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English and Maltese in Malta: History, Language Usage and Attitudes

(wissenschaftliche Arbeit zur Erlangung eines akademischen Grades (M.A.)

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I declare that this study is an original piece of research and that all the sources used have been duly acknowledged.

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Content

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | I |
| 1. Historical Background | 1 |
| 1.1. Malta in Prehistory and Antiquity | 1 |
| 1.2. Medieval Malta and the Knights of St. John | 2 |
| 1.3. Malta and the British | 3 |
| 1.4. Independence and the Current Official Functions of Maltese and English in Malta | 5 |
| 1.5. Summary of Historical Facts | 6 |
| 2. The Usage of Maltese and English Today | 8 |
| 2.1. Bilingualism in Malta | 8 |
| 2.2. Language Varieties in Malta | 10 |
| 2.3. English and Maltese in Education | 12 |
| 2.3.1. General Remarks on the Educational System in Malta | 12 |
| 2.3.2. The Usage of English and Maltese in Education | 12 |
| 2.4. Family Types | 14 |
| 3. The Social Stratification of Maltese and English in Malta | 15 |
| 3.1. The Social Background of the Respondents | 15 |
| 3.2. Languages in Malta | 15 |
| 3.3. Contact to Native Speakers of English | 17 |
| 3.4. Language Usage in Different Domains | 19 |
| 3.4.1. Family Type | 20 |
| 3.4.2. Gender | 26 |
| 3.4.3. Age | 29 |
| 3.4.4. Educational Background | 32 |
| 3.4.5. Comparison of the Mean Values for Family Type, Gender, Age and Educational Background | |
| 3.4.6. Comparison of the Domains | 35 |
| 3.5. Language and Habits | 37 |
| 3.6. The Usage of English and Maltese in Specified Topics | 41 |
| 3.6.1. Jokes | 42 |
| 3.6.2. Scientific and Technological Things | 43 |
| 3.6.3. Secrets | 45 |
| 3.6.4. Literature | 46 |
| 3.6.5. Intimate Things | 47 |
| 3.6.6. Politics | 48 |
| 3.6.7. Summary of the Usage of English and Maltese in Specified Topics | 50 |
| 3.7. Is it important to learn English in Malta? | 50 |
| 3.8. Summary of the Results for the Social Stratification of Maltese and English in Malta | 52 |

| | |
|--|--------|
| 4. Attitudes | 54 |
| 4.1. Language and Intelligence | 54 |
| 4.1.1. Does Speaking Maltese or English Reflect a Person's Intelligence? | 55 |
| 4.1.2. Does Speaking English Exclusively Make People Appear More Intelligent? | 56 |
| 4.1.3. Does Speaking English Exclusively Make People Appear Snobbish? | 57 |
| 4.1.4. Does Speaking Maltese Exclusively Make People Appear Uneducated? | 58 |
| 4.1.5. Should One Use Maltese Elements in Order Not to Appear Snobbish and English Elements in Order Not to Appear Uneducated in One's Speech? | 60 |
| 4.2. Maltese and English as Official Languages | 62 |
| 4.3. Language Learning and Children | 63 |
| 4.4. Language and Profession | 64 |
| 4.5. Language and Culture | 65 |
| 4.6. Language Abilities | 66 |
| 4.7. Language and Social Perceptions | 69 |
| 4.7.1. Language and Social Distance vs. Social Proximity | 69 |
| 4.7.2. Language and Atmosphere | 71 |
| 4.7.3. Language and Acquaintances | 73 |
| 4.8. Summary of Language and Attitudes | 73 |
| 5. Conclusion | 74 |
| 6. Bibliography | 76 |
| 7. The Questionnaire | 79 |

Figures and Tables:

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Figure 1: Language usage with children by family type</i> | 26 |
| <i>Figure 2: T-test (talking with friends, male vs. female)</i> | 27 |
| <i>Figure 3: Language usage with friends by gender</i> | 28 |
| <i>Figure 4: Language usage with brothers and sisters by age</i> | 31 |
| <i>Figure 5: Language usage with brothers and sisters by educational background</i> | 33 |
| <i>Figure 6: Language preferences for jokes by family type</i> | 42 |
| <i>Figure 7: Language preferences for scientific and technological things by age</i> | 44 |
| <i>Figure 8: Language preferences for secrets by gender</i> | 45 |
| <i>Figure 9: Language preferences for literature by family type</i> | 46 |
| <i>Figure 10: Language preferences for intimate things by family type</i> | 47 |
| <i>Figure 11: Language preferences for politics by educational background</i> | 49 |
| <i>Figure 12: Maltese or English: not a reflection of intelligence (by age)</i> | 55 |
| <i>Figure 13: English-more intelligent? (by gender)</i> | 56 |
| <i>Figure 14: English-snobbish?(by family type)</i> | 57 |
| <i>Figure 15: Correlation: Maltese-uneducated? and family type</i> | 58 |
| <i>Figure 16:Maltese – Uneducated? (by family type)</i> | 59 |
| <i>Figure 17: M not to appear snobbish and E not to appear uneducated?(by family type)</i> | 60 |
| <i>Figure 18: Mixing of English and Maltese</i> | 18 |
| <i>Figure 19: Maltese and English as official languages by family type</i> | 63 |
| <i>Figure 20: Maltese as a sign of Maltese origin (Correlation)</i> | 65 |
| <i>Figure 21: Important to speak English fluently by family type</i> | 67 |
| <i>Figure 22: Important to speak English fluently by gender</i> | 68 |
| <i>Figure 23: Sufficient to speak Maltese by family type</i> | 69 |
| <i>Figure 24:Maltese creates a warm atmosphere by family type</i> | 72 |
| | |
| <i>Table 1:Pplace of birth –urban</i> | 20 |
| <i>Table 2: Place of birth –rural</i> | 21 |
| <i>Table 3: Name of the town</i> | 21 |
| <i>Table 4: Name of the village</i> | 22 |
| <i>Table 5: Talking with parents by family type</i> | 22 |
| <i>Table 6: Talking with brothers and sisters by family type</i> | 23 |
| <i>Table 7: Talking with children by family type</i> | 23 |
| <i>Table 8: Talking with fellow students by family type</i> | 23 |

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Table 9: Talking with teachers and lecturers by family type</i> | 23 |
| <i>Table 10: Talking with friends by family type</i> | 23 |
| <i>Table 11: Talking with neighbors by family type</i> | 24 |
| <i>Table 12: Correlation: family type and language used with children</i> | 24 |
| <i>Table 13: Talking with colleagues at work by family type</i> | 25 |
| <i>Table 14: Talking with parents by gender</i> | 26 |
| <i>Table 15: Talking with brothers and sisters by gender</i> | 26 |
| <i>Table 16: Talking with children by gender</i> | 27 |
| <i>Table 17: Talking with fellow students by gender</i> | 27 |
| <i>Table 18: Talking with teachers and lecturers by gender</i> | 27 |
| <i>Table 19: Talking with friends by gender</i> | 27 |
| <i>Table 20: Talking with neighbors by gender</i> | 27 |
| <i>Table 21: Talking with colleagues at work by gender</i> | 28 |
| <i>Table 22: Talking with parents by age</i> | 29 |
| <i>Table 23: Talking with brothers and sisters by age</i> | 29 |
| <i>Table 24: Talking with children by age</i> | 29 |
| <i>Table 25: Talking with fellow students by age</i> | 29 |
| <i>Table 26: Talking with teachers and lecturers by age</i> | 29 |
| <i>Table 27: Talking with friends by age</i> | 30 |
| <i>Table 28: Talking with neighbors by age</i> | 31 |
| <i>Table 29: Talking with colleagues at work by age</i> | 31 |
| <i>Table 30: Talking with parents by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 31: Talking with brothers and sisters by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 32: Talking with children by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 33: Talking with fellow students by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 34: Talking with teachers and lecturers by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 35: Talking with friends by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 36: Talking with neighbors by educational background</i> | 32 |
| <i>Table 37: Talking with colleagues at work by educational background</i> | 33 |
| <i>Table 38: Mean values (family type, 8 and 15 items)</i> | 34 |
| <i>Table 39: Mean values (gender, 8 and 15 items)</i> | 34 |
| <i>Table 40: Mean values (age group, 8 and 15 items)</i> | 35 |
| <i>Table 41: Mean values (educational background, 8 and 15 items)</i> | 35 |
| <i>Table 42: Language Preference for reading (family type)</i> | 38 |

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Table 43: Language preference for notes, thinking, counting (family type)</i> | 39 |
| <i>Table 44: Language Preference for reading (gender)</i> | 39 |
| <i>Table 45: Language preference for notes, thinking counting (gender)</i> | 39 |
| <i>Table 46: Language Preference for reading (age group)</i> | 40 |
| <i>Table 47: Language preference for notes, thinking, counting(age group)</i> | 40 |
| <i>Table 48: Language Preference for reading (educational background)</i> | 40 |
| <i>Table 49: Language Preference for notes, thinking counting (educational background)</i> | 40 |
| <i>Table 50: Mean values for language and intelligence</i> | 55 |
| <i>Table 51: Use Maltese not to appear snobbish and English not to appear uneducated?</i> | 61 |
| <i>Table 52: Difficult to grow up with two languages</i> | 64 |
| <i>Table 53:Language and social distance vs. social proximity</i> | 70 |
| <i>Table 54: Language and atmosphere</i> | 71 |

Introduction

This research report reflects the results of a mainly qualitative survey that has been conducted in Malta during two weeks of October 2000. To obtain the information for this study, 52 Maltese participated in the project. The respondents were asked to fill in a questionnaire. The people were specially chosen to constitute a reasonable sample. Some cases could be carried out as structured interviews with the use of the questionnaire by the writer of this report. Interviews with speakers whose proficiency in English was relatively low were conducted by a Maltese friend. The interviewees were given the opportunity to make any additional comment on whatever they thought to be relevant for the topic. These comments have been used to emphasize and accentuate the quantitative findings obtained from the data. They are written in italics and possible deviations from (British) Standard English are underlined. In addition to the interviews, 70 questionnaires were distributed in different towns and villages around Malta out of which 45 were mailed back. Several respondents had to be excluded due to non-Maltese citizenship. As a result of these strategies, this report puts forward 52 individual cases.

The questionnaire tries to investigate languages and language usage in Malta, which is also the central topic of this report. For a better understanding of the current linguistic situation in Malta, the first chapter describes the historical background of the language development. Special emphasis will be given to the recent history of the status of the Maltese language as well as to the growing importance of the English language since its introduction on the Maltese islands as the language of the colonizer. The second chapter provides a first insight into the current language situation and introduces a concept related to social background which is unique to the Maltese islands

In chapter three, we shall look at the social stratification of language varieties. Possible influences of social variables on linguistic variation will be investigated. In addition to the social background of the speakers, the influence of different domains and topic on the communicative behavior of the respondents will be discussed.

Whereas chapter three concentrates on sociolinguistic variation, the fourth chapter applies a more psycholinguistic approach. Here we will try to find out whether there is a link between people's attitudes towards a certain linguistic variety and their actual language usage.

SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for personal computers was used for the statistical procedures. Tables and Diagrams will be used to illustrate the statistical

findings. For more evidence, additional tables and diagrams and all the data used in the calculations are available on floppy disks. In order to present an impression of the intonation and general sound of the kind of English spoken on the Maltese islands, a recording of a typical speaker is available on audio tape. An exemplar of the questionnaire was attached at the end of the report.

1. Historical Background

In order to understand the current developments of language usage in Malta, it is necessary to undertake a journey into Malta's linguistic past. Problems relating to language usage have been hotly debated for more than two centuries. The linguistic situation in Malta has been influenced by numerous cultural and political changes for more than 2000 years.

1.1. Malta in Prehistory and Antiquity

The first known traces of humans date from approximately 5,000 BC. These early settlements in Malta are described as Neolithic farming communities similar to those found in many other parts of the Mediterranean world. The following millennia starting from 4,000 BC were characterized by different temple cultures, "whose temples rank among the earliest free standing stone monuments in the world"(Renfrew 1972 in Blouet 1997: 29). Around 2,300 BC Malta was invaded by different Bronze Age people. These people probably came from the heel of Italy and Sicily . The pre-historical period closes at around 800 BC when the Phoenicians established themselves on the islands and influenced the culture of the existing population. (Blouet 1997: 21-33)

During the eighth and seventh centuries BC Malta was colonized by the Carthaginians, a group of Phoenicians who had founded Carthage in 814 BC. Although there is clear evidence for contacts to the Hellenistic culture and even a period of Roman rule, it was Carthage and the Phoenician (or Punic, as it was called by the Romans) culture that influenced and controlled the Maltese islands the most. Contemporary writers described Malta and Gozo as Phoenician colonies around 50 BC. In 60 AD we find the first reliable comment concerning language use in Malta. The people living on the island were described as 'barbaroi' which indicates that they spoke neither Latin nor Greek. The islanders probably spoke a Phoenician dialect at that time. Unfortunately, there is hardly any historical evidence relating to the period between AD 60 and AD 870- the year of the Arab conquest. Whereas some experts suggest that the people in Malta were speaking Low Latin at the time of the Arab conquest, most experts proceed from the assumption that the people were still speaking a basically Phoenician language in 870. Arabic and Phoenician languages are fundamentally similar which explains why Arabic was adopted in the

Maltese islands during the Arab domination. (Blouet 1997: 33-35, Fischer (ed.) 1992: 359-360,522)

The Maltese language itself originated from Arabic and has used harsh and guttural sounds together with an Arabic syntax and morphology until today. Throughout the centuries Maltese has adopted numerous Sicilian and Italian, occasional French and more recently plenty of English loan words. Additionally Maltese has incorporated grammatical features of Roman origin. For ages the language was transmitted orally. The first written record, a Maltese poem, dates back to ca. 1460 AD. However, texts appear only sporadically until the end of the eighteenth century when Maltese began to be written systematically. A standard Maltese orthography was officially recognized in 1934. It was based on the Roman, not the Arabic alphabet. (Frendo 1975: 22-23, Borg and Camilleri 1993:2356-2357)

1.2. Medieval Malta and the Knights of St. John

The Maltese islands were under Arabic rule from 870 to 1090. Not only the Maltese language but also the majority of the place names are of Arabic origin. Very few place names are dated prior to the Arab conquest. The word 'Malta' was probably derived from the Latin 'Melita'. 'Gozo', the name of the neighboring island, probably has a Latin root as well. In comparison to other languages and cultures this is unusual. In several parts of Great Britain, for example, although most of the place-names are of Anglo-Saxon origin, the names of important geographic features are often Celtic which suggests a link to the previously dominant group. In the case of Malta it has been suggested that the place-names were quickly altered into Arab forms because the (probably) Phoenician language the people had spoken was similar to Arabic. Another theory is suggested by Brincat (in Blouet 1997:36). He assumes that previous place names got lost because Malta was uninhabited for 180 years in the Arab era until it was resettled in 1049. Arab rule was associated with tyranny. The Arabs were regarded as heretical, dirty , Muslim Africans. (Blouet 1997: 33-37, Frendo 1975: 24, Micallef 1999: 9)

Beginning in 1091 with the Norman occupation, Malta had been under European rule. From 1530 to 1798 the Knights of St. John, a group of European noblemen who lived as monks and soldiers, ruled the islands and brought with them the Italian, French and Spanish languages. During this period a Maltese aristocracy began to form. Italian became the language of the intelligentsia and Maltese was given low status, being regarded as the

“language of the kitchen”(Micallef 1999: 10). In the latter part of the residency of the Knights of St. John, Italian became the official language of Malta and did not lose this status until 1934. In 1798 the Knights surrendered to Napoleon. Malta was under French rule for two years before it was taken over by the British in 1800. (Frendo 1975: 24, Wilson 2000: 11-21, Micallef 1999: 10)

1.3. Malta and the British

The linguistic situation in Malta around 1800 is described as “diglossia in the extreme” (Frendo 1973:23) The majority of the people was speaking the local vernacular –Maltese. Only a small percentage of the Maltese people, the educated classes, knew Italian which was clearly seen as the high prestige variety. Maltese was the language of ordinary every day speech. There was little Maltese literacy and hardly any Maltese literature. Italian was the language of the educated and the medium of education. (Frendo 1975:23-24, Mifsud 1993:7)

This situation was further complicated with the introduction of a third variable, the English language, which was brought by the new colonizers in 1800. Frendo (1973 in Micallef 1999: 10) states that “ a new situation was [...] created in which the language of the governed was unknown and alien to that of their government and vice versa”. Therefore, the British had to use Italian as the official medium of communication with the Maltese during the first years. Of course, the new colonizers wanted to impose their language on the Maltese population. Therefore they developed two different language policies. On the one hand, they promoted English-speaking Maltese by offering them administrative posts. On the other hand, however, they also promoted the study of Maltese in local schools, mainly in order to decrease the power of Italian, which was being used as the medium instruction in most schools. Italian had been the political and cultural language of the upper classes on the Maltese islands for several centuries. English and Maltese had to prove their worth during the following decades before they were accepted by the Maltese intelligentsia. (Aquilina 1994:181, Frendo 1975 : 24-26, Micallef: 1999:10-11)

Although Malta became a British colony in 1813, Italian remained the official language of the law courts and administration and the language of education. It was also widely used in journalism. However, the English language slowly infiltrated Maltese society. It became more and more important for communication in everyday business relations with the British. Due to economic hardship and the lack of indigenous natural

resources on the one hand, and the association of the English language with a more prosperous economic situation on the other, English was quickly accepted as the language of business and trade. Additionally, as already mentioned, the knowledge of English would facilitate an appointment to government posts. Furthermore, a good command of the English language was accompanied by the opportunity of emigration. Numerous Maltese have emigrated to Australia, the U.K, the USA and Canada since the end of the 19th century, a few people even earlier. As a result of these advantages connected with English, more and more people wanted to speak it. The English language became a compulsory subject in Maltese schools in 1882. (Micalleff 1999:11, Frendo 1975 : 27-31, Sciriha 1989:34-41)

Interestingly, both foreign languages contributed to a growing acceptance of Maltese. Maltese entered the educational system and replaced Italian as the medium of instruction at schools. Italian and English had to be taught through the medium of Maltese. By the turn of the 18th century Maltese parents were given the choice whether their children should learn English or Italian. Most of the parents wanted their children to learn English. (Mifsud 1993: 8-10)

The “language battles” (Frendo 1975 : 31) dominated Maltese politics for about 150 years until the 1930’s. Pro-Italian and Pro-English groups developed. (Blouet 1997: 158). According to Frendo:

Nine-teenth-century Maltese society is probably a unique example of the case in which trilingualism became a battleground in the successful quest for a national identity. Maltese nationalism rotated in time on this triple paradox: The championing of Italian as a non – Maltese national language; the active promotion of the Maltese vernacular by the Imperial power as a means of expunging Italian; and the gradual emergence of Maltese as a national tongue and as the prime expression of anti-British sentiments. ... Whereas pro-Italian “nationalists” [Italian in Malta was linked with the idea of nationality although the Maltese nationalists generally did not favor uniting Malta with Italy] supported one foreign language against another and opposed the native Maltese, pro-English “imperialists” promoted English and Maltese. ...Paradoxically, the Maltese language emerged as a synthesis of pro-English and pro-Italian rivalry. The Maltese vernacular served as a social and emotive bond and became a natural unifier. Both Anglophiles and Italophiles thus contributed , unwittingly ,to the success of Maltese nationalism and nationhood.

(Frendo 1975: 22,
28,29)

The growing importance of the English language on the Maltese islands can clearly be seen in gradual changes to the Constitution. In 1921 English was recognized as official language alongside Italian. In 1933 Maltese replaced Italian as the official language of the

law courts, English and Italian also remained official languages. In 1936 Maltese and English were made the official languages of Malta. Maltese was seen “as the language of the people and English as the language of the Empire”(Mifsud 1993: 11). English was made the official language of administration. Maltese remained the official language of the courts. An amendment required that official texts of the laws had to be written in English and Maltese and in the case of doubt the English version was to prevail. (Aquilina 1964 :196, Micallef 1999:12, Mifsud 1993: 11)

During World War II Italian was completely abolished for political reasons. Fascist Italy had joined the German Luftwaffe in bombing Malta. The Maltese fought on the side of Britain. About 1,500 Maltese civilians died, more than 35,000 homes were destroyed. (Aquilina 1964:171, Blouet 1997:191-208)

1.4. Independence and the Current Official Functions of Maltese and English in Malta

Malta gained independence in 1964 and became a republic in 1974. The new constitution states that Maltese is the national language of Malta, while Maltese and English are co-official languages (Sciriha 1993: 314, Camilleri 1996:88):

1. The national language of Malta is the Maltese language.
2. The Maltese and the English languages, and such others as may be prescribed by Parliament, shall be the official languages of Malta and the administration may for all official purposes use any such language.
3. The language of the Courts shall be the Maltese language.
4. Save as otherwise provided by Parliament, every law shall be enacted in both Maltese and English and if there is any conflict between the Maltese and English texts of any law, the Maltese text shall prevail.

(The Constitution of the Republic of Malta, 1974, Section 5 :2 in Camilleri 1996:88)

In comparison with the prior constitution, the forth paragraph of this section of the new constitution shows the most important change: now the Maltese text of a law shall prevail.

We also find certain regulations concerning language usage in the field of education. However, these “National Minimum Curriculum Regulations” are very vague. They will be dealt with more detailed in 2.3..

Maltese is used in the law courts, in parliamentary debates and in all activities related to local politics. Maltese also replaced Latin as the language of the church. Various

private and state-owned radio and television stations broadcast in Maltese. On television, however, foreign news reports, films and documentaries are transmitted in English without dubbing. Because of Malta's geographical position the people have access to a number of Italian television and radio stations. Accordingly, many people have a relatively good command of Italian. Maltese newspapers, magazines and books are published in both, Maltese and English. (Camilleri 1996:88)

Despite the constitutional guarantees mentioned above, the English language has been gaining more and more importance during the last decades. Tourism has developed into the most important business for the Maltese islands. English is essential for communication in the field of tourism. More than one million tourists visit Malta annually. Most of them come from the UK, about half a million every year. Others come from other English speaking countries, such as the USA, Canada and Australia, or Europe. (Camilleri 1996:88)

In the field of civil service almost all written work is carried out in English, which can partly be traced back to the British colonial administration. Maltese civil servants who graduate from the University of Malta find it difficult to switch to Maltese as the written medium since they had to undergo all their training through English. Maltese is largely used in spoken communication (although we find local differences within Malta which will be dealt with in this paper later on). English is important for education, tourism and international communication. One has to bear in mind that often there is a difference between the "official *de jure* language policy of a country and the actual *de facto* language used by its inhabitants" (Mackay 1976 in Sciriha 1993:314). Although officially the Maltese language has been given more importance than the English language, in many social contexts English seems to be the dominant language. (Camilleri 1996:88-89, Sciriha 1993:314)

1.5. Summary of Historical Facts

The Maltese language and the linguistic diversity on the Maltese islands are products of Malta's geographical position – close to Africa and to Europe. Maltese originated from Arabic, probably with Phoenician influences. Aquilina (1992:349) compares the importance of Arabic for Maltese to that of Anglo-Saxon for English: "Arabic is to Semitic Maltese what Anglo-Saxon is to Teutonic English." Malta was under Arab rule from 870 to 1090. Since then, similar to the development of the English language, Maltese has

undergone various processes of linguistic change. Maltese has been influenced by Sicilian, Italian and English. Additionally, there were short periods of French and German influence which did not leave major traces on the Maltese spoken today. (Camilleri 1996:86-87)

Italian had been the language of the Maltese intelligentsia for centuries. Especially nineteenth century Malta was very pro-Italian. Maltese, the vernacular of the people, was neither given official status nor taught at schools. English was introduced by the British colonial powers (1800-1964). It slowly infiltrated Maltese society and became an official language together with Italian in 1921. Maltese replaced Italian as an official language in 1936. Since then Malta's two official languages have been Maltese and English. Whereas at first Maltese was seen as the national language and English as the language of the British Empire, nowadays, after independence, English is regarded as an essential tool of international contact and communication.

The linguistic situation we find in Malta today will be described in more detail in the following chapters.

2. The Usage of English and Maltese Today

2.1. Bilingualism in Malta

In chapter 1.3., the linguistic situation in Malta around 1800 was described as “diglossia in the extreme”, which brings up the issue of whether we have diglossia in Malta today. According to Wardaugh (1993:90), a diglossic situation exists when there are two distinct linguistic codes in a society which show clear functional separation. The term ‘diglossia’ was defined in more detail by Ferguson:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards, there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(Ferguson 1959 in Hudson 1991:54)

Considering the definition above, it is relatively easy to conclude that we do not have a diglossic situation in Malta today. Although English is often preferred for formal and written communication, both languages – as we will see in this paper later on – are used in every day communication. The functions of Maltese and English today are not as clearly separated as the functions of Maltese and Italian around 1800. It is possible to use both languages in the greatest majority of communicative settings.

Malta can be regarded as an ESL country. Maltese is the national language and generally the first language of the people. Maltese and English are the official languages. Malta is a bilingual country and English is spoken by the vast majority of the Maltese.

According to Weinreich (1953) it is useful to distinguish between *compound* and *coordinate* bilingualism. In coordinate bilingualism, the two languages are acquired and used in distinct contexts, either culturally, temporally or functionally. Two separate semantic systems are developed. A compound bilingual speaker, on the other hand, usually acquires and uses the two codes in the same or similar settings. The semantic

representation of the two systems is identical. Compound bilingual speakers are often more prone to switch from one language to another. Weinreich further proposed the existence of subordinate bilingualism as a third type. In subordinate bilingualism, one language is dominant. The words of the non-dominant language are interpreted through the words of the dominant language. The second language is usually learned with the help of the first language of the speaker. Most linguists and psychologists (e.g. Ervin and Osgood 1954 in Appel and Muysken 1992:76) only distinguish between coordinate and compound bilingualism, the latter comprising the subordinate type suggested by Weinreich. (Appel and Muysken 1992:76-81, Weinreich 1953:1-13)

The majority of the Maltese in Malta are compound bilinguals. The two languages merge into a single semantic system. The speakers often experience a great deal of interference in their speech. Code switching can be regarded as a characteristic feature of everyday language usage among most speakers. Code switching may have its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, when two compound bilinguals are talking, they are able to select the preferred word or phrase according to the slightly different information or emotion which is being put across by the particular vocabulary or idiomatic phrase in the one language or the other. On the other hand, the compound bilingual speaker may lack expertise in one or even both of the languages, which becomes most obvious when compound bilinguals are talking to a person with whom they have only one language in common. Code switching can often be regarded as a case of laziness or lack of a profound knowledge of either language. This type of code switching can also be referred to as (random) code mixing. (Ellul 1978:1-3, Holmes 1994:50)

In Malta, the proportion of code switching in every day communication is relatively high. This is widely regarded as an unhappy linguistic situation:

...Most parents whose level of proficiency [in English] is very low have the audacity to speak to their children in what they consider to be English. In fact, they often resort to Maltese when they are at a loss for equivalence in English. As a result of this unhealthy linguistic environment, Maltese children end up being incompetent to speak either English or Maltese and unconsciously resort to code-switching.

(Sciriha in Brincat ed. 1993:322)

There is a great deal of interference on both sides. Maltese influences English and vice versa. Problems with the quality of Maltese often occur in writing, because English is generally used as the written medium in schools. Language experts as well as “common” Maltese people are aware of the fact that code switching poses a problem for the quality of both languages and that even the quality of the mother tongue is severely endangered:

“Sociolinguistic research reveals that when a person engages in extensive code-switching, it means that his proficiency in either language is not high.”

(Sciriha 1997:84 In Pascoe, R. & Ronaywe, J.)

I like English and its important for us Maltese, but I hate hearing some Maltese talking to their children in English only, not being able to speak Maltese properly.

(female respondent, age:52)

Both languages have to be known well and not a mixture of both.

(female respondent, age:21)

I think that Maltese people who speak half English and half Maltese, knowing neither really well, especially Maltese, sound really phoney.

(female respondent, age:21)

Maltese linguists and the “common” bilinguals involved in this survey also worry about the current state of the English language, which is widely regarded as the high prestige language in Malta:

... Cultural and linguistic colonialism have survived political colonialism... English, and to a smaller extent now also Italian, are associated with a higher social status. English, more than a cultural heritage, is being used as the language of cocktail parties and other social occasions, especially when some of the members are British monoglots. The influence of native language makes itself felt in the foreign language as spoken or written by the Maltese themselves. Many of us who speak or write English ... think in Maltese and use Maltese intonation. The words are very often English because, taken as a total of so many single lexical units, they belong to the dictionary of the English people. In collocation, however, these words often fall outside English contexts. In other words, they are English ... when taken singly as individual words (lexemes), but together they may be only partly or wholly English or not English at all

(Aquilina 1978 :45-46in Paavola 1987:89-90)

A problem which is increasing in Malta is that children (and adults!) do not have a good knowledge of English grammar. They use a Maltese sentence structure and simply substitute English vocabulary. They simply speak Maltese with English words.

(female respondent, age:31)

There is a difference in speaking a language and really mastering a language. As a Maltese speaking person by origin, I appreciate that I master the Maltese language but it would be more rewarding if at the same time I am able to master the English language.

(male respondent, age:29)

2.2.Language Varieties in Malta

On a continuum from complete Maltese to complete English, Maltese authors (e.g. Ellul 1978: 4) often distinguish five types of utterances:

M: *complete Maltese*

Me: Maltese with an occasional word in English

ME: the dominance of one language over the other is not clear-cut

EM: mainly English, with an occasional word in Maltese

E: complete English

For our survey, these language varieties are being referred to as Maltese (M), mostly Maltese (Me), mixture of Maltese and English (M/E), Em (mostly English) and E (English).

The varieties that imply code switching will be illustrated by the following examples:

Me: 'Twaqqax it-ticket ghax inkella jkollok terga thallas.'
(Don't drop the ticket, or else you'll have to pay again)

ME: 'Put it in the dustbin; igborha u waddabha fid-dustbin'
(- - - - - pick it up and put it in the Dustbin)

'Gibli s-scissors Joanne.'
(Bring me the - - - - -)

Em: 'No, issa we have a cup of tea'
(- - now - - - - -)

(The examples and translations were taken from Ellul 1978:4)

Some Maltese linguists are afraid that the extensive usage of code switching could cause the gradual death of Maltese. Sciriha (1993:322) argues that "if this unhealthy linguistic situation, [which has been described in chapter 2.1.] persists, Malta will cease to be a bilingual nation, but will move towards monolingualism with the language spoken displaying features of both languages in contact which will eventually give rise to some kind of Pidgin language." Aquilina (1971:176) goes even further by describing the language that is spoken in Sliema, a certain area of Malta, as "pidgin Maltese, made up of an ill-assorted admixture of so-called English and so-called Maltese, a hotch-potch unworthy of educated people."

However, one has to consider that a pidgin generally emerges as a lingua franca in situations when people who need to communicate do not have a common language. In most cases, pidgin languages are used for restricted communicative settings only. They can for example be used as trade languages, at least at the beginning of their development. (a more detailed discussion of pidgins can be found in Todd 1990) The situation in Malta is completely different. Although there may be a considerable amount of interference on the

phonological, syntactical, lexical and semantic levels, which becomes even more obvious in the English than in the Maltese language, there is no need for a new lingua franca. (Interference is not going to be dealt with in this paper explicitly. For a comprehensive analysis of interference in the speech of the Maltese please see e.g. Paavola 1987) Additionally, as we will see in the following chapter, a new educational policy has recently been developed to improve the quality of Maltese and English. Future developments will show if this policy will help improve the speaker's competence in both languages.

2.3. English and Maltese in Education

2.3.1. General Remarks on the Educational System in Malta

Education is compulsory between the ages of five and sixteen. Primary education lasts for six years. Textbooks and transport to and from school are free for students within the compulsory school age. About 30% of the students at primary level and about 47% of the students in secondary education attend private schools. The majority of the private schools is run by Catholic religious orders. Whereas private schools generally favor the use of English as a spoken medium, state schools favor Maltese. English is widely used in both types of school as the written medium. Almost all students in post secondary education (e.g. trade schools, technical institutes, specialized training centers and the University of Malta) receive some form of state grant. The students have to perform a few weeks of productive work in government or private organizations in return. In general, the educational system in Malta is modeled on the British educational system. English is the spoken and written medium of education at the University of Malta. A considerable number of foreign students is enrolled at the University of Malta every year. (Camilleri 1996:93, Wilson 2000:27)

2.3.2. The Usage of English and Maltese in Education

In 1989 the “National Minimum Curriculum Regulations” (1989) stated that at primary level:

Maltese will be the first language used in teaching but the teacher should seek to speak English so as to accustom children to understand and speak the language. Those children who speak English at home should be trained to a more correct use of the language, in addition to their being taught in Maltese.

(in Brincat 1993: 305)

These guidelines for language usage at primary level are very vague. There were no clear regulations regarding language of instruction at secondary level until 1998. Generally, it can be said that at secondary level the great majority of Maltese private schools used English as the medium of instruction. At times, private school students were even punished for speaking Maltese at schools. Maltese was preferred as the medium of instruction at state schools. Therefore, parents often sent their children to private schools to make sure that they are given an adequate education in the English language. Language usage at school influences the language behavior of the students in other domains as well. Outside school, private school students have used more English than students attending state schools accordingly. (Mifsud 1993: 62, 105-106)

At present, the language situation in Maltese schools is changing. The Maltese Curriculum Department compiled a new set of regulations concerning language usage at schools:

- 6.3. As from kindergarten children should be given the opportunity to develop their first language so that they would have a language to communicate efficiently, solve problems and generate knowledge in.
- 6.4. Whilst the first language is being developed, the school should provide every opportunity to help the children familiarise themselves with the second language. This process of gradual access starts before the obligatory years.
- 6.5. So that the access to the English language in the primary sector this curriculum is obliging teachers in this sector to teach English, Mathematics, Science and Technology in English.
- 6.6. [In the secondary sector] ... This document obliges teachers of all subjects excepting Maltese, Social Studies, History, Religion and foreign languages to teach their subject in English. This rule applies as from the scholastic year 1999-2000.

(Curriculum Department 1998 in Micallef 1999:16)

This passage of the Maltese National Curriculum shows that language learning has become an issue of official concern. It displays official efforts not only to help children become competent bilinguals, but also to ensure that the children learn a first language adequately. At present, many people feel that the quality of the Maltese language is in danger and that Maltese should be given more importance in education:

Malta has two official languages which are, or anyhow should be for teaching purposes, a first and second language. Many Maltese can be bilingual or trilingual, but there is no doubt that Maltese is otherwise everybody's first home language. The few exceptions do not form a rule and certainly have no right to break the rule or expect others to break the rule for them.

(Aquilina 1971:172)

Who are the people referred to as "the few exceptions" by Aquilina? He is probably talking about a linguistically distinct group of people who live in certain urban areas of

Malta. These people are Maltese born but still acquire English as their first language. They constitute one out of four types of families which can be distinguished according to language acquisition and usage. To avoid further confusion, the concept of family types in Malta has to be explained briefly:

2.4. Family Types

Camilleri (1995) identifies four types of Maltese families on the basis of chronological acquisition of language varieties by the children of the family and their use of Maltese and English at home. (Camilleri 1995:83,84)

Family type A:

- (i) a dialect of Maltese is acquired as a first language by the children. It is the first language of the parents and is spoken widely in the neighbourhood;
- (ii) standard Maltese is acquired mainly through explicit teaching by the parents or other family members and by formal teaching at school;
- (iii) English is also acquired formally at school.

Family type B:

- (i) standard Maltese is the first language of the family;
- (ii) English is acquired through formal teaching.

Family type C:

- (i) both Maltese and English are acquired as a first language and are used interchangeably.

Family Type D:

- (i) English is spoken by one or both of the parents and is acquired as a first language by the children.
- (ii) Maltese is acquired later through formal teaching at school and through socialisation with speakers of Maltese.

(Camilleri 1995:84)

According to Camilleri, families of type A live in the various villages around the island of Malta and in Gozo. They can also be found in some central towns like Mosta and Birkirkara and in the Three Cities around the Grand Harbour. Native speakers of standard Maltese (family type B) are usually found in towns like Valletta, Paola, Hamrun, Msida and Sliema, which are located in the central and eastern parts of Malta. Although there may be slight variations in the Maltese spoken in these areas the differences in these variations are minor ones and are all accepted as standard forms. Families of types C and D are associated with the Sliema – St. Julians conurbation. This part of Malta is regarded as a “high class English speaking” area. Furthermore, a number of families in other parts of

Malta have started to use English at home. During the colonial area many British people lived in these seaside resorts. They probably served as models for Maltese families living in this area who want(ed) to achieve a higher social status. (Camilleri 1995:84-85, Camilleri 1996:89)

3. The Social Stratification of Maltese and English in Malta

3.1. The Social Background of the Respondents

24 male and 28 female Maltese informants were involved in the sample. The age of the respondents ranges from 16 to 75 years. The mean age value is 40.13 in the male and 32.68 in the female category. For the analysis of numerous items the sample was divided into three age groups (group 1 = 16-29, group 2 = 30-49, 3 = 50-75). 73.1 % (38 respondents) of the informants were born in an urban area. The remaining 26.9 % (14 respondents) were born in a rural area. 28,8 % of the informants reported to belong to family type A, 46.2 % to family type B, 15.4 % to family type C and 9.6 % to family type D. As far as the educational background of the respondents is concerned, 5.8 % of the people in the sample received primary education only. The majority of 65.4 % underwent secondary education. 28.8 % attend(ed) university or a similar tertiary institution as the highest level of education.

3.2. Languages in Malta

Maltese, English, Italian

As already mentioned in the second chapter of this paper, Maltese and English are Malta's two official languages. Additionally, Italian is said to be relatively widespread. The data revealed the following results:

100 % (52 people) of the informants speak Maltese fluently. The great majority (90.4 %) also speaks English fluently. The remaining 9.6 % have a basic knowledge of English. About half of the informants (53.8 %) speak Italian fluently and 28.8 % have a basic knowledge of Italian.

Other Languages

7.7 % of the respondents are fluent in French and a further 38.5 % have a basic knowledge of French. Spanish is spoken fluently by one informant, which compares to 1.9 % of the

sample. 7.7 % know the basics of Spanish. One informant (1.9 %) speaks Latin fluently and 5.8 % have a basic knowledge of Latin. None of the respondents is fluent in any other languages, but 9.6 % have a basic knowledge of German, 7.7 % of Arabic and 1.9 % (one person) of Hebrew.

48.1 % of the informants reported to be fluent in three languages (including Maltese). In most cases the non-natives languages are English and Italian. Out of those who speak three languages fluently, 25.0 % also have the basic knowledge of one additional language, 9.6 % of two additional languages. Altogether (including languages that are spoken fluently and languages that entail only a basic knowledge), 34.6 % of the people speak four and 17.3 % five or more languages. One informant reported to know seven languages out of which four (Maltese, English, Italian and French) were reported to be spoken fluently.

Surprisingly, despite Malta's geographical position close to Africa, only 7.7 % reported to have a basic knowledge of Arabic, none of the informants is fluent in Arabic. The reason for this may be partly identified in "ingrained anti-Arabic prejudices" (Frendo 1975:24) that have persisted in Maltese society since the period of Arab rule (870-1090). The Maltese clearly see themselves as Europeans (which they actually are!) not as Arabs, although their language is of Arabic origin.

Foreign languages seem to be very important for the people on the Maltese islands. All in all, eight non-native languages could be found in the sample. Tourism and communication with business partners abroad are probably the most important reasons for the great language diversity in Malta. The following utterances made by several informants of the survey underline this position:

"Tourism is our main industry. So if our children / students study more languages like Spanish, Russian and Dutch we would be able to satisfy our visitors. "
(female informant, age:49)

"I think that Maltese people should learn more foreign languages as tourism is very important in these islands."
(female informant, age:22)

"I think that one should learn more than two languages. "
(male informant, age:16)

"Knowing that Malta and Gozo are small islands we depend mostly on tourists. So more we know different language more it is better for us to communicate with these foreign tourists that come to us yearly."
(male informant, age:19)

One has to bear in mind that quantity does not necessarily mean quality. As far as the English language is concerned, the following comment of an interviewee who speaks

both fluent English and Maltese (but had to be excluded from the quantitative analysis due to non-Maltese citizenship) illustrates the opinion native speakers of English may have regarding the kind of English spoken by many Maltese people.

"I just don't like how some people use English to look sophisticated and torture the English language"

(male informant, age:34)

Current problems with the quality of the English and the Maltese languages in Malta have already been discussed in the second chapter of this paper.

3.3. Contact to Native Speakers of English

This chapter analyzes whether the Maltese have contact to speakers from countries where English is the native language and if they have lived or would like to live in such a country. The following items were used:

- A: Do you have contact to friends and family members from an English speaking country? (possible answers: yes/no)
- B: Have you been abroad to an English speaking country for a longer period of time? (possible answers: no/1-6months/7months to 1 year/more than one year)
- C: Would you like to go abroad to an English speaking country for a longer period of time? (possible answers: no/1-6months/7months to 1 year/more than one year)

The figures indicate that the vast majority (92.2%) of the respondents has contact to friends or family members from an English speaking country. 46.2 % of the respondents have not been to an English speaking country for at least one month. 44.2 % have been to an English speaking country for one to six months, 3.8 % for seven months to one year and 5.8 % for more than one year. 69.2 % would like to spent a longer period of time in an English speaking country, out of which 40.4 % would like to stay there for one to six months, 11.5 % for seven months to one year and 17.3 % for more than one year. The last figure may include people who consider emigrating to an English speaking country.

Considerable numbers of Maltese have emigrated to the U.K., Canada, Australia, and the U.S.A. since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first Maltese person to arrive in Australia, for example, was a convict, who arrived in Sydney in 1810 together

with a group of prisoners from England and Ireland. The first free Maltese settlers came to Australia during the late 1830s. The Maltese did not leave home because of political or religious oppression. Most of them wanted to build a better economic future for their children and for themselves, which is especially true for the huge migration waves during the 1960s and early 1970s. (<http://www.aboutmalta.com/grazio.html> 03/17/01, Bouvingdon 1989 110-115, Sciriha 1989:34-41) The following list shows the number of Maltese people who emigrated to Australia, Canada, the U.K and the U.S.A. between 1963 and 1994. The figures probably do not include returnees, so the actual "net" emigration figures would be lower.

| Year | Aust. | Can. | U.K. | U.S. | Oth. | Totals |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1963 | 2051 | 371 | 1129 | 76 | 14 | 3641 |
| 1964 | 4152 | 905 | 1332 | 92 | 98 | 6579 |
| 1965 | 5923 | 1181 | 1597 | 87 | 199 | 8987 |
| 1966 | 5349 | 1113 | 1444 | 84 | 100 | 8090 |
| 1967 | 2259 | 647 | 1092 | 282 | 60 | 4340 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1967 | 2081 | 752 | 856 | 261 | 21 | 3971 |
| 1968 | 1564 | 487 | 638 | 258 | 45 | 2992 |
| 1969 | 1229 | 394 | 685 | 299 | 41 | 2648 |
| 1970 | 1469 | 332 | 640 | 219 | 36 | 2696 |
| 1971 | 1762 | 308 | 527 | 178 | 23 | 2798 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1972 | 1853 | 467 | 597 | 213 | 33 | 3163 |
| 1973 | 2416 | 768 | 603 | 253 | 19 | 4059 |
| 1974 | 2595 | 755 | 581 | 252 | 6 | 4198 |
| 1975 | 691 | 441 | 254 | 226 | 12 | 1624 |
| 1976 | 619 | 202 | 113 | 162 | 11 | 1107 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1977 | 796 | 213 | 97 | 126 | 5 | 1237 |
| 1978 | 959 | 269 | 100 | 246 | 3 | 1577 |
| 1979 | 765 | 248 | 82 | 205 | 3 | 1303 |
| 1980 | 981 | 213 | 48 | 129 | 3 | 1374 |
| 1981 | 1548 | 271 | 30 | 106 | 11 | 1966 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 636 | 135 | 46 | 104 | 17 | 938 |
| 1983 | 403 | 66 | 49 | 103 | 20 | 641 |
| 1984 | 356 | 91 | 65 | 86 | 31 | 629 |
| 1985 | 493 | 64 | 47 | 99 | 28 | 731 |
| 1986 | 525 | 88 | 26 | 72 | 26 | 737 |
| 1987 | 475 | 79 | 43 | 49 | 24 | 679 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1988 | 339 | 108 | 43 | 41 | 30 | 561 |
| 1989 | 217 | 74 | 43 | 43 | 22 | 399 |
| 1990 | 81 | 27 | 10 | 27 | 15 | 160 |
| 1991 | 78 | 23 | 9 | 20 | 10 | 140 |
| 1992 | 83 | 24 | 12 | 23 | 11 | 153 |
| 1993 | 31 | 8 | 10 | 12 | 5 | 66 |
| 1994 | 54 | 3 | 9 | 35 | 3 | 104 |
| | | | | | | |
| Total: | 44833 | 11127 | 12857 | 4468 | 985 | 74288 |

3.4. Language Usage in Different Domains

Classic sociolinguistic surveys, e.g. William Labov's in New York and Peter Trudgill's in Norwich revealed several patterns of social stratification of language varieties. Gender, age and social class can be regarded as social variables that lead to linguistic variation. Generally, it is agreed that women use more standard or prestigious variants than men. Men tend to use more vernacular or less prestigious variants. The use of prestigious variants increases with an increase in social class. In many cases, the second highest social group uses more standard or prestige variants than the highest social group. This phenomenon became known as hypercorrection and was first identified by Labov, for example, in his famous study of post-vocalic (r) in New York City. The reason for hypercorrection seems to be the sensitivity of this group to social pressure. One should also keep in mind that especially women and people who belong to the second highest social group are prone to over-reporting. These groups often try to acquire a higher social status by using prestigious speech forms and therefore often report to use more of these forms than they actually do. With reference to age, it is the people between the ages of 30 and 55 who experience the greatest social pressure to conform, and therefore use more prestigious variants than older or younger people. (Coates 1993:61-86, Holmes 1994 135-163, 165-189, Trudgill 1983:13-33, 78-99)

Although most variation studies have concentrated on variation in pronunciation and/ or the correctness of grammatical features in speech rather than on the choice of a language variety involving a continuum containing two distinct sets of lexemes, the following chapters try to investigate whether the general tendencies mentioned above can also be applied for the language situation in Malta. In addition to gender, age and social class, the influence of family types will be examined as well. The respondents were asked to indicate which language variety they use in each of the communicative situations described by fifteen items in question number nine of the questionnaire. The following language varieties could be chosen:

M (Maltese only), Me (mostly Maltese), M/E (mixture of Maltese and English), Em (mostly English) and E (English only). Fifteen communicative situations were described, out of which the eight most important ones are going to be discussed in more detail:

- A: talking with your parents
- B: talking with your brothers and sisters
- C: talking with *your* children
- D: talking with your colleagues at work
- E: talking with your fellow students at school or university
- F: talking with teachers and lecturers
- G: talking with your friends
- H: talking with your neighbors

The remaining communicative situations (talking with grandparents, other children, a doctor at a hospital, a priest, on the market, with shop assistants ..., language in dreams) will be discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

3.4.1. Family Type

At the beginning of this chapter it is necessary to investigate if the concept of family types which has been introduced in chapter 2.4. can be applied to our sample. Therefore, it might be useful to illustrate in which kind of area (urban vs. rural) the informants were born. For a more detailed description of the geographical stratification, the names of the towns and villages will be listed in the following tables as well:

which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? * where you born in an urban area of malta or gozo? Kreuztabelle

| Anzahl | | where you born in an urban area of malta or gozo? | | Gesamt |
|---|---|---|----|--------|
| | | yes | no | |
| which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? | a | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| | b | 19 | 5 | 24 |
| | c | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| | d | 5 | | 5 |
| Gesamt | | 38 | 14 | 52 |

Table 1: Place of birth -urban

which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? * where you born in a rural area of malta or gozo? Kreuztabelle

Anzahl

| | | where you born in a rural area of malta or gozo? | | Gesamt |
|---|--------|--|----|--------|
| | | yes | no | |
| which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? | a | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| | b | 5 | 19 | 24 |
| | c | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| | d | | 5 | 5 |
| | Gesamt | 14 | 38 | 52 |

Table 2: Place of birth -rural

name of the town of birth:

| which of the following categories would best | | Häufigkeit | Prozent | Gültige Prozente | Kumulierte Prozente |
|--|------------|------------|---------|------------------|---------------------|
| a | Gültig | 8 | 53,3 | 53,3 | 53,3 |
| | Attard | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 60,0 |
| | Rabat | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 66,7 |
| | Victoria | 4 | 26,7 | 26,7 | 93,3 |
| | Xaghra | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 100,0 |
| | Gesamt | 15 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| b | Gültig | 5 | 20,8 | 20,8 | 20,8 |
| | Attard | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 25,0 |
| | Rabat | 3 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 62,5 |
| | Victoria | 2 | 8,3 | 8,3 | 91,7 |
| | Xaghra | 2 | 8,3 | 8,3 | 100,0 |
| | Birkirkara | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 29,2 |
| | Gzira | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 33,3 |
| | Nadur | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 37,5 |
| | Paola | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 41,7 |
| | Pieta | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 45,8 |
| | Quormi | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 50,0 |
| | San Gwann | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 66,7 |
| | Senglea | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 70,8 |
| | Sliema | 2 | 8,3 | 8,3 | 79,2 |
| | Tarxien | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 83,3 |
| | Gesamt | 24 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| c | Gültig | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 12,5 |
| | Attard | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 25,0 |
| | Birkirkara | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 37,5 |
| | Paola | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 50,0 |
| | San Gwann | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 62,5 |
| | Sliema | 2 | 25,0 | 25,0 | 87,5 |
| | Valletta | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 100,0 |
| | Gesamt | 8 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| d | Gültig | | | | |
| | Sliema | 4 | 80,0 | 80,0 | 100,0 |
| | Balzan | 1 | 20,0 | 20,0 | 20,0 |
| | Gesamt | 5 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

Table 3: Name of the town

| name of the village | | | | | |
|--|------------|------------|---------|------------------|---------------------|
| which of the following categories would best | | Häufigkeit | Prozent | Gültige Prozente | Kumulierte Prozente |
| a | Gültig | 7 | 46,7 | 46,7 | 46,7 |
| | Burmanad | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 53,3 |
| | Gharb | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 60,0 |
| | Mellieha | 5 | 33,3 | 33,3 | 93,3 |
| | Zurrieg | 1 | 6,7 | 6,7 | 100,0 |
| | Gesamt | 15 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| b | Gültig | 19 | 79,2 | 79,2 | 79,2 |
| | Marsalforn | 1 | 4,2 | 4,2 | 83,3 |
| | Mgarr | 4 | 16,7 | 16,7 | 100,0 |
| | Gesamt | 24 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| c | Gültig | 7 | 87,5 | 87,5 | 87,5 |
| | Mellieha | 1 | 12,5 | 12,5 | 100,0 |
| | Gesamt | 8 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |
| d | Gültig | 5 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Table 4: Name of the village

Those acquainted with place names in Malta will agree to the assumption that the vast majority of the places fits into the concept proposed by Camilleri. It might be surprising that seven out of fifteen family type A respondents were born in an urban area. However, it has to be mentioned that very often it is difficult to draw a clear line between urban and rural areas in Malta. Even the Maltese themselves do not always agree on whether a certain place should be regarded as a village or a town. The towns listed under “place of birth – family type A” are either a town in Gozo (Victoria) or small semi-urban areas in Malta or Gozo. The majority of the respondents from family type B come from relatively large towns. Only one family type C respondent and none of the respondents from family type D reported that they were born in a rural area. Most of them were born in Sliema. In short, the predictions made by Camilleri can also be applied to the sample at hand. The concept of family types can therefore be used as a social variable in the analysis of linguistic variation.

Family types seem to be very important for the choice of a certain language variety. Generally, it can be said that there is an increase of Em and E usage and a decrease in M and Me usage from family type A to D. Seven out of eight communicative settings investigated in this survey follow this pattern. The data revealed the following proportions of the language varieties for conversations with parents:

Table 5: Talking with parents by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 93.3 % | | 6.7 % | | |
| B | 65.0 % | 25.0 % | 10.0 % | | |
| C | 25.0 % | | 75.0 % | | |
| D | 25.0 % | 25.0 % | | 25.0 % | 25.0 % |

One might have expected the percentage of Em and especially E to be higher in the family type D population. However, one has to keep in mind that Maltese parents tend to talk to their children exclusively in English when the children are very young and during their school years. The age of the participants of this survey ranges from 16 to 75.

The following comment, made by an informant who belongs to family type D underlines this position: *“I spoke English only till I was 4 and gradually learnt Maltese automatically.”* This male respondent who is now 39 years old reported to be able to speak Maltese and English fluently and to use Me when talking with his parents today.

The following communicative situations showed similar distributions of the language varieties:

Table 6: Talking with brothers and sisters by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 93.3 % | | 6.7 % | | |
| B | 43.5 % | 30.4 % | 17.4 % | 8.7 % | |
| C | 28.6 % | | 42.9 % | 28.6 % | |
| D | 33.3 % | | | 33.3 % | 33.3 % |

Table 7: Talking with children by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 60.0 % | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | | |
| B | 38.5 % | 7.7 % | 38.5 % | 15.4 % | |
| C | | | 25.0 % | 50.0 % | 25.0 % |
| D | | | 20.0 % | 40.0 % | 40.0 % |

Table 8: Talking with fellow students by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 33.3 % | 25.0 % | 41.7 % | | |
| B | 8.3 % | 33.3 % | 50.0 % | 8.3 % | |
| C | | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | 60.0 % | |
| D | | | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | 33.3 % |

Table 9: Talking with teachers and lecturers by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 18.2 % | 27.3 % | 36.4 % | 18.2 % | |
| B | 6.7 % | 26.7 % | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | |
| C | | 40.0 % | 20.0 % | 40.0 % | |
| D | | | 25.0 % | 25.0 % | 50.0 % |

Table 10: Talking with friends by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 33.3 % | 46.7 % | 20.0 % | | |
| B | 50.0 % | 33.3 % | 8.6 % | 8.6 % | |
| C | | 25.0 % | 62.5 % | 12.5 % | |
| D | | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | 40.0 % |

Table 11: Talking with neighbors by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | 80.0 % | 13.3 % | 6.7 % | | |
| B | 69.6 % | 17.4 % | 13.0 % | | |
| C | 12.5 % | 25.5 % | 37.5 % | 25.0 % | |
| D | 25.0 % | | | 25.0 % | 50.0 % |

The strongest correlations were found in conversations with fellow students, the informants' own children and neighbors. In conversations with children, for example, we find a strong positive correlation (.689) of language usage and family type, implying that the higher the family type (given that A<B<C<D) the more likely we find a more English oriented language behavior. The result is significant (.000) on the 1 % level (highly significant).

Korrelationen

| | | Which kind of language do you use: talking with your children? | which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? |
|---|---|--|---|
| Which kind of language do you use: talking with your children? | Korrelation nach Pearson Signifikanz (2-seitig) N | 1,000 , 27 | ,689** ,000 27 |
| which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? | Korrelation nach Pearson Signifikanz (2-seitig) N | ,689** ,000 27 | 1,000 , 52 |

** . Die Korrelation ist auf dem Niveau von 0,01 (2-seitig) signifikant.

Table 12: Correlation: family type and language used with children

Coming back to the language variety used with neighbors, it has to be mentioned that for the analysis of this item the data had to be modified. One informant had to be excluded because the question in the questionnaire asked for the current language variety used in communications with neighbors. Although this informant was born in a typical family type D area (Sliema) he spent the greatest part of his life in Mosta, a town which is regarded as a typical family type B area. He was probably referring to the Mosta neighborhood when answering the question. Since the data at hand is very limited and we have only five respondents belonging to family type D, even one response can distort the results .

Em and E are not used by people belonging to family types A and B when talking with their neighbors. E is only used by family type D respondents. M is used by all family

types, but family types A and B use it to a much higher extend. The correlation coefficient (.622) shows that there is a strong positive correlation of family type and language usage with neighbors. Since the concept of family types is based on the assumption that people from different areas in Malta display different communicative behaviors, this highly significant (.000) result is not surprising. The obtained data used for this item describe the kind of language that is used in the informant's neighborhood and can therefore be regarded as a kind of "double check" for the existence of family types in Malta. The analysis of this item confirmed the general impression that whereas people belonging to family types A and B tend to use more M and Me, people belonging to family types C and D use more Em and E. It also confirmed the general decrease of Maltese or Maltese based varieties and the increase of English or English based varieties from family type A to D.

Moderate positive correlations could be identified for conversations with parents, brothers and sisters, teachers and lecturers and friends. Interestingly, with reference to conversations with teachers and lecturers, the figures show that even people belonging to family types A and B use Em when talking with teachers and lecturers. E is the only language variety which is used by family type D respondents exclusively. M is not used by people belonging to family types C and D. The data suggest that although family type has a certain influence on the choice of the language variety in this domain, there are probably other important factors which have to be taken into consideration. It has to be kept in mind that other variables, such as the attendance of a private school vs. a state school or the usage of English text books, can – among other factors- also be responsible for the choice of the language variety in this domain.

The people's work place seems to be the only domain where family type does not influence the choice of the language variety:

Table 13: Talking with colleagues at work by family type

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| A | 28.6 % | 35.7 % | 28.6 % | 7.1 % | |
| B | 21.7 % | 40.3 % | 39.1 % | 8.7 % | |
| C | 28.6 % | | 42.9 % | 28.6 % | |
| D | 25.0 % | | 50.0 % | 25.0 % | |

The work domain does not show a fixed pattern of distribution of the language varieties. The correlation coefficient .206 shows that there is only a very weak correlation between family type and the language variety people use at their work places. The result can not be regarded as significant (.159). According to the obtained data, there is no connection between language usage with colleagues at work and family type. Interestingly, E seems not to be used in this domain at all.

In sum, the existence of differences in the choice of a certain language variety according to four different Maltese family types, as suggested by Camilleri (1995), could be verified by the data at hand. It should be mentioned that we find relatively high proportions of language varieties that imply code switching (Mw, M/E and Em) within each family type. Generally, as already mentioned, there is an increase in the usage of English elements and a decrease in the usage of Maltese elements from family type A to D. This stratification is illustrated by the following diagram which shows the result for “language usage with (the respondent’s own) children by family type”. For further statistical evidence, the results of the SPSS data processing are available on floppy disks.

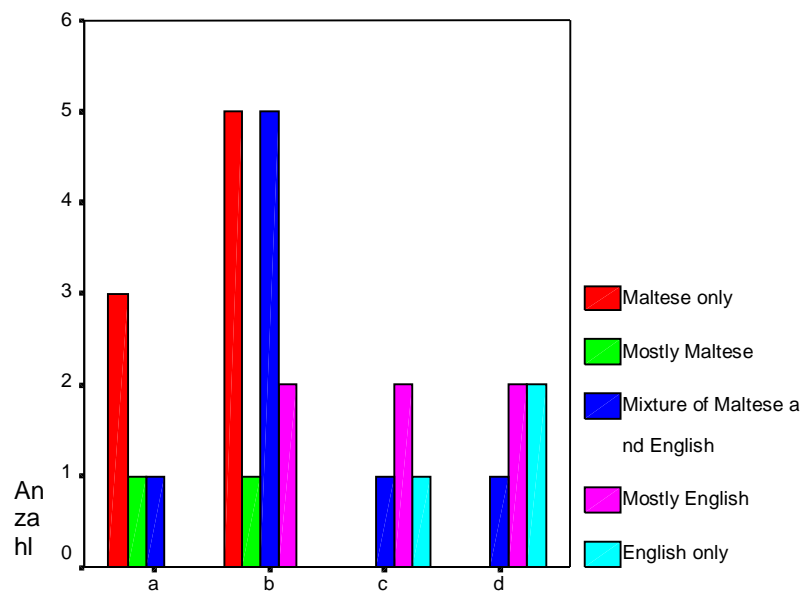


Figure 1: Language usage with children by family type

3.4.2. Gender

The figures indicate that in most communicative situations, women tend to use more English elements in speech than men and that women are more likely than men to use E. In many communicative situations, men tend to prefer M or Me and are more likely to use M/E than women :

Table 14: Talking with parents by gender

| | M | Me | M/ | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Male | 59.1 % | 22.7 % | 18.2 % | | |
| Female | 68.0 % | 4.0 % | 20.0 % | 4.0 % | 4.0 % |

Table 15: Talking with brothers and sisters by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Male | 56.5 % | 13.0 % | 17.4 % | 13.0 % | |
| Female | 56.0 % | 16.0 % | 16.0 % | 8.0 % | 4.0 % |

Table 16: Talking with children by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Male | 30.8 % | | 46.2 % | 23.1 % | |
| Female | 28.6 % | 14.3 % | 14.3 % | 21.4 % | 21.4 % |

Table 17: Talking with fellow students by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Male | 18.8 % | 25.0 % | 50.0 % | 6.3 % | |
| Female | 12.5 % | 25.0 % | 31.3 % | 25.0 % | 6.3 % |

Table 18: Talking with teachers and lecturers by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Male | 11.1 % | 22.2 % | 38.9 % | 27.8 % | |
| Female | 5.9 % | 29.4 % | 23.5 % | 29.4 % | 11.8 % |

Table 19: Talking with friends by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Male | 37.5 % | 45.8 % | 16.7 % | | |
| Female | 28.6 % | 25.0 % | 25.0 % | 14.3 % | 7.1 % |

Table 20: Talking with neighbors by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Male | 65.2 % | 17.4 % | 13.0 % | 4.3 % | |
| Female | 55.6 % | 14.8 % | 14.8 % | 7.4 % | 7.4 % |

More than half of the male and female respondents reported to use M in the neighborhood domain. This overwhelming majority can doubtlessly partly traced back to the fact that the majority of the people in our sample (and in the entire Maltese population) come from typical family type A or B neighborhoods. However, we also find the tendency that female respondents use more English elements when talking with their neighbors. Again E is reported to be used by female informants only.

The figures clearly show that there are differences in the choice of language variety between male and female informants. These difference become most obvious in conversations with friends, which will can be illustrated by using a t-test for independent variables. This kind of t-test compares the mean values for two groups of cases.

| Test bei unabhängigen Stichproben | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| | | Levene-Test der Varianzgleichheit | | T-Test für die Mittelwertgleichheit | | | | | | |
| | | F | Signifikanz | T | df | Sig. (2-seitig) | Mittlere Differenz | Standardfehler der Differenz | 95% Konfidenzintervall der Differenz | |
| Which kind of language do you use: talking with your friends? | Varianzen sind gleich | 10,079 | ,003 | -2,307 | 50 | ,025 | -,6726 | ,2915 | Untere | -1,2582 |
| | Varianzen sind nicht gleich | | | -2,401 | 44,002 | ,021 | -,6726 | ,2802 | Obere | -,1080 |

Figure 2: T-test (talking with friends, male vs. female)

Equal variances for the two groups cannot be assumed, because the significance value for the Levene - test is below 0.05 (0,03). Therefore, we have to use the result that does not assume equal variances. The relatively low significance value for the t-test (0.21) shows that there is a significant difference in the choice of a certain language variety

according to gender. A more general and comprehensive comparison of mean values will be carried out in chapter 3.4.5..

Significant differences according to gender could not be identified for the work domain.:

Table 21: Talking with colleagues at work by gender

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| Male | 26.1 % | 21.7 % | 34.8 % | 17.4 % | |
| Female | 24.0 % | 28.0 % | 40.0 % | 8.0 % | |

The language varieties seem to be relatively equally distributed in the work domain. We find a slightly higher usage of Me and M/E with the female and a higher usage of Em with the male population. E is not reported to be used at the people's work places at all. Since the sample of this survey is relatively small, of course, there may be professions which demand the usage of E, e.g. the Maltese film industry or other types of international business. However, one also has to keep in mind that there is a certain amount of informal conversation in every place of employment, which is very likely to be carried out at least partly in Maltese.

Generally, it can be said that women tend to use more English or English elements in speech than men. Code switching seems to be important for both genders. The following diagram, which shows the results for "language usage with friends by gender", exemplifies the typical stratification of language varieties according to gender:

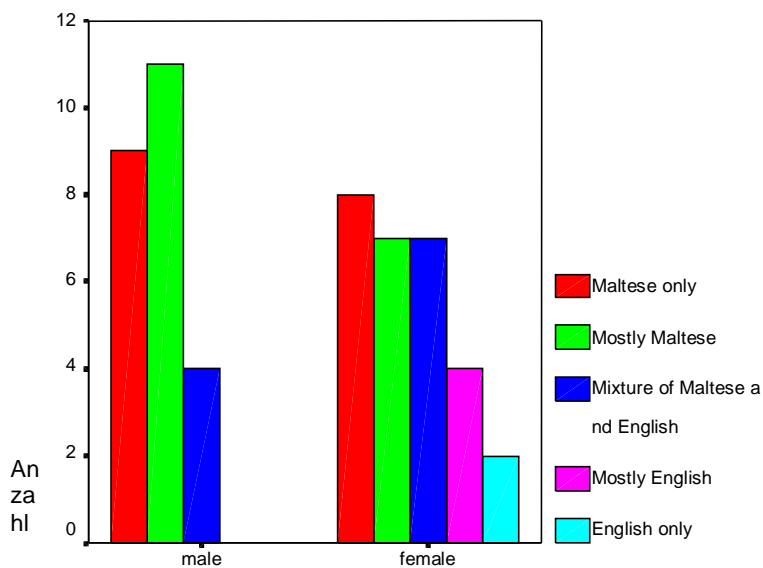


Figure 3: Language usage with friends by gender

3.4.3. Age

Generally, it can be said that people who belong to the middle age category tend to use the most English elements in their speech.

Table 22: Talking with parents by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| One (16-29) | 73.9 % | 8.7 % | 17.4 % | | |
| Two (30-49) | 52.9 % | 11.8 % | 23.5 % | 5.9 % | 5.9 % |
| Three (50-75) | 57.1 % | 28.6 % | 14.3 % | | |

Table 23: Talking with brothers and sisters by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| One (16-29) | 61.9 % | 14.3 % | 14.3 % | | |
| Two (30-49) | 50.0 % | | 12.5 % | 31.3 % | 6.3 % |
| Three (50-75) | 54.5 % | 18.2 % | 27.3 % | | |

Table 24: Talking with children by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| One (16-29) | | | 50.0 % | | 50.0 % ⁵ |
| Two (30-49) | 28.6 % | 7.1 % | 21.4 % | 28.6 % | 14.3 % |
| Three (50-75) | 36.4 % | 9.1 % | 36.4 % | 18.2 % | |

There might be an over representation of E usage in age category one because this category consist of two respondent only. However, the high percentage of E usage with children by age group one and the relatively high usage of Em and E by age group two gives the impression that English or English elements are preferably used with very young children or children who attend school or university. This assumption was already discussed in chapter 3.4.1. and seems to be confirmed here. None of the people who belong to age group three – who, of course, have older children – reported to use E.

Table 25: Talking with fellow students by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| One (16-29) | 16.7 % | 38.9 % | 33.3 % | 11.1 % | |

Age group two and age group three will not be analyzed for this item. For obvious reasons most people from these two categories found this item “not applicable”. All three age categories will be illustrated for the next item (talking with teachers and lecturers). Although communications with teachers and lectures also belong to the school domain, there may be occasions, e.g. parent-teacher meetings, where people who are beyond school age interact with teachers and lecturers.

Table 26: Talking with teachers and lecturers by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| One (16-29) | | 44.4 % | 22.2 % | 33.3 % | |
| Two (30-49) | 10.0 % | 10.0 % | 50.0 % | 20.0 % | 10.0 % |
| Three (50-75) | 28.6 % | | 28.6 % | 28.6 % | 14.3 % |

It might be interesting to note that M and E are only used by the people belonging to age groups two and three when talking with teachers and lecturers. Informants belonging to age group one, who are the most likely to talk (inside or outside the classroom) about subject related problems with their teachers, seem to prefer the mixed language varieties (Me, M/E and Em). Other surveys (e.g. Camilleri 1995) have found out that code switching is extensively used in the school domain. On the one hand, the choice of these varieties may be partly due to the fact that most textbooks are written in English and most subjects have to be taught in English (at least in private schools or at university). Therefore, we do not find any cases of M usage with teachers and lecturers although 16.7 % of the informant belonging to age group one reported to use M when talking with their fellow students. On the other hand, Maltese teachers often summarize important issues in Maltese to make sure that all students understand the topic. This practice is said to be preferably used by teachers at state schools. Additionally, Maltese students may find it easier to ask questions using Maltese elements in their speech. For a more detailed discussion of student-teacher conversations please see Camilleri 1995.

The item did not explicitly ask for the medium of instruction, which would at all probability have had to be E for the informants attending university. Even at tertiary level, there may be conversations between teachers and students which are not directly related to the topic of the lesson or take place outside the classroom, e.g. during the lecturers' office hours. Such conversations are very likely to be carried out in a code-switching variety.

Table 27: Talking with friends by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| One (16-29) | 21.6 % | 43.5 % | 21.7 % | 8.7 % | |
| Two (30-49) | 35.3 % | 17.6 5 | 29.4 % | 5.9 % | 11.8 % |
| Three (50-75) | 41.7 % | 41.7 % | 8.3 % | 8.3 % | |

The figures show that only one fifth (21.6 %) of the Maltese people under thirty years of age speak M with their friends, which can be regarded as a rather informal setting. The majority of the younger generations (65.2 %) prefers Me or M/E. E is not reported to be used by younger people. Language experts as well as “common” Maltese people regard this trend, which has already been discussed in chapters 2.1. and 2.2., as a dangerous development for the Maltese *and* the English language in Malta. However, it can also be seen as a marker for the speech of the young – not obeying the norms of society and using too many prestigious variants, but still use many “modern” English words.

The results for language usage with neighbors again shows that E is only reported to be used by people belonging to the middle age category and that this category uses the most English elements in speech.

Table 28: Talking with neighbors by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| One (16-29) | 54.5 % | 27.3 % | 13.6 % | 4.5 % | |
| Two (30-49) | 56.3 % | 6.3 % | 18.6 % | 6.3 % | 12.5 % |
| Three (50-75) | 75.0 % | 8.3 % | 8.3 % | 8.3 % | |

The language variety chosen for conversations with colleagues at work turned out to be the only case where these general tendencies did not apply:

Table 29: Talking with colleagues at work by age

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| One (16-29) | 18.2 % | 36.4 % | 36.4 % | 9.1 % | |
| Two (30-49) | 29.4 % | 23.5 % | 41.2 % | 5.9 % | |
| Three (50-75) | 33.3 % | | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | |

To sum up, respondents who belong to the middle age category reported the greatest usage of English or English elements in the majority of the communicative situations. This result corresponds with the stratification observed in the major sociolinguistic surveys introduced at the beginning of chapter 3.4.. The diagram below shows the result for “language usage with brothers and sisters by age category”.

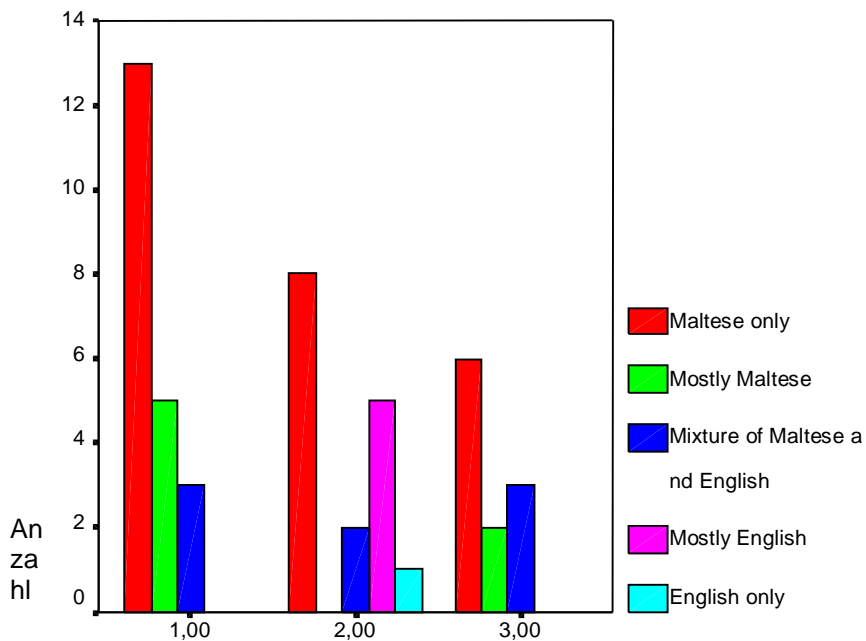


Figure 4: Language usage with brothers and sisters by age

3.4.4. Educational Background

The educational background of the informants serves as an indicator for social status. Although other indicators for social status, such as income or profession, are not dealt with in this survey, this chapter tries to analyze if there are any differences in the communicative behavior based on social status, or educational background respectively.

Table 30: Talking with parents by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Primary | 100 % | | | | |
| Secondary | 64.5 % | 6.5 % | 22.6 % | 3.2 % | 3.2 % |
| Tertiary | 53.8 % | 30.8 % | 15.4 % | | |

Table 31: Talking with brothers and sisters by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Primary | 100 % | | | | |
| Secondary | 51.6 % | 12.9 % | 22.6 % | 9.7 % | 3.2 % |
| Tertiary | 57.1 % | 21.4 % | 7.1 % | 14.3 % | |

Table 32: Talking with children by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Primary | 50.0 % | 50.0 % | | | |
| Secondary | 23.5 % | 5.9 % | 29.4 % | 23.5 % | 17.6 % |
| Tertiary | 37.5 % | | 37.5 % | 25.0 % | |

Table 33: Talking with fellow students by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Primary | 100 % | | | | |
| Secondary | 11.1 % | 22.2 % | 38.9 % | 22.2 % | 5.6 % |
| Tertiary | 8.3 % | 33.3 % | 50.0 % | 8.3 % | |

Table 34: Talking with teachers and lecturers by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Primary | 100 % | | | | |
| Secondary | 4.8 % | 28.6 % | 33.3 % | 23.8 % | 9.5 % |
| Tertiary | | 25.0 % | 33.3 % | 41.7 % | |

Table 35: Talking with friends by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Primary | 66.7 % | 33.3 % | | | |
| Secondary | 29.4 % | 32.4 % | 26.5 % | 5.9 % | 5.9 % |
| Tertiary | 33.3 % | 40.0 % | 13.3 % | 13.3 % | |

Table 36: Talking with neighbors by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| Primary | 100 % | | | | |
| Secondary | 55.9 % | 14.7 % | 14.7 % | 8.8 % | 5.9 % |
| Tertiary | 61.5 % | 23.1 % | 15.4 % | | |

As to be seen in the above tables, seven out of eight domains seem to be influenced by educational background, which - as already mentioned- shall serve as an indicator for social status. People who received primary education only, generally (except for the work

domain) tend to use M or Me. Interestingly, throughout all other communicative situations illustrated above, the people belonging to the second highest social category turned out to be the only informants who reported to use E, which is widely regarded as the high prestige variety or language in Malta. The work domain is the only communicative field examined in this survey which is not influenced by the educational background of the interlocuters. Here, the distribution of the language varieties is relatively unmarked:

Table 37: Talking with colleagues at work by educational background

| | M | Me | M/E | Em | E |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---|
| Primary | 50 % | | | 50 % | |
| Secondary | 25.0 % | 21.9 % | 37.5 % | 15.6 % | |
| Tertiary | 21.4 % | 35.7 % | 42.9 % | | |

The following diagram, which shows the results for “language usage with brothers and sisters by educational background” exemplifies the stratification of language varieties according to educational background:

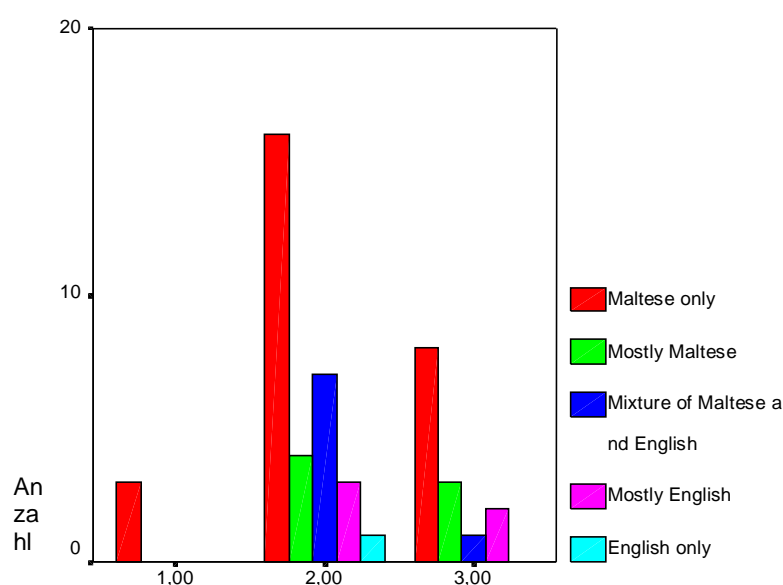


Figure 5: Language usage with brothers and sisters by educational background

3.4.5. Comparison of Mean Values for Family Type, Gender, Age and Educational Background

For the analysis carried out in this chapter, two kinds of general mean values were generated from :

- the mean values for the eight most important items and
- the mean values for all fifteen items from question number nine.

The comparison of the mean values for family type, gender, age and educational background confirms that these four variables influence the communicative behavior of the Maltese people. For a complete list of mean values please see the tables attached to the paragraphs.

There is an increase of mean values, which symbolizes an increase of English elements in speech, from family type A to D (A=1.68; B=1.96; C=2.85; D=3.71). This increase can be identified - to varying degrees - for each of the eight items discussed on the previous pages. If we include the remaining items from question number nine, namely the choice of a certain language variety when talking with other children (than one's own), a doctor in a hospital, a priest, on the market, with shop assistants, waitresses and hairdressers and the kind of language that appears in people's dreams, similar results for mean values can be obtained:

Table 38: Mean values (family type, 8 and 15 items)

| <i>Family type</i> | <i>mean for 8 items</i> | <i>mean for 15 items</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| A | 1.68 | 1.63 |
| B | 1.96 | 1.91 |
| C | 2.85 | 2.64 |
| D | 3.71 | 3.40 |

According to the data obtained from the eight most important items, female respondents reported to use slightly more English elements in their speech than male respondents. The processing of all fifteen items displays a greater difference in mean values of language variety between men and women. The work domain turned out to be the only domain in which gender does not have an influence on the choice of a certain language variety. Generally, it can be stated that Maltese women tend to use more English elements in their speech than Maltese men.

Table 39: Mean values (gender, 8 and 15 items)

| <i>Gender</i> | <i>mean for 8 items</i> | <i>mean for 15 items</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Male | 2.06 | 1.89 |
| Female | 2.29 | 2.25 |

With reference to age it should be said that the second age group showed the highest mean values in the analysis with eight as well as with all fifteen items. Age group one and age group three attained lower means for both item batteries. The calculations with the eight most important items revealed a slightly higher mean value, and therefore a slightly higher usage of English elements, for age group three, the calculations with fifteen items revealed a slightly higher mean for age group one. The differences between the youngest and the oldest age category are very small. Therefore, the fact that Maltese

people who belong to the middle age category use more English elements in their speech than older *and* younger Maltese is the most important result with reference to age:

Table 40: Mean values (age group, 8 and 15 items)

| <i>Age group</i> | mean for 8 items | mean for 15 items |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| One | 2.04 | 2.03 |
| Two | 2.46 | 2.26 |
| Three | 2.07 | 1.92 |

The highest mean value according to social status, which is indicated by educational background in this survey, was attained by the middle social status group (for the eight most important items). The lowest mean was attained by the lowest social category. The analysis of all fifteen items showed a similar pattern. It can be concluded that people who underwent primary education only generally tend to use very few English elements in their speech. People who (have) received secondary or tertiary education - and are said to have a higher social status accordingly- use more English elements in their speech. People belonging to the middle social category use the most English elements.

Table 41: Mean values (educational background, 8 and 15 items)

| <i>Educational background</i> | mean for 8 items | mean for 15 items |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Primary | 1.28 | 2.03 |
| Secondary | 2.30 | 2.26 |
| Third | 2.11 | 1.92 |

Combining the four variables discussed above, it can be concluded that female respondents from the middle age category who belong to family type D and underwent secondary education as their highest level of education are the most likely to chose a language variety that contains many English elements or to use E. These tendencies clearly correspond with the general patterns of social stratification of linguistic variation.

3.4.6. Comparison of the Domains

The following mean values were recorded for the fifteen communicative situations in question number nine.

| | |
|--|------|
| language variety used with grandparents: | 1.33 |
| language variety used on the market: | 1.45 |
| language variety used with parents: | 1.66 |
| language variety used with a priest: | 1.76 |

| | |
|--|------|
| language variety used with neighbors: | 1.78 |
| language variety used with brothers and sisters: | 1.86 |
| language variety used with friends: | 2.15 |
| language variety used with shop assistants, waitresses, ...: | 2.21 |
| language variety in people's dreams: | 2.20 |
| language variety used with a doctor in a hospital: | 2.25 |
| language variety used with colleagues at work: | 2.38 |
| language variety used with other children: | 2.50 |
| language variety used with fellow students: | 2.66 |
| language variety used with respondent's own children: | 2.78 |
| language variety used with teachers and lecturers: | 2.97 |

Maltese seems to be the dominant language in the home domain. The least usage of English elements can be found in conversations with grandparents. In conversations with parents and brothers and sisters the mean values also suggest that relatively few English elements are used. It is generally believed that the home domain is a rather relaxed communicative field and that people therefore choose a language variety they feel most comfortable with. It could be possible that the Maltese connect positive feelings with the Maltese language or at least with a language variety that is largely based on Maltese. Furthermore, Maltese is the vernacular language of the Maltese people, which makes this result not very surprising. Interestingly, the choice of the language variety used when speaking to (the people's own) children completely falls outside this communicative pattern. Although this item also belongs to the home domain, it showed the second highest usage of English elements in speech, which can probably traced back to the parents' awareness of the fact that a good command of English is important for the children, for example to receive a good education.

The mean values for conversations with priests, neighbors and on the market are also determined by a high proportion of Maltese elements in speech. There are only a very few Maltese churches that offer services in English. Most of them are situated in tourist centers. Generally, almost all church activities are carried out in Maltese. The market is another domain that is clearly dominated by Maltese. With reference to the language variety used with neighbors, once again, it has to be pointed out that the low mean value in this category is partly caused by the fact that the majority of the respondents live in family type A and B neighborhoods.

The school domain is marked with a higher proportion of English elements. Conversations with teachers and lecturers were reported to have the highest proportion of English elements of the fifteen items discussed. This may partly be traced back to the fact that a great deal of these conversations is related to the subjects or topics taught at school, out of which most are taught in English and are based on English textbooks.

Furthermore, it should be taken into consideration that the majority of the people regards teachers and lecturers as highly educated which obviously gives this professional group a high social status. In addition to the speakers social background and the communicative context of the conversation, the addressee also influences the speaker's language. People tend to accommodate their own speech style to the social background of the addressee and use more standard forms to address people who have a higher social status, maybe partly to upgrade their own social position and /or to appear more educated. (Holmes 1994:255-283)

The language varieties when communicating with friends, shop assistants, waitresses and hairdressers, doctors and colleagues at work rank among the middle positions. It might be interesting to mention that even dreams, a domain which cannot be influenced consciously, were reported to have a relatively high proportion of English elements. Two respondents reported that they dream exclusively in English. Following the tendencies that have been identified in the previous chapters, these respondent belong to family type D, are female and belong to the middle age and the middle social category. Of course, it must not be neglected that these respondents are prone to over-report their usage of the high prestige variety, even with reverence to subconscious communicative situations that appear in dreams, in order to present themselves in a higher position in terms of status. Another - and much simpler - explanation for the appearance of English or English elements in dreams could be the fact that many people watch television before they go to bed. Since most of the broadcasts are in English (with Maltese subtitles) the images that people see – and hear – on television could then influence their dreams. However, this last assumption is far beyond the empirically secure data which could be obtained in this survey and can only be seen as a very vague interpretation.

3.5. Language and Habits

The following items were used to investigate if there are certain preferences in language usage when people read books or newspapers, write notes, think, and count:

- A: Which kind of books and / or newspapers do you like? (possible answers: Maltese/English/ Both/None)
- B: In which language do you usually take notes? (possible answers: Maltese/English/Mixture of both/Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English)
- C: In which language do you think? (possible answers: Maltese/English/Mixture of both/ Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English)
- D: In which language do you count? (possible answers: Maltese/English/Mixture of both/ Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English)

The majority of the people (51.9 %) likes both, Maltese and English books and newspapers. 38.5 % of the respondents like only English and 9.6 % of the respondents like only Maltese books and newspapers. English seems to be the preferred language for note taking and counting. 51.9 % of the informants usually take their notes in English. 9.6 % of the respondents reported to take notes in Maltese, 15.4 % in a mixture of Maltese and English and 23.1 % reported to take notes sometimes in Maltese and sometimes in English. This result suggests that the kind of language used for taking notes may depend on the topic to which the notes are referring. The majority of the people thinks in Maltese (38.5 %) and 19.2 % of the people think in English. Another 19.2 % reported to think in a mixture of Maltese and English and 23.1 % of the respondents reported to think sometimes in Maltese and sometimes in English which again suggests that the choice of the language variety partly depends on the topic. As far as counting is concerned, the vast majority of the informants (63.2 %) reported to count in English. 19.2 % reported to count sometimes in Maltese and sometimes in English, 9.6 % in a mixture of both languages and only 7.7 % of the respondents reported to count in English. We are now going to examine if there is any variation with reference to family type, gender, age and educational background.

Family Type

The figures indicate a clear increase in the preference of English with a corresponding decrease in the preference of Maltese from family type A to D for each of the four items:

Table 42: Language Preference for reading (family type)

| Books and newspapers | | Maltese | English | Both | None |
|----------------------|---|---------|---------|--------|------|
| | A | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | 60.0 % | |
| | B | 8.3 % | 33.3 % | 58.3 % | |
| | C | | 62.5 % | 37.5 % | |
| | D | | 80.0 % | 20.0 % | |

Table 43: Language preference for notes, thinking, counting (family type)

| Take notes in ... | | Maltese | English | Mixture of both | Sometimes M, sometimes E |
|-------------------|---|---------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | A | 26.7 % | 26.7 % | 13.3 % | 33.3 % |
| | B | 4.2 % | 54.2 % | 16.7 % | 25.0 % |
| | C | | 62.5 % | 25.0 % | 12.5 % |
| | D | | 100.0 % | | |
| Think in ... | | | | | |
| | A | 53.3 % | | 13.3 % | 33.3 % |
| | B | 45.8 % | 16.7 % | 16.7 % | 20.8 % |
| | C | 12.5 % | 25.0 % | 37.5 % | 25.0 5 |
| | D | | 80 % | 20.0 % | |
| Count in | | | | | |
| | A | 6.7 % | 60.0 % | 6.7 % | 26.7 % |
| | B | 8.3 % | 58.3 % | 16.7 % | 16.7 % |
| | C | 12.5 % | 75.0 % | | 12.5 % |
| | D | | 80.0 % | | 20.0 % |

Gender

Generally, more women than men prefer English. For items A and D, it was only men who reported to prefer Maltese. The enormous differences, especially with items C and D (“think” and “count”) might be partly due to the fact that women are more prone to over-reporting towards the socially desired behavior, which has already been mentioned in 3.4..

Table 44: Language Preference for reading (gender)

| Books and newspapers | | Maltese | English | Both | None |
|----------------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|------|
| | Male | 20.8 % | 29.2 % | 50.0 % | |
| | Female | | 46.4 % | 53.6 % | |

Table 45: Language preference for notes, thinking counting (gender)

| Take notes in ... | | Maltese | English | Mixture of both | Sometimes M, sometimes E |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | Male | 16.7 % | 45.8 % | 8.3 | 29.2 % |
| | Female | 3.6 % | 57.1 % | 21.4 % | 17.9 % |
| Think in ... | | | | | |
| | Male | 41.7 % | 4.2 % | 20.8 % | 33.3 % |
| | Female | 35.7 % | 32.1 % | 17.9 % | 14.3 % |
| Count in | | | | | |
| | Male | 16.7 % | 41.7 % | 12.5 % | 29.2 % |
| | Female | | 82.1 % | 7.1 % | 10.7 % |

Age

Except for item D (“counting”), the data suggest that people who belong to the middle age category are the most likely to prefer English. This results underlines the findings for the communicative situations analyzed in chapter 3.4.. It might be worth mentioning that none of the respondents between 16 and 29 reported to use Maltese for taking notes. This could be regarded as an indicator for the unfortunate condition of the quality of the Maltese language used by young people today, especially in writing. This point has already been mentioned in the second chapter of this paper.

Table 46: Language Preference for reading (age group)

| Books and newspapers | | Maltese | English | Both | None |
|----------------------|---|---------|---------|--------|------|
| | 1 | 8.7 % | 34.8 % | 56.5 % | |
| | 2 | 11.8 % | 52.9 % | 35.3 % | |
| | 3 | 8.3 % | 25.0 % | 66.7 % | |

Table 47: Language preference for notes, thinking, counting(age group)

| Take notes in ... | | Maltese | English | Mixture of both | Sometimes M, sometimes E |
|-------------------|---|---------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | 1 | | 52.2 % | 17.4 % | 30.4 % |
| | 2 | 11.8 % | 70.6 % | 11.8 % | 5.9 % |
| | 3 | 25.0 % | 25.0 % | 16.7 % | 33.3 % |
| Think in ... | | | | | |
| | 1 | 34.8 % | 17.4 % | 21.7 % | 26.1 % |
| | 2 | 29.4 % | 29.4 % | 17.6 % | 23.5 % |
| | 3 | 58.3 % | 8.3 5 | 16.7 % | 16.7 % |
| Count in | | | | | |
| | 1 | 4.3 % | 82.6 % | 8.7 5 | 4.3 % |
| | 2 | 11.8 % | 58.8 % | 11.8 % | 17.6 % |
| | 3 | 8.3 % | 33.3 % | 8.3 % | 50.0 % |

Educational Background

With reference to educational background it should be mentioned that people who belong to the middle educational category reported the highest preference for English for items A, B and C, which again corresponds with the results for the communicative situations analyzed in chapter 3.4.. The highest preference of Maltese was indicated by the respondents with the lowest educational background.

Table 48: Language Preference for reading (educational background)

| Books and newspapers | | Maltese | English | Both | None |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------|--------|------|
| | Primary | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | |
| | Secondary | 11.8 % | 41.2 % | 47.1 % | |
| | Tertiary3 | | 33.3 % | 66.7 % | |

Table 49: Language Preference for notes, thinking counting (educational background)

| Take notes in ... | | Maltese | English | Mixture of both | Sometimes M, sometimes E |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | Primary | 66.7 % | | | 33.3 % |
| | Secondary | 8.8 % | 55.9 % | 14.7 % | 20.6 % |
| | Tertiary | | 53.3 % | 20.0 % | 26.7 % |
| Think in ... | | | | | |
| | Primary | 66.7 % | | | 33.3 % |
| | Secondary | 41.2 % | 20.6 % | 20.6 % | 17.6 % |
| | Tertiary | 26.7 % | 20.0 % | 20.0 % | 33.3 5 |
| Count in ... | | | | | |
| | Primary | 33.3 % | 33.3 % | | 33.3 % |
| | Secondary | 8.8 % | 64.7 % | 11.8 % | 14.7 % |
| | Tertiary | | 66.7 % | 6.7 % | 26.7 % |

In sum, language preferences for reading, taking notes and thinking seem to follow similar patterns of social stratification as detected for the usage of different language

varieties in conversations. English seems to be generally preferred for counting, which could be caused by the fact that the English numerical system is easier than the Maltese. (Sutcliffe 1960:185-192)

3.6.The Usage of Maltese and English in Specified Topics

The Respondents were presented with the following topics:

- Jokes
- Scientific and technological things
- Secrets
- Literature
- Intimate things
- Politics
- Other

and asked to indicate whether they

- a) preferably discussed these topics in Maltese or in English
- b) could not discuss these topics in either Maltese or English or if they were able to discuss these topics in both languages – Maltese and English.

The figures indicate that the majority of the people prefers the Maltese language to discuss jokes (84.6 %), secrets (80.8 %), intimate things (74.5 %) and politics (88.5 %). English seems to be preferred to discuss scientific and technological things (66.7 %) and literature (60.8 %). As far as other topics are concerned, one informant reported to prefer English to discuss business. Another informant reported to prefer Maltese for quarrels and argument. The majority of the respondents reported to be able to discuss all the topics in Maltese and in English. Scientific and technological things seem to be relatively hard to discuss in Maltese. 23.1 % of the informants are not able to discuss scientific and technological things in Maltese. On the other hand, 21.1 % of the respondents are not able to discuss politics in English. Secrets and jokes seem to be difficult to discuss in English as well. 15.4 % of the respondents cannot discuss secrets in English and 17.3 % cannot discuss jokes in English. Two informants stated that they could not discuss business (other topic) in Maltese.

Each topic is going to be dealt with individually in this chapter. Variations with reference to family type, gender, age and educational background are going to be analyzed as well. Diagrams will be used to illustrate one example for each topic. More diagrams (and tables) are available on floppy disks.

3.6.1. Jokes

With reference to family type it has to be mentioned that there is a decrease in the preference of Maltese and an increase of the preference of English from family type A to D. Whereas all family type A respondents reported to prefer Maltese, 80.0 % of the people belonging to family type D reported to prefer English. 13.3 % of the people belonging to family type A reported not to be able to discuss jokes in English and 20 % of the family type D respondents reported not to be able to discuss jokes in Maltese. The following diagram illustrates the distribution of language preferences for jokes (by family type) as an example:

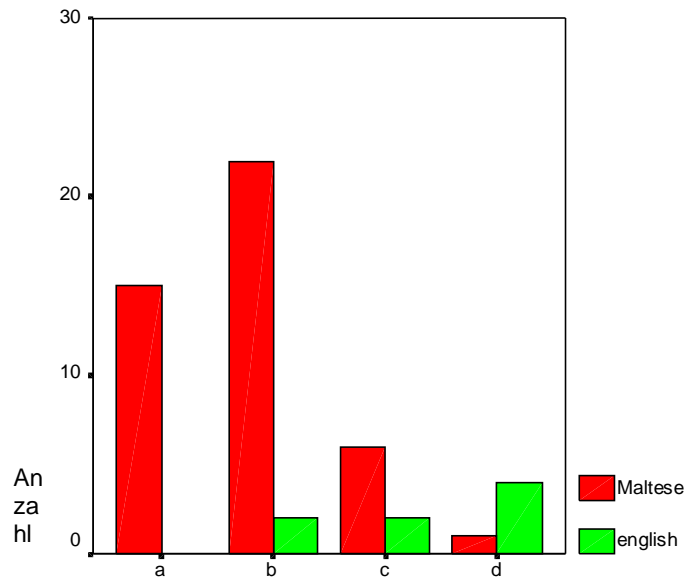


Figure 6: Language preferences for jokes by family type

Men (95.8 %) seem to prefer the Maltese language stronger than women (75.0 %) for discussing jokes. 25.0 % of the male respondents reported not to be able to discuss jokes in English and 7.1 % of the female respondents reported not to be able to discuss jokes in Maltese. None of the male respondents reported not to be able to discuss jokes in Maltese.

With reference to age, the highest preference for English was found with people belonging to the middle age category (23.5 %). The least proportion of people who cannot discuss jokes in English was also detected for the middle age category (5.9 %). 17.4 % of the people belonging to age group one and 33.3 % of the people belonging to age group three reported not to be able to discuss jokes in English.

When discussing jokes, 100 % of the lowest educational background group and 93.3 % of the highest educational background group prefer the Maltese language. The highest preference of English was detected for the middle educational background group (20.6 %). Whereas the great majority of the people from the middle and the highest educational background group is able to discuss jokes in both languages, only 33.7 % of the respondents with the lowest educational background reported to be able to discuss jokes in both languages. 66.7 % of the people who received primary education only reported not to be able to discuss jokes in English.

3.6.2. Scientific and Technological Things

Here we find a relatively high usage of English for all family types. Nevertheless, again, we find an increase of the usage of English and a decrease of the usage of Maltese from family type A to D. Despite the preference for English, the majority of the people belonging to family types A, B and D are still able to discuss scientific and technological things in Maltese. The majority of the family type C respondents (62.5 %) reported not to be able to discuss scientific and technological things in Maltese. An inability to discuss this topic in English was only detected for respondents belonging to family type A (13.3%). The high preference for English is not surprising, because English is widely regarded as the language of science and modern technology worldwide.

Surprisingly, men reported a slightly higher preference for English (69.6 %) than women (64.3 %). Since the Maltese society can still be regarded as rather traditional, for example when compared to Germany or the UK, the reason for this might partly be found in the fact that professions in the field of science and technology are still clearly dominated by men. In every day life, science and technology can also be seen as typical male domains in Malta, so that Maltese women generally talk less -or less insightfully- about science and technology than men. However, it has to be mentioned that the majority of both genders (75.0 % of men and 71.4 % of women) considers themselves to be able to discuss scientific and technological things in Maltese *and* English.

Referring to age, it should be stated that English is preferred by the majority of the people from all three age groups. The highest preference was found with the youngest respondents (78.3 %), who are probably the most likely to be confronted with modern technology, e.g. computers, at their work places or at schools and at the university. The youngest age group also includes the highest proportion of respondents who are not able to discuss scientific and technological things in Maltese (30.4 %). This result could again be regarded as an indicator for the fact that the quality of the Maltese language is decreasing and that too many English elements are entering Maltese, especially in the field of science and technology. The present unhappy linguistic situation has already been discussed in chapter two. The result for “preferred language for scientific and technological things by age” is illustrated by the diagram below:

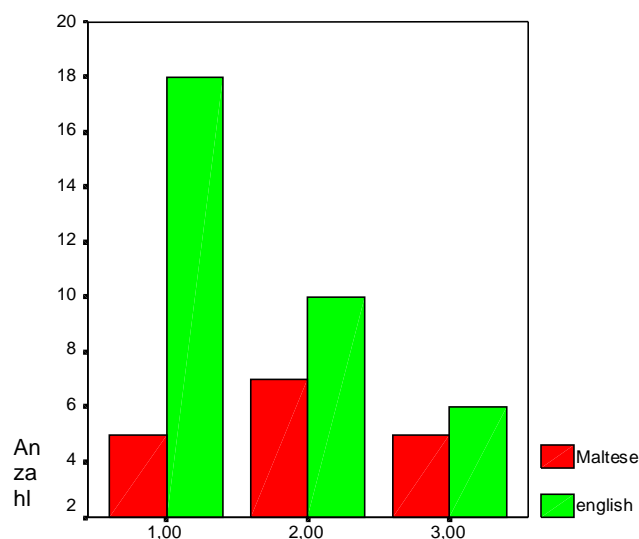


Figure 7: Language preferences for scientific and technological things by age

We find an increase in the usage of English with an increase of educational background. All the people who received primary education as the highest level of education reported to prefer Maltese. 69.7 % of the people who received secondary education as the highest level and 73.3 % of the informants who received tertiary education as the highest level prefer English for discussing scientific and technological things. 66.7 % of the people who received primary education only reported not to be able to discuss this topic in English. 23.5 % of the people from the middle educational background group and 26.7 % of the people from the highest educational background group reported not to be able to discuss scientific and technological things Maltese. It remains open to interpretation if this result should be regarded as a sign of a better education.

3.6.3. Secrets

Similar to the topics discussed above, the data suggest an increase in the preference of English and a decrease in the preference of Maltese from family type A to D. The vast majority of the people (more than 80 % for each family type) is able to discuss secrets in both languages. None of the respondents from family types A, B and C reported not to be able to discuss secrets in Maltese, which was reported by 20.0 % of the family type D respondents. 20.0 % of the family type A respondents, 16.7 % of the family type B respondents and 12.5 % of the family type C respondents reported not to be able to discuss secrets in English.

When talking about secrets, 87.5 % of the men and 75.0 % of the women prefer the Maltese language. 25 % of the male and only 7.1 % of the female respondents reported not to be able to discuss secrets in English. The majorities of the men (75.0 %) and women (89.3 %) reported to be able to discuss secrets in both languages. The preferences by gender are shown by the following diagram:

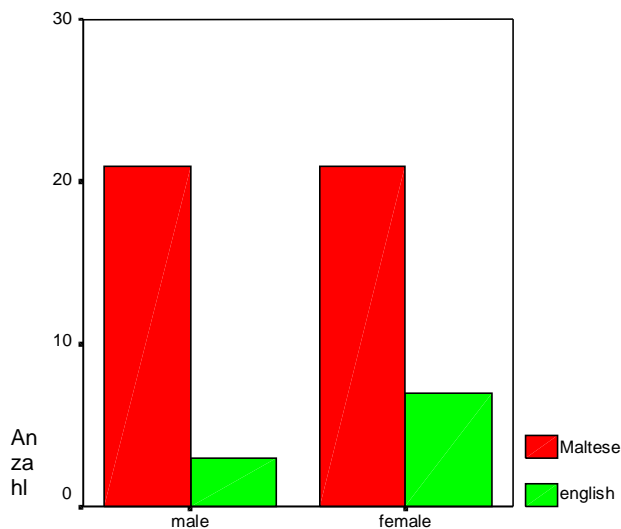


Figure 8: Language preferences for secrets by gender

The majority of the people from each age group (>70 %) reported to prefer Maltese to discuss secrets. The highest preference for the English language can be found with the middle age category (29.4 %). The lowest proportion of respondents who cannot discuss secrets in English was also detected for the middle age group (5.9 %). 13 % of the youngest and 33.3 % of the oldest informants reported not to be able to discuss secrets in English.

All the people who belong to the group with the lowest educational background prefer Maltese to talk about secrets. The highest preference for English was found with the middle educational background group. This group also contained the lowest proportion of respondents who are not able to discuss secrets in English (11.8 %). 66.7 % of the people with the lowest educational background reported not to be able to discuss secrets in English.

3.6.4. Literature

Once again, we find a similar distribution of language usage with reference to family type- an increase of English and a decrease of Maltese from family type A to D. The great majority ($\geq 80\%$) of the people in all four family types reported to be able to discuss literature in both languages. The preference for English is relatively high with each family type, probably because there is only very little Maltese literature in comparison to the huge amount of English literature. The diagram illustrates the preferences by family type:

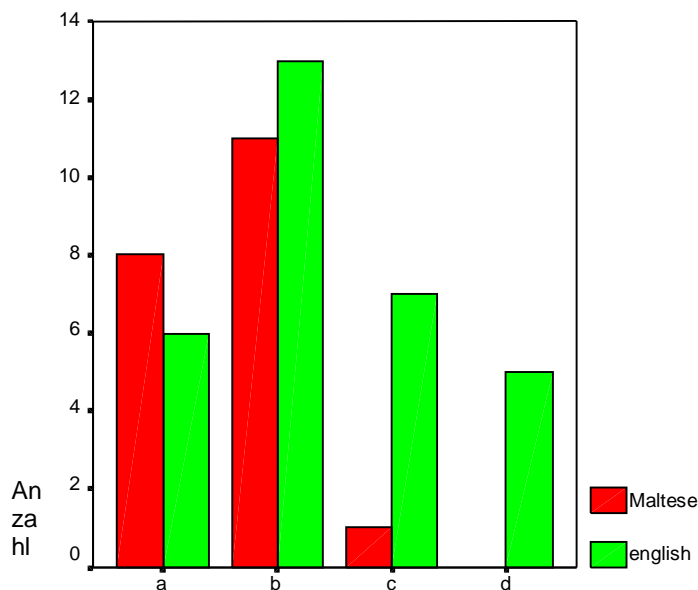


Figure 9: Language preference for literature by family type

Woman (64.3 %) prefer the English language stronger than men (56.5 %) to discuss literature. 87.0 % of the men and 85.7 % of the women are able to discuss literature in both language. The proportion of respondents who cannot discuss literature in English is higher with men (8.7 %) than with women (3.6 %).

People who belong to the youngest age category seem to prefer the English language to discuss literature stronger (69.6 %) than people belonging to age group two

(52.9 %) and age group three (54.2 %). The highest proportion of respondents who reported to be able to discuss literature in both languages was found with age group two (94.1 %). The highest proportion of informants who cannot discuss literature in English was detected for the highest age group (18.2 %)

All the respondents who received primary education as the highest level of education prefer to discuss literature in Maltese. The majority of the respondents belonging to the middle (58.8 %) and the highest (73.3 %) educational background group reported to prefer English. The secondary education group contained the least proportion of respondents who cannot discuss literature in English (2.9 %).

The results for this item correspond with the results for „which kind of books do you like?“ which was discussed in chapter 3.5., especially for family type and gender.

3.6.5. Intimate Things

Once again, the figures indicate an increase in the preference for English when talking about intimate things and a decrease in the preference for Maltese from family type A to D. The majority of the people from all four family types is able to discuss intimate things in both languages. None of the informants from family types A,B and C reported not to be able to discuss intimate things in Maltese. 13.3 % of the family type A respondents, 16.7 % of the family type B respondents, 12.5 % of the family type C respondents and none of the family type D respondents reported not to be able to discuss intimate things in English. The result for the preferences by family type is illustrated by the following diagram:

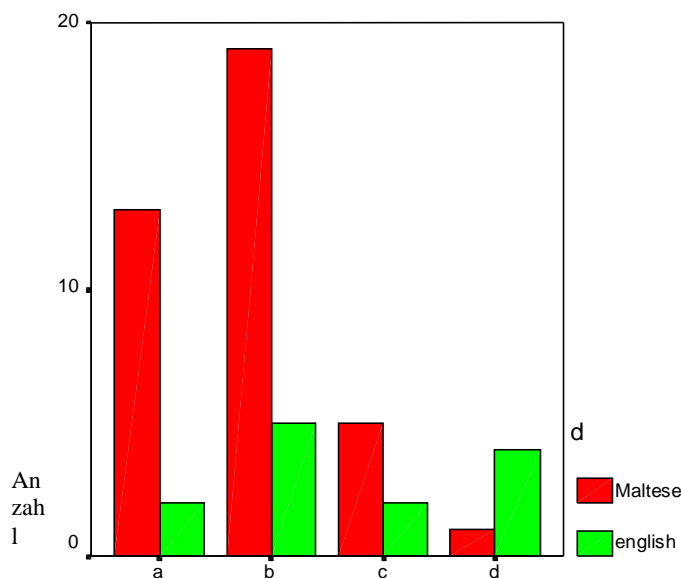


Figure 10: Language preferences for intimate things by family type

More women (28.6 %) prefer to talk about intimate things in English (men=21.6 %). 3.6 % of the female and none of the male informants reported not to be able to discuss intimate things in Maltese. 20.8 % of the male respondents and only 7.1 % of the female respondents reported not to be able to discuss intimate things in English.

With reference to age, the highest preference for English was detected for the youngest population (34.8 %). The highest preference for Maltese could be detected for the oldest group (83.3 %). These informants also reported not to be able to discuss intimate things in English to the highest extend (33.3 %). The least proportion of respondent who are not able to discuss intimate things in English was found with the middle age category.

All the people from the lowest educational background group prefer Maltese to discuss intimate things. The strongest preference for English can be found with the middle educational background group (29.4 %). Whereas the majority of the respondents from the middle (85.3 %) and the highest (93.3 %) educational background groups reported to be able to discuss this topic in both languages, the majority of the people who belong to the lowest educational background group (66.7 %) reported not to be able to discuss it in English.

3.6.6. Politics

Despite the fact that politics turned out to be the topic with the highest values for the usage of Maltese and the lowest values for the usage of English, we also find an increase in the usage of English and a decrease in the usage of Maltese from family type A to D. 100 % of the people belonging to family types A and B reported to preferably discuss politics in Maltese. 37.5 % of the family type C respondents and 60 % of the family type D respondents reported to prefer English. 12.5 % of the informants from family type C and 20 % of the informants from family type D cannot discuss politics in Maltese. However, it should be mentioned that these two figures together only constitute 3.8 % of the entire sample. 21.2 % of the entire sample reported they are not able to discuss politics in English, which breaks down to 20.0 % of the family type A respondents, 25.0 % of the family type B respondents and another 25.0 % of the family type C respondents

95.8 % of the male and 82.2 % of the female respondents preferably discuss politics in Maltese. Interestingly, the proportion of respondents who cannot discuss politics in English is slightly higher with women (21.4 %) than with men (20.8 %).

The figures indicate a slight decrease in the preference of Maltese from the lowest to the highest age group (one=91.3 %, two=88.3 %, three=83.3 %). The least proportion of informants who reported not to be able to discuss politics in English was detected for the middle age group (5.9 %). 30.4 % of the respondent from the youngest and 25.0 % of the respondents from the oldest population reported not to be able to discuss politics in English.

With reference to educational background it has to be said that 100 % of the people from the lowest and the highest educational background group reported to prefer Maltese to discuss politics. 17.6 % of the respondents who belong to the middle educational background group reported to prefer English. Furthermore, the middle age group constitutes the group with the lowest proportion of informants who cannot discuss politics in English (17.6 %). 66.7 % of the informants who received primary education as the highest level of education and 20.0 % of the informants who received tertiary education as the highest level reported not to be able to discuss politics in English. None of the respondents from the highest and the lowest educational group and 5.9 % of the respondents from the middle educational background group cannot discuss politics in Maltese. The diagram shows the result for the preferences by educational background.

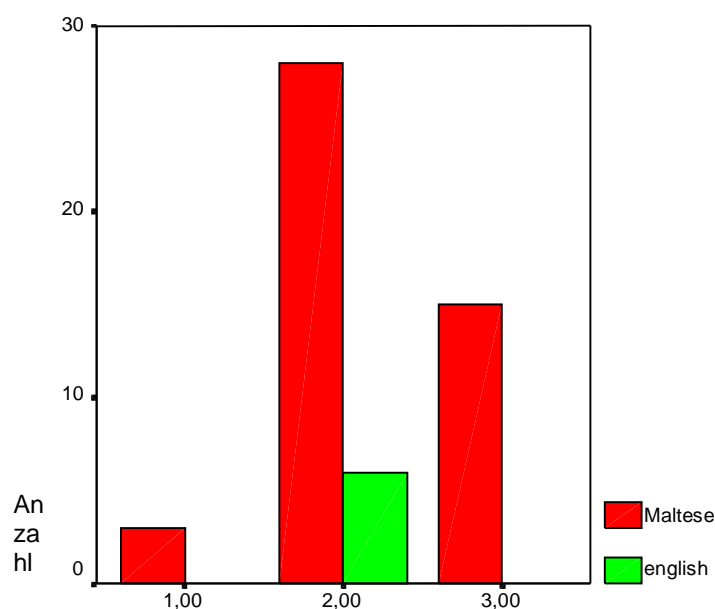


Figure 11: Language preference for politics by educational background

The relatively high usage of Maltese within all subcategories may be traced back to the fact that the item did not differentiate between international and Maltese politics. The

majority of the people probably discusses Maltese politics more often than international politics. There might be political institutions or facilities in Malta that can be described more appropriately in Maltese than in English and may therefore lead to a general preference of the Maltese language for discussing politics. Additionally, official political debates are carried out and broadcast in Maltese, which is even prescribed by law, which was already mentioned in chapter 1.4..

3.6.7. Summary of the Usage of English and Maltese in Specified Topics

In addition to the topic as such, the social background of a person also influences the choice of a certain language variety. For the majority of the topics, the same patterns for the preference of Maltese or English could be determined as for the communicative situations discussed in chapter 3.4..

If we look again at the figures in chapter 3.2. and remember that 90.4 % of the respondents reported to be fluent in Maltese *and* English and now consider the relatively high proportions of inability to discuss certain topics in either Maltese or English, which becomes most obvious with scientific and technological things, politics, jokes and secrets, one cannot help feeling that not everybody who considers him/herself to be fluent in Maltese and English can really be regarded as competent bilingual speakers. At least, they cannot be seen as balanced bilinguals.

3.7. Is It Important to Learn English in Malta?

The following items tried to find out if and why it is important to learn English in Malta. The free space at the end (on the questionnaire) could be used to add more reasons why English is important in Malta.

- A: Why is it important to learn English in Malta?

To get a good education/ to get a good job/ to talk to tourists/ to talk to business partners abroad/ to talk to other people worldwide/ to be regarded as an educated person/ other reason could be chosen as possible reasons.

Almost all possible answers were chosen by at least 70 % of the population:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| to get a good education: | 92.3 % |
| to talk to other people worldwide: | 92.3 % |
| to get a good job: | 80.8 % |
| to talk to business partners abroad: | 75.0 % |
| to talk to tourists: | 73.1 % |
| to be regarded as an educated person: | 63.5 % |
| other reasons: | 25.5 % |

The figures show that learning English is regarded as very important by the Maltese. A good education and contact to foreign countries seem to be the most important reasons. Major differences with reference to family type, gender, age and educational background could not be detected for the majority of the reasons. Significant variation between the subgroups was only found with “to be regarded as an educated person”.

The least (but still relatively high) importance (53.3 %) was indicated by people belonging to family type A, with the middle age category (47.1 %) and the group of people with the lowest educational background (33.3 %). The relatively low numbers for family type A and the lowest educational background group are easy to explain, given the fact that these groups reported the lowest usage of English, which was illustrated in chapter 3.4. and obviously do not want to present themselves as being uneducated by admitting that English is a sign of education. Surprisingly, with reference to age, the middle age category was found to use the highest English elements in speech, which does not correspond with the fact that almost half of the people in this category state that it is not important to speak English to be regarded as an educated person. One can only guess if these people did not answer this question truthfully to hide the fact that this is one of the reasons why they actually do use so many English elements in their speech. Significant variation with reference to gender could not be found.

The relatively high number of respondents who felt the need to make an additional comment (25 %) clearly shows that the English language is one of their concerns. A list of the comments is presented in the following:

Not to be isolated from the world, not being able to communicate
(female informant, age:18)

Because wherever you go the number one language is English
(male informant, age:74)

To be cool!
(male informant, age:16)

It is our second language. We have to study it for entrance in any job and in schools.
(male informant, age:23)

Because it is an international language.
(male informant, age:31)

Malta is too small for us to survive with only our own language. We need a lingua franca, which is English, for everything – studies, work, understanding books, TV, films etc. Without English we would be in a cultural and educational backwater, cut off from the rest of the world
(female informant, age:31)

Because it is the common language worldwide.
(female informant, age:18)

To amplify your culture
(male informant, age:64)

Because the main business in Malta is tourism and most tourists speak in English.
(female informant, age:22)

I would consider a good command of the english language as an exceptional personal achievement.
(male informant, age:29)

Because English is around the world.
(male informant, age:70)

It is important just because we're a small country and need to communicate with foreigners for almost anything, and though not essential sometimes it is easier to communicate in English than in Maltese !!
(female informant, age:21)

3.8. Summary of the Results for the Social Stratification of Maltese and English

The findings of this survey generally correspond with the findings of the major sociolinguistic studies that have been introduced briefly at the beginning of this chapter.

The data revealed that the amount of English or English elements in conversations increases from family type A to D. Women use more English or English elements than men. People from the second educational and the second age group reported the highest proportion of English or English elements in speech. The highest proportion of Maltese or Maltese elements was detected for people who belong to family type A and to the group with the lowest educational background. Men seem to use more Maltese or Maltese elements than women. Respondents who belong to the youngest and the oldest age group seem to use more Maltese or Maltese elements than respondents from the middle age group. The usage of language varieties that imply code switching (Me, M/E and Em) was reported (although to varying degrees) by all subgroups. This stratification applies to the majority of the communicative situations as well as to the habitual usage of language, as for example, in writing or reading.

Topic and domain also influence the choice of a certain language variety. The home domain is dominated by the usage of Maltese or a Maltese based variety. However, in conversations with children we find a high proportion of English or English elements. Maltese parents are aware of the fact that a good command of English is important for the children's education and later profession. In addition to the language varieties used with children, the highest proportion of English elements can be found in the school domain. Conversations on the market or at church (with a priest) are very likely to be carried out in M or Me. Whereas Maltese seems to be preferred to discuss jokes, politics, secrets and intimate things, English is favored to talk about scientific and technological things and about literature. However, the social variables (family type, gender, age and educational background) generate significant variation within the domain norms.

The usage of language varieties in different domains and by certain groups of people does not show enough distinction to regard the current language situation in Malta as diglossic.

4. Attitudes

Social psychologists, e.g. Heider (1946) and Festinger (1957) regard consistency, e.g. of people's attitudes and behavior, as a central desirable goal for a mentally healthy person. People generally tend to act or behave according to their attitudes or beliefs. Inconsistency causes cognitive dissonance, which is perceived as an aversive state of arousal. There is a drive to reduce this arousal which can be achieved by either changing one's behavior or, which is easier to realize, by altering or changing one's attitudes. Smokers, for example, who know that smoking can cause cancer (attitude) and still keep smoking (behavior) will find themselves in an uncomfortable cognitive dissonance. To reduce this dissonance, people often try to change their (negative) attitude towards smoking. They often talk themselves into cognitions that make smoking appear less dangerous, such as "it will not happen to me", "so many people smoke – it cannot be that bad" or "I have to die of something anyway". People generally tend to avoid cognitions or attitudes that are inconsistent with a certain behavior they perform. The same is true for an existing attitude and a new but related attitude (e.g., as in our case, positive attitudes towards English in different fields) or an existing and a new but similar behavior (e.g. the choice of a certain language variety in several contexts). (Festinger 1957 and Heider 1946 in Fiske and Taylor 1991:462-509) This chapter is now going to investigate whether the communicative behavior of the respondents, the choice of a certain language variety, which was analyzed for different types of conversations and situations in chapter three, corresponds with their attitudes.

4.1. Language and Intelligence

The degree of the respondents' agreement or disagreement (from 1 = strongly agree to 5 = disagree strongly) with the following statements, that were used as items in question number fourteen, will be discussed in this chapter:

- A: Speaking Maltese or English does not reflect a person's intelligence.
- B: Speaking English exclusively makes people appear more intelligent.
- C: Speaking English exclusively makes people appear snobbish.
- D: Speaking Maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated.
- E: One should use Maltese elements in one's speech in order not to appear snobbish and use English elements in one's speech in order not to appear uneducated.

The data revealed the following mean values and modal values for the whole sample (without subdivision into family type, gender, age and educational background):

| Statistiken | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--|---|--|--|---|
| | | speaking maltese or english does not reflect a persons intelligence. | speaking english exclusively makes people appear more intelligent | speaking english exclusively makes people appear snobbish. | speaking maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated. | one should use maltese elements in one's speech in order not to appear snobbish and use English elements in one's speech in order not to appear uneducated. |
| N | Gültig | 51 | 51 | 52 | 52 | 50 |
| | Fehlend | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Mittelwert | | 2,5294 | 3,6275 | 3,1346 | 4,0769 | 3,5200 |
| Modus | | 2,00 | 4,00 | 4,00 | 4,00 | 4,00 |
| Standardabweichung | | 1,1550 | 1,0190 | 1,0484 | ,7883 | ,9947 |

Table 50: Mean values for language and intelligence

4.1.1. Does Speaking Maltese or English Reflect a Person's Intelligence?

The data suggests that there is a slight tendency to agree with the assumption that speaking English or Maltese does not reflect a person's intelligence. The mean value for the whole sample is 2.53, which can be interpreted as a weak agreement. This interpretation is underlined by the fact that the modal value is 2.00 (agree). By and large, there are no crucial differences according to family type, gender, age or educational background. Agreement and disagreement was found within each of the subgroups. The following diagram which illustrates the results for the three age groups serves as an example:

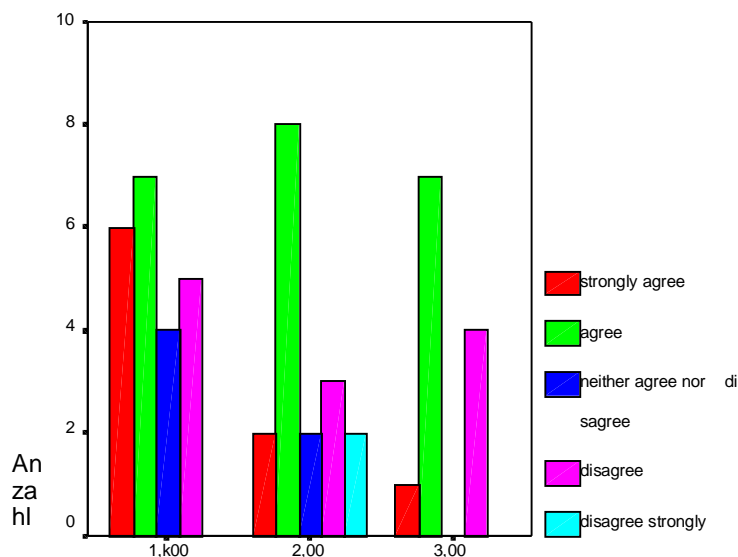


Figure 12: Maltese or English: not a reflection of intelligence (by age)

4.1.2. Does Speaking English Exclusively Make People Appear More Intelligent?

The general mean value (3.63) and 4.00 as the modal value show that Maltese people tend to disagree with the assumption that speaking English exclusively makes people appear more intelligent. Interestingly, women (mean=3.74) disagree slightly stronger than men (mean=3.50) and the people belonging to age group two disagree stronger (mean=3.76) than younger or older people with the statement that speaking English exclusively makes people appear more intelligent. Women and people from the middle age category reported the highest usage of English elements (within the respective subgroups) in chapter 3.4. In principle, dissonance theory would suggest that these groups report the highest agreement with the statement, but one should consider the fact that with all probability, people do not openly admit that they use a certain language variety to appear more educated – which they would obviously do by indicating agreement with this statement. The following diagram illustrates the fact that women disagree slightly stronger than men. More tables and diagrams for this and all the other items discussed are available on floppy disks.

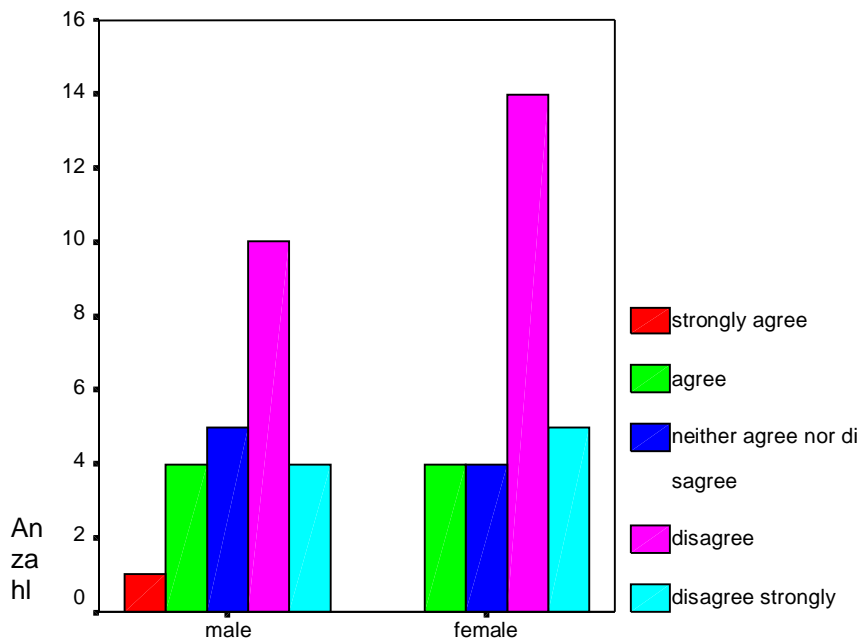


Figure 13: English-more intelligent? (by gender)

The strongest disagreement with reference to educational background can be found with the highest educational group (mean =4.33). The highest disagreement with reference to family type was reported by family type C respondents (mean=3.89).

4.1.3. Does Speaking English Exclusively Make People Appear Snobbish?

As far as snobbery is concerned, family type D respondents, who reported to use the highest proportion of English elements in conversations in chapter 3.4., clearly disagree with the assumption that speaking English exclusively makes the speaker appear snobbish (mean=4.00). The mean values for family types A, B and C circle around the neutral position. Here we see an unambiguous connection between an certain attitude towards a certain language variety and its usage (behavior). By taking a closer look at the respondents' answers, which are illustrated by the diagram below, it becomes obvious that there are many respondents who agree or even strongly agree with the statement, especially respondents who belong to family types A and B:

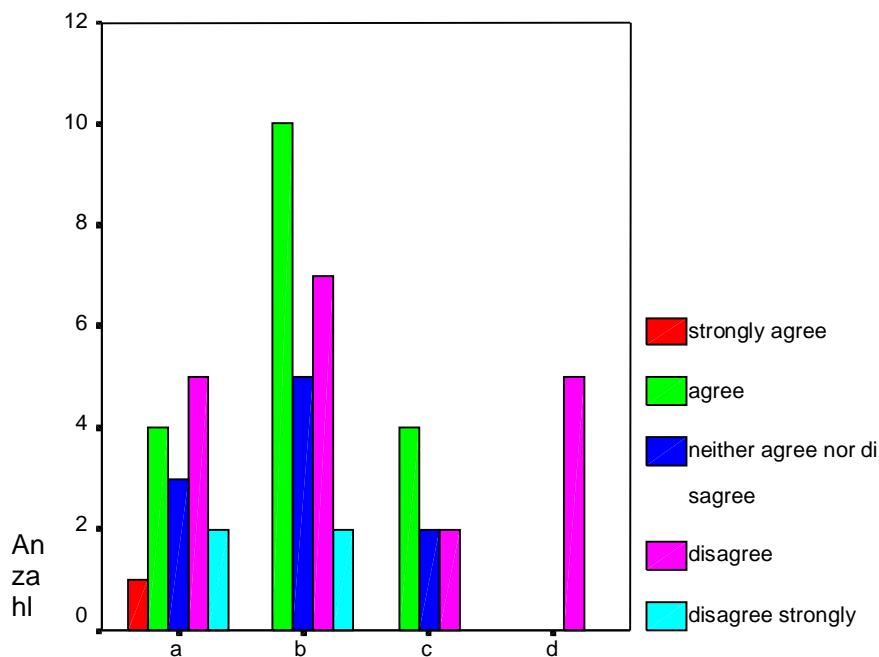


Figure 14: English – snobbish? (by family type)

This result suggests that a relatively high proportion of the respondents actually do regard Maltese people who speak English exclusively as snobs, a category obviously nobody wants to belong to. Since, according to dissonance theory, it is easier to change (or at least pretend to change) one's attitude than one's communicative behavior, people belonging to family type D seem to deny the fact that that speaking English exclusively is frequently connected with snobbery, in fact, they often maintain that the opposite is true. However, it should be taken into consideration that as almost always in the field of sociolinguistics or social psychology this is just one out of several possible explanations.

Other factors, e.g. a longer period of time spent abroad in an English speaking country or a marriage to a native speaker of English can also influence attitudes and linguistic performance.

Whereas women slightly disagree (mean=3.36) with the statement, men indicate a weak agreement (mean=2.8). These figures correspond to the fact that Maltese women tend to use more English elements in speech than men. The results for all the other subcategories, except for age group one, turned out to be relatively unmarked according to age or educational background. People belonging to age group one indicated that they rather disagree with the statement (mean=3.66). This result might be traced back to the fact that younger people are the most likely to be influenced by popular music and culture which is very often based on English nowadays.

4.1.4. Does Speaking Maltese Exclusively Make People Appear Uneducated?

This item was most disagreed with within the item battery on language and intelligence, which is indicated by a high mean value (4.08) for the entire sample. The strongest disagreement (mean=4.47) can be found with people belonging to family type A. The disagreement decreases slightly with increase in family type. There is a moderate negative correlation (-.359) which is highly significant (on the 1 % level):

Korrelationen

| | | speaking maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated. | which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? |
|---|---|--|---|
| speaking maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated. | Korrelation nach Pearson Signifikanz (2-seitig) N | 1,000 , 52 | -,359** ,009 52 |
| which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? | Korrelation nach Pearson Signifikanz (2-seitig) N | -,359** ,009 52 | 1,000 , 52 |

** . Die Korrelation ist auf dem Niveau von 0,01 (2-seitig) signifikant.

Figure 15: Correlation: Maltese-uneducated? and family type

Since people belonging to family type A are the ones who are most likely to use M or Me, this result also supports the assumption that people strive for harmony or consistence of their attitudes and behavior.

The distributions for the other subgroups were significantly marked but also indicated the informants' disagreement with the statement that speaking Maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated. This result suggests that although English is regarded as the high prestige language, the Maltese highly appreciate their native language. According to the theory of attitudes and behavior this outcome is not very surprising. Otherwise, since the majority of the people in Malta tends to prefer Maltese or a Maltese based variety in most communicative situations they would have labeled themselves as being uneducated. However, there is no denying the fact that at least in some communicative situations the usage of M has to fight the prejudice of its connection with lack of education, although most people probably would not admit this prejudice exists. This assumption is underlined by the following comment by the Maltese author Camilleri (1996:85) who argues that "...code switching needs to be seen not only as a communicative resource ... but also as a means of constructing specific identities: *using enough English to appear 'educated'* but, at the same time [by using Maltese], espousing a Maltese identity".

The diagram shows the results for the category "family types":

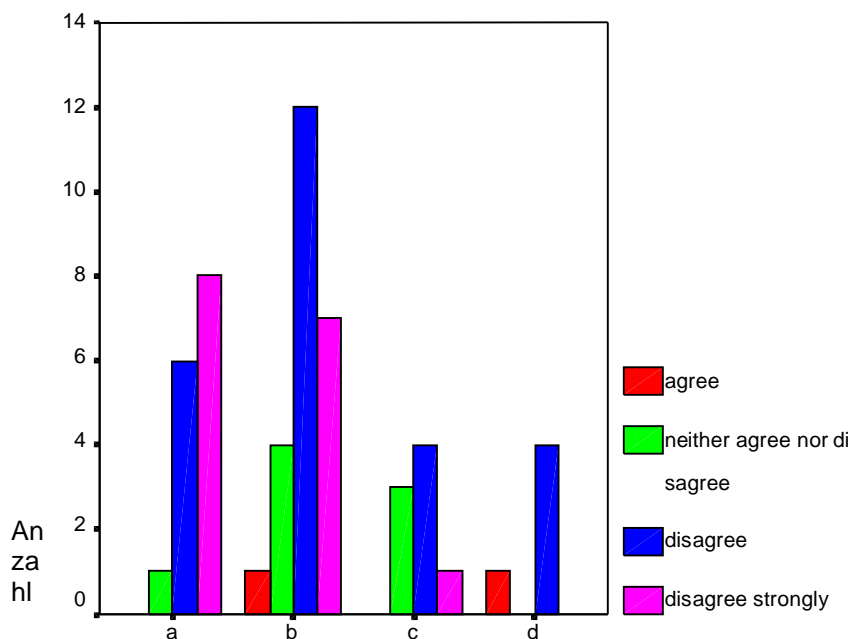


Figure 16: Maltese-uneducated? (by family type)

4.1.5. Should One Use Maltese Elements in Order Not to Appear Snobbish and English Elements in Order Not to Appear Uneducated in One’s Speech?

The general mean value (3.52) and 4.00 as the modal value indicate that people do not agree with the statement that one should use Maltese elements in speech in order not to appear snobbish and English elements in speech in order not to appear uneducated. Significant variation could only be found with reference to family type. It is most vehemently disagreed with (attitude) by the respondents belonging to family type D (mean=4.25). This corresponds to the fact the usage of E (behavior) was only reported in this subgroup (with reference to family type). This result may lead to the false impression that that code switching and code mixing are not very popular on the Maltese islands. A more detailed insight into the data shows that we also find several cases of agreement within each of the subcategories (except for family type D):

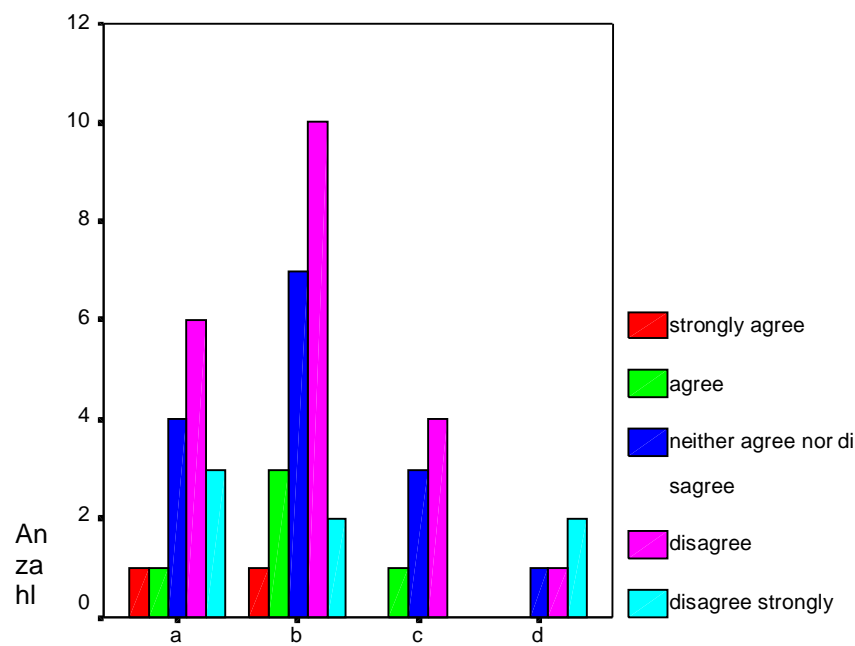


Figure 17: M not to appear snobbish and E not to appear uneducated?

However, as the next table shows, only 14 % of the whole population of the sample agreed or agreed strongly. This result does not correspond with the amount of code switching or code mixing varieties (Me, M/E and Em) that was reported to be used in chapter three.

Table 51: Use Maltese not to appear snobbish and English not to appear uneducated?

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Disagree strongly |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| | 4.0 % | 10.0% | 30.0% | 42.0 % | 14.0 % |

In the light of these circumstances, the following item which also deals with code switching should be taken into consideration as well.

- F: I mix English and Maltese, choosing the shortest or easiest words or phrases from each language.

The mean value (3.15 - for the whole sample) indicates a rather neutral position towards code switching. 34.6 % agree or agree strongly with the statement. The strongest disagreement is found with family type A (mean=3.53), the group that reported the greatest usage of M in chapter three. Cases of agreement and disagreement can be found within each subcategory. The following diagram, which represents the result for “age category”, exemplifies the relatively unmarked distribution within the subgroups:

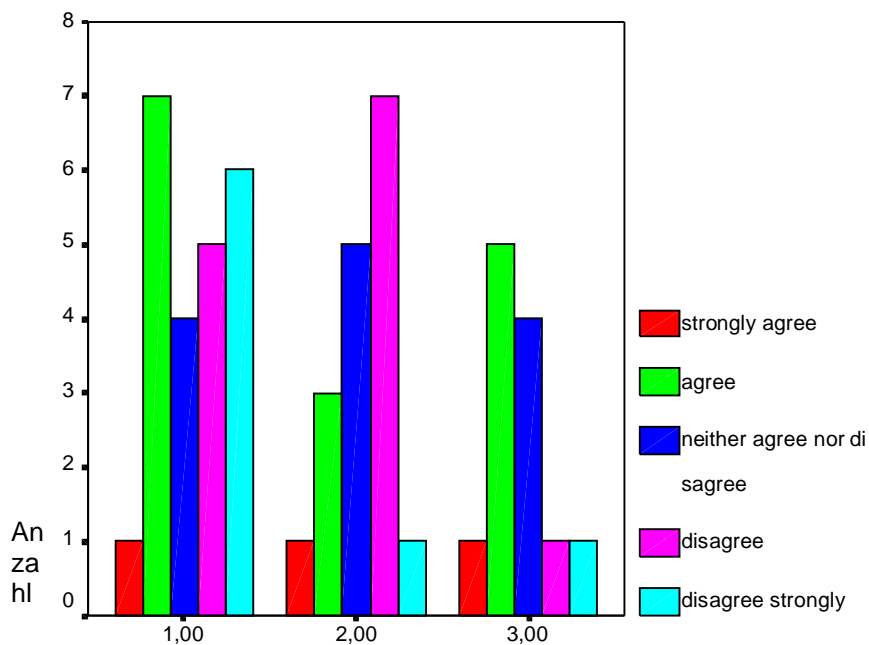


Figure 18: Mixing of English and Maltese

It has to be mentioned that the items concerning attitudes towards code switching were not composed explicitly enough. Item F, in particular, rather asked for performance than attitude. Despite the results for people's attitudes, chapter three has clearly shown that Me,

ME and Em are widely used which leads to the conclusion that code switching and code mixing play a vital role in every day communication in Malta. The Maltese author Micallef summerizing the results of her studies of code-switching in Malta argued that:

... knowledge of linguistic prejudices often finds speakers caught between the choice of being labelled either an only-Maltese speaking 'purist' or an only-English speaking 'snob'. In most such instances language mixing may be the best way out of the dilemma especially in interactions where the language of interaction is not pre-established by exciting domain norms.

(Micallef 1999:20)

4.2. Maltese and English as Official Languages

The following three items were used to analyze the respondents' attitudes towards Maltese and English as official languages in Malta:

- A: Maltese should be the only official language of Malta
- B: English should be the only official language of Malta
- C: English and Maltese should remain the two official languages of Malta.

The figures suggest that the majority of the people is satisfied with the current linguistic situation in Malta. The general mean value (2.00) for statement C shows that most people agree with the statement that English and Maltese should remain the two official languages on the Maltese islands. The strongest agreement (mean=1.58) can be found with the highest age category, which might be traced to past experiences with different linguistic situations due to colonization and independence these people have experienced.

Statement B (general mean=4.46) is more vehemently disagreed with than statement A (general mean=3.42). None of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed to the proposal that English should be the only official language of Malta. 25.0 % of the respondents in the entire sample agreed or strongly agreed to the proposal that Maltese should be the only official language in Malta. Within these 25 % this view turned out to be slightly stronger supported by men than by women, people from family type A, from the youngest age group and by the people with the lowest level of educational background. By and large, this result corresponds with the linguistic behavior reported in chapter three.

The vast majority (76.9 %) of the respondents of the whole sample agrees or agrees strongly with the statement that Maltese and English should remain the two official

languages of Malta. In other words, the Maltese seem to be satisfied with their official linguistic situation as an ESL country. The following diagram, which shows the result for the category “family type”, underlines this impression:

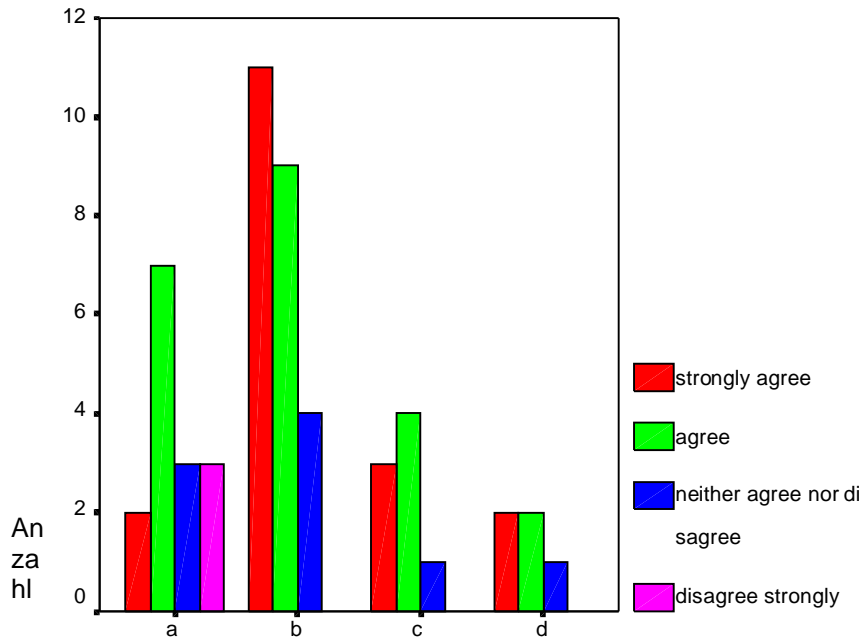


Figure 19: Maltese and English as official languages by family type

4.3. Language Learning and Children

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they wanted their children to learn English, Maltese or both languages. The following items were used:

- A: (If) I have children I would like them to learn English only.
- B: (If) I have children I would like them to learn Maltese only.
- C: (If) I have children I would like them to learn both, Maltese and English.

The figures clearly show that people generally want their children to grow up learning both languages. The general mean for the whole sample (1.37) indicates that the Maltese strongly agree with statement C. Statements A (mean=4.3) and B (mean=4.40) are disagreed with. There are no striking differences according to family type, gender, age or educational background. These results lead to the conclusion that the Maltese are very much aware of the fact that a good competence in both languages is important for the future life of their children. It might now be interesting to investigate whether Maltese

people perceive it as rather easy or rather difficult to grow up learning and using two different languages:

- D: It is difficult for a child to grow up using two different languages.
- E: It is easy for a child to grow up using two different languages.

The figures indicate that the respondents tend to agree with statement E (general mean=2.23) and tend to disagree with statement D (general mean=3.90). The variation according to family type, gender, age and educational background is relatively weak. The following table shows the result (for the entire sample) for item D:

Table 52: Difficult to grow up with two languages

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Disagree strongly |
|---------------------|----------------|--------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| It is difficult ... | | 11.5 % | 9.6 % | 55.8 % | 23.1 % |

In sum, Maltese people think that it is important and relatively easy for a child to grow up with to different languages.

4.4. Language and Profession

The respondents were asked to indicate the degree of the importance of a good command of English or of English and Maltese for getting a good job.

A: Having a good knowledge of English makes it easier to get a good job.

B: Having a good knowledge of Maltese *and* English makes it easier to get a good job.

That data indicate that the overwhelming majority (98,1 %) of the respondents agrees or agrees strongly with the statement that having a good knowledge of English makes it easier to get a good job. A similar result could be obtained for statement B. 96,2 % of the informants think that a good knowledge of English *and* Maltese makes it easier to get a good job. Significant differences according to family type, gender, age or educational background could not be not observed.

4.5. Language and Culture

The informants were presented with the following items and asked to indicate the extend of their agreement or disagreement:

- A: It is important to preserve the Maltese language
- B: Using Maltese emphasizes one's Maltese origin
- C: The usage of English has a negative influence on the Maltese culture.
- D: Maltese is a language for older people

98,1 % of the respondents agree or strongly agree with statement A. The general mean value (1.27) for this statement underlines that it is very important for the Maltese to preserve their native language. None of the subcategories deviates significantly from the findings for the entire sample.

The majority of the informants tends to agree with the assumption that using Maltese emphasizes one's Maltese origin, which can be illustrated by the general mean value (2.21). A certain variation among the different subgroups could be detected. The mean values suggest that the extent of agreement becomes weaker from family type A (mean=1.73) to D (mean=2.8). The correlation coefficient of .351 shows that there is a moderate positive correlation. The result is significant on the 5 % level (0.11).

| Korrelationen | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|---|
| | | using maltese emphasizes one's maltese origin. | which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? |
| using maltese emphasizes one's maltese origin. | Korrelation nach Pearson | 1,000 | ,351* |
| | Signifikanz (2-seitig) | , | ,011 |
| | N | 52 | 52 |
| which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family? | Korrelation nach Pearson | ,351* | 1,000 |
| | Signifikanz (2-seitig) | ,011 | , |
| | N | 52 | 52 |

*: Die Korrelation ist auf dem Niveau von 0,05 (2-seitig) signifikant.

Figure 20: Maltese as a sign of Maltese origin (Correlation)

There is no significant difference according to gender. The least agreement in terms of age and educational background can be found with the middle age group and the middle educational background group. In short, the results obtained for item B apparently match

most of the findings on linguistic behavior described in chapter 3.4. The decrease in the usage of Maltese elements in speech correlates with a decrease in agreement to the statement that using the Maltese language emphasizes one's Maltese origin. The least agreement with this statement was indicated by the middle age (mean=2.59) and the middle educational (2.30) group within the respective categories. These two groups reported the highest usage of English elements in speech in chapter 3.4. and may therefore feel the least connection between the Maltese language and origin. The observed variations again support the theory that people act according to their attitudes and vice versa.

3.58 as the mean value for statement C (for the entire sample) suggests that the Maltese tend to disagree with the statement that English has a negative influence on the Maltese culture. Similar to the distribution for statement B, we find an increase in disagreement from family type A (mean=3.27) to D (mean=4.00). Women disagree stronger (mean=3.75) than men (mean=3.38). The second age group, which has been detected as the group with the highest usage of English elements in speech (in the respective category) reported the strongest disagreement (mean=4.00). These results also support the theory of the consistency of attitudes and behavior. There are only unessential differences as far as educational background is concerned.

In this item battery, the highest disagreement was reported for item D. The data (e.g. general mean=4.37) indicate that Maltese is not regarded as a language for older people. 88.4 % of the respondents reported to disagree or disagree strongly. There are no major differences according to family type, age and educational background. It might be worth mentioning that the highest mean value, and therefore the strongest disagreement, was found with family type A (mean=4.73), which corresponds to the fact that the highest usage of Maltese or Maltese elements was reported by this group. Men, who also use more Maltese or Maltese elements, disagree stronger (mean=4.54) than women (mean=4.21) accordingly.

4.6. Language Abilities

The following items were used to find out which kind of language ability/ies is/are regarded as important in Malta.

- A: For Maltese people it is important to be able to speak Maltese and English.
- B: For Maltese people it is sufficient to speak Maltese
- C: For Maltese people it is sufficient to speak English

- D: A Maltese person should be able to speak English fluently
- E: A Maltese person should be able to speak Maltese fluently

The general mean values (A=1.35, B=3.84, C=3.94, D=1.98 and E=1.29) indicate that the Maltese are very much aware of the fact that both languages are very important and that it is not sufficient to speak either one of the languages alone. Although the figures for D and C both indicate a high degree of agreement, it seems even more important to be fluent in Maltese than in English which is illustrated by the fact that the highest extreme value in terms of agreement was detected for statement E.

The distribution with reference to family type follows the general tendencies described above. It might be interesting to note that people belonging to family type A, who use the most Maltese or Maltese elements in their conversations, reported the least disagreement (mean=3.1) with statement B. The highest disagreement with this statement was detected for family type D, the group with the highest usage of English elements. A moderate negative correlation (-.373, significant on the 1 % level) was detected for family type and statement D: the higher the family type the more important it is perceived to speak English fluently, which corresponds to a decrease in mean values. This result, which is represented by the following diagram, again supports the theory of the consistency of attitudes and behavior.

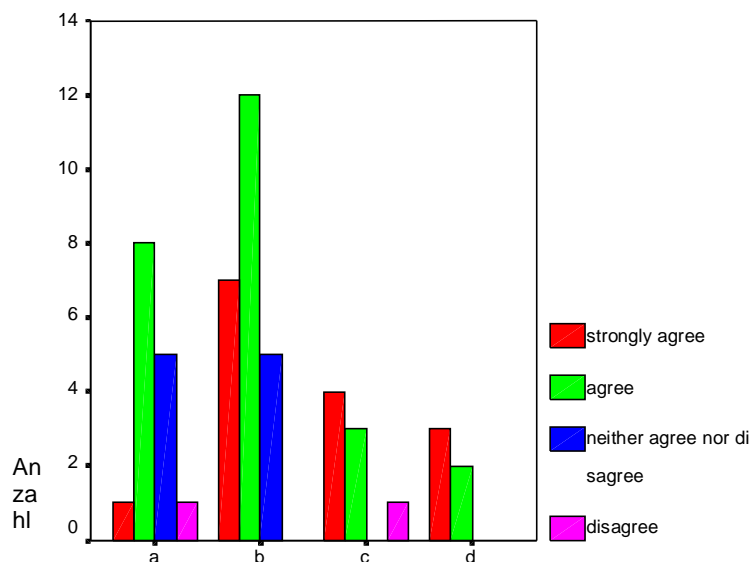


Figure 21: Important to speak English fluently by family type

Women (mean=1.18) are even more aware of the fact that a good command of both languages is very important than men (mean=1.54). Male respondents (mean=3.75) disagree slightly weaker with statement B than female respondents (mean=3.93) and

slightly stronger with statement C (male=4.04, female=3.86). The mean value for the female category (1.86) shows that women agree stronger than men (mean=2.12) that it is important to speak English fluently (statement D). These figures again correspond the theory of attitudes and behavior. The variation for statement E is unessential. The result for statement D (a Maltese person should be able to speak English fluently) is illustrated below:

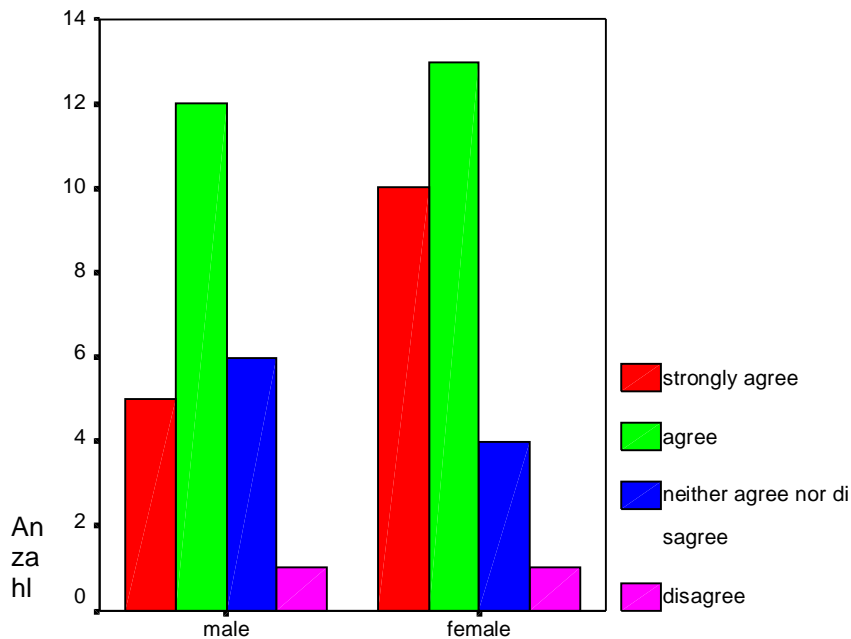


Figure 22: Important to speak English fluently by gender

There are no major variances with reference to age. With reference to educational background it should be mentioned that the agreement with statement A (it is important to be able to speak Maltese and English) seems to increase with increase in educational level, although it is also worth mentioning that all respondents (in the entire sample) reported to agree or strongly agree with the statement. Whereas respondents with the lowest educational level rather agree with the statement that for Maltese people it is sufficient to speak Maltese (mean=2.66), respondents who underwent secondary or tertiary education disagree with this statement (mean=3.84 and 4.06). People belonging to the group with the lowest educational level reported to have a rather neutral position (3.00) towards statement C (for a Maltese person it is sufficient to speak English), people with secondary (mean=3.91) and tertiary (mean=4.20) education clearly disagree. The extent of agreement with item E (a Maltese person should be able to speak Maltese fluently) turned out to be

stronger than the extent of agreement with statement D (a Maltese person should be able to speak Maltese fluently) with all three educational levels. The partly surprising result of the lowest educational category, especially as far as item C is concerned, might be traced back to problems in understanding the questions and the crucial impact a possible misunderstanding of a question can have in small samples (33.3 % of the informants reported to agree with the statement that it is sufficient to speak English). Unfortunately, this subgroup unfavorably consists of only three respondents. The diagram below illustrates the increase in disagreement with the statement that it is sufficient to speak Maltese (item B) with increase in educational level:

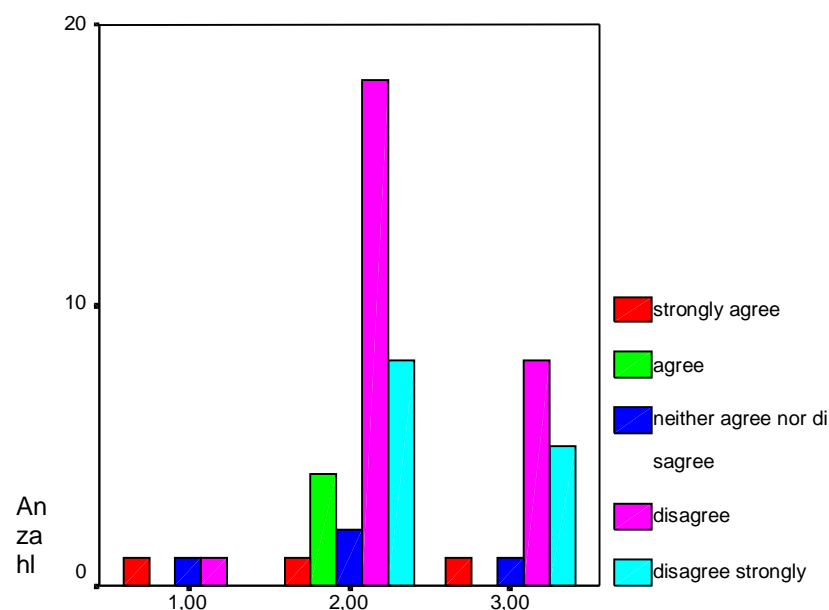


Figure 23: Sufficient to speak Maltese by family type

4.7. Language and Social Perceptions

4.7.1. Language and Social Distance vs. Social Proximity

The following items have been used to analyze whether English, Maltese, or a mixture of both languages evoke feelings of either social proximity or distance between the interlocutors.

- A: Speaking English creates a greater distance between the speakers
- B: The usage of a mixture of Maltese and English creates a feeling of closeness between the speakers.

- C: The usage of Maltese creates a feeling of closeness between the speakers.

The following mean values and modal values could be observed for the entire sample:

Table 53: Language and social distance vs. social proximity

| | A | B | C |
|-------------|------|------|------|
| Mean value | 3.50 | 3.06 | 2.55 |
| Modal value | 4.00 | 3.00 | 3.00 |

The strongest disagreement with statement A is found with respondents from family type D (mean=4.42), who use the most English elements in speech. All family types indicated a rather neutral position towards the mixture of Maltese and English (statement B). A moderate positive correlation (.440) was detected for statement C. The result is highly significant (.001) - the higher the family type - the higher the disagreement, which corresponds to a decrease of English elements in speech that has been observed in chapter three.

With reference to gender, there are no differences for statement A (mean=3.50 in the male and the female population) and only unimportant differences for statement B (male=3.04, female=3.07). Men, who use more Maltese or Maltese elements, agree stronger (mean=2.33) than women (mean=2.74) with the view that using the Maltese language evokes a feeling of closeness (statement C).

With reference to age, the strongest disagreement with statement A can be found with the middle age group (mean=3.88), who was found to use the most English elements within the three age groups. Surprisingly, the middle age group also indicates the strongest agreement with the statement that Maltese creates a feeling of closeness (mean=2.31), which does not coincide with the predictions of the theory of attitude and behavior.

Whereas the people belonging to the lowest educational group reported a neutral position towards statement A (mean=3.00), people belonging to the second (mean=3.5) and third (mean=3.6) educational group slightly disagree with the opinion that speaking English creates a greater distance between the interlocutors. The highest agreement with statement B was found with the lowest social category (mean=2.66) . The second or middle educational group reported the highest extent of agreement with statement C, although these respondents use the most English and least Maltese elements in speech. However, it has to be mentioned that the differences in mean values are not very strong in the age as well as in the educational background category.

4.7.2. Language and Atmosphere

The following items were used to analyze if a certain social atmosphere is conveyed by using Maltese or English.

- A: Speaking Maltese creates a warm atmosphere.
- B: Speaking English creates a cold atmosphere.
- C: Speaking English creates a warm atmosphere

The following mean values and modal values could be observed:

Table 54: Language and atmosphere

| | A | B | C |
|-------------|------|------|------|
| Mean value | 2.25 | 3.60 | 2.78 |
| Modal value | 2.00 | 4.00 | 3.00 |

The data suggest that although people tend to perceive the usage of Maltese as contributing to a warm atmosphere they do not perceive the English language as contributing to cold atmosphere, but on the other hand neither agree nor disagree with the statement that English creates a warm atmosphere.

The lowest agreement with statement A (mean=3.20) was detected for family type D. As already mentioned, these people use the lowest proportion of Maltese elements in speech. Therefore, considering the theory of the consistency of attitudes and behavior, it is not very surprising that the majority of these people does not feel that speaking Maltese creates a warm atmosphere. Family type D respondents also most vehemently disagreed with statement B (mean=4.00). However, it should be mentioned that this result does not fall outside the general opinion, it rather symbolizes its highest extreme value. The lowest extreme value for statement C was again found with family type D (mean=2.4), which means that respondents belonging to family type D are the most likely to agree that speaking English creates a warm atmosphere. Once again, attitude seems to match linguistic behavior. The following diagram exemplifies the result for item C (speaking Maltese creates a warm atmosphere) by family type:

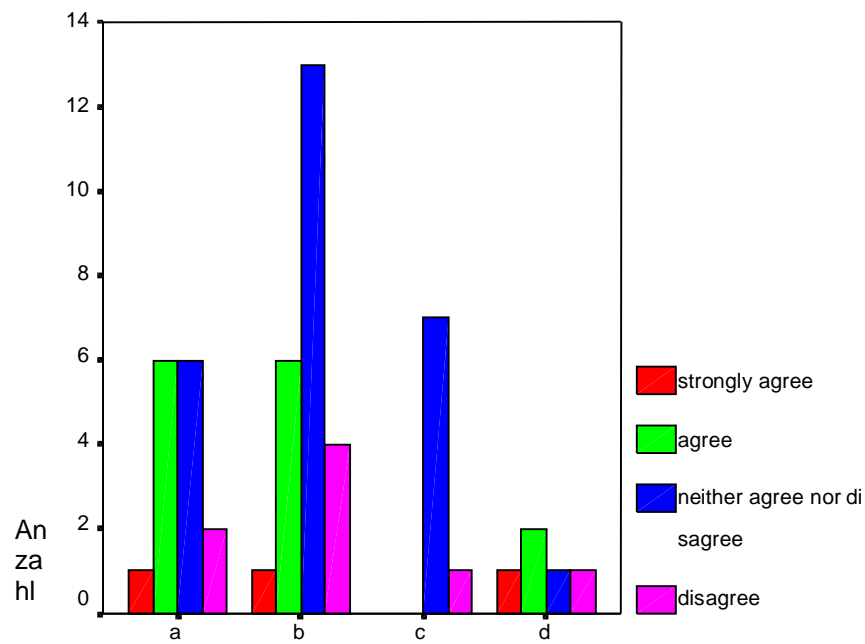


Figure24: Maltese creates a warm atmosphere (by family type)

With reference to gender it is worth mentioning that men (mean=2.08) agree slightly stronger with statement A than women (men=2.39) which corresponds to the linguistic performance of both genders. The figures for statement B did not reveal significant differences according to gender. Surprisingly, men (mean=2.58) tend to agree slightly stronger to the statement that using English creates a warm atmosphere (C) than women (mean=2.93) which leads to the assumption that other social factors, e.g. family type might probably be more influential than gender.

Significant differences according to age could not be observed. The theory of attitudes and behavior cannot be verified for educational background. According to the theory, the highest disagreement with statement B and the highest agreement with statement C should be identified with the middle subgroup. Instead, the figures indicate the highest disagreement with B (mean=4.00) and the highest agreement with C (mean=2.33) for the people with the lowest educational level. The theory is valid for statement A. In agreement with their linguistic behavior, people belonging to the group with the lowest educational level reported the strongest agreement (mean=1.66) with the statement that speaking Maltese creates a warm atmosphere (statement A).

4.7.3. Language and Acquaintances

- A: The Maltese language is important to make friends
- B: The English language is important to make friends

The figures indicate that both languages are important to make friends. The general mean values of 2.44 for statement A and 2.29 for statement B suggest that Maltese is regarded as slightly more important than English to make friends. With reference to the subgroups, the only significant deviation from this general tendency could be observed with people belonging to family type D. Here, 3.00 as the mean value for statement A and 2.40 as the mean value for statement B show that respondents belonging to family type D, who use the most English or English elements in speech, seem to favor the English language as being more important to make friends.

4.8. Summary of Language and Attitudes

The majority of the differences between the subgroups follows the predictions of dissonance theory. The strongest “pro English” attitudes can be found with the groups who use the most English elements in speech. Accordingly, the strongest “pro Maltese” attitudes were detected for the groups that use the most Maltese elements. Dissonance reduction is reflected in the fact that family type D respondents disagree with the statement that speaking English exclusively makes people appear snobbish, an item for which a considerable proportion of agreement was found within the three other family types

Generally, it can be said that the majority of the people highly appreciate both languages, Maltese and English. The Maltese are very much aware of the fact that it is important for them to have a good command of both languages. The relatively negative attitudes towards code switching, which are displayed by the results of this chapter, do not match the actual linguistic situation in Malta. As chapter three has already shown, there is no denying the fact that code switching is an important communicative strategy in Malta.

5. Conclusion

In tracing the historical background to contemporary language usage in Malta, the first part of this paper has shown that the linguistic situation in Malta has been influenced by major cultural and political changes for about 2000 years. Arabs, Italians and, more recently the British have contributed to the patterns of linguistic diversity of contemporary Malta.

The status of English has changed from being regarded as the language of the Empire to being regarded as an essential tool of international communication. Today, Malta has two official languages: Maltese as the national language and English as the second language of the people. The vast majority of the Maltese is fluent in both languages Maltese and English. The general linguistic situation can be described as biligualism without diglossia. The greatest part of the speakers are compound bilinguals.

There is a considerable amount of variation and code switching in the speech of the Maltese. In addition to domain norms, the usage of a certain language variety can be attributed to the social background of the individual speaker. Generally, there is an increase of English elements in speech from family type A to D, which coincides with a decrease in Maltese elements. Women use more English and English based varieties than men. Respondents from the second highest educational subgroup and the second highest age group reported the greatest proportion of English or English elements within the respective categories. Whereas male respondents who belong to family type A and / or received primary education as the highest level of education are the most likely to use Maltese, female respondents from the middle age category who belong to family type D and underwent secondary education as the highest level are the most likely to use English. However, as social pressure must not be neglected, one should always keep an eye on hypercorrection and over-reporting.

According to their social background, people tend to use the same or similar linguistic varieties in plenty of communicative settings, unless a certain variety is prescribed by an existing domain norm. The preferences of a certain language variety for reading, thinking, dreaming and writing follow the same patterns of distribution as described for conversations. By and large, people's attitudes are consistent with their communicative behavior. The groups that use more English or English elements have a more positive attitude towards English, the groups that prefer Maltese or a Maltese based variety have a more positive attitude towards Maltese. Generally, both languages are

highly appreciated. The Maltese are very much aware of the importance of Maltese *and* English in Malta.

In recent years, Maltese linguists have held the view that the proficiency in both languages is not very high and that extensive code switching may eventually cause the gradual death of Maltese. The state of affairs calls for good training in bilingualism. The introduction of a new education policy which aims at the development of a good competence in both languages shows that language has become an issue of official concern.

Despite the fact that many Maltese people cannot be regarded as really proficient speakers of both languages, the majority of the Maltese population, regardless of social background, appears to be satisfied with the diverse linguistic situation in their country, which is underlined by the following final comment made by one of the interviewees:

I think we are lucky because of our history and geographical position to have acquainted the use of English due to our colonial past, Italian because of our closeness to Italy and Maltese since it is our original language.

(male respondent, age: 42)

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SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) *Version 10.0* (for statistical calculations and the generation of the tables and diagrams)

7. The Questionnaire

Questions 3, 4, 6, 9 and 18 are based in part on similar questions used in two questionnaires on languages and language usage in Cameroon. These questionnaires were designed by:

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Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit beschreibt die Ergebnisse einer zweiwöchigen Studienreise im Oktober 2000. Die Studie basiert auf dem beigefügten Fragebogen, der speziell für dieses Projekt entwickelt wurde. Die quantitative Datenanalyse wurde mit Hilfe von SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) vorgenommen.

Mit Hilfe des Fragebogens wurde versucht, Informationen zur gegenwärtigen linguistischen Situation in Malta zu gewinnen. Für ein tieferes Verständnis, beschäftigt sich die Arbeit zuerst mit der historischen Entwicklung von Sprachen in Malta. Hierbei wird besonderes Augenmerk auf die Entstehung und Entwicklung der maltesischen Sprache sowie die wachsende Bedeutung der englischen Sprache während und nach der Kolonialzeit gelegt. Die Entwicklungen werden stets im sozialen Kontext betrachtet.

Malta ist zweisprachig. Maltesisch ist die Nationalsprache. Englisch wird von fast allen Maltesern, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Qualität, als Zweitsprache gesprochen. Häufig kommt es zur Vermischung beider Sprachen, woraus verschiedene Sprachvarianten resultieren. Im wesentlichen können die folgenden fünf Sprachvarianten für Malta identifiziert werden: M (reines Maltesisch), Me (Maltesisch mit gelegentlichen englischen Worten), M/E (Maltesisch und Englisch werden zu etwa gleichen Teilen, auch z. B. innerhalb eines Satzes verwendet), Em (Englisch mit gelegentlichen maltesischen Worten) und E (reines Englisch). Diese werden von verschiedenen Sprechern unterschiedlich stark verwendet. Die unterschiedliche Verwendung dieser Sprachvarianten im Hinblick auf den sozialen Hintergrund der Informanten bildet das Kernstück dieser Arbeit. Mit Bezug auf Herkunft und Spracherwerb können vier maltesische Familientypen unterschieden werden, die die beiden Sprachen und ihre Mischformen verschieden stark verwenden. Außer der Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Familientyp wurde der Einfluß von Geschlecht, Alter, und Bildungsgrad als soziale Variablen untersucht. So konnte z. B. festgestellt werden, daß Frauen die Verwendung der englischen Sprache stärker bevorzugen als Männer. Interviewte Personen, im Alter zwischen 30 und 49 zeigten eine stärkere Bevorzugung für English als ältere und jüngere. Im Bezug auf den Bildungsgrad wurde festgestellt, daß Personen mit mittlerem Bildungsgrad das meiste Englisch bzw. die meisten englischen Elemente in ihrer Sprache verwenden.

Die Wahl einer der oben genannten Sprachvarianten hängt nicht nur vom sozialen Hintergrund des jeweiligen Individuums, sondern auch vom jeweiligen kommunikativen Kontext und vom Thema ab. Während z. B. Witze gern in M oder Me erzählt werden,

bevorzugen die meisten Malteser in Gesprächen über Literatur und Wissenschaft Em oder E.

Anschließend wurde untersucht, ob Menschen unterschiedliche Einstellungen zur maltesischen und englischen Sprache und deren Mischformen haben und ob diese Einstellungen konsistent sind mit dem sprachlichen Verhalten (der Bevorzugung bestimmter Sprachvarianten). Dies konnte größtenteils bestätigt werden. Generell kann man sagen, daß Personen, die mehr Englisch verwenden eine positivere Einstellung zu dieser Sprache haben. Hingegen sind Personen, die Maltesisch bevorzugen, dieser Sprache gegenüber positiver eingestellt.

In den letzten Jahren wurden verstärkt Befürchtungen über die relativ schlechte Qualität beider Sprachen geäußert, die meist auf die (zu starke) Vermischung zurückgeführt wird. Gegenwärtig wird durch eine veränderte Schulpolitik versucht, dieser Entwicklung entgegenzuwirken. Grundsätzlich sollte allerdings angemerkt werden, daß die Malteser beide Sprachen sehr schätzen und mit ihrer linguistischen Situation als Bindeglied zwischen Europa und Afrika durchaus zufrieden sind. Außer Maltesisch und Englisch ist auch Italienisch in Malta weit verbreitet. Andere, vor allem europäische Sprachen, wie z. B. Spanisch und Französisch, haben ebenfalls einen festen Platz in Malta. Die Sprachenvielfalt ist vor allem auf ihre Bedeutung für den Tourismus zurückzuführen, der den wohl bedeutendsten Wirtschaftszweig in Malta ausmacht.

Questionnaire on English and Maltese in Malta

I am a student from Germany and I am interested in language and language usage in Malta. I am conducting a research project which will be part of my M.A. examination. Please fill in whatever you personally feel to be the most appropriate answer. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers to any question. If a question is not applicable to you, please put “n.a.” (not applicable) Unless otherwise indicated you may check more than one answer.

Thank you very much for your help!

1. Which of the following languages do you speak fluently?

Maltese ☐
English ☐
Italian ☐
French ☐
Other, ☐ please write down the name of the
language(s):.....

2. Do you have the basic knowledge of any other languages?

Yes, ☐ please write down the name of the
language(s):.....

No ☐

3. Do you **preferably** discuss the following topics in Maltese or English?

| | Maltese | English |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Jokes | | |
| Scientific and technological things | | |
| Secrets | | |
| Literature | | |
| Intimate things | | |
| Politics | | |
| Others, please specify..... | | |
| | | |

4. Which of the following topics **CAN** you **NOT** discuss in either Maltese or English?

| | Not in Maltese | Not in English |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Jokes | | |
| Scientific and technological things | | |
| Secrets | | |
| Literature | | |
| Intimate things | | |
| Politics | | |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Others, please specify..... | | |
| | | |

5. Which kind of books and / or newspapers do you like?

Maltese ☐ English ☐ Both ☐ None ☐

6. In which language do you usually take notes?

Maltese ☐ English ☐ Mixture of both ☐ Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English ☐

7. In which language do you think?

Maltese ☐ English ☐ Mixture of both ☐ Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English ☐

8. In which language do you count?

Maltese ☐ English ☐ Mixture of both ☐ Sometimes Maltese, sometimes English ☐

9.. Which kind of language do you use in the following communicative situations: ? (please put n.a. for “not applicable”)

| | <i>Maltese only</i> | Mostly Maltese | Mixture of Maltese and English | Mostly English | <i>English only</i> |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Talking with your parents | | | | | |
| Talking with your grandparents | | | | | |
| Talking with your brothers and sisters | | | | | |
| Talking with your children | | | | | |
| Talking with other children | | | | | |
| Talking with your colleagues at work | | | | | |
| Talking with your fellow students at school or university | | | | | |
| Talking with teachers and lecturers | | | | | |
| Talking with your friends | | | | | |
| Talking with a doctor in a hospital | | | | | |
| Talking to a priest | | | | | |
| Talking on the market | | | | | |
| Talking with shop assistants, waitresses, hairdressers... | | | | | |
| Talking with your neighbours | | | | | |
| When you dream, your dreams are in | | | | | |

10. Do you have contact to friends or family members from an English speaking country?

Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Have you been abroad in an English speaking country for a longer period of time?

Yes, 1-6 months ☐
Yes, 7 months to 1 year ☐
More than one year ☐
No ☐

12. Would you like to go abroad to an English speaking country for a longer period of time?

Yes, 1-6 months ☐
 Yes, 7 months to 1 year ☐
 More than one year ☐
 No ☐

13. Why is it important to learn English in Malta?

To get a good education ☐ it is not important ☐
 To get a good job ☐
 To talk to tourists ☐
 To talk to business partners abroad ☐
 To talk to other people world wide ☐
 To be regarded as an educated person ☐
 Other reasons, please specify:
☐

14. Here are some statements about the English and Maltese language. Please indicate the extend of your agreement with the following statements: (please use the neutral answer only if it is a real answer for the question)

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Disagree strongly |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| For Maltese people it is important to be able to speak Maltese and English. | | | | | |
| For Maltese people it is sufficient to speak Maltese. | | | | | |
| For Maltese people it is sufficient to speak English. | | | | | |
| Maltese is a language for older people. | | | | | |
| A Maltese person should be able to speak English fluently. | | | | | |
| A Maltese person should be able to speak Maltese fluently. | | | | | |
| It is difficult for a child to grow up using two different languages. | | | | | |
| It is easy for a child to grow up using two different languages. | | | | | |
| Speaking English creates a greater distance between the speakers. | | | | | |
| The usage of a mixture of Maltese and English creates a feeling of closeness between the speakers. | | | | | |
| The usage of Maltese creates a feeling of closeness between the speakers. | | | | | |
| Having a good knowledge of English makes it easier to get a good job. | | | | | |
| Having a good knowledge of English <i>and</i> Maltese makes it easier to get a good job. | | | | | |
| The Maltese language is important to make friends. | | | | | |
| The English language is important to make friends. | | | | | |
| It is important to preserve the Maltese language. | | | | | |
| Speaking Maltese creates a warm atmosphere. | | | | | |
| Speaking English creates a cold atmosphere. | | | | | |
| Speaking English creates a warm atmosphere. | | | | | |
| Speaking Maltese or English does not reflect a person's intelligence. | | | | | |
| Speaking English exclusively makes people appear more intelligent. | | | | | |
| Speaking English exclusively makes people appear snobbish. | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Speaking Maltese exclusively makes people appear uneducated. | | | | | |
| One should use Maltese elements in one's speech in order not to appear snobbish and use English elements in order not to appear uneducated. | | | | | |
| (If) I have children, I (would) like them to learn English only. | | | | | |
| (If) I have children I (would) like them to learn Maltese only. | | | | | |
| (If) I have children, I (would) like them to learn both, Maltese and English. | | | | | |
| I mix English and Maltese, choosing the shortest or easiest words or phrases from each language. | | | | | |
| Using Maltese emphasizes one's Maltese origin. | | | | | |
| Maltese should be the only official language of Malta. | | | | | |
| English should be the only official language of Malta | | | | | |
| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Disagree strongly |
| English and Maltese should remain the two official languages of Malta | | | | | |
| The usage of English has a negative influence on the Maltese culture | | | | | |

15. Which of the following categories would best describe the language background of your family?

- A: ☐ - you acquired a **dialect of Maltese** as your **first language**; this dialect was the first language of your parents and was spoken in your neighbourhood
- you acquired standard Maltese mainly through teaching by your parents and other family members and by formal teaching at school
- you acquired English by formal teaching at school
- B: ☐ - **standard Maltese** is the **first language** of your family
- you acquired English through formal teaching at school
- C: ☐ - you acquired both, **Maltese and English** as a **first language**
- these languages were used interchangeably in your family
- D: ☐ - English was spoken by one or both of your parents
- you acquired **English** as your **first language**
- you acquired Maltese through formal teaching at school and through communicating with speakers of Maltese

16. Where were you born?

Urban area in Malta or Gozo ☐ please write down the name of the town:

 Rural area in Malta or Gozo ☐ please write down the name of the village:

 Abroad ☐ please write down the name of the country:

17. Where did you spend the greatest part of your life?

Urban area in Malta or Gozo ☐ please write down the name of the town:

 Rural area in Malta or Gozo ☐ please write down the name of the village:

Abroad ☐ please write down the name of the country:
.....

18. How much school have you completed? Please check ONE for the highest level completed or in progress.

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Primary School | <input type="checkbox"/> | Technical College | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Craft Center | <input type="checkbox"/> | Some university but no degree | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Trade School | <input type="checkbox"/> | University B.A. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Secondary School | <input type="checkbox"/> | University M.A | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sixth Form | <input type="checkbox"/> | Docterate | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. Age: years old

20. Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

If you wish, you are welcome to make any additional comment on language(s) in Malta:

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If you are interested in the results or have any questions about the project, please contact me:

nadine.angermann@web.de
HELP!

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR