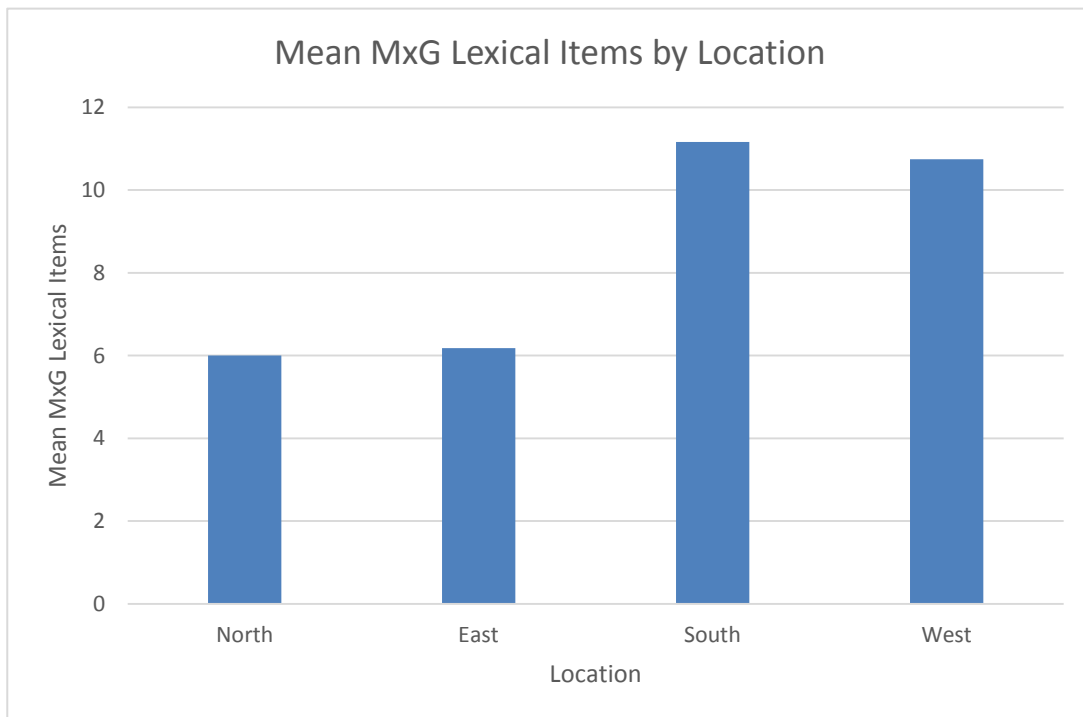
Figure 5.3 Mean MxG Lexical Items by Location

Overall mean scores show that the fewest items were elicited from speakers in the north, and the most from the south. Of note, however, is the close numerical proximity between the north and east data (-0.18% difference) and the south and west data (0.41% difference). When considering a possible relationship between these pairs of areas, it is important to note the relative size of their respective towns, illustrated in table 5.4, using data from the 2016 census (IOM 2016).

Ramsey (North)	Douglas (East)	Castletown (South)	Peel (West)
7,845	26,997	3,216	5,374

Table 5-4 Distribution of residents by location (IoM 2016)

As the table shows, the towns in the north and east are considerably larger than those in the south and west. When this is considered alongside the lexical data, it is useful to consult Kerswill (2003: 223) who states that language change may be adopted first by more populous areas before later spreading to more rural parts in the process of geographical diffusion. Also to be considered is the large amount of

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language contact taking place in the east of the island, home to the island's capital, Douglas. These factors will be considered in the following sections, in relation to elicited items that appear to have location-sensitivity.

5.2.3 Total Items by MxG Proficiency

MxG proficiency was classified by informant self-assessment of their ability. From this information, proficiency was graded between 1-3 as outlined below.

1. **Basic**: Greetings, popular idioms, very limited words, often limited to spoken language
2. **Intermediate**: Several words and phrases with a moderate understanding of spoken Manx, and some understanding of written Manx.
3. **Advanced**: Conversational/fluent speaker with good understanding of both spoken and written Manx.

Based on the above descriptors, participants were given a score, as detailed in table 5.5, which is arranged into ascending order of MxG proficiency. Figure 5.4 illustrates the number of MxG lexical items elicited from each of the three proficiency groups. As expected, those with greater proficiency in MxG (levels 2 and 3) provided significantly more lexical items from the substrate than those with basic proficiency (level 1). This correlation is unsurprising considering proposed effects of L2 acquisition on L1 usage, such as backwards transfer and interference (Seliger and Vago 1991; Pavlenko and Jarvis 2000). It is also likely that those with level 2 or level 3 proficiency in MxG will have a cultural motivation for acquiring the heritage language, given that it is unlikely to offer them much economic advancement. Therefore, it is suggested that both their actual and perceiveduse of MxG lexical items is a means of expressing this cultural affiliation with the IOM in their English. These are areas explored in the discussion of individual items thought to have sensitivity to MxG proficiency in later sections of this chapter.

MxG Proficiency Level	Number of Informants
1	19
2	5
3	6

Table 5-5: MxG Proficiency Distribution Across Sample
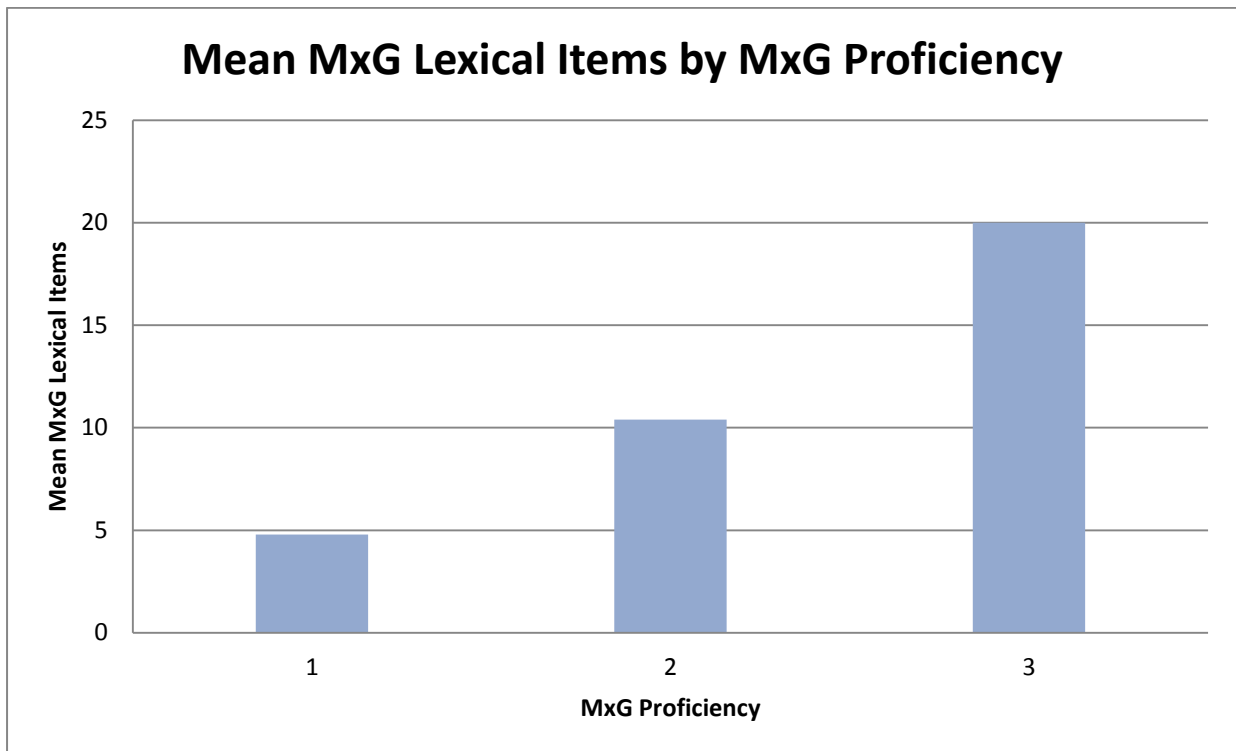
Figure 5.4 Mean MxG Lexical Items by MxG Proficiency

5.2.4   MxG Lexis Elicited

Figure 5.5 illustrates the 77 MxG substrate lexical items elicited through the SuRE method[30]. It is clear from the data in Figure 5.6 that certain items were identified significantly more often than others. Although this thesis addresses those items with a minimum of 20% recognition, it is suggested that this data is revisited as the basis of future works to test the significance of these items further. Figure 5.6 depicts the

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[30] A gloss of these items is available in appendix (x).

most commonly identified items for analysis. These items are discussed below in terms of their sensitivity to three social variables: age, location, and MxG proficiency. Gender as a social variable is not analysed in this chapter as it was found in this sample to have little significant effect on MxG substrate usage.
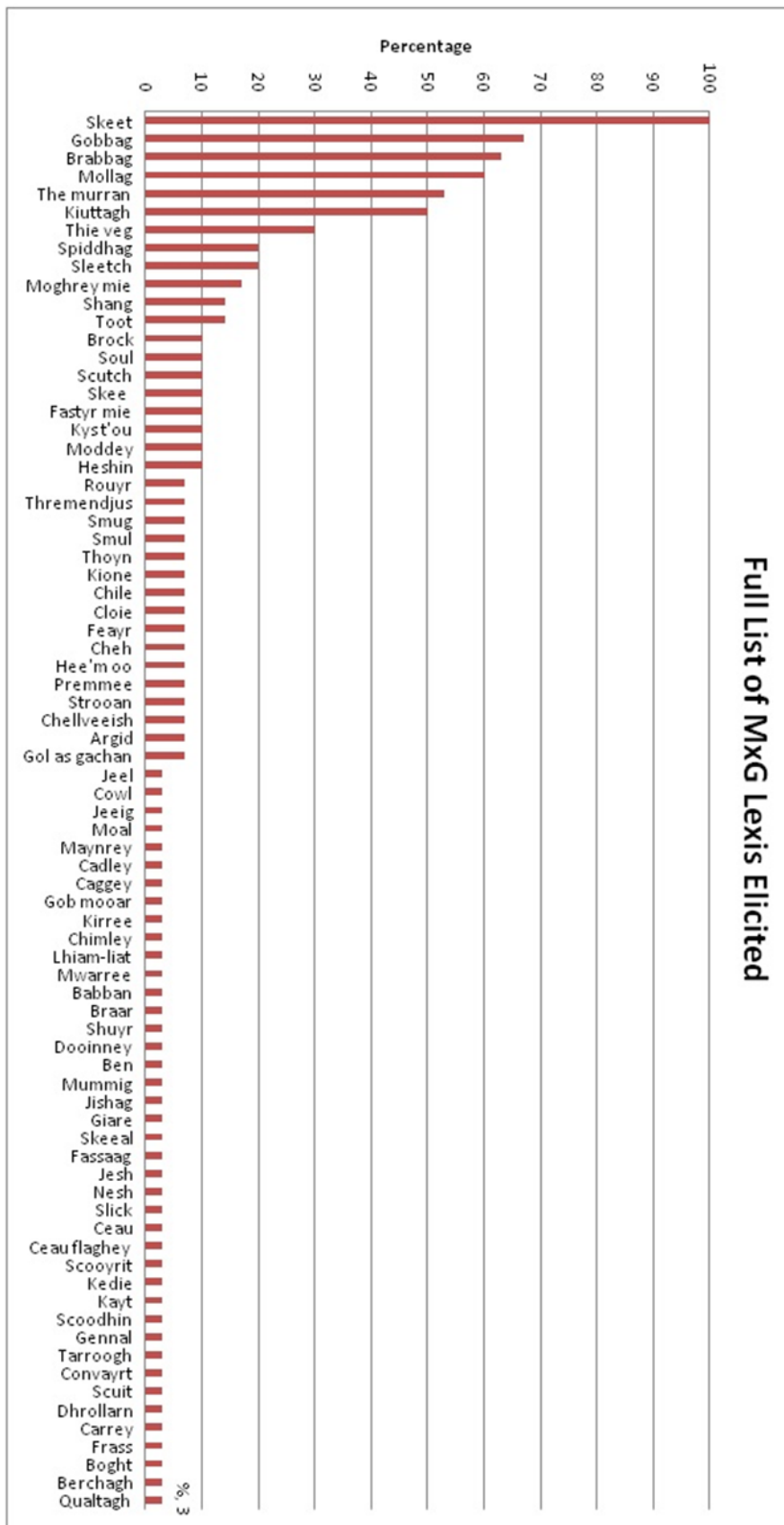
Figure 5.5 Full Sample of MxG Lexis Elicited
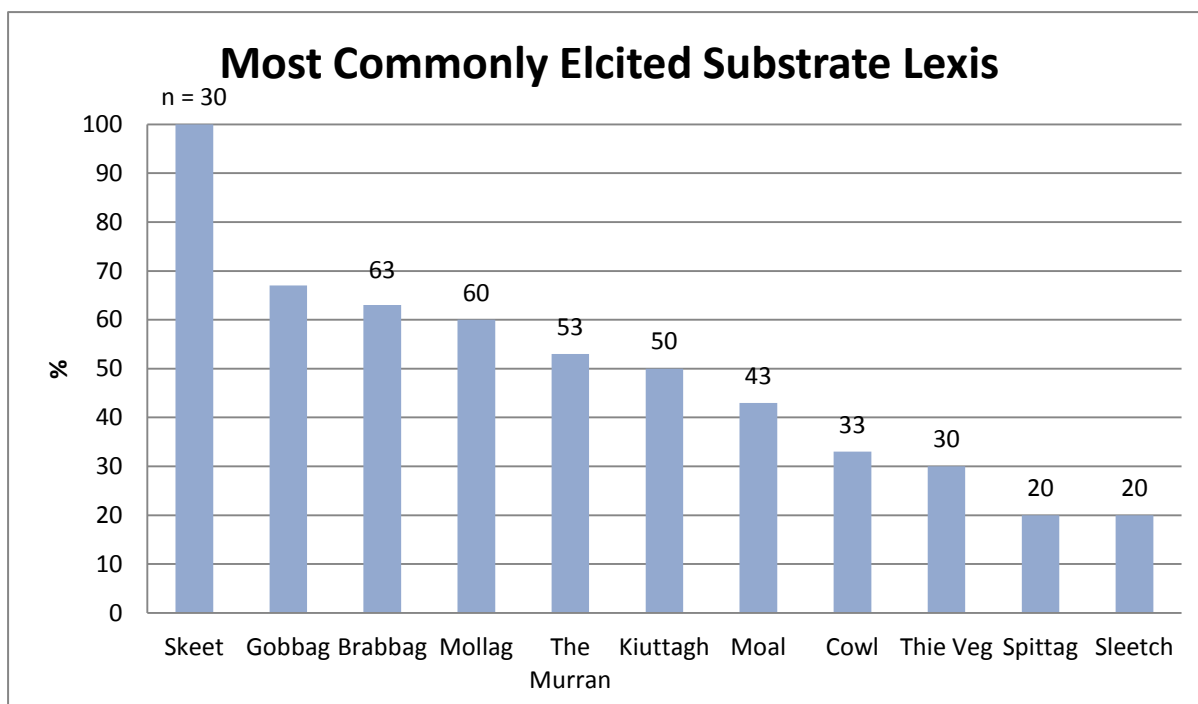
Figure 5.6 Most Commonly Elicited Substrate Lexis

As Figure 5.6 illustrates, one lexical item was elicited in the perceptual data of 100% (n=30) of informants: *skeet*. The sociolinguistic salience and prevalence of this item is discussed further in chapter 7, however first it is important to understand the parameters of this item's usage.

Skeet

Informants stated that *skeet* ['ski:t] has a range of uses and can function as both a noun and a verb. Generally speaking, *to skeet* refers to 'gossip' or to 'have a quick look at something', and *a skeet* is 'someone who partakes in gossip'.

Skeet in this form is featured in a number of Manx dictionaries, including Cregeen's *Dictionary of the Manks Language* (1835), and Moore *et al* (1924). More recently, *skeet* has appeared in Hamer's description of Manx English as an example of a remaining MxG item in regular use (2007). It appears that *skeet* may originate from the MxG word *skeealeragh,* meaning 'story-teller' or 'gossip' (Kelly 1866). Broderick's *Handbook of Late Spoken Manx* (1984) includes *skeet* under its entries for *skeeal,* 'story, tale, news, skeet' (ibid: 410) and also *skeetagh,* 'a skeet, a

creeping fellow, adj. given to gossip' (ibid). This coincides with information given by the OED, which states that *skeet*, meaning 'a quick look', or 'gossip', can be compared to the MxG *skeet* or *skeetagh* (OED 2019a).

Some definitions of *skeet* obtained from the interview data can be seen below:

F30	A skeet is like erm the gossip. Or you take a skeet as in take a look. It depends on the context.
M59A	Skeet? Just means, "what's the news", "what's the tales at the moment?" like, you know. "Any gossip?". Yeah, yeah "have a skeet at it" like, yeah. Or a nose, nosin' around.
F53	You can go for a skeet, and "have you heard the skeet?". Yeah, it's a multi-use one. Well it's in the dictionary now isn't it? It's made it to the dictionary.
M80	Getting the skeet is not quite the same as gossiping, it's is just, yeah yeah. It's not necessarily getting the scandal, if you like. It can be, but it's, the skeet is you know, 'what's the skeet?'. Yes, "what's the skeet now?".
M29	**Yeah nah like the phones are handy and all, it's good for a bit of skeet and get on for a look erm, but at the same time I like goin out for a yarn and havin a pint. I love it, me, when you get a bit of skeet.** Havin a look. Gettin a bit of news and seein…yeah. Well I suppose a skeet, yeah skeet's gettin a bit of news. And aye "giz a skeet at that", or you can say, "put a sight on that".
F72	It's a look. If I'm going in a shop like this and want a good look at it before I come in I'd say "I'm just having a skeet".
F46	Erm, well, it's either a nosy person, a skeet, or you're going to look at something, and you're having a skeet at something. Like you'd go and have a skeet at a wedding, have a skeet at a show or something
M86	What is a skeet? Someone that's poking his nose in somebody else's business.
F77	You can have a look, yeah, *skeet at that*, yeah
M53	It's a thing and a person and an action
M53/F59B	K: And skeet's not always a negative thing? F59B: No, but somebody being a skeet M53: Yeah, that's a bad thing yeah. M59B: That's how we would have used it originally, "oh, she's a skeet".
M69	My whole family use 'skeet' regularly "going down for a skeet" "Get all the skeet from him!" Skeet can be going for a look or all the 'newses' pronounced new-ses about what's been happening!

Table 5-6 Definitions of Skeet Offered by Informants

As the table 5.6 illustrates, the data suggests that *skeet* has the following parameters of reported usage in MxE:

a. Noun: Gossip, news (*what's the skeet?*)

b. Noun: Gossip, busybody (*she's a skeet*)

c. Noun: Look *(let's go for a skeet at that wedding)*

d. Verb: Look *(I went to skeet at their new house)*

Skeet, therefore, appears to be used in several lexicogrammatical patterns (as observable in the interview data in Table 5.6). The polysemy of *skeet* means that the interlocutor requires the lexicogrammatical pattern to decode the speaker's intended usage. For example, "a bit of skeet" (M29) refers to gossip, whereas "have a skeet" (F72) refers to having a look. As the data demonstrates, the polysemy of skeet has an impact on its lexicogrammatical patterning. Example a (above) is an abstract, non-count noun; example b is a count, abstract noun referring to a human referent; example c has a similar patterning to example a (with different semantic content); and example d is a non-finite intransitive verb which is also a phrasal verb. This provides further evidence for the centrality of this feature within the MxE dialect.

Given the distribution of *skeet* across the whole sample, it is not necessary to further dissect this data in terms of age, gender, location, or MxG proficiency. What is of note, however, is that this is the only lexical item elicited that features in the perceived usage of 100% of informants with a MxG proficiency score of 1. This begs the question: what is it about *skeet* that endures? Further work that would be useful to this enquiry would involve the analysis of the different lexicorammatical permutations of *skeet*, including those in Table 5.6. Due to time constraints, this does not feaure within this thesis. Instead, this research proposes that the endurance of *skeet* is to do with sociolinguistic salience and the presence of this item in commodified items, which is discussed further at chapter 7.

Although *skeet* was elicited by all informants at some point in the SuRE process, the corpus contains only two instances of this item in naturally-occurring speech, both from informant M29 (see examples in table 5.6 above marked in **bold**). It is noted that this informant was particularly relaxed during the interview procedure and engaged in a significant amount of unstructured talk in response to some of the open interview questions.

5.2.5 Age

This section outlines the MxG substrate lexical items which are judged as being sensitive to age. This sensitivity was determined through a quantitative analysis of

the stratified data. Those variants that appeared to be influenced by the social variant of age are discussed below.

Mollag

Mollag [ˈmɒləg] was the fourth most commonly elicited MxG substrate lexical item, provided by 60% (*n*=18) informants. *Mollag* is a MxG noun which features in several Manx dictionaries, including Kelly (1866: 134) which defines it as 'a dog's skin blown up as a bladder and used to float the herring nets'. A similar definition features as a substrate feature in Moore *et al*'s dictionary of Anglo-Manx, in that a *mollag* is 'an inflated sheepskin tarred and used as a buoy to float herring nets' (1924:120). This definition, however, also applies *mollag* in a broader context, using it as part of the simile: 'he come home about half an hour ago as full as a mollag, i. e. as full of drink as a mollag is full of wind' (ibid). *Mollag* also features in the OED with both the literal meaning of an inflated dog's skin, as well as in the comparative senses *as full as a mollag* to mean 'drunk' and *as empty as a mollag* to mean 'completely empty' (OED 2019b). Definitions provided by informants in this research were somewhat concurrent with these applications, although there were many notable exceptions which can be seen below (table 5.7).

F51	I put 'mollag' in for fat cos I do use that as well actually.
M59A	[For fat] you would use 'mollag' or 'rouyr' (KMH - translation of rouyr = over/exess)
F53	"As fat as a mollag" yeah. "Look at the big mollag belly on you" you know, yeah.
F59A	Yeah a bit of an unattractive erm… 'he's a right mollag'
M59	Yeah, a fat person
F72	*Lazy mollag.* Mollag is a sheepskin blown up.
M69	Yeah, fat as a mollag. Yeah, you would hear people say that and I might even use it myself.
F46	A large person I'd take it as being
F77	*Fat as a mollag* - I've heard that, yeah, yeah.
M53	You might be *full as a mollag*, mightn't you?
M67	Only if they were fat *laughs*. They say "you're as fat as a mollag".

Table 5-7 Definitions of Mollag Offered by Informants

Dictionary definitions refer to some usage of *mollag* as a comparative simile, however, this is consistently in terms of being full rather than being fat. The broadening of this usage to include 'fat' and possibly also 'unattractive' or 'lazy' is, however, unsurprising considering the semantic link between these terms. It might be that there is some of what McColl Millar *et al* call 'residual knowledge' of this item in its original sense (2014: 54), advances through time mean that buoys are no longer *mollags* in the literal sense. Therefore, without a literal referent, it is likely that the item underwent a shift to be used only in its metaphorical sense of *full*. The data suggests that this has undergone extension to refer to size as well as to the state of fullness.

Below (Figure 5.7) is the quantitative data which demonstrates the age-sensitivity of *mollag* within the sample. As can be seen, there is a distinctive increase in *mollag* usage from the age of 42 upwards. This age group seems to be the point at which a significant increase can be seen with all age-sensitive lexical items from the MxG substrate.
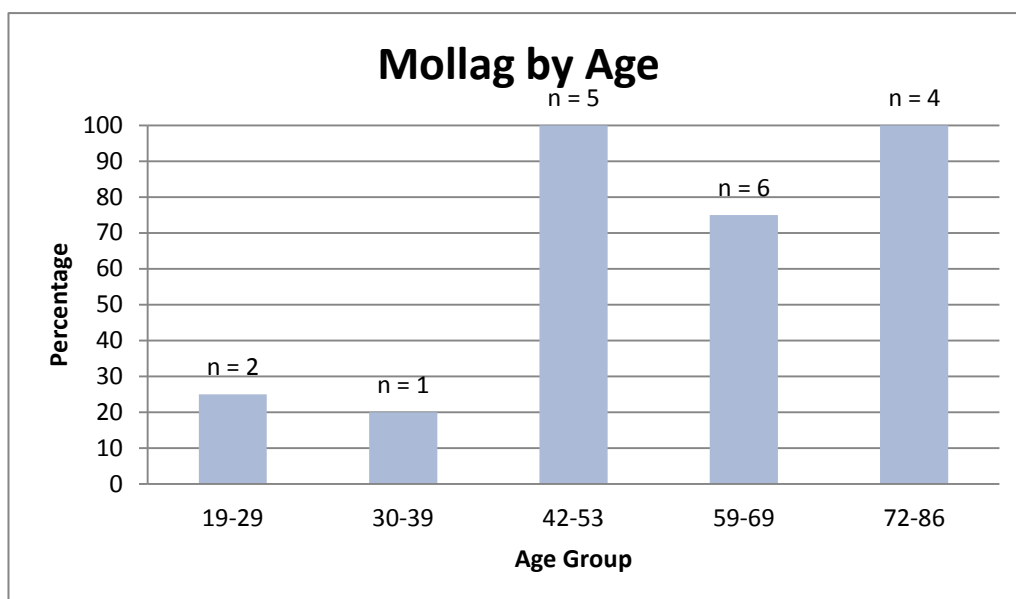
Figure 5.7 Mollag Data by Age

As the above data shows, the usage of *mollag* increases significantly within the sample from the age of 42 upwards, with 100% of informants in the 42-53 and 72-86 bracket using this item, usually to refer to *fat*. The younger informants who did know and perceived themselves to use this item (F25 and M29) are MxG proficiency level 1, however have either familial usage of the term (F25's father would call her a *lazy mollag*) or have strong agricultural backgrounds (M29 would use *mollag* to refer to one of his horses – "come here you big mollag").

Kiuttagh

Kiuttagh [ˈkɪðəg] or [ˈkɪðəgiː] meaning *left-handed*, was the sixth most commonly elicited MxG lexical item offered by 50 (*n*=15) informants. This lexeme has similarities with the Irish Gaelic *ciotóg*, Scottish Gaelic *cearr*, and Irish English *kithogey*. Interestingly, a number of different spellings were offered for this item, as displayed in the below table, possibly indicating that this item has undergone change in spelling to closer reflect its pronunciation, as in Moore's dictionary of Anglo-Manx which features 'Johnny Bob the Kithag' (Moore 1924: 13). Alternatively, and perhaps more likely given the range of spellings offered, is that this item is more frequently used in spoken rather than written language. I don't propose that this is eye-dialect, whereby words are spelt phonetically to draw attention to their pronunciation (as informants offered spellings that were not indicative of this), but instead it is

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indicative that there is little agreement of the spelling of this item. A total of nine different spellings were offered by those participants who completed the questionnaire by their own hand (see table 5.8). No informant offered the MxG spelling *kiuttagh*, which was only entered when the questionnaire was completed verbally, and the informants were unable to offer a spelling.

Kiuttagh Spelling Offered	Frequency
Kithag	3
Kivvig	1
Kittag	1
Kithig	1
Kittagh	1
Kithigy	1
Kithagy	1
Kithergy	1
Kefity	1

Table 5-8 Spellings of Kiuttagh Offered by Informants

As with mollag, kiuttagh is age sensitive in that it experiences a significant increase in usage amongst the informants aged 42 and above. This is shown in Figure 5.8.
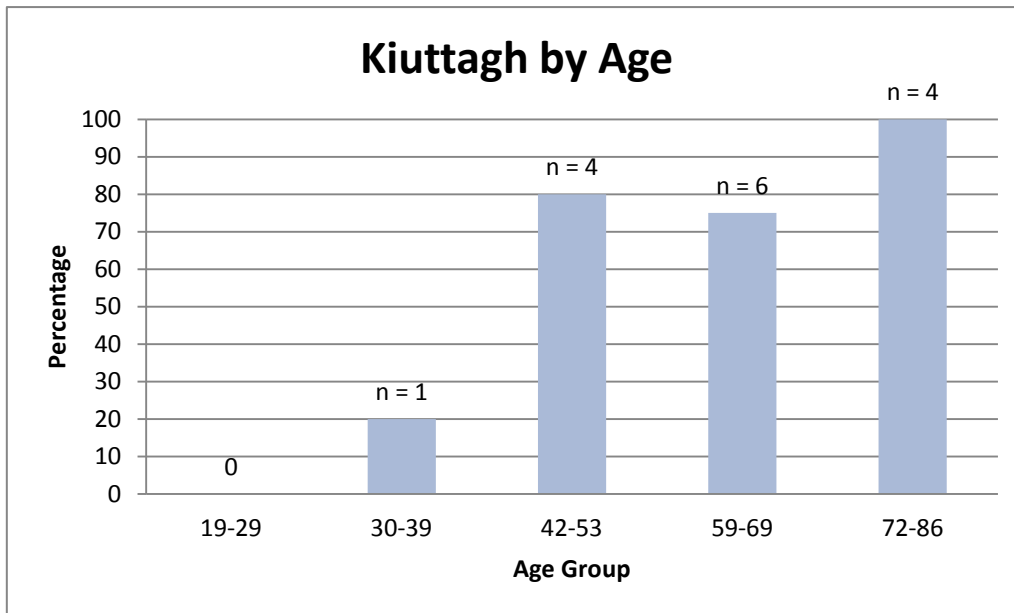
Figure 5.8 Kiuttagh Data by Age

Moal

Moal [ˈmɔːl] was the seventh most commonly elicited lexical item from the MxG substrate. The literal translation of this word is *slow*, however in this research *moal* was elicited in response to the SRN prompt 'unwell'. This corresponds with the definitions provided in Moore (1924: 118) 'mean, despicable, poorly', and also Kelly (1866: 183) 'feeble, weak, meagre'. *Moal* also features in the Manx version of the national anthem of the IoM *Arrane Ashoonagh Vannin*. The line *that frail little boat* is translated to *Yn baatey beg moal*. Figure 5.9 demonstrate the age sensitivity of *moal* in the data elicited through SuRE. Unlike *mollag* and *kiuttagh*, *moal* presents a clear and steady correlation with age. In other words, the older the age group as determined by the sample, the more likely informants are to know and perceive themselves to use *moal.*

Moal by Age

(Bar chart. X-axis: Age Group, with groups 19-29, 30-39, 42-53, 59-69, 72-86. Y-axis: Percentage, from 0 to 100. Values: 19-29 = 0, 30-39 = 0, 42-53 = 60 (n = 3), 59-69 = 75 (n = 6), 72-86 = 100 (n = 4).)
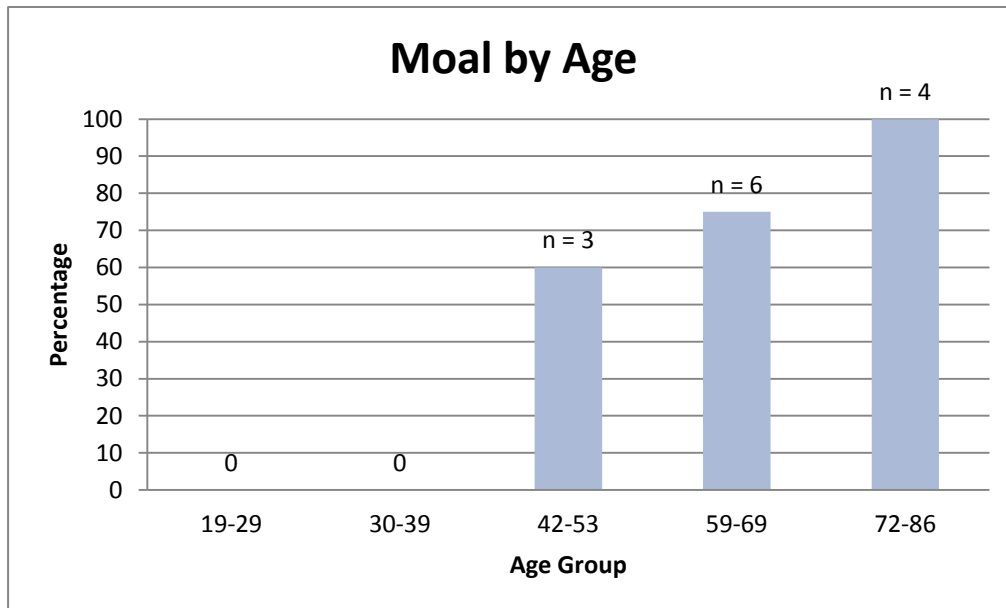
Figure 5.9 Moal Data by Age

Definitions of *moal* were almost universally to do with human illness or feeling 'under the weather' in a nondescript way. One pair of informants (husband and wife M53 and F58B) explained the difference between *moal* and *the murran* (see 5.2.2) as being that *moal* is less obvious of an ailment than *the murran* and has a wider application in the sense that it can be applied to animals as well as humans. M53 stated that "we would talk about the cattle being *moal* too, if there was something the matter with the cows. "Oh the cow's a bit *moal*", er "A bit *moal* on it"". F58B noted that *moal* is less distinctive than *the murran*, in saying "If you're *moal*, you're under the weather but you wouldn't necessarily have *the murran*". We can, therefore, observe that there are two ways to express illness from the MxG substrate that feature in MxE, however both items have distinctive meanings.

Both *kiuttagh* and *moal* are items that demonstrate an age-sensitivity where the oldest group of speakers demonstrate the highest amount of usage and recognition. These items both feature on word web A (SRN 'being, saying, and doing), and more specifically these items are both used to refer to a state of being or condition. Patterns of dialect retention such as the increasing frequency of *moal* and *kiuttagh* in line with participant age are to be expected when considering the findings of existing work such as Simmelbauer (2000). Simmelbauer studied the Northumberland dialect

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with a specific lexical focus, which was to test whether earlier-recorded vocabulary remained in use in the 1990s. She found that lexical erosion of the Northumberland dialect was evident (with a predominant effect on semantic fields that were on the decline, such as farming), and that a number of remaining dialect items had become restricted to use within the older generations studied.

Simmelbauer could claim that the older generations' retention of certain items was due to speaker memory of such terms in use on farms in Northumberland, such as *flaycrow,* meaning 'scarecrow', or *whicker* meaning 'whinny' (Simmelbauer 2000). The same cannot necessarily be said of *moal* and *kittag*. Items in the semantic field of farming on the IOM, such as *meg* to mean 'orphan lamb' were indeed found to be restricted to the older informants in the sample, however the state of being left-handed or unwell is not confined to this area. It is more likely, therefore, that the retention of these items in the vocabulary of the oldest speakers is to do with lexical erosion in MxE.

As stated in chapter 2, lexical erosion occurs when the lexical resources of a language are diminished. While some erosion is a typical observation in diachronic dialect analysis, such as that observed by Simmelbauer (2000), it can be accelerated and more extensive in communities such as the IOM, wherein MxG speakers make up a relatively small proportion of the total community population. The combination of low speaker numbers and language contact with speakers of other English varieties may then lead to the 'interruption of normal transmission processes [which] poses a particularly serious risk to lexical maintenance' (Dorian 2012: 1). The IOM, as stated earlier in this thesis, 'has been the site of comings and goings for millennia' (Cheek *et al* 2012: 66). Historically, this has been more to do with trade and invasion, however the steady influx of 'comeovers' from the UK in recent times is in the form of families and individuals. Given the volume of immigration of speakers of British English varieties, their integration into IOM society will be such that significant amounts of linguistic contact will occur – in schools, in the workplace, and in the social environment.

This level of contact may be more significant for younger groups of speakers, who are more likely to travel off island to attend higher education, meaning that they have more intense and prolonged contact with UK speakers. Most informants aged 19-39

have lived for a period of years in the UK, usually to attend university, compared to fewer speakers in the older age groups – as illustrated in Figure 5.10. This contact is likely to have had additional impact on the normal transmission processes of dialect items, compounding the effects of contact levels on the island.

Figure 5.10 shows the total cumulative years an age group has spent off-island, and the mean years off-island according to number of informants within that age group.

Periods of off-island residence by Age

	19-29 (n=8)	30-39 (n=5)	42-53 (n=5)	59-69 (n=8)	72-86 (n=4)
Total Years Off Island	17	11.5	8.9	8	3
Average	2.1	2.3	1.78	1	0.75
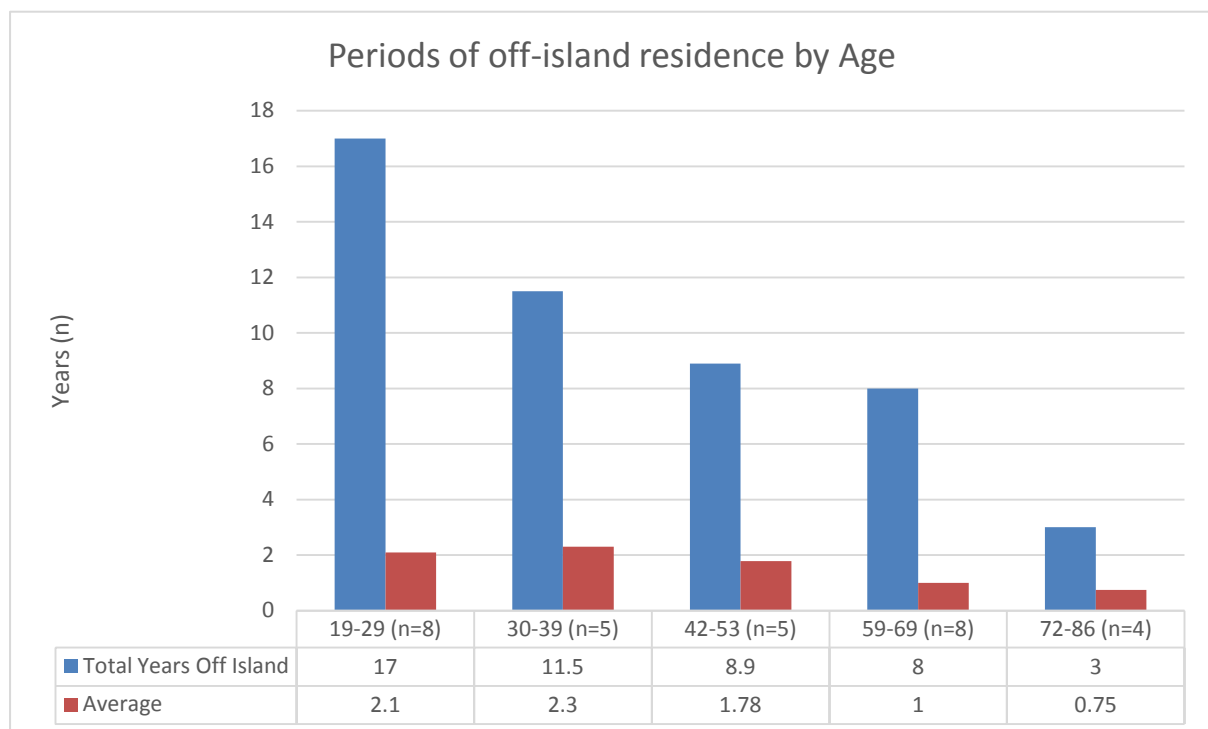
Figure 5.10 Periods of Off-island Residents by Age

Gobbag

Gobbag ['gɒvəg] was the second most identified MxG item, offered by 67% (*n*=20) informants. Like *skeet*, *gobbag* features in several Manx dictionaries, although appears to have undergone some semantic change. Originally meaning 'dogfish', this item was added to the OED along with several other MxG items with the added definition of 'a person regarded as uncultured, rough, or backward. In later use also: a resident of the town of Peel, *esp.* one born there' (OED 2019c). The definitions provided by some of the informants in this research are given below in Table 5.9.

Informant	Description of *gobbag*
M39B	"dogfish" used as slang for a person from Peel – only in a jocular sense.
M39C	Someone from Peel (very rarely also an old sea salt)
M59A	Yeah, well somebody from Peel is always a gobbag. Well yeah, dogfish. And they reckon it comes from erm fishing. Now, what it was, if you got a gobbag in the nets, they would tear the nets. So if they lifted the nets, and they were torn, they would blame the fishermen from Peel for lifting their nets. So that's where gobbag apparently comes from.
F53	From Peel, yeah. The gobbags from Peel and the sharks from Port Erin.
M80	People born in Peel. Yeah, and it's not an insult, you know, to call a genuine *gobbag* a *gobbag*. People think it's an insult but it's not. It would depend on how you said it. It can be said in a derogatory manner but er, really it's a compliment to a Peel person - they're genuine, you know, if you're. Just as somebody in Douglas would be a *Douglas Butty*.
F59A	Unattractive
M59B	Gobbag's somebody from Peel
F72	Oh yes, the Peel Gobbags. A bit common, bit mucky.
M69	Gobbag's a Peel person. Well, slightly [derogatory]. Gobbag is a big, is a dogfish. Yeah. A *gob* is a mouth and a dogfish has a big mouth, like a-. And gobbag mooar is the basking shark, which has a great big mouth. Gobbag mooar.
F47	Yeah, someone from Peel
M86	Well if they were from Peel, *'Oh, he's a gobbag',* yeah.
M53	*Gobbag* yes, from Peel.
F59B	They come in like this *laughs*. You wouldn't be a small, slim, and light on the feet gobbag. I feel it implies, yeah, it implies something pretty solid and slow.
M20	Er like a rascal, like some of my grandad, well not my grandad, my granny used to call me a gobbag. Just a little brat. Yeah. I just say they're little bratty children or, if you're being mean, big bratty adults.
M67	I get called gobbag up here. A gobbag is a dogfish...and a dogfish is descended from the - what are they? - shark. They're not very nice, no. They're, they're not very nice to eat, and you'll find that if, if you go round any harbour as the tide actually leaves the harbour, you'll find lots of them lying on the bottom of the harbour and even a seagull won't even eat them.
F26	Gobbag, Peel yeah. Someone from Peel's a gobbag. Me sister and me dad are gobbags.

Table 5-9 Definitions of Gobbag Offered by Informants

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As the table above demonstrates, unlike *skeet*, the parameters of *gobbag* usage appear to be more limited. From the open data comments and the quantitative data, we can see that the main uses of *gobbag* are:

a. Someone from Peel (which may or may not be derogatory)
b. A dogfish

Three other perceived uses are noted from the data, both of which are derogatory in nature: *unattractive*; *one who is solid/slow;* and *rascal*. While these usages were less commonly reported, they warrant further investigation should this investigation be treated as the basis for a more thorough dialectological account of MxE. The distribution of ascribed meaning to *gobbag* are shown below in table 5.10.

Definition of *gobbag* according to sample				
Dog fish	Person from Peel	Unattractive	One who is solid and slow	Rascal or brat
n=4 (20%)	*n*=17 (85%)	*n*=1 (5%)	*n*=1 (5%)	*n=1 (5%)*

Table 5-10 Definitions of *Gobbag* According to Sample

Gobbag as a MxG substrate item in MxE displays some age sensitivity in the sense that while at least 40% of informants in each age category know and perceive themselves to use it, there is a significant increase in the three oldest categories, as with *mollag, kiuttagh,* and *moal*. This is demonstrated in the graph below (Figure 5.11)
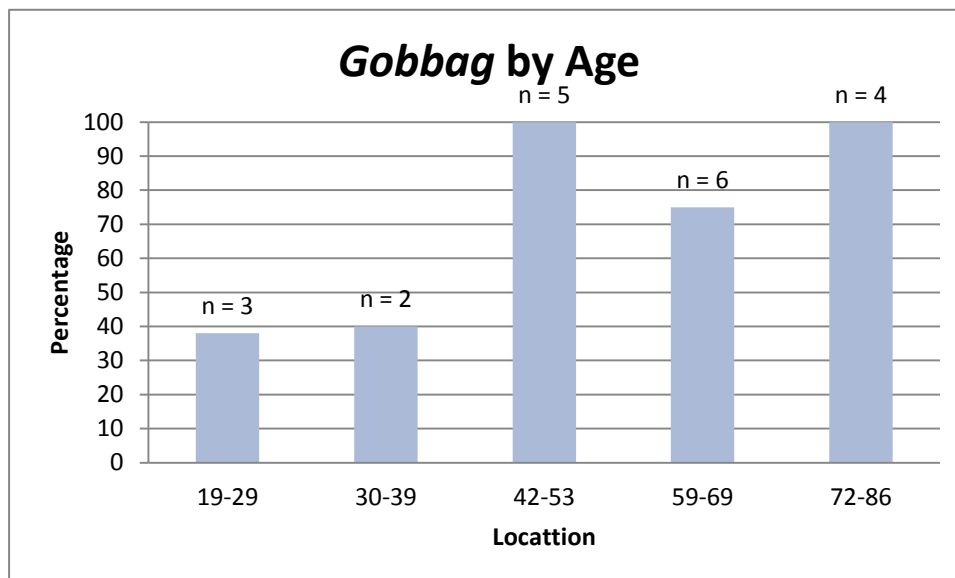
Figure5.11 *Gobbag* Data by Age

Spittag

Spittag or *spiddhag* [ˈspɪðəg] or [ˈspɪðɪg] was the tenth most commonly elicited item from the MxG substrate in the data, offered by 20% (*n*=6) informants. *Spittag* features in Kelly's dictionary as meaning 'spigot' – a small wooden peg or piece of twisted yarn which Moore's vocabulary states is 'pressed into the hole of a mollag' (1924: 173). Where Kelly's dictionary only provides a literal definition, Moore's vocabulary also offers a metaphorical definition; 'also applied to a small, sharp person' (ibid). This is another example, like both *mollag* and *gobbag,* of an item which has undergone a shift in usage which is likely due to the lack of a literal referent. On some occasions *spittag* was elicited on the 'people' SRN as an alternative for *thin*, and other informants used it in metalinguistic talk about MxE. Quotes from informants in the interview regarding *spittag* are below (table 5.11), before a presentation of the age data for *spittag* in Figure 5.12.

Informant	Description of *spittag*
F53	Little thing. Spittag. Small. A spittag can be somebody who, a little thing, it can be a little fiery thing, it can be a woman as well "she's a bit of a spittag, bit of a bitch" sort of thing you know, it's not a nice, not a nice thing to say. It's not endearing *laughs*.
M53	*Lil' spithig* – I was always referred to as *the lil' spithag* because, of course, I was the youngest in the family.
F58B	Just *spithag* for us, wouldn't have said *the lil' spithag*. I think they would have known it was a little.

Table 5-11 Definitions of *Spittag* Offered by Informants
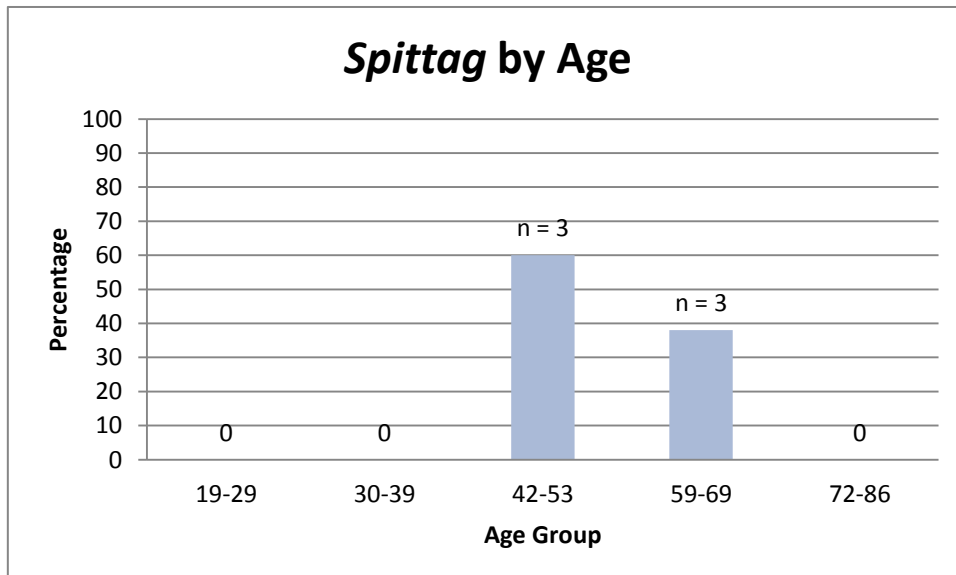
Figure 5.12 *Spittag* Data by Age

As Figure 5.12 shows, the age-sensitivity of *spittag* is somewhat dissimilar from the previous age-sensitive items as it does not feature in the vocabulary of the eldest group of speakers. Instead, we can see that the height of usage within the sample is within the middle age group (42-53), who also share the most frequent usage of *mollag* and *gobbag* with the eldest group and who perceive themselves to use *kiuttagh* more frequently than the 59-69 group.

The apparent age-sensitivity of *gobbag, mollag,* and *spittag* demonstrates that these items have significant levels of usage and recognition amongst the middle age group – 42-53-year olds. Unlike typical patterns of age-grading, a rare occurrence in

sociolinguistic data which sees certain patterns of usage as linked to certain life stages, the IOM data suggests that the age-related variation seen in the 42-69-year-old groups is to do with the positivity of this cohort towards MxG and differences in their resistance to changes in linguistic tradition. Rather than suggesting that future generations of 42-59-year olds will display an increased perceptual use of *gobbag, mollag,* and *spittag*, this research suggests that the survival of these items will depend on whether they maintain their status as linguistic markers of Manxness, or whether they become markers of Otherness more broadly. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 7, which suggests that MxG is at risk of becoming 'self-Othered' through revitalisation attempts and through its appearance in the linguistic landscape, discussed further in chapter 8.

5.2.6 Location

The data also gives an indication that some lexical variables are sensitive to location. As described above, the sample is stratified into four geographical locations: North (*n*=3), South (*n*=12), East (*n*=11), and West (*n*=3). It is acknowledged that the sample does not benefit from an even distribution of informants across each location, and so as with the lexical items above, the items have been considered in terms of percentage.

MxG by area – 2011 Census Data

The most recent IOM census report from the survey in 2016 does not publish data on MxG usage, unlike the 2011 report. Therefore, this research uses the 2011 census data to seek correlations between the SuRE data and the island-wide (both native and non-native islanders') reported use of MxG. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, self-reported data on L2 proficiency of this kind is unreliable as the questioning lacks specificity and the data relies on self-measurement that is likely to be inconsistent. Despite this, the census data gives a good indication of the localities where residents *feel* they are L2 proficient in MxG (see Figure 5.13 and Table 5.12).

Area of Residence	Speaks, Reads or Writes Manx Gaelic	Speaks Manx Gaelic	Writes Manx Gaelic	Reads Manx Gaelic
Towns				
Douglas	566	499	192	295
Ramsey	149	128	65	85
Peel	179	168	103	126
Castletown	51	50	20	26
Villages				
Port Erin	73	68	34	40
Port St Mary	59	54	39	48
Laxey	23	21	11	13
Onchan	146	138	62	88
Parishes				
Andreas	18	16	7	8
Arbory	58	51	26	32
Ballaugh	29	27	11	17
Braddan	62	58	27	37
Bride	18	18	8	9
German	44	41	19	28
Jurby	32	27	17	20
Lezayre	30	30	13	18
Lonan	22	18	7	14
Malew	52	47	21	25
Marown	39	38	19	28
Maughold	16	16	5	13
Michael	51	47	28	34
Patrick	53	51	33	42
Rushen	43	41	26	29
Santon	10	10	3	4
Total	**1,823**	**1,662**	**796**	**1,079**

Figure 5.13 Census Data on MxG Proficiency (IoM 2011)

Table 5.12 has been created using the census data to determine whether there is any correlation between area-wide reported proficiency and the areas that appear to adopt more MxG substrate lexis.

Area	No of users	% of Total MxG Users
North	336	18
East	858	47
South	346	19
West	283	16
Total	**1823**	**100**

Table 5-12 Census Data: Knowledge of MxG

According to the 2011 census data, therefore, the clear majority of MxG knowledge is in the East of the island. However, the concentration of residential areas is higher in the East of the island, which is home to Douglas, Onchan, and Braddan –

accounting for 40,797 of the island's 84,497 population at the time (48%). While we cannot compare this data like for like to the data from this study (as the census data does not attempt to measure proficiency level with any specificity), we can clearly see that speakers from the North and East are less frequently MxG proficient beyond level 1. Instead, MxG proficiency within the sample is certainly more significant in the South and West of the island, where at least half of the speakers are a minimum of L2 proficiency (see table 5.13).

Distribution of IoM Informants by MxG Proficiency and Location				
	North	**East**	**South**	**West**
Proficiency L1	3	10	6	0
Proficiency L2	0	0	1	4
Proficiency L3	0	1	5	0

Table 5-13 Distribution of Informants by MxG Proficiency and Location

With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the lexical variants which have been judged as location-sensitive: *sleetçh* and *thie veg*. This is because speakers from the areas of the highest MxG proficiency within the sample are also the areas that retain both of these items most frequently. The sample shows that speakers from the East, however, report not to use either item for potential reasons discussed below.

Sleetch

Sleetch [ˈsliːtʃ] is a MxG item which literally translates as 'slime' but is used figuratively to refer to one who is sneaky, deceitful, and/or slippery (Moore 1924: 166). *Sleetch* was identified by 20% of informants (*n*=6), all between the ages of 34 and 59. It is interesting to note that none of these informants had a MxG proficiency level below 2, and that none of them were from the North or East groups within the sample. The distribution of *Sleetch* is shown below (Figure 5.14).
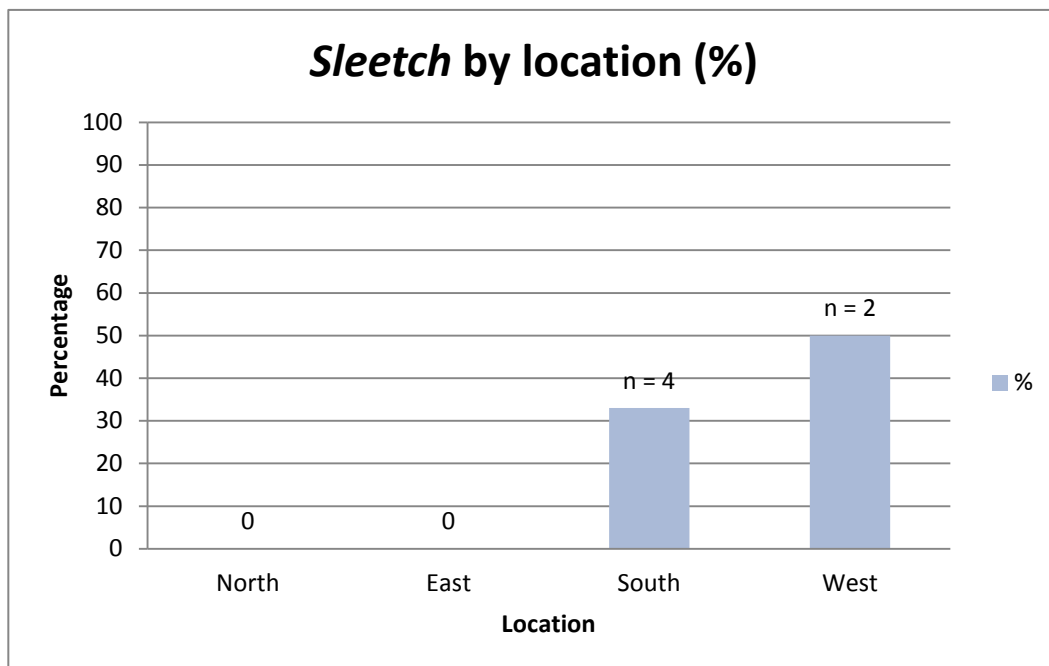
Figure 5.14 *Sleetch* **Data by Location**

The location-sensitivity of *Sleetch* can be explained in terms of language contact and in terms of the sample demography. Firstly, it is suggested that *sleetch* was not offered by informants in the East due to the level of outside contact residents have, owing to the location of Douglas in this area. As mentioned earlier, Douglas is both home of the sea terminal and is the island's capital, where a significant number of the island's businesses operate. Because of this, those visiting the island on day trips for business purposes usually remain within the East.

Secondly, it must be acknowledged that the informants from the North and East all (bar one) have a MxG proficiency level 1. Therefore, it may be that *Sleetçh* is more sensitive to speaker proficiency than to location.

Thie Veg

Thie veg [taɪ ˈvɛg] has a literal translation of 'little house' and is used in MxG to mean 'toilet'. 30% (*n=9*) of informants provided this in response to 'toilet' on SRN B *everyday life.* Like *sleetçh, thie veg* was not offered by any participants from the East, which may be likewise associated with the level of language contact and

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consequently attrition processes in Douglas. The distribution of *thie veg* by location is shown below (Figure 5.15)

Thie veg by Location (%)
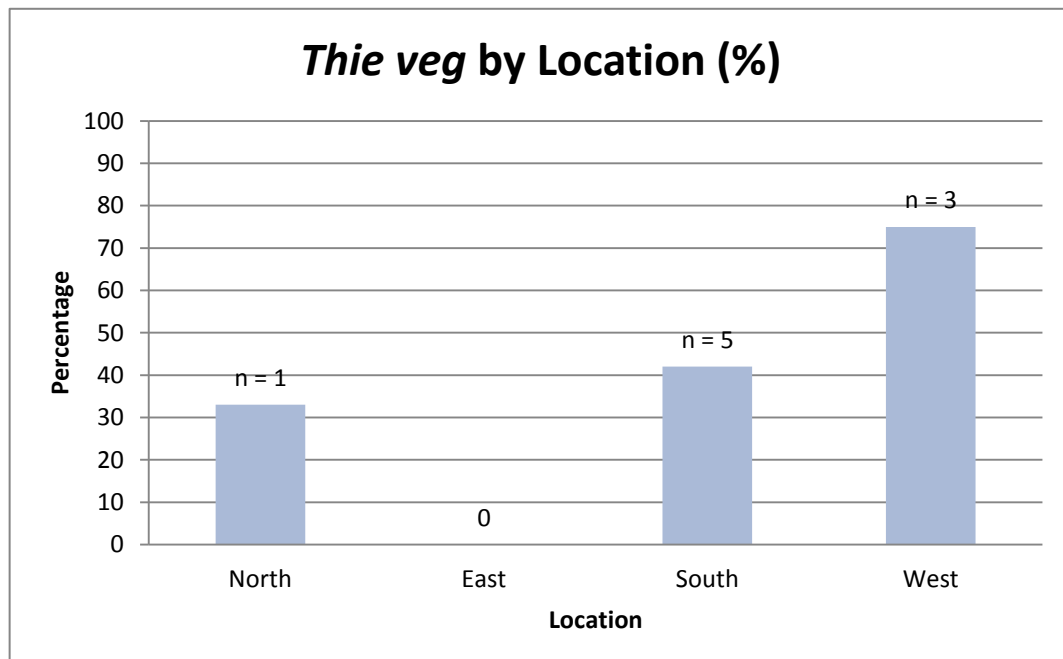
Figure 5.15 *Thie Veg* Data by Location

In addition to the geographic distribution of *thie veg* it must also be acknowledged that this is an item not commonly elicited by informants with a MxG proficiency level of 1, with only 10.5% of the 19 informants in this category (*n*=2) offering this item on the SRN. When this is compared to MxG proficiency level 2 (40%, *n*=2), and level 3 (67%, *n*=4), it is clear that within the data, this item is also MxG proficiency sensitive. Interestingly, one MxG level 3 speaker also offered the item *premmee* for 'toilet' as well as *thie veg*. This is of note as it demonstrates how one speaker can express the same specific concept in two ways using substrate lexis.

The location-sensitive variants above will be considered alongside location-sensitive grammatical variants below at 5.3. However, from the lexical items *sleetch* and *thie veg*, we can observe that MxG substrate items are perceived less frequently in areas with the most contact with outsiders for reasons of tourism and business.

5.2.7   MxG Proficiency

Overall MxG Substrate Lexis by MxG Proficiency

In terms of the overall number of MxG lexical items elicited, there is a clear correlation with MxG proficiency, as shown in Figure 5.16. It is clear to see that as MxG proficiency increases, so too does the amount of MxG substrate lexis elicited through SuRE.

Mean MxG Lexical Items (n) by MxG Proficiency
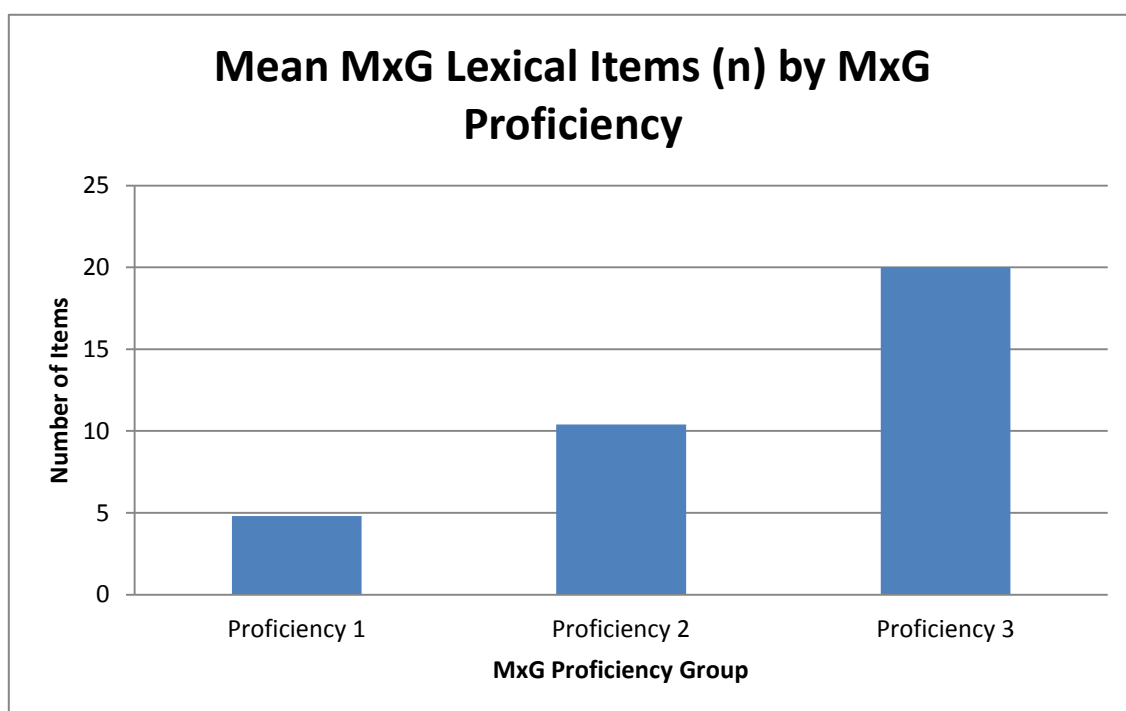
Figure 5.16 Mean MxG Lexical Items by MxG Proficiency

Brabbag

Brabbag [bravɪɡ], [bravəɡ], [bravɪk] was the third most commonly identified lexical item from the MxG substrate, identified by 19 informants (63%). According to Moore (1924) *Brabbag* means 'warming the knees at the fire', however the data suggests that usage can be more specific than this, in that many informants specified that a *brabbag* is standing with one's back to the fire. Descriptions provided in the interview are below (table 5.14).

M29	"Oh Christ buggers it's cowl let's get in front of the fire for a **brabbag!"** *K: What's a brabbag?* Oh you warm your arse and your hands in front of the fire. So you get the fire there, you'll have, you'll have *rubs hands* a rub like that and you'll turn round. That's a brabbag.
M39B	To warm the backs of your legs/bum on a radiator/by a fire – our household uses this regularly!
M39C	Warming your balls - even women!- and this is precisely the time of year!
F59A	Have you heard of having a brabbag? That's a nice Manx one. Stand in front of the fire, or – like that.
M59B	How often have I said to you, "are you having a brabbag?"
M69	Have a brabbag. And people will still use brabbag, have a brabbag. Erm, I don't think people have brabbags these days cos everybody's got central heating in houses so the, you wouldn't find, very rarely would people have brabbags. But people'd know. Er, people would now, you know, 'Christ you're having a bit of a brabbag there gel'. You know, warming, you know, stan-. Now I think I've said to you, men would stand facing it and women would stand with their arse to it. And they would throw their legs up over. So they would warm their arse that way – they're not going to lift their skirt up. And now a man would stand this way, so he'd warm himself this way and the woman would warm herself that way.
M53	There's always, there's, well you see in there the kind of the rail that you got on the range, and that, you would sort of rest on that there particularly. ^"*Go in and have a brabbag"*^
M67	It is, yeah...when a lady used to sit, be sat with her legs open in front of the fire and they'd have all red herons up the inside of their thighs *laughs* I can't think what that is. There's a word for that and all and I can't remember it now.

Table 5-14 Definitions of *Brabbag* Offered by Informants

It is clear that there is agreement that *brabbag* is the act of warming oneself by a heat source, whether this is the more traditional open fire or, as one informant suggests, a radiator. While some informants are clear that a *brabbag* can only occur in front of a fire (see response M69 in the above figure in respect of central heating), some of the younger informants (M39B and M39C) are less specific and indicate that there may be some flexibility in ongoing *brabbag* usage.

In terms of MxG proficiency, the *brabbag* data presents a clear correlation with informants' L2 ability in Manx, as shown in Figure 5.17.

Brabbag by MxG Proficiency (%)

Chart: Bar graph titled "Brabbag by MxG Proficiency (%)". Y-axis labelled "Percentage" from 0 to 100. X-axis labelled "MxG Proficiency Group" with three groups.

- Proficiency 1: ~52% (n = 10)
- Proficiency 2: ~60% (n = 3)
- Proficiency 3: 100% (n = 6)
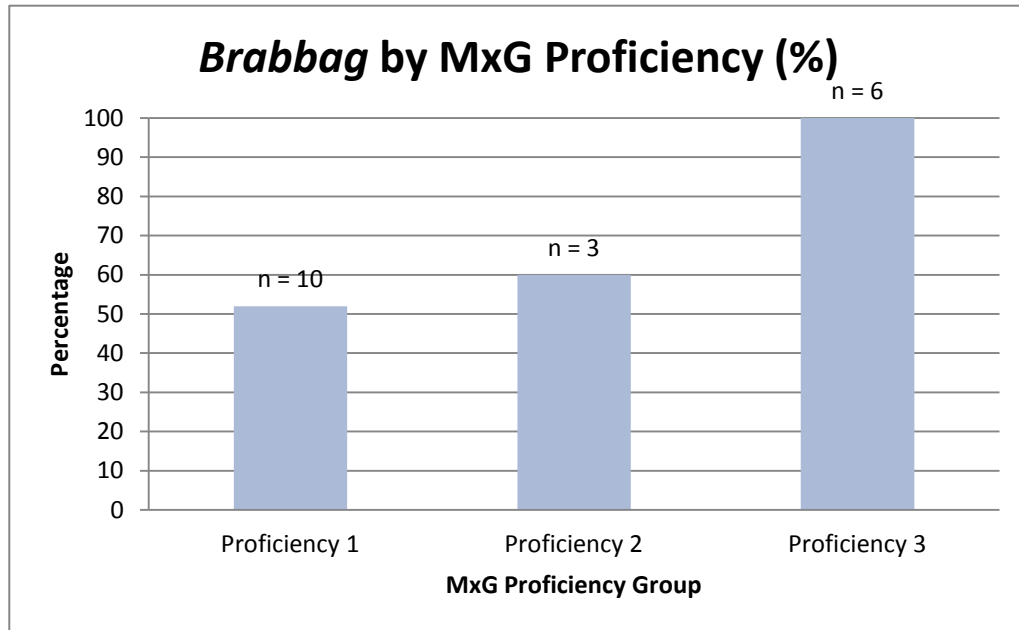
Figure 5.17 Brabbag Data by MxG Proficiency

The Murran

The Murran [ˈmʊɹən] (also featured in some literature such as Gell (1989: 32) as *murrain)* is defined in Moore's dictionary as 'a plague or contagious distemper' (1924: 123). This item has its etymology in the French *morine* meaning 'plague' or 'pestilence' (OED 2019d), and was therefore borrowed into MxG, probably via historical contact with English speakers. While this item does not have its origins in MxG, the reasons for its inclusion in this thesis are many. Firstly, the uses of *murrain* in English are now defined by the OED as *archaic, obsolete,* or *historic* (OED 2019d), and none of the four definitions provided completely correspond with the definitions supplied by informants of this project. OED definitions refer to death by infectious disease, diseases of cattle, as well as infectious diseases that may affect humans. Therefore, the MxE usage of *murran* warrants inclusion as a distinguishing lexical item. Secondly, it is likely that the present day use of *murran* on the IOM is a substrate borrowing from MxG, rather than a borrowing from English. Below is a sample of informant definitions of *the murran* (table 5.15)

Informant	Definition of *the murran*
M59A	Murran. Now we did talk about murran. Murran is just a, just any sort of contagious, any contagion that you might, yeah, lurgy, yeah.
F53	I'd say it's a cold, like a type of cold. You know, like a fluey cold thing
F72	It's chickenpox, or flu, or something you'd catch
M69	Murran. Got the murran doin' on him. You know, he's full of the murran. I would say the English kind of equivalent would be flu.
M86	*Murran* is something like a flu virus, that's what I would think.
F58B	More of a sneezy, coughy…If you're *moal*, you're under the weather but you wouldn't necessarily have *the murran. The murran* is very identifiable. I don't think you'd say murran for like erm… for gastric things. Snot *laughs* *smug*, *smug* as they would say, that's snot.
M53	*the murran* is a sneezy, coughy.
M67	But if you got full of a cold, or flu it's *your down with the murran*. it would be like if they phoned up, full of a cold, it's "I'm not coming I'm full of the murran".

Table 5-15 Definitions of *The Murran* Offered by Informants

As described earlier in this chapter in the discussion of *moal*, *the murran* is identified as having a separate and somewhat more specific meaning. All participants who elaborated on *the murran* identified that it had a contagious element – usually through a virus such as the flu or a cold. Figure 5.18 shows the correlation between *murran* usage and MxG proficiency.
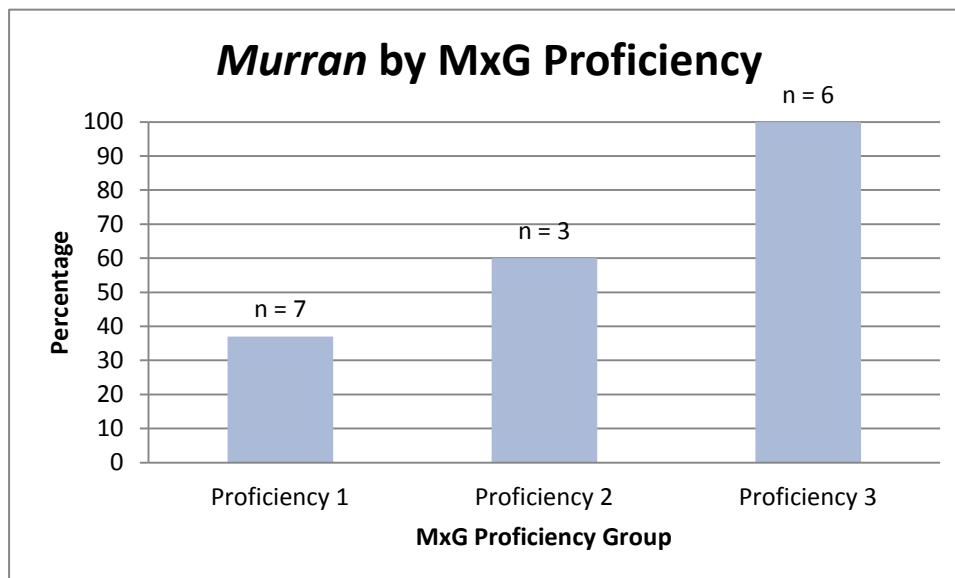
Figure 5.18 Murran Data by MxG Proficiency

The above figure demonstrates that *murran* is a proficiency-sensitive variant, with a very clear correlation between MxG proficiency level and usage.

From the lexical data elicited through SuRE, we can see that:

- *Skeet* appears to have significantly more perceptual usage than all other MxG substrate items, reported to be used by 100% of informants.
- MxG proficiency has a monotonic relationship with the mean number of substrate lexical items elicited.
- Five of the most commonly elicited items (*mollag, kiuttagh, spittag, moal,* and *gobbag*) appear to be age-sensitive, however this relationship is not monotonic. Instead, it appears that the 42-53 age category is the most consistent reported users of these items, with at least 60% recognition for each of these items.
- Two of the most commonly elicited items (*sleetch* and *thie veg*) appear to be location-sensitive, with a significantly greater retention of these items in the South and West of the island.
- Two of the most commonly elicited items (*brabbag* and *the murran*) appear to be sensitive to MxG proficiency, with a clear correlation between proficiency level and usage.

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5.3 LINGUISTIC DATA: MXG SUBSTRATE GRAMMAR

This chapter presents the data elicited from the LnQ (grammatical questionnaire). As described in chapter 4, participants were given a set of 15 sentences, each containing one grammatical structure from the MxG substrate. Informants were then required to indicate whether they would:

a) *Hear this item on the IOM*
b) *Use this item when talking to a friend*
c) *Use this item when writing to a friend*

Of course, the LnQ only gathers data relating to linguistic perception rather than production (perceived data is specified as such throughout this thesis). Wherever possible, the structures discussed will be considered alongside naturally-occurring examples obtained through the interview stage of the data collection. However, owing to the relatively short interview duration and the semi-structured nature of the interview, participants did not have equal opportunity to produce the grammatical variants in question. The perceptual data that was elicited, however, is valuable to this research. Much work has been done about the perception of dialects and of the perception of features belonging to one's own dialect (Preston 1999; Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004). It is argued that perception of MxG structures as belonging to MxE has similar value in aiding the understanding which features are still heard and feature in the perceived use of English on the IoM.

The below sections present the sensitivity of MxG substrate grammatical items to the same factors as discussed with reference to lexis: age, location, and MxG proficiency.

5.3.1 MxG Grammar by Age

Figure 5.19 shows the mean MxG grammatical items that informants indicated they had at least heard on the IOM (perceptual usage is discussed in accordance with each item individually later in this section). As can be seen, there is a slight increase in the mean number of items elicited between the ages of 19 and 39, with a significant rise in the middle age bracket of 42-53 – the strongest of the age categories in terms of MxG substrate grammar perception.
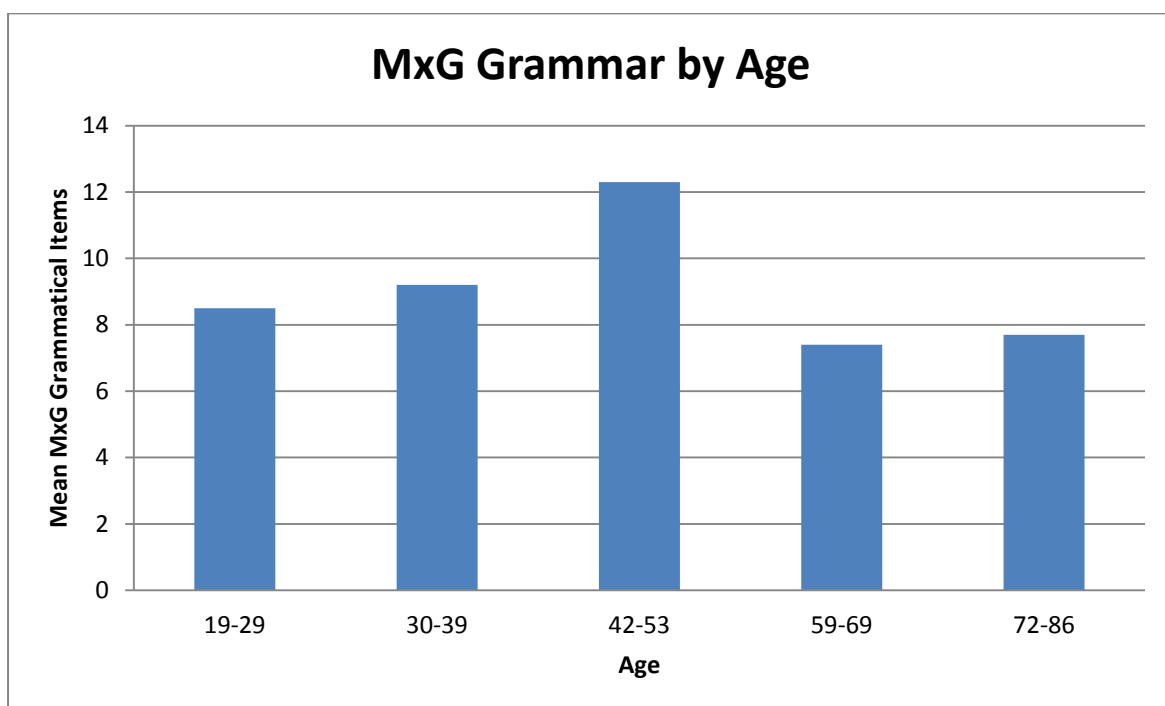
MxG Grammar by Age

The mean number of MxG grammatical items as indicated by the LnQ is clearly the highest in the middle age group (see Figure 5.19), which corresponds with some of the lexical data (specifically *mollag, gobbag,* and *spittag*). To begin to understand this data adequately, we must consider the demographics of the 42-53 age group. In this category are five speakers whose specific biographical information is displayed below (table 5.16)

Participant Reference	Age	Location	MxG Proficiency	MxG Lexical Items	MxG Grammatical Items
M42	42	Union Mills	1	6	11
F46	46	Castletown	2	9	14
F51	51	Ballaugh	1	5	12
F53	53	Port St Mary	3	17	12
M53	53	Ballakillowey	3	17	10

Table 5-16 42-53 Age Group Demographics

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The 42-53 age bracket has representation from the North (Ballaugh), South (Castletown, Port St Mary, and Ballakillowey), and the East (Union Mills). It does not contain any speakers from the West of the island. There is also representation from all three proficiency groups. All five informants recognised between 10 (67%) and 14 (93%) of the 15 carrier sentences using MxG substrate grammatical structures. When compared to the rest of the sample, this is a high proportion – when considering the mean number of grammatical items reported by the rest of the age groups ranged from 7 (47%) to 9 (60%).

5.3.2 MxG Grammar by Location

In terms of location, the differences in the mean number of grammatical items suggests that MxG substratal grammar usage may be sensitive to location in a similar way to some of the lexical items discussed above. Overall mean frequencies of MxG grammatical usage by area are displayed below, and there is some notable difference in the number of items participants indicated as hearing or using on the IOM. As with much of the lexical data, speakers residing in the East of the island utilise MxG substrate grammar less frequently than those from elsewhere (see Figure 5.20). Interestingly, speakers living in the North are those who recognise or report use of the most substratal morphosyntactic features, despite none of them having a MxG proficiency score higher than 1. When the distribution of residents is considered, speakers from the north account for in the region of 16%. Residential areas in the North are also more spread out than those elsewhere, as the map showing the northern census districts in Figure 5.21 shows.

Mean MxG Grammatical tems by Location
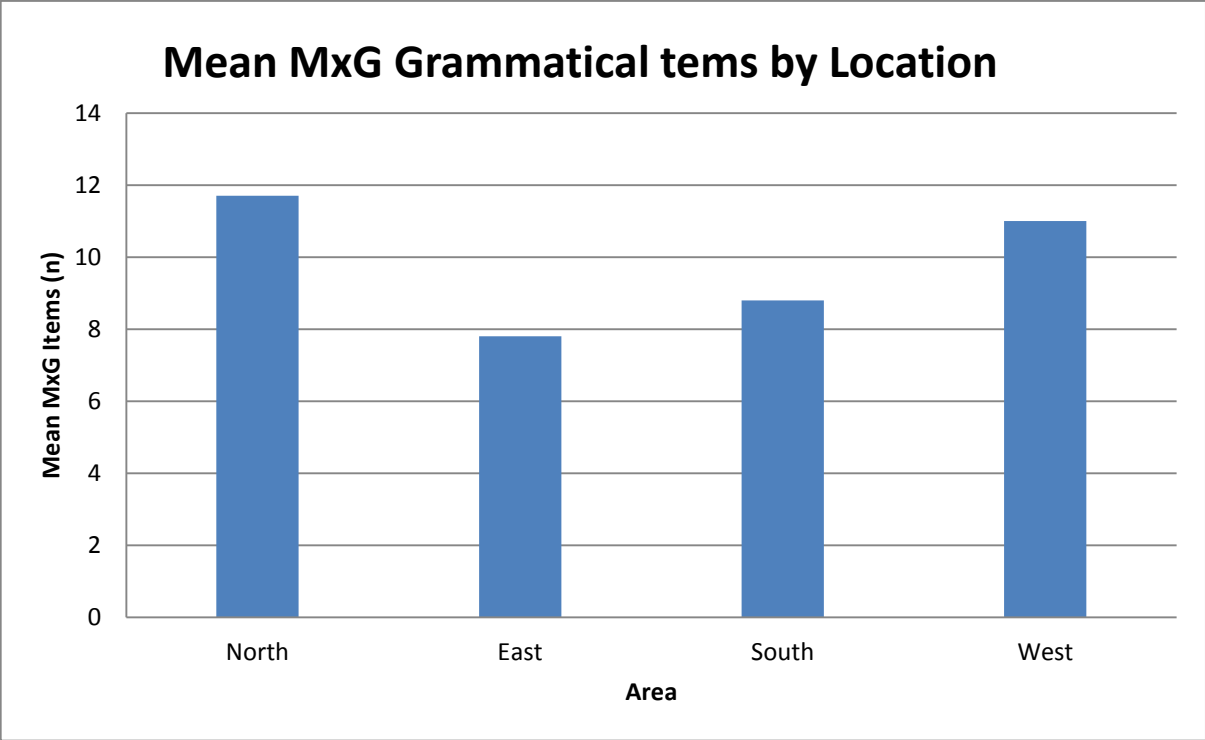
Figure 5.20 Mena MxG Grammatical Items by Location

Figure 5.21 Residential Areas in the North of the IoM (Google Maps 2019)

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5.3.3 MxG Grammar by MxG Proficiency

It would be reasonable to expect that the greater the MxG proficiency score, the greater the number of MxG grammatical features a speaker would recognise or use in their MxE. This, however, was not the case, as it was speakers with a proficiency level of 2 that recognise and/or declared that they use the most constructions with a mean frequency of 11 out of 15 (73% of features).

Number of Features Heard on IOM	MxG Grammar by MxG Proficiency		
	1 (n=19)	2 (n=5)	3 (n=6)
2 – 5	*n* = 5 (26%)	*n* = 1 (20%)	*n* = 0 (0%)
6 - 10	*n* = 9 (47%)	*n* = 0 (0%)	*n* = 3 (50%)
11-13	*n* = 3 (16%)	*n* = 1 (20%)	*n* = 2 (33%)
14 - 15	*n* = 1 (5%)	*n* = 3 (60%)	*n* = 1 (17%)

Table 5-17 Mean MxG grammatical items by MxG proficiency

5.3.4 Lack of Indefinite Article

The lack of an indefinite article in MxG, as described in chapter 4, can present itself as a substrate feature in MxE, where the definite article *the* appears in place of the indefinite *a* or *an*. The definite article may also feature where StE would have a zero article. Perceptual data concerning this feature was elicited in the LnQ through the following sample sentences:

a) *He was four years old when he started at **the** school*
b) *He has **the** headache*
c) *She is in **the** hospital with **the** pneumonia*

The sample sentences feature subject nouns that Filppula *et al* (2008) cite as appropriate contexts for non-standard use of *the* in MxE (specifically social institutions and ailments). The data elicited in response to these structures is below.
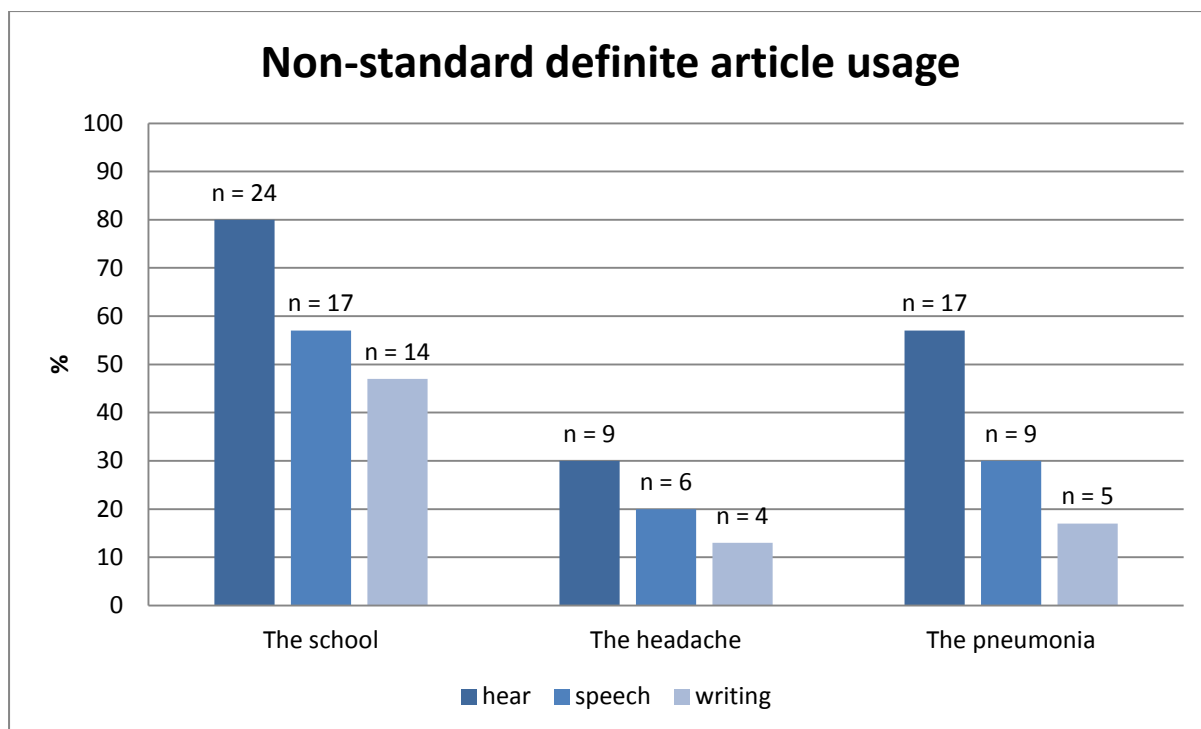
Figure 5.22 Non-Standard Definite Article Data: Whole Sample

Figure 5.22 shows that, in line with findings of previous work using this approach (Llamas 2001; Burbano Elizondo 2008), MxG grammatical structures are identified as heard most frequently, followed by perceptual data relating to use speech, and then use in writing in all three of the carrier sentences. Given the perceived non-standard nature of the substrate features, this is to be expected.

We can observe some difference in the frequency of perception for the three separate contexts given to informants in the LnQ. Firstly, we can see that *the school* is perceived as used significantly more frequently than *the headache* or *the pneumonia*, perhaps suggesting that speakers are more likely to report use of this construction in reference to establishments rather than ailments. The increase in data for *the pneumonia* as opposed to *the headache* may be explained through the choice of carrier question, which for this item was as follows: *she was in the hospital with the pneumonia*. Given that there is just one hospital on the island, in the design of the questionnaire it was thought that *the hospital* would be considered standard usage of the definite article – as it has only one referent.

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Non-standard Definite Article by Age

Figure 5.23 below shows the mean data for all three questions associated with the non-standard use of the definite article. While the difference in perceptual responses for each of the three parameters of knowledge (hear, use in speech, use in writing) remain as expected, there is some notable age-related variation in the data, discussed below.

Mean Non-standard definite article usage by age

(chart: percentage on the y-axis from 0 to 100; Age on the x-axis; series Hear, Speech, Writing)

Age	Hear	Speech	Writing
19-29	71	54	42
30-39	53	27	27
42-53	73	47	27
59-69	50	29	17
72-86	17	8	8
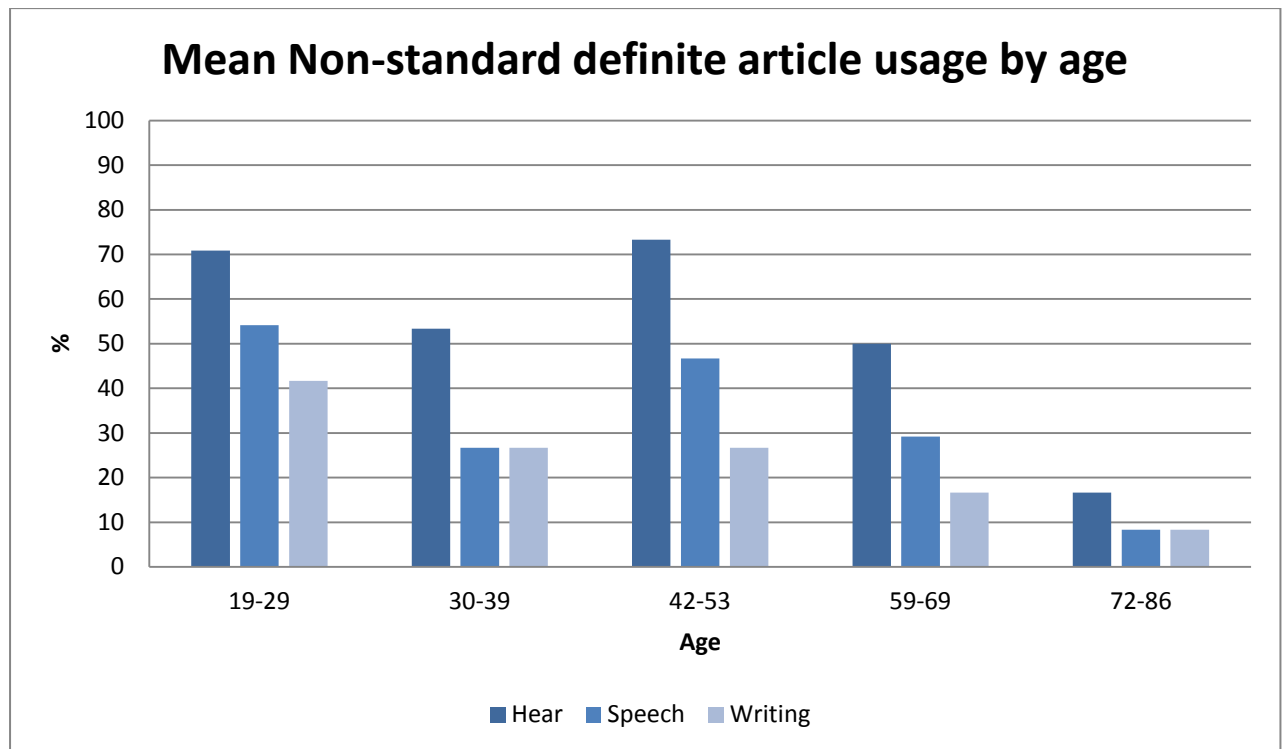
Figure 5.23 Non-Standard Definite Article Data by Age Group

What can be seen is that there is a significant dip in perception and usage amongst the oldest informants (72-86 years of age). This might be explained by the older speaker's experience of MxE as 'not a field in which society's interest was maintained' at the time when the last native speakers were dying in the 1970s (Kewley Draskau 2001: 319-320). Older speakers may be influenced by the notion that MxG was economically undesirable and unlikely to provide any social advancement. Moreover, as Killip (1975, cited in Kewley Draskau 2001: 318) states, even though MxE was, in 1975, characteristic of many Manx residents, it's 'mixing' of Gaelic and English elements felt 'grafted on'. Therefore, older speakers may have felt (and continue to feel) that the use of MxG grammar in their English is not a

reflection of natural linguistic growth but of resistance to societal progression. Also of note is the fact that MxG was often not passed down from parents to their children in the early 20th century, as claimed by elderly informants of the Manx Museum's Folk Life Survey created between 1957 and 1984. Over 400 informants took part in the survey – which consists of 36 boxes of material in multiple formats documenting memories of island life. Within this material, some older informants state that MxG usage was restricted in their households to 'matters not for children's ears' (Kewley Draskau 2001: 315).

Also of note in the data in Figure 5.23 is the frequency with which the youngest group of speakers (19-29) and the middle group of speakers (42-53) report hearing and using this feature. The youngest group do not consistently perceive themselves to use MxG substrate grammatical features at this high rate, as the rest of the chapter will demonstrate, however there are two features (non-standard definite article usage and continuous verb forms) that do appear to be perceptually retained within this age group. One would expect, however, based on the existing literature, that younger speakers are less likely to retain traditional dialect forms (Smith and Durham 2012). This might be thought to be especially prevalent in the current sample given that many of the younger speakers are students with recent off-island residency, and therefore more recent contact with outsiders. However, this does not explain the retention of the two grammatical forms that we can observe from the data.

It is possible that the sample contains some of what may be referred to as *resistant speakers* – such as those on Smith Island, Ocracoke (see chapter 2). It could be that due to the recent contact with outsiders at university in the UK, younger speakers report a high usage of certain features as a resistance strategy – resisting dialect attrition and, in a way, engaging in a positive form of self-Othering. This is supported by qualitative data from one speaker, M20, who stated that he only became aware of his Manxness when he moved to Manchester for university – prompting his desire to learn the heritage language. As can be the case with language contact, we may only become aware of our identities when they are compromised in some way. Therefore, when the risk of dialect attrition became considerably more tangible for this speaker, resistant action was taken. Interestingly, it is not the more 'overt' substrate lexicogrammatical forms that appear to be subject to resistive action in this way.

Instead of the obvious calque compounds such as 'put a sight on', younger speakers appear to favour structures with a subtler, yet still distinctive, level of difference.

In terms of the middle group of speakers, they also report a relatively high frequency of perception and usage of structures using the non-standard definite article. As will be shown throughout the remainder of this chapter, this is the case for all MxG grammatical substrate items investigated in this research. It is proposed that this is to do with the local affiliation of the informants within this age bracket, and also to do with the timing of MxG revival attempts.

Firstly, when examining the ISI scores of the 42-53 age bracket, informants all score either 13 or 14 out of a possible 15. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the vast majority of the sample scored very highly on the ISI – making an analysis of its impact difficult – however consistent scores of 13 or 14 are only present in the oldest 2 age categories, as displayed below (table 5.18).

Age Bracket	Lowest ISI Score	Highest ISI Score	Mean Score
19-29	11	14	**12.9**
30-39	8	14	**11.6**
42-53	13	14	**13.4**
59-69	11	15	**12.8**
72-86	13	14	**13.8**

Table 5-18 ISI Score by Age

As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, language is a semiotic resource speakers deploy in the construction of their identity, with each of their utterances constituting what Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985) describe as 'acts of identity'. As stated in chapter 3, the ISI was developed by Underwood (1988) as means of measuring local

affiliation as a correlate with local linguistic features. Although this method does not account for "it depends" scenarios and is something of a blunt instrument, its proven efficacy in existing works merits its inclusion in the current research. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the 42-53 age group represented the highest (or joint-highest) mean quantities of usage and recognition for the lexical items *mollag, gobbag,* and *spittag.* It is proposed that this may be linked to the attitudes of this group to MxG and to the IOM more broadly, as indicated by the ISI score. Although the differences in the scores are slight, the data suggests that this may be a factor influencing the perceivef use of the MxG substrate in MxE.

Non-standard Definite Article by Location

The data suggests that there is little location-sensitivity associated with this feature (Figure 5.24). Speakers in the West indicate a much higher degree of perception of the feature (75% compared to 57% in the East, 55% in the North, and 47% in the South). Reported usage in speech and writing is, however, the highest in the East.
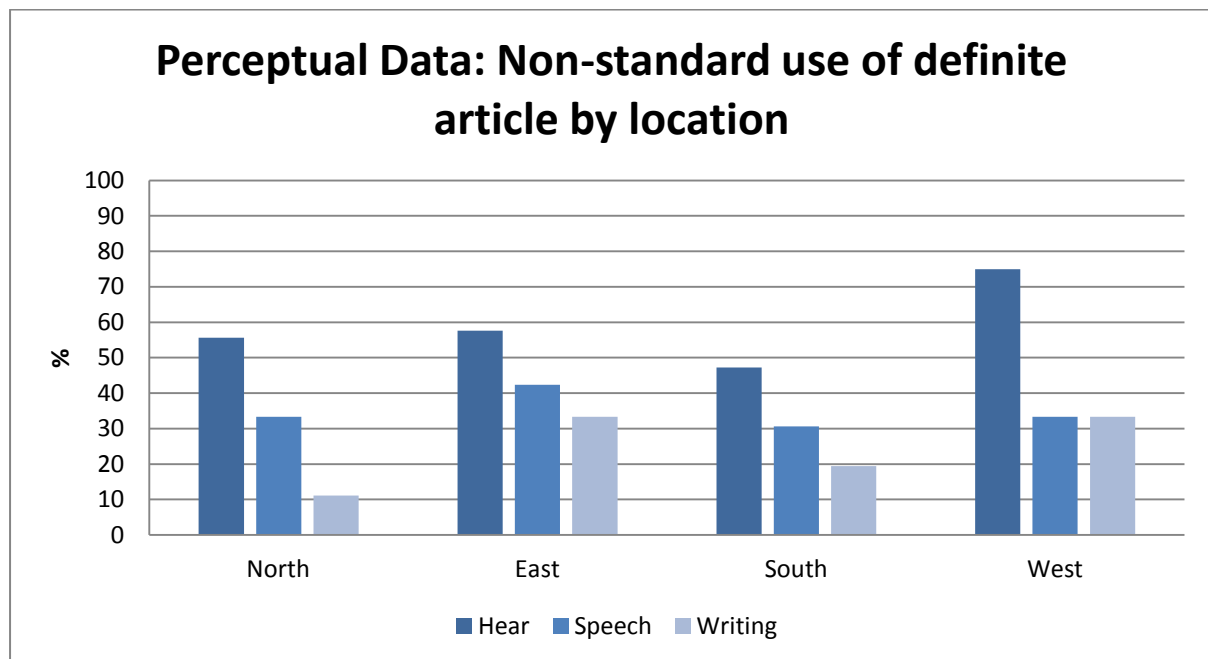
Figure 5.24 Non-Standard Definite Article Data by Location

Non-standard Definite Article by MxG Proficiency

Figure 5.25 presents the mean proportions of perceived data for non-standard definite article usage by MxG proficiency score. It illustrates that within the sample, there is not a monotonic relationship between this substrate feature and proficiency within the substrate language itself. Those with a proficiency score of 3 have

consistently high frequencies of recognition and reported usage of this feature on average. There is, however, some inconsistency with proficiency groups 1 and 2.

MxG proficiency group 1 have a generally low frequency of perceptual usage of structures using the non-standard definite article investigated in this research. Despite this, the frequency of reported usage in speech and writing within this group is higher than MxG proficiency group 2. This is unexpected, however the inconsistency concerning proficiency group 1 does not occur with regard to the other grammatical structures examined in this research. It may be that this structure is less sensitive to MxG proficiency and has become less marked in its position as a substrate borrowing. Despite this possibility, the mean frequencies for proficiency group 3 are consistently the highest for both speech and writing, suggesting that there is a greater acceptance of this feature within traditionally more formal registers amongst those with the highest capabilities in the substrate language itself.
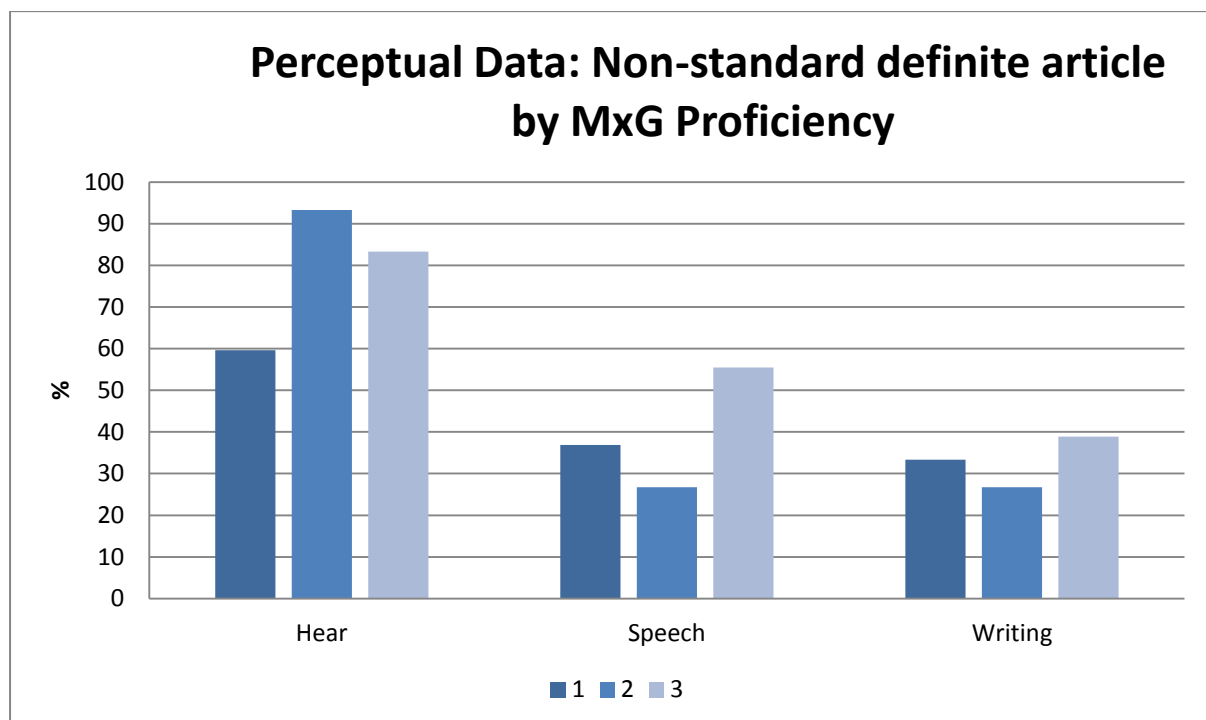
Figure 5.25 Non-Standard Definite Article Data by MxG Proficiency

Non-standard Definite Article – Naturally-occurring data

The interview elicitation did not yield many examples of MxG substrate grammar in naturally-occurring speech. As mentioned below at 5.5, this may be at least partially to do with accommodation (Giles 1973*)* – whereby willing research subjects such as the informants in this project adjust their use of language to either converge or diverge with their audience. In volunteering themselves to take part in this research, informants have, to an extent, accommodated the needs of the researcher. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect this accommodation to extend to the speech of informants. There is, however, an example of the non-standard definite article in the naturally-occurring speech of F26 – a speaker with a MxG proficiency score of 3, living in Castletown. When speaking about her recent change of career, she said:

"I do needle felting, I do upcycling, it's so good. I was trying to start a side business, **that's another reason I'm going into the banking** – because I want to have that time".

In this context, this construction is interesting as standard English would have the zero article. Given this informant's MxG proficiency score of 3, and the fact that she comes from a fluent family of MxG speakers (her father would only speak to her in Manx), this is perhaps unsurprising.

5.3.5 'Put a sight on'

The data concerning the construction 'put a sight on' (Figure 5.26) relates to question two of the LnQ. Given the specific contextual nature of this structure, it was only measured using one sample sentence – *she was going to put a sight on them*. Perceptual data from the whole sample shows that 63% of informants reported that one would hear this type of sentence spoken on IOM. There is, therefore, evidence that this calque is perceived by residents as a feature of MxE, even if they do not consider it a part of their own repertoire.
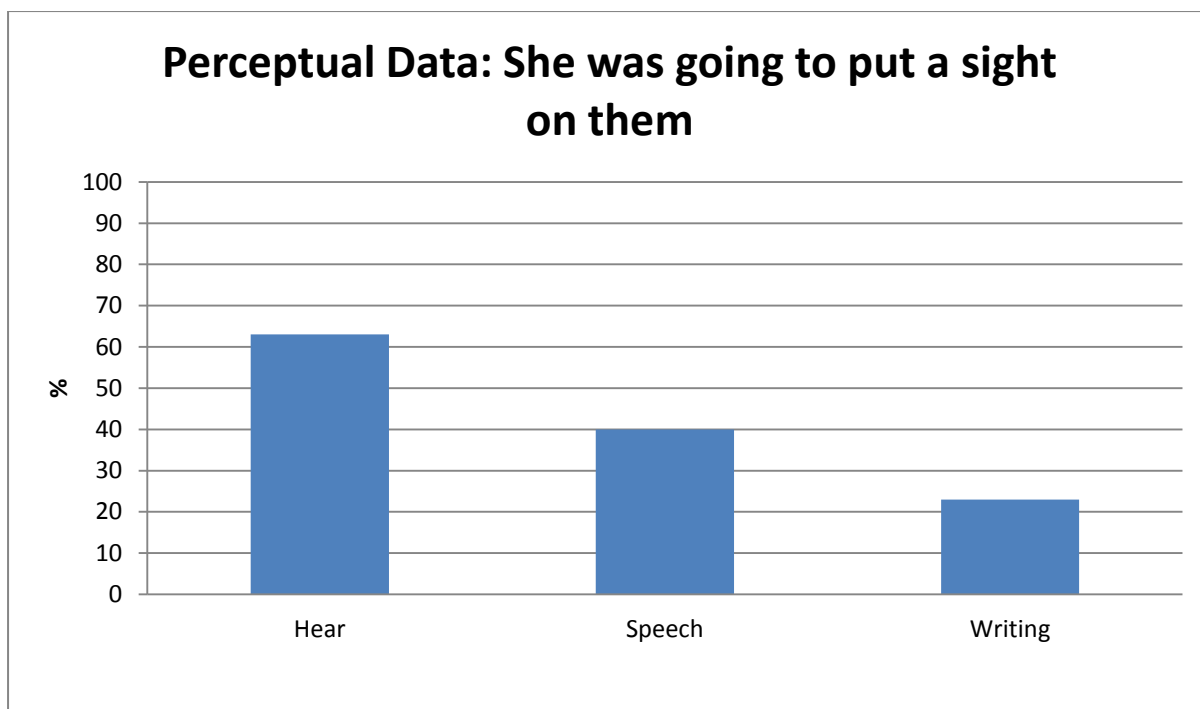
Perceptual Data: She was going to put a sight on them

'Put a sight on' by Age

'Put a sight on', like non-standard definite article constructions, was identified most frequently by speakers in the middle age bracket (42-53) in both the 'hear this item' field and the 'use in speech' field (Figure 5.27). It has already been proposed that this may be linked to a consistently high ISI score within this group, or to do with their age at the time MxG revival attempts became much more visible within the community. In line with this group's significant perception of usage of 'put a sight on' and other MxG grammatical constructs, it would be perhaps reasonable to suggest that these individuals would have the most positive attitudes towards the inclusion of the MxG substrate within MxE. However, as chapter 6 will discuss, this was not always the case. In fact, no informant within the 42-53 age bracket considered MxG substrate features to be a necessary feature of MxE. The identity data from the 42-53 age group, therefore, is not a completely adequate explanation for the age-sensitivity of substrate features observable within the sample.

What is also notable in terms of *put a sight on* and age is the very low levels of recognition of usage in the youngest age group (19-29-year olds). This may indicate that this feature has undergone levelling. As stated in chapter 2, the effects of dialect levelling can manifest themselves in the speech of the youngest generations. It may

be that on the IoM, this generation represents children of speakers who have avoided highly local features in contact situations in acts of convergence.
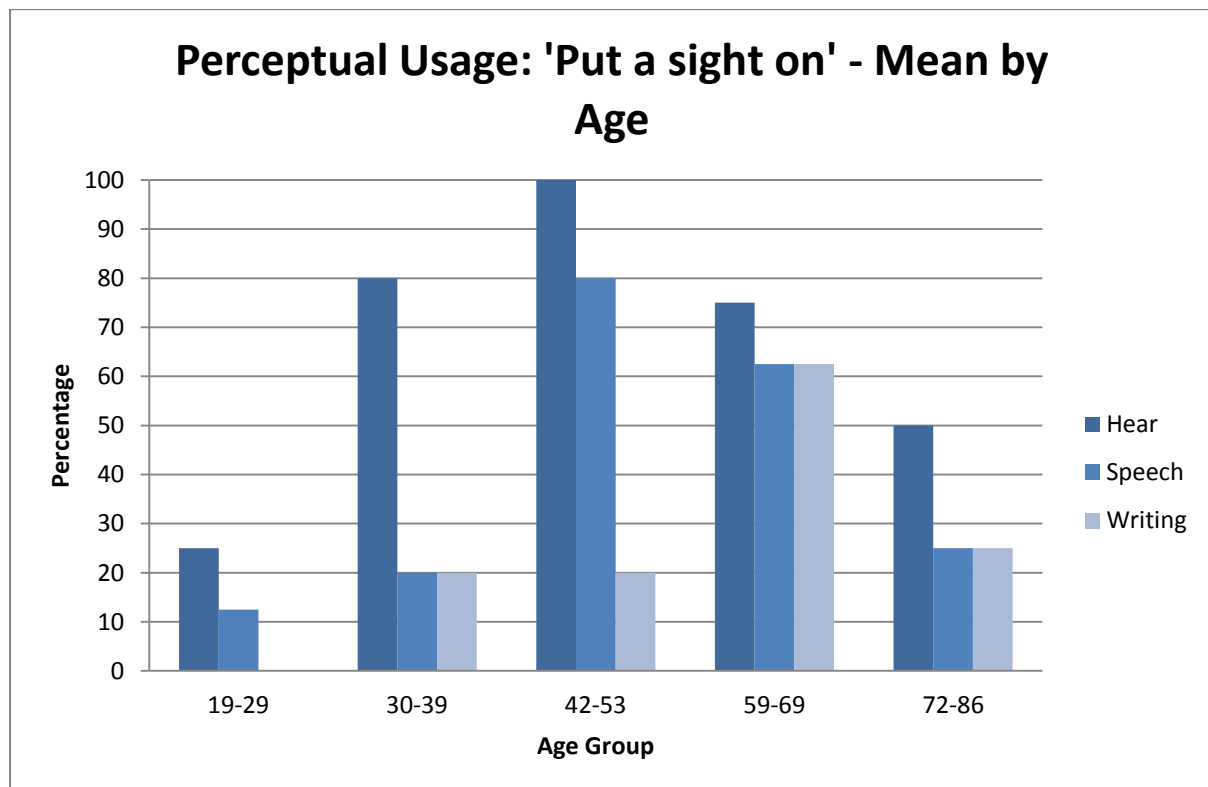
Figure 5.27'Put a sight on' Data by Age Group

'Put a sight on' by Location

With regards to location, the data shows that within the sample, this construction has higher levels of perceived usage in the South and West of the island. As discussed earlier, lower levels of perception and perceived usage in the East could be explained by high levels of contact in this area, with this location having the lowest rate of perceived usage in informant speech. Interestingly, however, the sample shows that perceived acceptability of 'put a sight on' usage is lowest in the North – with no informants stating that they would use this in writing despite having the joint second-highest level of feature perception. This can be supported through a comparison of the North to the South and West in terms of urbanisation and cultural tradition.

Chapter 6 discusses the West of the island in terms of its perceived distinctiveness by residents from all areas. Peel specifically, where 2 of the 4 western informants reside, is perceived as being somewhat 'more Manx' than the other areas – perhaps because of its traditional fishing background. Although, as stated later, participants were not able to specify what it is that makes them identify Peel as a distinctive speech area, evidence from the data suggests that this distinction may lie in the retention of certain lexical (*thie veg* and *sleetçh*) and the highest reported grammatical items from the MxG substrate. Although perceived production data in speech is higher in the South by some 8.5%, the West has a higher degree of perception (+33.3%) and of reported usage in writing (+17.7%), as shown in Figure 5.28. This may indicate that this construction is used more in the West – prompting recognition of the feature by Western residents and an increased perception of its correctness.
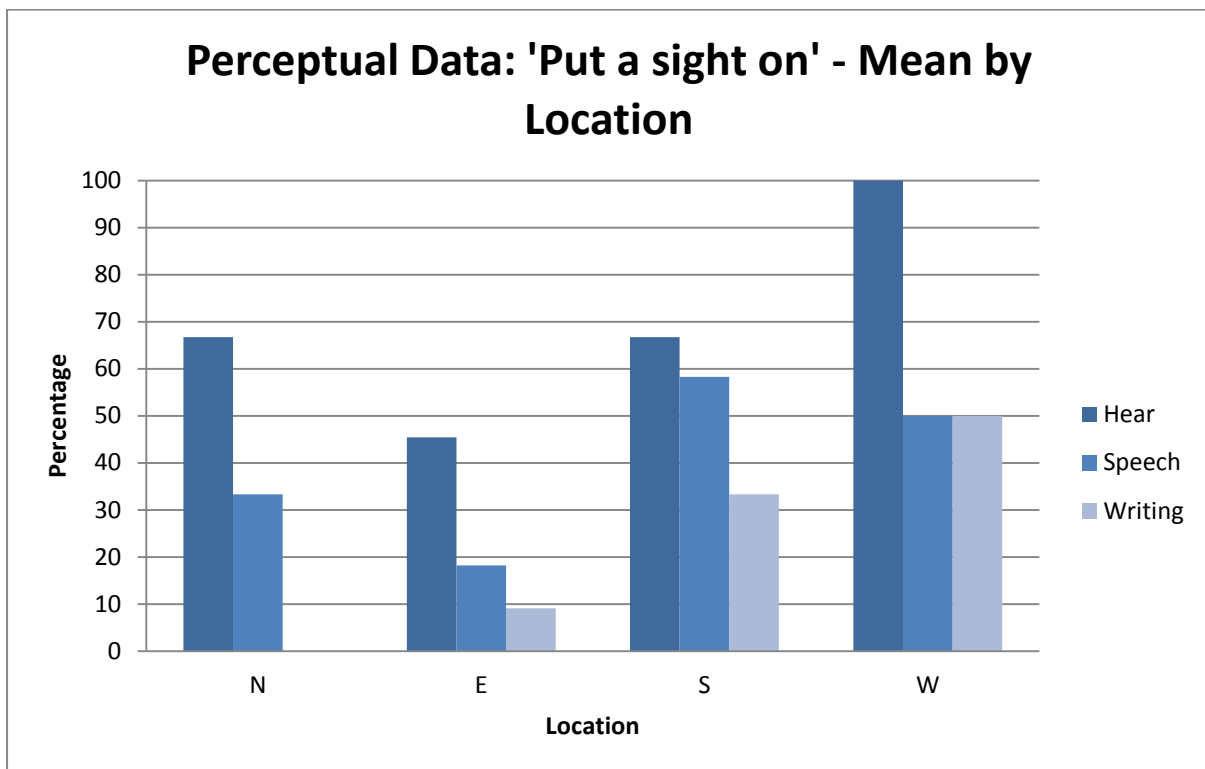
Figure 5.28'Put a sight on' Data by Location

'Put a sight on' by MxG Proficiency

Figure 5.29 shows the perceptual data elicited through the LnQ for 'put a sight on' with reference to MxG proficiency score. As with the non-standard definite article usage data, it is informants with a proficiency level of 2 who assert to hear the feature the most frequently, with 100% stating that the sample sentence is something that they would hear on the IOM. Proficiency group 2 also appear to have the highest sense of correctness to do with this feature, with 40% stating that they would use it when writing to a friend.
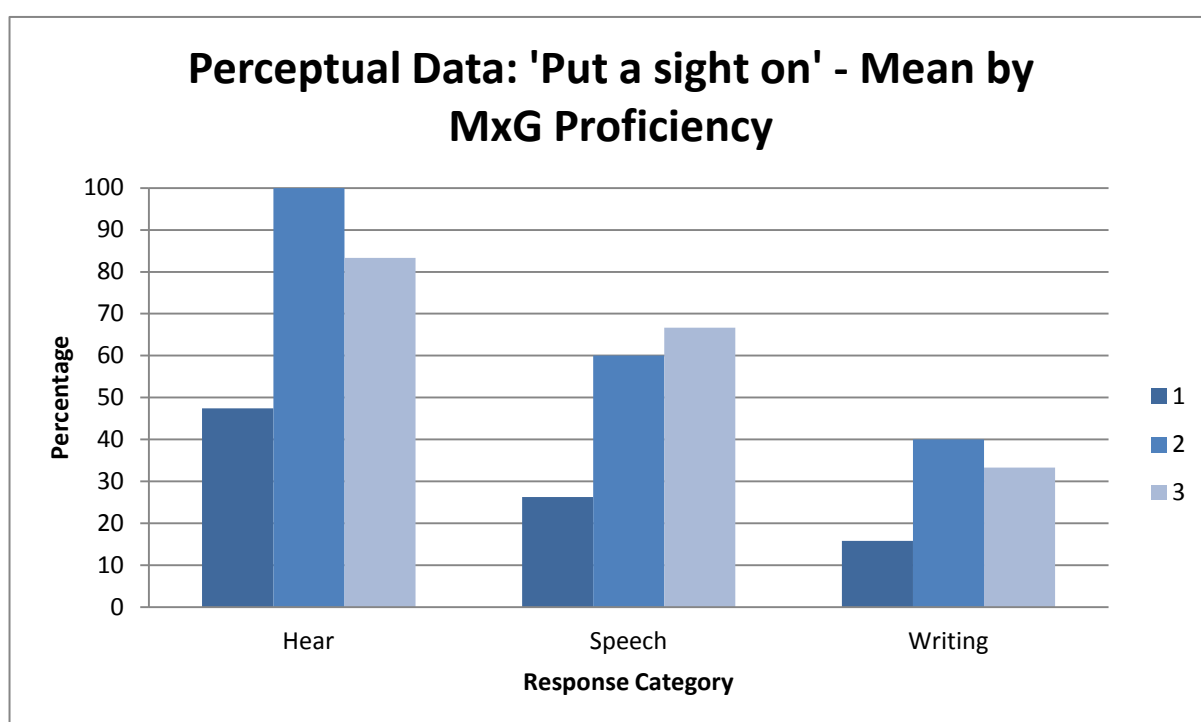
Figure 5.29'Put a sight on' Data by MxG Proficiency

As the rest of the grammatical data discussed in this chapter will show, the pattern of MxG level 2 speakers perceiving the highest amount off MxG features occurs in 80% of the features studied. This group is also the most likely to state that they would use these constructions in writing for the same four features. What, therefore, is it about this proficiency group that appears to sharpen their perception of substrate features in the English spoken on the IOM? This research proposes that this is to do with their status as L2 learners.

Weinreich (1953) described a phenomenon known as 'interference' in the process of second language acquisition. He states that interference is 'those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language' (Wenreich 1953: 1). Although it is often thought that this refers to the deviation of speech norms in the *second* language due to familiarity with the first, it is highlighted by Cook (2003: 1) that Weinreich's definition implies deviation from *either* language. Therefore, as well as the L1 influencing the L2 and potentially causing deviation from linguistic norms, the L2 can indeed influence the L1 as 'multi-competence' develops (Cook 1991). Unlike *interlanguage* – which refers to the knowledge of a second language, *multi-competence* refers to the 'knowledge of two or more languages in one mind' (ibid: 112). Cook describes how interference may occur as a consequence of multi-competence, as the progression of additional language acquisition means that languages no longer operate as isolated systems. With regard to the Manx data, therefore, it is proposed that the heightened perception of substrate features in MxE constructions is to do with a form of backwards transfer. This is where features from one's L2 are transferred, or have an effect on, one's L1. This occurs because the linguistic systems of multilinguals exist within a whole, meaning that there are interconnections between the languages within one's repertoire (Cook and Singleton 2014).

While the data elicited through the interview does not include many examples of MxG grammatical structures in naturally-occurring data, what is evident is an increased perception in substrate features from proficiency group 2 – all but one of whom are current, active learners of MxG. Therefore, the majority of this group has current involvement in the L2 acquisition process, and therefore a heightened awareness of MxG grammar and calques in the English spoken on the island – which might then lead them to perceive the structures in question the most frequently. Moreover, speaker motivation for acquiring MxG as an L2 must also be considered as a factor in their perception of substrate features. MxG acquisition, as discussed earlier in this thesis, offers little in the way of economic opportunity, and is instead more of a semiotic resource for the creation and maintenance of a Manx cultural identity. Outside of the school environment, motivations to learn MxG are, therefore, often linked to a desire to achieve greater cultural integration, or to

experience a greater connection with one's heritage - as one informant said, "it's my mother tongue".   Unlike proficiency group 3, who are defined by their advanced proficiency in MxG, group 2 will perhaps have a more conscious awareness of their status as language learners and of their motivations for acquiring MxG as an L2. This may account for their greater perception of this feature as spoken, and their higher rate of acceptability for this feature to be used in writing.

'Put a Sight On' – Naturally-occurring Data

There is evidence of 'put a sight on' as a grammatical construction in the naturally-occurring speech of Manx residents elicited through the interviews. As stated previously, the difference in participant personality appeared to contribute to the amount and quality of naturally-occurring speech recorded in the interview, and there may be some indication that accommodation is at play. However, the following examples of 'put a sight on' were elicited:

M29	Well I suppose a skeet, yeah skeets gettin a bit of news. And aye "giz a skeet at that" or you can say "**put a sight on that**" or yeah. Oh yeah…Me and dad, I've got a pair of binoculars in the truck, dad's got bloody one in every bit, "**let's have a sight on that then**" you know
M69	You would probably say '**he's putting a sight on that young one from such and such**' or, you know. 'He's putting a sight', yeah, '**he's putting a sight on such and such**'. Courting more so, more so than visiting. Yeah, definitely. Visiting possibly, courting definitely.
M42	[it means] Going to have a look…or if you were courting somebody.
M20	that's how you say *visit someone* in Manx - *cur shilley er* - er, *cur shilley er* - **put a sight on** is when you're gonna go see someone.
M59A	It would probably be construction of sentences er would be the main difference like, you know, the way we would say, if you're going to visit somebody, you'd say "**I'd put a sight on them**" like you know?

Table 5-19 'Put a sight on' Interview Data

Above are examples of 'put a sight on' both in naturally occurring speech (M29) and in a 'feature dropping' context (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004). Informants indicate that this is a feature of MxE that is distinctive and observable, and that it has multiple usages. As well as the usage indicated in the carrier sentence in the LnQ, where the implied meaning of 'put a sight on' is *to visit*, other reported uses are to mean *courting* and *have a look* similar to a *skeet*.

5.3.6 'Absolute' usage of reflexive pronouns

The 'absolute' usage of reflexive pronouns was tested using the following carrier sentences on the LnQ:

1. *They are with himself at the pub*
2. *Herself has done the shopping today*
3. *Are you going out with himself tonight?*
4. *I can't find my keys, themselves must have them*

Figure 5.30 depicts the results for these constructions across the whole sample. As can be seen, there is a clear correlation between the different contexts (hear, use in speech, use in writing) and perceived usage. As with the other grammatical features, there is a decline in reported usage as the linguistic environment becomes more formal.

There is very little variation between the frequency of perception and reported usage in the first three carrier sentences, however there is some notable difference in the last carrier sentence: *I can't find my keys, themselves must have them* (see Figure 5.30). This question was designed so to test the perception of third person plural reflexive pronoun *themselves*, however the interviews shed light on the fact that *themselves* is actually another way of describing fairies, or 'little people' on the IOM – an area of notable superstition. The 'little people' are thought to "do jeel" on humans (informant F53), with claims ranging from the severe (stealing children, causing car accidents) to the inconvenient (hiding personal items such as keys and wallets). The phrasing of this question, therefore, caused many informants to believe that it was referring to fairies, which may account for the difference in the numerical data. Of course, it might instead be that *themselves* is more simply less prominent in MxE in comparison to the gendered alternatives.

Perceptual Data: 'Absolute' use of Reflexive Pronouns
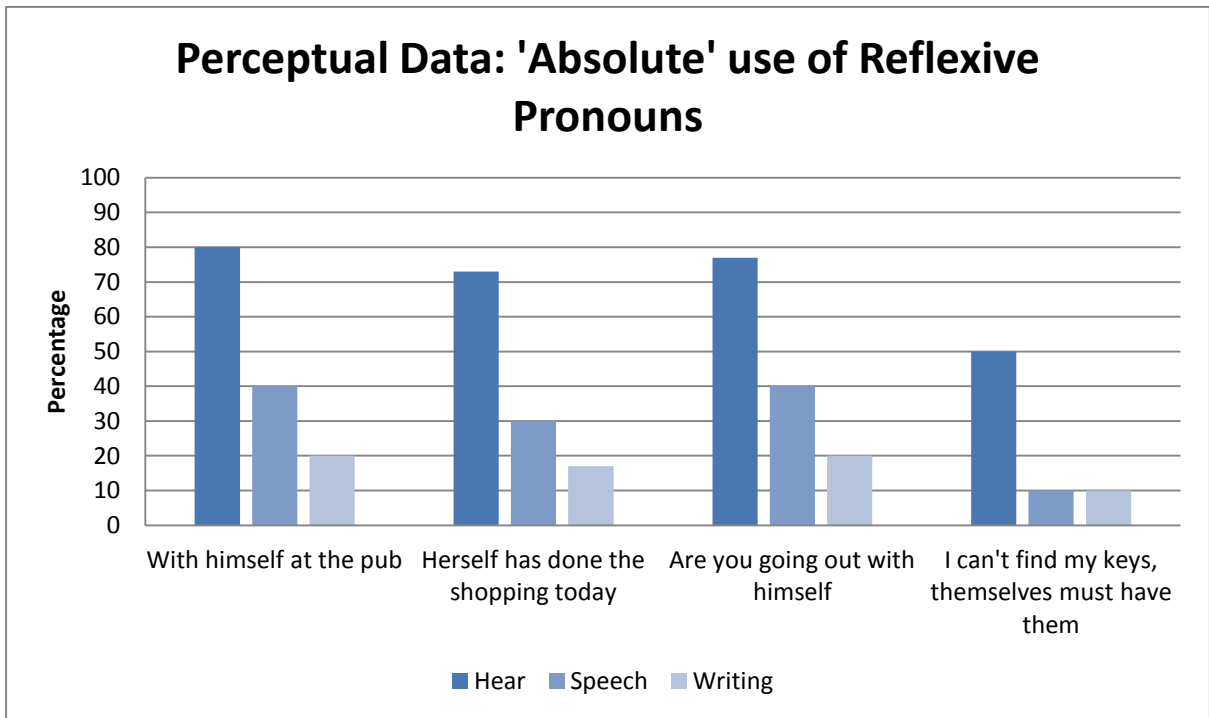
Figure 5.30 'Absolute' Reflexive Pronoun Data: Whole Sample

'Absolute' Use of Reflexive Pronouns – by Age

In a similar way to the 'put a sight on' data, the 'absolute' use of reflexive pronouns presents the same bell-curve with regards to age and perception of use on the island – with the 42-53 age group indicating the highest degree of both perception and usage in their own speech (see Figure 5.31). This could be associated with factors discussed earlier in this chapter.
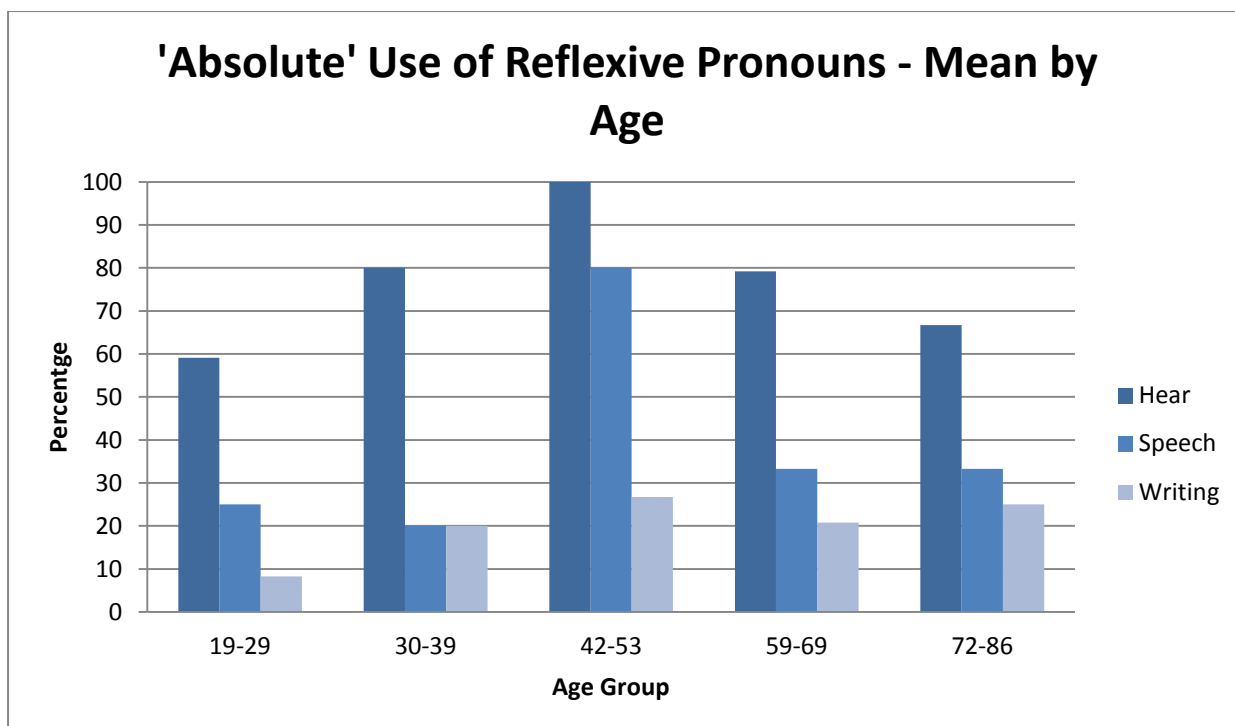
Figure 5.31 'Absolute' Reflexive Pronoun Data by Age Group

'Absolute' Use of Reflexive Pronouns – by Location

The data presented below in Figure 5.32 shows that 'absolute' use of reflexive pronouns has less significant location-sensitivity than some other grammatical features. Notably, however, there is a lower proportion of perception and usage in the East of the island, with a 26.4% decrease in perception between this location and the North. As described elsewhere in this chapter, this is possibly associated with higher amounts of language contact in the East. Although this would be a logical explanation, it does not explain the fact that no speakers from the North of the island stated that they would use an absolute pronoun construction of this kind when writing to a friend, compared with 12.1% of speakers from the East. This may suggest a difference in the perception of correctness between the two locations, however the geographical distribution of this study's sample does not allow for firm conclusions to be drawn regarding this.

Perceptual Data: 'Absolute' Use of Reflexive Pronouns - Mean by Location
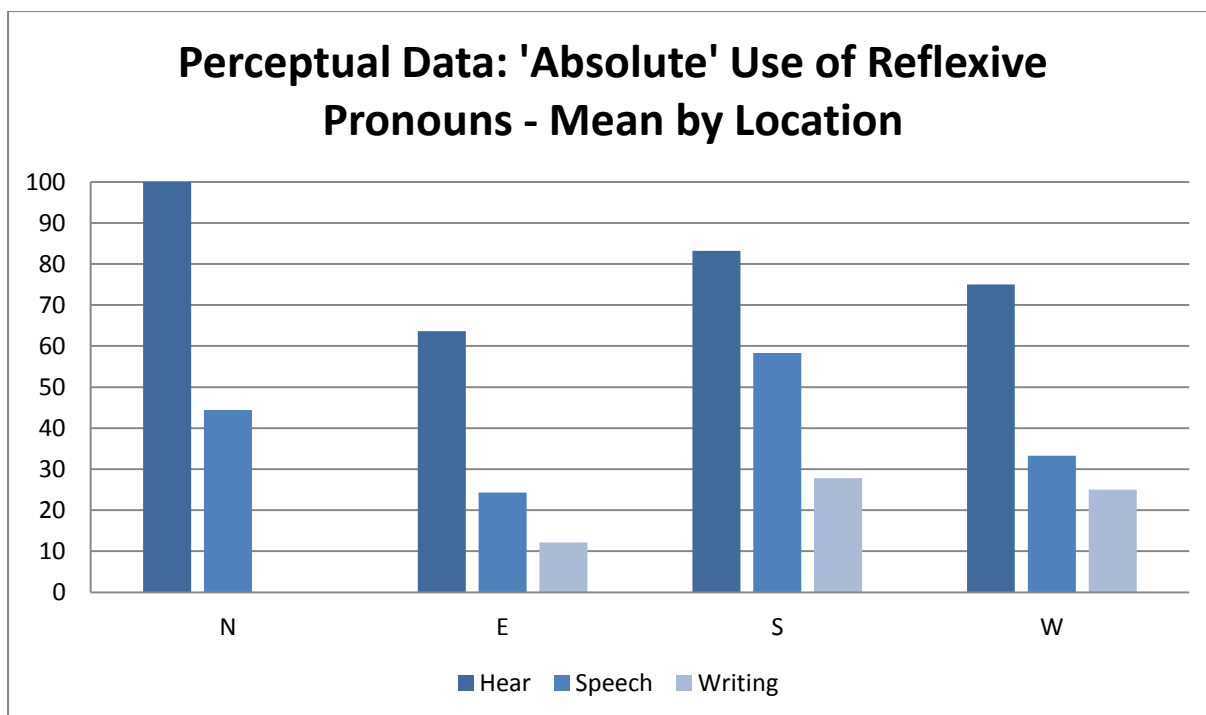
Figure 5.32'Absolute' Reflexive Pronoun Data by Location

'Absolute' Use of Reflexive Pronouns – by MxG Proficiency

The mean data for the 'absolute' use of reflexive pronouns across all three sentences is presented in Figure 5.33 in accordance with the MxG proficiency of the speakers within the sample. The data shows that the perception of this construction is sensitive to this variable, with proficiency group 3 having the greatest rate of perception and usage.
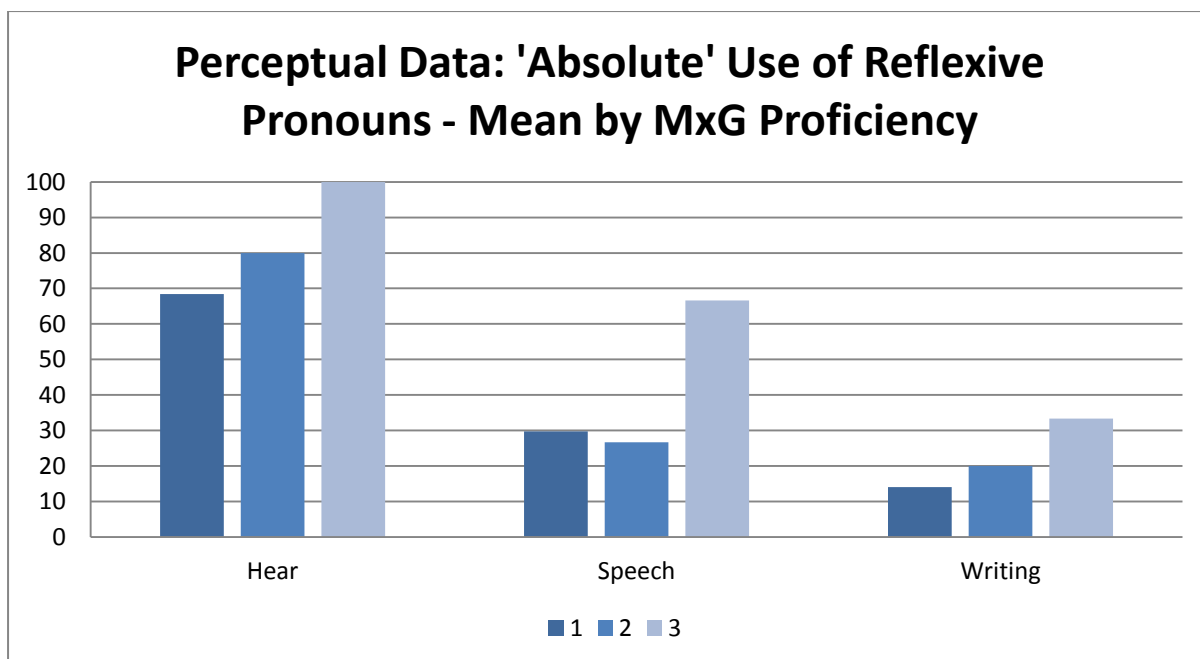
Figure 5.33'Absolute' Reflexive Pronoun Data by MxG Proficiency

This is perhaps unsurprising, again considering Weinreich's (1953) and Cooke's (1991; 2003) aforementioned ideas about interference and backwards transfer. Advanced MxG speakers are likely to operate with some degree of linguistic integration between their L1 (English) and the L2 (MxG), in what this research proposes may be a 'partial integration model' (Cooke 2003: 8). This model indicates that when one language is in use, the other language retains cognitive activity – i.e. the L1 and L2 do not operate independently of one another. In the case of the MxG substrate, therefore, it is possible that proficiency level 3 speakers use English with MxG as a background influencer across all levels of linguistic behaviour, including lexis and grammar. This would also account for the reported usage of the greatest number of MxG substrate lexical items within this proficiency group.

5.3.7 The Progressive form of verbs

The progressive form of verbs was measured using three carrier sentences:

1. *I am believing that Juan has taken it*
2. *I am not thinking much of this programme*
3. *They are thinking that they will go to the pub now*

Figure 5.34 shows the total mean data for the whole sample for each of these three constructions. As shown, there is some variation between the level of recognition and perception between the different carrier sentences, suggesting that there are some environments where this verb form is more prominent than others – specifically the constructions using 'thinking'. This is supported by the only instance of this feature in the interview data, elicited from informant F53 – a MxG proficiency level 3 speaker. When speaking about her pronunciation of the words *door* and *floor* – [dʊə] and [flʊə] respectively, she commented that the children she works with were not convinced that this was her 'real' accent. She stated:

"It's that sound. **They're not thinking it is**, I dunno. It's like, it's good [gu:d], is long, you know it's different when you say good [gu:d]. And they say "you're putting that on", I go, "no it's how I say it, I've always said it like that", you know? It is interesting."

This data suggests that this feature is perceived and there is self-reported usage; however, it is not sufficient to comment on the trajectory of this feature in future MxE.

Progressive Verb Forms
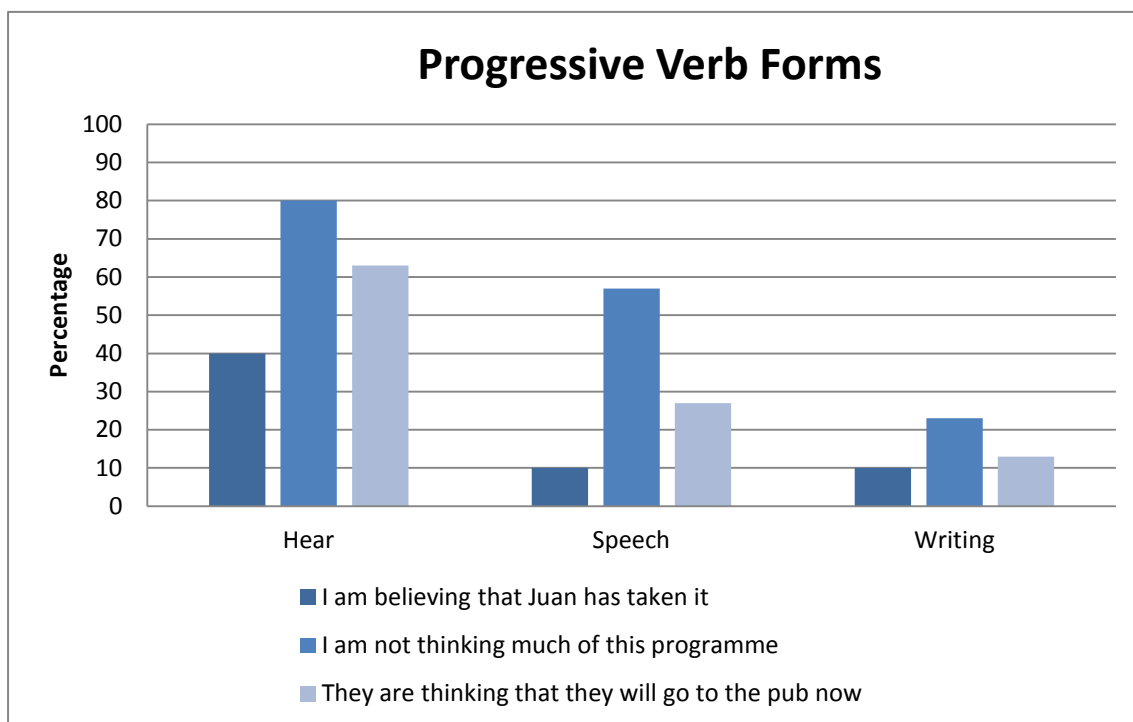
Figure 5.34 Progressive Verb Forms Data: Whole Sample

It is also worth mentioning that the lowest scoring construction; *I am believing that Juan has taken it*, was indicated as 'heard' by younger speakers who commented that their answer was, on reflection, more indicative of 'Juan' ([dʒʊən]) than of any other aspect of the carrier sentence. Juan is, of course, a traditional Manx name which the younger informants perceived to make the sentence sound like something they would hear on the IOM. This is therefore worth considering in the interpretation of the age-related data in the following section.

The 'Progressive' Form of Verbs – by Age

Figure 5.35 blow illustrates the relationship between the 'progressive' form of verbs and age within the sample. This construction, as with all MxG substrate grammatical constructions, was identified as 'heard' on the IOM most frequently by the middle age group (42-53), with the rate of perception decreasing with age. It is likely, considering the qualitative data associated with the first carrier sentence, that the youngest age group would report lower rates of perception if the name within the sample was changed to a non-Manx alternative, e.g. *John* rather than *Juan* – as this may have elicited some false-positive data. If this is the case, then the pattern of age-sensitivity for this feature is similar to that displayed by other substrate features, indicating a rise and fall in perception and usage in correspondence with informant age – reaching its peak in the middle age category.
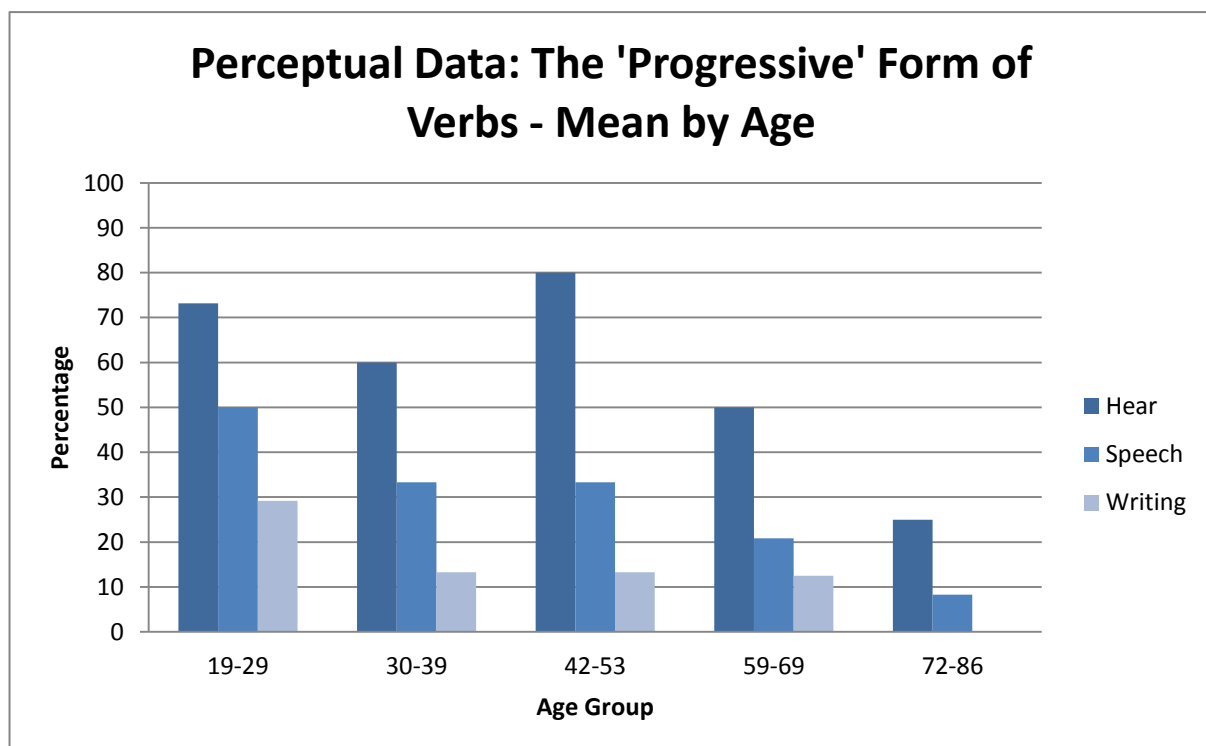
Figure 5.35 Progressive Verb Forms Data by Age Group

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The 'Progressive' Form of Verbs – by Location

Figure 5.36 below shows the distribution of 'progressive' verb form recognition by location. The data for the North of the island is similar to that for the 'absolute' use of reflexive pronouns; whereby it has the highest level of perception in the sample however no reported usage in writing. Also, like data from other constructions is the data from the West, which indicates the greatest levels of acceptability of this construction in writing. This is also the case for perceptual data surrounding non-standard definite article usage (joint greatest), 'put a sight on', and possessive constructions using 'at'. As stated previously, this may relate to the perception of the West of the island, specifically Peel, as being preservative of Manx language.
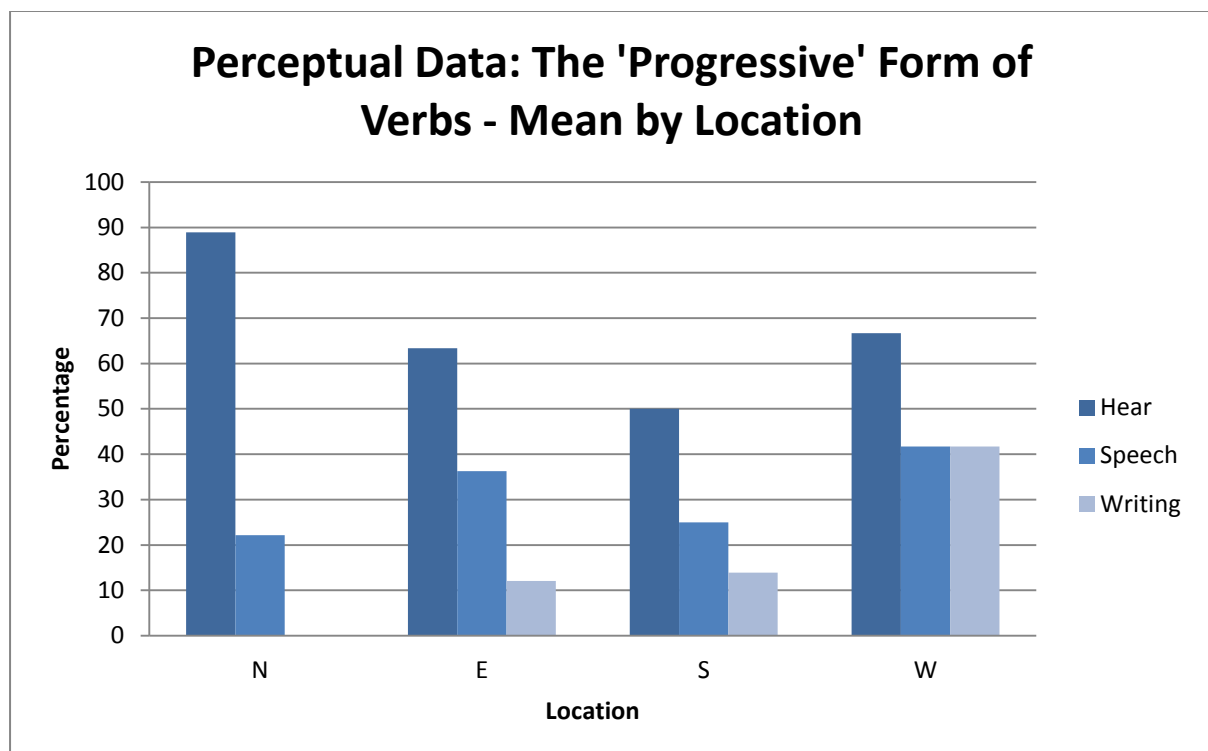
Figure 5.36 Progressive Verb Forms Data by Location

The 'Progressive' Form of Verbs – by MxG Proficiency

Figure 5.37 presents the 'progressive' verb form data in relation to MxG proficiency level. As shown, proficiency group 2 represent the highest levels of perception of usage across all three contexts. While this group is the most likely to perceive MxG substrate features in all constructions apart from 'absolute' use of reflexives, the

'progressive' form of verbs is the only construction where group 2 have the highest response rates across perception and production.
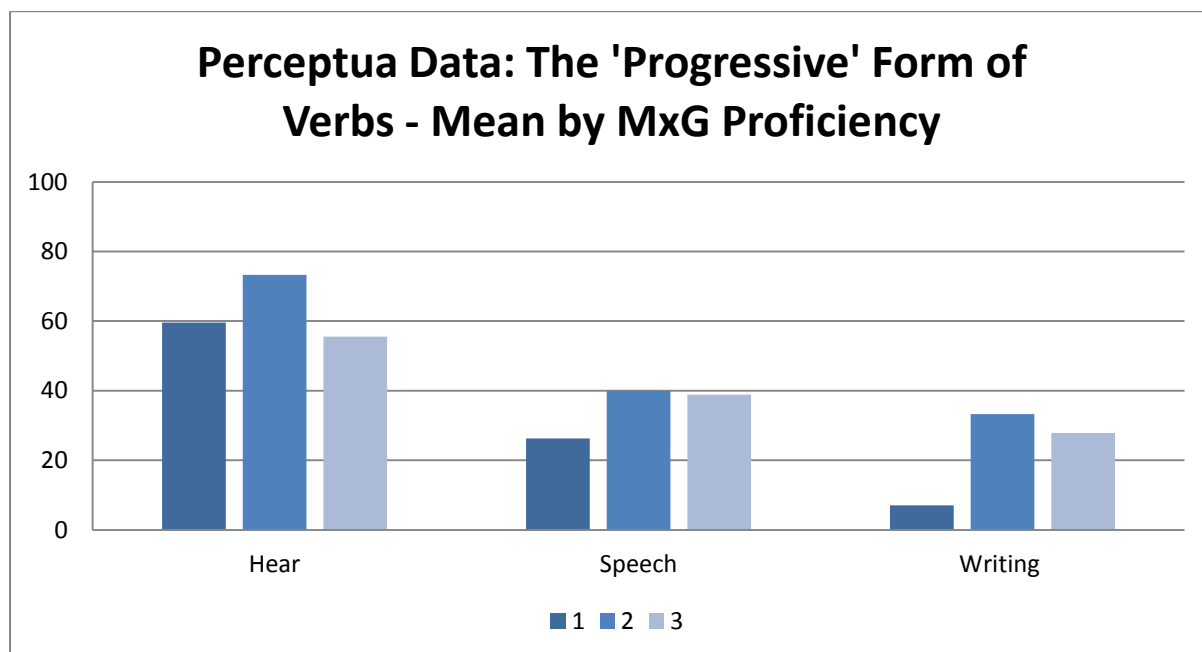
Perceptua Data: The 'Progressive' Form of Verbs - Mean by MxG Proficiency

As stated previously in this chapter, the sensitivity of proficiency group 2 to MxG substrate constructions may be to do with their status as L2 learners who are actively engaged in the acquisition process. This may involve regular engagement with MxG at regular and intense intervals as they attend lessons and conversational practice groups. This pattern of exposure and engagement may, therefore, cause these greater levels of recognition of substrate grammar through ways of backwards influence and multi-competence (Weinreich 1953; Cooke 2003) described earlier.

5.3.8 Possessive Constructions using 'at'

Figure 5.38 presents the perceptual data concerning constructions using 'at' for the whole sample. Data was elicited using the following carrier questions in the LnQ:

1. *Joe has a very big house at him*
2. *I can't go to the shop, I don't have my purse at me*
3. *It is forgotten at me*

As the graph shows, there is a clear monotonic relationship between perceived use of this feature as the contexts become more formal. A similar relationship can also be observed between the different carrier sentences.
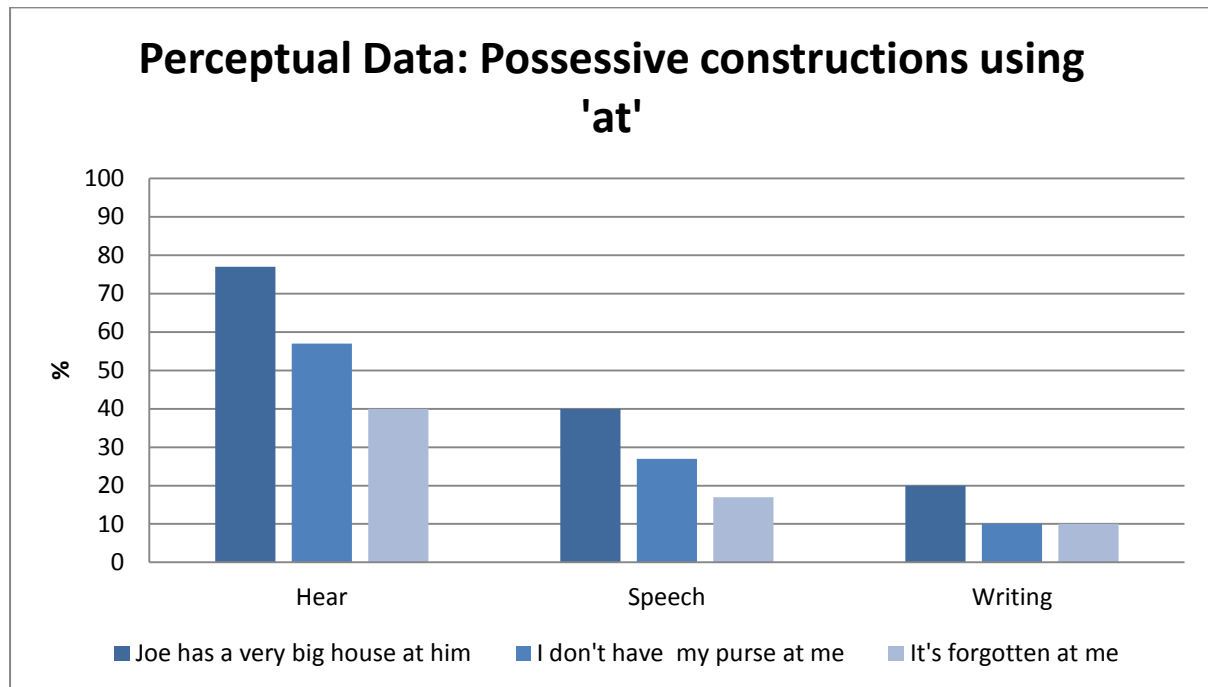
Figure 5.38 Possessive Constructions Using 'At' Data: Whole Sample

The different carrier sentences allowed for 'at' to indicate possession in a range of different grammatical contexts. From the data, the third person possessive 'at him' has greater levels of perceptual use than the first-person constructions 'at me'. This is supported by evidence from the interview data, where the following statements regarding 'at' to indicate possession were elicited:

F53	"You still get some older people, not maybe so much younger people say, 'he's got a nice dog at him'".
F30	"I think maybe 'money at him' yeah I've heard that".
M59A	"There's a dog at him"
M29	"Yeah, all the time. 'Big thing over there at them' or yeah... 'He's got a big tractor over there at him' or "he has at him'. **[46:33]** I wouldn't say 'the headache', [I'd say] 'he's got the shits at him' or something like that yeah.

Table 5-20 Possessive Constructions Using 'At': Interview Data

From the interview data, 'at' possessives are reported to occur within third person contexts, usually to imply possession of an object (often a dog) or ailment. The following sections address the data in terms of age, location, and MxG proficiency.

Possessive Constructions Using 'At' – by Age

As with all other MxG substrate grammatical constructions investigated in this research, the 42-53 age group has the highest level of reported perception and usage of 'at' possessive constructions in MxE (see figure 5.39). Unlike the other constructions, however, 'at' possessives appear to have a higher level of perceptual use in the oldest two age groups – 59-69 and 72-86. This indicates that this construction has a higher rate of retention amongst the older informants, and that it may be more resistant to attrition across the generations.
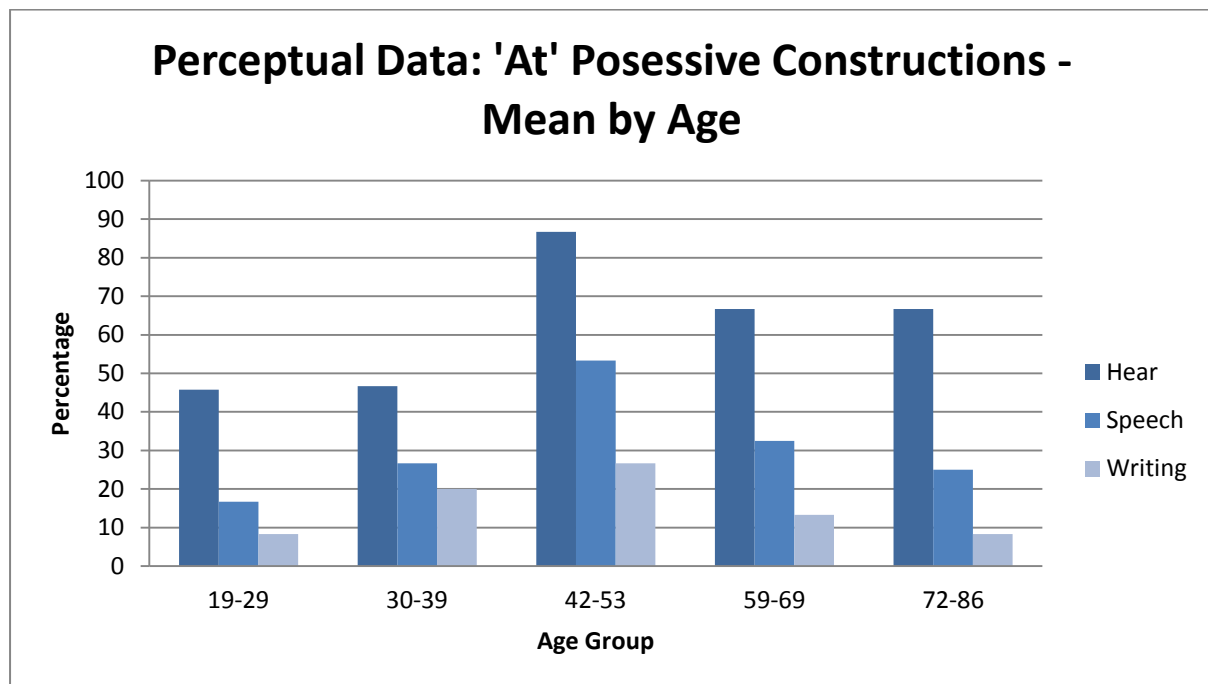
Figure 5.39 Possessive Constructions Using 'At' Data by Age Group

Possessive Constructions Using 'At' – by Location

The data (shown in Figure 5.40) suggests that location is a factor that influences the perception and usage of 'at' to indicate possession in MxE. As with other constructions, the West reports the highest rates of perception and usage. The lowest frequencies are in the East, and a familiar pattern in the North whereby there is no reported usage of this feature in writing. As suggested elsewhere, this is possibly down to the differing degrees of language contact and perceived correctness of MxG substrate grammar in the different areas. The West, as stated, is

commonly perceived as having a more traditional Manx dialect, whereas the East is noted as being influenced heavily by outsiders, especially those from Liverpool.
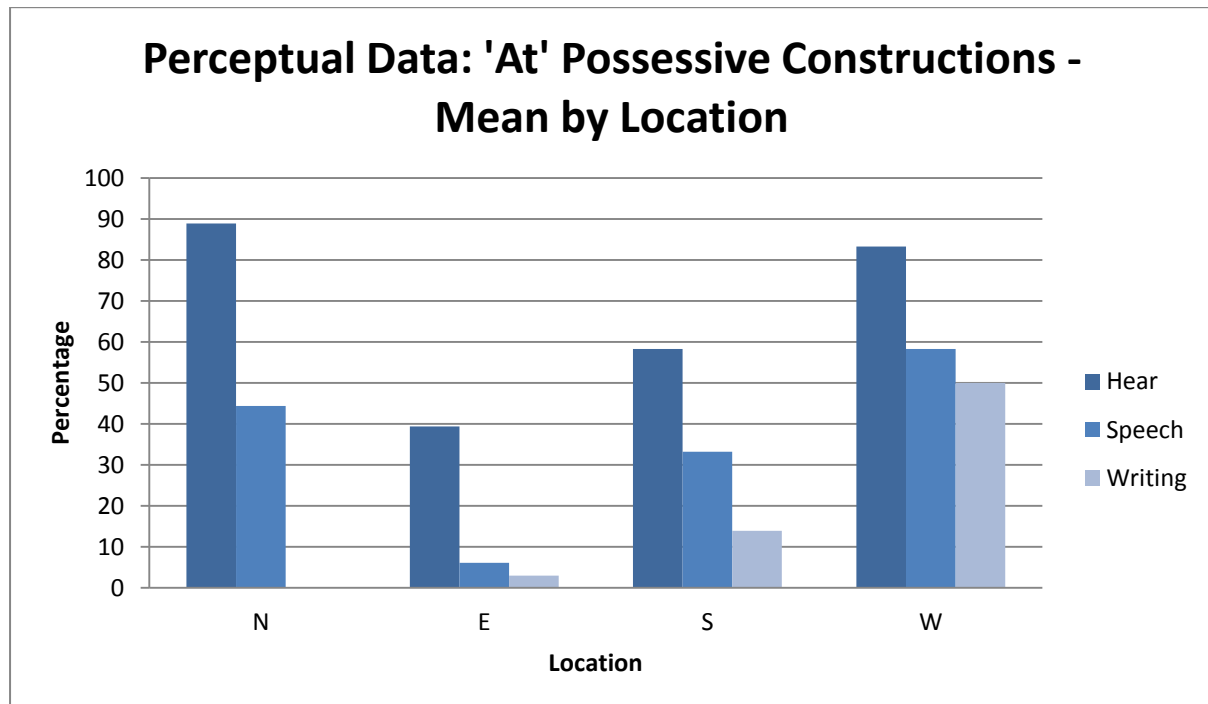
Figure 5.40 Possessive Constructions Using 'At' Data by Location

Possessive Constructions Using 'At' – by MxG Proficiency

Rates of reported perception and usage of 'at' possession is unsurprisingly lowest within the lowest proficiency group – group 1 (see Figure 5.41). Group 3 have the highest reported usage in speech, however as seen previously, proficiency group 2 perceive 'at' possession more often than groups 1 and 3. They also have a higher rate of perceived usage in writing, indicating a greater level of incorporation of this feature into each of the registers.
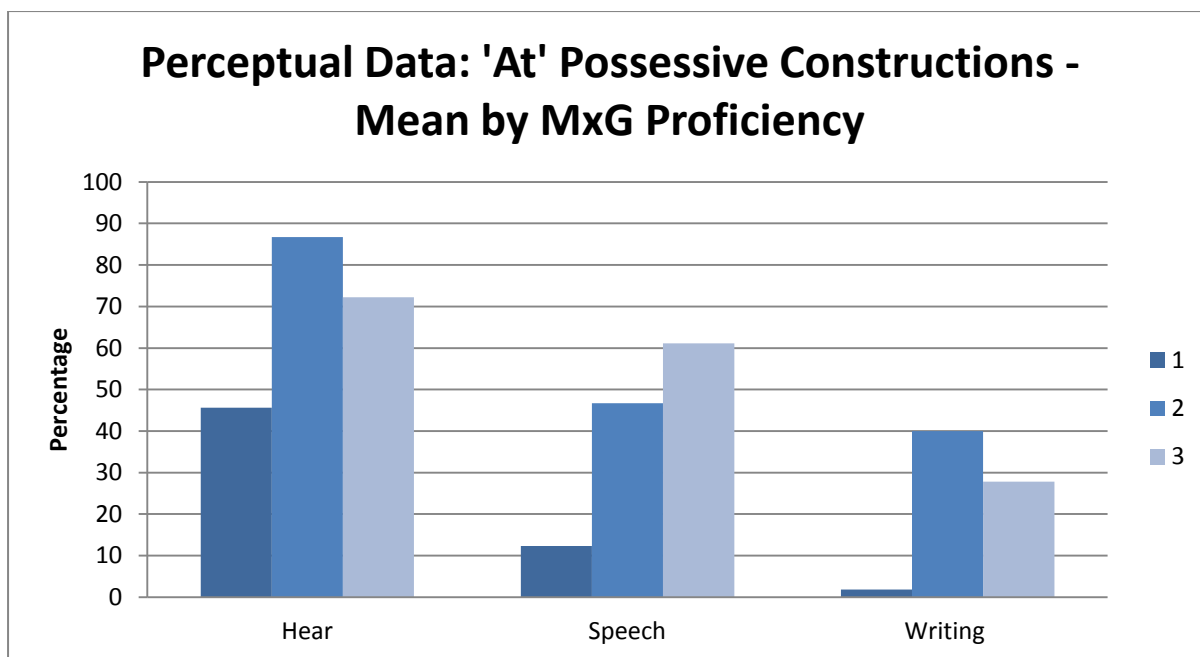
Figure 5.41 Possessive Constructions Using 'At' Data by MxG Proficiency

Summary of MxG Grammatical Items

The grammatical data elicited through SuRE indicates that:

- There is evidence that each of the substrate grammatical features are perceived as heard on IOM, although naturally-occurring speech data does not provide the same level of evidence.

- The 42-53 age group reports the highest rates of perception of MxG substrate grammar across all constructions investigated in this research.

- MxG grammatical features are self-reported as being retained more in the North and West of the island. It is likely that this is to do with the large amounts of language contact in the East, and the relative rurality and cultural tradition of the North and West.

- The perception and self-reported usage of MxG substrate grammar is sensitive to MxG proficiency, however proficiency group 2 often report higher rates of perception than proficiency group 3, which may be associated with their status as L2 learners.

5.4 LINGUISTIC DATA: OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST

Throughout the administration of SuRE on the IOM, several items of interest became apparent as significant features of MxE that are not from the MxG substrate. These items are introduced to this thesis at this point due to their prevalence across much of, if not the entire, sample. While they are not addressed in wholly the same way as the MxG substrate items, they are identified here as important linguistic markers of Manxness that are recognised as salient both by speakers and through commodification. This indicates that these items have undergone processes of enregisterment (Agha 2003) to become identifiable as features of the Manx dialect.

5.4.1 Yessir

There is some debate to do with the etymology of *yessir* – an item used as a form of address similar to 'mate' on the IOM. The item was added to the OED in June 2018, alongside several other Manx words such as *bonnag* and *jinny*, with the definition of 'used as a familiar form of address, esp. to another Manx person' (OED 2019e). The OED cites the etymology of *yessir* as a colloquial pronunciation of 'you, sir' – where the strong vowel in 'you' [juː] undergoes reduction to schwa or the short, fronted [ɛ] vowel - producing what would sound like [jəsə] or [jɛsə]. This etymology is the most popular amongst informants and concurs with the definition in Moore *et al*'s dictionary of Anglo Manx (1924). The alternative etymology proposes that *yessir* is actually a form of *uss* – the MxG emphatic word for 'you' which is equivalent to the French *toi* (Dorren 2014). Therefore, *yessir* would be an anglicised form of *you*. Given the inconsistency in the etymology of this item, it is not included in the analysis of MxG substrate items. Despite this, its prevalence within the sample means that it cannot be ignored as an important feature of MxE.

Yessir features in dialect plays, poetry, and countless commodified items such as those below in Figure 5.42. This suggests that although potentially English in origin, *yessir* has become a part of MxE through enregisterment, whereby 'performable signs become recognised…as belonging to distinct, differentially valorised semiotic registers' (Agha 2007: 81). Just as Johnstone (2013) observed in Pittsburgh with features such as the vowel sound in *not* [næt], commodified items featuring *yessir* require a specific interpretation by an audience who has an awareness of the

register in question. A further discussion of commodification and enregistered items in the linguistic landscape is present in chapter 7.

Figure 5.42 MxE Dialect Greetings Cards (Bowles 2019)

Yessir in the Sample

Data elicited through the SuRE method found that 83% of the sample (*n*=25) reported to know and/or use *yessir* in their English. This was often elicited through the SRN prompt *how are you* or *mate*. Qualitative data from informants about this item from the interview are below in Table 5.21.

M39A	[For 'hello' on the SRN] : It's the usual *alright yessir* isn't it?
M59A	But erm, once you start to learn Manx, it tends to be more of a jokey sort of...it's looked down on. Funnily enough, I was sat with a load of friends, er, earlier in the year, er, I had a friend visiting who I hadn't seen for like forty years from erm, from Canada. And there was a load of us sat together. We were sort of brought up together and knocked around you know when we were goin in the pubs and all that. And their interpretation was like **"what are you learning that for? All you gotta do is be able to say 'yessir'!".** And that was, probably was the attitude I would have had. There is sort of different stories of where it comes from. A lot of English people used to say it's because it's subservient. Yes sir. Yes sir. But I don't think that's right at all. I think it's yous. You sir. You know, I think it's based on that, like, you know. And 'fella' and 'hey boy' and things, a lot of those would be used when you couldn't remember somebody's name.
F63B	**I've got kittergy, yessirs.**
M80	[For 'hello' on the SRN]: **Well *hello, yessir.*** I would to a Manxman, yeah… And not usually to a lady. It's not the most gracious thing to say to a lady, somehow.
M29	Erm, like I'll use as a greetin' **"alright yessir"** or somethin' like that, or even when you're textin' somebody.
F21A	And like, we use the word y*essir…* Like the boys, boys will say it… But they do it to like "look at me".
M59B	**Waaasps, waaasps, yessir.** **Caaastletown, yessir.** Yeah I say it a lot…I spell it different than its proper way. I think the, most when you read it, it's Y-E-S-S-I-R which to me is bowing down to English or something like that. So I, you know being in charge or telling you what to do. So I always, if I write it, I always write it as Y-E-S-S-A-H, as it sounds. Cos it's anonymous then.
F21B	Like, if I was to say *yessir* or something I'd just do it to take the mick out of someone, or be like annoying.
M69	South – er they use lots of words that, like I would say **"how you doin', yessir?"** to somebody, they would say "how you doin', soul?".
M42	Only to a small, select group of people I'd say [yessir]
M86	**F77: If you had the opportunity to talk to the person in the car, you would, wouldn't you? He would.** **M86: "*Where are you from, Yessir*?!"**

Table 5-21 Examples of 'Yessir': Interview Data

From the interview data above, the significance of *yessir* to Manx residents becomes apparent. The table presents a combination of naturally-occurring data and metalinguistic discussion, aiding an understanding of how this item is used in MxE, and its value as a marker of Manx identity. Firstly, when considering the naturally occurring data (indicated in **bold**), it is evident that *yessir* functions as a discourse marker (e.g. "*Waasps, waasps, yessir*") and as a form of address (e.g. "*where are you from, yessir?*"). This item was commonly elicited through the open interview question that asked informants to describe what they perceived to be the features of MxE. As well as citing phonological features, such as vowel lengthening, *yessir* was

the most common feature cited. This an act of feature-dropping, whereby individuals use particular features of a dialect strategically in order to demonstrate a knowledge of that variety (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2014).

The data suggests there are some social parameters that govern the perceptual use of *yessir*, specifically in terms of addressee/addresser gender and location. Many informants stated that *yessir* is an item used only by and towards men, which coincides with the definitions given in such dictionaries as Moore (1924) and the OED (2019e). The qualitative data also indicates that *yessir* is perceived as used between Manx-born speakers. For example, informant M59B refers to "bowing down to the English" by spelling *yessir* in its "proper way". M80 also states that he would only use *yessir* to a Manxman, and not usually to a female. This is an indication that *yessir* is not only a marker of Manx identity but also a resource used to reinforce an in-group membership. Given the contact situation on the IOM, where as has been stated, Manx-born residents are in the minority, the use [or non-use] of *yessir* could be an important tool in the maintenance of a distinctive linguistic identity.

There is also an implication from the qualitative data that *yessir* is seen as a more important linguistic marker of Manx identity than MxG itself. As informant M59A states, his learning of MxG was met with a somewhat jocular response from his friends, who remarked, "what are you learning that for? All you gotta do is be able to say *yessir!*". This, combined with the frequent citation of *yessir* as a feature of MxE is a prompt for further study into this item in later works, to test the implied parameters of usage.

Finally, it would appear that *yessir* is a tool possibly used by speakers to create a stylised 'country' Manx persona – as the naturally occurring data from M59B demonstrates. When asked about the features of MxE, a discussion of vowel lengthening in words like *wasp* and *castle* came about. When performing these vowel sounds, M59B used an exaggerated form of his own accent, adding *yessir* to knowingly frame the utterance as one which would be interpreted as Manx.

Yessir by Age

When looking at the quantitative *yessir* data by age (Figure 5.43), there is a striking difference between this item and the MxG substrate items, both lexical and grammatical. The middle age group (42-53) was often the most frequent users to

report use of the MxG items. With *yessir*, however, there is little variation between the first four age groups (80-100%), suggesting that this item is widely employed across generations. The oldest group (72-86) have lower rates of usage, however what is notable is that the 50% who *did* offer *yessir* were the 2 males from this sample. This supports the idea that *yessir* has higher rates of usage amongst men.

Perceptual Data: Yessir by Age

A bar chart showing Percentage (y-axis, 0 to 100) by Age Group (x-axis). Values: 19-29 ≈ 88; 30-39 = 100; 42-53 = 80; 59-69 ≈ 88; 72-86 = 50.
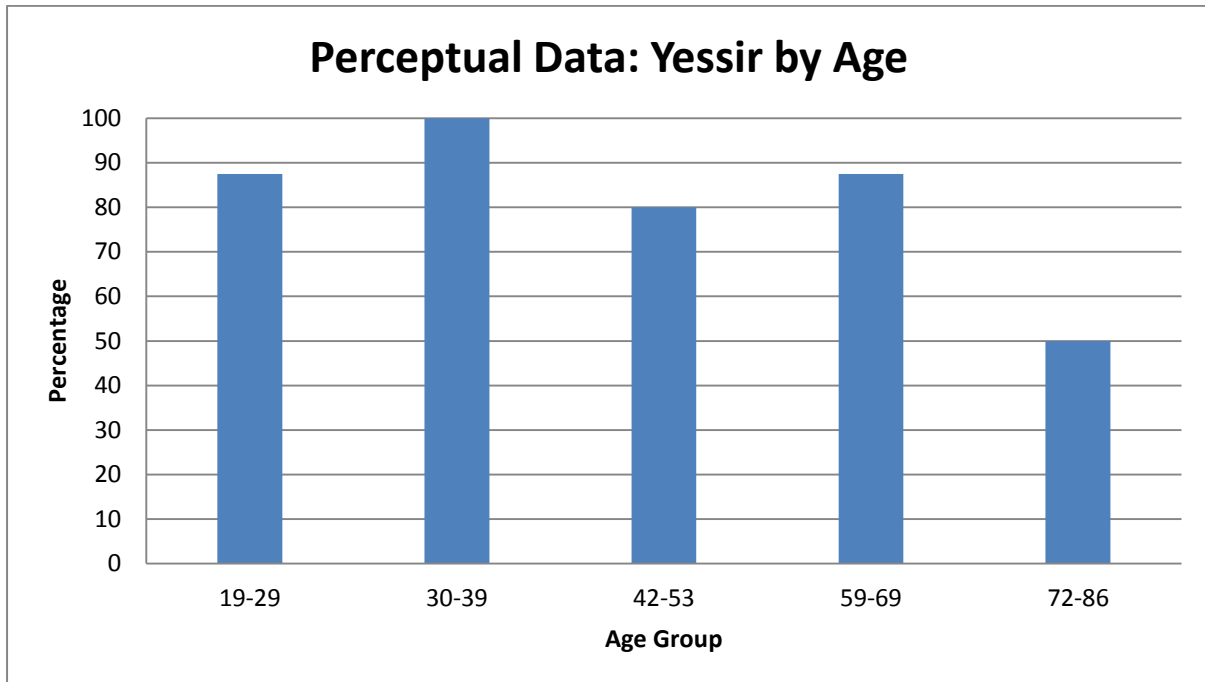
Figure 5.43 Yessir Data by Age Group

Yessir by Location

As with many of the MxG items, the West displays the highest amount of perceived *yessir* usage (100% of informants), as shown in Figure 5.44. The location-sensitivity of *yessir* does, however, present itself differently to that of MxG items, in that the East of the island maintains a comparable level of perceived usage to the South and West. This suggests that *yessir* is perhaps less sensitive to contact than [other] items from the MxG substrate, possibly because of its ability to index native from non-native islander. Let us consider the findings on Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972b), where down-islanders (an area favoured by tourists) used fewer instances of the local, centralised diphthongs than those living in the more rural up-island. The IoM does not appear to follow suit. This is because businesses in the East often rely on

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the custom and engagement of outsiders, and Douglas is also the area most densely filled with hotels. If the IOM were like Martha's Vineyard, as with the MxG features, this location would display the least amount of MxG, or MxE, variants. However, it is precisely this contact and reliance upon outsiders that may account for the comparatively high percpetual usage of *yessir* in the East. While acknowledging that 'the reduction of distinguishing dialect features is common in cases of inter-dialectal contact' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1999: 507), it is proposed in the case of *yessir* that another type of cross-linguistic influence is at play: dialect divergence, as discussed in chapter 7.
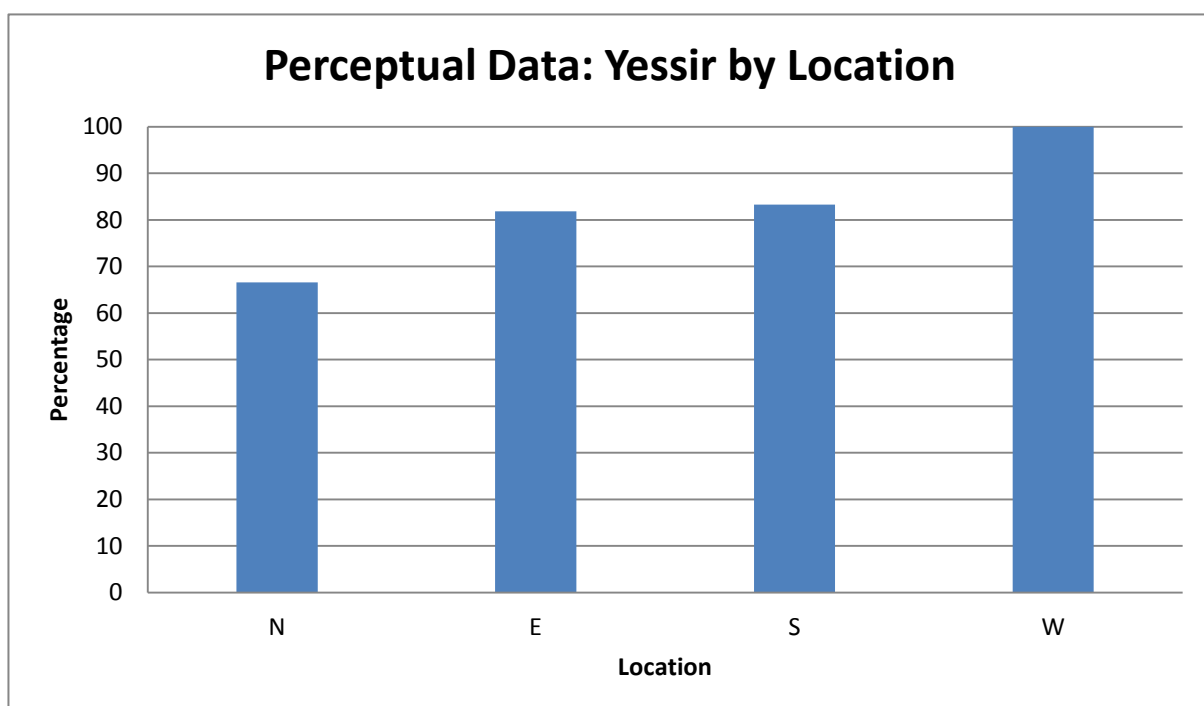
Figure 5.44 Yessir Data by Location

Much sociolinguistic attention has been paid to accommodation and the construction of new jointly-negotiated identities[31] as consequential of linguistic convergence (Trudgill 2008). Studies such as Bourhis and Giles (1977) have, however, found that

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[31] Whereby contact between speakers forms new, joint identities between individuals or groups between one another.

linguistic divergence can be used to create distance from out-group speakers. They sampled a group of Welsh adults who attended Welsh language and Welsh culture classes. The sample was split into two groups: those attending only Welsh language classes for business and progression purposes, and those attending both language and culture classes. The study found that those attending both Welsh language and culture classes diverged from an outsider speaking RP through the use of a Welsh-accented dialect. Therefore, linguistic divergence was used as a mechanism for the enforcement of social boundaries and for indexing 'sameness' between the Welsh speakers. On the IOM, it could be that in the East, prolonged and intense periods of language contact have levelled MxG substrate items. The specificity of *yessir* and its clear integration into MxE, however, prevails as a means to reinforce Manx solidarity and to create distance from the Other.

Yessir by MxG Proficiency

As stated above, Bourhis and Giles (1977) found that involvement in Welsh culture and commitment to classes beyond business and progression purposes was the differentiating factor in dialect divergence. The data for *yessir* with regard to MxG proficiency may support this finding, as there does appear to be a relationship between MxG proficiency and the perceived use of *yessir* on the IOM (Figure 5.45). It must be noted, however, that each of the proficiency groups have a relatively high perceptual frequency of *yessir*.
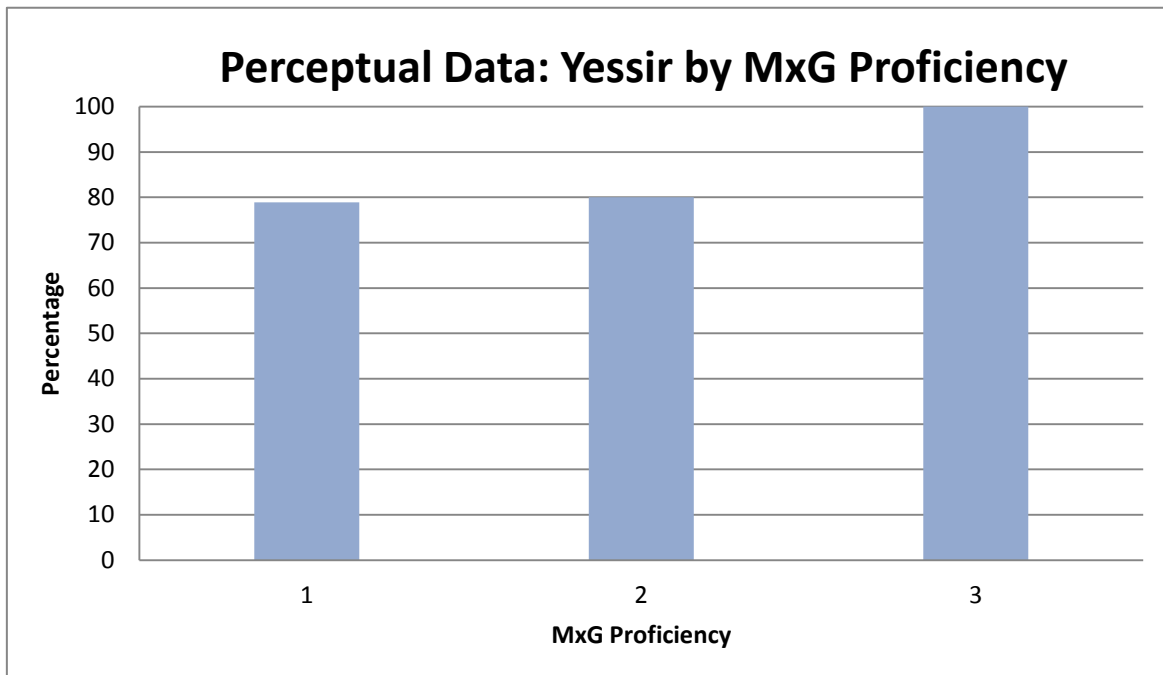
Figure 5.45 Yessir Data by MxG Proficiency

As the graph shows, 100% of informants with a MxG proficiency score of 3 report to use *yessir*, although the proportional data for all three proficiency groups is high (78.9% and 80%). As has been established, acquisition of MxG is rarely for economic or professional betterment and is instead more likely to be a reflection of one's upbringing or involvement in cultural activity on the island. Consequently, the data can lead to the interpretation that, as in Bourhis and Giles (1977), increased cultural involvement leads to an increased rate of divergence – in this case, the perceived retention of *yessir.* This can, of course, be applied to the rest of the data in this thesis which has found that many substrate items are sensitive to informant knowledge of MxG. It may be that retention of the substrate at all is an act of dialect divergence, whereby islanders seek to retain some distance from 'comeovers' and tourists. This, however, would require further investigation using a sample that included non-native Manx residents.

5.4.2 Hoolie

Hoolie [ˈhuːli] is another item that does not originate in the MxG substrate but was cited by informants as a part of the MxE dialect. The phrase 'blowing a hoolie' on the IOM refers to very strong winds and was reported as a feature of MxE by 86.6% of

informants (*n*=26 out of 30). With this definition, *hoolie* is featured in the OED (2019f), which cites an uncertain etymology which may be associated to either the Orkney Scots *hoolan* meaning 'gale' or the Irish *hooly* meaning 'a noisy party' (ibid). As with *yessir*, *hoolie* appears to have undergone enregisterment to become a recognised feature of MxE, with the item being used in tweets from the Manx northern neighbourhood policing team – part of the IOM constabulary (see Figure 5.46), and online articles such as 'how to survive a hoolie on the IoM' (Peggy and Lewis 2019).

IOMNNPT
@IOMNNPT

Follow

Multiple trees down, lots of flooding and blowin' a hoolie everywhere + three soaked through officers! Thank you to the kind public who helped with branch removal, offers of dry clothing and Bob who brought us a coffee… facebook.com/iomnnpt/posts/…

2:33 PM - 15 Dec 2018
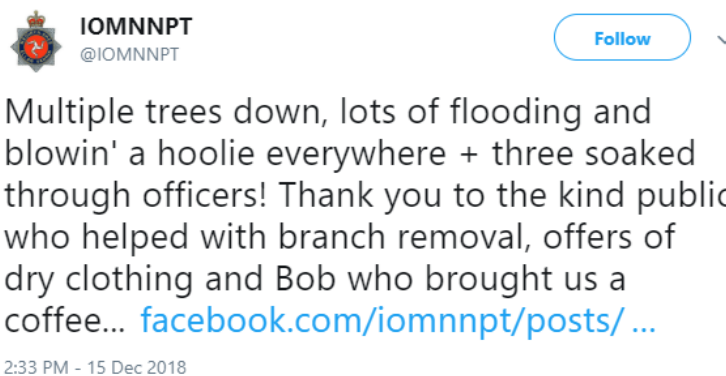
Figure 5.46 Tweet Containing *Hoolie* by IoM Neighbourhood Policing

Hoolie by Age

As Figure 5.47 shows, *hoolie* displays little age-related variation. The age group with the lowest percentage of perceived usage is the 59-69 group, however their response rate of 75% indicates that this item is still a significant feature of MxE for this group. High rates of perceived usage across all age groups suggests that *hoolie* is not sensitive to age in the same way as other items that this study considers, such as *mollag*.

Perceptual Data: Hoolie by Age
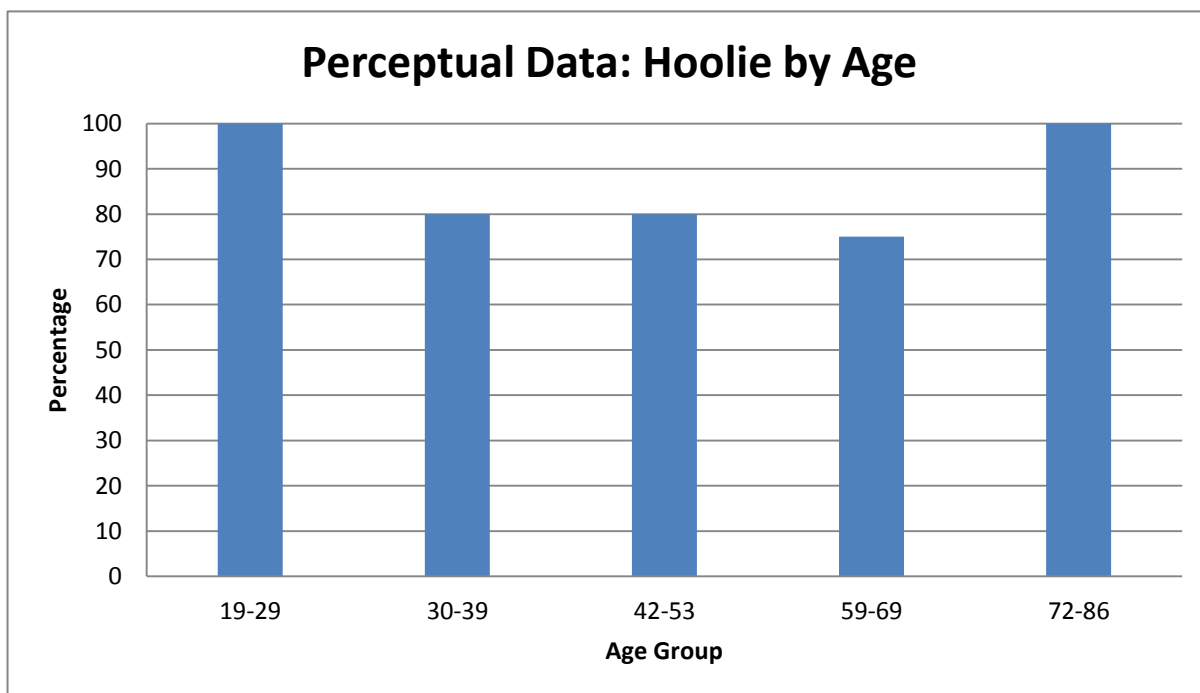
Figure 5.47 Hoolie Data by Age Group

Hoolie by Location

Although *hoolie* is perceived to be used in each of the four locations considered in this study, there is a notable difference in usage in the West of the island – an area which this chapter has shown to retain many MxG substrate items to a higher degree than others. This may be explained by the perception of traditional Manxness in the West of the IOM, which the grammatical data has shown to support linguistically. The West appears to retain a large number of MxG substrate features, however we must remember that although an enregistered item in MxE, *hoolie* is not of Manx origin. Therefore, based on this data it is possible to suggest that the West utilise more MxG substrate items however their MxE does not include enregistered items from other sources to the same degree as other locations. As stated previously, this may be linked to the cultural tradition of the West, especially in locations such as Peel, and its rurality compared to urban areas in the East, such as Douglas, Onchan and Braddan.

Other patterns in the *hoolie* location data are dissimilar from the MxG substrate items. As Figure 5.48 shows, this item is perceived as used by 100% of informants in the East, suggesting that this item is resistant to the contact-induced dialect levelling which appears to affect the use of MxG substrate items in this area.

Perceptual Data: Hoolie by Location
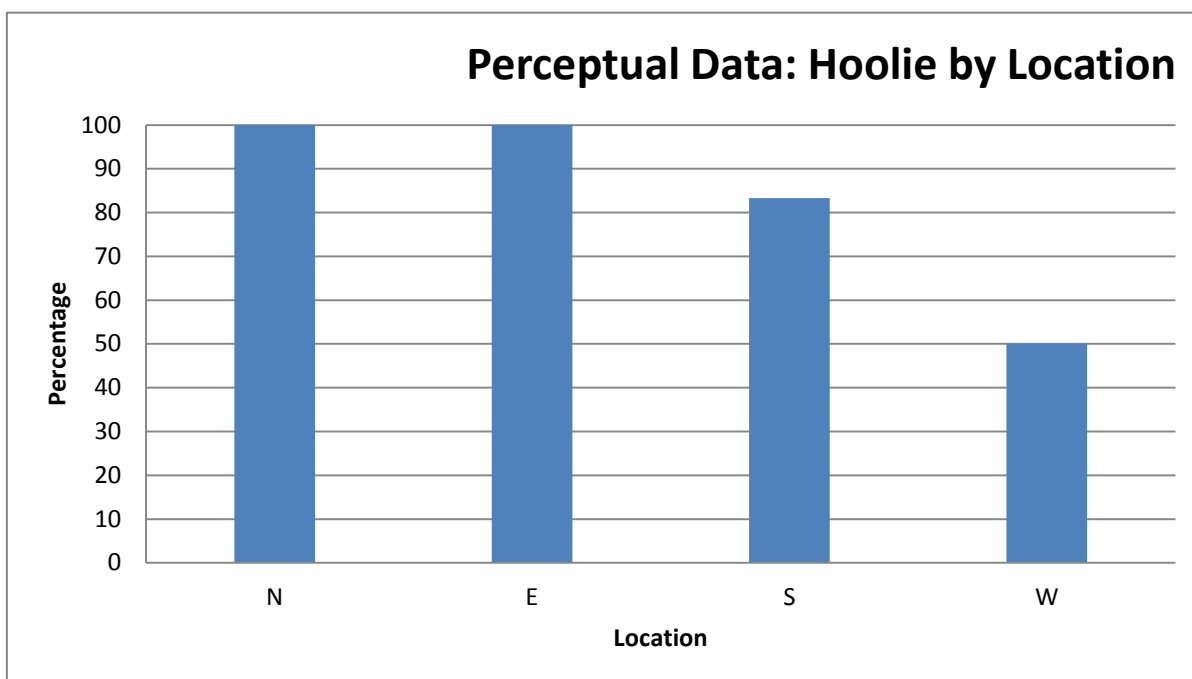
Figure 5.48 Hoolie Data by Location

Hoolie by MxG Proficiency

Hoolie also shows an alternative pattern of perceived usage amongst the different MxG proficiency groups (Figure 5.49). Proficiency group 1 represented the lowest proportion of perceived usage of both MxG lexical and grammatical items overall, however this is not the case for *hoolie*. Instead, 100% of speakers in proficiency group 1 stated that they know and use *hoolie*, compared with 60% of group 2 and 66.6% of group 3. While there is a larger representation of speakers in proficiency group 1 (*n*=19), this data is interesting in that it may allow us to better understand lexical variation in the MxE dialect. Although MxG proficiency appears to have a clear link to the use of MxG items, those with basic proficiency are more likely to report use of this item which is borrowed from elsewhere. *Hoolie* is still very much a lexical feature of MxE, however its usage appears to be more prevalent amongst those with lower ability in MxG.

Perceptual Data: Hoolie by MxG Proficiency
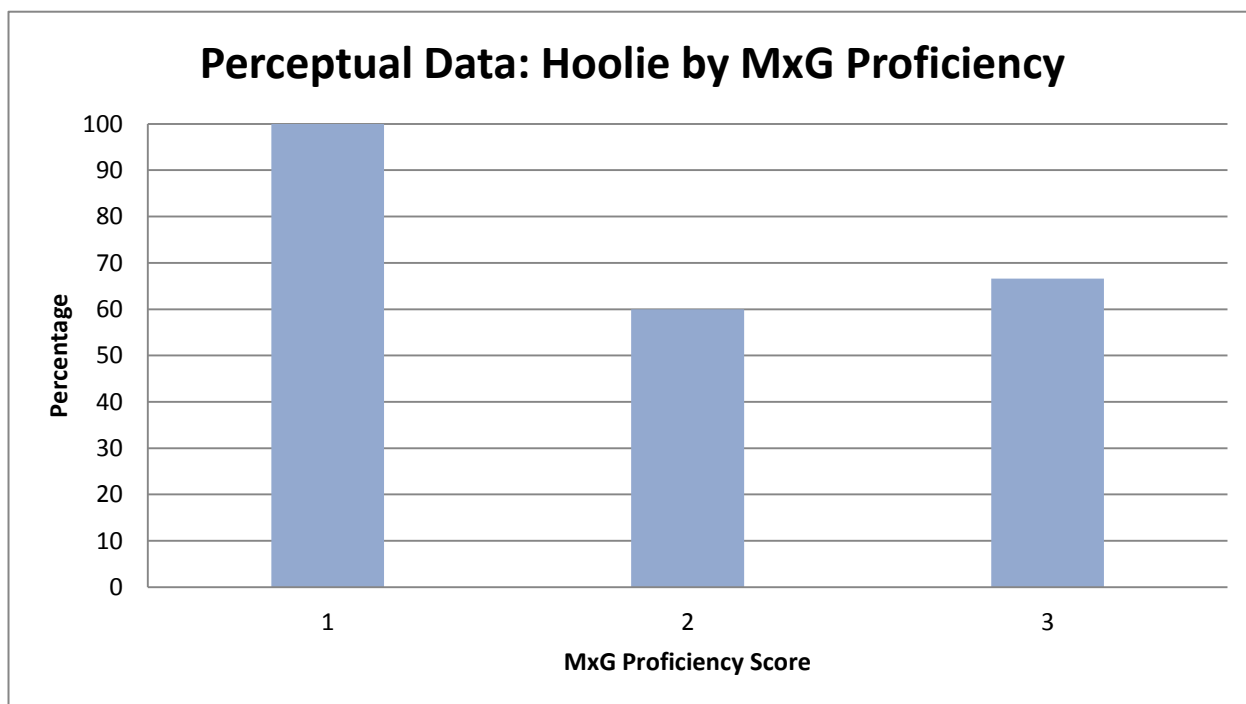
Figure 5.49 Hoolie Data by MxG Proficiency

5.4.3   R-A-T

Linguistic taboo is a feature of MxE that emerged throughout the data elicitation process, and one specific item prevails across the majority of informants in the sample (90%) – the avoidance of *rat*. Instead of using the item, informants gave a list of noa names; names which are used so to avoid uttering the taboo item and which function as iconyms (Alinei 1997). This research has found that there are several noa names used on the IOM for *rat*, which are as follows: *R-A-T, longtail, joey, ringy, queer fella, cawl iron fella, jiggler*. The possible origins of this lexical taboo are discussed in chapter 7, however the current chapter proposes that this lexical taboo is as important a linguistic feature of MxE as the other items discussed. This is because the exclusion of an item, and its consequent substitution, in one's permitted vocabulary is inextricably linked to the construction of a linguistic identity. When writing about lexical taboo in North Sea regions, Flom suggests that the survival of such taboos reflects their historic influence on the societies who use them – which is

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not confined to those with occupations relating to the sea (1925: 400). Qualitative data from the interview element of the data elicitation is used in chapter 7 to assist an understanding of how this taboo operates on the IOM currently, and how this is linked to the preservation of an island identity in a contact context.

5.4.4 Banging

The SRN data also revealed an interesting difference in the way that young speakers on the IOM use the English item *banging*. This word was offered by five young, female speakers in response to the SRN prompt 'unattractive'. This prompted further discussion in the interview, as this is not a usage that the project had anticipated. Qualitative data associated with *banging* is below in Table 5.22.

F19 and F21A	K: Ever felt embarrassed about the way you speak? F19: I've put when people use the different word 'banging' so you could go across and say ban-, like someone's banging or something, to us it's not very good looking, whereas to them it's good looking. So it's, it can be a bit of a barrier sometimes. K: So do you think that's unique to the island, saying banging? F21A: Yeah definitely. F19: Cos most people say someone's banging as if they would - F21A: Or if I ate food and I'd be like "oh that's banging" if it was horrible F19: Yeah. It's just another word for horrible
F21B	I made like tea for all my flat and they're like "it's banging, this" and I was like "what?" cos I thought it was bad. I thought they were saying that my food was bad.

Table 5-22 Banging: Interview Data

Banging, therefore, has reported usage in the context of when something is unpleasant – with specific examples given of taste and attractiveness – specifically amongst young females (F19, F21A, F21B, F25, F30). Eckert famously describes young speakers as the 'movers and shakers' of language change (1997: 52) in that it is they who are often the instigators of, for example, linguistic innovation. Specifically, studies such as Cheshire (1998) and Eckert (1998) have found that it is females who are often at the forefront of innovation. Although there is evidence that men do lead some change, such as Trudgill's (1972) findings in Norwich, these findings were largely concerned with levels of conservatism and prestige rather than the use of changing or innovatory forms (Eckert 1990: 250). It is suggested that with regards to the IOM data, there is evidence of linguistic innovation that requires further investigation as a later extension to this project. Whilst these initial findings are encouraging, the use of this variant requires further testing on a larger sample.

5.5   SUMMARY OF LINGUISTIC DATA

Summary of Lexical and Grammatical Findings

The data provides evidence that there are a number of MxG substrate items perceived as used in MxE, both lexical and grammatical in nature. This often has links to speaker proficiency in MxG as an L2, however there are also some observable links to age and location which are discussed above. Additional lexical items of interest presented themselves in the data, some of which will be discussed in chapter 7 as means of understanding lexical variation in MxE.

Factors to Consider

As with many sociolinguistic investigations, there is the need to acknowledge the possibility of accommodation within the sample. As stated earlier in this chapter, the use of volunteers in social research can lead to the elicitation of data modified by the participant to suit what they perceive to be the needs of the researcher. This form of accommodation is described in Giles and Powesland (1997), who note that changes in linguistic forms occur in response to contextual and environmental factors. Although efforts were made in the methodological design of this project to avoid accommodation, through for example, the use of social dyads wherever possible, it is possible that this has some influence on the elicited data.

Additionally, the use of dialect literature as a source of linguistic features has been described as 'thorny' (Wright 2018: 5). Although this research has indeed found evidence that features used in stylised dialect literature are features of present-day MxE, dialect literature (especially older dialect literature) can, of course, overrepresent certain forms for entertainment value (ibid). Although the quantitative data elicited through SuRE cannot be discredited (nor is this suggested), there is evidence from the interview portion of the data collection that indicates MxG substrate features are a resource used in dialect stylisation.

The following chapter presents attitudinal and perceptual data elicited from the IdQ administered on the IOM. As stated in chapter 4, this is used to provide a more holistic picture of the linguistic data and to assist in the identification of links between

island identity and linguistic variation in MxE, with a specific focus on use of the MxG substrate.

6 ATTITUDINAL AND IDENTITY DATA

6.1 PERCEPTIONS OF THE LOCAL: IdQ RESPONSES

As Llamas states, it is important to gain an insight into motivations for linguistic variation through the incorporation of qualitative, attitudinal data into otherwise quantitative studies (2001: 191). For this reason, a study that traditionally may have sat adequately as solely quantitative in nature is supplemented with qualitative information elicited through the holistic nature of the SuRE method. Analysis of individual feelings towards the local area and its linguistic behaviours assists greatly in the current project, as these allow an insight into perceptions of meaningful indices (that is, for example, perceptions of local life that have community value) that help to construct Manx communities across generational and geographic spaces.

As stated in chapter 4, the IdQ consists of eight questions targeted to elicit information about local events and practices, as well as attitudes towards and perceptions of local linguistic behaviours. In the interview, these were supplemented with additional metalinguistic discussion of Manx English, with the intention of eliciting a further level of perceptual data, and of observing 'feature dropping' as in Johnstone and Bermgaudt (2004). Firstly, responses to the following language-oriented questions will be addressed.

1. *What accent would you say that you have?*
2. *Are you proud of the way that you speak?*
3. *Do you feel you need to know Manx dialect words in order to have a 'true' Manx identity (or to associate strongly with the IOM)?*
4. *What is your knowledge of MxG? If you had children, would you want them to learn the language?*
5. *What do you think the features of Manx English are? Are there places on the island where people speak differently?*

6.1.1 Self-perception of Accent

Although this research is not primarily concerned with accent, and instead focuses predominantly on lexis and grammar, informant perception of both their own accent and of their linguistic surroundings is important to its research questions. This is because linguistic self-definition can be revealing of aspects of identity such as

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association/dissociation, and perceptions of linguistic features of a home area can form the basis of further discussion.

Of the thirty informants, twenty-five[32] described their accent as 'Manx', or 'slight Manx' (83%). Of the remaining five, three indicated they had Northern English accents (10%), one stated 'neutral' (3%), one stated 'none' (3%), as presented in Table 6.1 and 6.2, which illustrate the responses by gender and age respectively.

	Manx		Northern UK		None/Neutral	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Female (n=15)	12	80	3	20	0	0
Male (n=15)	13	87	0	0	2	13

Table 6-1 Self-Perception of Accent Data by Gender

	Manx		Northern UK		None/Neutral	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
19-29 (n=8)	8	100	0	0	0	0
30-39 (n=5)	4	80	1	20	0	0
42-53 (n=5)	3	60	1	20	1	20
59-69 (n=8)	6	75	1	12.5	1	12.5
72-86 (n=4)	8	100	0	0	0	0

Table 6-2 Self-Perception of Accent Data by Age Group

[32] NB One informant (F59B) indicated a further level of specificity to her Manx accent as 'Manx East'

As the tables illustrate, overwhelmingly the most common response is 'Manx' across both gender and the age continuum (depicted in Table 6.2). This was rarely qualified any further than this (in two thirds of the cases). Some younger speakers (F25, M20, F21B) did, however, explain that although they identified their accent as Manx, it was either not 'strong', or their accent was in some way deficient of a 'true' Manx accent. The qualitative responses given by these three informants is below (Table 6.3):

Informant	Open comments: Self-Identified Accent
M20	"It could be more Manx"
F21B	"My accent is unique and defines where I am from, but I don't feel that my Manx accent is strong"
F25	"I'm proud that I sound Manx but I know I'm not properly Manx in the way that I speak"

Table 6-3 Self-Identification of Accent: Open Comments

The above informants appear to indicate that they acknowledge the existence of 'broader' Manx accents which they do not feel they possess, although when questioned about their time off the island at university, they were quick to point out occasions where their variety of English had become a talking point. This often referred to phonetic variation rather than lexical or grammatical variation (examples below in Table 6.4). This may indicate that when resident on the IOM, what is, to UK listeners, marked difference becomes less representative of the Manx variety.

Informant	Interview Data: Accent
M20	"I definitely pronounce some words differently and they make fun of that – but it's all in good fun" *K: Like what?* "Look [luːk]. Sure [ʃʊə]. Tour [tʊə] . Book [buːk], cook [cuːk], door [dʊə], floor [flʊə]. Kind of things like that."
F21B	"If you hear someone that talks proper Manx, I don't think I sound Manx at all."
F25	"I think it's noticeable to English people but Manx people wouldn't say that I sound Manx, if that makes sense." "my first manager was from Southern England so like he was posh *laughs* and he said that I sounded super, he's like "you're so Manx!" "I say necklace [nɛkleɪs] and at uni they laughed at me, so I started saying necklace [nɛkləs]. So I went and then realised I was doing that and was like "I shouldn't change how I speak" so then I went back to it."

Table 6-4 Experiences of Linguistic Difference: Open Comments

Other informants who identified their accent as Manx qualified their statement with added specificity. For example, one stated 'Manx – middle class', and another said they had a 'hills accent'. Therefore, although some informants appear to have an awareness that their particular Manx accent falls within an identifiable social or geographic classification, the majority appear to feel that 'Manx' as a label is sufficient. Given the size of the island, at first this might be thought not to unreasonable. However, when asked in the interview whether there are places on the island where people speak differently, many informants did identify areas of difference (see Table s 6.5 and 6.6), most commonly identifying Douglas (67%) and Peel (50%).

Douglas		Peel		North/South		Urban/Rural		'Farming'		Ramsey	
n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
19	67	15	50	7	23	5	17	4	13	4	13

Table 6-5 Areas of perceived distinctive speech areas on the IoM

	Douglas		Peel	
	M	F	M	F
% of Identifiers	n = 10 53%	n = 9 47%	n = 8 53%	n = 7 47%
% of Total Sample	n = 10 33%	n = 9 30%	n = 8 27%	N = 7 23%

Table 6-6 Perceived distinctive speech areas on the IoM by gender

	Douglas		Peel	
	n	%	n	%
19-29 *(n=8)*	4	50	0	0
30-39 *(n=5)*	5	100	5	100
42-53 *(n=5)*	2	40	4	80
59-69 *(n=8)*	5	63	6	75
72-86 *(n=4)*	3	75	0	0
Total = 30	19	63	15	50

Table 6-7 Perceived distinctive speech areas on the IoM by age

As illustrated in Table 6.5, many informants do not perceive there to be a single identifiable Manx English, instead noting variation which is often area-specific. Despite this, often informants were not able to describe the differences that they feel demarcate these areas with much specificity (e.g. "Peel have their own thing" (F63B)). Where informants were able to comment, the most frequently occurring note was that Douglas appears to sound Scouse – with reference to residents as *Douglas Butties* or *Douglas Scousers*. This is clear in the interview quote below from informant F63A and F63B:

F63A: I think, anyway. And Douglas is more Scouse

F63B: Yeah, Douglas is Scouse isn't it?

K: And why do you think that is?

F63B: Nearer the boat, I don't know *laughs*

Douglas is the most populous area on the island, with 26,997 residents as at 2016 (IoM 2016: 17) – 32.4% of the total resident population. We can see from the table that Douglas is recognised as a distinctive speech area by 63% of informants with a significant distribution across each approximate age boundary. The identification is spread almost equally across males and females.

Douglas is the island's capital and is the main sea port for transport and freight vessels. A passenger ferry from Liverpool arrives and departs several times a day, serving business passengers and holidaymakers alike. This has been the case for centuries, with the IoM Steam Packet Company (operating the *Ben my Chree* and *Manannan* vessels) now the oldest continuously operating passenger shipping company in the world, having served the island for 189 years (IoM steam Packet Company Ltd 2019). Sea links to Liverpool, of course, have existed for far longer than this, however the Steam Packet's relative reliability has no doubt increased the amount of contact with Liverpool speakers – whether this be islanders taking day trips, or those from the UK making the trip to the IOM. It can also be suggested that the level of Liverpool influence is to do with the level of business and employment opportunity in Douglas, with one informant referring to it as the "Big Smook" (M29). There is well-established evidence to suggest that there are Scouse features in MxE, as detailed in chapter 2, such as the affrication of voiceless stops (Hamer 2012: 299, Clague 2003, Pressley 2002).

Almost as prevalent as the identification of Douglas as a perceptual speech area was the identification of Peel, identified by 50% of informants. Although Douglas was identified by informants in each approximate age boundary (stratified for the purpose of this illustration), the youngest and the oldest informants did not identify it. In the same way as the Douglas data, there is near-equal distribution of recognition between males and females.

Unlike the populous and urban area of Douglas, Peel is home to a comparatively mere 5,374 residents (IoM 2016: 16) – 6.5% of the total population. It is a fishing village on the far west of the island which is popular with tourists for its scenic harbour, castle, and museums. Some informants identify an Irish influence in Peel which is not present elsewhere, such as M39A, who states "The Peel accent, I think by default tends to get more of an Irish influence", due to its location. Others state that Peel has more of a "farmery accent" (F30), whereas some were vaguer, for example, "Peel people have their own sort of slight accent" (M69). Despite overt questioning about what these differences are, no informant could provide a specific example of linguistic features unique to Peel, or that they felt helped them to identify Peel as a speech area.

Historically there may have been significantly more external linguistic contact in Peel due to fishing and close proximity with Ireland, and there is evidence of some lexical differentiation between Peel and elsewhere in Moore's dictionary of Anglo-Manx. For example, *Biscake* (biscuit), which in Peel had the meaning of 'ship's biscuit', or *Bluebill*, a nickname unique to Peel for a mackerel (Moore 1924: PG). Therefore, it might be that the perception of difference is deeply rooted and potentially a preconception. Interestingly, informant F46 supports this idea, stating that there "is a common preconception that everybody in Peel speaks with more of a Manx accent. I wouldn't say that that's the case at all". As does informant F26 who states that:

"Apparently back in the day it was much more obvious. Like you could tell someone from Peel or Ramsey. But now obviously you have so many different people together that it's just a big mixture I think".

Clearly, further work on the perceptual dialectology of the IoM is warranted in order to clarify whether these commonly identified perceptual areas are based on any linguistic evidence, and to further investigate any ideological motivations for their demarcation.

6.1.2 Self-evaluation and misidentification of Accent

The IDQ was also concerned with eliciting individual evaluation of informant accent in terms of linguistic pride and in terms of motivations for the elicited attitudes. Table 6.8 illustrates the responses to the question *are you proud of the way that you speak?*.

Yes	No	Neutral
n = 24 (80%)	1 (3%)	5 (17%)

Table 6-8 Informant Pride in Their Accent

The data above demonstrates that the majority of informants are indeed proud of their accents. Of the six exceptions, the one informant who stated 'no' has a history of "having their Manx accent laughed out of them" at school, and the five neutral informants indicated that it isn't something that has ever occurred to them or that "we are who we are" (F58B).

A common item of discussion in the interview was the misidentification of Manx, often as Scouse. As stated elsewhere in this thesis and in this chapter, MxE is noted to have some features commonly associated with Liverpool English. Although several informants perceive Douglas to have a strong Scouse influence, the qualitative data presented below in Table 6.9 suggests that there are feelings both of frustration and of acceptance of this misidentification. F51 expresses overt irritation with being misidentified as Scouse, but others are more relaxed and understand listener rationale for this. As M69 states, often individuals in the UK have little awareness of what MxE sounds like, and therefore it is understandable that upon hearing it they identify features which are more familiar to them and make a consequential association. One informant, however, rejoices in the misidentification of him as a 'culchie' – a term which can be construed as derogatory to refer to someone from rural area, predominantly rural areas in Ireland. Informant M53 describes this as "probably the proudest moment in my life" – not that he was misidentified as Irish, but because he was identified as being from a rural, Celtic location instead of Liverpool.

F51	I think it's particularly irritating that erm if you use a lot of dialect people will often say oh "you sound like you're a Scouser" and that's just really really annoying.
M39B	I would say further afield like my in-laws they would probably say I sounded a bit Scouse or Irish. When they first met me they said "oh yes it sounds a bit Scouse". That makes me want to do a really over-the-top Scouse accent.
M39A	Some of them from Liverpool have thought I've had a posh Scouse accent before now…It's understandable to be honest.
M59B	They usually think it's either Liverpool or Dublin. Other times I've been to parts of the UK that aren't like Liverpool and stuff, they've said are we Scouse.
M69	And people say that my accent's a little bit Scouse and they say "that's Scouse"…Somebody, when I was in London, somebody thought I was a Geordie. Now I've got no similarity to a Geordie but I can see people who are not that, they know sort of what a Scouse accent sounds like, so I can understand, they wouldn't think I was from a little island in the middle of the Irish Sea.
M20	Whereas if you go across and you get say, "oh you've got a bit of a Scouse accent", you say, "I'm not from Douglas". We do get, some people think we have Scouse accents. I mean, I wouldn't be upset [if someone thought I were from Liverpool]. There's nothing wrong with Liverpool. I'd just say "I'm not".
F59B	Well I don't come from Liverpool, so *laughs*, but there again Liverpool's a halfway house between er, historically isn't it between England and Ireland and the Isle of Man. You know, and some of the Isle of Man's probably a halfway house between a lot of places and…I'd rather they knew I was Manx and I can hear differences.
M53	I was delighted that probably the proudest moment in my life was er on a ploughing trip to Belfast, just south of Belfast, with a load of er other Manx farmers. Erm they, the people in the restaurant came in and says ^"*Are yous ones culchies?"*^ *laughs* And *culchies* apparently is country people from the midst of Ireland so I thought that was good.
M80	In fact, when we went on holiday many years ago, maybe forty years ago I suppose it was, we went to the States and we had erm two of the children with us. And we got in a taxi from the airport to go into town and he said, "where you guys from?" and I said "where do you think?". He said "you sound like Beatles to me".
M23	People just wouldn't assume it's the Isle of Man would they? I think they just, it's a place that they'd forget.

Table 6-9 Informant Experiences of Accent Misidentification

From this section, we can see that informants generally are at least satisfied with the way that they speak, and the majority are proud of this. Where informants acknowledge that they have been misidentified as a speaker from Liverpool, this is often met with understanding and appreciation for the island's size, and for shared linguistic features with neighbouring areas, such as Liverpool and Ireland. Although one informant expressed that this is "irritating", and another expressed that they would "rather they knew I was Manx", much of the qualitative data highlights that informants have a greater understanding of *how* misidentification of MxE might happen, which they suggest is to do with comparison. Liverpool English is a very distinctive and clearly identifiable variety that is resistant to certain phonological

change – such as *t* glottalization (Watson 2006[33]). It is the distinctive features of Scouse that make it an easy yardstick of comparison for non-Manx hearers of MxE, through the identification of shared features such as the alveolar tap and long back vowel in words like *cook.*

The attitudes elicited towards the misidentification of MxE as Scouse are interesting as there is little evidence that this upsets Manx speakers (aside from F51). Instead, there is a sense of acceptance – both of shared features and of the influence that Liverpool speakers have had in the Douglas area. One speaker (F63B), who has never lived off-island, even goes so far as to sate in the IdQ that her own accent as "slightly Liverpool". The data, therefore, suggests that islanders are conscious of the relative obscurity of MxE ("they wouldn't think I was from a little island in the middle of the Irish sea"). It also suggests that prolonged contact with Liverpool speakers and shared features mitigate any forceful resistance to their misidentification as Scouse, indicating that the integration of these speakers into Manx society (to the extent that Douglas speakers are recognised as Scouse by M20) overpowers potential negative social connotations with this variety.

6.2   MxG Proficiency and Attitudes

As stated earlier in this thesis, MxG proficiency and attitudes towards the Manx language are vital factors to consider when attempting to determine the social factors influencing substrate usage. Therefore, this section considers how informant association with MxG interacts with the frequency of substrate features elicited from them.

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[33] Although the age of this source is noted.

6.2.1 MxG Proficiency: Whole Sample

Participant Reference	Gender	Age	Total MxG Lexical Items Elicited	MxG Proficiency
F19	F	19	1	1
F21A	F	21	1	1
F21B	F	21	1	1
M23	M	23	2	1
F25	F	25	2	1
M29	M	29	8	1
F30	F	30	1	1
M39A	M	39	2	1
M42	M	42	6	1
F51	F	51	5	1
F59A	F	59	3	1
M59B	M	59	8	1
F63A	F	63	3	1
F63B	F	63	1	1
M67	M	67	8	1
F72	F	72	12	1
F77	F	77	8	1
M80	M	80	10	1
M86	M	86	9	1
M20	M	20	11	2
M34	M	34	12	2
M39C	M	39	9	2
F46	F	46	9	2
M69	M	69	11	2
F26	F	26	7	3
M39B	M	39	32	3
F53	F	53	17	3
M53	M	53	17	3
M59A	M	59	29	3
F59B	F	59	18	3

Table 6-10 Total MxG Lexical Items by MxG Proficiency

Table 6.10 shows that the majority of informants fall into the 'basic' proficiency category, accounting for 19 individuals (63%). Of the remaining informants, five are classed as category 2 (17%) and six as category 3 (20%). When we look at

proficiency by age, as shown in Table 6.11 below, we can see that based on the data informants are most likely to fall into the advanced proficiency category in young middle-age, where as many speakers in this sample are advanced users of MxG as are basic users (see Table 6.11).

	MxG Proficiency by Age		
	1	2	3
19-29 *(n=8)*	*n* = 6 (75%)	*n* = 1 (12.5%)	*n* = 1 (12.5%)
30-39 *(n=5)*	*n* = 2 (40%)	*n* = 2 (40%)	*n* = 1 (20%)
42-53 *(n=5)*	*n* = 2 (40%)	*n* = 1 (20%)	*n* = 2 (40%)
59-69 *(n=8)*	*n* = 5 (75%)	*n* = 1 (12.5%)	*n* = 2 (15%)
72-86 *(n=4)*	*n* = 4 (75%)	*n* = 0 (0%)	*n* = 0 (0%)
Total = 30	*n* = 19 (63%)	*n* = 5 (17%)	*n* = 6 (20%)

Table 6-11 MxG Proficiency by Age Group

When we consider the establishment of the Manx Language Unit in 1992, a team founded to promote the acquisition and usage of MxG in schools and the community, it could be considered surprising that informants under the age of thirty have predominantly basic proficiency in MxG. These are the individuals who are most likely to have encountered MxG in their educational careers (regardless of whether or not they attended the Bunscoill Gaelgagh) and are also the ones who will have had the opportunity to select Manx as a subject for GCSE and A Level study. It is therefore worth considering the qualitative responses from the youngest informants about their experiences of MxG in education, and the amount that they have retained.

F19	Cos in our school you had to pay, like I think once you got to like key stage two you had to start paying to have Manx lessons.
M20	I did it in primary school and high school, but I didn't listen so much *laughs*. And then I went to England and I had an awakening and suddenly I feel very much more Manx, so I've been studying it more in my own time
F21A	Yeah you say, *moghrey mie* as in 'good morning' and *fastyr mie* as in 'good afternoon'. They're the only two words I know.
F21B	You used to have to say it in assembly, didn't you? All through school 'til like, even after I left for sixth form you'd have to say in assembly when someone walked in they'd be like "moghrey mie" then you'd have to be like "moghrey mie", stuff like that. But that's it. I know 1 to 10, and I know mish *** is "*my name's ***"*.
M23	I did it 'til year seven. I know your basic sort of 1 to 10, your good morning, afternoon, things like that.
F25	Yeah so, I learnt at, from when I was like eight to ten maybe, or eight to eleven. And cos I did Manx dancing I know like, erm, like I know *tree cassyn* I know is three legs and things like that cos of the dances…. I think with Manx as well you had to like miss other subjects to be able to do it…yeah used to miss like science…No, that's the thing. Like, if it had been its own lesson.

Table 6-12 Informant Recollections of MxG Learning at School

It is interesting to note that of the five youngest informants within the sample, four recall only basic MxG words and phrases, despite living on-island and having ISI scores of at least 11[34] (and strong island affiliation may lead us to predict stronger inclinations to use and retain MxG features). It is possible that the lack of MxG retention in young adults is due to a lack of context in which to use it. Although young people can seek out groups of Manx speakers to engage with, and can attend events in celebration of MxG, the demographic profile of MxG speakers perhaps does not currently lend itself to everyday usage. As stated earlier in this thesis, MxG proficiency data was not made available in the 2016 census report, however in 2011 a total of 1,662 respondents stated that they were able to speak MxG (accounting for 1.96% of the total resident population at the time). Again, there are issues with the reliability of this data in terms of its lack of precision and subjectivity, however generally speaking it is clear that MxG speakers were in the minority. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that MxG will be understood in everyday interactions, meaning that speakers may avoid speaking MxG for reasons of listener accommodation. While young people can seek out opportunities to use MxG, for example by attending organised 'Manx conversation' evenings, this is dissimilar to

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[34] A full description of the ISI scores for the whole sample is in chapter 6.5.5.

bilingual environments in that it requires a level of conscious effort and planning. This lack of spontaneous opportunity for speakers to use conversational Manx may explain the poor retention amongst the younger speakers in the sample.

The data presents additional explanation for poor MxG knowledge or retention in the youngest speakers due to timetabling issues and the prioritisation of other subjects. One informant (F19) states that in order to continue with Manx lessons beyond a certain key stage the lessons were no longer free, and another (F25) states that she did not continue with learning MxG in school as she would have had to miss science. Timetabling issues of the kind mentioned by F25 appear to have been a problem for schools for some time, cited by Clague (2009: 175) as a specific barrier to MxG acquisition in primary settings. She states that 'to opt *for* Manx lessons pupils have to opt *out* of another lesson, or even use their own free time' (ibid.). She goes on to state that there was no adequate classroom environment for the peripatetic team to teach in, with 'lessons frequently conducted in reception areas or corridors…not at all conducive to language acquisition' (ibid.). This indicates that although there are optional initiatives for students to learn Manx from the age of 8 in all schools[35] (IOM 2018), the practicalities of this may deter learners and their families from pursuing it.

The optional nature of Manx in compulsory education is continued at secondary level, although only one of the sample's younger informants (M20) elected to study it at this level. Of note is that this informant comes from a family of active Manx speakers and learners who are likely to have supported and/or encouraged him to continue with learning Manx at school. Although he states that he "didn't listen so much", he has since restarted learning MxG as an adult. Not all situations are like that of M20, however, and parents of children in secondary education are not always supportive of their children learning MxG. Data from the interviews includes 2 informants whose children are currently in secondary education, who stated the following about their children learning MxG.

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[35] The Bunscoill Ghaelgagh is considered separately from this.

M42	They're given the option to, and one of four of them is going to continue to learn it at secondary school. Erm, I'm undecided. I don't think it's a good thing, but I don't necessarily think it's a bad thing. I wonder whether their time could be better spent learning something more useful. . But then it has been told that if they can understand and grasp and learn Manx, it'll make it easier to learn a second language. So hopefully that'll be a benefit.
F46	They had like half an hour's Manx lesson each erm up until they were ten. But then they stopped, they stopped it because I was paying for them to have French lessons as well. Well it wasn't so much 'choose one or the other' but the way they were doing it they had Manx, and then straight after they had French… they didn't have a clue what- and at the end of one term I got their books back and they had the wrong language in the wrong book and I thought "this is-", cos I was paying for the French lessons. And ultimately, I thought French will stand them in greater stead than Manx will. That I took them out of the Manx lessons and put them into the French lessons which sounds awful as a Manx person, but I had my reasons. I thought if they were going to Castle Rushen, going to high school, they're gonna do French, and it has stood them in better stead.

Table 6-13 Informant Comments About Their Children Learning MxG

The interview data above shows that parents may feel a sense of conflict where their children's acquisition of MxG is concerned. These two individuals both refer to Manx as less beneficial to their children than the acquisition of an alternative L2 such as French ("I thought French will stand them in greater stead than Manx will"). M42 is 'undecided' as to whether his child learning MxG is a good thing, but he refers to it as a mechanism to aid the learning of another (presumably more useful) language. Both F46 and M42 are Manx-born, and themselves have MxG proficiency levels of 1 and 2 respectively. Only one speaker in the sample (M39B) who is of MxG proficiency level 3 has a school-age child, who attends the Bunscoill.

The data elicited about the acquisition of MxG in non-immersive education indicates that there is an inclination for those with a greater proficiency level to encourage (or even allow) their children to learn MxG in school. This is unsurprising, however, data from younger informants yet to have children suggests that this trend may alter in future generations. Despite the lack of retained MxG proficiency, of the seven youngest informants (aged between 19 and 29), six stated in response to the IdQ that they would like their children to learn MxG at least to a basic level (86%). It could be that the youngest generation in the sample, who represent the most infrequent users of many of the MxG substrate features investigated in this project, identify a need for the IOM to retain some linguistic distinctiveness. These young people represent the group with the most cumulative off-island years of residence,

thanks to the increasing accessibility of higher education opportunities in the UK. It is proposed that this contact fosters an appreciation of MxG for younger speakers, as they begin to acknowledge its potential as a marker of cultural distinction.

The interpretation of the data from younger speakers about their desire for their children to learn MxG may suggest that contact with speakers of other BrE varieties has highlighted an awareness of their own linguistic heritage. While it may still be the case that 'it is necessary to present oneself as a member of the national majority' in order to secure economic self-betterment (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977: 35), it is also noted that where this impacts negatively on the minority language, shift towards the minority language can be observed. Appel and Muysken (1987: 32) state that the term 'shift' is a neutral term, rather than one that can only be applied with reference to shift towards a majority language. This is supported by Appel ad Muysken who state:

> after a period of shift towards the majority language, there is often a tendency to reverse the process, because some people come to realise that the minority language is disappearing (Appel and Muysken 1987: 32).

The data suggests that this is applicable to the attitudes young people display towards MxG as observed through the qualitative data. Although the perceptual and actual linguistic data suggests that young speakers on the IOM are not shifting towards MxG in their use of language, they are shifting towards it in their attitudes and indicate that they would not want it to disappear. The retained link with MxG, despite a lack of retention of its usage, is likely to be linked with island identity and cultural tradition that is brought to the fore when young speakers are removed from their home environment. Through cohabitation with a linguistic Other - in this case, those who do not share the same linguistic upbringing or, to an extent, the same linguistic practices – difference becomes more prominent. This may be further magnified when combined with cultural differences (the IOM is often described as somewhere where people do not lock their cars or front doors, where crime rate is very low, and where it is common to know everybody in one's village). This is evident in the following qualitative data elicited from younger speakers in the interview setting, shown in Table 6.14.

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F25	I noticed that I started saying necklace [ˈnɛkləs] and then…
	K: Do you say necklace [ˈnɛkləs] now?
	No *laughs* so I went and then realised I was doing that and was like "I shouldn't change how I speak" so then I went back to it. Yeah, like I wasn't embarrassed but like you know at uni when there's a lot of people like, they were all laughing at it so and it made me feel a bit like "you know what I'm gonna keep saying it" *laughs*
	One of my lecturers at uni said, "there are dead languages like Manx" and I was literally like "excuse me!" *laughs*. And I told him, and he was like "no, it's dead" and I was like "no it's not, look up the Twitter page where they Tweet in Manx, it's not dead".
	I think that's become a lot stronger as well since I came back from uni. I've been like "no I'm Manx"… Like, my first manager was from Southern England so like he was posh *laughs* and he said that I sounded super, he's like "you're so Manx!". So, then I was like, "yes, I am", more proud.
F21B	I think going to uni and then coming back it either makes you really hate it or really like it here. And I just really like it. I just like, I like it's like different. And just nice and quiet, and safe and like, everywhere you look is dead nice, I think… like at uni and stuff I'd say all about the fairies and stuff, and they'd be like "ooh where's this place?".
M23	Cos obviously you don't want the, you don't want the language dying out.
M20	I talk about the Isle of Man a lot when I'm across… It's interesting to talk about, I think. I didn't realise it's interesting to talk about until I went across though.

Table 6-14 Younger Speakers' Perceptions of the IoM and MxG

We can see from the interview data above that younger informants' sense of home and appreciation for the IOM is heightened when they are away at university. As well as appreciation for the culture and environment (F21B; M20), there are specific linguistic examples cited by F25. In her interview, we discussed her pronunciation of *necklace* [ˈnɛkleɪs] that caused her classmates at university in Newcastle to laugh at her. This caused her to alter her pronunciation to the more widely-used [ˈnɛkləs] but had a realisation that it was the reaction of her peers that had made her change her pronunciation. This realisation caused her to revert to her Manx pronunciation and appeared to instigate a wider sense of pride in her Manxness; both whilst at university and since her return three years ago. This supports the notion that where young people have periods of off-island residence for university, their contact with speakers from elsewhere strengthens their Manx identity and fosters favourable linguistic attitudes towards Manx variants.

6.2.2   Attitudes towards MxG Substrate Usage and Identity

As part of the LnQ, participants were asked to indicate whether they felt it is necessary to know MxG dialect words and grammatical structures to have a 'stronger' or 'truer' Manx identity. Of the 30 informants, 70% (n = 21) stated 'no'; 23% (n = 7) stated 'yes', and the remaining 7% (n =2) indicated uncertainty. This data is stratified by age below in Figure 6.1.
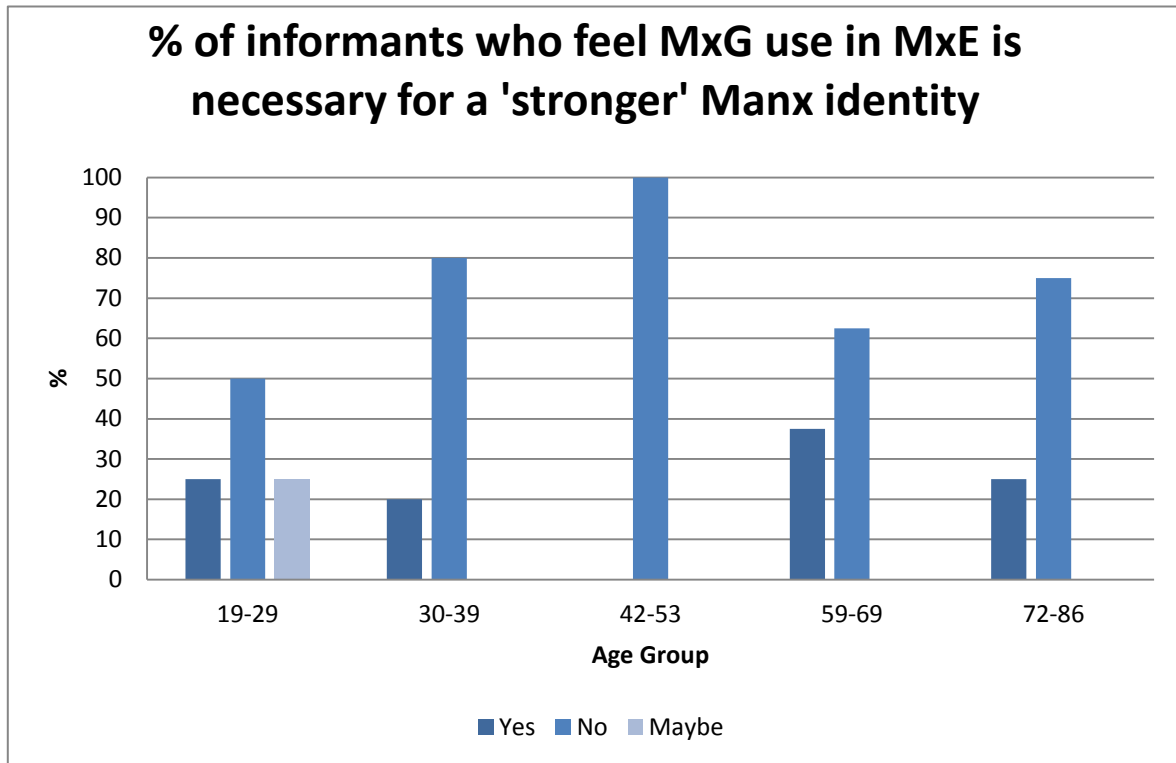
Figure 6.1 % of Informants who Feel MxG substrate use in MxE is Necessary for a 'Strong' Manx Identity

 Qualitative data elicited through a combination of the LnQ and interview process is below in Table 6.15.

MxG features in MxE necessary for 'strong' or 'true' Manx Identity		MxG features in MxE not necessary for 'strong' or 'true' Manx Identity	
F26	It is part of the island's charm and most 'come overs' pick it up quickly.	F30	The newer Manx identity has them less. It's no longer normal to know them.
M39A	People should at least know a few of the most commonly used ones.	F53	They can be a caricature of Manxness.
F63A	If you are Manx you usually know them.	F21B	The Isle of Man is so unique and different to UK you can have a complete Manx identity without knowing the words. E.g. fairies, steam trains.
		M67	She can learn all the Manx she wants, she'll never be as Manx as me!

Table 6-15 Informant Comments on the Necessity of MxG in MxE

As the qualitative data in the table shows, there are differing explanations for individual responses. Some relate to other facets of life on the island, such as steam trains and knowledge of folklore as more important to the Manx identity. Others claim that it is no longer 'normal' to know the substrate items, or that these are only used in stylised utterances to create a Manx 'caricature'. One qualitative comment that warrants some discussion is that made by M67. This speaker is a MxG level 1 speaker from the south of the island who, when making this comment, was referring to his 'comeover' neighbour. When discussing the use of MxG in his interview, he began to tell me of his neighbour from 'across' who had begun to learn Manx. His opinion is that MxG, either as an L2 or as a feature of MxE, is by no means an indication of a Manx identity. He stated, "she can learn all the Manx she wants, she'll never be as Manx as me!", indicating that, to him, Manx birth is more meaningful in the claiming of a Manx identity. It also implies that this speaker feels that learning of MxG may be viewed by some residents as an attempt for 'comeovers' to access such an identity.

6.2.3 Perceptions of MxE features

Informants were asked to discuss what they perceive the features of MxE to be, engaging them in metalinguistic discussion and giving them the opportunity to feature-drop – the display of linguistic variants associated with specific regions or social groups that demonstrates participant expertise (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004; Moll 2014). This further enables the relationship between interviewer and

interviewee to be one of student and master with the intention of mitigating some of the power imbalance thought to occur in interview environments. This section is split into three sub-sections: phonology, lexis, and grammar.

Phonology

Three informants commented on the correct pronunciation of Manx place names to be a distinctive feature of Manx English. For example, two informants stated that the pronunciation of Dalby (pronounced ['dɔ:bi]) is often a marker of Manxness. This can also apply to locations such as Andreas ['andrəs], Ballaugh [bə'l æ:f], and Foxdale [fɒksdəl]. Several informants commented on how visitors and the media often mispronounce place names on the IoM, and one informant was known for telephoning the local radio station when he felt they had made a pronunciation error. In a similar way to place names, the 'correct' pronunciation of surnames, such as Faragher (['faɹəgə] or ['farəkɛ]) and Kennaugh (['kɛnjək]) were also noted as a salient feature of Manx English.

Other phonological features that were regularly cited by informants are the vocalic variants [æ:] in words such as *glasses, wasp,* and *castle*; and [u:] in words like *book* and *cook*. These vocalic features are well-documented in Manx English, cited in such works as Barry (1984), Hamer (2012), and most recently Booth (forthcoming).

Lexis

When asked to discuss specific lexical items that informants felt were distinctive of MxE, the majority of informants who could identify items in this context referred to *skeet* and *yessir*, as described above. As M39A stated: "I think there's certain Manx words like *yessir* and *skeet*. *Yessir* and *skeet* are the two I tend to find that distinguish more". Interestingly, no informant listed all of the MxG items that they had provided on the SRNs or in the interview as distinctive features of MxE. Although certain informants such as F53 took great pleasure in describing several individual dialect words, the majority spent longer discussing and giving examples of accent features. This suggests that few lexical items have the same level of salience as *skeet* and *yessir* - also the two most identified items in the linguistic data.

Grammar

Few informants cited lexicogrammatical features in the metalinguistic discussion of MxE, however four features were provided by informants - two of which were included in the LnQ. These are presented below in Table 6.16.

M59A	It would probably be construction of sentences er would be the main difference like, you know, the way we would say, if you're going to visit somebody, you'd say "**I'd put a sight on them**" like you know? And er, y'know, "**he's terrible awful**" like you know and things like that like you know it's like a double. **It's cowl awful**.
F53	Erm it's, some of it's idiom. Erm like you still get some older people, not maybe so much younger people say "**he's got a nice dog at him**". Erm, "**putting a sight on**" someone. There's things, there's a lot of little bits like that people say, or you see some people saying 'in', erm he had the like, "**the like was in**". It's like in, 'in existence'. So some people still, you sometimes hear that. "I didn't know that was in" you know.
M53	Or "***Cowl thremendjus***"... In my youth I heard a lot of people talking thremendjus , **thremendjus was in.**

Table 6-16 Informant Perception of MxE Grammatical Difference

In the Table above, it is evident that these three informants (all MxG proficiency level 3 speakers) identified *put a sight on* and *at* in possessive structures as grammatical elements of MxE that make it distinctive from other English varieties. Given the literature on MxE and the appearance of these items in both the LnQ data and other resources such as dialect literature, this is unsurprising. The data in Table 6.16 does present, however, two additional items that have not been examined in detail through the administration of SuRE in this project. These are the additional of *awful* as a post-adjectival intensifier, and *in* to mean 'in existence'.

In MxG, intensifiers, such as *terribly*[36], occur in post-adjectival position. This is a relatively rare construction that is found in MxG that is evident in some other Celtic languages; namely Welsh and Scottish Gaelic. In Welsh, post-adjectival intensifiers

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[36] In StE this would occur in pre-adjectival position, e.g. *It was terribly nice.*

can be used only with one specific intensifier (*braidd* meaning 'rather'); and in Scottish Gaelic constructions such as *latha uamhasach dona* – literally 'day awful bad' (Macauley 1992: 193). It is, therefore, likely that the noted occurrences in MxE of *awful* and *thremendjus* (meaning 'tremendous') are structural borrowings from the substratum. A direct translation of *it was terribly bad* in MxG is: "v'eh olk agglagh" – literally *it bad awful*.

We can think of this in terms of backwards transmission (explained earlier in this chapter), given the high proficiency levels of the speakers above. This would not, however, account for additional evidence that suggests this grammatical element is a feature of MxE that has been included in dialect items for generations (containing both MxG speakers and non-MxG speakers). Examples of post-adjectival intensifiers in MxE include the famous poem *Traa dy Liooar* by Josephine Kermode, also known as Cushag. This poem contains the line "The wumman's tired thremendjus with clearin' up the flure". Cushag did not write poetry in MxG but is famous for her telling of Manx folktales and tradition using humour and the MxE dialect. Therefore, it is more likely that the speakers reporting this feature have retained it from linguistic traditions such a poetry recitation, strengthened through their wider linguistic affiliation with the island.

The second feature mentioned, *in* to mean 'in existence'. This feature is an anglicised version of the MxG *ayn* which shares the same meaning. This type of construction was noted by Barry (1984: 176) as being a feature of MxE which evidences the syntactic influence of MxG upon it. *In* used in this way is evident in other sources such as dialect songs, including *A Manx Wedding* by William Henry Gill (as mentioned in chapter 4). This song features the line*: "And forfeits, and games, and **the capers that's in**, And " Puss in the Corner," and "Kiss in the ring""*.

As the above information states, both of these grammatical features are influenced by the MxG substrate. Of interest is the nature of the individuals who referenced this feature: F53, M53, and M59A. It is notable that each of these speakers has engagement with MxG beyond everyday transactions. F53 works in education, specifically with the Manx language unit, having formerly worked for both Mooinjer Veggey playgroup and the Bunscoill Ghaelgagh. M53 is a former Manx language development officer, and M59A is an active promoter of Manx learning and attends

weekly conversational groups to foster his use of "his mother tongue". Therefore, it is possible that the level of engagement that these individuals have with their linguistic heritage is linked to their dropping of additional grammatical features from the substrate in metalinguistic discussion.

As this section has detailed, metalinguistic discussion of varieties can be effective in the elicitation of features that have salience to the individuals taking part, through accessing folklinguistic knowledge. In the present study, it is clear that the lexical items *skeet* and *yessir* are identified by the participants themselves as elements that make MxE distinctive. Phonological features such as vowel lengthening were also often reported, and distinctive grammatical elements less frequently identified.

6.3 STRENGTH OF LOCAL AFFILIATION

As outlined in chapter 4, the Identity Score Index (ISI) was employed in the current study to assess whether there is a relationship between the strength of an individual's local affiliation and in examining their reported use of MxG substrate lexis and grammar. Successful analyses of this kind include Burbano Elizondo (2008) in her study of Sunderland. She found a certain level of correlation between individual ISI scores and their use of certain glottalised variants - particularly in middle-aged and older speakers. This section presents the ISI data collected on the IOM and discusses possible links between the scores obtained and the linguistic data.

6.3.1 Average Substrate Items by ISI Score

Table 6.17 presents the mean number of MxG lexical and grammatical items elicited through the SuRE method according to participant ISI score. As can be seen, there were no participants who scored below 8, and none who scored 9 or 10. The breakdown of scores is below in Table 6.17. These are analysed further later in this section.

ISI Score (out of 15)	No of Speakers	Ages 18-29	Ages 30-39	Ages 42-53	Ages 59-69	Ages 72-86	North	East	South	West
8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	0
12	4	0	3	0	1	0	1	2	0	1
13	10	3	0	3	3	1	1	4	4	1
14	10	3	1	2	1	3	1	2	6	1
15	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Table 6-17 ISI Scores by Age Group and Location

6.3.2 ISI by Age

Table 6.18 demonstrates the distribution of ISI score across the age brackets established earlier in this thesis. It shows that the eldest age group (72-86) have the highest mean ISI score at 13.8 points, followed by the middle (42-53) age group at with a mean score of 13.4. The lowest scoring age group is the 30-39 age group with a mean score of 11.6. While the difference between the lowest and highest mean score is small at 2.2 points, the distribution of scores across the whole sample is small. Therefore, small margins of difference such as this are potentially useful sources of future investigation.

ISI Score	No of Speakers	19-29 (%)	30-39 (%)	42-53 (%)	59-69 (%)	72-86 (%)
8	1	0	20	0	0	0
11	4	25	0	0	25	0
12	4	0	37.5	0	12.5	0
13	10	37.5	0	60	37.5	25
14	10	37.5	12.5	20	12.5	75
15	1	0	0	20	12.5	0
Mean ISI score		**12.9**	**11.6**	**13.4**	**12.8**	**13.8**

Table 6-18 ISI Scores by Age Group

Interestingly, it is the middle age group (42-53) that the linguistic data presented in chapter 5 has shown to recognise the highest number of MxG substrate grammatical items. For example, the two highest scoring age groups (42-53 and 72-86) share the highest frequencies of reported usage of the lexical items *mollag, kiuttagh,* and *gobbag.* Furthermore, the 42-53 age group are those who reported recognition of the highest mean of MxG grammatical features. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that there is some correspondence between ISI score and reported use of substrate items. However, if this were a monotonic relationship as suggested by Underwood (1988), whereby frequency of usage/recognition rises with the ISI score, the lowest scoring groups of speakers would report use of the fewest MxG items. This is not the case. Instead, the lowest scoring age group (30-39) actually provided, on average, the highest number of MxG lexical items, and the second highest number of grammatical items. The highest ISI scorers (72-86) provided the fewest MxG grammatical items. This data suggests that if there is a relationship between ISI, age, and MxG substrate usage, this affects only certain lexical items, and does not appear to affect the lexicogrammatical items in the sample.

6.3.3   ISI by Location

Table 6.19 shows the distribution of ISI scores across location. The data shows that the highest scoring location is the West, with a mean ISI score of 13.5. This is closely followed by the South, which has a mean score of 13. Compared to the ISI data for age, there is a slightly smaller margin between the lowest and highest scoring area (1.5 points).

ISI Score	North (%)	East (%)	South (%)	West (%)
8	0	9.1 (*n*=1)	0	0
11	0	18.2 (*n*=2)	16.7 (*n*=2)	0
12	33.3 (*n*=1)	18.2 (*n*=2)	0	25 (*n*=1)
13	33.3 (*n*=1)	36.4 (*n*=4)	33.3 (*n*=4)	25 (*n*=1)
14	33.3 (*n*=1)	18.2 (*n*=2)	50 (*n*=6)	25 (*n*=1)
15	0	0	0	25 (*n*=1)
Mean Score	13	12	13.4	13.5

Table 6-19 ISI Scores by Location

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The ISI location data has some possible links to the linguistic data. The two highest scoring locations (West and South) are the locations providing the two highest numbers of MxG lexical items. Moreover, there is one lexical item, *sleetch,* that is perceived as used exclusively by speakers in the sample from the South and West. This data may indicate a relationship between levels of local affiliation, location, and the retention of MxG lexical items.

The relationship between ISI, location, and MxG substrate grammar is less clear. While the lowest scoring area, the East, reports recognition/usage of the fewest MxG grammatical features, the second-lowest scorers report the most. Therefore, in a similar way to age, ISI, and MxG substrate usage, this relationship is not monotonic. The low reported usage of MxG grammar in the East may also be better explained by other factors influencing this location, such as the language contact situation of Douglas, than by levels of local affiliation.

6.3.4 ISI by MxG Proficiency

The table at 6.20 shows the distribution of ISI across the three identified MxG proficiency levels. The mean data shows that the highest mean ISI score is for proficiency group 2 – those with an intermediate knowledge of MxG. Proficiency group 2 is made up of five speakers, three of whom describe themselves as 'active learners' of Manx. This active engagement with the heritage language may motivated by socio-cultural influences, or to 'recover the roots of…cultural heritage' (Wen 2011: 41). This is what is described by Gardner and Lambert (1972: 3) as 'integrative orientation'. Rather than an 'instrumental' orientation, which sees language learners motivated by other benefits such as career opportunities, integrative orientation is a motivation governed by attitudes towards, and connection with, the target language community. The fact that the proficiency group containing the most active learners of MxG has the highest ISI score is, therefore, understandable.

ISI Score	1 (%)	1 (n)	2 (%)	2 (n)	3 (%)	(n)
8	0	0	0	0	16.7	1
11	15.8	3	0	0	16.7	1
12	15.8	3	20	1	0	0
13	36.8	7	20	1	33.3	2
14	31.6	6	40	2	33.3	2
15	0	0	20	1	0	0
Mean Score	12.8		13.6		12.2	

Table 6-20 ISI Scores by MxG Proficiency

The lowest mean ISI score of the three proficiency groups is for proficiency group 3 – the most advanced MxG speakers. While the majority of informants scored either a 13 or 14 (67%) – one scorer of 8 and one of 11 reduce the overall group mean. Remembering that the ISI is something of a blunt instrument that does not claim to be a failsafe means of measuring local affiliation (a criticism supported by the findings of this research), it is possible that the informants in question were less affected by the issues addressed in the ISI questions (such as meeting Manx people off-island, grocery shopping, and giving to charity). This may also be due to the nature of the interview context, meaning that informants were more reserved in sharing their true views on these matters with a stranger.

6.3.5 MxG Substrate Items by ISI Score
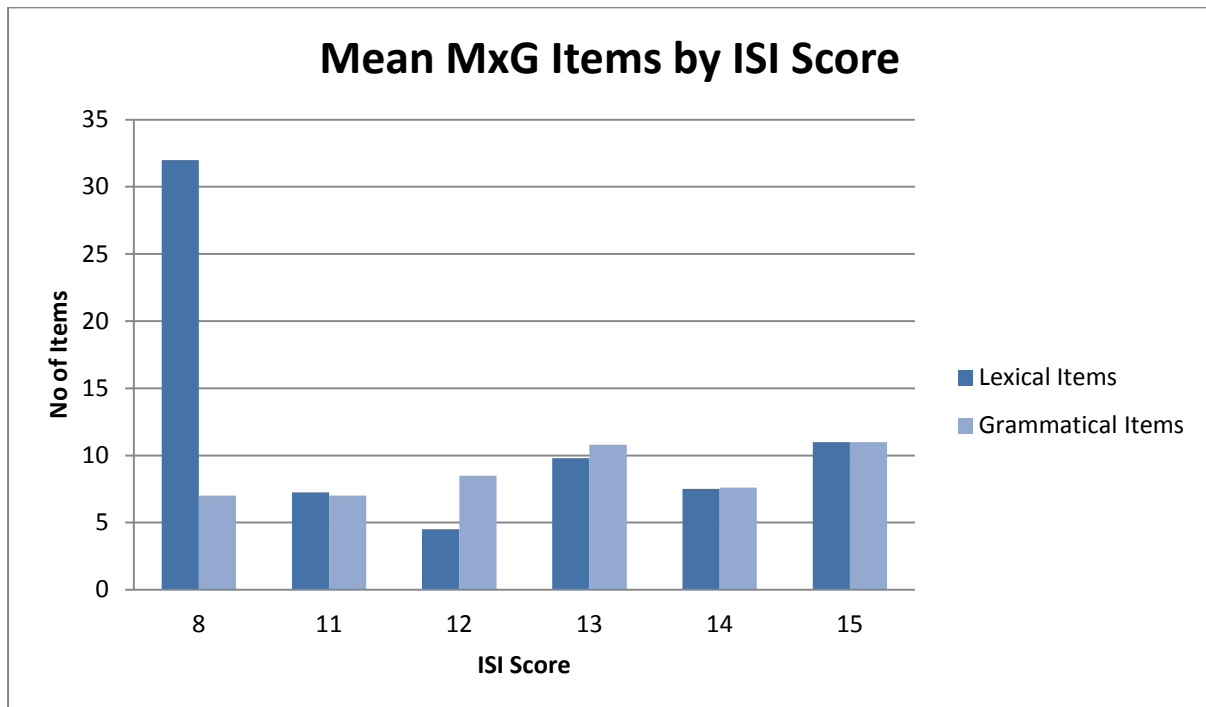
Figure 6.2 Mean MxG Items Elicited by ISI Score

As Figure 6.2 illustrates, there does not appear to be a clear relationship between the ISI score and the mean total number of MxG items elicited. This is not to say, however, that there is no correlation between these factors on the IOM more broadly. Due to the nature of the sample used in the present research, all informants obtained very high ISI scores - with the majority scoring either 13 or 14 out of a possible 15. Therefore, it is possible that individuals with lower ISI scores may use fewer MxG items - but this is not evident in the data.

6.3.6   ISI - Lexis

Mean MxG Lexical Items Elicited by ISI Score
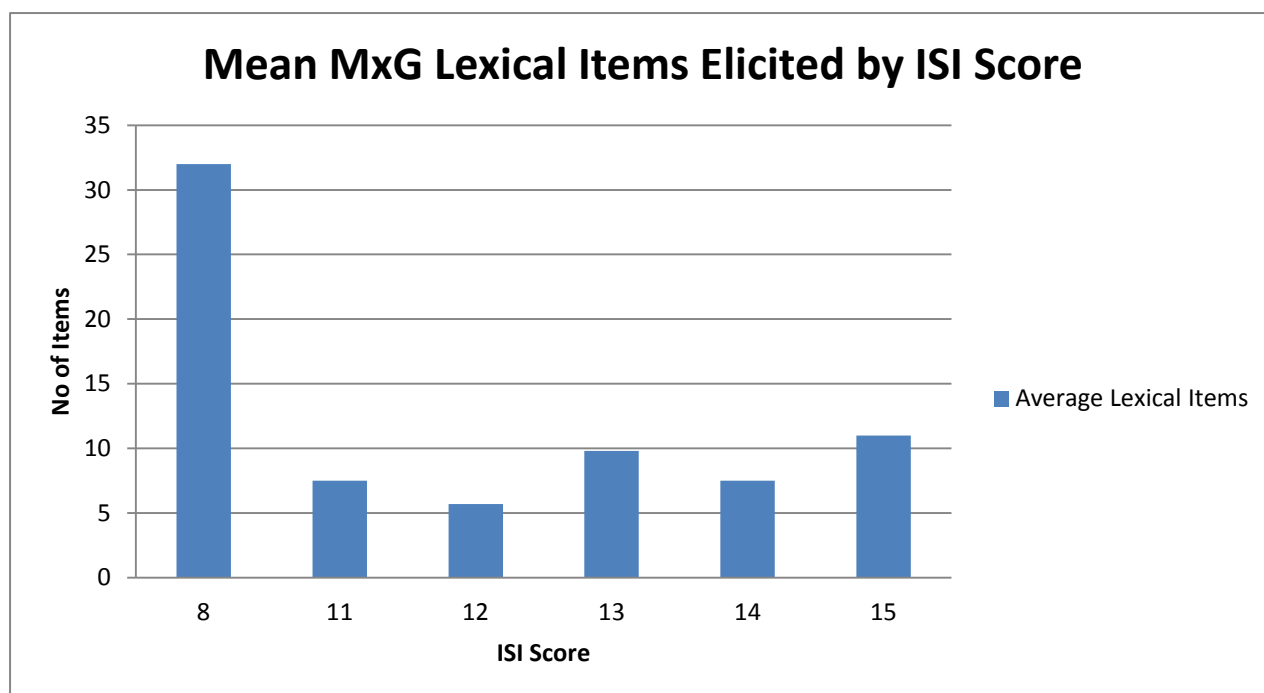
Figure 6.3 Mean MxG Lexical Items Elicited by ISI Score

When the linguistic data is separated into the mean scores for lexical and grammatical items respectively, again there is no striking overall correlation (see Figure 6.3). The large number of lexical items elicited by the lowest ISI scorer (M39B) can be explained by this speaker being a MxG proficiency level 3 speaker, who provided both English and MxG items for most of the items on each of the SRNs. As with any written data elicitation method, this is reported usage and does not necessarily mean that M39B uses all of these 32 items in his English. Instead, what may be the case, is that he code-switches to encourage his young son to use MxG – using full utterances in MxG, rather than using substrate items in his English. It must also be noted that this informant did not supplement his answers to the SRN with any additional spoken items in the interview phase of the data collection. This may suggest that although he has knowledge of these 32 items, he uses them more referentially than in his everyday vernacular. In terms of his MxG grammatical data on the LnQ, this informant made an annotation to his questionnaire, noting: "these appear to be part/whole translations from Manx". His knowledge of MxG as an L2 speaker seems to have influenced his perception of the LnQ as he clearly identifies

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the items as MxG instead of completely alien, as other younger speakers without MxG proficiency interpreted them.

Discounting this one speaker, there is a general rise in the number of items by ISI score, but this is not a uniform correlation, and instead has something of a 'spiky' profile. It is, of course, possible that this trend may become more uniform with the addition of more speakers across a wider range of ISI score, as with the current sample the data is very much clustered at the top end of the possible scoring bracket.

6.3.7 ISI - Grammar

In a similar way to the analysis of lexical items, the grammatical data has been analysed to enable a discussion of a possible relationship between ISI score and the number of MxG grammatical structures obtained from informants in the LnQ (see Figure 6.5). As the graph below in Figure 6.4 shows, there is a clearer increase in the number of MxG grammatical structures elicited as ISI scores increase when compared to the lexical data. Despite this, this relationship is still not entirely correlative. It is suggested that the overall relationship between substrate grammar and ISI scores requires further investigation with a larger pool of speakers with a wider range of ISI score.
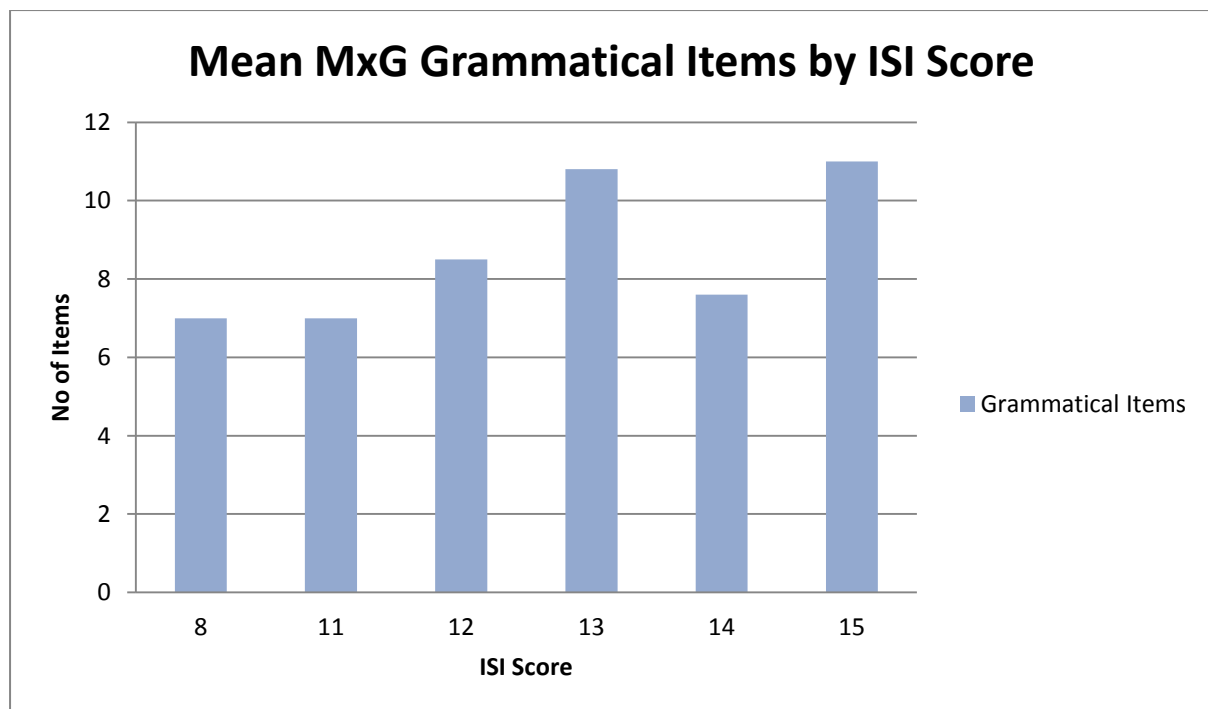
Figure 6.4 Mean MxG Grammatical Items by ISI Score

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6.4 MANX CULTURAL IDENTITY SCORES

After the data from M38B revealed an unexpected difference between ISI score and MxG lexical data, the researcher re-evaluated the relationship between the amounts of MxG data elicited and individual informant circumstance. This led to the allocation of an additional score, which will be referred to as the *Manx cultural identity score*. While cultural identity is a nebulous concept, this study allocated scores in accordance with the level of involvement informants have with cultural activity, such as Manx dance, poetry, song, history and heritage activities. This formed three groups within the data:

6.4.1 Manx Cultural Identity Score - Level 1

A score of one was allocated to individuals within the sample whose involvement in cultural activities or events is minimal. The group allocated this score is made up of 16 informants, or 53% of the sample.

6.4.2 Manx Cultural Identity Score - Level 2

A score of two was allocated to individuals with moderate involvement in Manx cultural activity. For example, this group contains informants who are involved in one or two distinct cultural activities or events on a regular basis. M80 for example, is a regular consultant for historical sources on Manx dairy farming, and M86 remains heavily involved in Manx musical events. This group is made up of five informants (16% of the total sample).

6.4.3 Manx Cultural Identity Score - Level 3

Three is the highest score given to informants in the allocation of cultural identity scores in this project. A score of three reflects heavy and regular involvement in several Manx cultural activities or events. Informants in this group include two former Manx Bards[37] (both of whom have additional involvement such as Manx choir direction), a former Manx language officer who remains involved in events such as ploughing matches, and a Manx tour guide who writes historical papers on the IoM

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[37] The Manx Bard is a cultural initiative, whereby one individual per year is selected to contribute to literary culture on the IoM through poetry. Selection is via competition, and requires entrants to have a significant awareness of the island's Celtic tradition.

for local publication. This group is made up of nine speakers (30% of the total sample).

Once these scores had been allocated, analysis of the linguistic data was conducted once again. It was found that in terms of lexis, informants with a cultural identity score of three produced the most MxG items in the elicitation process, followed by group two. This is demonstrated in Figure 6.7, alongside the grammatical data.
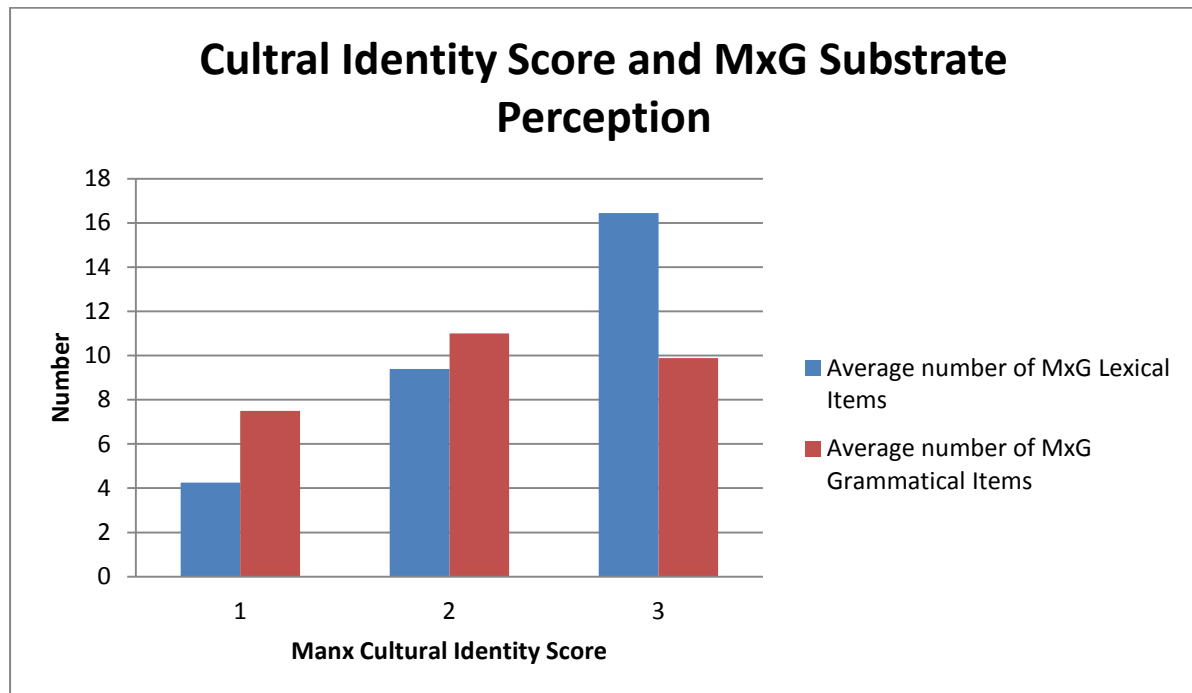
Figure 6.5 Mean Number of MxG Items by Manx Cultural Identity Score

Figure 6.7 illustrates that whereas there does appear to be a relationship between cultural identity scores and the number of lexical items elicited, the relationship between the scores and substrate grammar tested by the LnQ is less straightforward. Figure 6.5 shows that those with a cultural identity score of 1 identified fewer MxG grammatical features. This could be explained by the fact that speakers with a score of three are more likely to be speakers of MxG - recognising the origin of the structures as MxG rather than English, meaning that they do not perceive the structures to be part of an English variety.

The difficulty with much of the grammatical data, however, is the fact that the LnQ provided these structures for informants to then comment on whether they felt they

would hear and/or use them. The data collected in the interviews did not appear to reflect the answers given to the LnQ, with very few tokens of the structures appearing in naturally-occurring speech. This may reflect a general awareness of MxG substrate grammatical features as belonging to MxG traditionally (causing informants to tick the 'hear' box), however at the same time illustrate a recession in their actual usage. Generally, and unsurprisingly, informants who have studied MxG identify MxG grammatical structures to originate from MxG. Others reported to recognise these structures as 'traditionally Manx', citing the usage of older family members or the farming community.

The re-evaluation of the data using the cultural identity score has found that a much greater number of lexical items were provided by those with deeper involvement in Manx cultural activity. This may be due to their knowledge of the island's Celtic traditions (often with Manx names), giving lexical items such as *qualtagh* (first footer on New Year's Day). Their involvement in such activity may give them more ready access to MxG vocabulary for use in their cultural roles.

6.5   SUMMARY OF IDQ OBSERVATIONS

This research utilises the IdQ observations to contextualise and inform its linguistic findings, offering an additional layer of analysis that is crucial to a better understanding of the individual motivations behind the variation observable in chapter 5. In summary, the IdQ as administered on the IOM has found that:

- 80% of informants self-identify as having a Manx accent, although many informants alluded to the existence of 'broader' or 'thicker' Manx accents than their own. Others indicated class and geographical differences in MxE accents which require further investigation. For the most recent research on the MxE accent, readers are directed to Booth's (forthcoming) PhD thesis.
- Levels of MxG proficiency are the lowest in the youngest and two oldest age groups, however attitudes towards MxG are generally positive. Those in the 42-53 age bracket are most likely to be the most advanced MxG speakers.
- Young speakers who travel off-island for university education report experiencing a greater value for their linguistic heritage and the linguistic difference offered by the IOM. This can increase their sense of national pride

and divert them away from linguistic convergence caused by linguistic contact.

- Informants' perceived features of MxE are often reported to be vowel lengthening and the reported use of two lexical items: *skeet* and *yessir*. Few informants reported grammatical features as distinctive of MxE, and those who did are active users of MxG.

- Grammatical items from the MxG substrate do not have a clear relationship with ISI score.

- There appears to be a relationship between levels of cultural affiliation (as measured by the Manx cultural identity score) and the elicitation of lexical items. This may be due to the use of MxG terminology in the description of Manx tradition, increasing their awareness of these items.

6.6 LINKS TO LINGUISTIC DATA

This section describes the link between the data elicited from the IdQ and the linguistic data presented in chapter 5. Chapter 5 demonstrated that there are certain lexical and grammatical items that are sensitive to the social variables of age, location, and MxG proficiency. Examination of the identity data in the current chapter facilitates a better understanding of the reported use of the substrate variants in relation to these social variables.

Firstly, in terms of location, the identity data points towards a perceptual difference in the language of residents in Peel and Douglas, with participants marking these as distinctive speech areas. Specificity regarding these differences is, however, inconsistent. Many informants stated that Douglas is "more Scouse" and claim to recognise a distinctive Liverpool influence on the speech of Douglas residents, but no specific examples were given when informants were pressed for them. Informants were less able to state what it is about language in Peel that makes them identify it as a separate speech area – with some descriptions as vague as "Peel have their own thing" (F26). Evidence from the existing literature as to why these perceptions may exist is discussed earlier in this chapter, although this section proposes that there is evidence in the linguistic data to support the perception of these two areas as distinctive in their reported use of language.

The data shows that informants from the East of the island provided the fewest lexical and grammatical items from the MxG substrate when compared to other locations. This is, to an extent, ratified by the fact that this location also has the lowest mean ISI score and only one speaker with a MxG proficiency score greater than 1, as illustrated in Table 6.21.

	L1	L2	L3
North	100% (*n* = 3)	0	0
East	**91% (*n* = 10)**	0	9% (*n* = 1)
South	50% (*n* = 6)	8% (*n* = 1)	42% (*n* = 5)
West	0	**100% (*n* = 4)**	0

Table 6-21 MxG Proficiency by Location

The sample from the West, on the other hand, has no speakers with a MxG proficiency score of 1, with 100% of speakers scoring 2[38]. When we consider that *both* proficiency L2 speakers and speakers from the West have the highest mean ISI scores of their respective stratifications, it is unsurprising that there is some linguistic reflection of this in their perceptual use of substrate items. As stated in chapter 4, the identity score index was originally conceived to measure local affiliation as a correlate with language as an act of identity[39]. While there are no initial striking correlations between ISI and substrate usage, the differences in the West and East may warrant further investigation. This is because speakers in the West do have the highest frequency of usage of certain lexical items (specifically *sleetch*, *thie veg* and *yessir*) as well as some grammatical constructions (non-standard definite article and 'put a sight on').

Secondly, in terms of age, the attitudinal data corresponds with the observed increases in substrate usage amongst speakers in the 42-53 age bracket. As stated earlier, these speakers have the second highest ISI score and this bracket also

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[38] Although this is only four speakers, and therefore analyses are tentative.

[39] As defined by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), whereby language use can be revealing of one's ethnic and/or social affiliation or distance.

contains the highest proportion of MxG L3 speakers. Also mentioned earlier is the fact that a number of speakers in this area of the sample have an active involvement in Manx language and culture – a factor that may have initially motivated their involvement in this research.

Lastly, in terms of MxG proficiency, it has been discussed that the middle proficiency group, made up of proficiency level 2 speakers, has the highest ISI score and the highest mean levels of recognition for substrate grammatical features. Although the most naturally-occurring examples of MxG substrate grammar in an interview context were usually from L3 speakers, the data suggests that there is at least a perceptual increase in substrate grammar from the L2 group. As discussed earlier, this may be to do with backwards transmission and integrative orientations towards the target language of MxG. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, backwards transmission occurs when elements from an L2 are transferred to the L1. Integrative orientations towards MxG as an L2 refers to the learning of a language 'because of a desire to identify with and move closer to the community where the language is spoken' (Graham 1997: 96). This may warrant further investigation using a larger sample of MxG learners, to better understand how their status as L2 learners may influence their use of substrate features in their MxE.

This chapter has unpacked the large amount of data elicited from the IdQ and ISI elements of the SuRE elicitation process. The following chapters discuss the findings in terms of some key theoretical aspects presented in chapter 2.

7 MxG in MxE - Sociolinguistic Salience, Variation and Change

The results of this study, outlined in chapters 6 and 7, present two key areas for discussion; salience, variation and change in the reported use of MxG substrate items in MxE. This chapter is separated into these areas, to present ideas of how the data might be explained within the current research context.

7.1 Variation

7.1.1 Salience

The analysis in chapter 5 points towards the retention of two main lexical items by nearly all participants; *skeet* and *yessir*[40] - with perceptual usage reported by 100% and 83% of the sample respectively. While other items and structures appear to have sensitivity to specific social variables (such as age and location), no other items from the substrate endure to the same extent, nor are they as visible on the island. This thesis proposes that this is related to sociolinguistic salience, whereby certain forms are 'in some way perceptually and cognitively prominent' (Kerswill and Williams 2002: 81). Salience has been discussed in numerous accounts of sociolinguistic studies, such as Llamas, Watt, and Johnson (2009); Llamas, Watt, and MacFarlane (2016); and Kerswill and Williams (2002). With specific regard to lexical items, most recently Snell (2017) has written of the salience of *howay* in the North-East of England. Before this term can be applied to the lexical items retained in MxE, it is important to account for why it is lexis that appears to be the most meaningful unit of MxG retention within the sample rather than substrate morphosyntax.

Dorian states that within the process of language shift, 'fragmented but surprisingly strong lexical knowledge may survive beyond regular use of the contracting language' (2012: 3). In the context of the IoM, it is proposed that although MxG itself may not be a contracting language[41], perceptual and actual linguistic evidence from the data suggests that the use of the substrate within the MxE dialect is contracting.

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[40] This discussion adopts the view that *Yessir* in MxE derives from the MxG substrate form *ussa,* meaning 'you'

[41] The vitality of MxG more broadly is not within the remit of this thesis.

This is evident in the relatively small number of items elicited from the sample. Fieldwork for this study elicited 77 lexical items, compared to Preuß's 105 in 1999; Orton and Halliday's 126 in 1962; Moore *et* al's 750 in 1924; and an additional 200 added to Moore's original 750 in 1934 by Gill (see Table 7.1). Interestingly, Moore *et al* and Gill's combined 950 lexical items are based on nineteenth century literary sources, including the poetry of TE Brown and Egbert Rydings. Given the nature of these sources as both dated and fictional, the large number of items may not have been entirely reflective of the linguistic situation on the island at the time of publication. This explains the large decrease (-87%) in items elicited through the SED fieldwork. The reduction in MxG lexical retention since then has been smaller, however still meaningful in that any reduction is still indicative of decline. This has further importance when the nature of the below figures is considered - the items listed are reflective of every item elicited, regardless of frequency. The number is likely to be much smaller when only those in frequent usage are considered, as the present research has shown in the analysis of the twelve most common items.

Account	Source	Number of MxG Lexical Items	% +/-
Moore, Morrison, and Goodwin (1924)	Nineteenth century Manx literature	750	
Gill (1934)	Quarry poems	200 (in addition to the above)	+27%
Orton and Halliday (1962)	Survey of English Dialects (SED) Fieldwork	126	-87%
Preuß (2009)	MPhil Fieldwork	105	-17%
McCooey-Heap (2019)	Adapted Survey of Regional English (SuRE) fieldwork	77	-27%

Table 7-1 Number of MxG Substrate Lexical Items in MxE From Past and Current Research

It is because of the above figures, and their suggested increase in the loss of MxG items in MxE, that the most commonly retained items are of importance to the study of a Manx linguistic identity, as they have endured the aforementioned periods of intense language contact. This prompts the foregrounding of *skeet* and *yessir* in this discussion. The evidence above, combined with the quantitative data presented in the previous chapters to do with substrate syntax, means that the traditional MxE dialect fits within Dorian's description of fragmented lexical retention within a contracting language. This discussion proposes that the sociolinguistic environment on the IoM fosters the retention of the two items in focus as they have the quality of sociolinguistic salience, which is then perpetuated through such means as dialect commodification. The data's relationship with these factors is presented below.

Identifying Salience

Salience, as discussed in chapter 2, is a property of a linguistic feature, in that it is in some way noticeable to speakers as part of a specific variety. Hickey notes that salience, although relatively straightforward to identify, 'is notoriously difficult to quantify' (2000: 57). This discussion proposes that through the analysis of this project's data, and through an assessment of the linguistic landscape and commodified items, salience (defined below) can be used to aid an understanding of linguistic identity within a long-established dialect contact environment.

Salience in a sociolinguistic context is to do with the evocation of social associations with a specific linguistic feature. It is applied in a more specific way in such works as Llamas *et al* (2016) in the sense of:

> refer[ring] to the property of a spoken form which causes listeners to respond to the form in such a way as to indicate that it encodes information about the (presumed) social characteristics and/or geographical origins of the speaker, alongside the linguistic functions that the form simultaneously fulfils (Llamas *et al* 2016: 2).

According to this application, salient forms of language (at any level of usage) are directly mapped onto non-linguistic characteristics by the listener. Therefore, where an item has a high level of salience, individuals will make these connections quickly and consistently. This is the case with the IoM data, considering the high proportions of informants offering, for example, *skeet* and *yessir*, usually without hesitation. Moreover, there was a consistent consensus of the meaning of these items

throughout the sample, which is also crucial to any argument that suggests linguistic items possess salience (Llamas et al 2016: 2). The way that that *skeet* and *yessir* appear to conform to certain properties for the identification of salience (such as high frequency and perceptual prominence), suggests that it is appropriate to try and understand how these forms might index social meaning for the Manx-born residents on the IoM who use (and report to use) them. This enables the current research to propose that there is clear semiotic linkage between these two items and a distinctive Manx identity.

Discussions and proposals of salience must, however, be approached with caution – especially in such an application of this term as a possible explanation for linguistic behaviours. Kerswill and Williams claim that in the form/s in question are required to have 'recourse to extra-linguistic factors', which might be a combination of social, cognitive, psychological or pragmatic factors (2002: 83). This prevents the researcher falling into a circular argument. The inclusion of these additional factors in defining salience is supplementary to the criteria proposed by Trudgill (1986). Trudgill's criteria for the identification of salience is largely phonological in nature, however relevant to the current research is his statement that 'in contact with speakers of other language varieties, speakers modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware' (1986: 11). Here Trudgill refers to an act of speech accommodation that could see speakers modify their use of salient features to create either perceptual distance or perceptual closeness with their interlocutors. In the context of those born on the IoM, therefore, the inclusion of salient items in the description of one's own dialect (for example, through the SRNs or interview phase of the elicitation process), informants are retaining markers of differentiation in an environment of contact. This separates them from the linguistic Other (whether these are 'comeovers' or visitors), creating or maintaining the perceptual distance to which Trudgill refers.

Extra-strong Salience and Iconicity

As stated earlier in this chapter, the measurement of salience is something that is hard to operationalise. Despite this, there is the proposal that certain items with particularly high levels of salience can be deemed to have 'extra-strong' salience (Trudgill 1986). As these items have a particularly strong link with localities and with varieties, they may become iconic of certain speech communities. Iconicity here

refers to instances where the sign (the variant) comes to form a psychological association with the variety as a whole, and to those who speak it. A discussion of extra-strong salience is helpful in that it can aid an understanding of how the items in question come to be retained and used both on objects for sale and in the linguistic landscape.

Trudgill's description of extra-strong salience maps directly onto phonological variants which may become the subject of linguistic stereotype and are deemed 'overly strong markers of the dialect being accommodated to' (Kerswill 2012: 5). Therefore, in situations of dialect contact, Trudgill's model suggests that items with extra-strong salience will not be accommodated to, and instead will be avoided. Although critical of this, Kerswill explains that this explains why, for example, northern English speakers have not adopted the southern /ɑ:/ vowel in words like *dance* (2002: 686).

How, therefore, can extra-strong salience be utilised in the discussion of lexical variation on the IoM? Firstly, Auer *et al* (1998) highlight that salience can be applied to additional units of language, including lexis and grammar. Extra-strong salience may be applicable in the case of *skeet* and *yessir* in that there is evidence that these items have become iconic of the MxE dialect. Both items are used in dialect performance and in parodies of the MxE variety, such as the well-known tongue-in-cheek YouTube video, *Study of the Manx English Dialect,* by Winging It Productions. These items can also be seen to have extra-strong salience in that they are seen by speakers to be clear differentiators between MxE and other varieties of English heard on the island. This may suggest, as Trudgill's model proposes, that these forms are not subject to accommodation in dialect contact. This discussion does not assert that there are internal-linguistic factors that govern this, however it explores extra-linguistic factors that may contribute to this throughout. The following section refers to the presence of *skeet* and *yessir* both in objects for sale and in the linguistic landscape. It proposes that this contributes to the perpetuation of these items as salient, which helps an understanding of why these items are the most retained substrate items in the data elicited in this project.

Commodification and the Linguistic Landscape

Dialect commodification is inextricably linked to the process of enregisterment (Agha 2003) which was discussed in chapter 2. To reiterate, this process involves the differentiation of certain features, leading them to acquire social distinctiveness. This process enables a feature, or set of features, to come to exist as a 'socially recognised register' (Agha 2003: 231) spoken by a particular set of individuals. In the context of this thesis, enregisterment is linked in this way to the distinction of *skeet* and *yessir* as identifiable features of MxE, as an addition to their status as part of the MxG substrate. Given the heavy presence of both *skeet* and *yessir* in commodified items and within the linguistic landscape, it is important to address what this means in the context of a Manx linguistic identity in order to address one of the central lines of enquiry of this thesis.

The commodification of dialect features across all three levels of phonology, grammar, and lexis serves to maintain the enregistered status of such items (Cooper 2017: 358). In other words, these items help to both scaffold and perpetuate ideas about the features that make up a linguistic variety. Additionally, and importantly for the IoM context, is the idea that dialect commodities 'focus the idea that there is a…dialect' (Johnstone 2009b: 157). As discussed below in section 7.2, informants in the current study often found it difficult to describe what the features of MxE are, usually struggling to identify a separate form of English used by Manx residents[42]. Therefore, the display and distribution of local forms through the sale of such items helps to forge associations between such forms and specific social meanings (ibid). Moreover, they assert the existence of distinctive registers, such as Pittsburghese (Johnstone 2009), Geordie (Beal 2009), Yorkshire (Cooper 2017), and MxE.

The actual monetary value of items displaying dialect features is seen as demonstrative of their symbolic value to the purchaser, corresponding with Johnstone's assertion that a 'linguistic variety or set of varieties is commodified when it is available to purchase and people will pay for it' (Johnstone 2009b: 161). On a broad level, this can refer to the sale of specific registers for the fulfilment of certain functions. For example, the commodification of scripted utterances in the telephone

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[42] This lack of identification of MxE may be caused by erasure (see Irvine and Gal 2000).

marketing sector (Cameron 2000), or the sale of an intimate register in the telephone sex worker industry (Hall 1995). The remit of linguistic commodification in its application to the current research, however, is far smaller and in the case of this chapter refers only to the inclusion of lexical items on both items for sale and in commercial environments. Before specific examples of linguistic commodification on the IoM are discussed, it is crucial to understand the conditions under which a variety becomes a candidate for such commodification. Johnstone refers to three specific issues that must be considered, which she labels 'commodity phase', 'commodity candidacy', and 'commodity context' (2009b: 162)[43].

The commodity phase refers to a set of questions regarding how a language variety acquires the potential to become commodified. In her work on Pittsburghese, Johnstone claims that this is to do with first-order indexicality and with enregisterment. As stated elsewhere in this thesis, enregisterment ratifies and perpetuates the existence of varieties. This enregisterment alone, however, does not place a variety within the commodity phase. Instead, there is the additional requirement for what Johnstone describes as 'metapragmatic activity' drawing attention to the enregistered features. This often occurs through becoming aware of linguistic alterity. Awareness of difference or of alternative forms arguably makes the enregistered forms more hearable to the speakers of these forms, helping to further distinguish the variety as a distinct entity. In a gradual process, these now noticeable features gain third-order indexical meaning (as discussed in chapter 2) in that they have the potential to communicate a local identity. It is then, when specific features acquire an additional layer of social meaning (away from the sense of correctness and social class), that these features can 'come to evoke local pride or nostalgia' (Johnstone 2009b: 163).

In the context of the IoM, it is argued that *skeet* and *yessir* acquire specific third-order indexical meaning that is fostered by the demographic and dialect contact situation. The long-standing co-existence of MxE alongside other varieties of English means that there is the existence of a linguistic Other against which MxE (traditionally including MxG substrate items) can be positioned. Therefore, these

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[43] For a full description of these criteria, readers are directed to the original article.

items become more noticeable to the hearer as a marker of differentiation that separates Manx residents from the 'comeover' population. This equips *skeet* and *yessir,* as possibly the most noticeable items, with an ability to indicate membership in, or affiliation to, the native IoM speech community. The notion of affiliation here allows the suggestions made in this discussion to extend to speakers who may not be of Manx heritage but choose to utilise MxE variants. While these speakers are not included in the present study, where they adopt these items (and when) is possibly an indicator of their convergence to the native Manx residents and to the IoM in a broader sense.

Johnstone also describes 'commodity candidacy' as the intersection between folk attitudes and ideologies towards language, place and tradition - culminating in the idea of 'folklorism' (2009b: 164). This term is used to describe nostalgic and romantic feelings towards traditional artefacts and activities, leading to 'a new awareness that seeks to find novel ways to communicate with the past' (Nuryanti 1996: 250). Folklorism has a relationship with the commodification of language in that it can manifest itself in the revival of traditional forms - preserving and promoting them. This often occurs in tourist environments (Poljak Istenič 2011: 51). In the context of language, folklorism can translate to the desirability of older, vernacular forms in that it is these that are seen to be authentic and untainted (Johnstone 2009b: 164). Therefore, dialect items feature in the environment to demonstrate an authentic localness, even where these items may not be used by the community itself. Instead, the presentation of these items, or the ability to cite older ways of speaking allows individuals to claim a part of this more desirable way of life.

In the context of the IoM and the data elicited for this investigation, it appears that certain MxG items have the commodity candidacy that Johnstone describes. Regarding *skeet* and *yessir*, this is easily identified in the use of these items both in goods for purchase and in the linguistic landscape of commercial establishments. The following section discusses ways in which *skeet* and *yessir* specifically are presented in these environments, and the implications that this has both for the data elicited in this study and for the wider research questions.

Yessir and Skeet: Commodities

Firstly, this section addresses the use of the two most prominent lexical items from the MxG substrate elicited in the data in goods for sale. The type of items in question can vary from items with a very overt language focus, such as dialect dictionaries, to functional items such as tea towels and pens. The retail of these items suggests that there is both a consumer market for such goods, as well as a purpose for which these consumers will obtain them.

The purpose of such items, it is argued, is to do with what is described as what Glass describes as 'the display function' (2008: 2), and what Kelly refers to as the use of 'badges' (2003: 192). This refers to the use of the objects in question as artefacts of meaning making. Kelly specifically relates this to island life in her research on T-shirts in Hawaii, and she states that the purchase and wear of items containing cultural reference fulfil functions of displaying social identity. This is particularly applicable to the current research context in that the display of these goods on the wearer has particular importance 'at a time when island society is being inundated with products and priorities from distant shores' (Kelly 2003: 192).

It is proposed that the purchasers of such items are able to interpret this badging function and are aware of how to consume the items in this way (Johnstone 2009b: 165). The consumers of these items are communicating their identification with the practices that are evoked by the commodified item. So, for example, let us consider the mug in Figure 7.1, and the cards in Figure 7.2. These items are both for sale from the same online store, which specialises in greetings cards inspired by the IoM.

Figure 7.1 "What's the skeet?" Mug (Bowles 2019)
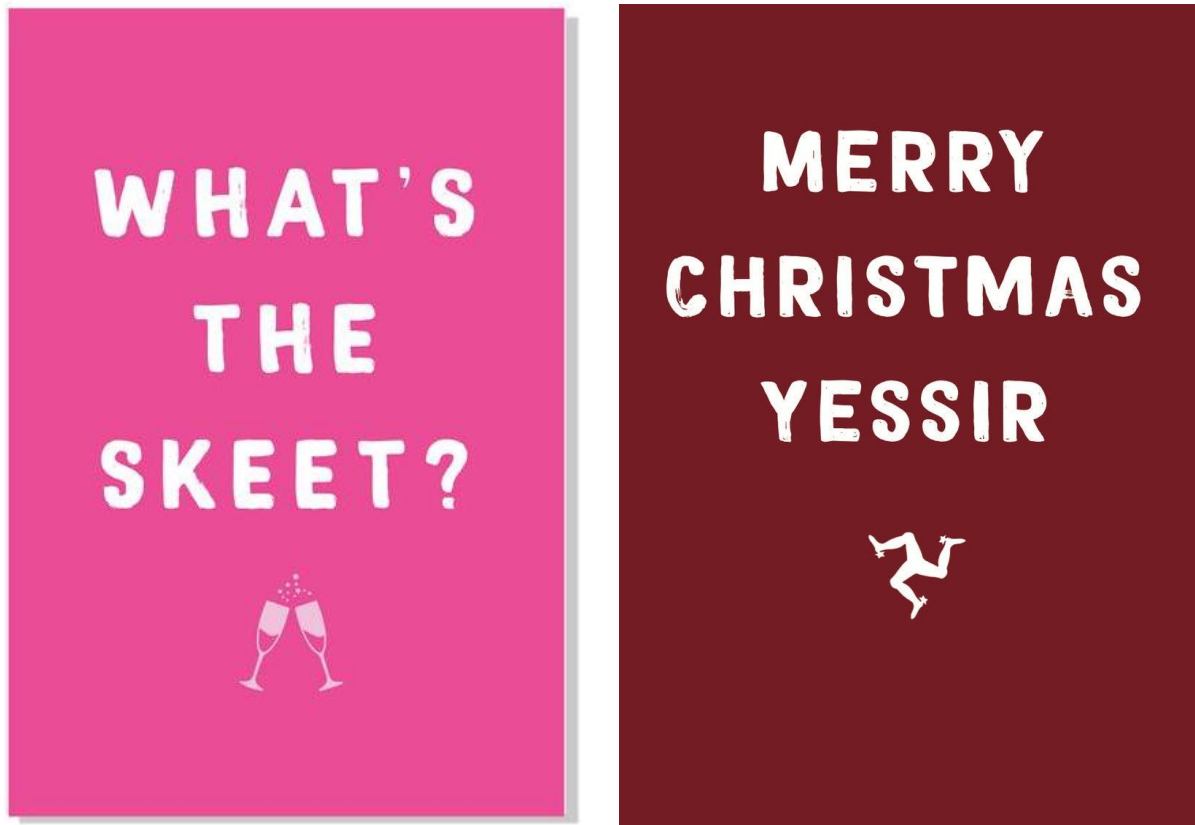
Figure 7.2 MxE Dialect Greetings Cards

(Bowles 2019)

The data elicited in the current research study suggest that the two MxG items featured on these objects have a prominence both in terms of usage and perception of MxE distinctiveness. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, these items are considered to have the property of salience, making them candidates for the marking of social differentiation. Given that both of these items can be considered to have 'extra-strong salience' (Trudgill 1986), this might limit the readiness of non-Manx island residents to use these items in acts of accommodation. If this is the case, they remain largely exclusive to the repertoires of the Manx – making them useful indicators of linguistic identity. The use of *skeet* and *yessir* on objects, particularly objects for gifting and exchange such as those above, communicate a distinctive social identity both of the sender and recipient, providing a sense of peer validated

authenticity and the shared rights to these linguistic forms. In this way, both sender and recipient validate one another's access to these forms in that they understand both the referential meaning and the level of social capital that they carry.

The use of salient items in commodified objects is not limited to areas of prolonged language contact, such as the IoM, however this factor arguably adds to the impact of these objects. In Johnstone's study of Pittsughese, she states that 'there is relatively little need for a Pittsburgher living in Pittsburgh to "badge" the fact that they are a Pittsburgher" (2013: iv). She proposes that objects featuring dialect forms serve ex-Pittsburghers living elsewhere to visibly project their links to Pittsburgh. This may be true of objects featuring *skeet* and *yessir*, as the limitations of island life amongst other circumstances may lead residents to relocate. Therefore, the receipt of language in these forms would then perform similar functions to those which Johnston refers. Unlike Pittsburgh, however, and central to the enquiries of this piece of research, is the prolonged coexistence (and historic linguistic tensions) between Manx residents and those from elsewhere. Therefore, the consumers of these items may be 'badging' their Manxness on the IoM both as a marker of linguistic distinction and as a communication of shared values with others who share the entitlement to these items. It is also the case that tourists are targeted by items featuring MxG linguistic items. Their purchase by visitors performs a similar 'badging' function as a display of one's linkage to the IoM through visitation. A particular audience for these items is regular visitors to the TT events. Wearing a Manx T-shirt off-island 'badges' one's involvement with these events and their broader affiliation to the island.

This section has explored the employment of the two most commonly elicited items from the MxG substrate as they are perpetuated in objects for sale. The following section will describe how this also translates beyond the sale of individual goods to the inclusion of these items within the linguistic landscape, specifically in commercial establishments. Much of the same theoretical implication applies to this additional context to the selling and consuming of objects, as establishments seek to project their localness and affiliation with the island's cultural frame. However, commercial establishments require some additional discussion given that they seek to attract custom from both Manx residents, the 'comeover' population, and visitors alike. For the purpose of this discussion, examples will be drawn from the décor and gift shop of *The Fishery* restaurant in Port St. Mary, and the menu of mobile catering company

Baby Cheezus. These two establishments have been selected as both have either undergone recent refurbishment or are a newly-established company. This allows an insight into a more current use of the items in focus in a commercial establishment.

The Fishery restaurant is very recently refurbished and features a number of decorative signs featuring local expressions, most of which include items featuring in this project's dataset. These include phrases such as "blowin' a hoolie", "that's mighty", and "ay boy"[44]. Central to this discussion, however is the use of the signs in Figures 7.3 and 7.4.

Figure 7.3 "What's the skeet fella?" Sign (Gateway Trade and Investment 2019a)

[44] Some examples are indicative of phonological variants in MxE, such as the elision of initial [h] and word-final [g].

Figure 7.4 "Alright yessir?" Sign (Gateway Trade and Investment 2019b)

Baby Cheezus is a newly-launched mobile catering company offering cheese-related goods at both public and private events. Most recently, they served at the TT races, offering the below menu (Figure 7.5). Attention is drawn to the second item: *Croque Yessir*.

BABY CHEEZUS TT MENU

TOASTIES *All served with 'slaw*

BC/OG | £5
cheese blend, bechamel

Croque yessir | £7
house cheese blend, wholegrain mustard, roast ham

Vegi melt | £6
vegi chilli, chilli cheese, soured cream + chive

Patty melt | £7.5
house cheese blend, beef patty, burger sauce, pickles

SIDES

Mac'n'Cheese | £4.5
with crispy onions

Nachos | £4
pico de gallo, jalapenos, nacho sauce

Figure 7.5 Baby Cheezus TT Menu (Baby Cheezus 2019)

The use of signage, such as that in The Fishery, is an example of how the salient items that they feature can function within the linguistic landscape. This term is described by Landry and Bourhis as 'refer[ring] to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region' (1997: 23). Often this refers to the use of bilingual or multilingual signage, however it can also include the type of display seen at The Fishery. The signs used are placed there by management with the intention of communicating that the customer has entered an establishment that is clearly proud of its Manxness. The use of dialect on these

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items, including those with strong sociolinguistic salience, serves as means of marking authenticity and, arguably, of providing a sense of novelty.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, items that are highly distinctive (in that they are quickly and accurately identified) as part of a variety have a presence above the level of consciousness for speakers of that variety. These are the items that are quick to be included in metalinguistic discussion of dialect, and which are often used as a resource in stylised dialect performance and in natural speech. As mentioned, items with high levels of salience are not often accommodated to, meaning that they are resistant to processes of levelling described in chapter 2. In the case of The Fishery, this discussion proposes that the restaurant uses visual displays of these items to assert its position as a Manx establishment through declaring its right to use these highly salient, and according to ideas of extra-strong salience, non-transferrable, forms. For Manx customers who value the difference of these forms, so too will they value this replication of the distinctive MxE variety. Even where these items may not feature heavily in the language of the Manx customers, their distinctiveness as features of MxE provides a shared cultural alignment. Of course, this will not apply to all Manx-born residents on the IoM. However, those with stronger senses of local affiliation who include language resources within their cultural sense of self may appreciate the sense of sameness created by these signs. It is, however, possible that residents find the commercialisation of their everyday language condescending. Further work on the perception of Manx residents on the use of dialect in this way would be valuable in gaining a fuller understanding of this.

For visitors to the island, and for the 'comeover' population, the use of the highly-salient variants in The Fishery may be a means of authenticating a local experience for tourists. In her work on Dingle, Ireland, Moriarty describes the use of Irish in the linguistic landscape as having 'an indexical function pointing to Dingle as an authentic Irish town where tourists can come to experience the 'Other'' (2014: 466). Through the use of MxE dialect (which incidentally incorporates items from MxG), The Fishery is validating tourists' experience of a linguistic Other in a way that is less likely to be misunderstood than the exclusive use of MxG. The use of MxG throughout the establishment would certainly provide a similar experience of a linguistic Other, however without translation this would be inaccessible both to visitors and most Manx visitors as well. The use of highly salient items here enables

both a recognition of Manxness and an authentic local identity, and the recognisable status of these items means that many visitors are likely to understand the meaning of these signs in context.

Any discussion, such as this, which refers to extra-strong salience must assert that Trudgill's explanation of this is largely dependent upon language-internal factors, as highlighted by Kerswill and Williams (2002) and Wilson (2010). Therefore, explanation of the wider sociolinguistic factors at work is required. While it may be true in some circumstances that items with extra-strong salience are resistant to accommodation, the social motivators for this resistance must be considered. Within this study, there is no evidence to suggest that there are language-internal properties responsible for the resistance of *skeet* and *yessir* to long-term accommodation. The following sections will outline how, for example, the IoM as an area of contact has contributed to the ongoing prevalence of *skeet* and *yessir* as heavily local features which can be used to index a Manx linguistic identity.

Salience and Linguistic Commodity in the context of Manx linguistic identity

As the previous sections have alluded to, salient items have specific importance in the current research context due to its nature as an area of dialect contact. Dialect contact is typologically separate from language contact as it enables speakers to use variants from both varieties 'apparently at will and with minimal loss of intelligibility' (Kerswill and Williams 2002: 82). Although speakers may adopt or reject certain linguistic variants used by those with whom they are in contact, the dissimilarity between MxE (containing MxG features) and English means that such an adoption is more restricted on the IoM. The current research does not investigate the use of MxG items by non-Manx residents, but it does propose that dialect mixing of the kind outlined in Trudgill (1994), can be to do with social meaning. In other words, dialect features that are retained in environments of contact are retained because of their function as social markers. The following section describes how this thesis proposes the retention of *skeet* and *yessir* as possible indicators of Manxness.

The demographic make-up of the IoM means that dialect contact is most likely unavoidable for all Manx residents. The retention of MxG lexis, specifically *skeet* and *yessir* in the case of this study, it is proposed is to do with the self-identification as

Manx and the claiming of a distinctive and separate linguistic identity. In this way, *skeet* and *yessir* become markers of identity, as described below.

Kiely *et al* (2001: 33) describe markers of national identity specifically as indexing 'social characteristics presented to others to support a national identity claim, or looked to in others, either to attribute national identity or receive and assess any claims of attributions made'. Such markers can be linguistic in nature, given the semiotic properties of language units as constructive elements in both the creation and interpretation of identity. Llamas e*t al* (2009; 2016) have explored linguistic markers of identity in the salience of phonological variables in a Scottish/English border region. They acknowledge that linguistic salience has particular importance in border regions as the use (or non-use) of these forms enables the hearer to make a simple binary distinction between members of the respective in/out groups. In this particular context of a geographical (and national) border, distinctions between such groups are somewhat more polarised. Therefore, they propose that 'adaptations made by speakers may be taken as evidence of the salience of forms that are indexical of national identities' (Llamas *et al* 2009: 382).

The retention of *skeet* and *yessir*, therefore may be a stance-making mechanism. Stance in sociolinguistics refers to an interactional meaning, and these are usually interpersonal or epistemic (Kiesling 2009: 172). Stances occur when speakers use particular linguistic forms as semiotic resources (amongst other semiotic means) to position themselves within a broader social structure. In this case, that structure is the rich demographic environment of the IoM. Snell notes that stance can be used to assert social boundaries and to allow speakers to 'lay claim to particular statuses, knowledge and authority' (2017: 6). It could, therefore, be the case that the perceived use of these retained lexical items is a type of stance-making activity whereby Manx residents index their national Identity through claiming their rights to use the substrate forms. There is no data available to explore whether the informants in this specific study were employing substrate items in acts of linguistic divergence away from the researcher (an outsider to the location), although it is recommended that this can be tested in future works.

7.1.2 Indexicality

If the reported use of substrate lexis is a stance-making resource to signal a Manx identity, it is important to address the relevance of this beyond the two most salient items. *Skeet* and *yessir* may indeed index a Manx identity, as discussed, however it is important to note that this may be just one of several possible Manx identities. This corresponds with Wolfram's suggestion that although the use of traditional Ocracoke dialect forms is tied to notions of a traditional identity, this traditional identity is only representative of the identity that dominates popular imagery - namely 'rugged fishermen' (Wolfram 2008: 7). On the IoM, popular imagery such as that on postcards and tourism materials would suggest that the traditional Manx identity is similarly fishermen, or farmers, suggesting that traditional identities are closely associated with traditional occupations.

The association of dialect forms with traditional occupations is somewhat nostalgic, in that it does not necessarily allow for the association of these forms with those in more modern professions, or with those in a more urban environment. This opens up the possibility for alternative Manx identities to be indexed by alternative linguistic means. The data elicited in the current research suggest that there is an additional Manx identity that is indexed by higher frequencies of MxG lexis and grammar within MxE. This facet of identity is described by this thesis as *Manx Cultural Identity* - corresponding with the extent to which participants have a direct involvement with cultural or heritage activity. As explained in chapter 6, although the data reveals no clear relationship between the ISI score and the reported use of substrate items, there does appear to be a relationship between language and the level of informant involvement in Manx cultural activity. On average, the more involvement an informant has with local culture (such as Manx poetry, Manx singing/dancing, ploughing matches etc.), the more features from the MxG substratum they offered in the elicitation process.

7.2 CHANGE

The previous section discusses some implications, and potential explanations for, the variation of MxG features within MxE. The following section discusses additional factors which may account for the low frequencies of MxG usage within the sample

and explores alternative means of constructing a Manx identity linguistically that become apparent in the data.

7.2.1   Contact induced change

The data presented in chapters 5 and 6 also provides an indication that the amount of MxG substrate items in MxE may be influenced by dialect contact. Although, as discussed earlier in this chapter, higher frequencies of perception of MxG items may be indexical of Manx identities, there is evidence to suggest that these items are experiencing a decline in usage. Discounting the two items which have been identified as having high (or even extra-strong) salience, no MxG items were recognised by more than half of the sample. When this data is compared to previous findings, such as Preuß (1999) and Orton and Halliday (1962), it is also clear that fewer lexical items are in current perceptual use. This is particularly meaningful given the nature of the sample used in this research, as many of the informants have, or have had, direct involvement with either the celebration of the 'traditional' MxE dialect or with the revival of MxG. It is therefore likely that, should this study be repeated with a larger and more diverse pool of informants, that fewer informants will produce several MxG substrate items. It is suggested that this decline in MxG items in MxE is to do with prolonged contact with speakers of other varieties of English, giving rise to the process of levelling through long-term accommodation (Kerswill 2002: 223).

As outlined in chapter 2, levelling refers to 'the reduction or attrition of *marked* variants' (Trudgill 1986: 98). 'Marked' in this sense refers to linguistic behaviours which are 'unusual or in the minority' (ibid).   In the case of the IoM, one must consider the historical linguistic context of the island and its continuing reliance upon outsiders, discussed in chapter 1.

Firstly, the IoM is a site of prolonged language contact with varieties of English. Ultimately, this led to the overpowering of MxG and it receiving UNESCO status as critically endangered (Moseley 2011: 180). In between the first encounters of English and MxG and the death of the last native MxG speaker in 1974, the treatment of MxG was often unfavourable. For example, Manx speakers were associated with rebellion against the Earl of Derby in the 1600s (Belchem 2001: 37), meaning that at that time, its speakers were treated with a degree of mistrust. Moreover, Bishop

Barrow's imposition of English on the island through a parish school system, followed by Bishop Wilson's stricter policy (which threatened parents with fines) further instilled top-down negativity towards MxG. Although this educational system declined (and Wilson jailed at Castle Rushen after a period of civil conflict), and there were later promotions of Manx (for example, by the Methodist church as means of conversion), English was ultimately to dominate. Therefore, despite the coexistence of MxG alongside English for a considerable period without displacement (Broderick 1999: 104), MxG was to become the minority language and therefore marked in status.

The marked status of MxG as a minority language is not wholly mitigated by revival attempts, given that its usage appears to remain in a limited environment (schools, cultural events, designated Manx-speaking events). Therefore, it is unsurprising that this may have an effect on the use and perceived use of MxG in MxE. As stated earlier in this thesis, the perceived 'death' of MxG 'left a substratum mainly of lexical, but also of phonological and syntactic traces in Manx English' (Broderick 1999: 10). As this research has established, these traces are largely in decline, despite greater usage in some locations and in some age groups. It is proposed that this is related to the aforementioned process of levelling. Given the demographic make-up of the island, and the status of English as dominant, it is possible that in acts of linguistic convergence between native Manx residents, 'comeovers' and visitors, that MxG items are avoided because they are marked as unusual and are not readily understood. Over time, these items then fall out of general use, explaining the difference in the amount and frequency of MxG lexis obtained compared to earlier studies.

Secondly, this discussion considers the economic reliance on non-Manx residents and visitors as a contributing factor to the levelling of MxG substrate features. The demographic make-up of the IoM dictates that economically, the island needs non-Manx residents. While historically 'there was little incentive or reason for outsiders to come to Man' (Broderick 1999: 23), aspects such as trade and periods of depression in England meant that migration to the island grew. More recently, the IoM is seen as a tax haven and a vibrant environment for entrepreneurs to do business. There is, however, an ageing population, and increasing the island's 'economically active' population remains one of the IoM government's strategic objectives (IoM 2018: 2).

Therefore, the island continues to seek young professionals to relocate to the island, with a relocation promotion company, operated by the island's Department for Enterprise, sponsoring the 2019 TT races. Linguistically, this reliance on outsiders may foster an environment of speech accommodation (Giles and Powesland 1997), whereby individuals within the Manx community may unconsciously involve and welcome newcomers through acts of convergence. Interactions between islanders and newcomers, providing that there are positive feelings on both sides, thus results in 'countless acts of short-term accommodation [leading to] long-term accommodation' (Kerswill 2002: 188).

As this research has shown, however, acts of mutual convergence leading to long-term accommodation and levelling are not universal among Manx residents. As proposed earlier in this chapter, greater levels of substrate lexical retention among those with significant cultural ties may be a conscious act of linguistic divergence. This allows MxG substrate lexis to acquire the potential to positively self-Other[45], to express perceptual distance in a situation of prolonged contact. Higher instances of MxG lexis in these individuals then indexes a greater value of Manx distinctiveness.

Finally, the increase in geographic mobility which enables more frequent and convenient travel both to and from the IoM is considered as a factor in contact-induced variation within MxE. Up until the 18th century, the IoM had little contact with outsiders (Broderick 1999: 23). Ongoing migration from the late 1700s and the introduction of the first Douglas Steamer in 1819 meant that in addition to contact with new settlers to the island, the IoM also began to encounter tourists. As stated in chapter 1, the island enjoyed a long period of successful tourism until the late 1960s, possibly due to the increased affordability and availability of foreign holidays for UK residents. The TT races remain a significant attraction for tourists and a large source of income for the island's economy. The huge number of visitors that these events attract from various corners of the globe illustrates how accessible the island now is. Improved transport links between the IoM and the UK specifically mean that it is far

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[45] Self-Othering here refers to the idea that Manx individuals deliberately emphasise the perceptual distance between themselves and speakers of other varieties through the use of substrate items.

easier not only for tourists to visit the island, but for islanders to both visit and work in the UK.

The sample used in this research includes several individuals who either have studied or are studying at universities in the UK. All of these, however, have made a decision to return to the IoM rather than to remain in the UK. This decision cannot be overlooked, considering the limitations that island life can offer - these informants have, in this way, demonstrated a considerable level of affiliation to the IoM. While the data presented in chapters 5 and 6 illustrates that longer periods off-island negatively influences the amount of MxG substrate items retained, there are instances where return to the IoM appears to have increased their usage (specifically F25 and M20). Both of these informants commented that contact with speakers in the UK made them value their linguistic heritage and increased their pride in knowing MxG items. This appears to echo one of Labov's findings on Martha's Vineyard, in which one informant's mother remarked: 'You know E, didn't always speak that way...it's only since he came back from college. I guess he wanted to be more like the men on the docks' (Labov 1972b: 31). Labov proposed that this was to do with a form of hypercorrection, triggered by informant intention to remain on the island.

In other words, Labov implied that a marked contrast in vowel centralisation could be observed between those informants who intended to remain on the island, and those who intended to leave. In the case of the IoM data, it is proposed that this may be the case, whereby retention corresponds with remaining, however this does not account for the fact that this hypercorrection occurs only upon returning from elsewhere. This discussion suggests that in the IoM data, this is due to what Johnstone describes as a 'becoming-aware experience' (2013: 106). Such experiences occur as a result of the fact that speakers are not always aware of the social meaning that is interpreted by others from their speech. For example;

> people who hear Dennis C.'s, or Esther R.'s speech...may hear them as projecting a Pittsburgh identity, but neither Dennis nor Esther would interpret this feature that way in someone else's speech (Johnstone 2013: 106).

Through the metalinguistic talk that often results from situations of dialect contact, speakers may begin to re-evaluate their use of particular variants following the interpretations of the hearer. Although it may not have been the intention of F25 or M20 to project a Manx identity through use of substrate variants or MxE

pronunciations whilst at university, interpretations as thus means that the speakers' evaluations of these items may change. This awareness may positively or negatively influence the use of these variants. For speakers M20 and F25, it appears that these experiences have increased their perception of MxG variants, as they are recharged with meaning and become a more overt resource for identity projection.

The findings on Martha's Vineyard and on the IoM which point towards returning islanders using more local variants is an arguably meaningful outcome of off-island contact, given that alternative consequences have been suggested elsewhere. Trudgill, for example, claims that individuals who move to locations where more prestigious varieties are spoken may return to their original location with features of the more prestigious variety in their repertoire. These features may then be incorporated into the home variety as they are 'seen to be more sophisticated than the stay-at-homes' (Marshall 2004: 1972). This can, however, only happen when the attitudinal environment is right - which is when those who have moved back are perceived as insiders, in spite of their use of non-local features (Trudgill 1986: 57). Cases such as this have been described in terms of 'linguistic missionaries' (Steinsholt 1962). As stated, this does not appear to apply to the speech of informants such as F25 and M20, however it may contribute to an explanation of MxE levelling more broadly.

In the case of the informants with high levels of cultural involvement, it is thought that geographic mobility and increased contact with outsiders increases their linguistic distinctiveness in their reported use of MxG substrate forms. This corresponds with Wolfram and Schilling-Estes' findings on Smith Island, where levels of contact were thought to have caused rapid divergence. Despite the increase in its distinctiveness, however, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes describe the Smith Island dialect as 'moribund', due to declining speaker numbers (1999: 487). In the case of the current research context on the IoM, this 'concentration model' may be applied to the data in the sample. The concentration model is described as applying to circumstances 'in which linguistic distinctiveness is heightened among a reduced number of speakers' (ibid). Considering the low numbers of MxG speakers, and the relatively low frequencies of MxG substrate items produced in sample (beyond the two most

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salient items discussed), it can be argued that 'traditional'[46] MxE does have a reduced number of speakers. Those speakers who produced the highest numbers of MxG items through the SuRE process may be heightening their distinctiveness in an environment where levelling has taken place. The speakers who continue to use the marked variants may do so in defence of their cultural heritage, and to create a degree of resistance to, and perceptual distance from, other speakers on the island. In this way, items from the MxG substrate become symbolic of islander identity, 'against the rising tide of those who now inundate' it (Wolfram 2008: 8), as found in both Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972b) and Tangier (Shores 2001).

In the context of the wider sample, particularly in comparison with past studies, it appears that the perception (and possibly use) of MxG substrate variants is declining. This may also be associated with geographic mobility, as Manx residents more frequently encounter speakers of other varieties both on and off-island. Milroy (2002: 7) explains that geographic mobility interrupts the maintenance of or weakens linguistic norms established by the in-group. This weakening makes communities 'more receptive to linguistic (and other) innovations' (Kerswill 2003: 2). In a location such as the IoM, where traditional linguistic norms include use of the MxG substrate in MxE, disruption to such norms can be highly influential in their reduction. The regularity and, to a degree, necessity of geographic mobility on the IoM means that the effects of language contact are perhaps intensified, further contributing to the attrition of the substrate.

7.2.2 Dialect Awareness

The fieldwork for this research found that many residents find it difficult to articulate many differences between MxE and other varieties of English spoken on the IoM. While discussion in the interview process helped to tease out some perceptual differences, such as the reported articulation of the vowel sound in words such as *wasp* and *castle*, and the reported use of words such as *yessir* and *skeet*, there was little awareness that MxE is influenced by MxG, and where this presents itself linguistically. The sample selected for participation, and indeed others who enquired

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[46] 'Traditional' here is applied as in Filppula *et al* (2008: 166) as the dialect spoken on IoM 'which exhibits a large amount of features derived from the Manx substratum'.

about the project, seemed to think that the description of a dialect as 'Manx' meant that it referred solely to MxG. It is proposed that this is associated with the perceptual relationship between MxG and English varieties, as discussed below.

Hybridism not Alterity

The promotion of MxG both on and off the IoM means that awareness of the heritage language is high. Although not all speakers in the sample were proficient in this, all were able to provide at least basic phrases such as *moghrey/fastyr mie*. The majority of informants also had a positive attitude towards MxG, valuing it in terms of its cultural tradition and expressing that they wish for the revival to continue. This promotion of MxG, and its use in education could, however, limit the perceptual space[47] of MxE. This is because of the presentation of MxG as an alternative or an Other, as described by Sebba (2010) in his exploration of the Manx linguistic landscape. In comparison to the promotion of MxG, there is little promotion or celebration of MxE's linguistic hybridity that would inform residents and visitors of the bidialectal situation on the island, as well as the bilingual situation, aside from the use of the most salient items on objects for sale and in commercial establishments.

Where speakers have MxG variants in their repertoires, it is important that these speakers feel able to use such variants without the expectation that they are a proficient MxG speaker. Therefore, there is a need for the celebration of linguistic hybridism on the IoM. Bakhtin describes languages as having a simultaneous relationship as opposed to a dialogic one, which opens up the possibility for hybrid utterances. This hybridity is described as 'the mixing, within a single concrete utterance, of two or more different linguistic consciousnesses' (Bakhtin 1981: 429). Linguistic consciousnesses here refer to the negotiation and orientation of language within the self. Where there is mixing within an utterance of two linguistic consciousnesses, there may be orientation towards both, for example, an L1 and L2 which manifests itself as a mixed utterance. Bakhtin's work is most often used in the discussion of code-switching, however can be helpful to this discussion in that the use of borrowings or calques in MxE, often for which there is an equivalent term in

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[47] Perceptual space here refers to speaker consciousness of languages on the IoM. Promotion of MxG as an alternative to English, therefore, may limit an awareness of traditional MxE.

British varieties of English, may be considered a similar type of mixing of linguistic consciousnesses - including a Manx-marking consciousness.

Lexical Taboo

The sample elicited from the current study revealed that dialect awareness on the IoM is not limited to the production of certain linguistic features, but also includes the avoidance of specific lexical items. This has relevance to the current research in that it gives a sense of an additional linguistic behaviour which is both valued by informants and can be seen as a marker of difference between what this research defines as native and non-native Manx residents. This section addresses how a linguistic act performed on the basis of superstition also may also serve to preserve cultural tradition and, to an extent, resist social change.

There is a considerable amount of folklore and superstition on the IoM, some of which employs MxG terminology (such as *mooinjer veggey* meaning 'little people' or the *moddey dhoo* of Peel Castle). These specific items were not, however, regularly elicited through the data collection methods of the current study. Instead, metalinguistic discussions of MxE often included the avoidance of the word *rat*. Only 10% (*n*=3) of participants said that they would use this item, however two of these added that they would use the term with a sense of guilt. It is therefore clear that a large majority of the sample (90%) actively avoid *rat*, meaning that this requires discussion as an important perceptual feature of MxE. Interestingly, the MxG for *rat* is *roddan*, and yet it is not this form that is borrowed into MxE as an avoidance term. Instead, an English translation of the Manx noa name, *fer yn amman liauyr,* meaning 'the one with the long tail' is used.

Flom (1925: 400) states that linguistic prohibitions are a form of tabooed act, and there are several examples of the type of avoidance the data reveals on the IoM. In these examples, where animal names are to be avoided (usually at sea), substitutions are made, often in the form of what this discussion will refer to as *noa words* - meaning 'normal words' (as in Flom 1925; Knooihuizen 2008; Mack 2011; McColl Millar *et al* 2014). Other terminology used to describe acts of substitution include *Godnemne* ('good name') in Norwegian, *Lucky words* in Shetland, and *Skoknamn* ('names of superstition') in Gotland (Mack 2011: 189). Much of the existing literature on these substitutions is centred in locations of sea-faring or island

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life, although the use of noa words is not confined to those in occupations associated with the sea (Flom 1925: 402). For example, there is reference to linguistic taboo in the practice of brewing in Norway (avoidance of the word *water*) slaughtering in Denmark (avoidance of the word *blood*) and baking in Scotland (Flom 1925: 403). It is, however, likely that seafaring is where the Manx avoidance of *rat* originates, given the island's historic and somewhat continued reliance upon fishing.

Seafaring and fishing have a long history with linguistic taboo, as boats are liminal spaces where encounters with different types of peril were commonplace. Westerdahl (2005: 2) suggests that noa names used at sea could be used as 'liminal agents'; dangerous terms which are used in a ritualistic way to enable linkage between the land and sea. The endurance of linguistic taboo on land suggests that the use of noa names is no longer restricted to use in liminal spaces, such as boat decks. Instead, the superstition attached to the avoidance of certain items appears to become more generalised. This may lead to the perception (including that of informant F58B) that uttering the taboo word may have a conjuring effect, as 'the true name is a part of the thing, and uttering it brings the evil thing to the spot' (Flom 1925: 407). Although this is a rather platonic view of language, this sort of effect, made famous by J. K. Rowling's *Voldemort* (he who shall not be named), is described in the data by one informant, who upon seeing a rat was convinced that she must have said the word and summoned it to her. There is one example of the use of *longtail* in place of *rat* in this project's interview data. Informant M69 was speaking of the slower pace of life offered by the IoM and was sharing how he got bored spending his holiday on a barge. He said:

> "I've been on three or four canal boat trips, across and all, and it is a bit quiet for me. But, I live in a place that is easy, quiet, and so on. **Anybody in the longtail race in London or somewhere like that**, to go and spend a fortnight on a boat, no hassle, switch your phone off if you want, must be, you know, fantastic. I found it a little bit draggy because I can do that any time I want over here."

Moreover, there is evidence from social media that the use of *rat* is taboo on the IoM, even more so than the use of swear words. The below tweet is one account of a Manx court session whereby a police officer, acting as a witness, was happy to use a particularly strong swear word, but would not say *rat.*

Figure 7.6: Tweet demonstrating *rat* avoidance on the IoM

When informants in the current study were questioned about their reported use of noa names in place of *rat*, most stated that this is to do with the avoidance of bad luck, in a similar way that one is required to acknowledge the fairies or 'little people' when crossing the Fairy Bridge. Despite speaker awareness that uttering the word *rat* is believed to be unlucky, very few informants could elaborate on why this might be the case. This demonstrates how the cultural tradition of this particular lexical taboo prevails even outside of the original context in which it was applied, meaning that the use of noa names in place of *rat* has continued, if unspecified, cultural meaning for most of the speakers in the sample. One speaker did suggest that the retention of *rat* as taboo is because rats are generally ill thought of, however he also suggested a noa name for seal:

"And with the R-A-T being so, ooh er what would you say, badly thought of, it's the one that stayed. Now, I know people that refer to seals as Dan Cliffords. Dan Clifford is a seal in Peel. Now, that's like, an old Peel fella told me that. "Blooming Dan Cliffords, taking them, taking your fish", yeah." (M69, Kirk Michael).

The noa names provided by the sample include *longtail, joey, ringy, queer fella,* and *cawl iron fella*[48], amongst others. The specific terms *longtail* and *ringy* are examples of descriptive circumlocutions which may be similar to the tradition of kennings in Old Norse Skaldic poetry (Flom 1925: 107). Kennings (which also occur in Old English) are a type of periphrasis that allow objects to be referred to indirectly, for example *candle of the sky* or *gem of heaven* to refer to the sun (Brodeur 1969: 250). Similar examples to *longtail* include the Faroese *hvast* meaning 'sharp' for *knife*, and *stutthali* meaning 'short tail' for *sheep* (Lockwood 1955: 5). So popular on the island is the perceived use of *longtail*, that this is now appearing in artefacts of linguistic

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[48] Informant M67 used *cowl iron fella* - McColl Millar *et al* (2014: 105) state that *cold iron* is used in the Scottish fishing communities as an umberella substitute term for unlucky words or phrases at sea.

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commodification (see Figure 7.6). In this way, the regional use of the noa name *longtail* is being used ' as [a signal] of authentic local identity and...to project localness' (Johnstone 2006: 93).
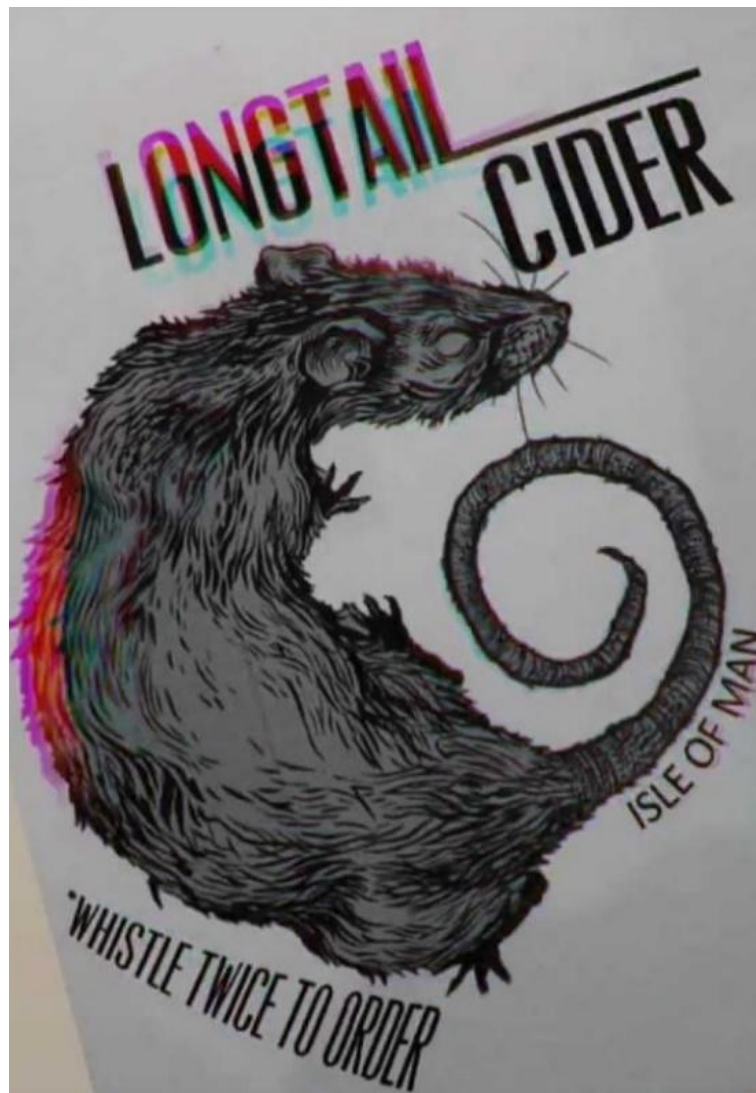
Figure 7.7 Longtail Cider Poster (Foraging Vintners 2019)

The claiming of *longtail* by speakers within the sample as a distinctive feature of their repertoire and its appearance in items for sale indicate that this item has become an enregistered feature of MxE. In a similar way to *skeet* and *yessir*, the inclusion of *longtail* on commerce such as cider is indicative of third-order indexicality, whereby they are 'even more ideologically laden' (Snell 2017: 6). As stated earlier, this means

that 'regional forms become available for self-conscious, performed identity work' (Johnstone 2006: 94). The third order (i.e. (n + 1) + 1) of indexicality means that certain features (in this case, lexical items) have additional ideological baggage, and can be used as resources in the overt performance or display of knowledge about specific dialects (Snell 2017: 6). In the case of *longtail cider*, in a similar way to the items discussed earlier in this chapter, it is proposed that the sellers of this item are seeking to project an overtly local identity through the use of the most common noa name. In doing so, it appeals to both island residents and visitors alike, through its nod to local cultural tradition (superstition) and its use of language which marks it as a Manx product.

This section has discussed how, despite what appears to be generalised levelling of MxG features in MxE, speakers are overtly aware of other lexical means that serve as means of distinction for the MxE variety. Specifically, linguistic taboo and its most common noa name appear to have similar salience to *skeet* and *yessir*, and there are indications that this has achieved third order indexicality (Johnstone *et al* 2006; Snell 2017). In the context of Manx identity, this suggests that *longtail* and its variants share the ability to index a Manx local identity, and that they can be used as resources for the self-conscious description, and performance of, such an identity.

7.2.3 Dialect transmission

The following section uses some of the age-related data presented in chapters 5 and 6 to discuss dialect transmission and the awareness of the MxG substrate in the island's education systems. As discussed earlier in this thesis, there are many opportunities for speakers to acquire MxG, whether that is through formal education or otherwise. The data suggest that informants are generally positive towards the teaching and promotion of MxG education, and the majority stated that they would be in favour of their children learning at least basic MxG. Attitudes towards the knowledge of MxG lexis and grammar were, however, somewhat divergent - with the majority of speakers stating that they felt they were not necessary in order to have a Manx identity.

This discussion has made some suggestions about the levelling of MxG features in MxE, and the pockets of retention that are exhibited largely by those in the middle age group (42-53). However, it can also be proposed that the decrease in substrate

features offered by the younger generations of speakers is to do with the non-transmission of these features, despite the cultural value that may be attached to them. Ghimenton states that 'the majority of speakers associate dialect with strong oral and regional tradition. Yet their opinions diverge considerably on the important attributed to dialect transmission' (2015: 124).

On the IoM, this discussion suggests that the non-transmission of MxG in MxE is to do with the status of MxG as a separate and alternative language, as stated earlier in this chapter at 7.2.2. The amount of celebration and cultural value attached to MxG as the island's heritage language is effective at bringing it to the foreground of residents' linguistic conscience, however this may also be limiting the transmission of substrate features. Promotion of bilingualism assumes a monolingual standard, whereby it is thought that monolingualism is the norm. It is possible that younger speakers who do not take up MxG education feel that they are not entitled in the same way as L2 learners or MxG speakers to produce MxG variants in their speech. What is more likely, however, is that younger speakers simply do not know the extent of MxG variants to them or their right to use such variants. While it is possible that this is down to dialect levelling, it is also possible that this is due to a lack of transmission. Like levelling, this would account for some of the age-related data, whereby the youngest speakers often exhibit the fewest substrate features.

Non-transmission of dialect forms can occur both within the home and within the educational environment. Firstly, the matter of dialect transmission in the home will be discussed. Studies such as Foulkes *et al* (1999; 2005) and Roberts (2002) in the study of Tyneside and Tennessee respectively, have found that caregivers use fewer tokens of dialect forms (specifically phonological variants) in child directed speech. This may be associated with the caregivers' desire for their children to use language which is closer to the perceived standard forms, as dialect forms are often treated with a 'deficit view' (Snell 2013: 2). Given that 'there are no linguistic orphans, remote from the influence of their parents' (Labov 2001: 425), if such a deficit view is carried by caregivers towards MxE dialect forms, they may avoid use of these towards their children or encouragement of their children to use them. This is supported by De Vogelaer *et al* who state that 'many caregivers are reluctant to speak dialect to their children...even if they would speak dialect towards each other' (2017: 10).

On the IoM, non-transmission of dialect forms between caregivers and their children could be associated with the perceived benefits of learning other languages, such as French or Spanish which are spoken in not one but several countries. One informant stated that she stopped her children from receiving Manx lessons in school as they had started to learn French. She did not want them to become confused learning two languages and decided that French would be more useful to her children in adulthood. Another informant stated that he had reluctantly agreed to his child taking Manx as an option subject at school, as he was unsure of the benefits that this would have. The same, therefore, may be the case for the transmission of the MxG substrate. Caregivers appear to be increasingly aware of the limitations the IoM may have on their children in their choice of career. Therefore, they do not nurture the use of MxG forms which may be perceived to mark their child as divergent in the UK, as these forms are unlikely to be understood.

Non-transmission of dialect forms, whether this is as a result of levelling or otherwise, combined with the attitudinal data which states that the majority of informants do not feel MxG substrate items are an integral part of a Manx identity, means that speakers either consider different linguistic resources, such as phonological variants, and/or other semiotic resources as contributing to such an identity. For example, some of the youngest speakers in the sample (F19 and F21B) stated that living on the IoM creates an awareness of its uniqueness as a location. They referred directly to folklore such as fairies and steam trains, asserting that these are the cultural tokens that better define Manxness than the use of a dialect with which they are not consistently familiar.

There are, however, informants in the sample who feel that dialect items are useful tools for speakers both in terms of identity construction and in terms of expressivity;

"I think if you lose it, you're gonna lose all that's unique about being Manx really. So I think we need to keep those words in." (M58)

"I do [think they're important] yeah. And I tend to do it, I suppose, to help perpetuate them too...they're very expressive." (M80)

The above quotations come from two males in the sample, who appear to place considerable value on the inclusion of MxG substrate items in MxE. Of note is that

neither of these speakers has beyond a basic proficiency in MxG. Also of note is that neither of these speakers has a particularly strong engagement in cultural activity, unlike others in the sample. Therefore, this suggests that while younger speakers may not see substrate items as a means of identity construction available, or of interest, to them, some older speakers do. This research proposes that this is to do with dialect forms from the substrate providing a sense of closeness to the linguistic heritage of the island, even where speakers "do not have the Manx language" (M80). Any use of dialect variants can be seen to 'empower speakers with choice, it becomes more noticeable in speech because of its relative low frequency and the contrast that it produces' (Ghimenton 2013: 70). Lexical and grammatical borrowing from a substrate language which remains available in the sociolinguistic environment allows users of the borrowings to create perceptual closeness with L2 proficient speakers whilst also marking a separate national identity from 'comeovers' and visitors.

This argument does not claim any humanitarian responsibility for the promotion of MxG in MxE. As Ladefoged (1992) highlights, the loss of languages (and dialects) is often written about in terms that appeal to emotions rather than reason. While there is (founded) reason for the emotive depiction of language loss, it cannot be taken for granted that this is always a cause of concern for speakers of varieties such as MxE which occur in bidialectal environments. In short, 'we should always be sensitive to the concerns of the people whose language we are studying. But we should not assume that we know what's best for them' (Ladefoged 1992: 810).

7.3   SUMMARY

- The two most frequently elicited MxG lexical items, *skeet* and *yessir* can be considered in terms of sociolinguistic salience. These items are perpetuated in linguistic commodities, which maintains their enregistered status within MxE.

- Language contact between the MxE dialect and other dialects of English are thought to have contributed to the generalised levelling of MxG features in MxE. Contact, can, however also explain the increased reported use of MxG variants in speakers who have had 'becoming-aware experiences' (Johnstone 2013: 106) and who choose to remain on the island.

- Higher perceptual levels of MxG in the MxE of some islanders may indicate that MxE is becoming more, rather than less, distinctive in certain pockets of individuals. This may be explained by the 'concentration model' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1999: 487).

- Loss of dialect awareness may be a factor in the reported decline of MxG variants in MxE, as informants are less aware of the possibility for crossover between the two languages. This may be due to the promotion of bilingualism, which implies a binary relationship between MxG and varieties of English.

- Lexical taboo appears to be meaningful to informants in the maintenance of cultural tradition. The large proportion of speakers within the sample who reportedly avoid the word *rat* suggests that even where traditional forms in MxE are absent, other forms of linguistic tradition are helpful in the marking of a Manx identity.

- The apparent attrition of MxG variants in MxE may be to do with the non-transmission of dialect forms both in the home and in education.

This chapter has presented a discussion of some of the main findings of the current research project. With a particular focus on the most frequently identified items from the MxG substrate, as well as the added finding of linguistic taboo, it has proposed motivations for the retention of these items as well as possible explanations for the decline in others. The following chapter concludes the thesis, reflecting on the extent to which the research objectives have been met.

8 CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the thesis with an explanation of extent to which the research aims outlined in chapter 1 have been achieved. The success of the chosen method is also reflected upon, before a discussion of areas for research development and an iteration of this project's original contribution to knowledge.

8.1 FULFILMENT OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In chapter 1, this thesis outlined four research questions. This section will discuss each one in turn, explaining the extent to which they have been answered.

8.1.1 What lexical and syntactic items from the MxG substrate prevail in MxE?

Lexis

This research elicited over seventy MxG lexical items from informants in the data collection process. Most of these are not discussed in this thesis, as they were elicited infrequently (many with only one token). Instead, the most frequently reported items were analysed in terms of their relationship with social factors (explained further at 8.1.2). These items are as follows: *skeet, yessir, mollag, kiuttagh, moal, gobbag, spittag, sleetch, thie veg, brabbag* and *murran*.

Grammar

The majority of the MxG grammatical data in this project was elicited through the LnQ, outlined in chapter 4. The data revealed that each of the MxG substrate grammatical constructions tested in the LnQ had some degree of recognition within the sample, with the exception of *going-a-building*[49]. The highest rates of positive response were with regard to participants stating they would hear these constructions spoken on the IoM. This data was not, however, mirrored in the naturally-occurring speech of the sample - which contained very few instances of these constructions. This suggests that, while there is perception of these features as belonging to MxE, their use is less prevalent than this would lead one to believe.

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[49] The non-recognition of this feature means that it is omitted from the presentation of results at chapter five.

Alternatively, it might be that a larger pool of informants would reveal greater use of these features.

8.1.2 Does the use of MxG substrate items in MxE correspond to social factors, including: age, location, and individual speaker proficiency in MxG?

As presented in chapter 5, this research has found certain linguistic factors to have a correlation with the social factors of age, location, and MxG proficiency. Chapter 5 makes some suggestions to explain these relationships. These are summarised below.

Age

The reported lexical items *mollag, kiuttagh, moal, gobbag,* and *spittag* were found to have age-sensitivity within the sample, with higher rates of response from speakers aged 42 and over. Broadly speaking, this could indicate that the youngest two age groups studied (19-29 and 30-39) are less likely to report use of lexical items from the MxG substrate. The data also revealed that the oldest age group (72-86) had the highest levels (or joint-highest levels) of response for the lexical items *mollag, kiuttagh* and *gobbag.* This may indicate that the younger generations are using a variety of MxE which has levelled due to prolonged contact between island residents and outsiders, or that the older generation are more likely to remember the states to which traditional dialect words refer.

In terms of MxG substrate grammar, the same relationship with age cannot be observed. It is, in fact, the oldest generations in the sample (52-69 and 72-86) who report the least amounts of recognition for the grammatical structures tested. However, the highest response rates were from the middle age group (42-53) - who were also the highest (or joint-highest) perceptual users of the lexical items *mollag, gobbag* and *spittag.* It is suggested in chapter give that lower rates of reported MxG grammatical retention in the oldest generations may be to do with the lack of MxG promotion in previous decades, or the non-transmission of the substrate from their parents (who may have been aware that MxG was not socially desirable or used MxG as a means to discuss adult matters in front of their children).

Location

The data reveal relationships between specific lexical items (*sleetch* and *thie veg*) and the reported perception and use of grammatical items with participant location.

Specifically, it was found that *sleetch* and *thie veg* are perceived to prevail the most in the South and West of the island, and that MxG substrate grammar is reported to be most retained in the North and West.

This thesis proposes that the reported retention of MxG substrate items in the West of the island is linked to the relative rurality of this area compared to, for example, the East, meaning that the effects of dialect contact are not felt to the same extent. This is somewhat mirrored in the attitudinal data presented in chapter 6 which reflects informant perception of linguistic difference on the island. Half of the informants stated that Peel (in the West) is a distinctive speech area. While they did not qualify this further (or were unable to), this may indicate that speakers in the West retain greater amounts of 'traditional' MxE features, including MxG substrate items. Also, in terms of location, this study has found speakers in the East to report retention of the fewest substrate items both lexically and grammatically. This can be thought of in terms of dialect contact, given the levels of contact experienced in this area, especially in the island's capital, Douglas.

MxG Proficiency

The data revealed that the greatest amount of reported MxG lexis was obtained from speakers with a MxG proficiency level of 3[50]. In terms of substrate grammar, however, it was speakers with a proficiency level of 2 that gave the greatest indication of perceived usage on the LnQ. As discussed in chapter 5, this may be to do with speakers with a proficiency level of 2 having integrative attitudes towards L2 acquisition, or by means of backwards transmission. It must be considered, however, that the greatest amount of naturally-occurring MxG grammatical data was obtained from speakers with a proficiency level of 3.

8.1.3 Do speakers recognise MxG substrate items as markers of a Manx linguistic identity?

70% of informants stated that knowledge or use of MxG substrate items is not necessary in order for one to claim a Manx identity - linguistic or otherwise. For

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[50] The highest level of proficiency determined by this research.

some, Manx birth is more important, whereas others claim that knowledge of substrate items is no longer 'normal'. While some speakers commented on the 'charm' that the substrate gives MxE, and others stated that they 'help' with the construction of a Manx identity, consensus was that substrate items are not generally considered markers of such an identity.

8.1.4   Do identity factors motivate the retention of specific MxG substrate items?

Initially, this research intended to use the ISI to establish whether there exists any relationship between local affiliation and the retention (or perceived retention) of MxG substrate items. No such relationship was found, however it is instead proposed that an informant's level of involvement in Manx cultural activity, such as Manx dancing, music, or local history events, does present this relationship. As discussed, this may be to do with the fact that these traditional events are likely to utilise MxG vocabulary, whereas certain lexical items, for example, may be redundant in more everyday life.

This thesis has presented possible explanations for the reported retention of MxG substrate items in relation to matters such as language contact, L2 acquisition, and linguistic accommodation. The discussion at chapter 7 specifically discusses the most commonly reported items from the MxG substrate within the sample, relating the lexical items *skeet* and *yessir* to theoretical notion of sociolinguistic salience. It is proposed that these items, with the inclusion of lexical taboo (*rat*) that are the most observable markers of a Manx linguistic identity included in this research.   These items are enregistered parts of the MxE dialect perpetuated in linguistic commodities such as mugs and greetings cards. These items also are at the forefront of informant perceptions of what makes MxE distinctive.

8.2   METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This project has applied an existing methodological approach, in the form of the SuRE method (LLamas 1999), to a novel linguistic context. The IoM study has found the method useful, particularly in the initial extrapolation of large quantities data. It is, however, acknowledged that for future measurement of substrate influence (especially lexical influence), supplementary elicitation is likely to be required. This is because the SRNs are designed as a comparison tool, to elicit lexical items which are likely to have alternative variants in different locations. For substrate influence,

the vocabulary involved may well be heavily related to archaic concepts which cannot be measured this way and may not always be elicited in an interview. Therefore, it is suggested that further preliminary studies can be carried out in contexts such as this to establish items which may be more obscure (such as, for example, *qualtagh*[51] or *convayrt*[52]). Despite this, all informants enjoyed completing the SRNs, and it is proposed that these are adapted further for future substrate research, rather than replaced.

8.3 RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of areas in which this research can be developed further in future projects, some of which have been alluded to in the body of this thesis. In future works, it would be of benefit to include speakers not born on the IoM, to explore their use and perceptions of MxG items. Moreover, it is suggested that additional research is conducted with Manx residents who are learners of MxG, to better understand whether this has an influence on the use of MxG items in their English.

Phonological data available in the recorded interviews from the current project will also be of benefit in future works. This data would enable an analysis of MxG substrate influence on phonology, which could then be measured against similar social variables as the present study - including identity and affiliation.

8.4 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This thesis has made an original contribution to knowledge to both the sociolinguistic field and to the body of research on MxE. As stated in chapter 1, sociolinguistic focus on the IoM is limited. An area of such linguistic interest, in terms of language contact, bilingualism, and substrate influence, does however warrant academic focus.

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[51] Meaning 'first footer' on New Year's Day

[52] Meaning 'detritus'

This thesis has made both theoretical and methodological advances. Firstly, it has demonstrated that sociolinguistically salient substrate items appear to be the most resistant to levelling on the IoM. As stated in chapter 8, this thesis proposes that this is linked to dialect divergence and the ability of these items to index a Manx identity. Moreover, theoretical advances include the exploration of dialect attrition in the case of substrate items, linking this to the status of the substratum itself. Methodological advances made by this thesis are the application of the SuRE to a novel research context. This study has shown the continued value of SuRE and its versatility in eliciting substrate data.

8.5   CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has been a source of great enjoyment for the researcher. It is hoped that this thesis promotes an interest in MxE as both a dialect of distinction and interest, and as the worthy focus of future linguistic works. It is gratifying that this thesis has been able to 'put a sight on' the substrate.

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APPENDIX 1: IoM SuRE Pack

Form ID no: _____/_____/_____/___

Appendix (i)

SuRE on the Isle of Man

A Doctoral Research Project affiliated with Edge Hill University

Contents:

SuRE Information & Instructions Sheet
About You
Consent & Confidentiality
Task 1:   Word web A
          Word web B
          Word web C
Task 2:   Identity Questionnaire
Task 3:   Language Questionnaire
Task 4:   Multiple Choice

1

What is SuRE?

Thank you for volunteering to take part in the SuRE research on the Isle of Man. This project is currently being undertaken as part of a doctoral research project based at Edge Hill University, which is investigating the way English is used on the Isle of Man today. The word 'SuRE' relates to an older survey, called *The Survey of Regional English*, which forms the basis of the questionnaires within this pack. The SuRE approach has been used in previous locations such as Southampton and Sunderland, and your input will help to create an understanding of the way language is used on the Isle of Man today.

Instructions

There are three written tasks to complete within this pack, as outlined below. Please complete all of these tasks and bring them with you to your interview appointment. If you aren't sure when your interview appointment is, or you need to reschedule, please contact Kat McCooey-Heap on 07951330099 or email mccooeyk@edgehill.ac.uk

Task 1 (a, b and c)

- Please complete the sheets with words you think are local to the area you live in.
- Write down whatever words come to mind – words that you would use every day when talking to friends, for example.
- Once you have completed the sheets, spend some time thinking about the words and see if any other examples come to mind – then note these down as well.
- You are welcome to discuss the sheets with others from the same area as you, but try to keep a note of who you discuss them with. If they suggest any words you have not written down, make a note of the words and who suggested them.
- You are welcome to write down expressions and phrases as well as single words.
- Please provide as many examples as you can think of. If you can only think of the word that is there, then write that one in the space provided.
- Please bring your completed sheets with you to your interview with Kat.

2

Task 2(Identity Questionnaire)

Please complete the questionnaire which asks for information about how you feel about your local area.

Task 3 (Language Questionnaire)

Please complete the questionnaire which asks for information about your use of language. Please tick the boxes.

Task 4(Multiple Choice)

Please select **one** of the multiple choice answers for each question. Do not think too much about your answers, just circle the one that you are instantly drawn to!

About You

Sex	
Date of Birth	
Place of Birth	
Current Place of Residence	
Other places you have lived and for how long	
Birth place of mother	
Birth place of father	
Ethnic Group	
Occupation (if retired, occupation prior to this)	
What age did you leave education?	

4

Form ID no: _____/_____/_____/___

Confidentiality and Consent

As the instruction sheet explains, the purpose of this research is to gather information about the use of language on the Isle of Man. In order to do this, I would like your permission to use the written information you provide and record our conversation about the questionnaires you have completed.

Use of Information

The information you provide will be used in my research to help to describe how language is used in your area. The information will be stored by the researcher and held as part of an electronic data set. Your information will go on to be used in academic publications and further research.

Any information you provide, both spoken and written, will remain anonymous outside of the research project/s. It is your right to receive electronic copies of any information you provide, if you wish. This can be done by contacting the researcher using the details provided on the information sheet.

You also have the right to withdraw your consent at any point, without giving reason, up until **two weeks** after your recorded interview takes place. The deadline for you to withdraw your consent will be agreed with the researcher and recorded in the space below.
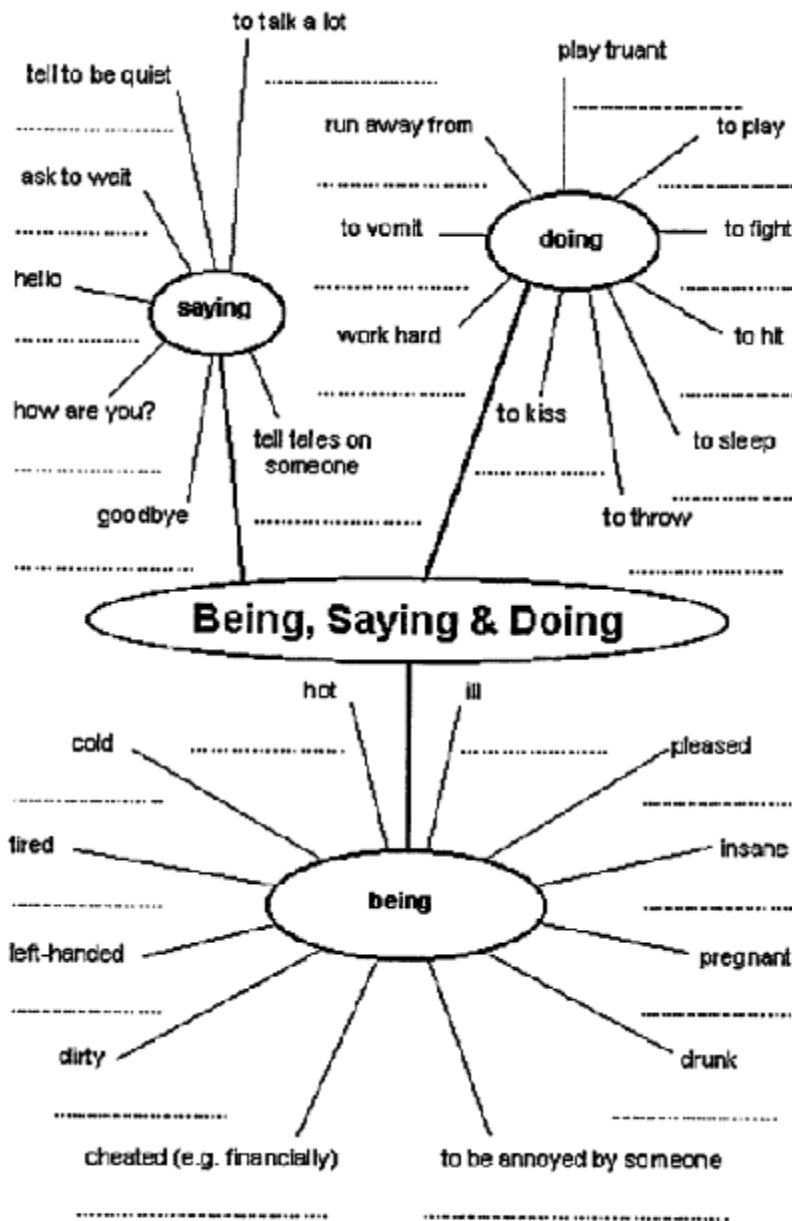
By providing me with written and spoken information, you indicate your consent to the collection, use, storage, and processing of the information by the researcher for both the purposes described in the information sheet and any future study where it may be of use.

Signed:…………………………………………..

Date:…………………………………….

Agreed deadline for withdrawal:……………………………………

5

Task 1: Word Web A

to talk a lot

tell to be quiet
....

ask to wait
....

hello
....

how are you?
....

saying

goodbye

tell tales on someone
....
....

play truant
....

run away from
....

to vomit

work hard
....

to kiss
....

doing

to play

to fight
....

to hit
....

to sleep
....

to throw
....

....

Being, Saying & Doing

hot
....

ill
....

cold
....

tired
....

left-handed
....

dirty
....

cheated (e.g. financially)
....

being

pleased
....

insane
....

pregnant
....

drunk
....

to be annoyed by someone
....

6

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Task 1: Word Web B

cat

to rain lightly

....

main room of the house
(with television)

....

dog

to rain heavily

**nature
&
weather**

....

toilet

**the
home**

....

running water
smaller than river

television

....

....

small walkway
between houses

time between summer
and winter

long seat in main
room of house

....

....

....

meals of the day

Everyday Life

to be in prison

....

....

food taken to work

the police

....

....

sweets

**eating,
drinking &
smoking**

**crime
&
the law**

to steal

....

....

types of bread

cigarettes

police station

....

....

non-alcoholic drinks

money

not have any
money left

money
in general

rich

....

....

....

7

329

Task 1: Word Web C

intelligent   unintelligent

soft shoes
(e.g. worn by children for P.E.)

tall

personality

rude

spectacles

**looks,
clothes &
accessories**

short

trousers

moody

attractive

clothes
in general

fat

unattractive

mean
(e.g. with money)

thin

People

partner (sexual)
male / female

man / woman

mouth

stomach

nose

mother / father

baby

body

brother /
sister

**relations
&
relationships**

person in charge
at work

ears

head

child
(boy / girl)

grandmother /
grandfather

friend

bottom

men's facial hair

8

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Form ID no: _____/_____/_____/___

Task 2: Identity Questionnaire

1.What accent would you say that you have?	
2. Do you speak differently to people from the northern UK, such as Lancashire?	
3. Are you proud of the way you speak? Please explain your answer.	
4. Have you ever felt embarrassed about the way you speak? When / Why?	
5. Do you think you need to know Manx dialect words in order to have a 'truly' Manx identity?	
6. What is your knowledge of Manx Gaelic? If you had children, would you like them to learn the language?	
7.When you shop for groceries, do you prefer to buy Manx produce (such as Manx cheese)? Please explain your reason.	
8. What do you think of the TT events?	

9

Task 3: Language Questionnaire

Tick this box if you would hear this on the Isle of Man	Tick this box if you would use this type of sentence in your speech	Tick this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend.

1. ☐ ☐ ☐   *He was 4 years old when he started at the school*

2. ☐ ☐ ☐   *She was going to put a sight on them*

3. ☐ ☐ ☐   *They are with Himself at the pub*

4. ☐ ☐ ☐   *I am believing that Juan has taken it*

5. ☐ ☐ ☐   *Joe has a very big house at him*

6. ☐ ☐ ☐   *The children are going-a-building a sandcastle*

7. ☐ ☐ ☐   *I can't go to the shop, I don't have my purse at me*

8. ☐ ☐ ☐   *Peter is lying down because he has the headache*

9. ☐ ☐ ☐   *Herself has done the shopping today*

10. ☐ ☐ ☐   *It is forgotten at me*

11. ☐ ☐ ☐   *I am not thinking much of this programme*

12. ☐ ☐ ☐   *She is in the hospital with the pneumonia*

13. ☐ ☐ ☐   *Are you going out with Himself tonight?*

14. ☐ ☐ ☐   *They are thinking that they will go to the pub now*

15. ☐ ☐ ☐   *I can't find my keys. Themselves must have them.*

Task 4: Multiple Choice

1. If you were on holiday and saw someone you had never met before but thought they came from the Isle of Man (e.g. they had a Manx registered car, you recognised their accent), would you:

a) Feel compelled to go and ask where they were from and strike up a relationship
b) Feel you had something in common, and perhaps comment to your companions, but not do anything about it
c) Feel no differently than you would towards any other stranger

2. If you wanted to buy a pint of milk, and there was the option to buy Manx milk that was more expensive, would you:

a) Choose to buy the Manx milk - buying local is more important than price
b) Want to buy the Manx milk but buy the other option to save money
c) Prefer to buy the non-Manx milk

3. Would you prefer your child's school teacher to be:

a) A person with a Manx accent
b) A person with a 'standard' English accent
c) It would not matter

4. If you wanted to give something to a charitable organisation, would you prefer:

a) A local charity
b) A national/international charity
c) It would depend upon the cause

5. If there was a programme on the television about your home town which clashed with your favourite programme and you couldn't record either, would you:

a) Watch it and miss your favourite programme
b) Watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but wish you hadn't)
c) Watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but wouldn't mind)

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And **music?** Of coorse! awl the grandes' that's in,

"With trumpets and shawms," and the devil's own din,

And Karran, the cornet, jus' come from Malew,

And the Castletown fiddler, oul' Archie Cuckoo;

And Phillie the Desert and Tommy the Mate,-

The singin' that's at them is really fus' rate,-

"Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey" and then "Bollan Bane,"

And everyone askin' for "Mylecharaine."

And maybe a stave of "Katriney Marroo,"

And then finish up with a carval or two.

And maybe the Paazon himself will be there,

With a hymn, and a tex', and a bit of a prayer.

For eatin' and drinkin' there's heaps of binjean,

And milk for the women, and jough for the men,

And custards and jellies from Mrs Cregeen,

A better confectioner navar was seen!

Mrs Cregeen? Yes, Mrs Cregeen!

The lek of them jellies has navar been seen

W.H. Gill (1896)

Appendix 3: *Betsy Lee (an extract)*

That was a Monday; a Thursday night
The Pazon come, and bless me the fright
The ould woman was in, and wipin' the chair,
And nudgin' and winkin'—" Is Thomas there
He says—" Can I see him?" So up I got,
And out at the door, and I put a knot
On my heart, like one of you, when he takes
A turn and belays, and houlds on till it breaks.
And—" Well? " I says—then he looked at me,
And " Have you your pipe, Thomas ?" says he;
" Maybe you'd better light it," he said,
" It's terrible good to studdy [60] the head."
And he wouldn't take rest [61] till I had it lit ;
And he twisses, and twisses, and—" Wait a bit'.
He says, and he feels, and "We're all'alone,"
Says he, and behould ye ! a pipe of his own.
And " I'll smook too," he says; and he charges,
And puffs away like Boanarges.
i never knew the like was at him [62] afore
And so we walked along the shore.
And if he didn' behove to spin a yarn
About the stars—and Aldebar'n,
And Orlon—and just to consedher [63]
The grand way God had put them together,
And wasn' it a good world after all,
And—what was man—and the Bible—and Paul—
Till I got quite mad, and I says:—
That'll do! Were you at the Brew, Pazon ? were you at the Brew ?
Aw, then it all come out, and the jaw
Ould Anthony had, and the coorts, and the law;
And — *Jane Magee and her mother both*—
He had gone there twice, but she stuck to her oath—
And—*what could he do?* " I'm going," says I—
" Keep up your heart now! " " I'll try,
I'll try." " Good-night, and mind you'll go straight to bed!
God bless ye, Tom! " "And you, sir! " I said.
"Come up in the mornin' ! Good-night ! good-night
Now mind you'll come!" "All right! all right!"
TE Brown (1881)

APPENDIX 4: A GOOD COOISH BY KATHLEEN FARAGHER

A Good Cooish

Well! if it isn' Miss Corkill an' her sisther!
How're yer doin', gels? Are yer up for a sight?
Haven' they made a good job o' the owl place?
Aw! lov'ly! lov'ly it is! Yis! yer right!
Like a li'l palace itself on the headlan',
Lookin' over the wide sweep o' the bay,
With the lights o' the town theer all sparklin'
Like the jools in a crown . . . wha's that yer say?

That I'll be knowin' who **this** is? I dunt though;
Lawse! I've never seen her before in me life!
Aw! it isn'! It can't be! Neddy-Bill's gel?
Why! his Aunt Kate was me Uncle Tom's wife!
Yer were jus' a lumper the las' time I seen yer,
An' now theer's three gran'chilther at yer? My! my!
If they're like your fam'ly they'll all be good mighty!
I remember . . . Goy! just look who's goin' by!

Me cousin an' her daughters! Here! howl awn theer!
It's a good thing it's norr in mischief we're gerrin',
For it's foun' out we'd all be right enough now,
With me own lot here tonight thick as herrin'!
Sit yerselves down Alice, Margaid an' Em'ly,
For yer all know Kirry an' Betsey an' Jane.
Wheer's the men all? In the bar, I'll be bettin',
Purrin' Ramsaa to rights if I know Cushag Caine!

Aw well! let them rant if it's makin' them happy!
We'll have a good "cooish" in these comf'table chairs;
These big winders mus' look right up to Snaefell.
My! tha's a gran' bowl o' flowers on the stairs.
Set out lov'ly like the wans in the hallway.
How did yer gerr awn navigatin' that dhure?
Me? Aw! I felt like a bird in a cage theer
Till that nice carpet gripped me feet on the flure!

My lawse! but I enj'yed that fine dinner!
We'll be fat as mollags with the good things tha's in!
Theer's the Belfas' boat comin' in to the Pier now,
Smooth as a gull glidin' down 'fore the win'.
Tha's the "Hesperus" tha's anchored out yandhar;
They say theer's jeel on the weather when she's here;
Mus' be boghtnid, for it's been fine enough lately,
Excep' for a li'l birra couth in the air!

Aw well! well! but it's nice sittin' here, though,
Lookin' at the beauty o' the place we were born;
With our frien's—owl an' new—all aroun' us.
Here comes the men . . . What yer sayin' Misther Gawne?
Will I dhrink a toas'? I will that—a rale Manx wan!
"Here's to all of us—meself too! An' togither
Here at home, or far away from this islan',
May yer want for nawthin' at all—nor me nither!"

LUMPER—A small child.
COOISH—A cosy chat.
MOLLAG—A buoy.
JEEL—Mischief.
BOGHTNID—Nonsense.
COUTH—Cold.

Manx Notes 181 (2014)

["LETS GO TO THE FISHING, JOHN"] *

1. 1   Hooin dys yn yeastagh, Juan
         Ta moghey *fine* aalin ayn, Juan
         Cur lesh dty murling as dty winlagh
         Thoin dys yn yeastagh, Juan

2. 5   Lhig dooin gholl dy hayrlyn bollan, Juan
         Ta'n *bite* ny lhie syn edd
         as bee ny yeestyn arcuysagl, Juan
         as eisht cha jean ard gheid.

3. 9   Ny tidagyn ta troggal
         Yn ushtey nish gaare bio, Juan
         eisht lhig dooin gholl dy prowcal
         Vel yeest ayn ushtey noa

4. 13   Ta'n gheay nisht gholl my geayrt
         Yn errysh ta caglaa, Juan
         Been ghrain gholl sheese er dy ayrt
         Lhig dooin gholl thie ayn traa, Juan

> **Source:** MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 6. In the hand of Karl Roeder. **Notes:** (1) Annotated by Roeder: "This is a fine piece, although very short & perhaps only fragmentary." (2) Text in Manx appears on facing right hand page. (3) English verses 1–2 & 4 on left hand page with facing Manx text for verses 1–2 followed by Manx text for verse 3 with English translation entered alongside followed by text for verse 4.

STEPHEN MILLER
VIENNA, 2014

APPENDIX 6: *BETSY LEE (AN EXTRACT) - II*

So I tould the Pazon all that I had.
And he says, "God bless ye! God bless ye! my lad
Aw, it's himself that knew my very soul,
And me so young, and him so oul'.
And all the good talk! and never fear —
And leave it to him, and he'd bring me clear —
And Anthony wanted spakin to —
And on with the hat — and away he'd go —
And *young Misther Taylor (a son of ould Dan!)*
Was a very *intelligent* young man.
"Aisy! Pazon," says I, and he went;
And all the road home — "*in-tel-li-gent*" —
I said, "what's that?" some pretty name
For a deng it! these pazons is just like crame,
They're talkin that smooth — aw, it's well to be civil —
"A son of ould Dan's!" and *Dan* was a divil.
TE Brown (1881)

APPENDIX 7: *DRAW THE CURTAINS* BY W.T QUIRK

Draw the Curtains by W.T. Quirk

Draw the curtains, hide the light;

Themselves are riding out tonight.

Through the glen

The Little Men

Thrash the branches in their might.

In the stream

Bright eyes gleam,

And their mocking

Calls come flocking

Like some half-demented dream.

Cover darkness with the blind;

Chase these fancies from the mind.

On the hills

The moonlight spills

A ghastly dew that is unkind.

Ancient bones

Lie under stones,

But we instead

Seek warmer bed;

Not yet we meet the long lost ones!

APPENDIX 8: *MY! MY!* BY KATHLEEN FARAGHER (EXTRACT)

Extract from *My! My!* by Kathleen Faragher

Ay! theer's me on me way to the churchyard
With the daffodils gripped in me han';
An' me cough had all gone, an' me ailments,
Now the sunshine had come; it was gran'!
An' I thought as I passed the owl farmhouse,
"I'll purra sight on the Quilliams, the sowls,
An' see how they've been all the winter,
An' how they're doin' with theer pigs an' theer fowls."
So I went down the path through the gateway
An' I gave a rat-tat on the dhure,
An' I stood lookin' out at the hills theer,
An' the waves breakin' white on the shore.
Then I see a li'l twis' on the curtain
An' herself give a skeet through the lace;
Then into the porch she come burstin'
With eyes poppin' an that red in the face!

APPENDIX 9: SURE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND PLIM

1. Where abouts on IOM do you live?

2. Have you always lived there? Have you ever lived anywhere else?

3. What do you do for a living?

4. What does that involve?

5. What do you do in your spare time?

6. What do you like about living on the Isle of Man?

7. Do you think there are parts of the island where people speak differently?

8. PLIM - Pictures

9. What do you think the features of Manx English are?

2312

Item	Definition
Argid	Money
Babban	Baby
Ben	Woman
Berchagh	Welathy
Boght	Poor
Braar	Brother
Brabbag	Warm by the fire
Brock	Botch, mess
Cadley	Sleep
Caggey	Fight
Carrey	Friend
Ceau	Throw
Ceau Flaghey	Rain
Cheh	Hot
Chellveeish	Television
Cloie	Play
Convayrt	Carrion, corpse, detritus
Cowl	Cold
Dhrollarn	Sluggard, simpleton
Dooinney	Man, husband
Fassaag	Beard
Fastyr Mie	Good Morning
Feayr	Cold
Frass	Rain
Gennal	Happy
Giare	Short, small
Gob Mooar	Big mouth
Gobbag	Dogfish / One from Peel
Gol as Gachan	Going and grumbling (usually in response to 'how are you?'
Hee'm oo	Goodbye
Heshin	Big, rough person
Jeeig	Ditch, gully
Jeel	Mischief
Jesh	Smart
Jishag	Daddy/Father
Kayt	Cat
Kedie	Insane
Kione	Head

Kirree	Sheep
Kiuttagh	Left-handed
Kys T'ou	How are you?
Lhiam-liat	'With me, with you' (a two-faced person)
Maynrey	Happy
Moal	Slow / unwell
Moddey	Dog
Moghrey Mie	Good morning
Mollag	Float / full
Mummig	Mummy
Mwarree	Granny
Premmee	Toilet
Qualtagh	First-footer on New Year's Day
Rouayr	Fat
Scoodhin	Film of dirt
Scooyrit	Drunk
Scuit	Jet
Scutch	Throw
Shang	Slim
Shuyr	Sister
Skee	Tired
Skeeal	Story, tidings
Skeet	Gossip / Look
Sleetch	Slime / Deceitful person
Slick	Lick of a cow
Smug	Snot, catarrh
Smul	Grumpy
Soul	Mate
Spittag	Sharp-tongued woman
Strooan	Stream
Tarroogh	Busy
The Murran	The flu / A cold
Thie Veg	Toilet
Thoyn	Bottom
Thremendjus	Tremendous*
Toot	Wimp

Thremendjus has become an enregistered feature of Manx through the poem *Traa-dy-liooar* by Cushag.

Parish Map

Isle of Man Parish Map
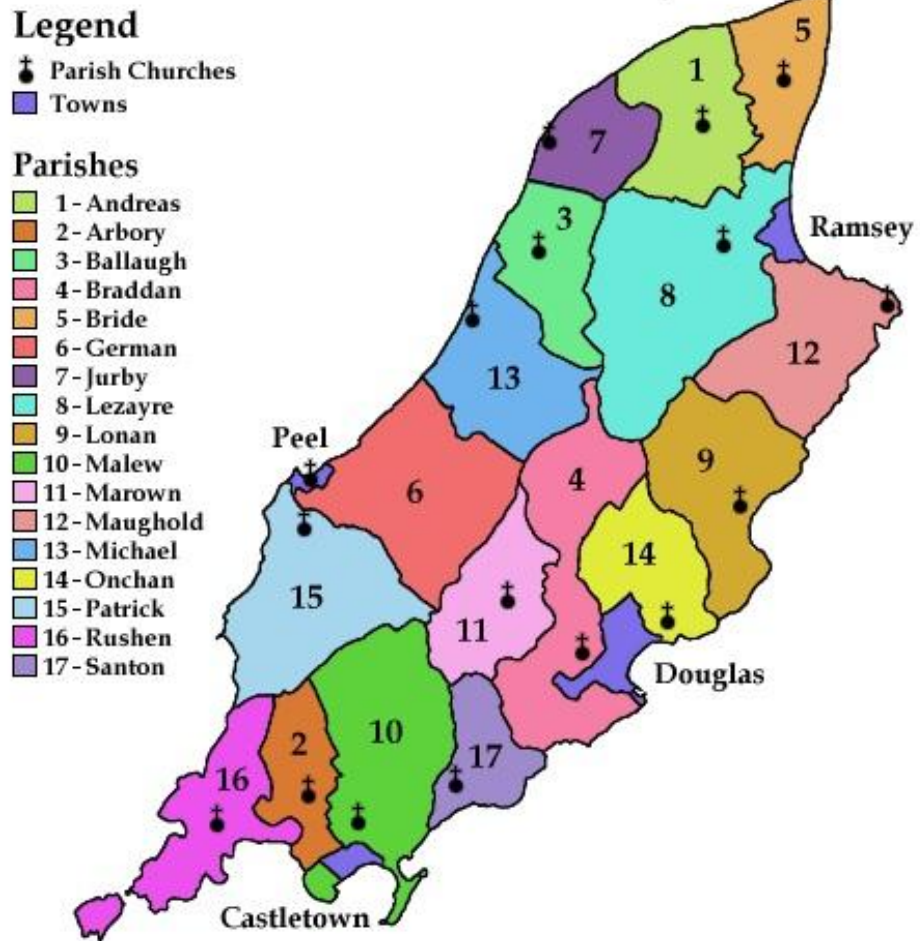
Legend

✝ Parish Churches
🟦 Towns

Parishes

🟩 1 - Andreas
🟧 2 - Arbory
🟩 3 - Ballaugh
🟪 4 - Braddan
🟧 5 - Bride
🟥 6 - German
🟪 7 - Jurby
🟦 8 - Lezayre
🟨 9 - Lonan
🟩 10 - Malew
⬜ 11 - Marown
🟥 12 - Maughold
🟦 13 - Michael
🟨 14 - Onchan
⬜ 15 - Patrick
🟪 16 - Rushen
🟦 17 - Santon

(from https://www.iomguide.com/parishmap.php, acessed 27.08.19)

Parish Name	Pronunciation
Andreas	ˈandrəs
Arbory	ˈɑːbəri
Ballaugh	bəˈlaf
Braddan	bradən
Bride	ˈbraɪd
German	dʒəˈman
Jurby	ˈdʒɜːbi
Lezayre	ləˈzɛː
Lonan	ˈləʊnən
Malew	məˈluː
Marown	məˈraʊn
Maughold	ˈmakəld
Michael	ˈmaɪkəl
Onchan	ˈɒnkən
Patrick	ˈpatrɪk
Rushen	ˈrʊʃən
Santon	ˈsantən