

A Sociolinguistic Study of the Code-switching
Tendencies of Native Maltese
with Matrix Language Maltese or English



Dominique Gauci

A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts in part fulfilment of the requirements for the
Postgraduate Degree of Master of Arts in English Language

University of Malta

June 2017

Dedication

To all those who believed I could - family, friends and lecturers -
with sincere gratitude.

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA FACULTY/INSTITUTE/CENTRE/SCHOOL Faculty of Arts

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY FOR MASTER'S STUDENTS

Student's I.D. /Code 323166M

Student's Name & Surname Dominique Gauci

Course Taught MA in English Language

Title of Dissertation:

A Sociolinguistic Study of the Code-switching tendencies of native Maltese with matrix language Maltese or English

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Acknowledgements

Completing this dissertation was only possible with the advice, help and encouragement of so many people.

Firstly, I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor Lydia Sciriha for her belief in me and her constant encouragement. The promptness of her answers and feedback every time I needed it was nothing short of incredible and most appreciated.

Thanks also go to my husband who supported me by not complaining when I was either physically or mentally away in these two years while completing my studies.

Thanks to my mother who insisted I stay home and continue working instead of visiting her. She has always put the need of others before her own.

Thank you brother, for the time you spent making this work presentable.

I would also like to thank all my friends at school who helped in so many ways with suggestions, interest, comments, editing and most of all by putting up with my remarks over the way they spoke.

Finally, I sincerely and most gratefully acknowledge all those who so generously agreed to figuratively let me into their homes by agreeing to be a part of this study. Never has it been truer to say that without them this study would not have been possible.

Abstract

A Sociolinguistic Study of the Code-switching tendencies of native Maltese with matrix language Maltese or English

This study attempted to examine the code-switching tendencies of eight native Maltese families. The families were evenly divided between those who self-perceived their matrix language to be English and those who self-perceived their matrix language to be Maltese. In addition, the parents in four of the families were all university graduates and in the four other families, the parents did not hold degrees. The study compared these different families' educational and residential backgrounds by administering a questionnaire, since these cohorts have proven to influence speech in Malta (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006). Their speech patterns were analysed by transcribing a fifteen-minute recording of each family's conversation, taken when the family were together during dinner. Finally, each family was informally asked to volunteer any other particular information they might consider pertinent to the study, but which had not been included in the questionnaire.

These three methods of compiling information were then utilised to compare speech patterns in all the families' conversations. The study determined that despite the varied backgrounds with regard to ages, areas of residence, levels of education and attitudes to code-switching, the Maltese families studied had very similar patterns of speech, dependent on their self-perceived matrix language.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The status of the Maltese language in Malta

Malta is an officially bilingual country where the national language of Maltese shares official status with the global language English. Malta became officially bilingual in 1934 (Frendo, 1975), and since then, many people have grown up in a country that embraces both the Maltese and English languages. Thus, even the early memories of native Maltese people are interspersed with at least an awareness of communication being conducted in two, if not more, different languages.

Nowadays, Maltese is the spoken first language of the great majority of the Maltese population according to the National Statistics Office (2005) and these individuals would consider Maltese their matrix language according to Myers-Scotton's (2002) definition of matrix language. However, the Maltese can be considered to be bilingual, albeit their competence in both Maltese and English varies greatly according to the individual and his or her upbringing, education, social status and even geographical location on the islands. Despite the predominance of Maltese as the language most widely spoken on the island, the influence of English is pervasive. Caruana (2007) states that the use of both Maltese and English is so widespread that it may be difficult to assign the terms 'minority' and 'majority' language. Indeed, in the last two decades English has grown in importance due to the influence of the internet which has brought the world into everyone's homes. Today, more than ever, the importance of being competent in the English language is understood, accepted and 'highly valued' (Bonnici 2010: 3) by the great majority of the Maltese.

1.2 Language, domain and the media

Although some time ago people living in the small country villages could argue that they did not have much contact with the English language and therefore not much use for learning English, the internet has now connected them to the rest of the world too. This is especially true of the younger generations who have grown up with social media being an integral part

of their lives, one that keeps them abreast of all that is happening in the world and, for them more importantly, with their friends. Since Malta is a small country and 'the Maltese language is such an incredibly small language shared by only 400,000 people,' (Thake Vassallo 2009: 3612) the Maltese understand that the best way to make full use of the entertainment industry, enable communication and the use of social media is to be able to navigate their way through the internet in English.

As maintained by Vella (1995) the Maltese come into contact with both the Maltese and the English languages practically from birth (Vella, 2012). The majority of children grow up in a Maltese-speaking milieu but their exposure to English begins at an early age as they watch television programmes, listen to music and are allowed to play games on the electronic devices widely available in most households. All of these interactions would inevitably bring children into contact with the English language and thus interaction with the language begins at this early age.

1.3 Language use in schools and the Maltese English variety

The interaction with both the Maltese and English languages continues once the child starts attending school where the language of instruction is often English due to the fact that textbooks for most subjects other than Maltese, Religion and Social Studies are available in English only. Despite the constant contact with the English language as heard over the media from native speakers and its use as the language of instruction as used in books, however, many Maltese youngsters end their mandatory secondary school years speaking a Maltese English variety of the language. This is the variety which in all probability they will go on using throughout their lives and which usually serves them well for all their communicative needs. Even the small minority of native Maltese who consider their matrix language English do not necessarily speak the standard variety of English but may use a variation of the language particular to their group. Bonnici refers to this variety of Maltese English as 'MaltE' (Bonnici 2010: 1) and remarks that these people may use 'Maltese English features which diverge from RP [and] are deeply felt to be instances of 'bad' or 'broken' English by many of its own speakers' (Bonnici 2010: 7). However, more and more, the Maltese variety of English is

becoming accepted as a variety in its own right and as an acceptable and convenient way for the Maltese to communicate.

Despite the widespread use of English, the importance of the Maltese Language has not diminished. In schools the official language of instruction of such subjects as the Sciences, Mathematics, Computing, Home Economics and Business Studies is English, but Maltese is regularly and extensively used in the teaching of all these and other subjects. As Fabri remarks, Maltese is a 'robust language that is certainly not, in any way, to be classified as a threatened language' (Fabri 2011: 811). This is in part due to Malta's entry into the European Union in 2004 when the language was granted official status as one of the languages of the EU. Thus, Maltese citizens have the right to communicate in Maltese in such situations as, for example, at any European Union conference. Realistically speaking, however, the Maltese people understand that it is imperative for them to be fluent in English should they wish to facilitate effective communication with the rest of the world.

Conversely, although an admittedly very small minority of just 6%, according to the National Statistics Office Census of 2005, there are some Maltese individuals that consider English as their matrix language and use this language as the language of communication within the home. These individuals are also necessarily exposed to the use of Maltese from their earliest days and therefore, while English is their matrix language, Maltese is also a part of their daily communication.

1.4 Code-switching in Malta

As is evident, the Maltese are in constant contact with both the Maltese and English languages from the beginning of their lives and it is inevitable that the phenomenon of code-switching (often referred to as CS) that exists in other bilingual countries and communities should also exist in Malta. In fact, code-switching in bilingual countries all over the world can be said to be so common that its existence is nowadays taken for granted as demonstrated by numerous studies undertaken by Auer (1998), Bhatia and Ritchie (2004; 2006; 2013), Bullock and Toribio (2009), Crystal (1980), Gardner-Chloros (2009), Grosjean (1981; 1982), Gumperz (1982), Li Wei (2000), Myers-Scotton (1993) and Poplack (2001), to mention but a few. Along the same

lines, that the Maltese whose matrix language is Maltese code-switch in English, is a well-known fact that has also been extensively documented by researchers such as Bonnici (2010), Camilleri Grima (2013), Grech (2015) and Sciriha and Vassallo (2006).

As shall be examined in detail in the next chapter, it has been documented that the bilingual Maltese make extensive use of the English language as part of their spoken communication for several reasons. Indeed, this fact can be readily experienced by anyone if they simply listen to the everyday conversations going on around them. It is practically impossible for the Maltese to communicate in an informal way without code-switching.

The purpose of this study will be to compare the frequency, type, length and general prevalence of code-switching employed by those with matrix language Maltese to the code-switching employed by those who consider their matrix language to be English, and to see whether the two sets of people have different perceptions and attitudes to code-switching. Their use of code-switching will be analysed when used within the informal setting of the home as this is where people are most likely to speak with the least restraints. In addition, the study attempts to determine possible underlying reasons that may have led to these individuals' current speech patterns. Is there more code-switching when the majority language is Maltese or when the majority language is English? How do the code-switching tendencies compare? What are the reasons for code-switching in either case? Having seen that the Maltese grow up with both the Maltese and English languages as an integral part of their lives, it may be interesting to see how the two groups use their bilingual abilities on an everyday basis.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Defining code-switching

Code-switching is a term that different linguists and scholars have used in diverse ways, some complementing each other, some disagreeing with certain definitions and yet others making no particular distinction between several terms. Trying to coordinate and unify the terminology has proved difficult (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 12).

As Boztepe (2003: 4) remarks, 'Not all researchers use the same terms in the same way, nor do they agree on the territory covered by terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, or code-alternation'. The difference between code-switching, code-mixing and code-alternation especially, seems to be somewhat indistinct and many times the terms are used interchangeably. For example, in the glossary to *The Bilingualism Reader*, Li Wei (2000) defines the terms using practically the same words. Nilep (2010) believes that it is now much more common not to make a great distinction between the terms although he points out that for some the issue is still controversial. In his blog (Nilep, 2010), he explains 'language alternation concerns linguistic form, code-switching concerns the contextualization of communication'. Clyne (2003: 72) mentions how the general tendency nowadays is to agree that code-switching should be used as the umbrella term since 'the term 'code-switching' has now become so polysemous and unclear that it is necessary to find more precise terms to map out the boundaries and interfaces' and because there is 'an abundance of terms used to refer to the influence of one language on another' (Treffers-Daller 2009: 58). For the purposes of this work, then, the term code-switching will be used as synonymous with code-mixing and code-alternation. Furthermore, the Maltese social function of code-switching described by Bailey (2000: 166) as 'discourse management functions and social/metaphorical functions' will be analysed in addition to the syntax/linguistic approach since the linguistic approach analyses code-switching rules and principles within sentences, while the social approach deals with the motive and social meaning of code-switching (Winford, 2003).

Although some linguists posit that the term borrowing can be dealt with under the heading of code-switching, borrowing can be considered a different matter as it takes code-switching to the next level, that is, when a word, usually a lexical item from an embedded language, is

used so often while using the matrix language that it becomes an integral and unmarked part of this other language (Halmari, 1997). Poplack (1988) states that a word can be defined as a borrowing and no longer only code-switched when it follows the rules of the language and is used with great frequency, which is further corroborated by Myers-Scotton (1990) who also holds that once a word is used with frequency it may be considered as a borrowing. Borrowings can be further subdivided into loanwords, loan shifts and loan blends (Grosjean, 1982) but 'Most linguists agree on the fact that true borrowing requires full integration or assimilation at all levels, e.g. borrowed words from one language are written and pronounced as if they were original words of the other language' (Schmidt 2014: 18). In fact, many borrowed words, particularly old widespread borrowings, are probably not even perceived as foreign by most speakers.

Some linguists on the other hand, view both code-switching and borrowings as forms of interference or transfer (Weinreich, 1953; Clyne, 2003) which occur in the speech of bilinguals because they are familiar with two languages and because they regularly come into contact with more than one language. The term interference, however, has a negative connotation and Weinreich firmly believes that bilinguals should only switch from one language to another if there is a change in the speaker's audience or a change in topic. Code-switching is not to be used if there is no change in the situation and thus it should not be used within one sentence. Attitudes towards code-switching have changed drastically since the time when Weinreich was speaking, although many continue to view its use in a negative manner.

2.2 Types of code-switching

Broadly speaking, code-switching can be defined simply as 'the use of more than one language, variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between different interlocutors or situations' (Romaine 1992: 110). However, because of how widespread it is, code-switching has given rise to much interest and has been extensively researched. As a result, scholars have categorised several different types of code-switching and come up with various names to define the different types.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) were the first to define and explain Situational code-switching and Metaphorical code-switching after they had conducted their 1972 study about the language varieties used in a small Norwegian village and how the locals switched languages when certain variables came into play. According to these linguists situational code-switching is when bilinguals switch languages because they want to signify a change in social situation: 'The notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation' (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 126). Situational code-switching therefore assumes that a speaker will use the appropriate language for the appropriate social situation. Should a person use a different language, it would mean a change in the social situation and could signify an end to the conversation. Using the 'right' language, appropriate to the situation, would be using the 'unmarked' language as defined by Myers-Scotton (1988: 135) or the language that is acceptable for the situation: 'When participants are bilingual peers, the unmarked choice may be switching with no changes at all in the situation'. Thus Myers-Scotton (1989) makes the distinction between 'marked' and 'unmarked' code-switching to show the social relationship between speakers and what 'expected rights and obligations [are] set between participants' (1989: 334). Marked code-switching, on the other hand, instigates a change in social distance and is unexpected.

Blom and Gumperz's (1972) metaphorical code-switching as opposed to situational code-switching signifies a change in the particular topic being discussed in a conversation. If the subject the speakers are talking about is commonplace and familiar they would use one language, but if they switch to a different, less everyday topic, such as politics or culture, they might change languages so that people use 'both standard and dialect phrases, depending on whether they were talking about official affairs or not' (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 117). Thus, metaphorical code-switching adds a new dimension to a conversation because it shows the distinction between topics in a conversation where the interlocutors remain the same but the 'alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation' (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 408).

Linguist Peter Auer (1984) complements Blom and Gumperz's situational and metaphorical code-switching when he refers to 'discourse-related switching' (1984: 4) and 'participant-related switching' (1984: 8). In discourse-related code-switching the speakers switch between

languages according to the topic they are discussing, while participant-related switching involves switching languages according to an individual's personal reasons.

Poplack (1980) defines three different types of code-switching categorised as intersentential switching, intrasentential switching and tag switching, the latter identified by Milroy and Muysken (1995) as extrasentential code-switching. Intersentential code-switching takes place at sentence or clause level boundaries. This means that code-switching from one language to another occurs as a whole clause or as a whole sentence so that the two languages being employed are only integrated on a superficial level. An example of intersentential switching is the famous title of the paper by Poplack (1980) 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en espanol'. Intrasentential switching is when languages are switched within a sentence or clause which means that there is much more integration or mixing of the languages being used. This type of code-switching was originally considered as occurring without any type of restraint and as being an aberration (Weinreich 1953; 1968) however, it is now recognised as still being strictly bound by grammatical restraints. Poplack's Equivalence Constraint (1980) posits that this intrasentential switching is governed by the rules of both the languages being used. She states that 'it has been observed repeatedly in systematic studies of bilingual communities that speakers ... [produce] bilingual structures which are felicitous for the grammars of both languages simultaneously' (Poplack 2004: 592). An example of intrasentential switching would be the following sentences from examples by Pfaff as cited by Wardhaugh (2006: 108): "'La onda is to fight y jambar' and 'Todos los Mexicanos were riled up'. Poplack (1980) states that this intrasentential switching is usually used by those who are the most bilingually fluent. The third kind of code-switching identified by Poplack is Tag switching which means simply adding a tag such as a discourse marker, question tag or exclamation in one language to a sentence which has been spoken in another language, without causing any change to the original sentence 'because tags have no syntactic constraints, they can be moved freely, and they can be inserted almost anywhere in a discourse without violating any grammatical rules' (Poplack 1980: 589). Some examples of tags would include, 'right?', 'actually', 'you know', etc. As can be inferred from Poplack's definitions, intrasentential code-switching requires the most intricate code-switching and it is her model of intersentential, intrasentential and tag code-switching that will be used for the purposes of this work.

2.3 Uses of and reasons for code-switching

Necessarily the uses of and reasons for code-switching and the terminology for code-switching go hand in hand because besides knowledge of more than one language there are usually several factors that come into play when a person reverts to code-switching in his or her speech. Many linguists have researched the occurrence and their findings are numerous and diverse. Hamers and Blanc (1989: 148) declare that code-switching is 'one of the most common and original strategies used by bilingual speakers among themselves'. However, as is the case with terminology, researchers, studies and beliefs do not always coincide and there is much controversy surrounding the use of and reasons for code-switching. It is also important to realise that code-switching among people is not uniform. Many variables need to be taken into consideration when referring to bilingualism and thus, as a natural extension, to code-switching. Factors may include 'age, context, relationship between sign and meaning, order and consequence of bilingual language acquisition, competence or level of proficiency, function or use and attitudes' (Hoffmann 1991: 18). Chan (2005: 2-3) notes that 'Gumperz's (1982) seminal work lists six functions of code-switching... [while]... more recent research: Auer's (1995) list contains 8 functions whereas Baker's (2000) contains 12 functions'. Clearly, the functions of code-switching have been proven to be multiple.

Code-switching is generally seen as being an unavoidable part of bilingualism but some linguists like Weinreich (1953) as quoted in Cheng and Butler (1989: 293) see the phenomenon as an undesirable part of language, expressing the view that 'code-switching can serve to pollute a language, rather than enhance the communication between bilingual individuals'. It is true that if code-switching is employed to such an extent that it renders communication difficult then this is to be viewed in a negative light, however, many linguists (Cheng and Butler, 1989: 293) now 'contend that when code-switching is used to maximize communication and to strengthen not only the content but the essence of the message, it can be considered an asset, not a deficiency'. Younger people nowadays tend to have a more positive view of code-switching and consider it a completely natural part of their language so that 'a positive fashion for CS has even been identified in some groups' (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 172).

Blom and Gumperz's research (1972) revealed that people code-switch to show that they belonged to a certain group of people and to signify the exclusion of others. In addition, they found that code-switching was sometimes dependent on topic so that certain topics which treated informal, familiar, everyday subjects were discussed in one language while other topics pertaining to culture or education for example, required a switch to the language used for more formal subjects. Gumperz (1970) believed that a change in language marked a change in the subject being discussed but that code-switching could also be used to express a variety of emotions such as anger, displeasure or authority. Gumperz (1982) and Grosjean (1982) both believed that code-switching reinforced identity and group membership, social class and social status. This was substantiated by Fishman (2000) whose reasons for code-switching included group solidarity, informality, equality and topic choice due to the fact that some topics are usually discussed in a particular language and not the other. In addition, Skiba (1997) does not see code-switching as language interference but believes rather that it gives speakers an additional advantage and is a positive supplement to ordinary speech. He agrees with Grosjean and Gumperz that code-switching reinforces solidarity or group belonging and says that the code-switched language can portray stronger emotions and attitudes, thus making speech more effective. Skiba is supported in his attitude to code-switching by Bullock and Toribio (2009: 165) who state 'the notion that people code-switch as a strategy in order to be better understood is another plausible alternative'. Giles, Coupland and Coupland (1991) also attest to the theory that code-switching is employed for reasons of minimising or emphasising social differences. Their Communication Accommodation Theory states that when speakers look for approval when in a particular social situation, they will change or modulate their speech according to the speaker, a phenomenon they called convergence. In direct opposition to convergence there is divergent speech when a speaker distinguishes the distance between himself and others by using a different language. However, in contrast to these linguists, Romaine (1995) believes that switching is possible when there is no change in either topic, speakers or audience. Additionally, Grosjean (1982) believes that sometimes it is possible for bilinguals to code-switch due to triggering. This happens when only one particular word or phrase is switched but this word or phrase then causes the speaker to continue speaking in the code-switched language.

Ferguson (1959) coined the terms high variety and low variety languages when he was describing diglossia. The high or low variety of a language was used in different social contexts. The low variety (usually a mother tongue) would be used mostly by people when within the home or when among friends, while the high variety (usually a language introduced later on in the history of a country) would invariably be used to discuss formal subjects or when talking to strangers and in polite situations. In fact, the mother tongue may not have available the proper words or adequate terms to describe such topics as culture, politics, religion or education which are always discussed in the high variety of a language. Auer (1998) supports this belief when he says that people code-switch when one word is more readily available in another language. Bullock and Toribio (2009: 165) corroborate when they say 'Some ideas are better communicated in one language than another' as does Poplack (1980) who deduces that speakers code-switch because one language may have better terms to describe certain topics than others.

On the other hand, Auer (1998) suggests that code-switching may be used because of an inability on the speaker's part to find the correct words with which to explain him or herself or, as Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994:1) put it 'to fill a linguistic need'. This idea is substantiated by Crystal (1987) who believes that when a speaker cannot express him or herself in one language then the speaker may switch to using another language. Crystal maintains however, that many times this deficiency in ability to find the appropriate expression usually occurs when the speaker is not functioning at an optimum level because of various reasons including exhaustion, anxiety or agitation.

Other linguists have different theories for code-switching. In her study on the languages spoken in Sicily, Alfonzetti (1992) maintains that in Catania, when the two varieties of language spoken there are used, the particular variety used does not signify belonging to a social class and does not imply any social status. She believes that one of the languages is quite simply the national language of the country, used in general situations outside the region or when speaking to strangers, while the other variety, spoken exclusively in the region, marks identity. Auer (1998: 178) asserts that 'Alfonzetti refuses to grant the status of a 'they-code' to the first, and of a 'we-code' to the second, where the 'we-code' signifies belonging to a group while the 'they-code' refers to others that do not belong to the group' (Gumperz 1974; 1982). Reinforcing what Alfonzetti believed, Duran (1994) states that when

a substantial amount of code-switching is used amongst a people then they perhaps feel the need to give equal importance to both languages and code-switching allows them the opportunity to do just that.

Furthermore, one of the most cited reasons for code-switching is described as being laziness. Gardner-Chloros says that 'This explanation is not only offered by speakers who claim not to switch themselves, but also by self-confessed code-switchers. CS is seen as an easy way out when people cannot be bothered to search for the words they need in a single language' (2009: 14). Bilinguals subsequently 'express surprise and/or embarrassment on discovering the extent of their own mixing' (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 32). This raises the issue that a lot of code-switching is done subconsciously and that many bilinguals do not even realise they are code-switching. However, Treffers-Daller (2009: 60) points out 'that CS can indeed be intentional and that individual reasons for choosing particular items can be spelled out in detail. However, most researchers would probably agree that it would be hard to come up with reasons for every individual switch'. Thus she believes that code-switching is sometimes intentional but also believes that it can sometimes be subconscious.

The idea of 'audience design' was developed by Bell (1984) who presumed that a speaker would change his linguistic styles according to his audience to either express solidarity with them or equally, to establish distance. This notion of speaking to accommodate what Bell termed 'an auditor' (Bell 1984: 172 in Coupland and Jaworski, 1997) had also been suggested by Gal (1979) and later by Milroy (1987). All suggest:

that code-switching occurs naturally and unobtrusively such that it is not an interference to language but rather a verbal mechanism of presenting an individuals' social standing with regard to a particular conversational participant. As such, code-switching performs a socio-linguistic function (Skiba 1997: paragraph 10).

Boztepe (2003: 15) believes that 'speakers engage in CS because, through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, they discover that the rewards of CS will be greater than those of maintaining a monolingual discourse pattern'.

McClure (1977: 7) considers eight reasons why code-switching occurs. She believes that code-switching 'takes place to mark: (1) emphasis, (2) focus, (3) elaboration, (4) clarification, (5) attention attraction or retention, (6) mode shift, (7) topic shift, and (8) addressee shift' and

as has been seen, many of these reasons for code-switching have been substantiated by other linguists in their studies. However, despite the reality of these findings many bilinguals believe that they code-switch in their speech simply because they are among familiar people who share the same background and knowledge of the languages that are being code-switched. In addition, these people code-switch because they feel at ease in their particular environment and consider that they are amongst peers. This is what Moyer (1992) found in her study of bilinguals in Gibraltar. The same situation has been noted by other scholars who were themselves bilinguals claiming that in informal situations they code-switch on a regular and frequent basis but that when in more formal situations they tend to either avoid code-switching or else it is used to signify a more personal conversation is ensuing (Schmidt, 2014). Finally Genesee (1988) maintains that people code-switch because they hear other people code-switch and the phenomenon becomes an inescapable part of their speech too. These latter reasons could be included as some of the main reasons that Maltese bilinguals quote as reasons for their own code-switching.

2.4 Code-switching within the Maltese context

According to Poplack (2004) it is quite common in bilingual countries and communities for speakers to use both the languages available to them on a regular basis and this is what the Maltese people do. They take advantage of the fact they have two languages readily available for communication. Although Maltese is the language understood only by the native people, a number limited to just over 400,000 inhabitants, the Maltese are connected to the rest of the world by English which is the language which enables them to communicate with ease internationally. Perhaps it is because the Maltese know that the native language is so restricted in use that they embrace the acquisition of English so readily, despite considering the Maltese language their spoken language of choice, as reported by Vella (2012) and Sciriha (1997). Vella (2012: 532) claims that 'Maltese is reported to be the language most frequently used at home by 90% of the population aged 10 years and over, English by 6% of the population'. In addition, Thake Vassallo (2009: 3612) notes that 'it would be unwise to let a relative advantage fade into a lost opportunity' and most Maltese recognise the fact that it is of the utmost importance they are able to communicate in English. Skiba's article of 1997, 2nd

paragraph, notes that in 1991, Cook put 'the extent of code-switching in normal conversations amongst bilinguals into perspective by outlining that code-switching consists of 84% single word switches, 10% phrase switches and 6% clause switching'.

This study will attempt to determine whether the cases analysed in this Maltese study support these statistics when the matrix language is Maltese and when the matrix language is English. Despite this general tendency to code-switch when speaking with other nationals since 'In many bilingual communities, speakers conventionally make use of both languages with the same interlocutors, in the same domains, and within the same conversational topic' (Poplack 2004: 592), the Maltese are usually able to restrict their utterances to one language when speaking to foreigners, a fact noted of other bilinguals by Treffers-Daller (2009).

Nowadays many young people instinctively tend to use English to communicate on social media like Facebook and when sending text messages via mobiles to each other. They automatically switch to English when they are writing informally and overwhelmingly prefer English when engaged in formal written communication: 'English is largely a written language, and Maltese the major spoken means of interaction' (Camilleri Grima 2013: 556).

English has become the language of technology, computers and the internet. Technology may not have been so important once but it is now a pervading element of modern everyday life and thus when referring to anything that has to do with technology people must revert to using an English word. The Maltese readily incorporate technical words from English to supply the deficiency in the Maltese language.

The media has had an important role to play in the maintenance of the English language in Malta. The internet is used extensively in a great majority of Maltese households especially those with younger members, those who enjoy keeping up with the latest news or those who choose to continue studying. Young people, and indeed even those who are not so young, regularly communicate via social media or text messaging. This communication is often not verbal and many times the language of communication is English. As Vella notes:

One other sub-domain in which English seems to have precedence over Maltese in the more general domain of the media is the Internet, a domain which predominately involves the written rather than the spoken mode. Although the web presence of Maltese is steadily increasing (Rosner and

Joachimsem, 2011), English is still a strong competitor to Maltese in this sub-domain (Vella 2012: 540).

In addition, many people are choosing not to watch television but instead to download films or television series off the internet and watch what they want, whenever they want, without the nuisance of television commercial interruptions. The premieres of series and films can now be watched in Malta almost at the same time as they are shown in other countries where once these took months, if not years, to be shown on television or at the cinema: 'Films shown in local cinemas are predominantly in English, the range available being in general similar to that of films available for general release in Britain: dubbing and/or subtitling are considered unnecessary also in this case' (Vella 2012: 541). In this way the Maltese can feel up to date and connected with the rest of the world as maintained by Camilleri Grima (2013: 566) who said that 'it is undesirable to give up the English heritage... which links us to the rest of the world', further substantiated by Sciriha and Vassallo (2006: 6) who suggest that the Maltese 'have always considered themselves lucky since, even though they have their own indigenous language, they recognise the importance of knowing other languages'. The only thing that is required to be able to enjoy these amenities is a good knowledge of the English language.

2.5 Maltese attitudes to choice of matrix language

This is not to say that attitudes to English have changed completely. There are many factors that contributed to and continue to have an effect on the attitude that some Maltese people have to the use of English in the spoken domain. Vella states that 'The necessity for bilingualism is recognised, even if not always actively accepted, graciously or otherwise, by all' (2012: 538). Sciriha and Vassallo (2006) note that attitudes to speaking English may vary geographically according to level of education, social class, economic situation and gender. Rosner and Joachimsem (2011: 10) note that in Malta 'there is a continuum of language-mixing and code-switching. Most Maltese speak only Maltese at home and among each other. English, on the other hand, is the language used in the written context of higher education and in communication with foreigners'. Vella (2012: 532) notes the same phenomenon saying that 'The notion of a continuum of use is employed as a means of explaining the complex linguistic behaviour of bilingual Maltese speakers, bilingual in Maltese and English'.

2.5.1 The influence of domain: the Sliema area and the southern/rural villages

In the central town of Sliema a large number of people consider their matrix language to be English. English here is given much more importance than in other localities so that its use in many domains may supersede the use of Maltese (Neame, 2006). People from Sliema are often seen as considering themselves more sophisticated, modern and metropolitan than other people. On the other hand, the villages in the south of Malta frown upon the extended use of English when speaking or even of using too much code-switching if the equivalent of the word is readily available and widely used in Maltese. In her research Bagley (2001) notes that this kind of speech many times produces a negative response in the listeners. Many of the inhabitants of these villages, and to a lesser extent in the smaller, slightly more remote or isolated villages all over the island, consider those who speak predominantly in English as snobbish, labelling them as 'tal-pepè' and as trying to establish a social distinction. On the other hand, 'Maltese speakers of English stigmatize speakers of Maltese, who are seen as less educated and as belonging to a lower social class' (Camilleri 1992: 19).

2.5.2 Socio-economic differences

Socio-economic differences may be the cause of these rifts between the villages in the south of Malta and those further north, where the south has been traditionally associated with lower levels of income and education. In fact, those who have a higher level of education tend to speak more English than those of a lower level of education. Perhaps this happens because those who reach higher levels of education have necessarily come in close and prolonged contact with English since English is the language of instruction in schools and later on, beyond secondary education, further education and research must usually be undertaken in English unless the field of research is in a Maltese context, as stated by Spiteri (2013). As Cutajar (2015: 18) found in her study, 'English language use was mainly a feature among students who form part of the highest socio-economic status groups'. Thus, in educational settings, such as the University of Malta, it is not uncommon to hear more people conversing

in English. Despite the negative attitudes of some to English-speaking native Maltese, most Maltese everywhere realise that English is 'an effective link with the outside world [and a] socially very desirable goal' (Borg 1986: 10) and recent studies have also found that negative attitudes to English have diminished (Caruana, 2007).

2.5.3 The influence of gender

Gender too may play a part in the use of English as the spoken language. Boys and young men can sometimes be considered as effeminate and teased by other boys if they use English to communicate with those of the same gender and age but who do not come from the same English-speaking background, as Portelli (2006), Bonnici (2007) and Caruana (2007) found. Girls are not usually subjected to such censorship in the same circumstances, this perhaps having a bearing on what Dewaile and Li Wei's (2013) study revealed of females' positive attitudes to and pervasive use of code-switching.

2.5.4 Migration and travel

Emigration has long been a fact of life for the Maltese and many people have relatives and friends who emigrated to different countries all over the world with a large number of these emigrants, due to Malta's historical connection with Britain, settling in Commonwealth countries such as England, Canada and Australia, all English-speaking countries. As King (1979: 109) remarks 'The common bond of English language, bequeathed to the island by a century and a half of British colonial rule, is an obvious factor here'. The internet has served to bring these relatives and friends back into regular contact with those who remained in Malta. However, the younger generations of these families living abroad are rarely fluent in Maltese, some having lived their entire lives in the migrant country. To be able to communicate with these relatives requires the Maltese to be able to communicate in English. It is taken for granted by most Maltese that it is the Maltese part of the family that must be able to linguistically accommodate the relatives living abroad and not vice versa.

In addition to the mass emigration which took place after the Second World War, since Malta became a part of the European Union, many Maltese have elected to study and many also to settle permanently, in countries in the European Union. This requires the Maltese to be able to communicate with those in the country of choice and this will, at least initially, be the English language although later the language of the country may also be learnt as 'a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures' (Council of Europe 2001: 168). The converse also is true with people from member states coming to live in Malta where they are sure they will be able to communicate in English with the native population. In such cases, the Maltese maintain they will speak exclusively in English to foreigners.

Besides the fact of emigration, nowadays the Maltese have much easier access to the rest of the world than they had before and many have taken to travelling abroad often. The way to facilitate communication once in a foreign country is to be able to communicate in English. Moreover, business often requires people to deal with foreigners and of course the one language that most often facilitates communication is English.

2.5.5 Adult education in Malta

Finally, even though the younger generations may seem to be the ones using English the most, the government of Malta has recently taken a great interest in adult education. There are many day and evening courses available for a nominal fee to those who would like to improve themselves and English, available for study at many levels, is one of the courses most subscribed to. Thus, it is easy to see why the use of English for spoken communication on the Maltese islands is not as stigmatised as it may once have been.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study attempted to discern patterns of code-switching that Maltese-speakers of Maltese use when speaking and the patterns of code-switching that the English-speaking Maltese use. The analysis of their chosen forms of communication takes place when in their family groups, during dinner time. Speaking was chosen as the means of communication that was more relevant to code-switching analysis because as Nortier (2009: 37) notes:

For code-switching research, the most important parts of language are speaking and listening. Reading and writing skills are less relevant, and sometimes completely irrelevant, since many languages and dialects, like Berber, do not have a (standard) written form.

Wray and Bloomer remark (2006: 97) 'The emphasis is on exploring the types of strategy that particular speakers use in specific contexts with particular people'. This particular setting was chosen as it was deemed the time when people are most relaxed and communicate with each other freely.

In addition, Sebba et al. (2012:2) note that:

a large amount of research in the field of bilingualism has focussed on the mixing of languages in discourse, in particular code-switching and related phenomena. Most of this work has studied spontaneously produced spoken data, usually described as 'conversational code-switching'. Much of this research has been done on spoken code-switching in informal contexts.

In fact, for this study, recordings of dinner time conversation were taken and then transcribed for analysis.

Unlike certain places, Malta presents a particular case because reading and writing in both Maltese and English are given equal importance in many social settings, if not in some of the higher educational settings, as noted in the introduction to this work. However, code-switching in the written word will not be taken into consideration since most Maltese seem able to rely on only one language, be it solely Maltese or solely English, to enable their communication in such cases (Brincat, 2006).

3.2 Choice of setting and interaction

Family members are usually those in whose company people feel they do not have to be on their guard or with whom they have to be at any pains to speak correctly. Thus, the language spoken with these people in the home, specifically during dinner time, is what the study analyses in the belief that the language used is the most spontaneous and instinctive. Case studies were chosen because they are instances that are 'frequently designed to illustrate a more general principle' (Nisbet and Watt 1984: 72) and because they provide 'a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles' (Cohen et al. 2007: 253).

3.3 Obtaining background information

A questionnaire was distributed to the participants in the case studies to provide certain background information that intended to perhaps illuminate particular common traits among the participants. The recorded conversations and the results of the questionnaire were compared to discern any co-relation between background information and speech patterns. The analysis of participants' speech records type and frequency of code-switched utterances, patterns of code-switching for each participant, frequency of use of borrowed words and lexical choice for particular topics.

3.4 Participant selection

Nortier (2009: 45) claims that:

Before recording a conversation, some preparatory work has to be done, for example by using the results of a survey study to select informants with the right linguistic background, and observations to select the right situations and conversational topics.

In fact, the participants for this study were chosen by 'judgement' sample (Wray and Bloomer, 2006), where participants are selected according to a preferred criterion, or a range of representative criteria.

The research is a case study of particular sets of people. They were chosen with the intention of sampling as wide a spectrum as possible of the Maltese population, when the number in the study is only thirty-two participants, but this probability sample 'seeks only to represent a particular group, a particular named section of the wider population' (Cohen et al. 2007: 110).

The sampling is in accordance with Silverman who states that 'qualitative researchers make claims about their ability to reveal the local practices' (2006: 20) although it is also conversely true that in case studies which analyse only a select group of people without actual 'figures, no generalizations about trends in language usage can be made' (Wray and Bloomer 2006: 97). Additionally, Dyer (1995: 48-49) comments that one has to be conscious that a process of selection has already taken place, and 'only the author knows what has been selected in or out, and on what criteria; indeed, the participants themselves may not know what selection has taken place'. This is how this study was conducted.

Participants were chosen according to several criteria, most importantly according to their perceived matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Some of the other criteria selected were the same variables specified by Wray and Bloomer who maintain that 'The sorts of speaker characteristics that are a backdrop to variation include age, gender, ethnic origin, social background, regional origin, level of education' (Wray and Bloomer 2006: 94). All the criteria for the selection of participants that was relevant to this study were included in the questionnaire the participants were asked to fill in as a record of their background information and as a means of ascertaining any code-switching tendency patterns that might emerge as traits shared by those with common backgrounds. Educational background and area of residence especially, were expected to make a difference to code-switching tendencies.

3.5 Criteria for participant selection and recruitment

The participants in the study were eight different families, where all the members had been born and lived all their lives in Malta. An important criterion was that no member of these families had spent any length of time living abroad or had studied abroad. Additionally, families consisting of a mother and father and two children were preferred. The children were calculated to be an important part of the study because it was thought that adults would be careful of what topics they discussed in front of their children and as a consequence, due to this natural and usual curtailing of conversation, it would not prove to be so daunting for them to have their conversation recorded.

Bearing in mind these criteria, four of the families were selected because they had a perceived matrix language of Maltese and another four families were selected because they perceived their matrix language to be English. In addition, as part of the selection process, the four Maltese-speaking families were chosen according to their educational background. In two of the families, the parents were both university graduates while the other two families were selected because neither of the parents were university graduates. To mirror this selection, the four English-speaking families would be subdivided along the same lines.

Firstly, it must be understood that asking people to record their conversation while with their families was not as straightforward a request as it seemed on the outset, mostly due to the fact that prospective participants did not know the exact details as to why their conversation would be recorded and what exactly would be analysed in their conversation. Frankfort-Nachmia and Nachmia (1992) explain that sometimes withholding information or deceiving the subjects in the study may be important but that as long as there is no risk to the subjects involved, it may be justified. Since there was absolutely no risk involved in this study, it was thought best to withhold the specifics of what the study would observe to limit the extent of the observer's paradox. However, in accordance with Cohen et al. (2007) the adults in the study were given assurance that their conversation would be recorded for linguistic purposes. Participants were assured they would be given all details immediately after the conversation was recorded but while they had still not forwarded the recording to the researcher. This allowed the participants the option of withdrawing their contribution to the study although

in the case, none of the participants felt threatened by having their speech patterns and code-switching practices examined.

It was believed that recording a conversation during dinner time, at home, would best suit the purposes of this study because people would speak naturally making it possible to examine their normal code-switching patterns. However, the assumption of dinner time being a relaxing time proved to be true to such an extent that it was almost detrimental to the recruiting of participants. As Cohen et al. (2007: 63) remark 'The home... is considered one of the most private settings and it follows then, that when people are relaxing at home, they do not appreciate having a recording device noting every word they say'.

The participants who eventually agreed to the proposal were known to the researcher and recorded their conversation because they were confident that their conversation would only be analysed for linguistic and academic purposes. They understood that the researcher would know who had provided the information and thus be able to identify the participants but that no one else would know their identity, important points also mentioned by Cohen et al. (2007). Participants were also assured their conversational topics would not be of any real importance or only superficially so, and this made them more willing to take part in the study. This tallies with what Cooper and Schindler (2001: 116) maintain, that 'explaining any deception and the reasons for it [and] describing the purposes, hypotheses, objectives and methods of the research' would help justify any necessary deception to prospective participants.

The Maltese-speaking families conforming to the required criteria were found without much difficulty and recordings were made of their conversations. This is in accordance with the statistics aforementioned, that the great majority of Maltese are Maltese-speaking. The families were not told that it was their code-switching that would be examined until after they had sent their recorded conversations.

Finding participants who adhered to the same criteria as the Maltese-speaking families but who were English-speaking was not as simple. English-speaking families where the parents had a university degree were still fairly easily recruited but English-speaking families where neither one of the parents had a degree, and had neither lived nor studied abroad, proved extremely difficult to locate. Many of the people who were English-speaking could not help

in the study because either one or the other of the parents held a university degree or had lived abroad or was married to a foreigner with whom they were obliged to communicate in English because he or she did not understand Maltese. Either one of these criterion would preclude the family's eligibility to be part of the study.

Over and above these limiting factors, asking a family to record their meal time conversation is a very intimate request, equivalent to inviting an unknown person to a family dinner. Unless the participants were known to the researcher and particularly wished to help in the research being undertaken, requests were met with an apologetic denial.

Furthermore, the answer elicited by some people who were asked if they considered themselves English-speaking, was significant to note. Several said that they had once been English-speaking but now their children had grown up and left home, the parents had reverted to speaking mostly in Maltese. This complements the suggestion put forth in the Literature review that parents wish to encourage their children to learn English because they consider it important to be fluent in the language. In their study, Sciriha and Vassallo (2006: 21) note 'when respondents speak to their children the percentages of Maltese language use decreases when compared with language use among adults (from 90.4% to 76. 6%) while in contrast, the percentages of English language used go up'.

3.6 The chosen families and data collection

Because of the difficulties encountered in the finding of the appropriate participants, concessions had to be made as to the selection of the proposed participants. In one case the family recorded consisted of mother, father, a son who had recently left home and the maternal grandmother. In another family, the children were two boys, rather than a boy and a girl, as in the other families. In yet another family, the children were quite young. In general, however, the participants conformed to what were deemed the basic and most important of the criteria and it was not considered that the study and the data were compromised because of these differences.

Despite the fact that pains were taken to ensure that the participants would be at their ease for the data collection by not having any outsider present during the conversation, it is to be noted that since all the participants knew they were being recorded, the conversations must still be considered to have some elements of self-conscious speech. Nortier affirms that 'The presence of a researcher during such conversations can make the situation less spontaneous, if she or he is an outsider' (2009: 44). In the case of these conversations, neither the researcher nor any other outsider was present but the recording device, albeit an unobtrusive one, was known to be recording and the observer's paradox must be taken for granted. Labov (1972: 209) noted that 'the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation'. However, Cohen et al. (2007: 76) also believe that 'It is important for the researcher to reveal fully his or her identity and background' and in respect of this study the researcher was known to at least one of the participants in each family who eventually took part in the study.

In this case, the observer's paradox may have been reduced somewhat because the participants were told their conversation would only be part of a linguistic study and it was hoped that though restricted, this knowledge would prevent them from subconsciously adjusting their language (Wray and Bloomer, 2006).

The fact that all the families felt reassured and at ease when they were told it was only code-switching that would be inspected, is a point of some interest. It shows that many Maltese do not consider the fact that they code-switch with particular negativity and have no compunction in having such tendencies made, what can be regarded to a certain degree, as public. Where once school children were chided if they code-switched while speaking, nowadays people are much less self-conscious of such linguistic behaviour. Besides the fact that these families were at home, this lack of concern about code-switching may be due in part to the more widely-spread knowledge that code-switching is a natural part of bilingual speech.

3.7 Recording the conversations

Silverman (2006: 21) believes that 'recordings, based on standardised conventions, provide an excellent record of 'naturally occurring' interaction. Compared to field notes of observational data, recordings and transcripts can offer a highly reliable record to which researchers can return'. Despite Silverman's claim, Borjars and Burrige (2010) note that speakers are very much aware when their conversation is being listened to by any outsider and make changes in their speech according to audience. However, knowing that there is a recording device on in the background, was considered to be less of a hindrance to normal conversation than having an outsider present at table. Moreover, Borjars and Burrige note that physical setting and even the topics under discussion make a difference to the way people speak (2010). In the case of this study any disturbance to speaking patterns due to physical setting were mostly eliminated because all of the conversations recorded were carried out in the participants' own homes. The participants also chose to speak about whatever subjects they wished since this was to be as natural and spontaneous a conversation as possible, despite the fact that what people 'talk about obviously has an effect on their vocabulary' (Stenström and Jørgensen 2009: 3). This factor shall be given due consideration in the analysis of the conversations.

Initially, it was intended that families participating in the study would be asked to record their conversation for thirty minutes. However, for the purposes of the research the fifteen minutes occurring in the middle of the recording would be used for analyses. This middle fifteen-minute selection was chosen because it was considered that after several minutes had elapsed, participants would be feeling more at ease with the recording taking place and their conversation would be more natural, as professed by Biber and Finegan (1994).

Unfortunately, some of the conversations submitted for the study were not 30 minutes in duration. This discrepancy in recording times was due to various reasons such as the fact that families with younger children simply do not sit at the dinner table for very long as children tend not to stay in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the analysed conversations did not all abide by the original intention of selecting fifteen minutes from a half-hour conversation.

Finally, a mobile phone to record the conversations was conceived to be the best device to use for this study. Its appearance in the middle of a dining table is usually of no consequence in most families and therefore, this would prevent the 'subjects be intimidated by the experimental set-up' (Wray and Bloomer 2006: 148). A professional recording device would potentially make the participants feel uncomfortable and introduce a further, unnecessary element of awkwardness (ten Have, 2007). The use of the mobile phone proved to be a good recording device as conversations were clear and fairly easily transcribed. Of course, there were parts of the recordings where the conversation was indistinct for a few seconds but this was usually due to mumbling on the part of one of the participants or else to overlapping when more than one person spoke at the same time as another. However, in spite of these problems, many observed by Tannen (2005) in her study of dinner time conversation, most recordings provided enough instances of code-switching for patterns to emerge quite clearly.

3.8 The questionnaire

After the participants had sent their conversation recording to the researcher, they were asked to fill in a questionnaire for each member of the family. This questionnaire asked about various aspects of the participants' lives and language use. Because it was a fairly detailed questionnaire that enquired into many facets of the participants' lives, it could have been deemed as 'potentially face-threatening' (Fink 2003:32) and 'Some surveyors argue that it may be unethical to force participants to answer questions'. Thus, the questionnaire made it clear the participants could opt not to fill in questions which they considered intrusive or even to refrain from filling in the entire questionnaire. In addition, the younger participants were given a shorter, simpler version of the questionnaire, thus making it easier and less time-consuming for them or their parents to fill in. A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix 9.

The questionnaire asked firstly about age and gender, present place of residence as well as the locality where the participants resided when young. It enquired into the types of school the participants attended and the highest level of education attained. These questions were

meant to examine if there was any correlation between any of these components and code-switching practices.

The next set of questions asked about language use in childhood and perceptions of language use in the home and at work. Further questions asked about perceptions of language fluency in both Maltese and English when speaking, reading and writing. Participants were asked if they believed that they code-switched when they were speaking, to indicate how often they thought this code-switching occurred and what their attitude to code-switching was. In addition, participants were asked about whether they thought there were situations where the use of one language was preferred over the other. Once again these questions purported to find any possible connection between the participants' answers and their use of code-switching. As Trudgill (2000: 2) declares, 'our speech generally show(s) where we come from, and what sort of background we have'. This study attempted to find links and similarities because although only eight families were taking part in the study, the number of participants reached approximately thirty, a number large enough for possible pertinent links to be attempted between participant background and language use. Cohen et al. (2007: 101) remark 'a sample size of thirty is held by many to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis on their data'. They also maintain that this is a very small number and that if certain variables are included as part of the study then each variable should have thirty instances. Thus, the number thirty can only be used statistically if the study looks at one whole group of people. However, the questions in the questionnaire allow for connections to be made if the participants are considered as a cross-section of the population in general.

Finally, one of the questions asked of participants enquired about perceived language use and then examined actual language use as seen in the recordings since, as Wray and Bloomer (2006: 154-155) observe, 'Respondents cannot always tell you what they actually do, only what they believe they do – self-reporting is not necessarily very accurate because we often don't know ourselves very well'.

The questionnaire itself consisted of three pages but would probably take only about five minutes to fill in as lengthy questionnaires are not recommended (Fink, 2003) since questionnaires that are too long prove to be time-consuming and thus raise the probability of being filled in unreliably. Parents of younger children had to fill in the questionnaire for

their children but, as noted previously, the children's questionnaire was shorter than the adults' version since several questions pertinent to adults did not apply to the children.

With due regard to the participants and as recommended by Cohen et al. (2007: 338) the questionnaire was made to:

look easy, attractive and interesting rather than complicated, unclear, forbidding and boring. A compressed layout is uninviting and it clutters everything together; a larger questionnaire with plenty of space for questions and answers is more encouraging to respondents.

As also recommended, the questionnaire had clearly highlighted sections and headings. The questionnaire asked participants to include only the initial of their names (and not their surnames) but the 'guarantee of eventual anonymity and non-traceability will still need to be given' (Verma and Mallick 1999, as cited in Cohen et al.: 121). The omission of surnames and using only the first letter of the first name conferred a degree of further anonymity.

Every effort was made to keep the questionnaire as simple as possible in order to minimise inconvenience to the respondents. Several of the questions were straightforward factual questions such as those asking about age, gender, educational background and questions that asked for a one-word answer but some of the questions asked participants to rate their answer according to the Likert frequency or quality scale. There were also six open-ended questions where an opinion was asked of the participants. The close-ended questions were to supply data that could be statistically analysed while the open-ended questions allowed the respondents to answer freely (Fink, 2003). Lastly, the questionnaire was self-administered and respondents were able to fill it in, in the privacy of their own homes and at their convenience.

3.9 Ethical considerations

All the conversation recordings were conducted as a family. Therefore, any children under eighteen years of age were automatically supervised by parents who were consenting to the recording of their children by allowing them to be a part of the recording. Moreover, if the questionnaire was not actually filled in by the parents themselves, the parents were asked to

sign a consent form allowing any children under eighteen to submit the questionnaire. Thus, both the recordings and the questionnaire may be considered as 'Informed consent...defined by Diener and Crandall (1978) as "the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions"' (Cohen et al. 2007: 52).

The consent form that was included informed participants of their right to choose not to answer the questionnaire or part of it and to withdraw from the study at any time. Before the conversations were recorded and the questionnaire was administered, the Faculty Research Ethics Committee at the University of Malta was applied to for approval to conduct the research. Finally, the participants were assured of their anonymity, the confidential nature of the research, that the recorded conversations would not be freely available to any but the researcher, supervisor and examiners, and would be destroyed after the study had reached its end.

Chapter 4: Data overview

4.1 Introduction

For the purposes of this study eight different families from different backgrounds were asked to participate in the research by providing a sample of their dinner time conversation. All the eight families had to be native Maltese who had neither studied nor lived abroad. In addition, none of the families had foreigners forming part of the familial nucleus as otherwise, speaking English would cease to be a choice and become a necessity. As Treffers-Dallers (2009: 62) believes, 'Normally functioning bilingual speakers are able to separate their languages in speech production; they can produce monolingual utterances whenever the situation or the interlocutor require it'. Since speaking Maltese while a foreign person is present would be considered rude and excluding, it would be purposely avoided and thus the conversation could not be considered natural. The aim of the study was to examine Maltese/English communication in Maltese families, therefore, all members within the family would have to be able to communicate in both languages, albeit perhaps to varying degrees of fluency. However, it should always be kept in mind that as Vella (2012: 542) notes 'The question of which language to use in the home is an immensely loaded one for many families' and many parents carefully choose which language to speak in the home according to which one they deem will be most beneficial to their children. On the other hand, as proved to be the case in some families and shall be noted in this study, it might be that when at home, most parents simply speak the language they feel most comfortable speaking, many times the language they themselves were brought up speaking.

4.2 Contributors to the data

The eight families were split into two: four families who considered their matrix language to be Maltese and four families who considered their matrix language English. Within these two groups there was a further breakdown: two of the four Maltese families were University of Malta graduates, while the other two were not. The English-speaking families were divided in

the same way. However, considering that the great majority of the island's natives use Maltese as their language of choice when speaking, it is not surprising that participants who regularly spoke English in the home were difficult to locate because there is only 'a small percentage of the offspring of Maltese parents whose first language is English' (Vella 2012: 542).

On the other hand, it was much more common to encounter families who said they considered themselves bilinguals and who regularly used Malta's two official languages in their daily conversations. After some deliberation, it was deemed that including at least one family who considered itself bilingual would be quite plausible and in line with the objectives of this study, since these bilingual families are a definite part of Maltese society, probably forming an even bigger percentage of the inhabitants of the island than those who claim to be more strictly English-speaking. Camilleri's study would group these families under 'Family Type C' (1995: 84) where the children within these families would grow up learning and using Maltese and English at the same time, maintaining that in this type of family, 'both Maltese and English are acquired as a first language and are used interchangeably', and that this type of family is more common than 'Family Type D' where English is the first language that is learnt and where Maltese is learned 'later through formal teaching at school and through socialization with speakers of Maltese' (Camilleri 1995: 84). Grech and Dodd (2008: 156) also report the same thing when they say that 'Parental report indicates that one of the languages may be used consistently at home while other families use both languages'. In addition, Borg (2004, as cited in Camilleri Grima, 2013) also notes that most Maltese families consider both English and Maltese to be important languages because Maltese is used in day to day communication and ties its speakers together while English is considered the international language that ties its speakers with the rest of the world. Thus, the final participants in this study included a family whose members declared themselves regular users of both Maltese and English.

4.3 Emergence of common themes

4.3.1 Parents' concern over the acquisition of English

It is of some interest to make some observations pertinent to this study that were made by the present researcher while trying to locate appropriate participants. It is of note that the Maltese are very much aware of the fact that 'a qualification in English language at the end of secondary school education is necessary for post-secondary studies and most employment' (Spiteri 2013: 2). Thus a number of families opt to send their children to either church or independent schools because the language of communication is more likely to be English than in state schools (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006). This would assure the parents that their children would grow up able to communicate fluently in English.

4.3.2 Concern over the acquisition of Maltese

The plan to ensure fluency in English, however, often backfires, forcing parents to revise their speaking choices in the home. Many couples consciously choose the language to be spoken in the home carefully, but sometimes language choice in the home happens 'by chance' (Baker 2011: 98), due only to the parents' background, the language they were brought up speaking and the way they usually communicate with each other. In the course of trying to locate the desired participants for this study, the present researcher encountered several families who pointed out that although they may have been English-speaking themselves as children, they purposely did not speak solely English in the home any more. Several said they had consciously made the decision not to speak English at home because it was proving detrimental to their children. Their children were communicating in English at school and then coming home to English-speaking parents and perhaps siblings. Parents would eventually realise that their children were growing up fluent in English, which they strongly believed would prove advantageous, but, on the other hand, their communication skills in Maltese would be lacking. This was the same response given to Sciriha in her studies (Sciriha, 1997). Some parents even reported concern with the fact that their children were unable to

understand and speak to grandparents, cousins and other friends and relatives who were mostly Maltese-speaking.

4.3.3 Acquiring fluency in both Maltese and English

All these parents, however, admitted that their main concern over the lack of Maltese communication skills had to do with education. They wanted their children to be fluent in English as knowledge in this language would benefit the children in their studies but they realised that their children would equally be unable to continue their studies if they did not also know Maltese well. Therefore, since the parents knew their children would be regularly exposed to English in the school, it was their job to enhance their children's Maltese language skills at home. This meant that they would try to communicate as much as possible in this latter language when together as a family and thus could not consider themselves English-speaking. One of the participating families proves the point of deficiency in Maltese fluency rather painfully as shall be seen in Chapter 5. It was of interest worthy of notice to hear the same thoughts and experiences repeated by a number of different families.

4.3.4 Communicating in English with younger children

Another recurring theme that emerged in the course of the search for the appropriate participants had to do with parents who admitted to speaking English in the home while their children were young but now their children had grown up, they had reverted to speaking Maltese. The parents revealed that they had made the decision to speak English at home to make sure their children grew up fluent in the language but that since this aim had been achieved and the necessity to speak English had been removed, they no longer felt the need to use this language and now felt more at ease speaking Maltese. This accords with Vella (2012: 542) who maintains that 'the parents will often speak to each other in Maltese but to the children in English'. Parents also revealed that they often unconsciously switched back to speaking English when they were with their children or grandchildren, simply as a matter of habit. The same trend is also observed in Sciriha and Vassallo's studies (2006).

These observations tally with what was observed in the conversations that were recorded by the participants who were actually in the study. The adults switched between languages much more often than the children did, regardless of the children's age. In addition, when adults spoke to each other they often spoke in Maltese. Among the Maltese families, many times code-switching was engaged in when addressing the children rather than when the adults were speaking to each other.

The trends that emerged in the course of looking for the appropriate participants confirmed what Sciriha found in her 2002 study. She found that 98.6% of Maltese people confirmed that their native language was Maltese. This high percentage was one that Sciriha had observed consistently rising over her longitudinal study covering a period of ten years and wherein she makes references to 'five surveys ... [where] the overwhelming majority of respondents transmit Maltese to their offspring and openly declare that Maltese is an important language since they rank it number one from a list of seven languages that are taught at school' (2002: 104). This is what was proven by the answers that were given the present researcher while speaking to prospective participants due to the difficulties that arose in searching for English-speaking Maltese natives, necessitating informally interviewing many more people than was expected necessary.

4.4 The data recordings

The main data used in this study were the transcripts made of recordings of ten to fifteen minutes duration which were sent to the present researcher via the internet. In an effort to encourage prospective participants to take part in the study, these people were assured that they would need no more complicated piece of equipment than their own smartphones which all come with an audio recording device ready installed. The participants were shown or referred to the recording application, usually called 'Voice Recorder' and asked to set this application on 'Meeting mode'. According to this setting: 'The microphone is sensitive to sounds from all directions. The phone can distinguish up to 8 sources of sound. After recording, tap the voice icons to include or exclude certain sound sources when listening to your recordings'. The recordings made on the participants' mobile phones were then sent to

the present researcher's email address and proved adequate in quality for the purposes of the research.

The recordings next needed to be carefully transcribed to allow easy analysis of the participants' utterances. Careful transcription ensured the researcher became familiar with and aware of many pertinent and/or interesting aspects of language use.

Once the actual conversations were transcribed, a translation of the Maltese parts of the recordings was inserted and the original conversations were encoded to allow readers to be able to readily observe code-switching practices at a glance.

4.5 The transcripts

In transcribing the data, remaining as faithful as possible to the actual words spoken by the participants was given importance but it was of course impossible to understand every single word uttered. People mumble or lower their voices when speaking and therefore there were several instances where certain words or phrases were not understood. Such problems are mentioned by Tannen (2005), as also occurring in her recordings of conversations. In such cases three question marks (???) were inserted in the place where such instances occurred or else the word 'undecipherable' was inserted. Despite some instances of undecipherable words or phrases within each recording, there were ample opportunities to detect the use of code-switching.

4.5.1 Minor problems when working with recordings

As is always the case when listening to recordings made of the spontaneous conversation of family groups, outsiders cannot always understand what the family is talking about. This may be because of several reasons. In audio recordings, body language cannot be seen or understood. In addition, people often refer to events or people that are obvious to the members of the family but which cannot be understood by outsiders. One last observation is that since the conversations often referred to what was occurring at the time in the country

or else what is considered a part of common Maltese culture, these may not be readily understood after some time has elapsed or by those unfamiliar with that particular culture. Again, these instances do not detract from the observation of code-switching tendencies.

Since all the families were asked to record their conversations during dinner time at home, then all the recordings have the usual sounds that accompany dinner time such as the clattering of forks and knives, pouring of water, etc. but these sounds are not noted down in the transcripts. It also goes without saying that part of the conversation centred around the subject of eating, or not eating, as was the case with the younger children.

Interestingly, several families had their television switched on and so this can be heard in the background. Sometimes the conversation centred around what was being shown on television. Television programmes and the subject of eating both form an integral part of conversation at home and thus provide information about how these common topics are discussed. When deemed necessary a short note is included as to why there is a certain turn in topic due to a Maltese cultural event. Pauses or hesitations are also not noted in the transcripts as it is the code-switching which is being examined in this study.

4.5.2 Translations of the Maltese conversations

Since four of the participating families were Maltese speakers, translations are provided following each participant's turn. To distinguish between the original utterance and the translated one, the latter is written in italics directly underneath the original utterance. In cases where only one or two words need to be translated, then the translation of that word or two words is placed underneath the original words but the whole utterance is not translated. The need for translations diminished in the cases where the matrix language was English but it still proved necessary to provide a translation in some places, since English-speaking Maltese use some Maltese in their utterances.

The translations from the original Maltese are not word for word translations. This study analyses instances of code-switching and thus faithful translations are not of the essence. Instead the translations provide the reader with as accurate an idea as possible of the original utterance. In addition, in places there is a short note provided within brackets to explain

where a Maltese utterance rendered into English seems to make no sense as in puns or expressions.

To protect the anonymity of the participating families and in accordance with the declarations made to them by the present researcher, all names are changed. Proper names of places and things are not considered as uses of code-switching. Therefore, such names as, for example, 'Eurovision', are not coded as being code-switched words when used by a family who perceive themselves as predominantly Maltese-speaking. The same is true when proper nouns in Maltese are used by the families that consider themselves primarily English-speaking. In addition, Italian words were not taken into consideration in this study.

4.6 Encoding the data

Before any observations of the main data could be endeavoured, a coding system for code-switching tendencies was devised and applied to the primary data of the study. Utterances were examined and then coded for instances of single word, intersentential, intrasentential and tag switching and for borrowings. The coding consisted of highlighting in different colours the different instances of code-switching. In this way, by simply scrolling down one family's transcription it becomes clear at a glance how much and what type of code-switching (if any) they employ in their speech.

The transcripts of the families that perceived themselves as being primarily Maltese-speaking were coded according to how much English they used, while the primarily English-speaking families were noted for how much Maltese they used. The transcript of the family that considered itself as bilingual was coded according to how much Maltese they used, as the person in contact with the present researcher had declared herself English-speaking when originally approached as a possible participant.

It was inevitable that problems with labelling the code-switching would occur due to the marked differences in the Maltese and English languages, Maltese being a Semitic language and English being a Germanic language. In some cases, one Maltese word may translate into several English words, for example in the instance of the word 'ħaduli' which, translated into

English, would be 'he took it away from me'. In some cases the Maltese word could be considered as an instance of single word code-switching but in cases where the Maltese word translated into a phrase it was considered a case of intersentential or intrasentential code-switching, depending on actual use within the context. Thus, some single words would be highlighted in one colour code while another instance of a single word would be highlighted as a phrase and therefore a different colour code.

The highlight colours were assigned the following code-switching meanings:

- Single words: **yellow**
- Intersentential: **blue**
- Intrasentential: **grey**
- Tags: **pink**
- Borrowings: **green**

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter takes a close look at the data provided by the families who agreed to be part of this research project and is compiled namely from three sources: the recordings in their transcript form, the answers to the questionnaires that accompanied the recordings and informal interviews with the current researcher where participants volunteered information they felt might prove of interest to a linguistic study. Initially, the data for each family is examined on its own, that is, within the context of the same family, but then compared to the other families, first to those with the same matrix language, and then to those with a different matrix language. Each family's recording is studied for the number of instances of code-switching as well as the type of code-switching engaged in.

5.2 The self-perceived Maltese-speaking families

5.2.1 Family 1: Background

The parents in this family were born and raised in villages in the south of Malta, the location they currently call their home. They both attended state schools although the father (45 years of age), attended a church secondary school. It should be noted that up to 2007, many boys in Malta sat for what was known as the 'common entrance' exam. The best students then went to the Maltese church-run schools, considered to hold a certain prestige over state-run schools (Sciriha, 2005). Both parents then went on to obtain a degree from the University of Malta. The mother is a teacher and the father is a Financial Controller and at the workplace both are obliged to speak Maltese and English; the mother while in the classroom, due to the fact that there are often foreign students in her classroom, and the father because many of his company's business partners are foreigners.

Once they are home or speaking to other people from their villages, the adults of the family opt to speak in Maltese, the language they spoke as children and in which they consider themselves most fluent, although the mother declares a preference for reading and writing in English. They consider their reading and writing skills in Maltese and English to be either 'very good' or 'excellent'. While the mother says she enjoys having two languages at her disposal, the father prefers to use only one language when he speaks because he feels it 'is a good indication of one's command of the language' (quote from his questionnaire).

The children, a 15-year-old boy and a 13-year-old girl, attend church schools and own to speaking Maltese at home and with their friends. They both feel they are competent users of both languages although the son clearly prefers to use Maltese for all his communication needs. He has a marked preference for Maltese and will invariably berate those who substitute English words for commonly available words in Maltese. In an informal discussion, the mother revealed that in response to her son's dislike of code-switching into English, she is careful to use only the Maltese language when in his presence but admitted that she often uses whole sentences or phrases in English when speaking to her daughter since she knows the daughter, contrary to her brother, enjoys using the English language occasionally, when speaking. This statement is substantiated by the present researcher who can attest to the mother's frequent use of English in her conversation when at work. This dislike of the son might account, in part, for the family's marked lack of code-switching. In fact, the mother believes that it is the interlocutor who influences her speech patterns the most which is what the Accommodation Theory and Audience Design maintain. The Accommodation Theory proposed by Giles and Powesland (1975) states that when a person is speaking, he or she tends to modulate his or her speech patterns depending on the person with whom he or she is speaking. Similarly, in his Audience Design theory, Alan Bell (1984) proposes that a speaker tends to adjust the way he or she speaks according to his or her known audience. Both theories follow Labov's studies (1964) which proved that when people are talking together, they tend to adapt their speech to imitate each other's and thus their speech becomes similar. Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 are a summary of the information from Family 1's questionnaires.

Table 5.1: Family 1 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 1	mother	45	Paola	Tarxien	state	state	yes
	father	45	Qormi	Tarxien	state	church	yes
	daughter	13	na	M'Scala	church	church	na
	son	15	na	M'Scala	state	church	na

Table 5.2: Family 1 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/ profession	Language spoken at work/ school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 1	mother	spoke Maltese at home	Maltese	teacher	Maltese and English	foreign students	no answer given	no answer given
	father	spoke Maltese at home	Maltese	financial controller	Maltese and English	colleagues often foreigners	in the villages	to tourists & at business meetings
	daughter	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	Maltese	na	with friends	na
	son	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	Maltese	na	with friends	na

Table 5.3: Family 1 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing
Family 1	mother	Maltese	English	English	excellent	excellent	excellent	very good	very good	very good
	father	Maltese	M & E	M & E	excellent	excellent	excellent	very good	very good	very good
	daughter	Maltese	English	Maltese	excellent	excellent	excellent	very good	excellent	very good
	son	Maltese	Maltese	Maltese	excellent	excellent	very good	average	very good	very good

5.2.2 The recording

In actuality, the recording of this family’s conversation tallies quite well with what its members have to say about their language habits. All family members tend to use mostly Maltese when interacting together, using a minimum of English, mostly one-word insertions. The English words they do use include words that do not have an equivalent in Maltese so that the English word is almost always used instead. These are words such as ‘fridge’, ‘freezer’, ‘cowboy’, ‘cupboard’ and ‘poster’.

The family, however, also uses a number of words which are often used in English but where the equivalent in Maltese is also quite common, such as ‘baby’, ‘bedroom’ and ‘pregnant’. In some cases the equivalent in Maltese is actually even similar sounding but the participants still chose to use the English version (consider ‘*operazzjoni*’/operation, ‘*karattru*’/character, and ‘*lirici*’/lyrics.) Language use occasionally seemed to depend somewhat on the topic of conversation since when the family started talking about education they used such words as ‘lesson’, ‘O level’, ‘LSA’ and ‘teacher’.

A few words used by this family can also be considered borrowings because the words have been changed both phonologically and morphologically into Maltese and adopted by most Maltese speakers. These were the words '*issetjaw*' ('they set') and '*iċċekjalekx*' (if he checked for you). Such words as 'football', 'bacon', and 'television', have all also been adopted into Maltese and many people write these words according to the Maltese phonetic spelling thus: *futboll*, *bejken* and *televixin* although in some cases using the Maltese spelling is still up to the individual at this point in time.

The greatest use of English words was by far the one-word insertions. However, there were some instances of intersentential and even intrasentential code-switching. Most of these code-switched utterances were made by the mother and the father. For example, the mother says at one point, '*Għax* she didn't give her best, *qas iċċaqalqet xejn fuq il-palk*' (because she didn't give her best, she didn't move at all on the stage).

It was of interest to note that despite the family being clearly Maltese dominant, they recited an English prayer before eating. Sciriha and Vassallo (2006) observed that the great majority of the Maltese tend to pray in Maltese although the numbers of those who pray in English at home is slightly higher than those praying in English in church. Additionally, the children referred to their parents as 'mummy' and 'daddy' but this is consistent with how many Maltese refer to their parents (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006). The family all use 'thank you' and 'please' in English, polite forms also used regularly by the Maltese in everyday conversation.

It is worth noting that this family actually code-switches very little but what is surprising is that both parents use English extensively in the workplace and studied at university level where English is the medium of instruction. What does fit in with the established Maltese norms is that the family comes from the south part of Malta where speaking in English is very often considered snobbish. This is, in fact, what the father declares is his own mother's attitude to those Maltese who speak in English. His very negative attitude to code-switching, which he believes should not be indulged in, would probably stem from this and tallies with Weinreich's (1953) negative attitude to inter- and intrasentential code-switching. What is ironic is that despite his negative attitude to code-switching, the father is the one who by far uses most English in his utterances. This is consistent with Neame's (2006: 37) study where her 'results reveal that though respondents displayed negative attitudes towards code-switching, nevertheless, they still code-switched'.

Table 5.4 shows the self-perceived code-switching and attitudes to code-switching of Family 1.

Table 5.4: Family 1 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 1	mother	Often but depends on interlocutor	sometimes	enjoy using two languages	no answer
	father	rarely	never	terrible habit	using one language shows linguistic competence
	daughter	rarely	rarely	na	na
	son	rarely	rarely	na	na

5.2.3 Family 2: Background

The parents in Family 2 now live in Attard, a village in central Malta and come from neighbouring villages in central Malta too. Both studied first in state schools and then graduated from the University of Malta going on to become teachers. At the place of work, they speak English and Maltese since the subjects they teach (Computing and Chemistry) involve the learning of many scientific words in the former language and their students have to sit for exams in that language also. These teachers, however, recognise the fact that their students may prefer to have explanations delivered in Maltese and therefore they make use of translanguaging (Garcia and Li Wei, 2014) to facilitate learning. They believe that despite the fact that their students need to take their exam in English, they learn better if the teacher's explanation of content is conducted in Maltese, a belief fostered by linguists such as Lewis, Bryn and Baker (2012).

Despite the use of two languages within the classroom, these parents openly confess their dislike for code-switching although the mother declares she enjoys knowing two languages well. She is an English graduate (although she teaches computing) but believes her Maltese is more fluent than her English. The lack of fluency in English when speaking may be due to her not speaking the language very often, given that she teaches in a state school located in the south of Malta. She concedes to delivering her lesson in Maltese, following the example suggested by Brincat (2006) where 'the normal pattern is to use the terminology in textbooks, which is English, but with the sentences strung together in Maltese' (Brincat 2006: 155). She modulates her speech according to interlocutor thus following the Accommodation Theory, but is keenly aware of which language she is using and tries to refrain from code-switching as, like her husband, she looks negatively upon it. She will only code-switch if the switch will add meaning to an utterance. For their usual communication needs these parents prefer using Maltese.

Strangely, considering their parents' attitudes to language, although the 11-year-old daughter and 9-year-old son own to speaking Maltese at home, the girl says she prefers speaking English, which is the language she speaks mostly at school, and the boy says he speaks both Maltese and English, the latter when speaking to a non-native Maltese friend. The use of English in the state school these children attend may be due to the recent phenomenon of an influx of foreigners attending state schools as the number of migrants arriving in Malta continues to increase.

Tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 synthesise the information from Family 2's questionnaires.

Table 5.5: Family 2 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 2	mother	39	Rabat	Attard	state	state	yes
	father	40	Pieta	Attard	state	state	yes
	daughter	11	na	Attard	state	na	na
	son	9	na	Attard	state	na	na

Table 5.6: Family 2 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 2	mother	husband averse to speaking English	Maltese	teacher	Maltese	M for communication; repeat in E for instruction	Maltese puritans & foreigners	to foreigners & English speaking Maltese
	father	Better at M; less fluent in E	Maltese	teacher	Maltese and English	use of many scientific terms	when abroad for privacy	to foreigners & English speaking relatives
	daughter	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	English	speak English with friends	at home	with friends
	son	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	Maltese and English	na	during Maltese lesson	with foreign friends

Table 5.7: Family 2 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speak in	read in	write in	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing
Family 2	mother	depends on subject & context	English	English	excellent	excellent	very good	very good	excellent	excellent
	father	Maltese	English	English	very good	very good	very good	very good	very good	very good
	daughter	English	English	English	very good	very good	very good	excellent	excellent	excellent
	son	Maltese	English	English	excellent	average	average	excellent	excellent	excellent

5.2.4 The recording

In accordance with their professed negative attitude to code-switching, this family does not engage in much language alteration. The greatest number of code-switched words is single-word insertions, many easily recognised as relating to particular topics, namely the school and food. For example, the family uses the words ‘noticeboard’, ‘teacher’ and ‘stationery’, and refer to ‘berries’, ‘sugar’ and ‘cookies’. Some of these words have a quite commonly used equivalent in Maltese as do other non-food related words such as ‘baby’, ‘girls’ and ‘why’ but other words are almost always used in English by Maltese natives (consider birthday, fridge and party).

Borrowings also form a part of Family 2’s English code-switching repertoire. They use ‘*irrekordjha*’ (he recorded her), ‘cake’ and ‘coach’. These words are many times given Maltese spellings, thus ‘*kompjuter*’, ‘*kejk*’ and ‘*kowč*’, although pronunciation remains the same as in English.

The mother indulges in a little humour when she literally translates a Maltese expression into English, knowing her Maltese family will understand what she means although no non-Maltese-speaking person would be able to decipher the meaning. Maltese people fluent in both official languages often indulge in such humour to do with literal translations with other fluent bilinguals.

In an informal conversation with the father, he revealed that his children often enjoy watching television programmes and then either re-enacting episodes together or making up new scenarios from the programmes. Here the children speak exclusively in English, even imitating the characters' accents. However, should a parent interrupt their play with a question, they answer in Maltese before going back to their play in English. The same phenomenon was found to be true in Sciriha and Vassallo's study (2006: 17) which stated that 'When speaking to their siblings the percentages of English language use was greater than that with parents'.

In general, Family 2 does not use very many English words when speaking together. However, they can still be considered as using a fair amount more than their corresponding Family 1. Table 5.8 shows the attitudes of this family to code-switching which, to a certain extent, correspond with the way they speak in the recording. More exact numbers and figures will be discussed further on in the study.

Table 5.8: Family 2 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 2	mother	all the time (often unintentionally)	rarely (& intentionally)	enjoy using two languages	CS can add meaning to utterances but linguistic incompetence is bad
	father	sometimes	rarely	avoid it	should use one language; avoid CS
	daughter	never	never	na	na
	son	never	never	na	na

5.2.5 Family 3: Background

The members of Family 3 are comparatively younger than the members of the previous two families. All the members within it grew up and continue to reside in Zebugg, another village in central Malta, but one considered more rural than Attard. The parents attended state schools although the mother also went to a primary church school. The 35-year-old mother is a hairdresser and the 34-year-old father is a self-employed carpenter, neither of whom attended university. They speak Maltese because they have always spoken this language and it is therefore the language they are most fluent in. They believe the Maltese should speak their native language and they will only speak English to people who are foreigners and therefore, do not understand the language. The mother believes that those Maltese natives who speak English 'think they are better than others because they speak English not Maltese' (according to her questionnaire). The father, who states he does not have a negative attitude to code-switching, prefers the Maltese language in general, but thinks he 'often' uses words in English in his conversation, a declaration which is not borne out by his speech in the recording.

The son and daughter are very young children, aged 6 and 4 respectively. The son attends a church school while the daughter attends a state school. Despite the association church schools have with promoting the English language (Sciriha, 1996), the son speaks Maltese at home although due to foreign students in school he communicates with some of his friends in English. This background information may be seen in Tables 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11.

Table 5.9: Family 3 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 3	mother	35	Żebbuġ	Żebbuġ	church	state	no
	father	34	Żebbuġ	Żebbuġ	state	state	no
	daughter	4	Żebbuġ	Żebbuġ	state	na	na
	son	6	Żebbuġ	Żebbuġ	church	na	na

Table 5.10: Family 3 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 3	mother	same as at home when a child	Maltese	hairdresser	Maltese and English	according to customers	with all those Maltese	to foreigners
	father	native Maltese	Maltese	carpenter	Maltese	na	to all Maltese	to foreigners
	daughter	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	pupil	use both languages at school	na	speak Maltese with friends	na
	son	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	pupil	use both languages at school	na	speak both M & E with friends	na

Table 5.11: Family 3 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing
Family 3	mother	Maltese	Maltese	Maltese	excellent	excellent	excellent	very good	excellent	very good
	father	Maltese	Maltese	Maltese	very good	very good	very good	very good	acceptable	acceptable
	daughter	Maltese	na	na	very good	na	na	average	na	na
	son	Maltese	English	English	very good	very good	excellent	very good	very good	excellent

5.2.6 The recording

What stands out immediately upon even a cursory review of the transcript, is that there are very few code-switching instances at all. In addition, the words that are code-switched are single-word insertions, several to do with either technology or motherese.

The few other words in English this family uses in the recording include words that the Maltese regularly prefer the English version of, such as ‘washing machine’, ‘baby’, and ‘tissue’. Other less commonly code-switched words are ‘kiss’, ‘aeroplane’ and ‘work’, many of these used when the mother is talking to the children not when the parents are speaking to each other. However, as with both the other Maltese-speaking families, the parents are referred to exclusively as ‘mummy’ and ‘daddy’.

To her children, the mother uses several motherese words, especially when directed at the 4-year-old daughter. She asks her if she has slept that day: ‘*Għamilt sleep illum?*’ and tells the girl to hurry up as they need to go ‘bye-bye’. The girl in turn, refers to her nose as ‘nosey’ and asks for ‘milky’. This is consistent with what Sciriha and Vassallo (2006) observed about certain ‘parents preferring to use English words when talking to their very young ones,

unconsciously hoping perhaps that by introducing such English words, the command of English will eventually become easier for their children as they grow' (Sciriha and Vassallo 2006: 147).

Despite the dearth of code-switching, it is worth observing that the father uses the word 'fast' intrasententially when he notes the speed of a car: '*liema l-izjed fast*' (*which is the fastest*) and '*ikun fast izjed*' (*it is faster*). This family's code-switching attitudes are shown in summary form in Table 5.12.

Due to the young age of the children, it must be noted that the conversation is rather limited with regard to variety and the extent of the vocabulary used because a considerable portion of the recording is dedicated to encouraging the children to eat.

Table 5.12: Family 3 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 3	mother	rarely	rarely	not a problem	no answer
	father	often	sometimes	avoid it	no answer
	daughter	sometimes	sometimes	na	na
	son	sometimes	sometimes	na	na

5.2.7 Family 4: Background

The fourth and last family who perceive themselves to be Maltese-speaking currently live in Attard, a village noted to have a number of English-speaking inhabitants. However, of note is the fact that the parents grew up in other predominantly Maltese-speaking localities. The 40-

year-old mother claims to speak English with foreigners when at work as a senior clerk but otherwise prefers to speak Maltese, her mother tongue, and tries not to code-switch as she views this practice negatively. The 42-year-old father, who is a technical operator, holds similar views to his wife about language code-switching but confirms he often has to speak English while at work because some of his co-workers are foreigners.

The 17-year-old daughter's views of language coincide with her parents' even though she is a student at a post-secondary institution and is studying English and Biology. However, the son, who is 14 years old, and like his sister attended church schools for primary as well as secondary education, says that although he feels obliged to speak Maltese at home, his preference for communication is actually English and he would prefer to speak English even in the home if he could. He believes that when speaking he often switches between languages. Tables 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15 below show this information in summary form.

Table 5.13: Family 4 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 4	mother	40	Għaxaq	Attard	state	state	no
	father	42	B'Kara	B'Kara	church	state	no
	daughter	17	na	Attard	church	church	na
	son	14	na	Attard	church	church	na

Table 5.14: Family 4 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 4	mother	mother tongue	Maltese	Senior clerk	Maltese and English	foreigners	only speak Maltese	to foreigners
	father	more fluent	Maltese	technical operator	Maltese	na	with parents	to foreigners
	daughter	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	mostly Maltese at school	na	speak Maltese with friends	na
	son	speak Maltese at home	Maltese	student	use both languages at school	na	speak both M & E with friends	na

Table 5.15: Family 4 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speak in	read in	write in	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing
Family 4	mother	Maltese	English	English	excellent	excellent	very good	very good	very good	very good
	father	Maltese	Maltese	Maltese	excellent	very good	very good	acceptable	acceptable	acceptable
	daughter	Maltese	English	English	excellent	excellent	excellent	excellent	excellent	Excellent
	son	English	English	English	excellent	very good	average	excellent	very good	very good

5.2.8 The recording

As has proven to be the case with all four self-perceived Maltese-speaking families, this family engages in code-switching only minimally. Many of the code-switched words have to do with

food and include the words 'gravy', 'mushrooms' and 'sauce'. The children call their parents 'mummy' and 'daddy' and all use the polite words 'please' and 'thank you' or 'no, thank you' in English.

Of the words they use in English, several have no Maltese equivalent as in the case of 'pitta bread', 'barbeque' and 'gravy' for the words pertaining to food, and 'queue', 'tissues' and 'training' for other general words used in the recording. In addition they use the words 'cupboard', 'best friend' and 'boss' which have Maltese equivalents but are very commonly used in English. There are no instances of inter- or intrasentential switches.

In an informal discussion with the family, many points of interest arose. For example, both daughter and son spent their first two years of schooling in an independent school where English was the sole language used for communication. This seemed to have given the children a very good grounding in the language. The mother also revealed that she had spoken to her children in English much more when they were younger, this, in an effort to consolidate their language skills which she was conscious was necessary if the children wanted to further their studies. The daughter supported this statement, adding that she believed the parents had stopped speaking so much English at home when they realised that their children had a good enough grasp of the language. The mother also confirmed that the son was the only one of the family who preferred to communicate in English and actually found it quite difficult to sustain a conversation in Maltese, especially if he was explaining something. The girl declared she had no problems with reading and writing in English but that she would use a lot of tag words when speaking in English such as '*imma*' (but) and '*għax*' (because). This tallies with the extensive use of tag words evident in the self-perceived English-speaking families as shall be seen in this study. Code-switching attitudes for this family are depicted in Table 5.16 below.

Table 5.16: Family 4 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 4	mother	sometimes	rarely	avoid it	prefer to use mother tongue
	father	rarely	sometimes	avoid it	prefer to keep M & E separate
	daughter	sometimes	sometimes	na	na
	son	often	rarely	na	na

5.3 The self-perceived English-speaking families

5.3.1 Family 5: Background

The parents of this family who reside in the rural village of Siggiewi in the west of Malta are in their mid-forties. Although the mother and children have lived all their lives in this village, the father grew up in Żabbar, a village in the heart of the south of Malta. This family considers itself to be mainly English-speaking and this, coupled with their place of residence makes them rather unique in Maltese society. This is due to the fact that the rural villages, of which Siggiewi is a prime example, are known to be typically Maltese-speaking (Brincat 2006: 154) because ‘basic Semitic lexical core satisfies the communicative needs of a rural society’, and the southern villages, such as Żabbar, are also typically Maltese speaking (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006). In these localities, a native Maltese person who spoke in English would be regarded as someone who did not want to be part of the community and therefore could become a social outcast, according to the convergence and divergence accommodation theories (Giles and Powesland, 1975) where a person will follow (converge) or diverge from the speech patterns of the language groups around him or her. This can be confirmed by the current researcher who spent more than 25 years teaching in a school in Cospicua, a neighbouring village to Żabbar, where year after year, the students had to be convinced of the importance of learning

English. Despite the attitude of the locals, all the members of this family speak principally English in the home. However, it should be noted that not only did the mother attend church schools as a child but the children also both attend church or independent schools. The father only attended a church school for some years in primary school, having frequented state schools for the remaining years.

Both parents in Family 5 have a Masters degree and both teach in post-secondary institutions, using Maltese and English to communicate with their students although they tend to use English more since their subjects (psychology and biology) are assessed in this language. They have adopted similar speaking patterns when it comes to communicating outside the workplace: in their home village, they will speak in Maltese but at home, they tend to communicate more in English, the language they used to speak at home when young. They consider themselves fluent in both languages and have no problem with switching from one language to the other.

The history of the mother is interesting to note as she was brought up speaking solely English as a child until at the age of three, it was discovered that she could not communicate with one of her grandmothers because the latter could only speak Maltese. Her parents then introduced their daughter to Maltese, a language she quickly learnt and consequently she was soon able to communicate fluently in either Maltese or English, choosing to reply to people in the language they spoke to her. She considers knowing two languages as being 'advantageous' (from her questionnaire) and this is why she chose to speak English in the home when her own children were born and were growing up as she felt they would be 'advantaged'. However, in the case of this mother, history repeated itself because her children also 'ended up being poor in Maltese-speaking and writing'. To rectify what she deems to be a problem, she now tends 'to switch language frequently' although she admits to trying to avoid this habit because she regards code-switching 'as a sort of deficiency in being able to speak in any one language continuously'.

The father also has a particular history which is worthy of note. Although he was brought up in a village where speaking English was considered snobbish, his parents were both teachers of English who insisted their son speak English. Later on, the son became a teacher and taught in an independent school for 16 years, where the language of communication was strictly English. However, unlike the mother, the father in Family 5 claims to feel 'privileged to be

fluent in two rather than one language because of cultural upbringing’ (from his questionnaire). He does not feel there is anything wrong with code-switching and considers himself multi-lingual because he claims to be equally proficient in Italian, a language he uses frequently due to his studies in biology.

The children in this family claim to be able to use Maltese and English but the 15-year-old son professes a preference for English, the language he uses both at home and at school, which may be because he attends an independent school where English is the language of communication. According to Sciriha and Vassallo’s study, ‘the type of school that the child attends seems to condition the child’s language of interaction’ (Sciriha and Vassallo 1996: 23). The 13-year-old daughter who attends a church school, where of late ‘there is a healthy mix of children from different socio-economic backgrounds’ (Sciriha 2006: 18), speaks both English and Maltese with her friends and thus, deems her proficiency in the languages as being more equal than her brother. Below is a summary of this background information.

Table 5.17: Family 5 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived bilingual family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 5	mother	41	Siggiewi	Siggiewi	church	church	yes
	father	46	Żabbar	Siggiewi	state	state/church	yes
	daughter	13	Siggiewi	Siggiewi	church	church	na
	son	15	Siggiewi	Siggiewi	church	independent	na

Table 5.18: Family 5 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived bilingual family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/ profession	Language spoken at work/ school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 5	mother	M & E chosen for children's sake	English	teacher	Maltese and English	language best understood by students	social situations in Siggiewi	if spoken to in English
	father	no particular reason	M & E	lecturer	Maltese and English	subject assessed in English	with family/in Siggiewi	with (teenagers)/ foreigners
	daughter	speak English at home	English	student	Maltese and English	speak M & E with friends	speak both M & E with friends	na
	son	speak English at home	English	student	Maltese and English	speak both M & E with friends	na	speak mostly English with friends

Table 5.19: Family 5 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived bilingual family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speak in	read in	write in	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing
Family 5	mother	Maltese	English	English	excellent	excellent	very good	very good	excellent	excellent
	father	no preference	no preference	English	excellent	excellent	very good	excellent	excellent	excellent
	daughter	English	English	English	average	very good	very good	excellent	very good	excellent
	son	English	English	English	average	average	average	very good	very good	very good

5.3.2 The recording

According to the responses on the questionnaire, this family perceives itself to be mainly English-speaking but they recognise that their speech patterns could also be described as bilingual to a certain extent. Both these declarations are proved quite accurate by the transcript of their recording. Although the language they use most is obviously English, they also use Maltese quite frequently. There is a multitude of intersentential as well as intrasentential code-switching besides many tags, but conversely, there are fewer single-word switches. The recording also proves three of the members of this family right about the amount of code-switching they engage in, namely the father, son and daughter, yet shows that the mother's attitude to code-switching and her actual code-switching tendencies do not tally, as the mother is the person who code-switches the most.

The family starts off their conversation by reciting a prayer in English, as would be expected of an English-speaking family but which is also true of the Maltese-speaking Family 1. The mother then opens the conversation by asking the daughter a question in English followed immediately after by a complete sentence in Maltese. The daughter answers her mother in English but the mother proceeds to provide an explanation to her daughter using both Maltese and English, making use of intrasentential code-switching. The father interjects a request in English but the mother continues her explanation as before. As is common with many Maltese people, she prefers to quote dates and numbers in English. According to other independent studies, Sciriha and Vassallo (2006: 32) report that although 'Maltese has a full set of numerical expressions... for some reason or other, preference is given to an extraneous expression' and this study found that 65% of numerical expressions were given in English. Despite the mother's use of Maltese and English in her conversation, the daughter answers her mother predominantly in English and this pattern repeats itself several times further on in the conversation. In the questionnaire, the mother confessed to having recently purposely started using Maltese with her family as she had noticed her children were not quite as fluent in Maltese as they were in English. However, the mother's many instances of code-switching do not coincide with her declared dislike of it.

The conversation continues between the father and the daughter, most of it now being conducted in English. The son intervenes with a sentence in English that includes the single

code-switched word '*pereżempju*' (for example) which is a very commonly used word, both in English as well as in Maltese, so that its use in Maltese, in the middle of an English sentence, is difficult to explain. It may be that the son is following the conversational pattern of his mother and father, if only subconsciously.

The family then all take part in the conversation which is conducted here in English but with the inclusion of common Maltese tags intermingling their utterances. As can be seen throughout this family's conversation, tags are used very often as they are a common feature of Maltese conversation (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006). This pattern of English utterances with the insertion of a few Maltese tags and some single-word code-switches continues for several minutes.

At this point, just before half-way through the conversation, a change occurs. The father takes over the conversation for some time, speaking to the mother, and there is a lot more code-switching here, mostly intrasentential but with some intersentential switches too. The father talks about some equipment problems he is having at work. The words that have to do with the technical parts of the equipment and their function are used in English, but how these functions translate into problems for him, is explained in Maltese. This new conversational pattern with the use of numerous intrasentential juxtaposed with intersentential code-switching is carried on principally by the parents. The mother gradually reverts to her original language pattern use, speaking frequently in Maltese although not solely so. The father seems to be influenced by the pattern and also uses more Maltese in this part of the conversation. This phenomenon can be explained at least in part by the accommodation theory, where the father speaks Maltese to accommodate the mother and the converse is also true.

Here again, there is a change in the pattern of conversation and the languages it is conducted in, when all the family take part in a heated argument about the division of sweets. The father is clearly teasing the children and now speaks more in English as opposed to his previous tendency, perhaps because he is modulating his conversation to suit his children who have continued to speak in English. However, the children, mirroring their father's previous language strategy, have now started to use more words in Maltese. This change in the amount of code-switching is more evident in the daughter's speech rather than the son's, as it is the girl who rises to her father's teasing. The girl uses intrasentential, single-word and tag switching in her altercation with her father which she had not used while speaking to her

mother, even though the latter had spoken to her more in Maltese. Perhaps this rise in the number of code-switching may be attributed to the emotional topic of conversation because ‘when bilinguals are angry, excited, tired or stressed...they often revert to the language(s) in which they express their emotions, be it their first or their second language, or both’ (Grosjean 2011: posted in August blog). As the father’s teasing subsides and the family calms down, their conversation continues once again primarily in English with only some code-switched tags.

This dinner-time conversation demonstrates patterns of code-switching that may be attributed to topic, level of involvement and interlocutor. The father uses Maltese to describe work-related problems which cause his emotions to escalate although he retains all English technical words. Thus, he uses words such as ‘split screen’, ‘projector’, and ‘animation’ whose equivalent is not available in Maltese. Rising emotions also signal a rise in code-switched words in the children although the father now decreases the instances of code-switching as he is only simulating emotional involvement in the conversation. As the family conversation resumes a more even tone, its members revert to English, inserting only a few words in Maltese, most of them tags which they have also used before, such as ‘*hi*’ (dear), ‘*imma*’ (but) and ‘*hux*’ (right), all a common feature of the Maltese language. Below is a table of the self-perceived code-switching tendencies and attitudes to code-switching.

Table 5.20: Family 5 Perceived code switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived bilingual family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 5	mother	sometimes	sometimes	try to avoid it	regards CS as language deficiency
	father	often	often	enjoy ability to use M & E	being fluent in two languages is a privilege; accesses two cultures
	daughter	sometimes	sometimes	na	na
	son	sometimes	sometimes	na	na

5.3.3 Family 6: Background

The 39-year-old mother and 50-year-old father of this family both attended church schools when young and went on to university where they studied and obtained Masters degrees in their fields of study. The mother is a teacher of English and the father an accountant. The family lives in Swieqi, a fairly new locality in the North East of Malta although the mother resided in St Julians, an adjacent village, when she was younger. The parents send their children to independent schools where the latter speak English and the whole family speaks English when they are at home, with family and friends, and even at the workplace. Both this family's residential location and the school they send their children to are important elements in the fact that they are English-speaking. St Julians and Sliema are the locations where the number of Maltese speaking English is highest (Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006).

All the family professes a preference for communicating in the English language as they consider this language their native language. It is only the father who believes that his spoken Maltese is 'very good'. The rest of the family feel their skills in this language are either 'average' or merely 'acceptable'. Not surprisingly, given that they communicate mostly in English, all the members of the family believe that they often code-switch into English when they are speaking Maltese but that they do not engage in so much code-switching when they are speaking English. The parents' attitudes to code-switching differ in that the mother enjoys having two languages in which to communicate but the father dislikes the habit believing that only one language should be spoken at a time. Both declare they switch languages according to their interlocutor, once again proving that this is the most important aspect in spoken language choice. Tables 5.21, 5.22 and 5.23 show the information discussed above in summary form.

Table 5.21: Family 6 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived English-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 6	mother	39	St Julian's	Swieqi	church	church	yes
	father	50	Swieqi	Swieqi	church	church	yes
	daughter	9	Swieqi	Swieqi	independent	na	na
	son	7	Swieqi	Swieqi	independent	na	na

Table 5.22: Family 6 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived English-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 6	mother	native language; more confident speaking it	English	teacher	English	teacher of English	when shopping or addressing Maltese speakers	in classroom; with friends & family
	father	natural choice	English	accountant	English	no answer	when spoken to in Maltese	with non-Maltese speakers
	daughter	speak English at home	English	student	English	na	na	na
	son	speak English at home	English	student	English	na	na	na

Table 5.23: Family 6 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived English-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing	speaking	reading	writing
Family 6	mother	English	English	English	acceptable	acceptable	acceptable	excellent	excellent	excellent
	father	English	English	English	very good	poor	very poor	excellent	very good	excellent
	daughter	English	English	English	average	very good	average	excellent	very good	very good
	Son	English	English	English	average	average	average	excellent	excellent	excellent

5.3.4 The recording

For the first several minutes of their dinner-time conversation, the family speaks exclusively in English and then only uses a very few single words in Maltese, some tags and a few short, intersentential switches. Several of these switches are made for one of the classic reasons that bilinguals code-switch, that is, to quote other people's exact words or to demonstrate that someone other than themselves is speaking (Gumperz, 1982).

Later on in the conversation, about half way through the 15-minute recording, the father switches to using Maltese when he is addressing his children which seems to be done on purpose to expose his daughter and son to this language, at least for a while. Neither the children, nor the mother answers in Maltese but they choose to continue communicating in English. However, the mother encourages the children to understand what their father is saying by asking them the meaning of certain Maltese words and she also inserts a few Maltese tags such as 'hux' (no, no) and 'ajma' (oh, come on) into her conversation. Almost the only Maltese contribution the daughter and son make, is a phrase the family used to refer to their dog and a very few single-words or tags. The family ends the last few minutes of their dinner conversation by reverting to speaking completely in English. Therefore, the family's

perception of themselves as being English-speaking is quite correct. Table 5.24 shows this family's attitudes to code-switching.

Table 5.24: Family 5: Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived English-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 6	mother	often	sometimes	enjoy ability to use M & E	try to accommodate interlocutor but English comes more naturally; both M & E are important
	father	sometimes	rarely	terrible habit	should stick to one, most appropriate language and avoid code-switching
	daughter	often	sometimes	na	na
	son	often	sometimes	na	na

5.3.5 Family 7: Background

The 57-year-old mother in Family 7 is a Business Sales Advisor in the Maltese branch of a large, international company where she is required to speak Maltese and English, the latter with foreign business colleagues. She spoke English at home when young and growing up in Gżira, a North Eastern town in Malta and went on to speak the same language when her children were growing up in Pembroke, the current residence of the family and the newest town in North East Malta. She believed fluency in this language would 'facilitate school learning' (her questionnaire). Nowadays she usually speaks English only when her children are at home but otherwise she speaks Maltese.

The 58-year-old father was raised in Birkirkara, Malta's largest town, but always spoke Maltese at home until he had his own children. He is an accountant and speaks both of Malta's

two official languages at work. Unlike his wife, who does not consider code-switching to be a problem, the father says he prefers to speak only one language at a time.

This family’s 27-year-old son recently moved out of his parents’ residence where he spoke English to his parents and with his siblings and considers himself primarily English-speaking as he ‘always felt comfortable speaking English more than Maltese’. However, with his father he says he probably speaks more in Maltese, a phenomenon reported in Sciriha’s 1996 survey where ‘the percentages of language use were highest in Maltese when the respondents interact with their fathers’ (Sciriha 1996: 22). At work he speaks English as Betfair, the company he works for, is an international company. When at home with his partner he resorts to the use of English and still opts to communicate with his parents in English.

Also present for the conversation’s recording was the 84-year-old maternal grandmother who often stays with the family. Brought up in St Julians and now residing in Gżira, the grandmother sent her children to church schools and spoke to them in English as children. However, she now prefers to communicate in Maltese unless she is in the presence of foreigners. She does not consider code-switching a problem. The following tables (Tables 5.25 - 5.27) show this background information in summary form.

Table 5.25: Family 7 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived English-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 7	mother	57	Gżira	Pembroke	church	state	no
	father	58	Birkirkara	Pembroke	state	state	no
	son	27	Gżira	Pembroke	church	church	yes
	grandmother	84	St Julian’s	Gżira	state	state	no

Table 5.26: Family 7 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived English-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 7	mother	spoke English as a child; facilitate learning for children	English	Business Sales advisor	Maltese and English	business people often foreign	with those who only speak M	with those who only speak E/ foreigners
	father	more confident in Maltese	Maltese	Accountant	Maltese and English	business colleagues often foreign	with those who only speak M	with those who only speak E/ foreigners
	son	more confident in English	English	Shift Head at Betfair	English	International company	when speaking with locals	when telling a story/with partner
	grand-mother	Maltese now; English with children	Maltese	housewife	na	na	with other Maltese	with English speaking people

Table 5.27: Family 7 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived English-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speak in	read in	write in	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing
Family 7	mother	English	English	English	very good	very good	accept-able	very good	excellent	excellent
	father	Maltese	English	English	very good	very good	very good	very good	very good	very good
	son	English	English	English	very good	very good	very good	excellent	excellent	excellent
	grandma	Maltese	English	English	very good	very good	accept-able	very good	very good	very good

5.3.6 The recording

Despite the mixed answers as to which language this family perceives itself speaking, the recording shows that the four family members communicate mostly in English. The mother and son perceive themselves to be English-speaking but the father and grandmother say they generally prefer to speak Maltese, especially outside of the home. In fact, the conversation reveals that the four participants tend to speak English.

The mother conducts most of her conversation in English and, perhaps due to this tendency, in the questionnaire, the son admits to making a distinction between the way he speaks to his father and mother. Due perhaps to his mother's presence, in this dinner-time conversation he speaks mostly in English. The father believes he speaks in Maltese as he says this is the language he is most confident speaking but the recording reveals he is quite capable of conversing almost entirely in English.

What is immediately apparent in this family's conversation is the number of Maltese tags they use. This form of code-switching is by far the one they employ most. These tags include '*ta'*' (right/you know), '*hux*' (right), '*ejja*' (come on) and '*imma*' (but). Such tags are used several times throughout the conversation, by all the participants. As previously observed, these words are a common feature of Maltese conversation but are not as commonly used in English conversation.

In addition to these tags, the family uses some mild Maltese expletives including '*il-Madonna*' (good gracious) and '*istra*' (damn it/wow), the latter several times. The conversation also includes a number of single-word code-switches such as '*tajjeb*' (good), '*ejja*' (come), '*le*' (no) and '*x'jigifieri*' (what do you mean). Besides these single-word switches there are a few intersentential code-switches. Surprisingly, these switches are used mostly by the son who professes a strong preference for English when he speaks but also confesses to believing that having two languages available for use when conversing is a 'gift' that should be 'embraced' (from his questionnaire).

In general, this family uses very little code-switching and conducts most of the conversation in English. Therefore their perception of their speaking habits and their actual language use

is correct to a great extent. Table 5.28 summarises Family 7's attitudes to code-switching and their use of it.

Table 5.28: Family 7 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived English-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 7	mother	sometimes	sometimes	not a problem	no answer
	father	sometimes	sometimes	try to avoid it	prefer to speak one language at a time
	son	often	often	try to avoid it	considered a negative tendency by others in general
	grandmother	sometimes	sometimes	not a problem	no answer

5.3.7 Family 8: Background

This family currently resides in Swieqi, a village in the North East of Malta. The parents are originally from neighbouring villages and towns. Both the parents, aged 39 and 40, as well as their 8 and 10-year-old boys attended or still attend church schools. The parents reached a 6th Form level of education. At home this family speaks English, as the parents did when they were young and feel it is natural for them to continue to do so with their own children. The parents confess that at home they speak Maltese only when they wish to speak privately together, as they know their boys will not understand them. At work the mother may have to speak Maltese to communicate more efficiently with some colleagues but the father, who is a business director, communicates only in English as all his colleagues are foreigners. They both own to code-switching often if they are required to speak in Maltese, a language which they use mostly only when dealing with local tradespeople. On the other hand, code-switching is less of an issue when they speak English.

In fact, all the members of this family own to a marked preference for communicating in English and the boys especially, declare a low level of competence in Maltese. The parents believe that code-switching should be avoided at all costs as it reflects an inability to use a language accurately or confidently and only one language at a time should be used. The boys declare they never code-switch into Maltese when they are speaking English, a fact borne out by their dinner time conversation which shows that they are unable to communicate in Maltese on any level whatsoever. The older son wishes that his parents had spoken to him more in Maltese when he was younger as he now has considerable problems at school during the Maltese lessons, despite achieving excellent grades in other subjects. The following tables (Table 5.29 - 5.31) show Family 8's background information in table form.

Table 5.29: Family 8 Personal information

Background information: Personal information							
Self-perceived English-speaking family							
	Members in each family	Ages	Residence as a child	Home	Primary school	Secondary school	University
Family 8	mother	39	San Ġwann	Swieqi	church	church	no
	father	40	Sliema	Swieqi	church	church	no
	son 1	10	Swieqi	Swieqi	church	na	na
	son 2	8	Swieqi	Swieqi	church	na	na

Table 5.30: Family 8 Language usage

Background information: Language usage								
Self-perceived Maltese-speaking family								
	Members in each family	Reason for home language choice	Language spoken as a child	Name of job/profession	Language spoken at work/school	Reason for speaking this language	When only Maltese is spoken	When only English is spoken
Family 8	mother	parents' choice: spoken at school	English	secretary	Maltese and English	more efficient communication	With husband for privacy from children	No
	father	English-speaking environment at home & school	English	Director of a business concern	English	Colleagues are all foreign	With wife for privacy from children	With parents
	son 1	speak English at home	English	student	na	na	na	na
	son 2	speak English at home	English	student	na	na	na	na

Table 5.31: Family 8 Language preferences and skills

Background information: Language preferences and skills										
Self-perceived English-speaking family										
	Members in each family	Language preferences			Competence in Maltese			Competence in English		
		speak in	read in	write in	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing	speak-ing	read-ing	writ-ing
Family 8	mother	English	English	English	accept-able	poor	very poor	very good	excellent	very good
	father	English	English	English	very good	accept-able	accept-able	very good	excellent	very good
	son 1	English	English	English	poor	very poor	very poor	excellent	excellent	excellent
	son 2	English	English	English	poor	poor	very poor	very good	average	average

5.3.8 The recording

In the first part of the conversation that was recorded, this family did very little code-switching into Maltese and spoke to a great extent in English. The father and each of the boys utter one whole sentence in Maltese, but besides a few Maltese tags, there is no more code-switching in their conversation. Interestingly, the boys do not refer to their parents as 'mummy' and 'daddy' but prefer to use the Italian versions of 'mamà' and 'papà'. According to Sciriha and Vassallo (1998) the use of these latter words to refer to family members is more commonly used in the St Julians and Sliema areas rather than in the villages and is a signifier of the middle to upper classes. For the rural villages, the areas that were once predominantly working class, the words 'ma' and 'da' are more prevalent.

However, about half-way through the 15-minute recording, the mother decides to try to encourage her sons to speak a little more Maltese. Understandably, at this point then, there are several short sentences spoken in Maltese and a number of single-words inserted into the conversation which are all in Maltese. Since the boys are unwilling to even try to speak in Maltese, she promises a treat if they are able to ask for it in Maltese. The inability of the boys to say even a simple sentence in Maltese now becomes discernible as they struggle to help each other say the correct words but fail.

In addition, even as the parents try to encourage their sons to speak Maltese, the parents themselves continue to speak in English. It becomes apparent that this family speaks almost exclusively in English while they are together in the home and it is now understandable why the children declare they 'never' code-switch into Maltese when they are speaking. The language is largely unavailable to them. This is a rather strange occurrence as usually children living in Malta are exposed to Maltese and English to such an extent as to enable at least rudimentary communication in either language. These boys' grasp of the Maltese language, however, prevents them from even such basic communication, such that they are willing to give up a treat rather than continue to try to speak in Maltese. It now becomes obvious why the older boy wishes his parents had spoken to him more in Maltese as he clearly has great problems with the language. Table 5.32 shows this family's attitudes to code-switching and their self-perceived use of it.

Table 5.32: Family 8 Perceived code-switching

Background information: Perceived code-switching					
Self-perceived English-speaking family					
	Members in each family	Speak Maltese & CS into English	Speak English & CS into Maltese	Attitude to CS	Reasons for attitude to CS
Family 8	mother	often	sometimes	terrible habit	Reflects inability to use either language accurately/confidently
	father	often	sometimes	terrible habit	important to choose one language for particular situation and speak in this language only
	son 1	na	never	na	Wishes parents had spoken Maltese more when younger as now this language is posing problems at school during lessons
	son 2	na	never	na	na

Chapter 6: Data collation and comparison

6.1 Comparing the Maltese-speaking families' speech and code-switching patterns

This chapter looks at the code-switches employed in the conversations that were recorded and the number of words each person uttered in Maltese and in English, both within the context of the family as well as compared to that person's own speaking habits. This chapter also compares the different families with other families who purport to speak the same language, that is, self-perceived Maltese-speaking families to other self-perceived Maltese-speaking families, and the same analysis is carried out for the English-speaking families. Finally, there is an analysis of the statistics according to how much code-switching all these bilingual Maltese families engage in. Detailed statistics can be found in Tables 6.3 to 6.10 where the numbers of words spoken are also given in percentages to enable easier comparison. However, Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show a breakdown of the recording time for each family, total number of words spoken in each recording, total number of words code-switched and type of code-switching for each person within each family.

Table 6.1: Maltese-speaking families' conversation statistics

Family 1 Self-perceived Maltese-speaking								
Length of recording: 15 mins				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential CS	Intra-sentential CS	Borrowings	Tags
Total	2244	2008	236	107	80	32	15	2
Mother	856	800	56	33	/	18	7	/
Father	693	571	122	37	70	10	5	/
Daughter	525	483	42	24	10	2	2	2
Son	170	154	16	13	/	2	1	/

Family 2 Self-perceived Maltese-speaking								
Length of recording: 12 mins 54 secs				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	1317	1096	221	125	70	5	13	11
Mother	807	683	124	63	39	5	9	8
Father	185	157	28	24	/	/	4	/
Daughter	294	237	57	26	31	/	/	3
Son	31	19	12	12	/	/	/	/

Family 3 Self-perceived Maltese-speaking								
Length of recording: 15 mins				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	1040	989	50	55	0	3	0	2
Mother	558	535	23	18	/	3	/	2
Father	313	303	10	10	/	/	/	/
Daughter	102	91	11	11	/	/	/	/
Son	67	61	6	6	/	/	/	/

Family 4 Self-perceived Maltese-speaking								
Length of recording: 10 mins 53 secs				Code-switching				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	872	824	48	45	3	0	0	0
Mother	310	295	15	15	/	/	/	/
Father	94	94	/	/	/	/	/	/
Daughter	379	355	24	24	/	/	/	/
Son	89	80	9	6	3	/	/	/

Table 6.2: English-speaking and bilingual families' conversation statistics

Family 5 Self-perceived bilingual								
Length of recording: 15 mins				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	2639	658	1990	33	335	246	4	60
Mother	689	350	339	17	222	103	3	25
Father	1183	271	921	11	103	139	1	17
Daughter	524	30	494	3	10	3	/	14
Son	243	7	236	2	/	1	/	4

Family 6 Self-perceived English-speaking								
Length of recording: 15 mins				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	2220	132	2088	11	121	0	0	11
Mother	976	17	959	6	11	/	/	7
Father	489	106	383	1	105	/	/	1
Daughter	332	6	326	4	2	/	/	3
Son	432	3	429	/	3	/	/	/

Family 7 Self-perceived English-speaking								
Length of recording: 10 mins 34 secs				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	1918	84	1839	13	20	0	0	55
Mother	779	10	769	3	/	/	/	7
Father	457	24	433	1	/	/	/	23
Grandmother	193	14	179	3	8	/	/	3
Son	498	40	458	6	12	/	/	22

Family 8 Self-perceived English-speaking								
Length of recording: 15 mins				Code-switched words				
Members	Total words	Maltese words used	English words used	Single word CS	Inter-sentential	Intra-sentential	Borrowings	Tags
Total	1577	131	1446	39	82	0	0	10
Mother	722	45	677	11	28	/	/	6
Father	237	11	226	5	5	/	/	1
Son 1	358	57	301	22	34	/	/	1
Son 2	260	18	242	1	15	/	/	2

6.1.1 Families 1 and 2: parents holding degrees

What is immediately apparent from even a quick glance at the coded transcripts (refer to Appendices 1 to 4) of the families who profess themselves Maltese-speaking and where the parents both hold degrees, is that they actually code-switch very little in general. Family 1 uses an average of 90% Maltese words when speaking, while Family 2 uses an average of 83% Maltese words. In both families, the four parents reveal they have to speak mostly in English at the workplace, either because they are teachers or due to foreign colleagues. Even so, this regular use of Maltese and English does not carry over into their home-speaking habits. This great predominance of the use of Maltese without the inclusion of English does not tally with what Bagley found in her quantitative study of 2001. According to Bagley's study, those Maltese with higher levels of education tend to use more English in their speech while those with lower levels of education tend to adhere more to speaking Maltese. Since all four adults in this study hold degrees, one participant even having a post-graduate degree, this statement is not borne out in the case of this research.

Another peculiarity that the families have in common is one member who shows a particular disapproval of code-switching. In the first family it is the son who professes a marked dislike of the use of English when speaking in Maltese. This dislike is reflected in his speech because his conversation is carried out 91% in the Maltese language, a very high percentage of the use of only one language for a person living in a bilingual society. The mother's use of Maltese is also very high and she clearly states that she is careful when speaking at home due to her son's love of the exclusive use of Maltese in speech. All the members of the family use a very

high proportion of Maltese words to English: the mother uses 93% Maltese words, the father 82%, the daughter 92% and the son 91%. Table 6.3 shows a complete breakdown of this family's conversation.

Table 6.3: Family 1 Conversation percentages

Family 1	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	2244	856		693		525		170	
Maltese	2008	800		571		483		154	
English	236	56		122		42		16	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		38%		31%		23%		8%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	90%	36%	93%	25%	82%	21.5%	92%	3%	91%
in English	10%	2.5%	6.5%	5.5%	17.5%	2%	8%	0.5%	9%

In the second family it is the father who has an aversion to the mixing of languages and his speech reveals that 85% of his conversation is carried out in Maltese. His wife is also careful in her speech, and her use of language matches her husband's as her speech is also 85% Maltese. The daughter speaks Maltese 80% of the time but the son's use of Maltese, which is only 61% of his entire conversation, cannot be taken into account as his contribution to the whole conversation is only 2%. Thus, the mother and father's conversations are conducted 85% in Maltese and the daughter speaks Maltese 80% of the time. This is still a high average despite being lower than Family 1's average. Overall, this means that both families' use of English is minimal and may be attributed to the fact that in both families there is one member who openly disapproves of code-switching and who, therefore, influences the manner in which the family speaks, according to the Accommodation theory as previously discussed. Exact statistics may be seen in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Family 2 Conversation percentages

Family 2	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	1317	807		185		294		31	
Maltese	1096	683		157		237		19	
English	221	124		28		57		12	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		61%		14%		22%		2%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	83%	52%	85%	12%	85%	22%	80%	1.5%	61%
in English	17%	9%	15%	2%	15%	4%	20%	1%	39%

Another similarity that should be noted is that although almost all the members of both families prefer to speak Maltese (except for the daughter in Family 2), almost all (except for the son in Family 1), prefer to read in English, a preference noted by Brincat (2006) when he notes that English is ‘the preferred language for reading... and books borrowed from national and local libraries are almost exclusively in English’ (Brincat 2006: 154). The same result is true of what Sciriha found in her 2001 sociolinguistic survey where her ‘finds also show that the percentages of spoken Maltese are extremely high but go down for other skills like reading and writing’ (Sciriha 2001: 28). This similarity does not include the same general preference for writing in English. In Family 1, the daughter and son prefer to write in Maltese and the father has no preference for either Maltese. However, both families rate their competencies in Maltese and English highly, either ‘excellent’ or ‘very good’, except for the sons who believe their abilities in Maltese and English are slightly lower than the rest of their families. It is probable that the fact that all the adults in these families hold degrees is a factor influencing their high level of competence in reading and writing.

Over all, Family 1 tends to show a stronger leaning towards the use of Maltese (90%) and better Maltese skills than Family 2 (83%) who in turn exhibits a slightly stronger leaning towards the use of English. These tendencies can perhaps be explained. Family 1 resides in the south of Malta where Maltese is by far the language spoken by the majority of people, as

seen previously. To speak English in this area when there is no clear need to do so, would set an individual apart from the rest of the community and cause this person to be considered a snob who believes he or she is somehow better than the locals. In addition, although the general language climate may change, foreigners have usually chosen to make their homes in more central towns and villages in Malta (Mazzon, 1992, as cited in Sciriha and Vassallo, 2006), rather than in the south. This would mean that people living in the southern areas of Malta would not be exposed to the need to speak English due to the presence of foreigners.

Family 2's stronger English influence can in turn be attributed to the fact that the family resides in the centre of Malta, in one of 'the three villages', an area in Malta where the inhabitants are known for having a preference for speaking English. Another factor may be due to the mother being an English graduate who would probably encourage her children's fluency in this language.

6.1.2 Families 3 and 4: parents without degrees

It is more difficult to compare the members of these two families due to the age differences of the children since in Family 3 the children are still very young, aged 4 and 6, while in Family 4 the children are 17 and 14 years of age and therefore their competencies, even if rated as being the same, cannot be considered as having the same significance. However, what can be perceived even from a cursory look at the transcripts is that, once again, there is very little code-switching. Both Family 3 and Family 4's conversation is made up of 95% Maltese words. Perhaps this lack of code-switching is not entirely strange because although both the mothers own to having to occasionally speak to foreign clients in the workplace, their husbands are not required to speak in English while at work. In fact, both fathers claim to having only an 'acceptable' level of competence in English skills.

In general, these two families tend to show an even greater tendency than Families 1 and 2 to communicate solely in Maltese and overall, the adults seem to have less contact with the English language in their daily life. This result tallies with what Bagley (2001: 73) states, that there is 'a strong relationship between language use and the socio-economic status of the

respondents'. Percentages of total words spoken by each participant and the code-switching percentages for the two families are shown in Tables 6.5 and 6.6 below.

Table 6.5: Family 3 Conversation percentages

Family 3	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	1040	558		313		102		67	
Maltese	989	535		303		91		61	
English	50	23		10		11		6	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		54%		30%		10%		6.5%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	95%	51%	96%	29%	97%	9%	89%	6%	91%
in English	5%	2%	4%	1%	3%	1%	11%	0.5%	9%

Table 6.6: Family 4 Conversation percentages

Family 4	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	872	310		94		379		89	
Maltese	824	295		94		355		80	
English	48	15		0		24		9	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		36%		11%		44%		10%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	95%	34%	95%	11%	100%	41%	94%	9%	90%
in English	5%	2%	5%	0%	0%	3%	6%	1%	10%

It is only the 14-year-old son of Family 4 who professes a preference for communicating in English although this preference is not reflected in his speech, perhaps because his conversation only makes up 10% of the entire conversation. This preference may be due to

the fact that when young, the boy was sent to an independent school for some years and the fact that the family resides in the village of Attard, where the English-speaking tendencies of the locals might influence communication as in the case of Family 2. Bagley (2001) noted that there is more than the usual use of English in the environs of this village. Moreover, the parents of Family 4 exhibited a concern with making sure their children were fluent in English and thus encouraged the use of the language. The mother owns that once she had ascertained that her children were fluent in English, she switched back to speaking Maltese in the home. The members of this family use only 5% English words but it is the mother and daughter who make up the bulk of the conversation (36% and 44%, respectively) so it is difficult to determine how the males in the family speak.

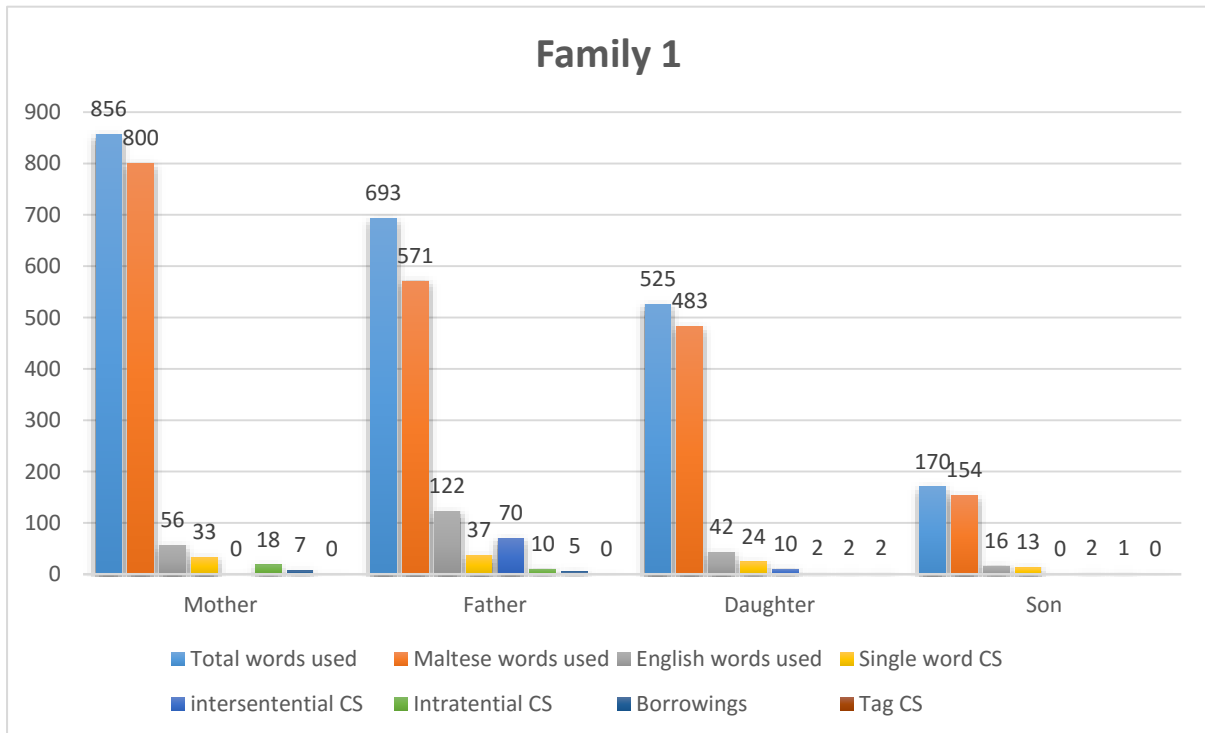
Contrary to the central location and known preference for the use of English in Attard, Family 3 lives in the rural village of Żebbuġ, where children would tend to come into contact with English only once they started schooling. Typically, the mother and father of this family own to a marked dislike of Maltese people who speak English when in the presence of other Maltese natives. This dislike is evident in their lack of code-switching which is only 5% of their entire conversation. Once again, the situation described in this study is only a depiction of what is currently true. The son is now attending a church school where English will probably be given a greater degree of importance than it is usually given in a state school and his increasing exposure to the language may change his parents' negative attitude to English being spoken by native Maltese.

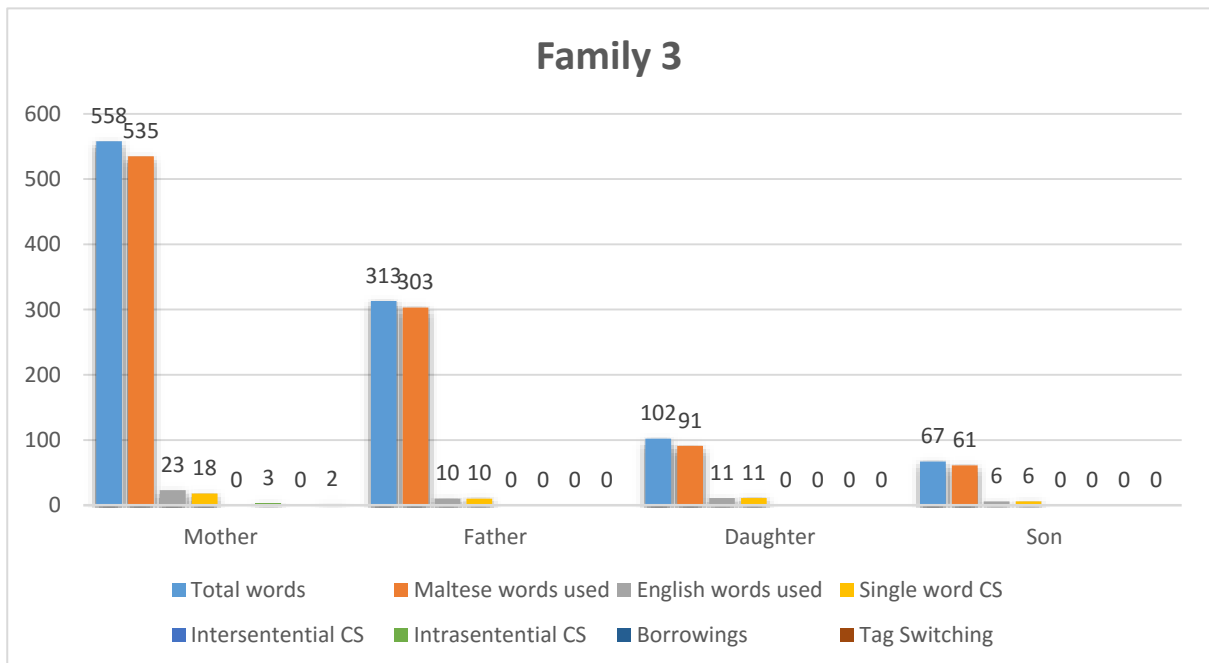
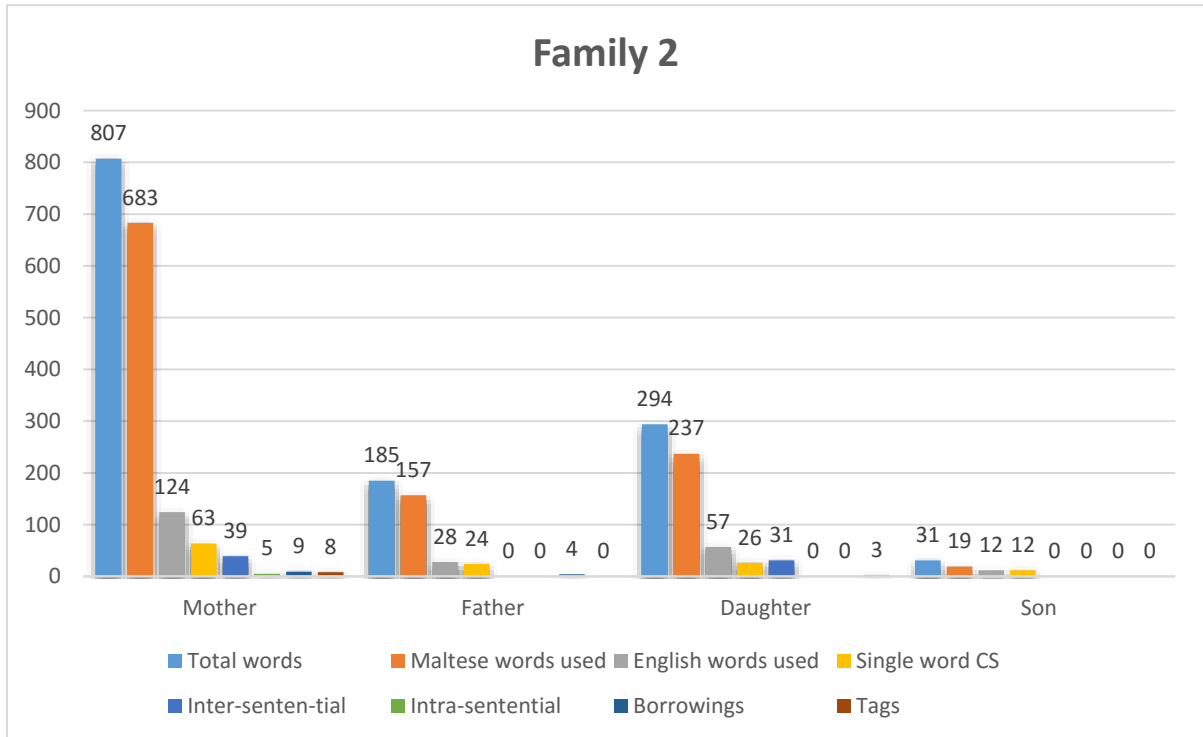
6.1.3 Conclusions for all four self-perceived Maltese-speaking families

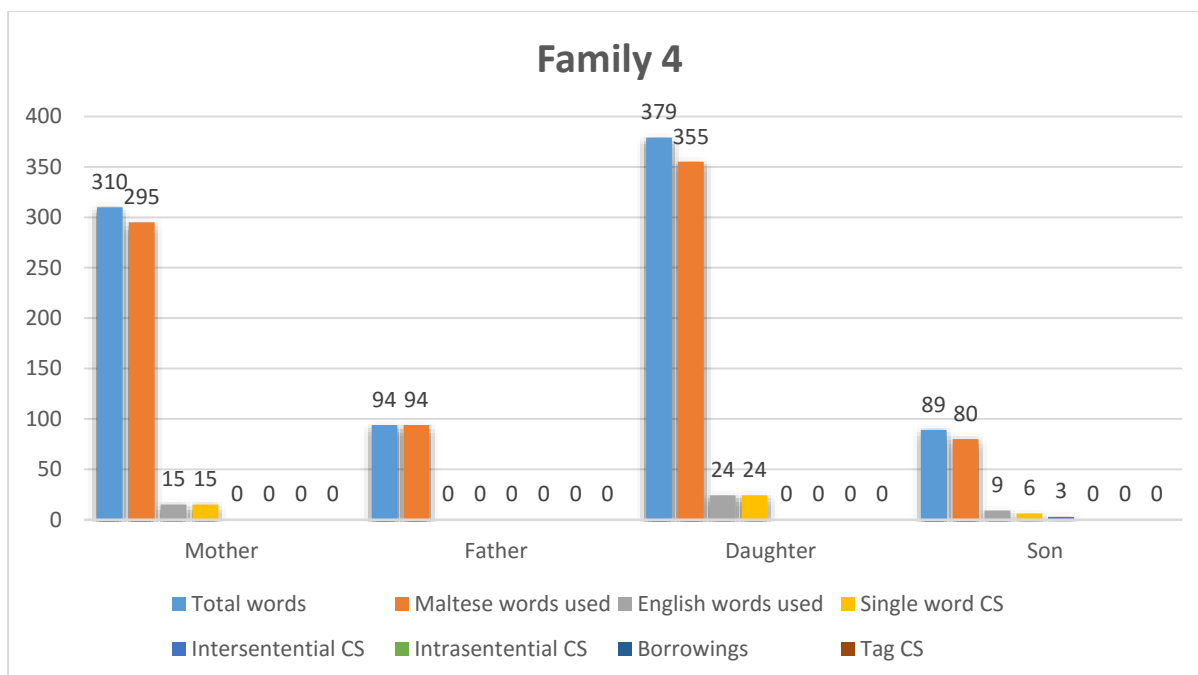
The four self-perceived Maltese-speaking families interact mainly in Maltese (90.75% of their utterances), only occasionally interspersing their language with English (9.25% of utterances). However, there are still a fair number of single-word code-switched utterances that are part of daily conversation and the family members do not refrain from using words in English, either when the equivalent word in Maltese is rarely used or when an equivalent is readily available. However, the proportion of English to Maltese words used is minimal when considering these families live in a bilingual society where code-switching is the norm and

when one takes into consideration factors such as area of residence and levels of education. Figure 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 are graphical depictions of the Maltese and English spoken for each family, and for each family member, to enable easier, visual interpretation.

Figure 6.1: Graphical interpretation of Maltese/English/CS patterns per individual in each family (Maltese-speaking)







6.2 Comparing the English-speaking families' speech and code-switching patterns

6.2.1 Families 5 and 6: parents holding degrees

Family 5 and 6 have rather different speech patterns in general. They both profess to be English-speaking but, as Family 5 freely admits, their family uses a fair amount of Maltese in their conversation, while Family 6 tends to adhere to the use of English more strictly. In fact, Family 5 uses English for 75% of their utterances. This means that a quarter of their conversation is also made up of Maltese words, a considerable amount. On the other hand, Family 6's conversation is 94% English and they only employ a very small number of Maltese words. Perhaps the tendencies of both families can be explained by their respective backgrounds and their current places of residence.

The parents in Family 5, those who use a larger number of Maltese words in their conversation, were brought up in either rural villages or villages in the south of Malta, places where the use of the Maltese language is quite dominant. The mother attended church schools but the father attended mostly state schools. The family currently continues to reside

in a rural village where the parents say they generally use Maltese to communicate with the locals. Both parents are teachers who declare they use both Maltese and English to make themselves clear during their lessons or lectures. These facts could account for the parents' use of many Maltese words in their conversation despite the prevalence of English. However, some differences between the use of Maltese and English exist. The mother uses practically the same number of Maltese words as she uses English words. She is the one member of the family whose conversation is so evenly balanced, however, as her husband uses a percentage which is closer to the whole family's average. He speaks more English (78% of his utterances) than Maltese but the children use an even greater proportion of English to Maltese words. The daughter makes use of 94% English words and the son's speech is made up of 97% English. These proportions are in accordance with their self-perceptions of language use. Table 6.7 shows the exact numbers and percentages of words spoken and code-switching engaged in for Family 5.

Table 6.7: Family 5 Conversation percentages

Family 5	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	2639	689		1183		524		243	
Maltese	658	350		271		30		7	
English	1981	339		921		494		236	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		26%		45%		20%		9%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	25%	13%	51%	10%	22%	1%	6%	0.2%	3%
in English	75%	13%	49%	35%	78%	19%	94%	9%	97%

Language use in Family 6 is closer to the use of Maltese and English that the children, but not the parents, in Family 5 employ. The parents in Family 6 both attended church schools and

were brought up in the Maltese villages where interacting in English is the most common, namely Swieqi and St Julians, the former being the village they continue to reside in. Their conversation is conducted by far mostly in English (94% of their utterances) and their average is not higher because the father tries to expose his children to the use of Maltese during dinner. In fact, the mother and daughter speak English 98% of the time and the son 99% of the time. The father's percentage of English usage is lower (78%) because he uses the language to try to familiarise his children with Maltese. The adults do not mention the need to speak Maltese to their neighbours, something which the parents in Family 5 are aware they need to ensure. In addition, the mother is a teacher of English which means that at the workplace she would use English exclusively in the classroom, while the father also declares that he speaks English at work due to foreign colleagues. This background would explain how these parents speak English in the home without the inclusion of much code-switching into Maltese, as opposed to Family 5. Table 6.8 shows complete statistics for Family 6.

Table 6.8: Family 6 Conversation percentages

Family 6	by family	by mother		by father		by daughter		by son	
Number of words spoken in									
recording	2220	976		489		332		432	
Maltese	132	17		106		6		3	
English	2088	959		383		326		429	
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		44%		22%		15%		19%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	6%	0.76%	2%	5%	22%	0.3%	2%	0.14%	1%
in English	94%	43%	98%	17%	78%	15%	98%	19%	99%

Despite the difference in the speech patterns of the parents, the children in both Families 5 and 6 show a great similarity. All four children tend to adhere to the use of English and perhaps this may be attributed to the fact that 3 of the 4 children attend independent schools while the other attends a church school. Independent schools, even more than church schools, tend to foster the use of English as the language of communication. The parents of both families indicate they consider their children to be somewhat weak in Maltese proficiency and that they would like to facilitate their children's understanding of the language. They try to encourage their children to learn to speak Maltese as they know knowledge of this language is of the essence for their children to be able to continue their studies, as Sciriha and Vassallo found in their 2006 study.

6.2.2 Families 7 and 8: parents without degrees

There are quite a number of differences between these two self-perceived English-speaking families. Firstly, the members of Family 7 are much older than the members of Family 8. Although both may be considered as employing English for the great majority of their utterances, Family 7 engages in more code-switching than does Family 8. This may seem a strange declaration if the statistics of the conversations are examined. A look at the numbers shows that Family 7 uses English for 96% of their utterances while Family 8 uses English for only 92% of their utterances. This difference only exists, however, because the mother of Family 8 tries to incorporate a Maltese language lesson during their meal time (as does the father of Family 6). This forces the two children to try to communicate in Maltese in the latter part of their dinner-time conversation. Therefore, in the first half of the conversation, when the family are speaking casually to each other about their day, they use hardly any Maltese at all. Then, when the mother starts her 'Maltese lesson', there is of course more code-switching involved, which is what makes the average percentage of Maltese words used higher than it normally would be. Tables 6.9 and 6.10 below show the speaking statistics for Families 7 and 8.

Table 6.9: Family 7 Conversation percentages

Family 7	by family	by mother	by father	by grandmother	by son				
Number of words spoken in									
recording	1918	779	457	193	498				
Maltese	84	10	24	14	40				
English	1839	769	433	179	458				
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		41%		24%		10%		26%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	4.5%	0.5%	1%	5%	5%	1%	7%	2%	8%
in English	95.5%	40%	99%	23%	95%	9%	93%	24%	92%

Table 6.10: Family 8 Conversation percentages

Family 8	by family	by mother	by father	by son 1	by son 2				
Number of words spoken in									
recording	1577	722	237	358	260				
Maltese	131	45	11	57	18				
English	1446	677	226	301	242				
Percentage of words spoken									
Percentage of all words spoken in recording		46%		15%		23%		17%	
		in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self	in relation to recording	in relation to self
in Maltese	8%	3%	6%	1%	5%	4%	16%	1%	7%
in English	92%	43%	94%	14%	95%	19%	84%	15%	93%

Another distinction between the members of Family 7 and Family 8 is that Family 7 all own to being able to communicate fluently in Maltese despite their preference for English as the language spoken in the home. This may be attributed to the fact that the members in Family 7 are older than those in Family 8. Conversely, the parents in Family 8 admit they only speak

Maltese when they do not wish their children to understand what they are saying. This means that the children in this latter family are unable to understand the Maltese language to any extent. This is very evident when the children are asked to make a request in Maltese for a treat to be given to them. Although the children clearly want the treat, they are unable to gain access to it because even a simple sentence in Maltese is beyond them.

The code-switching practices of these two families also differ. Although they speak English quite correctly, Family 7's speech patterns resemble spoken Maltese in that there are numerous typical Maltese tags inserted in their utterances. In fact, these tags which make up 70% of the Maltese used by the family, recur throughout their conversation. These Maltese tags do not form a significant part of Family 8's utterances although there are a few instances of such tags but these amount only to 8% of their conversation. In fact, although Family 7 cannot be said to employ much code-switching, Family 8 employs even less code-switching in their conversation if the 'Maltese lesson' is disregarded.

The tendency of both Families 7 and 8 to speak English can be explained in some measure by the fact that both families live in areas known to harbour a large number of people who speak English. Family 7 lived in Gżira, a village that neighbours Sliema, before moving to their current place of residence. The villages where both families currently live, Pembroke and Swieqi, which started off being suburbs of the village of St Julians, do not frown on the use of English and here too, as with Family 6, the language can be readily heard spoken by many of the residents. In addition, several of the members of both families attended or continue to attend church schools which encourage the use of English.

6.2.3 Conclusions for all four self-perceived English-speaking families

With the exception of Family 5, the self-perceived English-speaking families interact mostly in English (89% of their utterances) although they still use a number of Maltese words in their utterances (11% Maltese utterances). The common factors that emerged from the background information supplied by these families is that all reside, and had resided as children, in north-eastern parts of the island and most of the members within each family attend or attended church or independent schools. Sciriha and Vassallo (2006: 23) maintain

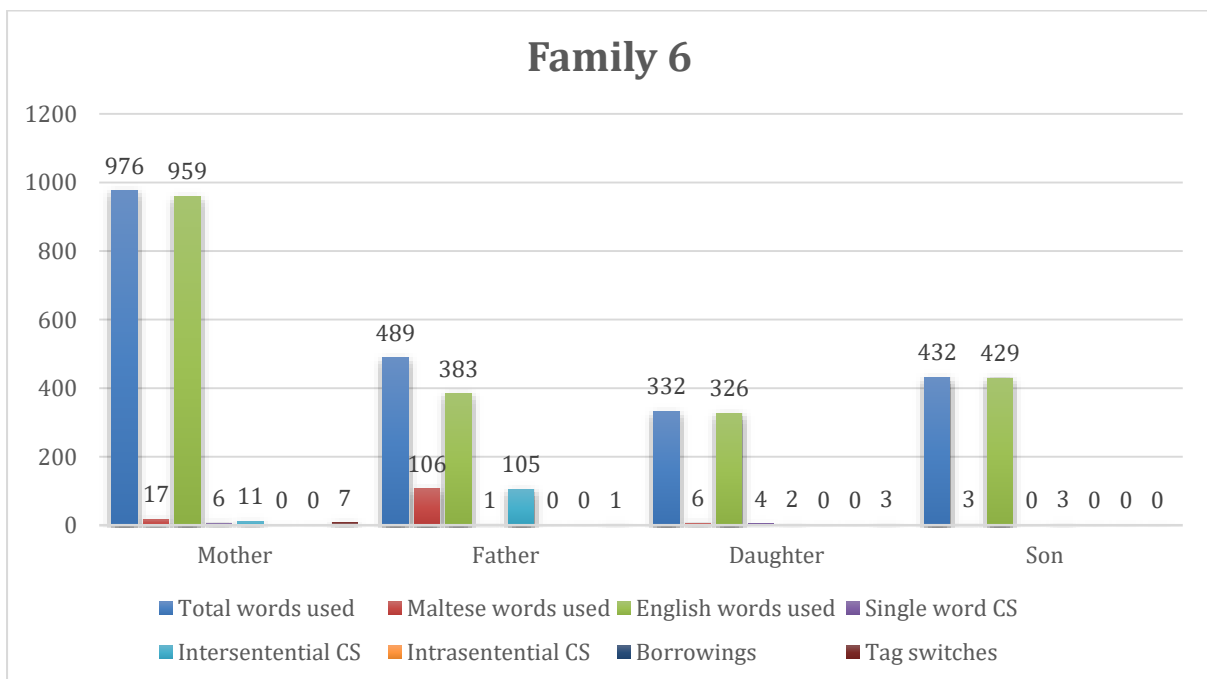
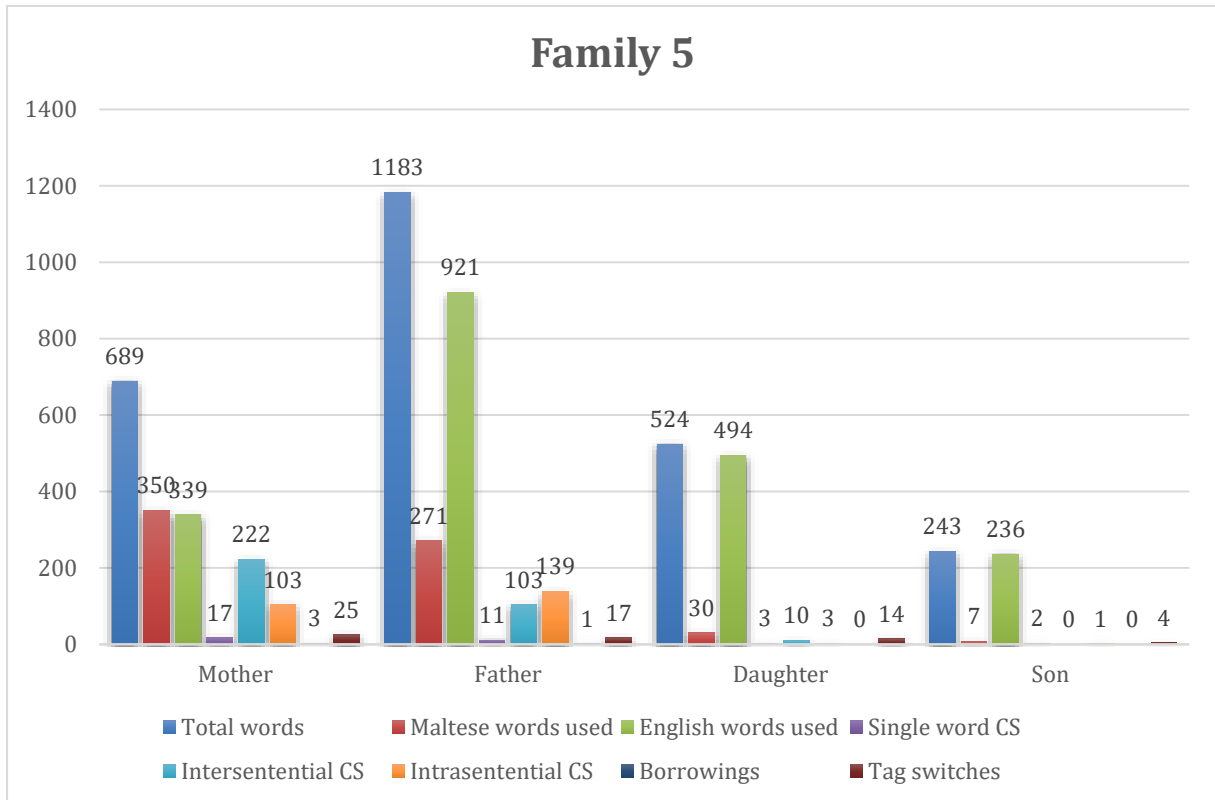
that 'the type of school that the child attends seems to condition the child's language of interaction'. Thus, it can be concluded that as Fishman (1964; 1965), Ferguson (1959) and Fasold (1984) proposed, people modulate their language not only according to their audience but also according to their domain.

Several families in this study also claim that they consciously choose to speak Maltese when they are completing transactions in their villages. Despite the fact that Family 6 lives in Swieqi, the mother chooses to speak to her grocer in Maltese as does Family 5 which hails from the rural village of Siggiewi where speaking English to locals while conducting transactions would be considered something of an aberration. In fact, according to Sciriha and Vassallo (2006), Maltese is by far the language of choice in the transaction domain.

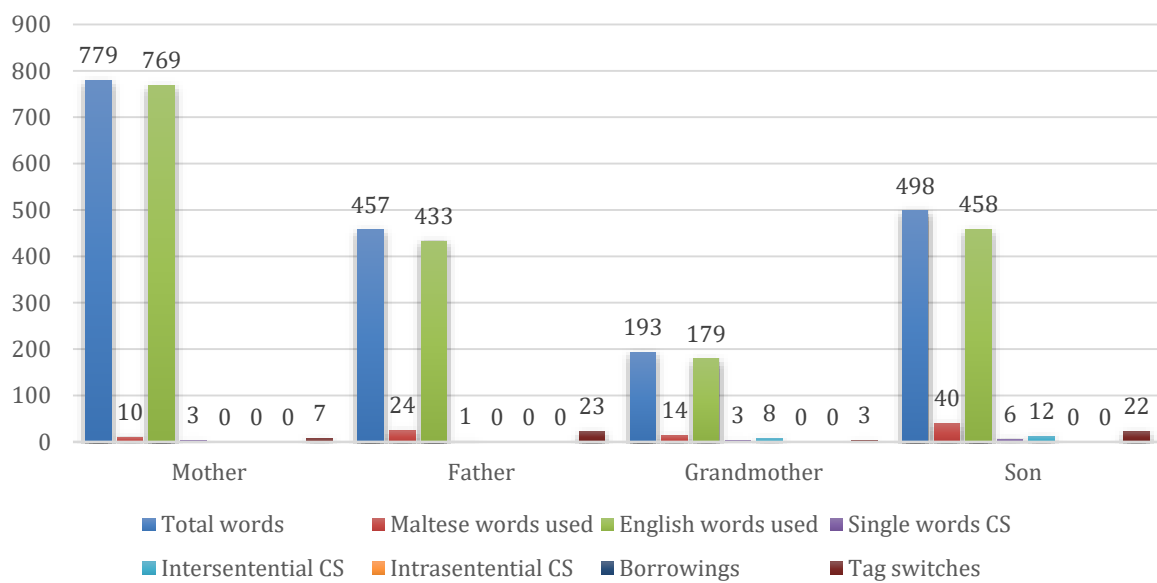
In the case of Family 5, the family readily admits that its members, especially the parents, could be classified as being to some extent bilingual rather than predominantly English-speaking. In addition, this family is unique in the particular backgrounds of both parents and their current place of residence. They are the only ones to hail from the south of Malta or a rural village rather than the villages in the northeast of Malta where there are many people who regularly speak English. However, despite this rather strange incidence of the location of their home and where the parents resided as children, with the exception of the father, all the other members of the family attended or continue to attend, church and independent schools. The father's fluency and ease of use of English can be better understood when it is understood that his parents were both teachers of English who insisted on their son using this language while in the home.

In general, it may be perceived that the proportion of Maltese to English words used in the conversation of these self-perceived English-speaking families is not very high, given that Maltese is the language spoken by the great majority of the native Maltese. The four charts in Figure 6.2 are graphical depictions of the Maltese and English spoken for each family, for each family member.

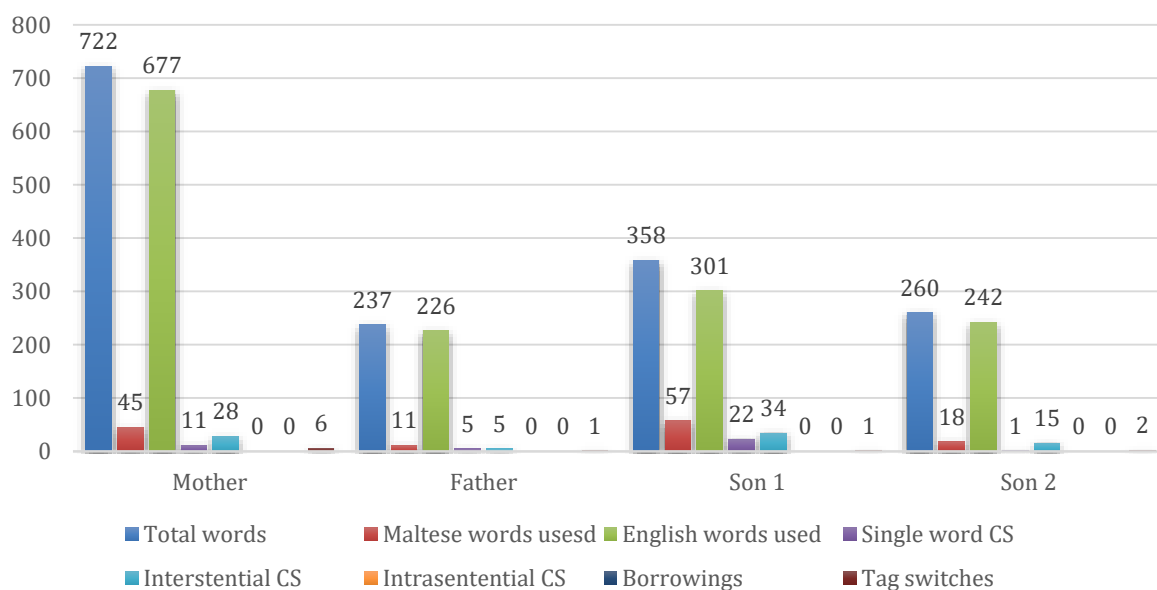
Figure 6.2: Graphical interpretation of Maltese/English/CS patterns per individual in each family (English-speaking and bilingual)



Family 7



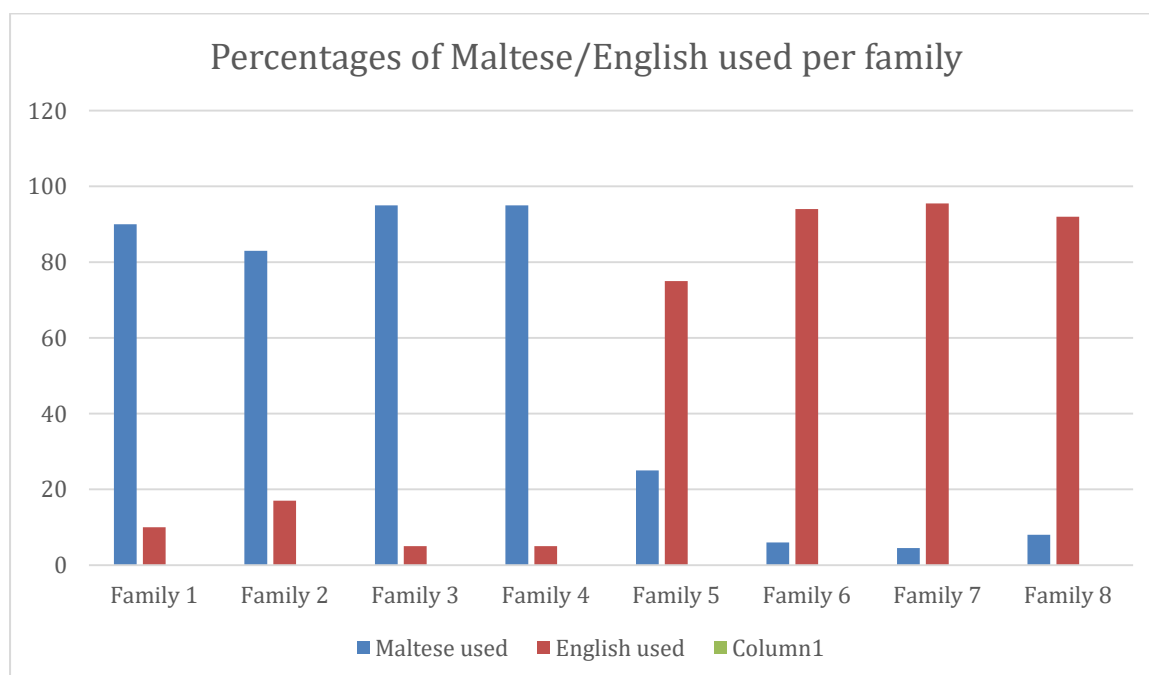
Family 8



6.3 Comparing the Maltese-speaking and the English-speaking families' code-switching tendencies

The self-perceived Maltese-speaking families tend not to make use of extensive code-switching practices and the same can be seen to be true of the self-perceived English-speaking families. The Maltese-speaking families in this study use an average of 90.75% Maltese words when they are speaking which means they use only 9.25% of English words. The English-speaking families use an average of 89% English words and 11% Maltese words. The amount of Maltese spoken by the English-speaking families is only this high because of Family 5 whose average of Maltese spoken is 25%. This family actually goes so far as to sometimes consider itself both Maltese and English-speaking rather than only English-speaking. If Family 5 were not to form part of the equation, then the average of Maltese utterances employed by the other three English-speaking families would be only 6%. Figure 6.3, a graphical comparison of all eight families, shows the great similarity between Maltese and/or English language use for each family.

Figure 6.3: Comparison of language use for all families



Another observation which can be made is that despite the similarity in the amount of code-switching employed by all eight families, the type of code-switching that the two sets of families use, is rather dissimilar. The Maltese-speaking families tend to code-switch mostly when the word they need to use is more readily available in English. These English words tend to be words that have to do with technology, because as Brincat (2006: 154) posits, 'those fields that have undergone drastic renewal such as medicine, the sciences and technology, especially those involving electrical and electronic appliances and practices, [are] replete with English words'. The same is true of such specialised topics such as food or the arts (literature and music), however, there are a fair number of words for which the Maltese equivalent is readily available and yet the persons speaking choose to use an English rather than Maltese word. The reason for this preference is not clear. Perhaps the word in Maltese may have more syllables than the English equivalent such as the word '*operazzjoni*' as opposed to 'operation' and '*tarbija*' as opposed to 'baby'. However, evidence for the reason of code-switching of such words is not readily available at this time.

On the other hand, those families speaking English in the home employ a different kind of code-switching. The difference in their speech is that those who are English speaking do not feel the need to incorporate or substitute Maltese words for the English words they wish to use, as far as lexis is concerned. However, the English-speaking Maltese natives, on the other hand, seem to feel the need to insert numerous tags, typical of Maltese speech, when they are conversing, even when they are speaking in English, a language which usually does not use so many tags in everyday speech.

Thus the eight native Maltese families, consisting in all of thirty two individuals, who were a part of this research, provided a small sample of the use of Maltese and English as part of the everyday conversations occurring in Malta today.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The eight families who took part in this study provided the following sets of data: a recording of their conversation during dinner time, a questionnaire that provided background information and at least one member from each family was also willing to elaborate on their attitudes to language, speaking habits and any peculiarities of their speech or life that needed a detailed explanation. The information they provided was analysed and collated in the previous chapters. This chapter provides a general overview and summary of all the findings and points out both the strengths and limitations of this study before ending with a personal comment.

7.2 Summary of findings

This research purported to examine the speech tendencies of native Maltese to ascertain how much their Maltese or English speech included words from the other language since bilinguals are known to code-switch when they interact with other same-language speaking bilinguals. It should be noted that the Maltese can usually manage to keep their languages separate when they are speaking to those they know are monolingual, be it because these speak only Maltese, a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly rare nowadays, or they speak only English, such as when the interlocutor is a foreigner. Brincat (2006: 155) observes 'Nobody switches when speaking to Maltese monolinguals or to English people or foreigners'. However, anyone simply listening to the conversations of the Maltese in many contexts would realise that the Maltese rarely speak one language for any length of time but they usually engage in this kind of two-language speech only when they are speaking to other Maltese bilinguals. However, this study has shown that there are typical Maltese families who speak practically one language and although they certainly code-switch occasionally in their conversations, they keep this to a minimum.

It is important to point out that the eight families who participated in this study were asked to take part because they were willing to contribute to this research and they were not chosen because their speech patterns were known to be what they actually turned out to be or would prove any particular point of the researcher's. The only question that was asked of them was whether they considered themselves Maltese-speaking or English-speaking. After this initial question, it was then ascertained that they fit the criteria of the study outlined in previous chapters. Only after they had submitted their recording were they asked to fill in a questionnaire requiring them to give background linguistic information. This was done to ensure that the questions in the questionnaire would not alert them to the purpose of the study and their conversation would not be influenced by such knowledge. Once the recording had been submitted it was then also possible to converse with the participants face to face and to ask them whether there was any information they wanted to add that was pertinent to the study or to clarify any points that had come up in the questionnaire. These interviews turned out to be enlightening as they provided information about the participants that could not have been included in the questionnaire questions because it was so particular. The information could only be revealed if the participants volunteered to supply it, once they knew the rationale behind the study. Thus, speaking personally to the participants proved beneficial.

Once the speaking patterns of the eight families were analysed, it becomes clear that seven of the eight families tend not to code-switch to any extent, contrary to expectations. The speech of both the self-perceived Maltese- as well as the self-perceived English-speaking families is approximately 90% in one language, the language they perceive they speak. This percentage is true of both the non-graduates as well as the graduate adults.

One difference in the code-switching of these eight families is quite easily perceived. While the Maltese-speaking families tend to code-switch most by using single-word switches, the English-speaking families' switching takes the form of intersentential code-switching where the participants use whole sentences or stand-alone phrases in Maltese, rather than single words. Families 5 and 7, self-perceived English-speaking families, both demonstrate a rather high instance of tag switching while Families 6 and 8, also English-speaking, tend to tag switch very seldom.

The instances of borrowings that occur in the recordings are those employed by Families 1 and 2. These families are the Maltese-speaking families where the parents all have university degrees. There are no instances of borrowings used in the Maltese-speaking families where the parents had not attended university. It is perhaps also worth noting that there are no cases of borrowings in the English-speaking families and these families do not feel the need to incorporate any Maltese lexical words. Amongst these families there are also no instances of intrasentential code-switching.

Family 5 is difficult to compare to the other families as this family admits they often switched languages in their conversation and that they could perhaps better be classified as being bilingual rather than predominantly English-speaking. It is the father who considers code-switching with the most positive attitude and the mother who has a fairly strong dislike of this switching. However, once again, quite ironically, the mother's speech is almost evenly distributed between Maltese and English while the father is much more predominantly English-speaking. In this case, self-perception, attitudes to code-switching and actual speech do not tally. In fact, Sciriha and Vassallo (2006: 56) report that 'Romaine (1994) contends that self-reporting is not without its problems. Self-reporting is not always accurate because some respondents tend to find it difficult to assess their own linguistic proficiency'. Finally, it is the father in this family who has by far the highest number of intrasentential code-switching, surpassing all the other families in the study. His obvious pride and assurance in the ability to use several languages fluently, proves Poplack's (1980) theory that those who are able to switch intrasententially, are the ones who are most proficient in the language.

7.3 Strengths and Limitations of the study

7.3.1 Limitations of the study: number of participants

This study concentrated on analysing the speech patterns of eight families of four members each, giving a total of thirty two participants. However, in the course of recruiting participants the present researcher also transcribed several additional recordings from other families. These recordings were not included in the study due to the word limit imposed on the study

and because of other details such as there being three or five members in the family rather than four or because the recording had been taken while at a restaurant rather than at home. However, the extra transcripts included two families who self-perceived themselves to be bilingual speakers of Maltese and English, another self-perceived Maltese-speaking family and two self-perceived English-speaking families. The analysis of their transcripts showed that these families could easily be compared to the sample of families included in this study. The two families who considered themselves bilingual speakers show speech pattern tendencies that resemble Family 5 fairly closely but all members are slightly more bilingually balanced, the self-perceived Maltese-speaking family resembles Families 3 and 4, while the English-speaking families resemble the speech patterns of Family 7. These families would include twenty one more participants in addition to the thirty two participants of the current study, resulting in a total of 53 participants. The inclusion of these participants would begin to enable an understanding of the actual speech patterns employed by Maltese natives in general. This study was a case study so a much larger sample of families would be needed for an authentic picture of the speech of the Maltese.

7.3.2 Unavoidable discrepancies

Due to the nature of the primary data collected for this study, certain aspects could not be kept uniform and thus certain differences were unavoidable.

The families asked to record their conversation, were initially asked to record themselves for thirty minutes while the transcript would consist of only fifteen minutes taken from the whole. However, three of the families' recordings are a few minutes under the desired fifteen minutes. For exact length of recordings see Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

Family 2 had two very young children, a girl of 4 and a boy of 6. Their conversation would not compare to the conversation of older children. Instead, however, their speech reveals other characteristics such as the way adults choose to speak to children as well as the actual speech of younger children.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 include lists of the number of words each participant speaks in the recording and the percentage this represents to the recording as a whole. Obviously, it is

impossible to ensure each participant utters the same number of words as another, as it is also impossible to control the topics discussed in an informal family conversation. For example, if discussing such topics as technology, speakers would tend to use more English words, since English is the language of technology. In addition, certain people always speak more than others.

7.3.3 Strengths of the study

The participants in this study, although all native Maltese, come from a range of varied backgrounds. Their backgrounds many times provide clues as to why the participant chooses to speak in the way he or she currently does. In several cases, it is possible to make comparisons across families by matching such fields as childhood language, type of school attended, topic under discussion and location of residence, both present as well as childhood residence.

Additionally, having access to informal interviews with several of the participants proved important as these discussions provide an insightful picture as to why the family speaks the language it does, in the way it does. Many families had experiences that caused them to be careful with the language they choose to speak at home with their children. Other families own to making language choice mistakes and wishing to rectify them for the sake of their children. These issues are discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

7.4 Final observation

Camilleri Grima (1992: 19) observes how the spoken languages of Malta influence each other and both 'could be observed in the speech of practically all speakers'. She continues (1992: 19), 'While people normally perceive themselves as speaking either one or the other of the two languages, it has been observed by Borg (1980) and Camilleri (1991a and 1991b) that what in fact happens is that all groups of speakers mix the two languages continuously,

although presumably not everyone, and not always, mixes them in the same way or to the same extent'. To show this has been the aim of this study.

Maltese influences English and English influences Maltese. This research has attempted to show how living in a bilingual society provides the Maltese with a constant challenge as to the choice of language they have to make every time they speak. Parents have to choose the language they speak to their children when at home, which language to speak while at work with their colleagues, when they are with their friends or when they are completing transactions in their locality. The same is true of children who make choices about language when they are with their friends, with their siblings and when they are either with their mother or their father. Many of these choices are made unconsciously, within split seconds, just before commencing to speak, and yet, because the ability exists, the choice to speak one or the other language exists also. However, native Maltese are 'very much aware that Maltese and English are separate languages, because they resort to language switching only when conversing with persons who know both languages' (Brincat 2006: 154) but Brincat also notes that 'on the whole Maltese citizens succeed in communicating to meet their own particular needs' (2006:157). The families participating in this study show this to be their particular case too.

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Appendix 1

Coded transcript for Family 1

Anita, Joe, Jurgen and Amelia

(self-perceived Maltese-speaking)

J: Ejja. **Set the table.**

Come. Set the table

Ju: Is **settjaw** il-mejda

Set the table

Ju: **Thank you**, pa

A: Tiddardarx

Don't be obnoxious

J: Għandna bżonn frieket, aw skieken?

Do we need forks or knives?

A: Iva.

Yes

J: Din x'kien, ejja, sikkina?

What's this, come, a knife?

A: Tieġu xi tadam int, Joe?

Do you want some tomatoes, Joe?

J: Eġe, ftit, **please**

Yeah, a few, please

A: Normali

Normal amount

J: Ġib il-bowl

Get the bowl

Ju: Jien tnejn biss

I just want two

A: Tnejn ħa ntik

I'm going to give you two

A: Tieġu naqra kaboċċa? Ju?

Do you want some cabbage? Ju?

Ju: Aw?

What?

A: Tieġu naqra kaboċċa?

Do you want some cabbage?

Ju: Naq'a. Naq'a, naq'a. naq'a, naq'a, naq'a, naq'a. Ftit żgħira. Thank you.

A little, little (etc). A very little. Thank you

J: Ixgħel naqra l-aquarium Am, please?

Can you turn on the aquarium Am, please

A: Tajthielhom il-karta tal-futbol?

Did you give the football form?

Ju: Nhar is-Sibt irrid intihielhom. Għax kien qed jitkellem mal-Iskoċċiż.

Saturday is when I have to give it to them. Because he was talking to the Scotsman

Am: Skoċċiż?

Scotsman?

A: Nhar is-Sibt? Mela nhar is-Sibt għandek il-**futbol**?

Saturday? Then do you have to go to football on Saturday?

Ju: Nhar is-Sibt ta' wara.

The Saturday after

A: Tal-aħħar? U mbagħad meta ħa niġbruha?

The last one? And then how are we going to pick it up?

Ju: Mhux jagħtihil... (simultaneous with following)

He'll give it to me

J: Mhux jagħmilhieli dak il-ħin, kemm ħa jdum? (simultaneous with previous)

He'll give it to me at that time, how long will it take?

Am: Ta'...

So...

J: Ejja ħa ngħidu t-talba. **In the name of the Father, and of the Son, Holy Spirit, Amen. Bless our Lord as we sit together, bless the food we eat today, bless the hands that made the food, bless us oh Lord, Amen. Name of the Father, and of the Son, Holy Spirit, Amen.**

Let's say the prayer...

J: Ġib ħa nnaddaflek it-tigieġa

Let me bone the chicken for you

Ju: Dak...

That...

A: *Ħa Amelia*

Here Amelia

Am: *Kemm jaħraq*

How hot it is

J: *Illum waqa' Phil fil-fabbrika u tgħidx kemm daħqu bih ix-xogħol*

Today Phil fell in the factory and they really laughed at him at work

Am: (giggles)

A: *Waqa'?*

He fell?

J: *E*

Right

A: *I, miskin*

Oh, the poor thing

Am: (continues to giggle)

J: *Waqa'... U hu u tiela' mill-art kulħadd iċapċap u jsaffarlu*

He fell... and as he was getting up from the floor everyone clapped and whistled at him

A: *Uuu, jaħasra*

Oh, the poor thing

Am: *Miskin*

The poor thing

Ju: U daħaq, x'għamel?

And did he laugh? What did he do?

A: Weggħa', jew?

Did he hurt or what?

J: Heq, weggħa', għax mar għand it-..., għax mar is-Saint James

He hurt because he went to the doc... because he want to the Saint James

A: Ara! Marelli!

Oh no! That's terrible!

J: Izappap qiegħed

He's limping

A: Heqq.

Oh well

Am: (giggles)

A: U biex waqqa'?

How did he fall?

J: Żelaq fuq xi materjal, għandikun... Waqqa' xi, xi, pezez tal-plastik

He fell on some material I think... he dropped some, some bolts of plastic

Am: Mela dan, haw...

So he, I mean...

A: Health and Safety?

J: Imma... mhux normali jkun hemm
But... it's not usual for him to be there

Am: 'Mma rajtu? Jaqa'?'
But did you see him? Fall?

J: Jien mhux fl-office inkun
I'm in the office, aren't I?

Ju: Issa missu jaraw fuq is-CCTV camera...
They should check on the CCTV camera...

J: (overlaps with end of previous) M'għandniex CCTV fil-fabbrika
We don't have CCTV at the factory

A: Int minn din ma tridx, hu?
You don't want any of this, do you?

J: Amelia, mur ġib naq'a t-to.... biex narmu dawn
Amelia, go and get the ... so we can throw these away

J: Kellkom ġurnata tajba l-iskola...?
Did you have a good day at school...?

A: (overlaps with previous) Lill-Mummy għidtilha... Lill-Mummy għidtilha biex tiġbor lil
Amelia għada...

I told mummy, I told her... I told mummy to pick up Amelia tomorrow

J: umm?
Yes?

A: U ħassejtني guilty ngħidilha ghax il-Mummy ilha ġurnata fis-sodda.

And I felt guilty so tell her because Mummy had spent the day in bed.

J: Għalfejn?

Why?

A: Għax iċċaqalqilha l-ilma

Because she felt nauseous

Ju & J: (simultaneously) Ta' widnejha?

Her ears?

Ju: Allura tgħidilhiex biex tmur għaliha

So don't tell her to go for her

Am: Mhux inti għidtilha?

Wasn't it you who told her?

J: Ma jistax imur id-daddy għaliha?

Can't daddy go for her?

Ju: ... (begins to say something but stops for others to continue)

A: Iva, mhux id-daddy ħa jmur għaliha?

Yes, isn't daddy going for her?

A: U għandna tieg

And we have a wedding to go to

J: Ta' min?

Whose?

A: Mhux tat-tifla ta' Johnny?

Johnny's daughter

J: Mela stidnitna?

So she invited us?

A: Mmm

J: Met'hu?

When is it?

A: Fis-Sette Giugno

On the 7th June

Ju: Ta' dal-cowboy?

That cowboy's?

A: E, cowgirl mhux il-cowboy

Um, cowgirl not cowboy

Am: (giggles)

A: Qgħadt bil-għaqal l-iskola?

Did you behave at school?

Ju: Ijja

Yeah

A: Mmm

Ju: Mmm... bil-għaqal qgħadt. Bilkemm kellna lessons

Mmm... I behaved. We hardly had any lessons

Am: Lucky

A: Mela int waqt il-lessons biss toqgħod bil-għaqal?

So you only behave during the lessons?

Am: Hahaha...

Ju: Il-furketta please. Thank you

The fork please. Thank you

Am: Bejn il-lesson bil-għaqal... haw... waqt il-lessons bil-għaqal... Bej' il-lessons bil-għaqal ukoll. Imma tista' ddaħħaq

Between lessons behaving... I mean... during the lessons behaving... Between lessons also behaving. But you can make jokes

A: Mmmm (acknowledges Amelia's utterances during her pauses)

Ju: Naq'a melħ

A bit of salt

A: Titfax iżżejjed

Don't put a lot

A: 'Mma dak apposta qed jagħmel, arah...

But he's doing it on purpose, look at him...

Ju: Imma mhux jien se nieklu, il-melħ. Ma tfajtulekx fil-platt tiegħek

But I'm the one who's going to eat it, the salt. I didn't put it in your plate

A: Alex qallek xi ħaġa jekk iċċekkja lek fuq il-karti?

Did Alex tell you whether he checked about the papers?

J: Le, ta, ma qallix u m'inix se noqgħod inċempillu u nfakkru kuljum...

No, you know, he didn't tell me and I'm not going to phone him and remind him everyday...

A: Le, ma ċempiltlux ilbieraħ filgħaxija?

No, didn't you phone him yesterday evening?

Am: (Makes a request)

J: U ejja, mela ma tafux tferrgħu ftit ilma?

Oh come on, don't you know how to pour a little water?

Ju: Grazzi pa, talli ferrajtli l-ilma

Thanks dad, for pouring me some water

J: Tajba tiġi hu dil-kaboċċa?

The cabbage is good cooked like this, isn't it?

A: Ta' Doreen din

This is Doreen's

Am: Qas inħobbha jien

I don't like it

A: Ir-riċetta ta' Doreen

Doreen's recipe

J: Imma illum qaltli Doreen... fil-kċina għandha... frigg kollha, u fil-...

But today Doreen told me... in her kitchen she has... a whole fridge, and in the...

A: X'jiġifieri 'frigg kollha'?

What do you mean 'a whole fridge'?

J: Jigifieri fridge without a freezer

It means a fridge without a freezer

A: Mmm

J: U fil-kamra tas-sodda, fil-... li bhalissa vojta, spare bedroom... ghandha freezer kollha. Issa minhabba l-baby se jaghmluha dil-kamra tas-sodda, spare bedroom

And in the bedroom, in the... the one that is empty, the spare bedroom... she has a whole freezer. Now because of the baby they're going to turn it into a bedroom, the spare bedroom

A: Taf x'se jkollha?

Does she know what she's going to have?

J: Le, imma ha jaghmluha

No, but they're going to convert it

A: Mmm. U m'ghandhiex fejn tqed il-freezer

And she doesn't have room for the freezer

J: Issa trid itbiegh il-frigg u trid itbiegh il-freezer, it-tnejn

Now she wants to sell the fridge and she wants to sell the freezer, both

A: Biex tixtri fridge-freezer

So she can buy a fridge-freezer

J: Ara kemm ha titef minnhom dawk, ha tbieghhom

Just imagine how much money she's going to lose, she's selling them

A: Izgur

Of course

J: U ghadhom tajbin, godda

And they're in really good condition, new

A: Iżgur

Of course

J: Biex tixtri **fridge-freezer** għal ġol-kċina. Għidtilha, għax ma tagħmilx, tgħidilhom jaħdmulha **freezer** ġol-**bedroom**... u meta tmurlek, toħroġ il-**freezer**...

To buy a fridge-freezer for the kitchen. I told her, why don't you do, you ask them to make a freezer for the bedroom... and then when it breaks down, you can remove the freezer...

A: U tibqgħalha l-**cupboard**...

And she'll have the cupboard...

J: U tagħmilha bl-ixkafef...

And she can put in shelves...

Am: Kien hemm waħda l-iskola l-ħin kollu titbandal u s-siġ... il-forma tas-siġġu ġiha hekk, kif titbandal. Qisu hekk, titbandal

There was this girl at school and she's always rocking and her chair... the shape of the chair is like this, the way she rocks. It's like this, rocking

A: Issa tieġu xi waħda...

Now she'll fall...

J: Għandhom evidenza mela li titbandal għax ħalliet it-traċċi mas-siġġu

They have evidence that she rocks because she'll leave traces on the chair

Ju: Tpartat is-siġġu

She'll switch chairs

J: E?

What?

Ju: Tpartat is-siġġu

She switches chairs

A: U hekk ħa tagħmel?

Is that what she's going to do?

Am: Din mal-LSA ta qiegħda ... Jiġifieri l-LSA taf. Għax tgħidilha, tgħidilha, id-dar immur u nibda nara kollox jiċċaqlaq

She has an LSA (Learning Support Assistant)... It means the LSA knows. Because she tells her, she tells her, when I go home I start seeing everything is rocking

A: Eq! Tkun seasick mela

Oh! She gets seasick then

Am: Qaltilha, tagħmel ġurnata titbandal

She told her, she spends the day rocking

J: L-LSA tmur tara kollox jiċċaqlaq jew il... it-tifla?

Is it the LSA that sees everything rocking or the....the girl?

Am: Le it-tif... l-LSA. Qaltilha għax il-ħin kollu narak titbandal quddiemi...

No, the girl... the LSA. She told her I watch you rocking in front of me...

A: Dik li konna rajniha hawn, Wied il-Għajn, l-LSA?

Is that the one we had seen here in Wied il-Għajn (the name of a village in Malta)

Am: Mmmħe. Fid-Duluri

Mmmm. At the Lady of Sorrows feast

J: Qalu xi ħaġa... X'qalu x-xogħol fuq il-Eurovision?

They told me something... what did they say at work about the Eurovision?

A: Mhux minn kollox, Joe

They said a bit of everything, Joe

J: Minn kollox xiex?

What, everything?

A: Min għogbitu, min m'għogbitux... Min jgħid daħqet bin-nies għax **pregnant**... Min jgħid għax setgħat inqabdet, min jgħid ma missiex marret xorta la kienet taf li **pregnant**

Some liked it, some didn't like it... Some said that she fooled people because she's pregnant... some said she could have been caught, some say she shouldn't have gone just the same since she knew she was pregnant

J: 'Ma marritx xorta, għala?

She shouldn't she still go?

A: Għax **she didn't give her best**, qas iċċaqalqet xejn fuq il-palk, għax ma setgħatx ...

Because she didn't give her best, she didn't move at all when she was on stage because she couldn't...

J: Mela hemm xi regola li tgħid li ma tistax tmur jekk tkun **pregnant**?

Is there a rule that says you can't go if you're pregnant?

A: U jien naf

How would I know

Ju: Mela bżonn toqgħod tiżfen fuq il-palk? Ma kelliex iż-żeffien tagħha?

So you have to dance when you're on stage? Didn't she have her dancer with her?

J: U dan suppost **song contest** mhux **dance contest**

And this is supposed to be a song contest not a dance contest

A: Imma m'għadux **song contest** hu?

But it's not stayed a song contest, has it?

Ju: Mhux **song contest**...

Not a song contest...

A: Kieku **just song contest** ma jħalluhomx itellgħu ż-żeffiena magħhom

If it were a song contest they wouldn't let them take dancers with them

J: Mhux bidu ta' għada

She's not in the early months

A: Min qallek li bidu?

Who said it was in the early months?

J: Għandha sitt xhur

She's six months gone

Ju: Ara twelled fuq il-palk!

What if she gives birth on stage!

A: Xi ħadd hekk qal. Qas naf qrajtiex fuq Facebook. Xi ħadd qal, jekk jinfaqqgħalha l-ilma fuq il-palk **she will really walk on water** (laughs)

That's what someone said. I don't know if I read it on Facebook. Someone said, if her waters break she will really walk on water (name of song)

J: Pretendejt li jagħmlu naqra koreografija bil-... idaħħlu l-ilma jien

I expected them to have some choreography with... they would include water I thought

Am: Pereżempju dik li...

For example that one...

A: Ta' Chiara kienet tajba. Rajtha ta' Chiara, x'kitbu fuq Chiara?

Chiara's was a good one. Did you see Chiara's, what they wrote about Chiara?(This is the name of another Maltese singer)

Ju: E. Qalu għax Chiara tizzied il-weight, għax x...

Yeah. They said that Chiara increased the weight, because...

A: Qalet għalfejn ħafna għagħa għax... għax Ira tqila. Mela jiena kont ħafifa?

She said why are they making a fuss because... because she's pregnant. Was I light?
(Maltese pun on words produces a joke)

J: Mhux sewwa qalet?

Wasn't she right?

A: Mhux veru qalitha hi, ta

She didn't really say that you know

J: E, mhux vera?

Oh, wasn't it true?

A: Hux vera. Xi ħadd kitibha hu. Issa ma nafx wara kollox

Of course it wasn't. Someone wrote it. I don't know really

Ju: Hux qalitha hi...

Of course she didn't say it herself...

A: Ma naħsibx li hi qalitha

I don't think she said it

A: Hemm dak il-poster qisu ritratt u mbagħad jiktbu fuqu

There's that poster like a photograph and then they write on it

Am: **Don't believe everything you see**

A: Hekk hu

That's it

J: Dik ma qalitx qabel ħadet sehem f'ta' Malta għax tgħidlek in-nies ma jivvutawlix

She didn't say anything before she took part in the Malta one because she thought people wouldn't vote for her

Ju: (mumbles)

J: Tgħidlek in-nies ma jivvutawlix

She thought people wouldn't vote her her

A: Taf kemm għandek, Jurgen?

Do you know how much you have, Jurgen?

Ju: Naqra fuq il-patata

A little on the potatoes

J: Għax imbagħad immur **pregnant** għall-Eurovision

Because then I'd be pregnant for the Eurovision

J: Tajba, tajba giet it-tigieġa

It's good, the chicken is good

Ju: Aghmel hemm...

Put it there...

J: Għax in-nies taf kif jirragunaw? Jgħidulek ma nivvutawlixiex għax tmur **pregnant** għall-Eurovision?

Because do you know how people reason? They say we won't vote for her because she'll go the Eurovision and she'll be pregnant

Am: Imbilli?

So what?

Am: Ha. **Jinx, double jinx, personal jinx, full of ...???**

A: Ilek ma tgħidha din

You haven't said that in a long time

Am: Naf

I know

A: Anki din

This one too

Am: Mela fid-**Drama**, tatna **cushion** u ridna nirreċtaw xi ħaġa...

So in Drama class, she gave us a cushion and we had to act out something...

J: E...

Yeah...

Am: Imma mhux bilfors nużaha bħala **cushion**

But you don't have to use it as a cushion

Ju: U bilfors trid tużaha din?

But you have to use it?

Am: Min irid. Toħroġ barra...

Whoever want to. You go outside...

A: Individually... Kulhadd individually kellu jagħmilha?

Individually... Everyone had to do it individually?

Am: Tgħidlek ismek u tgħidlek oħroġ u tirreċta biċċa żgħira... biha

She says your name and she tells you to come out and act out a short piece... with it

Ju: U x'għamilt?

What did you do?

Am: L-ewwel poġġejt fuqha, taparsi qed nisma' storja u xi ħadd jirrakuntahieli

First I sat on it, pretending I was listening to a story that someone was telling me

Ju: ... u int ma tgħid xejn, eh

... and you didn't say anything, yes

Am: Le...Għamilt leħni ta' baby u għidt xi ħaġa, Kemm hi sabiħa din, xi ħaġa hekk insomma.

Imbagħad użajtla bħala mera...

No... I made my voice sound like a baby's and I said something, How nice this is, something like that anyway. Then I used it as a mirror...

Ju: Mera?

A mirror?

Am: Mera.

A mirror

J: Il-cushion użajtla bħala mera?

You used the cushion as a mirror?

Am: Jiena. Imma tista' tużaha bħal xiex trid anke bħal ??? ferma. Imbagħad użajtha bħala punching bag

I did. But you could use it as anything you wanted to even as a ??? Then I used it as a punching bag

A: Użajtha biex titlob, għidtli

You told me you used it to pray

Am: Imma, le biex nitlob, għax imbagħad tawna qisha l-landa tal-Kitkat, u poġġejtha f'itit quddiem u mbagħad inżilt għarkupptejja u qgħadt inkanta l-Ave Maria u mbagħad ??? xi ħaġa tad-... u waddabt il-flus...

But, not to pray, because then they gave us a Kitkat tin and I put it in front of me and then I got on my knees and was singing the Ave Maria and then ??? something about... and I threw in some money...

Ju: Kif kantajtha l-Ave Maria? Kantahieli

How did you sing the Ave Maria? Sing it for me

J: Mela Amelia trid tagħmel audition ta' tliet characters minn Merchant of Venice u għamlitli kif ħa tagħmilhom, ta'... Bassanio, ta' Shylock u ta' Jessica u biex għamlithomli kelli noqgħod fil-kurutur ma nħarisx ġol-kamra, hi ġol-kamra, u x'ħin lestiet u mort ġol-kamra insibilha wiċċha aħmar qisu peprina...

So Amelia has to do an audition for three characters from Merchant of Venice and she did them for me as she's going to play them, of... Bassanio, of Shylock and of Jessica and to do them for me I had to stay out in the corridor and not look in the room, she was in the room and when she was ready and I went in the room I saw that her face was as red as a tomato...

A: Għax bdiet tistħi

Because she was feeling shy

J: E

Yeah

A: Minnek

Of you

Am: Imma jien nistħi

But I'm shy

A: Mela fil-klassi x'se tagħmel?

So what are you going to do in class?

Am: Imma fil-klassi jkun hemm tfal daqsi li kollha jridu jirreċtaw

But in class there will be children my age all having to act

A: Mhux xiħ bħal dan

Not an old man like this

Am: U jkun hemm Miss Muscat

And Miss Muscat will be there

J: Tridu iżjed?

Do you want any more

A: Daqshekk

That's enough

Ju: Le ħa, ħu tiegħi għax jiena ma rridhiex

No, here, take mine because I don't want it

A: Għala ma tridhiex?

Why don't you want it?

J: Trid iżjed?

Do you want any more?

A: M'għoġbitekx?

Didn't you like it?

Am: Le

No

A: Qas biss ippruvajtha probabbli

You probably didn't even try it

Ju: Ma rridhiex

I don't want it

A: Kienet tajba bil-**bejken**

It was good, with bacon

Am: E u mbagħad, u mbagħad kellna **skipping rope** ukoll x'nużaw. U użajtu taparsi qed naqbez il-ħabel u taparsi rajt serp

Yes and then, then we had a skipping rope too to use. And I used it to pretend I was skipping rope and pretend I saw a snake

A: Kif għamiltha...

How did you do...

J: Jaħasra kieku għamilt erba' tiġigiet żejda konna neħduhom ix-xoġhol...

Pity you didn't cook another few extra pieces of chicken, we could have taken them to work...

Am: Ħriġt mill-kamra...

I went out of the room

A: Issa m'għamiltx erba' tiġġiet żejda

But now I didn't cook a few extra pieces of chicken

Am: It-tfal bdew jagħmlu sssss...??? imma mhux għidtilhom jien imbagħad dħalt ġol-kamra u bdejt... bdejt speċi qisni ngħajjat... u hekk

The kids started going sssss ??? but I didn't tell them to and then I came into the room and I started... I started to sort of shout... and stuff

Ju: Hemm serp!!!! (Mimics being afraid)

There's a snake!!!

A: Bzajt minnu jiġifieri s-serp

You mean you were afraid of the snake

Am: Għamilt: Haaaawn sssserp (mimics stuttering in fear) maaaa. U tlaqt nigri

I went: Thereere's a ssssnake (stutters) Ooooooh. And I ran off

A and Ju: (appreciative noises)

J: Għamlilhom waħda ta' Shylock

Show them a piece of Shylock

Am: Le għax nistħi hawn. Šhajt quddiemek!

No, because I'm shy here. I was shy in front of you!

A: Imma quddiemi ma tistħix

But in front of me you're not shy

Am: Lanqas naf il-lyri..., haw, il-kliem

I don't even know the lyr... I mean the words

Ju: Il-lyrics

The lyrics

Am: L-iskript

The script

A: Mela mhux bl-amment?

Isn't it by heart?

Am: Bl-amment imma trid tistudjaha

By heart but you have to study it

A: U ħa tagħzel wieħed mill-characters? U x'ħa tagħzel?

And you're going to choose one of the characters? Which one are you choosing?

Am: Bassanio, Shylock u Jessica

A: Tlieta ħa tagħzel?

You're choosing three?

Am: Ħa nagħmel audition ta' tlieta

I'm going to audition for three

A: E?

What?

Am: Imbagħad it-teacher tara liema mort l-aħjar

Then the teacher will see which I did best

A: Imbagħad x'tagħmlu? Imbagħad ħa tirreċtaw *Merchant of Venice*?

Then what will you do? Are you going to act out Merchant of Venice then?

Am: Imbagħad...

Then...

A: Imma kulħadd ħa jkollu

But is everybody going to have

Ju: Tielaq ninħasel

I'm off to wash

A: Imma kulħadd ħa jkollu sehem?

But is everybody going to have a part?

Am: Naħseb!

I think so!

J: U din meta ħa tagħmluha?

And when are you going to do this?

Am: Boq! Imma issa nsaqsaha...

Who knows! But I'll ask her now...

A: Għax m'hemmx biżżejjed karat... karattri għal kulħadd

Because there aren't enough charac... characters for everybody

Am: Hemm ta. Daqs kemm hemm

There are you know. There are so many

A: Hemm xi għoxrin?

Are there about twenty?

Am: Ma nafx insomma

I don't know anyway

A: U min tahomlok dawn it-tlieta?
And who assigned you there three?

Am: Jien għażilthom
I chose them

A: Kulhadd ried jagħżel tlieta jgħifieri?
Did everyone have to chose three, you mean?

Am: Le tista' tagħżel wieħed jekk trid għalkemm iktar ma tagħżlu...
No, you could choose just one if you wanted to but the more you choose ...

A: Iktar ikollha minfejn tagħżlilkom waħda addattata għalikom... (overlapping with following)
There'll be more for her to chose one best suited for you...

Am: Iktar ikolli ċans nagħżel waħda li togħgobni
I have more of a possibility to chose one I like

A: Għax jekk tagħżel wieħed u tkun għażlitu għal xi ħaddieħor...
Because if you choose only one and she has already chosen it for someone else...

J: Ġibili dik, Jurgen
Hand me that, Jurgen

A: Ikollha tagħtik wieħed li ma jkunx ħażin
She'll have to give you one that's not bad

Am: Jista' jkun li...
It might be that...

J: Inti tridha din inti? Tridha?

Do you want this? Want it?

A: Le, le, le

No, no, no

Am: Jista' jkun eh, li Shylock, Jessica u Bassanio tagħzel lil ħaddieħor imbagħad lili ttini
character ieħor

It might be that, ah, she gives Shylock, Jessica and Bassanio to someone else and then she'll give me another character

A: Mhux hekk hu

Of course.

Am: Imma dawk l-iktar li jogħġbuni u allura...

But those are the ones that I like best so...

A: Kemm tr... Xi trid tgħid? Toqgħod tgħid fuq il-karattru tiegħek jew tirreċta, biċċa milli
jgħid hu?

How many do you w... What do you mean? You talk about your character or you act out a piece of what he says?

Am: Tirreċta biċċa milli jrid hu. Issa nsaqsiha...

You act out a piece that he says. I'll ask her...

A: X'qed tfittex Jurgen?

What are you looking for Jurgen?

Ju: ???

A: Ħadtu miegħek għall-futbol?

Did you take it with you to football?

Ju: Ijja, mela
Yes, of course

J: Ġabu
He got it

A: Ma nafx hi
I don't know dear

Am: Issa jekk jien Bassanio...
So if I'm Bassanio...

Ju: Jien qatt ma ninsa xejn warajja ta
I never forget anything behind me, you know

J: Ara ma ħallejtux fil-karozza hu?
You didn't leave it in the car, did you?

A: Leeee
Noooo

Ju: Le, tellajtu żgur
No, I got it with me for sure

J: Jew tfajtu fil-basket tal-futbol?
Or maybe you threw it into your football bag?

Ju: Le (mumbles) U ijja mhux xor... (mumbles)
No... Oh come on, does it mat...

Am: Imbagħad ma tħabbatx

Then you don't knock

Ju: Tantx (continues to mumble)

Not much

J: Le

No

A: Hemmhekk hemm xi ħaġa jgħidulha 'bin'

Look, over there there's something called a 'bin'

Ju: Tridha inti?

Do you want it?

A: Le, ma rridhiex. Tarmihiex ta

No, I don't want it. Don't throw it away though

J: Mela dan tieklu?

You eat this then?

Am: Imbagħad imma...

Afterwards then...

A: Jogħgobni jien

I like it

Am: Għada ħa nsaqsiha li jekk ikollna, il-biċċa li nagħzel tkun... biċċa żgħira minn ma' Portia, insaqsiha nistax nirreċtaha minn ta' Portia...

Tomorrow I'll ask her if we have the, if the piece I choose is... a small part from Portia's, I'll ask her if I can act out a bit from Portia...

Ju: (mumbling and sounds of packet wrapping being crumpled)

Am: Diġà għazilt il-biċċiet li nixtieq naghmel minn kull **character**... **Immarkajt** hekk biċċa.

Għax għal kull wieħed għandi lehen differenti

*I've already chosen the pieces that I'd like to do from each character... I marked a piece.
Because I've got a different voice for each one*

A: Ukoll!?

Really!?!?

Am: Eĥe... Għax Jessica...

Yes... Cos Jessica...

J: Erfgħu, Jurgen, il-**basket**...

Pick it up Jurgen, the bag...

Am: Trid tkun vera **soft** lehenha...

Her voice has to be really soft...

A: Mmm

Am: Bassanio ta' raġel normali... U ta' Shylock... qawwi ħafna

Bassanio has a normal man's voice... and Shylock's.... is very strong

J: **With a harsh tone**

A: Għidli biċċa minn ta' Shylock...

Tell me a bit from Shylock...

Am: Imma trid tgħidli x'ngħid...

But you have to tell me what to say...

A: Qeq! Jien naf... mela jien naf x'jgħid Shylock

What! I don't know... I don't know what Shylock says

J: Mur aħsel idejk u ġib il-ktieb

Go and wash your hand and get the book

Am: All right... (giggling)

A: Jaħasra illum ġiet, ġiet waħda minn tal-O level, ġabitli l-karta biex naraha, il-karta minn tal-O level

The poor thing, today a girl came, one of the O levels, she got me a sheet of paper to read, a sheet from the O level

J: E...

Go on...

A: U kellha rogħda fuqha...

And she was trembling all over...

J: Għalxiex?

Why?

A: Għax tistħi minni Joe

Because she's shy of me, Joe

Am: Stenn (calls out)

Wait

A: Għidtilha, u milli bdiet tgħidli ma naħsibx li marret ħazin. Bdiet tagħmilli, sew għamiltha din, għamiltha hekk, ngħidilha iva u (loud intake of breath) għall-erwieħ, għall-erwieħ.

Imbagħad qaltli, għax taf kemm kont ma niflaħx, din jaħasra marradija, qaltli taf kemm kont ma niflaħx għall... għall-eżami, qaltli kont veru miġġuħa. Ħa tagħmel xi operation, ma nafx

xiex, 'mma ħa tagħmel xi **operation** f'**July**, kont veru miġġuha, qaltli imma xorta mort. Qaltli u jekk ma ngħaddix xorta nista' nagħmel, I-**A level**. Għidtilha, I-**A level** xorta tista' tagħmlu għidtilha, imma trid tistudja ħafna għax imbagħad, jekk m'għaddejtx mill-**O levels**, I-istess **topics** ħa jkollok fl-**A level**...

I told her, and from what she started telling me I don't think she did badly. She was saying, did I do this right? I did it this way and I would say yes and whew! Thank God, thank god. Then she told me, because I was really sick you know, she's really sickly the poor thing, she told me, do you know how sick I was for the exam... during the exam I was really in pain. She going to do some operation, I don't know what but she's doing an operation in July, I was really in pain, she told me, but I still went. And she told me, if I don't pass, can I still do the A level? I told her, the A level, you can still do it I told her but you have to study a lot because then, if you didn't pass the O levels, you're going to have the same topics in the A level...

Am: Haw ġibtu

Here I got it

A: Naħseb tgħaddi imma jien għandi f'moħħi. Għidtilha, issa ibgħatli meta jkollok... Qaltli, x'nibgħatlek? Għidtilha, mhux li tkun ġibt? Qaltli mela int ma tircivix, għidtilha, nircievi imma meta nircievu aħna jkun għadda ħafna żmien. Qaltli jġigifieri jekk ma ngħaddix x'ngħidlek? Għidtilha, mhux tgħidli kemm ġibt? Qaltli, iiiii x'mistħija! (A laughs). Għidtilha, tajjeb ukoll, x'mistħija!

I think she'll pass, that's what I have in mind. I told her, now when you have the... send them to me... She told me, I send you, I send you what? I told her, what grade you go of course. She told me then don't you get the grade, I told her, I do get them but by the time I get the grades, a lot of time has elapsed. She told me you mean if I don't pass, what do I tell you? I told her, you tell me how much you got. She told me, oh! How embarrassing! (Laughs) I told her, sure, how embarrassing!

J: Illum...dalġodu dħalt ix-xogħol u nara lil Stefan, bilqiegħda fir-**reception**

Today... this morning as I walked in to work I saw Stefan, sitting in reception

A: Xi Stefan? Kuginuk?

What Stefan? Your cousin?

J: E

Yes

A: Għala?

Why?

J: Għax dak jaħdem mal-Alberta u qed jagħmlulna xi **cameras**... u għamel xi nofs ta' nhar jaħdem hemm

Because he works with Alberta and they're putting in some cameras... and he spent half a day working there

A: Kien jaf li hemm inti?

Did he know you were there?

J: Le

No

A: Il-istra

Wow

J: Qalli, ara Joe! U jiena, jien u tiela' t-taraġ ma tajtx kas min kien bilqiegħda mbagħad smajt ismi u dort u għidtlu, ara Stefan, x'qed tagħmel hawn? Qalli ġejt **nissettja** l-**cameras**

He told me, Hey, Joy! And I, as I was going upstairs I wasn't paying attention who was sitting down and then I heard my name and I turned round and I said, Hey, Stefan, what are you doing here? He told me I came to set the cameras

A: E

Yes...

J: Għidtlu jkollok bżonn xi ħaġa ejja u hekk, tkun trid xi kafè jew xi ħaġa...

I told him that if he needed anything he should come and so on, if you want a coffee or something...

A: Rawha t-tifla ta' Charlene, jew?

Have they seen Charlene's baby or what?

J: Iva, mela

Yes, of course

A: Min jaf kemm hi ħelwa!

I bet she's so sweet!

Am: Nagħmilha? Ta' Shylock?

Shall I do it? Shylock's part?

A: Għamlilna ta' Shylock

Show us Shylock's part

Am: Qed nistħi!

I'm feeling shy!

A: Ejja

Come on

Am: Heqq ħimm (clears throat loudly). Qed nistħi!

Ehim (clears throat). I'm feeling shy!

A: Hekk jgħid Shylock? Qed nistħi?

Is that what Shylock says? I'm feeling shy?

J: Tgħallem bil-Malti Shylock!

Shylock learnt how to speak in Maltese!

Am: (attempts to read part but falters giggling)

A: U ejja għamilhielna!

Come on, do it for us

Am: Stenn (continues giggling)

Wait!

J: Tina dahrek u għamilhielna b'wiċċek lejn it-**television**

Turn your back on us and do it facing the television

A: Ersaq 'l haw... Ersaq hawn

Move here... move over here

Am: Għax jien nistħi ħi...

Because I feel shy, you see

J: U ejja!

Oh come on!

Am: Ara. Li ħa ngħidilkom x'ħa nagħmel... mhux ħa tkun ezatt bħalma ħa nagħmilha fil-klassi għax bil-mistħija ma jibdiex joħroġli...

Look. I'm going to tell you what I', going to do... it won't be exactly like I'll do it in class because I'm so shy I won't be able to say the words...

A: Eħe

Yes, ok

Am: L-istrofi ...ħaaafna...

The stanza, a looot....

A: Ejja...

Come on

Am: Stop talking. I am ready to take my payment. La, la, la, la, la, la... (This is quoting from the play)

J: U ejja erga' għamilha!

Come on, do it again!

Am: Le, ma nafx nagħmilha ħi. Nistħi

No, I don't know how to do it. I'm shy

J: Nistħi! (mocking)

I'm shy!

A: Nistħi! (mocking)

I'm shy!

Am: Smajtek jiena... Vera, mhux hekk ħa nagħmilha

I heard it... Really, that's not the way I'm going to do it

A: Inti waħda biss ħadt **drumstick**?

Did you only have one drumstick?

Am: Eħe

Yes

A: Xbajt?

You're done?

Am: Eħe

Yes

A: Għax tridni nqattagħhielek?

So do you want me to cut it up for you?

Am: Le, naf inqattagħha. Le, le, għax... Nagħmilha iktar... għidilha lill-Mummy

No, I know how to cut it up. No, no, because... I can do it... tell Mummy

A: Issa mbilli tgħidli, jien nisma' rrid, mhux tgħidli

Now if you just tell me, I want to hear it, not you tell me about it

Am: Li għamiltha iktar tajba meta konna...

The one I did was better when we were...

J: L-ewwel tajba għamiltha, ħsibtna qegħdin il-O2 Arena

She did it well before, I thought we were at the O2 Arena

Am: Taf li dak fis-sixteenth century?

Do you know that was in the sixteenth century?

A: Royal Albert Hall

Am: Kien meqjus bħala comedy?

I was considered a comedy?

J: Jew hemm. Fejn kien dak it-teatru ta' Shakespeare? Globe? Globe kien jismu?

Or there. Where there was that Shakespearian theatre? The Globe? Was it called The Globe?

Am: Globe Theatre

J: Globe Theatre

A and Am together: Stratford Upon Avon

J: Hsibna li minn hemm ġej il-leġen, li mill-Globe Theatre

We thought that's where the voice was coming from, from the Globe Theatre

(laughter)

A: Ara din xagħarha, qisu omm Angele, hu? Naqra itwal imma

Look at her hair, it looks like Angele's mom's, doesn't it? It's just a bit longer though

J: Caduta libera.

Free fall (This is an expression in Italian)

A: X'tgħidilha inti lil dik?

What do you call her?

Am: Jiena?

Me?

A: Il-Papà

Dad

J: Mhux qisha dawk, tat-Tudor Family tal-Ingilterra, dak ix-xagħar? Dik ta' żmien Henry the Eighth. Henry the Eighth jew Henry the Fifth?

Doesn't it look like those, the English Tudor Family, that hair style? From the time of Henry the Eighth. Henry the Eighth or Henry the Fifth?

A: Issa jien naf. M'għandix idea

How would I know. I have no idea

J: Henry the Fifth Shakespeare kitbu wkoll

Henry the Fifth was written by Shakespeare too

A: Anki *Henry the Eighth*
Even Henry the Eighth

J: Ukoll hu?
That too, right?

Am: Anke *Hamlet*. Anke *Romeo and Juliet*
Even Hamlet. Even romeo and Juliet

A: liii, kemm hi brava...
Ooooh, how intelligent she is...

Am: Anke *Macbeth*. Ankiiiiii....
Even Macbeth. Eeveeen....

J: *Merchant of Venice*
Merchant of Venice

A: Brava!
Good girl!

Am: Daqs...
As good as a...

A: Pitrava
Beetroot (this is a rhyming Maltese expression)

J: Qed tara x'tip ta' diskussjonijiet ikollna aħna waqt l-ikel, fuq l-**English Literature**.
Do you see what sort of discussions we have while we are at table, about English Literature.

Am: Mhux intom triduni bilfors nagħmel ta' Shylock?

Aren't you the ones who insist that I do Shylock?

A: Mhux inti ġejt tgħidli li għamilt ta' Shylock lill-Papà u lili le? Ara jien, biex tistudja, tiġi tgħidli biex tistudja, biex tirreċtali le

Aren't you the one who came to tell me that you acted out Shylock for Dad and not for me? As for me, to study, you come talk to me when you need to study, when you need to act, you don't tell me anything

Am: Mmmm

A: Mmmm

Am: Imma jien nistħi

But that's because I'm shy

A: Ma nħallix il-ħwejjeġ barra ta għax ġej il-maltemp u jekk tagħmel ix-xita, ħamrija biss tagħmel illum

I won't leave the clothes outside because we're going to have stormy weather tomorrow and if it rains, it'll just rain sand today

J: Ħamrija għamlet. Qas ħaqq ħasluli l-karozza lbieraħ

It only rained sand. It was a pity they washed my car for me yesterday

A: Meta għamlet? Mal-lejl? (last word overlaps next word)

It rained? During the night?

J: Mal-lejl (overlaps). Il-istrina

During the night. Oh damn

A: Ara qed tħollu kollu dak. Nispera dawk il-ħwejjeġ mela t'hemm wara...

You're unravelling all of that. I hope that the clothes, the ones back there...

J: Mela fuq il-bejt kellek il-ħwejjeg?

Did you have clothes out on the roof, then?

A: Xejn ma deher imxarrab imma. Forsi ma kinitx taqbel 'l hemm

But nothing seemed wet though. Maybe it was sheltered on that side

J: 'L hawn kienet taqbel naħseb għax ara l-ħgieg kif inhu

It wasn't sheltered on this side I think. Just look at the glass

A: Ijwa, il-ħgieg tgħidx kif inhu

Yes, the glass is really bad

Appendix 2

Coded transcript for Family 2

Anthony, Melissa, Claire and Matthew

(Self-perceived Maltese-speaking)

C: Ma...

M: Ejja ħa nieklu sabiħ. Aw ħi

Come, let's eat, beautiful. Tell me dear

C: Ara x'bagħtitli Justina, sabiħ

Look at what Justine sent me, it's nice

M: Eh, id-daddy mela, irrekordjaha

Ah, it's daddy then, he recorded it

A: Kitbitha

He wrote it

M: Eħ, u ijjja ktibtha jgħifieri

Yes, yes, she wrote it, I mean

C: Għada l-Gimgha

Tomorrow is Friday

M: Matt!

C: Għax għada għandna l-P.E.

Because tomorrow we have P.E.

M: X'inhū? Ahjar jekk ma tkunx ħafna xemx jekk għandkom il-P.E. Issa għada dawn iridu jieħdu l-flus, Anthony. Kemm se ntuhom?

What? It's better if it's not very sunny if you have P.E. Now tomorrow these two need to take some money Anthony. How much shall we give them?

Ma: Jiena **one euro**

For me one euro

M: Claire, t'isfel, f'dik li jkun hemm ħafna affarijiet biex tixtruhom?

Claire, the bottom one, in the one where there are a lot to things to buy?

A: **Three euros?**

M: Ġew?

Did they come?

C: U **all right**, tini **three**. Jien **stationery** nixtri

Oh, all right, give me three. I buy stationery

M: Issa. Kemm intuhom? **Three euro**? Nibzġħu għall-flus, **all right**? Ma nixtrux affarijiet **just** biex inkunu xtrajnihom

Now. How much shall we give them? Three euro? Be careful with your money, all right? Don't buy things just for the sake of buying them

A: Haw xi affarijiet, xi ballun **jibbawnsja** Mat?

There are some things, some ball that bounces, Mat?

M: **Because we will bounce you out with the ball.**

M: Tajba ħi?

Is it good dear?

A: Meta ??? jkollu l-ġuħ

When ??? he's hungry

M: By the way, mill-pocket twil tiegħi reġgħat xparixxiet gomma oħra

By the way, from my long pocket (refers to a pencil case) another eraser disappeared

C: Liem? Ejjj!!!

Which? Oh!!!

M: Mill-pocket tiegħi tal-iskola sparixxiet il-gomma reġgħat

From my school pocket (pencil case) an eraser disappeared again

C: L-E.O. kielha

The E.O. ate it

M: Le (laughter) Propjament is-suspetti kienu fuqek uuuuu... fuqek

No. Actually suspicions fell on you aaannnddd... you

C: Xiex!!!

What!!

M: Hadtuli l-gomma għalli jista' jkun?

Did you take my eraser by any chance?

C: Le. X'kulur kienet imma?

No. But what colour was it?

M: E?

What?

C: X'kulur kienet? X'kulur kienet?

What colour was it? ... What colour was it?

M: One kienet bajda imma jekk iltaqgħat ma' Matthew hemm çans li ssir griża sakemm itihili

One, it was white but if it met up with Matthew there's a chance that it becomes grey by the time he gives it to me

Ma: Mhux vera

Not true

A: Bgħattikom ritratt tat-te

I sent you the tea photo

M: Ijja

Yes

A: ???

C: Ma ġibnihx il-baby, ma ġibnihx il-baby. Veru xejn. Ok, xbajt

We didn't get the baby, we didn't get the baby. Forget about it being true. Ok, I'm full

M: E?

What?

C: Xbajt

I'm full

M: Jekk xbajt ieqaf għax illum miskina kiolet ħafna zokkor

If you're full stop because today, the poor thing, ate a lot of sugar

A: Jaqq

Disgusting

C: ??? Ninfaqa'

I will burst

M: Zokkor? Tiħux iktar zokkor qalbi llejla. Trid tieħu naqra ħaxix għax oġġett plain? Trid ftit oġġett plain?

Sugar? Don't take any more sugar this evening dear. Would you like some vegetables, because they're plain? Do you want something plain?

A: Żommilha

Be strict with her

M: Le imma nifhimha li jkollok, li wara li tiekol hafna zokkor ikollok aptit xi haġa bla zokkor. Hux hi?

No but I understand her that you have, that after you eat a lot of sugar you feel like something without sugar. Right, dear?

A: Off one

M: She took out my liver (a word for word translation that is an expression in Maltese only)

C: Min?

Who?

M: Int!

You!

C: Il-għala?

Why?

M: Qlajtli fwiedi

You tire me out

M: Qabadha n-nagħas, daddy

She's sleepy, daddy

A: Heqq

Oh well

M: Ha ngħidlek. Li tagħmel żball, hija li tagħmel ten minutes, ten minutes bl-arloġġ. Tiddedifajerx (??? Word incomprehensible) taqbżilha

Let me tell you. To make a mistake, is to spend ten minutes, ten minutes by the clock. (???) She loses control

C: X'jigifieri?

What do you mean?

M: Jigifieri dik ix-xenata tal-Maths?!!

It means the scene you made about Maths?!!

A: Mela għamilt xenata?

So you made a scene?

M: Mhux xenata, imma mhux li tgħajjat u hekk imma speċi uff uff uff. Imbagħad qgħadna nitkellmu u għidtilha, u qaltli għandek raġun. Issa mbilli qed, tatni r-raġun? Imma issa li ħa nagħmlu għada, ħa tagħmel l-istess karta, għax aħna kellna naqra żbalji fuq waħda minnhom hu? Jew għada, kellek xi computer... tiftakar kellek waħda għidtlek kellek ħażin? Tal-cake

Not a scene, not shouting and the like but sort of (fed up noises). Then we were talking for a while and I told her, and she told me I was right. Now just because you say I was right? But now what we're going to do tomorrow, we're going to do the same paper, because we had made some mistakes in one of them, right? Or did you have computer tomorrow... do you remember you have one where I said you had mistakes? The cake one

C: Mmm

(Sounds of squeaky toy)

M: Bla coach qegħdin jew ???ma kontx xogħol qegħdin?

Are you without a coach? You're without work?

A: Dalgħodu għamlulkom xi testing, hu?

This morning you had some testing, right?

M: Dal-lejl kellha r-rizultati

Tonight she got some results

C: Kemm domt Matthew?

How long were you Matthew?

M: Mmm, mar mhux ħażin kien

He did quite well

C: Imma kemm?

But how long?

M: Le għax mhux bil-marki. Perezempju...

No, because it wasn't with marks. For example...

A: **Timing**. Kemm jieħu ħin biex idur mal-**cone**

Timing. How long it takes to go around the cone

M: Perezempju dam **twelve seconds**. Matthew kien mat-tajbin

For example, it took him twelve seconds. Matthew was one of the good ones

C: Kemm dam?

How long was he?

A: Ħanini...

Dear...

M: Jiena biex niftakar li l-ballun trid titfgħu ġox-xibka, ukoll biċċa **effort**

For me to remember that you need to throw the ball into the net is already an effort

C: Jiena ma nistax...

I can't

A: U allura

So

M: Kulma kienet bħas-Sales Direct ta'

It was only like the one of Sales Direct, you know

A: Mela darb' oħra tiħux **smoothie**. Jaf žgur tikolx il-**cupcake**

So next time don't take a smoothie. For sure don't have a cupcake

C: Kellna x'naqsmu mal-...??? Isma' għax vera Sibt ħafna...

What did we have to do with... ??? Listen because it's true... I found a lot of...

M: Mmm... biċċiet ta' **berries** kbar

Mmmm.... Big pieces of berries

C: Le żerriegħa bħal dawk tal-frawli

No, seeds like those of strawberries

M: E, dik mhux **raspberry** kienet?

Yes, wasn't that a raspberry?

A: Aħħħ

C: Kellha ħafna bħal dawk tal-frawli

It had a lot like those of strawberries

A: Mhux ħafna affarijiet kien hemm. Capuccino rajt, **smoothie**...

Didn't they have a lot of things there. I saw a capuccino, smoothie...

C: U żewġ **cupcakes**. Umbagħad dik ħadet, le, le, le, din ħadet capuccino ieħor...

And two cupcakes. Then she had, no, no, no, she had another cappuccino

M: Le, kafè

No, coffee

C: Kafè

Coffee

A: Mela nsejna, kemm għamilna rowing
Have we forgotten how much rowing we did?

M: Rajtha l-meme li tellajt?
Did you see the meme that I put up?

C: Xiex?
What?

A: Mmmm. Għamiltlek xi haġa
Mmmmm. I posted something for you

M: Naf rajtu: friendly face. Għax tellajt stampa, giex girls qegħdin, When someone asks, do you want to, do you..., do you need to go to the gym and don't want to
Yes I saw it: friendly face. Because I put up a picture, two girls are, when someone asks, do you want to, do you..., do you need to go to the gym and don't want to.

A: Dawk il-cookies għalik għada?
Are those cookies for you tomorrow?

C: Mmm wieħed ħa nieħu imma
Mmm but I'm taking just one

M: Eħm?

C: Dak il-helu, ma. Ħa jkollna dik tal-Candy Floss għax dik...
Those sweets, mum. We're going to have that Candy Floss thing because it...

A: Qed taħseb, qed taħseb fi sħabha. Allura teħodhom ħi dik. Bħal hawn
She's thinking, she thinking about her friends. So she's going to take them. Like over here

M: Taf x'qed ngħid? Ma nafx kemm fih pakkett wieħed
Do you know what I'm saying? I don't know how much there is in one packet
All speak together

A: One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight. Naħseb tmienja

Eight, I think

C: Jekk ma jikolx

If he doesn't eat

M: Taf x'tagħmel? Hu tnejn. Ħalli għallinqas ikollok waħda kull wieħed

Do you know what you can do? Take two. So at least you have one each

C: Imma għalissa, nieħdu, eżempju, tnejn, wieħed inħalluhom ġol-fridge...

But for now, I'll take, for example, two, one we leave in the fridge...

M: Mel'għandkom frigg? Għandkom frigg?

What – you have a fridge? You have a fridge?

A: Ij, Ijja, għandhom frigg, ma kontx taf li għandhom frigg? Dak x'ħallejtu dik inhar... is-salamun, id-dip hu?

Oh yes, they have a fridge, didn't you know they have a fridge? What did you leave the other time... the salmon dip, right?

M: Qas aħna m'għandna frigg

Not even we have a fridge

C: Nah, nah, nah

A: M'għandkomx frigg?

Don't you have a fridge?

M: Imgiddma

It's filthy

A: Mhux taħsilha

So you clean it

M: Tal-iskola

It's the school's

A: E

Right

M: Noqgħod naħsilha jien!? Irrangajt in-notice board u ġejt fit-trouble. Mela rrangajt in-notice board u kien hemm Redentur, u qgħadt attenta ħalletlu l-frame vojta mad-dawra, qegħdulha fin-nofs, imma għamiltulha fil-ġemb u hi riditu illi x'ħin tpoġġi jkun viċin, faċċata tagħha r-Redentur, ma tafx biex iberikha filgħodu, f'nofsinar u filgħaxija.

What – I clean it? I arranged the notice board and I got into trouble. So I was arranging the notice board and there was (a picture of) the Redeemer, and I was careful I left its frame empty on the periphery, and it was in the middle but I put it to the side and she wanted it so that when she sits down it's close, the Redeemer is right opposite her, you know, so that it can bless her in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening.

C: X'jigifieri?

What do you mean?

M: Għax din kien hemm teacher... gabet stampa, santa daqshekk tar-Redentur. Jien qlajt fwiedi biex organizzajt in-notice board, tgħidx kif ġibtha perfetta, u x'ħin giet din it-teacher, qalgħat l-istampa mill-ġemb u poġġietu faċċata tagħha

Because there was a teacher... she got a picture, a holy picture this big of the Redeemer. I exhausted myself to organise the notice board, I really made it perfect, and when this teacher came, she removed the picture from the side and placed it opposite her.

A: Man-nofs...

In the middle

M: Jekk riedet tara r-Redentur ma setgħatx għamlitu fuq stand fuq il-mejda tagħha u toqgħod tħares lejha? Le...

If she wanted to see the Redeemer couldn't she have put him on a stand on her table and she could look at it? No...

A: Int inħsilt?

Have you washed?

M: Le ħi.

No dear

A: Mela ma sirtx trid tinħasel?

What – don't you want to wash anymore?

A: Trid **yoghurt** Mel? X'inhì?

Do you want a yoghurt Mel? What is it?

(General mumblings, assents and negations)

A: Tridu toħduha bħala **lunch** għada?

Do you want to take it as your lunch for tomorrow?

C: Jien għada m'inix se nieħu **lunch**... Ma, għal għada, għall-**party** u hekk, u ħa jkolli l-ħobziet...

I'm not taking any lunch tomorrow... Mum, for tomorrow for the party and so, and I'm going to take the bread rolls...

Ma: Iva rrid pizza...

Yes, I want pizza

M: Intik pizza **lunch**? Irrid biċċa oħra mela

Shall I give you pizza for lunch? Then I need another piece

C: Din biss irrid

I only want this

A: Imbagħad il-**Miss** Sacha, għidilha, tista' ssaħħanhieli?

Then ask Miss Sacha, tell her, can you heat this for me?

M: Biżżejjed din **lunch**? Imbagħad tgħidlek... Imbagħad ftit qabel il-**break** poġġi naqra fuqha ħa tishonlok il-pizza...

Is this enough for your lunch. And then she'll say... then, a little before break, sit on it a bit so it'll warm up...

Ma: Leeee

Noooo...

M: X'kont se ngħid?

What were you going to say?

C: (laughs) Le, din... (makes musical sounds)

No, this...

M: X'għamiltu illum fil-kitarra

What did you do today at guitar?

A: Erba' **lines** hu, l-???

Four lines, right? The ???

C: Le, ħamsa

No, five

A: E, ħamsa? Mela m'għamiltuhomx?

Oh – five? Didn't you do them then?

M: Ta' xiex?

What?

C: Tar-**running around**. Nin ni ni... **Oops**...ni ni (etc)

The running around. Nah, nah, nah, Oops, nah, nah...

Ma: Ma....

C: Naħseb li hemm siehbi darba fil-klassi qalilna, Intom tafu li hemm il-Head ...??? Ghidulha good morning

I think my friend once in the classroom he said, Do you know that the Head is there? Say good morning to her

M: Vera?

Really?

C: Eħe. U għidnilha good morning u hekk u jien kont se ngħidlu, imma Sir kif tista', kif tista' tinduna biha jekk tant hi daqs tikka, microscopic?

Yes. And we said good morning to her and so and I was going to say to him, but Sir, how can you, how can you notice her she's so tiny, microscopic?

M: Il-Head imma snienha jpattu

The Head but her teeth make up for that

A: Jien ħsibtu tal-music

I thought it was the music one

C: E tal-music imma tinduna daqskemm jgħajjat

Yes, the music one but you notice him he shouts so much

M: Ta. Għid, għandek xi practice...

So. Say, do you have any practice...

C: Dak illum taf x'jagħmillu s-sir tal-music?!!

Do you know what the sir of music did to him today?!!

M: Għidli

Tell me

C: Le mhux dak. Għax hu, hu ma jħobbx l-istorbju u hu qed jagħmel ħafna storbju biex tisimgħu

No, not that one. Because he, he doesn't like noise and he makes a lot of noise to hear him

A: E hu dak tal-autism?

Oh, he's the one of autism?

M: Autistic

C: U hu jgħidilna, Hey, we cannot talk if we're listening to something. Now shut up and listen

And he says to us, ...

M: Ħa ngħidlek x'tagħmel, għid lis-sir, għidlu l-mamà tiegħi qaltlek fittex fuq You Tube fuq x'inhu
autism

*Let me tell you what to do, tell your sir, tell him my mother told you to search on You Tube about
what autism is*

C: (laughs)

M: Illum iggustajtu lil Lawrence ż-żibra

Today I thought Lawrence the zebra (a nickname) was really sweet

C: Iż-żibra!!

The zebra!!

M: Dan it-tifel ta' Stephen huwa autistic u jibza' mis-sound u kellu l-vann tiegħu ż-żibra u qallu ejja ħa
ddoqq il-... ħa ddoqq il- ...

*This boy of Stephen's, he's autistic and he's afraid of sound and the zebra was near his van and he
told him, come near me so you sound the, you sound the ...*

A: Stereo?

M: Il-horn...

The horn

C: Da mignun

He's crazy

M: Le, le, biex jitgħal... idarrih, biex idarrih bil-mod

No, no, so he learns... he gets used to, slowly

C: E

Yes

M: U daqq il-horn u għamel hekk... u Stephen qallu, le trid iddoqqu bla ma tagħmel hekk u trid tara 'l Stephen, x'paċenzja beda jieħu speċi, ejja ħi erġa' doqqu ħi... issa ma tridx tagħmel hekk u fl-aħħar, tipo, it-tieni jew it-tielet darba, beda jdoqqu u mingħajr ma jgħatti widnejh. Bħal speċi, all right, ċucata, imma kollox importanti hu, speċi dat-tifel miskin

And he sounded the horn and he went like this... and Stephen told him, no, you have to sound it without doing that and you should have seen Stephen, what patience he had, sound it again, dear... now you mustn't do that and finally, sort of, the second or third time, he sounded it without covering his ears. Like, all right, a silly thing, but everything is important, right, sort of, this poor boy

A: Jaħsara mhux għax iweġġagħhom għax jaħsadhom

The poor things, not because they are hurt by it but it shocks them

M: Leee, għax hu, peress li huma għandhom hyper sensitivity...

No.... because he, since they are hyper sensitive ...

A: Eħe...

Yes...

M: Għalihom is-sound huwa ħafna iktar... ta' dwejjaq milli... milli hu għal ħaddieħor, qed tifhem?

Imma hekk għidt, għidt Lawrence veru għandu paċenzja ma' kollox u ma' kulħadd

For them sound is much louder... it's annoying more than... more than it is for other people, do you understand. But that's what I said, I said, Lawrence really has a lot of patience with everything and everyone.

M: Għidli sabiħ. X'tak did-darba tal-music it-topic?

Tell me my love. What is your music topic this time?

Ma: (mumbles)

M: Eħe. Nafha jien? Meta ħa ddoqqli Smoke on the water?

Yes. Do I know it? So are you going to play me Smoke on the water?

A: Irridu nduru għal-għazz għalih ???

We have to go round for him???

C: (sings) *Smoke on the water....* (continues) *Fire in the sky...*

M: Xtaqt niġi b'ta' *Jack and Jill*

I wanted to come with Jack and Jill

A: E?

What?

M: Għax... tant tlifna t-tune li ġiet qisna qed inkantaw ta' *Jack and Jill*

Because... we lost the tune so much that it sounded like we were singing Jack and Jill

C: (laughs) *Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of water!*

M: (laughs) *They found some smoke...*

A: Ma tridx xi Jelly Babies hux?

You wouldn't want some Jelly Babies, would you?

Ma: leqaf!

Stop!

M: *Sugar* (sings)

A: Dawk il-Jelly Babies!

Those Jelly Babies!

Ma: *Sugar!! Yes please*

C: Ma, *please*, għax...Matthew! (wails)

Mum, please, because, Matthew!

Ma: Sugar sweets, sugar sweets (sings)

C: Mat, u ejja, Matthew!

Mat, come on, Matthew!

Ma: Sugar sweets, sugar!

A: X'se tagħmlu bil-crepe paper?

What are you going to do with the crepe paper?

Ma: Sugar (sings loudly)

C: Matthew ieqaf

Matthew stop it

A: Ieqaf

Stop it

C: Ħa nagħmlu crafts, ma nafx ħa nagħmlu

We're doing crafts, I don't know what we're going to do

Ma: Sugar!

M: Why? Why?

A: Mela Halloween?

Is it Halloween?

M: X'kont se ngħid?

What was I going to say?

Ma: Għadda l-Halloween?

Has Halloween passed?

A: Uħħħħ

By a long time

M: Wasal ieħor, Mat. Mhux ftit qabel il-birthday ta' Claire jġi l-Halloween? Meta kien, meta kien Halloween did-darba konna Sqallija, hux?

And the next one is soon coming up. Isn't it a little before Claire's birthday that it's Halloween? When it was, when it was Halloween this time we were in Sicily, right?

C: Halloween!!

A: Mela

That's right

C: Oh my God, Matthew, please! Qed iddardarni

You're making me sick

M: Drama queen, drama queen... drama queen

Ma: Ħa nirremetti...

I'm going to vomit

M: E, imbagħad min se jaħsel l-art?

Sure, and then who's going to wash the floor?

Ma: Inti

You

M: Nooooo

Ma: Le, id-daddy!

No, daddy!

M: Ok!

Appendix 3

Coded transcript for Family 3

Rhonda, Elton, Leonard, Mona

(Self-perceived Maltese-speaking)

E: Ejja

Come

M: Mummy!

R: Ejja, Mona

Come, Mona

M: Ma nistax minn hawnhekk

I can't from over here

R: Iva, ejja hawnhekk u kul, ejja

Yes, come here and eat, come

E: Tista' tigi, issa nixfet l-art

You can come because the floor has dried now

R: Leonard!

L: Fejn hu t-tablet?

Where is the tablet

R: Hallik mit-tablet. Ejja bilqiegħda hawnhekk

Forget about the tablet. Come sit down over here

E: Issa kul

Eat now

R: Ejja. Ejja ġibha 'l hawn

Come. Go on give it to me

E: Ngħinek titla' hawn?

Shall I help you to get up here?

M: Ma, din?

Mom, this?

R: Iva inti għagin ħa tiekol

Yes, you are going to eat pasta

R: Eĥe. Kollox kul, issa onfoĥlu u kul

Yes, eat it all, blow on it and eat

E: Ejja kul

Come and eat

M: 'Mma jaħraq;

But it's hot

R: Aqbad ftit fil-furketta u onfoĥlu

Pick up a little on your fork and blow on it

R: Ejja, isa ftit għandek

Come, quick, you only have a little

M: X'għandu l-mobile tiegħek

What's up with your mobile?

R: Xejn ĥi

Nothing, dear

M: Is-soltu... għandek xi haġa
Usually...there's something

R: Le
No

E: Ejja ibda Leonard
Come, get started, Leonard

R: Hawn hi. Tajjeb?
Here it is. Good?

E: Leonard, mur itfi d-dawl
Leonard, go turn off the light

L: Kif tagħmel Mona!
How Maria behaves!

E: Iġri
Quick

(Mona laughs)

E: Leonard ieqaf
Leonard, stop it

R: Ej, isa Mona
Come, quick, Maria

E: Leonard ieqaf għidtlek , ma ngħidlekx oħra
Leonard, stop it I said, I won't tell you another time

(Munching)

R: Mona. Ejja wiċċek mal-mejda mhux 'l hemm

Mona. Turn your face to the table not over there

E: (Repeats after TV commercial:) Tħobb tidħaq? Għada ssegwi Xarabank b'risq id-Dar tal-Providenza

Do you like laughing? Tomorrow follow Xarabank in aid of the Dar tal-Providenza

M: Ma...

R: Ħa jagħmlu xi ħaġa

They're going to do something

E: ??? mhux bħala **team** se jilbes xi ħaġa

As a team, they dressed up as something

M: Ħa nixrob

I want to drink

R: Joqogħdu jilbsu pereżempju, min se jilbes ta' Ira Losco

They dress up for example, someone dresses up as Ira Losco

E: Ira Losco jpoġġiha fin-nofs kieku jien

I'd put Ira Losco in the middle if it were me

R: Min?

Who?

E: ??? Għax ġieli jagħmel affarijiet hekk dak

Because he sometimes does stuff like that

R: Pullicin dak l-oħxon?

Pullicin is that fat one?

E: L-Oħxon mela

The fat one, yes

E: Ilu biex jibgħatlek hekk. B'min trid tidħak?

He's been wanting to send you that. Who are you to laugh at?

R: Forsi Hector Bruno...

Maybe Hector Bruno...

E: Hector Bruno ħa jagħmel xi ħaġa żgur

Hector Bruno is going to do something for sure

R: Isa Mona

Quick Mona

R: Leonard taf li għadek ma bdejtx tiekol? Ejja għaġġel naqra

Leonard do you know you haven't started eating yet? Come, go a little faster

E: Imma ibda kul l-ewwel

But start eating first

R: Ħa nagħmillek, tibżax (pours water)

I'm going to pour you some, don't worry

M: Ma!

R: Ħa ntik tixrob

I'm going to give you something to drink

E: Imsaħ in-nosey, jaqq

Wipe your nose, ughh

M: Tini tissue

Give me a tissue

L: Taparsi s-sinjura tiegħek, taparsi s-sinjura tiegħek il-mummy, hu?

Like mum is your servant, like she's your servant, mummy, right?

R: Mhux hekk qisni?

That's what I'm like?

L: Tini t-twila. Tista' ttini t-twila?

Give me the tall one. Can you give me the tall one?

R: Le inti għandek it-tazza tiegħek, u ixrob minn dik. Bil-mod, ixrob sew

No you have your own glass and drink from that one. Slowly, drink properly

R: Biżżejjed għax inkella ma tikolx

Enough or you won't eat

M: Iii kemm għamiltli. L-ewwel kien ħafna. L-ewwel kien ħafna...

Wow, how much you have poured for me. It was a lot before, it was a lot before...

R: Ejja issa tixrobx iktar

Come now don't drink anymore

M: U mbagħad kien ħafna

And then it was a lot

R: Mona! (admonishing)

E: Stajt tfajtlu naqra iżjed mill-... x'ismu e?

You could have put in a little more, what's its name, eh?

R: Issa hemm il-flixxun u židu

There's the bottle and add some

E: U ejja! Qisek togħma ta' sadid

Come on! It tastes like rust

M: Tista' ma tgħajjatx **daddy**?

Can you not shout, daddy?

R: Aqtagħha! (laughing)

Cut it out

R: Le kulha

No eat it

E: Is-soltu titfagħlu ftit aktar

You usually put in some more

L: Agħlaq ħalqek

Shut up

E: Ekonomija hux?

Economical, right?

L: Agħlaq ħalqek

Shut up

E: Leonard trid tagħmel xi ġimgħa mingħajr **tablet**?

Leonard would you like to spend a week without your tablet?

L: Qas tista' tiċċajta miegħek
You can't joke with you

M: Daddy?

E: Haw
What?

M: Tista' ma ġgenninlix rasi?
Can you not make me go crazy?

R: L-Oħra! Qaltlek, tista' ma ġgenninlix rasi!
Her! She told you not to make her go crazy!

E: Kul hemm
Eat up

M: Imma tista' ma ġgenninlix rasi?
But can you not make me go crazy?

E: Kul!
Eat!

L: Mingħalik
You think

R: Ejja mmorru 'l hemm ftit
Let's go a bit over there

E: Ejja Żoża, kul hemm
Come on Zoza, eat up

L: Qisek tellerita tgħid. Naf x'inhi tellerita. Xi ħadd jgħid ħafna

You talk like a chatterbox. I know what a chatterbox is. Someone who talks a lot

E: Mela kul issa

Then eat up now

R: U inti wieħed minnhom kultant

And you're one of them sometimes

E: Kul issa

Eat up

L: Tellerita

Chatterbox

E: Ieqaf

Stop

M: Ma nagħmilhiex hawnhekk fit-tarf

I don't put it here, on the edge

R: Inkella twaqqagħha

Otherwise you'll drop it

M: Inkella nwaqqagħha mbagħad tgħajjat il-mummy

Otherwise I'll drop it and she'll shout, mummyt

E: Normali ejja

Normal, come on

R: Haw ħi

Here you are dear

M: Hekk, nosej

Like this, nosej

R: Le le ħallik milli tagħmilli hekk. Aqbad u kul

No no forget doing that to me. Go on and eat

M: Iċċajta ftit!

Joke a bit

R: Iva qed niċċajta ftit imma trid tiekol

Yes I'm joking but you have to eat

M: Jien kont niċċajta

I was joking

R: Imma trid tiekol għax irridu mmorru nagħmlu wash ħalli mmorru bye-bye

But you have to eat because we need to wash to go bye-bye

L: Fejn bye-bye?

Where bye-bye?

R: Inti kul. Taf fejn ħa mmorru. Nixtru

You eat up. You know where we're going. Shopping

E: Leonard tal-aħħar ħa ngħidlek. Ieqaf. U kul. Daqshekk

Leonard this is the last time I'm telling you. Stop. And eat. That's it

E: X'għajja ġejja

How tired I'm getting

R: Aħseb u ara jien għadni naħsel l-art.

Just imagine me, I've just washed the floor

M: Naħseb...

I think...

R: Haw ħi?

What dear?

M: Naħseb li Leonard ma jridx jiekol

I think Leonard doesn't want to eat

R: Imma Leonard ħa jkollu jiekol

But Leonard is going to have to eat

E: Ilbieraħ hawn spiċċajt

Yesterday this is where I ended up

R: Indunajt li rquadt, indunajt

I realised you had fallen asleep, I realised

E: Għamilt san-nofsiegħa

I was here till half past twelve

R: Mhux int!

Your fault!

E: Fin-nofsiegħa mort nimitedd

At twelve thirty I went to lie down

M: X'inti tgħid!

What are you saying?

R: Haw ħi?

What dear?

M: X'inti tgħid! Lanqas Leonard, għax Leonard ...

What are you saying! Not even Leonard, because Leonard...

R: Issa ħallik minn Leonard. Kul għax ngħajjat miegħek issa

Forget about Leonard. Eat or I will shout at you now

L: Ma, fejn sejrin? It-Turkija jaqaw?

Mum, where are we going? To Turkey, maybe?

R: Hux it-Turkija, Turkija!

What Turkey, Turkey!

L: Trade Fair?

R: Ijja. Ġej bit-Turkija

Yeah. Saying to Turkey!

L: Trade fair xi tkun?

What's a trade fair?

R: Trade fair ikun hemm stands u jkun hemm min ibigħu, min ibiegħ washing machines, min ibiegħ linfa

At a trade fair there are stands and there are people who sell things, who sells washing machines,

Who sells ceiling lamps...

E: Taparsi, taparsi jgħibu bl-irħis

They pretend, pretend to sell cheaply

R: Taparsi. Imbagħad għamli biċċa qisu tal-monti. Xebgħa Taljani. Li jkollhom fuq l-istonku tagħhom jiġu jbiegħuh hawnhekk.

Pretend. Then they had a place like at a flea market. A load of Italians. Whatever remains on their hands, they come to sell it here.

L: Italja, Italja (chants)

Italy, Italy

E: Agħlaq ħalqek u kul hemm. Ieqaf. Agħlaq ħalqek u kul hemm

Shut your mouth and eat up. Stop. Shut your mouth and eat up.

R: Qed jinħaraq id-**daddy**

Daddy is annoyed!

M and L: Italja, Italja (etc) (laughter)

Italy, Italy

E: Leonard ieqaf

Leonard, stop

E: Ġimgħa? Ġimgħa? Eh?

A week? A week? Eh?

R: Leonard, jien ħa ngħaddikom

Leonard, I'm going to beat you

(L and M continue to chant Italja, Italja)

E: Issa għandek ġimgħa ma tmissx it-**tablet**. Daqshekk, lest. Hekk trid tisma'. Mela isma'

Now it'll be a week before you can touch your tablet. That's it, I'm done. That's what you need to hear. Then hear it

R: Ejja kul Leonard issa

Come, Leonard, eat now

E: Daqshekk

That's it

L: Qas nista' tiċċajta miegħek...

I can't even joke with you

E: Avżajtek, għidtlek. Daqshekk

I warned you, I told you. That's it

R: Kul Leonard

Eat Leonard

E: Issa kul għax tagħmel ġimagħtejn

Now eat or it will be a fortnight

R: Oh no

R: Hū hi

Have it, dear

M: Daddy

E: Haw?

What?

M: Jien inħobbok daddy

I love you, daddy

E: Mela kul

Then eat

R: Mona meta jkun jaqblilha jien inħobbok

Mona, when it's in her favour, she says I love you

R: Għaddejtkom jien

I beat you

E: Kul hemm għax nagħmlek fuq is-sufan issa int

Eat up or I'll put you on the sofa, you

R: Dak ma nħobbux

I don't like that

M: Jien!

Me!

E: Ejja kul, qum

Come eat, get up

R: Ejja Mona ħa ntik tiekol. Ħa ngħagġlu isa!

Come Mona, I'll feed you. Let's be quick, quickly

L: Ma...

R: Haw ħi

What dear

L: Xbajt

I've had enough

R: Kul ftit ieħor ejja. M'hemmx għalfejn tieklu kollu imma kul ftit ieħor

Eat a little more, come. There's no need to eat it all but eat a little more

R: Ajma (sighs)

Dear me

R: Leonard, torqodx ejja

Leonard, don't fall asleep

R: Trid biċċa oħra torta?

Do you want another piece of pie?

E: Le

No

R: Baqa'

There's some left

E: Issa niekol illejla torta

I'll eat pie this evening

R: Iġbor minn hemmhekk u twaqqax mal-art għax għadni naħsel

Pick that up and don't drop anything on the floor because I've just washed it

R: Ejja, Mona. Kiltha ta' ħalqek ħi? Ejja, ħalqek mal-platt mhux hemmhekk inkella nwaqqgħu mal-art

Come, Mona. Have you eaten what was in your mouth, dear? Come, put your mouth against the plate not over there because otherwise we'll drop on the floor

R: X'garalek?

What's wrong?

E: Leonard! Fejn sejjer?

Leonard! Where are you going?

E: Ejja bilqiegħda. Tgħidlix li xbajt. Ma tantx kien hemm. Ma tantx kien hemm.

Come sit down. Don't tell me you're full. There wasn't much. There wasn't much

R: Mela ejja kul. Ejja. Trid intihulek malajr, ħa ngħaġġlu? E? Trid intihulek jien malajr?

Then come eat. Come. Shall I feed you quickly, so we hurry? Eh? Shall I feed you quickly?

R: X'ħen hu?

What's the time?

L: Illum m'għandix aptit iktar

Today I don't feel like more

R: Ħallih. Għax l-ewwel ħa l-lażanja

Leave him. Because he had lasagne before

R: Ejja Mona, ħi. Kiltha ta' ħalqek? Isa

Come Mona, dear. Did you eat what was in your mouth? Quick

M: Fejn mar Leonard?

Where did Leonard go?

R: Hemmhekk qiegħed, bilqiegħda fuq is-sufan. Dak lest imma ejja kul inti issa. **One two**,
iftaħ ħalqek

*He's over there, sitting, sitting on the sofa. He's ready but you come eat now. One two,
open your mouth*

M: Għamilli **aeroplane!**

Do me an aeroplane!

R: (makes plane noises). Ejja l-ewwel trid tiekol din imbagħad ixrob. L-ewwel tiekol din imbagħad tixrob. Ejja. Issa x'ħin tiekol ta' ħalqek tista' tixrob

Come, first you have to eat and then drink. First eat this then drink. Come. When you finish what's in your mouth you can drink

E: Ara l-ieħor. Dak...(says a name). Mhux taqbad tidħaq jew!

Look at him. That's... You just have to start laughing

R: Paperissima

(A television programme on Italian television channels)

E: Tfixkel f'siequ! Jigifieri mhux ħabatha ma' xulxin imma... ma naħsibx li ħa jgibha issa. Ara ħa jerggħu jagħmluha. Imma issa mhux **replay**

He got mixed up in his own fee. I mean he didn't hit it against the other but... I don't think they're going to show it again. Look they're going to do it again. But now it's not a replay, eh!

R: Dak x'għamel? Lagħabhielu ġo wiċċu?

What did he do? Did he hit him in the face?

E: Għax huma... esperiment

Because they... an experiment

R: Imma għandu l-maskla

But he has a mask

E: Ara ara ara. Hu bis-sikkina u l-ieħor bir-**revolver**. Biex jagħmlu, ??? E, laħaq tahieli bis-sikkina. Dawn ikunu qed jagħmlu x'ismu, esperimenti. Eżempju min bir-**revolver**, min bis-sikkina. Eżempju laħaq tahieli u l-ieħor sparalu mill-...

Look, look, look. One with a knife and the other with a revolver. To do... Eh, he hit him with the knife first. These are doing a, how do you say, experiments. For example someone has a

revolver and someone has a knife. For example he managed to hit him and the other shot him from...

R: Biex jaraw per eżempju

To see for example

E: Liem l-iżjed **fast** hu. Ara. Ħargu, l-ieħor gie bil-girja, sakemm qed, ġibed il-x'ismu biex...
ikun **fast** iżjed biex jispara... laħaq għafasha

Who's the fastest right. Look. They came out, the other one came running, while he was, he pulled the what-do-you-call-it to... to be faster to shoot... he managed to press it

R: Isa Mona. Ixrob ftit ejja. Ejja għax inti biss baqa'

Quick Mona. Drink a little, come. Come, you're the only one left

R: Tini t-tazza isa għax inkella twaqqagħha. Ħa. Iftaħ ħalqek. Ejja Mar...

Give me the glass quick otherwise you'll drop it. Take this. Open your mouth. Come, Mar...

M: Ħa ngibu l-**baby**?

I'll get the baby?

R: Issa mbagħad ġibha, ħa. Iva, ħa, iftaħ ħalqek. Ejja bilqiegħda. Iva, ġibha ħdejk u ejja bilqiegħda.

Get it afterwards, here. Yes, here, open your mouth. Come sit down. Yes, get her near you and come sit down.

R: Nikolhulek jien! Ejja iftaħ. Nikolhulek? E? Mela min ħa jieklu?

I'll eat it for you! Come open. Shall I eat it? Eh? So who's going to eat it?

M: Jien!

Me!

R: Xxx. Inzel. Għamilt sleep illum? Għamilt sleep?

Shhh. Get down. Did you have a sleep today? Did you have a sleep?

M: O miskina!

Oh, the poor thing!

R: Miskina! Tiha kiss ħi. Ejja isa. Kul ta' ħalqek isa

Poor thing! Give her a kiss, dear. Come, quick. Eat what's in you mouth, quick

R: Haw ħi

Here dear

M: Milky mamma

R: Issa ngħidlek milky mamma

Now I'll tell you milky mamma

M: Ħa nwaqqa'. X'għamilt...

I'm going to spill some. What did you do...

R: Għax kont il-work u neħhejtu. Issa mbagħad nagħmel ieħor. Id-Daddy qed jgħajjatek Leonard

Because I was at work and I took it off. Later I'll put another one. Daddy is calling you Leonard

E: Haw ħi

What dear?

E: Issa mbagħad naraw. Leonard! Minuta

We'll see later. Leonard! One minute

R: Tiegħ naqra çans għax qed jibgħat messagg ta. Ejja 'l haw, ejj'isma ħa nkellmek. Ejja ħi. Trid intihulek l-ikel malajr? Bħal Mona qed nitmagħha!? X'qed tagħmel bit-tablet? Issa ejja ħa tinħasel ta.

Give him a minute because he's sending a message. Come here, come listen I want to talk to you. Come dear. Shall I feed you quickly. Like I'm feeding Maria? What are you doing with the tablet? Now come to get washed, eh?

L: E?

What?

R: Ejja ħa tmur tinħasel. All right?

Come so you can go wash. All right?

L: Eħe

Yeah

R: Mona! Ejja isa isa. Ħa nlestu. Xrobt inti Leonard, ħi? Xrobt? Trid iżjed? Ejja Mona

Mona! Come quick, quick. Let's get ready. Did you drink Leonard, dear? Did you drink? Do you want more. Come Mona

(Leonard sings)

Appendix 4

Coded transcript for Family 4

Yvette Jason Jemima Neville

(Self-perceived Maltese-speaking)

Je: Jien nieħu biċċa pitta **bread please**

I'll have a piece of pitta bread please

Y: Se tinħaraq dik

That's going to get burnt

Je: Ħa nagħmillek biċċa pitta

Let me make you a piece of pitta

J: Issa nikolha. X'għamiltihom?

I'll eat it now. What did you do to them?

Y: Xtrajthom lesti dawk

I bought those ready made

Je: Veru?

Really?

Y: Ma nafx hekk....

I don't know if...

Je: Naħseb tiegħek itjeb imma hu?

I think yours are better though, don't you think?

Y: ??? Differenti l-bragjoli nagħmilhom jien. Anka z-zalza tkun ajħar

??? I make bragjoli another way. Even the sauce is better

Je: Imma taf x'kont qed nistenna? Hsibtek se tagħmel **gravy**

But do you know what I was expecting? I thought you would make gravy

Y: M'għandux **gravy**?

Doesn't it have gravy?

Je: Le imma hsibtek se tagħmel **gravy** tal-bar... **mushrooms, mushrooms**?

No, but I thought you would make gravy of bar...mushrooms, mushrooms?

Y: Leee

Nooo

Je: Minn dak il-magħqud

That thick one

Y: Ma tistax tagħmel dak

I can't make that

Je: Kemm dhaqna ma. Rajt il-**boss** ilbieraħ.... Apprezza ta

We really laughed mum. I saw the boss yesterday... He really appreciated it, you know

Y: Ġibli naqra s-sikkina, Jem

Get me a knife, Jem

J: ???

Je: Il-**pitta bread** lesta, pa?

Is the pitta bread ready, dad?

Y: Għada le

Not yet

J: Tini naqra ċans

Give me a minute

Y: Dik taqta' hafna... habba dawk il-pizzi
That is very sharp... because of those serrated edges

N: Trid tiegħi ma?
Do you want mine, mum?

Y: U le tajba di
No, this is fine

Je: Ajma...(sighs)
Oh my... (sighs)

Y: Hobbz tridu?
Do you want bread?

Je: Le
No

N: **No thank you**

Y: Raddejt salib, Ne?
Have you made the sign of the cross, Ne?

N: Ijwa
Yeah

J: Ha. Ara hix tajba din
Here. See if this is good

Je: Naqsmuha?
Shall we split it?

J: Mela jien ha niehu waħda sħiħa?
What? I'm not going to have the whole thing

Y: Tajba hekk. Trid gobon?

It's good like this. Do you want cheese?

Je: Leee... Kelli guħ ta jiena... Wara x-xogħol...

Nooo... I was really hungry you know... After work...

Y: Mmm, tajjeb dan

Mmm, this is good

Je: X'inhu tajjeb?

What is good?

Y: Il-control???

Je: Veru tajjeb

It's really good

Y: ??? Dak x'kien jismu?

??? What was it's name?

Je: Il-barbeque

Y: Mhux il-barbeque le. L-ieħor

Not barbeque, no. The other one

J: Daqskemm għandna...

We have so many...

Y: Dak qisu...

It was like...

Je: Tal-balsamic, li rajna illum?

The balsamic, that one we saw today?

Y: Mhux **balsamic**, e...

Not balsamic, umm...

Je: Dak għal... inkun qisu iswed il-cordoba (???)

The one for... it looks like it's black, the Cordoba (???)

Y: Flixxun żgħir... Kien hemm nies il-Pama llum!

A small bottle... There were so many people at Pama today!

Je: Dejjem bin-nies sar ikun ta. Rani fajsad (???)

It's always full of people, that. Fajsad (???) saw me

J: Il-Ħadd? Dejjem hekk ikun il-Ħadd

On Sunday? It's always like that on Sunday

Y: Inkredibbli n-nies

The people are incredible

Je: Saqsi lili! Meta kont immur nixtri l-ħalib għax xogħol jgħiduli kemm domt titkellem man-nies?

Biex jiċċajtu ma. Imbagħad ngħidilhom, vera kien hemm **queue**, ħadd ma jemmnek. F'nofsinhar, is-siegħa...il !!

Just ask me! When I used to go buy the milk for work, they'd tell me How long were you talking to people for? Just to joke, mum. Then I would tell them, there really was a long queue, nobody believes you. At noon, one o'clock... Wow!!

(mumbling)

Je: Il-ġobon inti tfajtu?

Did you add the cheese?

Y: Le

No

Na: Jiena xorta tfajtlu

I still put in some

Y: Tipppreferihom? Neville tefa'

Do you prefer that? Neville put in some

Je: Naħseb b'hekk mhux tajbin (laughs)

I think that's why they're not good

N: Allura xi tridni nagħmel biex inneħhiha?

So what do you want me to do to remove it

Je: E?

What?

(Cat mews)

Y: Ejja Kitty

Come Kitty

J: Ejja Kit

Come Kitty

Y: Inżel

Get down

Je: Ħalluha. La mhux qiegħda fuq il-mejda

Leave her alone. Since she's not on the table

J: ??? jew?

??? or what?

Y: Mhux ovvja. Stajt sajjart xorta

Isn't it obvious. You could still have cooked

J: ??? magħna

??? with us

Je: Hekk bdejt ngħidilha. Bdejt ngħidilha, iktar ma għandi ġuħ iktar qed narah idum

That's what I was telling her. I was telling her, the hungrier I am, the longer I feel they are taking

J: Forsi saret issa?

Maybe it's done now?

Je: Ejja ħu biċċa minn tiegħi għalissa. Duqha ħa

Come have a piece of mine for now. Try it, here

J: X'ha nagħmlu llejla? Ħa mmorru x'imkien illejla?

What are we going to do this evening? Are we going anywhere tonight?

Y: Ħeqq mela!

But of course!

J: Fejn se mmorru?

Where are we going?

N: Tas-Sliema naħseb

To Sliema I think

J: Quddiesa smajt?

Have you heard mass?

Je: Jien smajt quddies. Mort dalgħodu. Morna s-Santa Luċija

I heard mass. I went this morning. We went to Santa Lucija (The name of a popular coffee shop)

Y: Ċemplet ommok dalgħodu

Your mother phoned this morning

J: Mmm?

Je: Jiena u x'isimha

Me and what's her name

Y: Riedet l-irċevuti... Ghidtilha ħa...

She wanted the receipts... I said, here they are...

N: **Best friend**

Je: Pa? Mort Santa Luċija llum.

Dad? I went to Santa Lucija today.

J: Eĥe?

Really?

Y: Mela ħej

Sure eh!

J: Waĥdek?

Alone?

Je: Xejn speċjali l-kafè hawnhekk imma ta. L-isem għandu, l-isem

The coffee is nothing special here though, you know. It's just a good name, its name

Y: Eeee.... Imma l-pasti...

Ahhh... put the sweet pastries...

J: Mal-ħbieb, Jem?

With your friends, Jem?

Je: Le ma mortx għall-pasti

No I didn't go for the pastries

Y: Allura! Kafè mhux normali jkun?

So! Isn't coffee normal?

Je: Veru

True

J: Ma' min mort?

With whom did you go?

Je: E?

What?

J: Ma' min mort?

With whom did you go?

Je: Ma' ħabibti. Għala?

With my girl friend. Why?

Y: Jaħraq ta!

It's hot you know!

J: Liem Vet? L-aħmar?

Which Vet? The red one?

Y: Il-laħam jaħraq, eh. Bil-mod Neville għax tifga

The meat is hot, ok. Slow down Neville or you'll choke

Je: Veru kollox bl-addoċċ ġo ħalqek

True, you put everything in your mouth at once

Y: Min jaf x'se jgħidu fuqek...(laughs)

I wonder what they're going to say about you...

Je: Vera... Issa nofsu vojtt

True... now it's half empty

Y: Is-sauce tajjartu fuqek...

You've spattered sauce over yourself

N: Dak mhux sauce. Il-flokk minnu bl-aħmar

That's not sauce. The vest itself is red

Y: Inti ixxuttajt. Għalfejn ixxuttajt?

You dried it. Why did you dry it?

Je: Għax kien hemm il-platt taħt...

Because there was a plate underneath...

Y: Eżatt. Hu t-tissues

Exactly. Have the tissues

J: Fejn sejra llejla għid?

Where are you going this evening, say?

Y: Jew ħu biċċa...

Or get a cloth...

Je: L-ieħor!!

Oh you!!

J: E?

What?

Je: Issa naraw!! Issa mhux immorru nieklu, għadna qed nieklu...

We'll see!! We'll probably go eat somewhere, we're still eating...

Y: M'għidniex ħa mmornu nieklu skużi. ???

Excuse me, we didn't say we would go eat???

Je: Tiċċajta tgħid

I was just joking

Y: Le...

No...

Je: Ieqaf Ne. Tergax!

Stop it Ne. Don't do that again!

Y: ... qgħadt insajjar jien...

.... I was cooking, me...

Je: Pa, mur ġib naqra s-sauce. Pa?

Dad, go get the sauce a bit. Dad?

Y: Mela lesti l-platti illum?

Are the dishes ready today then?

N: Naħsilhom jien...

I'll do them...

Je: Min ġie l-aħħar

Whoever came in last

Y: Iiiiiil l-aħwa!... Ara x'għidt!

Oh wow!... Watch what you said!

Je: E għax għidtlu ntih it-tablet illum!

Yes, because I told him I'd give him the tablet today!

Y: E?

What?

Je: Għax semmejt it-tablet hu?

I mentioned the tablet, see?

N: Le għandi. Kont bravu

No I've got it. I was being good

Je: Illa. Kitty! Pa, gibli naqra l-barbeque... Pa!

Wow. Kitty! Dad, give a bit the barbeque...Dad!

Y: Għandek barbeque sauce ukoll?

Do you also have barbeque sauce?

Je: Barbeque sauce, Pa.

Y: Please. Waqgħatlek

Please. It fell

Je: X'inhì?

What is it?

J: Jemima...

Je: Pa?

J: Il-Mummy qaltlek...

Mummy told you...

Y: Please!

Je: Ma nistax ngħaddi bik

I can't get through because of you

Y: Id-daddy kien ix-xogħol, Jemima

Daddy was working today, Jemima

N: Għalaqtlī l-pejxa?

You shut the pussy cat outside?

Y: Dik x'kelma hi?!!

What word is that!!?

(laughter)

Y and Je (together): Il-passaġġ

The path

Y: Paesagġ bit-Taljan naħseb

I think in Italian you say 'Paesagg' (These are all a play on pronunciation)

Je: Issa kul darba li nqum jien nieħu ta' xi ħadd

Now every time that I have to get up I'll take one from someone's place

Y: Żaqqieqa!

Greedy!

N: Ħanzira

Pig

Y: Dik tħaxxen

That's fattening

Je: Minn mindu... Tħaxxen u ma tħaxxinx! Lanqas haw... qas haw

Since when... Fattening or not fattening! Not even ...ehm... not even ehm...

J: Hemm hemm fuq ukoll

There are some up there too

N: Ma, il-karrotti u l-basal li qattajt jien...

Mum, the carrots and onions that I chopped myself...

Y: Mhux tiekol ta' ġewwa biss u ta' barra tħallih hemm il-laħam

You just eat the filling only and you leave the outer part, you leave it, the meat

N: Fejn?

Where?

Y: Hemm ħa

There see

N: U iġja ħa nieklu

Oh, yes, I'm going to eat it

Y: Mela ejja kulu ħej

Then come on and eat it

N: Il- karrotti u l-basal li qattajt jien vera ġew tajbin

The carrots and the onion that I chopped are really good

Y: Taf li xorta ħarquli għajnejja! Avolja qattajthom inti! Vera!

Do you know they still burnt my eyes! Even though you chopped them! Really!

N: Mhux bil-magna?

Didn't you do it by machine?

Y: U dik fejn kienet tax-**shredder**? Domt infittixha...

And where was the shredder's thing? I was looking for it for ages

N: Boq! Naħseb ġol-cupboard

I don't know! I think in the cupboard

Y: Vera? Tgħidx kemm fittixtha dik inhar

Really? I was looking for it for a long time the other day

Je: Rajtha l-qattusa?

Did you see the cat?

Y: Xtrajna l-ħass ħa nagħmlu salad

We bought lettuce to make a salad

J: Aħjar

Good

(Indecipherable as all talk at the same time)

Je: Ħa mmorru t-training għada jien u l-mummy

We're going to training tomorrow, mummy and I

J: Ijja?

Yeah?

Je: Nofs siegħa, veru ta'

Half an hour, really, you know

N: Illejla, pa, Ta' Qali

This evening dad, Ta' Qali

Je: Ma nafx, ma' xi grupp? Suppost tliet gimgħat, nonqsu waħda sew

I don't know, with some group? Supposedly in three weeks we'll lose a good amount

Y: Nofs siegħa biss

Just half an hour

Je: Nofs siegħa training kuljum...

Half an hour's training every day

Y: Matthew Grasso jismu

His name is Matthew Grasso (the surname means fat in Italian)

Je: Mhux Matthew

It's not Matthew

Y: Matthew oħxon jismu

Matthew Fat is his name

J: X'ironija. Qed jagħmel tad-dieta

How ironic. He does dieting

Y: Naħseb aħjar kellu l-kunjom Magro, jien! (laughs) (Magro means thin in Italian)

I think it would have been better if his surname were Thin

Je: Dak x'kien? Xi messagġ?

What was that? Some message?

J: Fejn? F'xi każin?

Where? In some club?

Y: Le

No

Je: Mela taħsibna ċajt?

Do you think we're amateurs?

Y: Dik il-ġimgħa tal-festa aħna nkunu nistgħu mmorru... ngħaddu, ma nafx fejn. Imma mbagħad inti għada x-xogħol. Fi x'ħin tibda? F'nofsinhar?

During feast week we will be able to go... we'll pass from, I don't know where. But then tomorrow you're working. What time do you start? At noon?

J: Ijja. Għada wara nofsinhar

Yes. Tomorrow in the afternoon

Y: Mela jiena... le l-papa. Wara nofsinhar jiena?

So I... no dad. I'm in the afternoon?

N: Pa? Illejla ħudni Ta' Qali

Daddy? This evening take me to Ta' Qali

Y: X'ha tagħmel?

What are you going to do?

Je: Għada wara nofsinhar inti? Il-papà? Mela tista' teħodna t-Tlieta hekk ukoll?

Tomorrow are you afternoon? Daddy? Then you can take us on Tuesday like that too?

Y: Għala?

Why?

Je: Għandi d-dwiefer filgħodu fid-disgħa...

I have to do my nails in the morning at nine...

Y: Filgħodu?

In the morning?

Je: Fid-disgħa ta' filgħodu. Mhux ħa nbiddilha nerga'... Ipprova rrangali pa.

At nine in the morning. I'm not going to change it again... Try to fix it for me dad.

Y: Dik kif għamiltha filgħodu?

How come you made the the appointment in the morning?

Je: Ma kelliex ma, filgħodu nista' għax filgħaxija sejrin nara l-film

She didn't have other openings, I could make it in the morning because in the evening we're going to do watch a film

Y: X'se taraw film?

Which film are you watching?

Je: E?

What?

N: Finding Dory

Je: Hux Finding Dory! Int trid tarah int?

Not Finding Dory! You want to watch it yourself?

N: Le rajtu

No I saw it

Je: Rajtu?

You saw it?

Y: Mhux mar maz-zija

Did he go with auntie

Y: Hadt ??? ilbieraħ?

You got ??? Yesterday?

Je: Kiltha kollha da? Irrid biċċ' oħra jien

Did you eat all of it dad? I want another piece

J: Ma rridhiex kollha, ħa

I don't want all of it, here

Je: Fejnha?

Where is it?

J: Hemm biċċa

There's a piece

Y: Għadna m'aħniex lesti, oqgħod bilqiegħda hemm. Ejja

We're still not ready, sit down there. Come on

Je: Lesti

We're done

J: Oqgħod naqra

Be quiet for a bit

N: Le, ġejt biex nieħu l-Koka

No, I came to get some coke

Y: Il-Koka barra qiegħed

The coke is out already

J: Haw ħi, Ne

Here dear, Ne

Je: Ħu ġelat

Have an ice-cream

N: Għar-**roly poly** ġejt

I came to get the roly poly

Je: Iii... Daqskemm baqa'

Ohhh!... it's not like there's much left

Y: Uuuu....inti ħadt ilbieraħ

Awww... you had some yesterday

Je: Ma baqa' xejn ta

There's nothing left, you know

Y: Illaħwa! Dan min ħadu?

Oh my! Who took it?

N: Jemima!

Je: Jemima! Nini, nini

Jemima! Na na na na na

Y: **Piglets!** Ilbieraħ ma ħadtx?

Piglets! Didn't you have some yesterday?

Je: Le. Biċċa żgħira ħadt

No. I only had a small piece

Y: Ijja!

Yes!

N: E ijja. Ħadt inti, biċċa kbira...

Oh yes? You took some, a big piece...

Je: Intom ħadtu?

Did you have any?

Y: Ġelat ħadt dalgħodu jiena

I had an ice-cream this morning myself

Je: Ahh, kemm kien tajjeb... ???

Ahh, how good it was...

Appendix 5

Coded transcript for Family 5

Gertrude Gordon Leia Nathan

(Self-perceived bilingual)

All: Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. Bless us oh Lord as we sit... bless the food we eat today, bless us oh Lord, Amen.

G: Leia, what is the name of the group, of Masquerade you attend? Violet?

L: Ehe

G: **Mela ħi, għandna naqra problema żgħira**

So dear, we have a small problem

L: Why?

G: **Għax ix-show piece se tkun...**

Because the show piece is going to be...

Go: Get me some water please

G: **Ix-show piece se tkun...** Friday twentieth

The show piece is going to be...

L: Friday twentieth (overlaps with mother)... **Mhux** twenty first?

Not

G: No. **Bagħtuli illum** twentieth. L-exam...

They sent me today that it's the twentieth. The exam...

L: Ah with that of Amy

G: Exam Friday ta' wara

The exam is the following Friday

L: Ehe...

G: Issa, il-problema hija din: illi uncle Gilbert kien qalli li fit-twentieth kien se jkun hemm il-party ta' Nicholas

Now the problem is this: uncle Gilbert had told me that on the twentieth there was going to be Nicholas's party

Go: Oh, il-....

Oh, the...

N: Eh, il-birthday!

Yes, the birthday!

G: Yes, Imm'issa no problem. Issa ngħidu lil uncle Gilbert... Heqq, we either don't attend all of us or else he'll post ... or else he'll have to postpone it... eh?

Yes. But now, no problem. Now we'll tell uncle Gilbert... Well, we either...

Go: Aqbad u ċempillu... it's not a big deal

Go on and phone him now...

G: Iva, iss... wara l-ikel inċempillu ta

Yes, now... after dinner I'll phone him

L: Aw, cos Amy can't, can't make it on the twenty first, she's doing 'Annie'. You know there are billboards...

I mean

Go: E, yes, I've seen billboards, yeah

L: She's one of, she's Annie

Go: Really?! Who's... who's this Annie girlie?

L: She's in my group of Masquerade. She's one of the narrators.

Go: So you have a poor girl in your, in your....?

N: So she can make it like on the... on the Saturday, **perežempju**?
for example?

G: **Issa** we'll ask him, **hux**?
Now, we'll ask him, right?

N: **U ejja** ma, just so you know. Today the teacher told me, third June...
Oh come on

G: Third June...

Go: **U baqagħlu...**
There's plenty of time left...

G: **Iva, imma** wait a sec, remind me, or you ask the teacher what you should focus on ... OK? So that we'll start studying for it
Yes, but

Go: One of the Learning Outcomes, **jgifieri**
That means

G: Did you watch the film, Nico?

N: Ehim

Go: What film did you watch?

N: The Zootropolis (mumbles)

L: Zootropolis (clarifies)

N: There's the movie which ... on eight(???)

G: What, what?

Go: I'd guess as much

L: Was it a good movie, Nico, **imma?**
though?

N: Yeah

L: Eh, my ECDL exam, on Wednesday they're, they're going to tell Mr Calleja when it is, it's either next Sat... not... next week Saturday or, or the week after, Saturday

G: Are you well-prepared?

L: Ehe, I need to, I need to study, **heq**
oh well

G: You need to study and will you be doing those, those tests, that you did before?

L: Aha

G: **Imma kemm-il wiehed? Wiehed jew tnejn?**
But how many? One or two?

L: When? **Heq** it depends on...
Well,

Go: Wait. Where are you going to do these diagnostic tests? Cos you can't do them at home.

L: One of them EC

G: There on the day before?

L: We'll be paying... **Suppost** we will be paying...

Supposedly

Go: Yes, for an extra test, I know

L: One for a diagnostic and then the exam after

Go: **Ehe**, yes, but then the other one you'll be doing at school? We already talked about this. You were meant to tell, Mr.... whatever what's his face...

L: Ehe I did. **Mela** and then you have to do it... ehm... **dak**

Of course

that

Go: But you didn't tell me if it... if it... if you have said yes or not

L: He said yes. I told you...

Go: You never told me...

L: I told you... he said yes... and then he told me, yes cos there's another girl and she, she has the same problem

Go: Right. All right. Ok

L: I told you that

G: So you're doing it at school?

L: **Suppost, eh**

Supposedly, eh

G: All right. Mela study so that you'll be well prepared ta for the... That means in a week or two biss fadallek, hu?

So ok only
you've got left, right?

L: Mmm

Go: Will he decide when you'll be doing the test?

L: No, no, he will decide when I'm doing it

Go: That's what I asked...

G: Did he decide when?

Go: I said 'Will he decide' and you said yes and... but did he tell you when?... I have a feeling you have to remind him

L: When what?

G: When the test will be

Go: When you will... when you will be doing the diagnostic test

G: At school

L: Definitely not this week

Go: Heq ok. Will you have time next week?

Oh well

L: I can't.... we have to make time next week (fragmented answer)

Go: Ok, fine. **Jien għalija mhux xorta.** You'll be doing the exam not me. But you need the diagnostic test.

Ok, fine. It's all the same for me.

L: I know

Go: And you can't do it because you have Office 2007 (two thousand seven) and Windows what?

G: She can't do it at **Nannu's?**

Grandpa's?

N: Yes, she can, actually.

Go: Ehim?

N: Because... If he has Flash Player

L: I would prefer if I do it at home **milli** there

instead of

N: You can do it on any computer, any computer

G: But does he have this, this Flash Player?

Go: No but usually when you do the test, cos I remember when we did it with Nico, it had a lot of

kummiedji insomma. You have to have a lot of tests passing...and...

problems, anyway

N: It's not easy

Go: ...eh, Flash Player... No, no, no. It has to have the Office, the right type, ehm, Flash Player and a lot of, a lot of different stuff

N: There are exams based like xi, I don't know 2003 (two thousand three), 2007 (two thousand seven)...

about,

L: Wait. We're supposed to do one in class... we're supposed to do one before the exam and then he told me... everyone

Go: **Stenna**, everyone is doing one in class? **Eh, mela allora** id-diagnostic test, it's with Nico, no, they did no diagnostic test at home, at school

Wait,

Oh, so then

L: No, we're doing it in class

Go: They did them all at home, at home

L: But with him

G: So you don't have to do any other one on your own, no?

L: No, probably not... But he said we're supposed to do one for the exam

Go: **Mela allora** why did he, why did he tell you yes cos another girl has the same problem? If everyone is doing it in class then...

So then

G: No one has a problem

Go: Mmm... The first diagnostic test you'll be doing in class... Hello?!!

L: E

Go: Everyone then, then there's no problem

L: That's what's supposed to happen

Go: No, with Nico the first diagnostic test...

N: We had to do it at home...

Go: Even the second

N: Every test we had to do at home

Go: ... you had, e...

N: Except for the last three modules

G: **Ijja imma dak għax m'għamilthomx l-iskola mbagħad**

Yes but that was because you didn't do them at school then

Go: ... the modules you didn't do at school

N: ... we did at school

G: **Kif għe?**

How was it?

N: **Tajjeb**

Good

L: Good

Go: **Tajjeb**

Good

N: When... they... we do... the diagnostic test at school...

L: Ma, I got... I got a ... ticket for you

N: We did the diagnostic test at school. What they did was, get the.... xogħol... the diagnostic test and then we... do a revision test...

work

Go: Imma that wasn't a diagnostic test. The teacher gave you a test that was similar to a diagnostic test...

But

N: Actually he downloaded the test and basically

Go: Imma it wasn't a proper diagnostic test that one...

But

N: We went to the same site

Go: But it wasn't about everything... Anyway, that happened way long ago so so...

N: He told us it was a diagnostic and he told us, basically...

Go: U iwa...

Yes, ok...

G: Trid iktar Go?

Do you want more Go?

Go: Yes please

N: Pass the cheese please

Go: Kollox lestejt. Topic wiehed baqaghli lllum. Anthrotropic nutrition. I just finished Biodiversity u x'ismu haw, Geishic(???) Exchange, jgifieri issa...

I've finished everything. I've only got one topic today. Anthrotropic nutrition. I just finished Biodiversity and what's its name, Geishich (???) Exchange, so that means now...

N: A topic lasts a few weeks, isn't it?

Go: I'll stretch it till the second, third week of May. Actually, I don't stretch it cos it's a long topic **imma** (*but*) then I would need at least one week for revision.... At least. Probably I'll try to finish by the second week of May **halli nagħti** (*so that then*) t-Tutorial pack **ukoll** (*also*). One week tutorial pack, one week revision. And then we're done, we're done

G: **Jien biex inlaħħaq irrid inħaffef**

For me to manage everything I have to be quick

Go:... Ehhhmm, **normali**. **Kemm qed ninħaraq** għandi, kelli embedding tal-videos...

Ehhhmm, that's normal. I'm really annoyed: I have, I had embedding of videos..

G: **E? Mal**-Powerpoint?

What? With the Powerpoint?

Go: E. U issa bit-two thousand sixteen emmm, differenti, għax inti tibda tara split screen. Mela meta ma jkunx imqabba mal-projector, jaħdem normali l-video. Meta jkun imqabba mal-projector minħabba li... dak li tara fuq il-computer differenti minn dak li tara fuq l-iscreen, ma nistax inħaddimha, il-, il-, il-, l-animation. Il-, il-Play, għax hu, it's an animation and you press play u, it doesn't work jew I don't know how to, how to make it work. U veru qed ninħaraq għax kien hemm video ridt nurihulhom kien veru importanti, u just l-istampa...

Yes, and now with the two thousand sixteen, emm, it's different, because you start to see a split screen. So when it's not connected to the projector, the video works normally. When it's connected to the projector because of the... what you see on the computer is different from what you see on the screen, I can't work it, the, the, the animation. The, the Play, because it's, it's an animation and you press play and it doesn't work or I don't know how to, how to make it work. And I'm really annoyed because there was a video that I wanted to show them that was really important and the and only the picture...

G: Saqsi il-computer technicians. **Jista' jkun ikun hemm just problema żgħira ta'... xi ħaġa li trid tagħfas u hekk**

Ask the computer technicians. It might be that there's just a small problem of... something that you need to press and tha

Go: Mmm.

G: Leia trid tart?

Leia do you want a tart?

Go: Probably, naħseb you can switch off the dual screen thingy...

Probably, I think you can switch off the dual screen thingy...

G: Mmm. Yes of course you can. Tagħfas dik fejn hemm dik li qisha window... (overlapping with following)

Mmm. Yes of course you can. You press that where there is what looks like a window...

N: (overlapping with previous) Yes there is a function...

G: U għandek erba' options u tagħfas, hux Duplicate... jew...

And you have four options and you press, either Duplicate... or...

N: ... No, the teachers....

G: Inti issa I'll show you on mine

Now you, I'll show you on mine

N: ... do it in my school

Go: Ehim?

G: Yes. Kif trid tagħmlu

Yes. What you have to do

Go: Imma, dik, dik irrid nagħmel

But that, that's what I have to do

G: Aħna bil-problemi ta. Ġieli ma jagħrafx il-, il-, il-monitor

We have problems, you know. Sometimes it doesn't recognise the, the, the monitor

Go: Imma dika, dik anke tagħna. Jiena tiegħi...

But that, that happens with ours too. Mine...

G: Noqogħdu nħawdu

We just fiddle around

Go: Tiegħi l-iSmart Board jekk inqabbdu mas-sound via USB joqgħod jagħmilli, brarum, brarum, il-computer joqgħod jagħmilli ħafna noises, splagjatu. Imbagħad ma johroġx is-sound. Allura kelli nuża jack to jack

Mine is a Smart Board, if I connect it with the sound via USB it starts going brarum, brarum, the computer starts making a lot of noises, I unplugged it. Then there's no sound. So then I had to use jack to jack

G: Le aħna mbagħad, once li qabad, qabad, ħadem.... Leia...Kien hemm Toblorone. Naħseb tiegħek fil... fil-basket tiegħek qiegħda. Jekk tridha...

No, with us then, once it's connected, it's connected, it works... Leia... there was a Toblorone. I think that in the... it's in my bag. If you want it...

L: Ehim

G: Fil-każ ħalli għalija ta' no worries

Otherwise you can leave it for me, no worries

L: Le, in-nuts...

No, the nuts...

Go: Xi ħadd takom... dik... il-... insejt x'isimha... Caramel?

Somebody gave you... that... the... I forget what it's called...Caramel?

G: E, Caramel, e

Yeah, Carame, yeah

Go: Dik qisha Curly Whirly jaqaw?

It's like a Curly Whirly, maybe?

G: Ma nafx, qis..., çatta però

I don't know, it's like..., flat though

Go: Iva, il-Curly Whirly çatta kienet tkun. Tiftakarha kif inhi? Cadbury Curly Whirly

Yes, the Curly Whirly used to be flat. Do you remember how it is? Cadbury Curly Whirly

G: Iva, eĥe

Yes, yeah

Go: Haqq, it-tieni platt ĥadt wisq ġobon and I'm feeling...

Damn, for the second dish I took too much cheese and I'm feeling

G: Dak illum ġħidt, ĥa nagħmel times one and a half...

Today I said, let me make time one and a half...

Go: Mmm

G: ... biex jifdalli wieĥed portion extra... ġħal meta nkun qed insajjar u jkun hemm xi ĥadd minnkom ma jħobbux, ikolli portion extra...

so that I have one extra portion left... for when I'm cooking and there's one of you says you don't like it, I'll have an extra portion...

Go: Mmm

G: U...

And...

Go: U kiltu kollu jien

I ate it all myself

G: Ġħamilt kollox one and a half... X'ħin ġejt ġħat-tadam...

I made everything one and a half... When it came to the tomatoes...

Go: Mmm?

G: Is-soltu nuża bott mela rrid naghmel bott u nofs, insejt u tfajthom it-tnejn. Jigifieri kollox times one and a half, tajjeb, imma tadam flok one and a half, tfajt two...

Usually I use one tin so I needed to put one and a half tins, I forgot and I put in two. So that means everything is one and a half, good, but tomatoes, instead of one and a half, I put in two...

Go: Mmm

G: Jigifieri imma xorta tajjeb gie

I mean it still turned out well

Go: Ehim

L: It's good

G: Good

G: Weggajt?

Are you hurt?

L: I can't open that stupid thing

G: Gib, ejja

Give it here, come on

Go: Kwazi qed ninfaqa'. Qas naf

I'm almost getting full. I don't know

G: Tikolx żejjed

Don't eat too much

Go: Illum xi dwejjaq t'ajru, how unpredictable...

Today, what bothersome weather, how unpredictable...

G: Kien se jtajjarna

It was going to blow us away

Go: Eħe? Iżgur għax intom qegħdin...

Yes? Of course, because you are situated...

N: It rained a bit.

Go: It even rained a bit while going to school

G: Li naf li pparkjajt haw barra u kemm il-karozza ta' ħdejja u kemm tiegħi mitfijin u bdew jimmollaw it-tnejn li huma u tant bżajt, daħħaltha

What I know is I parked out here and both the car next to mine and mine also, were switched off and they both started to shaking and I was so frightened, I put in (the garage)

N: Fortunately it was only a drizzle

G: Eħe?

Go: Iva ank'aħna. Jiena...

Yes, us too. I ...

L: We didn't have any...

Go: ... Fil-ħin li kont sejjer lejn il-lectures...

... At the time I was on my way to lectures...

L: I opened the door to the auditorium: It opened hekk, like whooom, and then when I went in it almost like slammed it to my back.... And I was wearing like four new bags

I opened the door to the auditorium: it opened like this, like whoom, and then...

Go: E! Il-principal (pronounced in Maltese) irrispondieni mill-ewwel ta... He has, obviously, he has no problem. Mhux ovvja, Alla ħares qal le

Oh! The principal, answered me immediately you know... He has no problem. Isn't it obvious, Heaven forbid he said no

N: It was something like one centimetre

G: Not even...

G and Go: (simultaneously) ... one millimetre

Go: ... you mean

G: Se mai **tirrilivja** **iktar mid**---(???)

If anything, you are relieved more than...(???)

N: One millimetre on the measurements

L: You could have just gone with my proposal

G: What?

L: Can we just...

Go: **Ukoll!**

You've got to be kidding!

L: Can you allow me to go...

Go: No.

L: ... to find senior three, please?

G: (laughs)

Go: I hope they don't think I'm crazy and they chuck me out or something

N: It worked a couple of times, doing drip caesars(???)

G: U għid. Ilbieraħ waqt il-quddiesa ħsibt li se tagħmilha. X'hin qed narah, aħna bilqieghda u qed narak minn fejn qegħdin tifi l-fjuri...

Go on say it. Yesterday during mass I thought you were going to do it. As I was looking at him, us sitting down and I could see you from where we were, examining the flowers...

Go: Naħseb anke d-Dumnikan induna għax naħseb għamilt a brusque movement...

I think even the Dominican priest realised because I think I made a brusque movement...

G: Eżatt! Qed ngħid ħa naraw lil Gordon fuq l-artal iżarma l-fjuri

Exactly! I said, we're going to see Gordon on the altar picking at the flowers

N: I fell asleep in mass yesterday so...

Go: I had a feeling they were clematis, u clematis are not very common u l-clematis li teżisti Malta, it's extremely rare and it's green, it's a green flower. It's an unusual flower u bdejt ngħid, possibbli dawn, marru l-Girgenti dawn u ġabu... għax il-Girgenti wieħed mill-ftit postijiet fejn teżisti din l-istrina fjura li jgħidulha kiesħa

I had a feeling they were clematis, and clematis are not very common and the clematis that exists in Malta, it's extremely rare and it's green, it's a green flower. It's an unusual flower and I was saying, is it possible these, they went to Girgenti and they got... because Girgenti is one of the few places where this blessed flower that is called cold, exists

G: Kiesħa?!

Cold?!

Go: Eħim imma mhux kiesħa as in, kif taqbad tghid, kemm int kiesħa, kiesħa cold, għax it has a cold, it, it, it, looks, e, it looks greenish white and the flowers look down, hekk ara.... Allura għandha feeling hekk ta, ta' kesħa. I wouldn't be surprised, il-fjuri jifthu minn very very early spring allura tkun għadha ma saħanx l-ajru. Ma nistax niekol iżjed ta

Yes, but not cold as in, how to say it, how cold it is, cold cold, because it has a cold, it, it, it, looks, eh, it looks greenish white and the flowers look down, like this look... so it has a feeling like of, of coldness. I wouldn't be surprised, the flowers bloom from very very early spring so therefore the air hasn't yet warmed up. I can't eat any more you know

G: **Halliha**

Leave it

Go: **Issa xi ħaġa tajba**

Now for something sweet

N: **Taf li hemm** chocolates?

Do you know there are chocolates?

G: **Tgħid hemm** chocolates?!

Do you think there are chocolates?!

Go: Can I put my hand in Auntie Mildred's thingy and...?

L: No! **Inti qatt ma thallini nieħu tiegħek...**

No! You never let me have yours...

G: **Għad fadal anki dak l-Easter Lamb**

There's even that Easter Lamb left

Go: Oh yes! All right, I'll just take one thing

L: No, that's ours! Ma...!!!

G: **U ejja, Go, toqgħodx tinkiha**

Come on, Go, don't tease her

Go: But it's small, **ara**, look how small it is

Look

N: You don't... that's mine too...

G: **Halliha. Ejja** come here. **Ha nara x'hemm fil-borza, gibha 'l haw**

Leave her alone. Come on, come here. Let me see what's in the bag, give it here

L: There are lots of Smarties...

G: **Gibha 'l haw**

Give it to me

Go: I hate Smarties

N: M 'n Ms

L: **Haqqek**

You deserve it

Go: Give me these and keep the Smarties

G: **Ejju haw**

Come here

Go: Let's break this for...

L: No.

Go: Ok fine. Thank you

L: Ma!!!

G: **Ha nara x'hemm**

Let me see what there is

L: **U ejja.** You can't touch that, you can't open that

Oh come on. You...

G: **Le imma ntuh bičča 'l papa, ejja**

No, but we'll give daddy a piece, come on

L: ... (???) today so you can't

N: Just one piece...

L: Not today **imma**

Not today but

Go: **Issa** when nobody's looking...

Now when nobody's looking...

L: Ma!!!

Go: ... It'll lose a piece and then I'll tell you, it's called Caramel light because you know it just got... a bit... or discounted

G: What do you need Nico?

N: I can't open it

G: Come **ha**

Come, give it here

Go: Shall we murderise the lamb then?

N: I can't open it, ma, I just can't

G: **Ara** Nico. From up here

Look

N: I know I open it from up there

G: All right from there it's not working so try somewhere else

Go: Shall we break the lamb?

Go: Hello!? Everyone?

G: Pardon?

Go: Shall we murderise the lamb?

G: **Jaħasra**. That's a bad way of saying it.

The poor thing...

Go: Ok

(Here there is a lot of crumbling of paper and plastic as they open the wrapping of the chocolate lamb. Mumbling is mainly indecipherable)

Go: What if it's full of, of, like... lamb poo cream?

G: **Iva Gordon aqtagħha**

Oh come on Gordon, cut it out

N: We're being recorded **ta**

We're being recorded you know

Go: Oh right. Over here it's, it's...

L: Why are you mean? We are being recorded

Go: Shut it...

Go: Over here it tastes gooey... it's gooey. **Heq**, how am I gonna cut this? It's a bit awkward

Well,

G: With a knife obviously

Go: I didn't say with what, I said how...

L: ???

Go: Yes, if I were to eat it all. Let's have a bit of butt. A bit of butt... lamb.... E it's not filled, it's just cake

G: Mhux hekk. Pannettone hu?

What else. Pannettone right?

Go: Mmm...It's nicer than Pannettone

G: Don't overdo it **ghax dik ikollha tendenza li twegga'**

because that has a tendency to hurt

Go: It's a bit oily though

G: E, għalhekk

Yes, that's why

Go: Mmm, tajba...(makes annoyed noise)

It's good...

L: Again, that's what you get!

Go: You have a tongue you know, you can lick it!

L: He's an animal

G: We all are honey

Go: We all are, hi

Dear

L: Imma he's an animal in that sense

But

G: (laughs)

Go: What do you mean in that sense?

G: X'ghamiltu fir-rehearsals illum hi?

What did you do in rehearsals today dear?

L: We rehearsed. What else do you want us to do? Party?

Go: Right. Very wise. You rehearsed in rehearsals.

G: Imma all day long, how many times did you have to repeat it?

But

Go: Veru. Why do have to stay every day in break...

True

G: X'in break?! During all lessons!

What in break?!!

Go: All day, all week!!?

G: E!

Go: How many times are you going to do it?

L: Because in some, in some pieces we're really behind... And tomorrow especially...

Go: Ijja imma behind...?

Yes, but behind...?

L: Because we only have like two days because Wednesday we have to show it to the head

G: To show it to the head?

Go: E. If the head doesn't approve then, what?

G: You'll be in... big trouble

Go: Doo doo

L: I said that first

Go: Then they doo doo doo the show. They all sit on the stage and...

L: I ordered the... a top by the way. It's four euros

G: You ordered a top. **Fakkarni**

Remind me

L: For Prize Day. It's the top of Prize Day. ... Of the show

G: All right. All right. **Mela** one...

Then

Go: The big top? (Makes fanfare bugle noises)

G: First there'll be the first one, the one you took. **Għadna l-istess dak?** **Imbagħad** **ħa jkollok** top
ieħor għad-dance **l-oħra**, **hux?**

Are we still the same with that? Then you're going

to have another top for another dance, right?

L: Two tops

G: Two tops during the dance?

L: On each other

G: Dak li ordnajt?

The one you ordered?

L: Nooooo

G: Mela kemm il-top ħa jkollok?

So how many top are you going to have?

L: For 'Crazy little thing called love' I have, the top part, cos the part of under the pink, the pink of under, she said no, eh, because I have the

Go: Nico (calls out)

L: ... the white top, the white one with roses, the white one with flowers

Appendix 6

Coded transcript for Family 6

Natalie, Ivan, Ninette, Edmund

(Self-perceived English-speaking)

I: You don't remember what he told you? Wait a while, you should have been practising with him and he didn't tell you anything?

N: He did, what did he say?

Ni: Wait mum. He doesn't, he, he... he played, he plays very well as well. Would you like to look?

E: Hello? Hello? He was on his phone

N: Who? Luke?

E: Whenever me and Ben are playing a match...

N & I: Mmm?

E: Ali, we print Ali, then he, whenever we're playing a match sometimes he'll say follow through, I'm already follow through, it's not ...

N: That's not true.

I: ... you do it the other way

Ni: That is true.

N: Well, you had a private lesson with him, so...

E: We're friends but, me and Luke

N: You enjoyed it more when you're with him? You have to tell Ginny to give you a private lesson with him but he was preparing you for the... the... tournament, so you were rallying...

I: So was ehmm... Luke, last time

E: I know, we were doing...

N: Could you put that standing up, please?

I: You put coriander?

N: No, I put coriander in mine cos I know you don't like it. Why are you attacking?

I: Fresh from the garden?

N: Fresh from the garden. I told you I put parsley, basil, mint, broccoli, cherry tomatoes...

I: All the herbs

N: Nigella seeds...

I: Tomorrow we'll plant the tomatoes, eh?

E: We're going to decorate for Friday?

N: Ninette, you're dropping

Ni: Oops, sorry

I: Hemm wara

Behind there

E: Ooo mum... (whines). ... no, tomorrow?

I: Cos tomorrow you have to fast, it's, it's Good Friday... so you won't be able to nick.

E: See, see, so we have to fart?

N: FAST

I: Fast, t,t

E: Ohhh. Fart, sounds like fast

I: No

E: I don't know what...

N: No. What does fasting mean?

I: It means you don't eat

N: Why don't you like coriander? It's lovely! It's really divine. It means on Good Friday you make a sacrifice and you don't in between meals. You have breakfast, lunch, tea and supper.

I: And you don't eat sweets...

N: No, I don't think... the thing of the no sweets, I don't think

I: And you don't eat meat

E: No, you can't... you can eat meat but not ???

N: What's the difference, Ed?

I: Ham is pig

N: Isn't it still meat?

E: You can't eat any animals. No animals

I: No, you can eat fish

E: That's still an animal

N: Why can't you eat any animal?

E: Cos you're killing animals and we don't have enough animals

N: But what does that have to do with Good Friday? As in..

E: Good Friday...

N: You're talking in general, of killing animals, cos... what, what are you saying?

Ni: Jesus died on Good Friday so we have to make a sacrifice and not eat any animals

N: And what does that have to do with Jesus dying on the cross?

E: Not killing animals

Ni: ...??? (mumbling)

E: You ask so many questions, ma

N: Don't I?

(laughter)

Ni: Dad, can you give me the spoon to hold like this? I place it in my left... I want to be...

I: Why? Do you have friends that are left-handed?

Ni: No

N: How do you like this Amaranth?

I: And what is the word, when you can use both your left and your right hand equally?

E: This is your right hand

Ni: I don't know

E: This is my right...

I: But there are people who are left-handed... there are who are right-handed...

Ni: I know but that...

I: And there are people who are...?

Ni: Both.

I: I know but there's a word for it

Ni: But dad, when you're young... you use, you use any, any hand, ey?

N: Is there, is there any ice-cream left?

Ni: But sometimes you do it...

I: It doesn't mean that you're left-handed, it doesn't mean that you don't use your right hand...

N: Can you tell daddy about the ice-cream van?

Ni: No

N: That came!! U għaliex no, no? What a hilarious episode. What do you think?

Why not?

I: And the word for people who can use both their right and their left hands equally is...?

Ni: What?

N: What's wrong, Ni?

E: ??? for daddy. Dad?

I: What's it called?

Ni: (mumbles to herself) equal...

E: I think, the ice- , the van

I: Ambidextrous

Ni: Illa, why...

Wow

N: What's wrong, Ed?

E: I want to tell daddy. Da, the ice-cream van... came...

I: Today?

E: Ehim. And we bought ice-cream. I bought milk, mint, Julia bought chocolates and Ninette bought sprinkles with ice-cream and munch flake

I: Did you drop it this time?

E: No

I: And did Max eat it?

N: Even worse

E: And then, and then Julia didn't want hers, want her, but she had quite a bit

Ni: Nothing

N: First she was licking it and really enjoying it, pretending I suppose, and then, she said, 'I don't like it, I don't want it' so from three ice-creams we ended up with one being eaten

Ni: Which was mine

E: And then Max was...

N: Cos either they didn't like it and...

E: And then Mummy was giving Max from Julia's ice-cream

N: Yes and he loved it...

I: If his poof is bad tomorrow I'll get you a paper bag and put, stuff it in your nose

(laughter)

N: I didn't give him a whole container. I mean... why that topic has to always come up... it's incredible with you.

E: Where's the Cheerios?

N: I don't know. Where did I, where did I put it? Behind me?

I: It's nature, no? Call of nature

Ni: And of course it's good for you to smell

I: Why?

Ni: Cos that's what ??? the van said

N: It's healthy for your lungs, ey?

Ni: Ehe

N: Would you like more?

Ni: ... ??? the smell it's good for you

I: As if. Who said such rubbish?

Ni: **Mhux** Jentess?

Wasn't it Jentess?

N: I heard... I had heard that. It's true, somebody once told me, so when, every time we pass by manure... which is, which is quite a big deal so it's a bit...

Ni: It doesn't make any sense. Cos it stinks so badly...

I: You sure she wasn't joking?

Ni: She wasn't joking. She was serious, she was, she used to shout at Mummy, and me

N: Who?

Ni: Jentess

N: Ah! On the van? Yes, she used to get angry with me. Cos I ??? dress. Ok, so shall we plan...?

Ni: And now the driver, he has to go, actually he has to go to, another school as well. ??? And the driver is really nice and whenever he sees me going to another van, he goes, 'hello!!'

N: The old driver?

Ni: Aha. And I give him, a high five

N: Ah, yes?

I: And Miss, what's her name, does she allow it, Miss Pauline?

Ni: What?

I: To talk with the bus drivers?

Ni: Yes, you can

N: What's wrong with talking to the bus drivers?

I: **Dejjem l-istess**

It's always the same

N: Shall we talk about tomorrow, about our plan

Ni: We're going to Smart tomorrow?

N: No, Ninette, tomorrow the shops aren't open. Tomorrow is Good Friday. Tomorrow I am going to Pilates at 8 and then, I would like to go and do the visits...

I: The Corner Store's open on Sunday

N: Even Green is open. Candy is open, all day, he told me, all day, I said, 'Mela (so) you're allowed to, to, to open on Good Friday?' He told me, 'Mela, **dażgur.**'

'Yes, of course'

I: That's what he told you, 'Mela, dażgur'?

'Yes, of course'

N: Yes, **hekk qalli.**

that's what he told me

E: Mmm, my tummy is growing fat, fat, fat, fat, fat, fat...

N: Why? Because you had cereal with milk?

E: Fat... (burping)

N: Eeeee!!

Ni: Yakk!!

E: Pardon me (laughs)

I: How rude! What is your mother teaching you?

N: I am... shocked. So, can we, can you please cooperate? What? Should we plan, should we plan separately, then? Once you're all being silent?

E: By playing...

N: I am going to do the house visits... (laughs) church visits, we'll go to a church and we'll... do the visits there...

I: Tomorrow morning?

N: Yes, and then...

I: Excellent so I can do some work tomorrow for a change

N: Of course, of course. For a change? You shouldn't work on Good Friday

E: What day is Daddy...

I: No?

E: What day are Beckie Portelli coming?

N: On Saturday. They're coming on Saturday

I: So today's Thursday...

Ni: This Saturday?

N: Today is Thursday, Ninette, Maundy Thursday...

Ni: This Saturday? (shouts)

N: Tomorrow is Friday and then it's Easter Saturday and then it's Easter Sunday

E: Mummy...

I: Don't shout, don't be arrogant

E: It's true that Daddy doesn't have friends?

I: No, Daddy doesn't have friends

E: It's true, ma?

Ni: You have work friends, you have Mummy and me, and you have Max

E: It's true?

N: Why, why, where did this come from?

E: I'm just asking him

I: You probably said so

N: I never said

E: Is it true? ...It's true, ma? ...Is it true?

I: Yes, it's true

N: I don't know. You can ask Daddy, not me, I don't know

I: It's true

E: I don't believe you

I: You don't believe me?

E: I believe that you're lying cos every time I ask you that question you laugh and you're trying to lie so I don't believe you...

I: Why? Do you have friends?

E: Mmm. Ow

N: What happened? You bit your tongue? (laughs)

I: That's probably for telling me you don't believe me. That's what you get (laughter) ... on Maundy Thursday

Ni: I can try?

I: No. You can't try. Don't you know I always say no?

Ni: No, you don't say no

N: His first word or his favourite word is 'no'?

Ni: It's your first word?

I: No

Ni: You're lying

I: No

N: I really liked... You didn't like yours

I: (to the children) No, no

Ni: You do it every day now it's my turn

N: Did you like my amaranths? Amaranth, amaranths, whatever it is

I: **Ma tafx tagħmlu. #a tweggagħni**

You don't know how to do it. You're going to hurt me

E: That's impossible...

Ni: I know how to ...

I: **Mela...**

So

E: Daddy told me...

N: That should be on the table

I: **Le, għax twaqqgħu...**

No, because you'll break it...

Ni: It'll break

I: **...u jinkiser. Fin-nofs...**

... and it'll break. In the middle...

N: No, you put it in the middle

Ni: Push them

I: **Nizzel il-ġwienah... il-ġwienah, nizzel il-ġwienah**

Push the wings down... the wings, push the wings down

(laughter and clattering)

I: **Dan...**

This...

Ni: All right, all right...

I: ...gib ha nurik... tkunx ardita, gib il-... gibu

... give it to me so I'll show you... don't be rude, give me the... give it to me

N: Ninette!

Ni: All right, hi!

Oh, ok, there!

I: Gibu. Dan qisu ghasfur, ara, bil-gwienah... ha jtiru... qed tarahom il-gwienah, itiru?

Give it to me. This is like a bird, look, with wings... they're going to fly... can you see the wings, flying?

N: What are gwienah?

Wings?

Ni: Wings

N: Wings, brava

Good girl

I: Edmund, ghadna mhux lesti!

we're not ready yet!

N: Come Ed. Shall we... Is there ice-cream?

E: No

I: Edmund...

N: Edmund you have to switch off the television right away

Ni: Can I do it now?

I: Issa naghmlu l-ketchup Ed, tinkwetax

Now we'll put ketchup, Ed, don't worry

Ni: Ketchup?

N: Edmund! I'm going to count till three. Please come back to the table. One, two...

Ni: And he dribbles...

N: Edmund! That Easter...

I: Get me the wooden spoon...

N: Wooden spoon? How ridiculous. Edmund, Easter Bunny is not going to come, not Easter Bunny, Mummy's not going to buy you an Easter Egg

E: I don't care

N: You don't care!?

I: **Ha tispicča bla bajd tal-Għid**

You're going to end up without any Easter Eggs

E: I don't need to be a pig

N: You mean to tell me that on Easter Sunday you don't want to have an Easter Egg?

E: I want to have but I don't want to be a pig

N: No one is saying that you will be a pig if you have an Easter Egg... if you have like a bowl of Easter Eggs...

I: Mind your fingers, mind your fingers

E: I can?... I can do that part? Can I do that part? Why? Why? You don't let me do anything, Ninette

I: **Mela nerġġhu indaħħluh**

Then we'll put it back in

N: **U ejja.** Are you serious?

Oh come on.

E: You never let me do anything, I'm telling her...

N: He's giving you the chance to do it again. Push them down. Down. Down. One, two, pop!

I: **Issa iġbdu**

Now pull it

N: Eeee!

Ni: It didn't make a noise like for me

N: Why did it make a noise for you? A pop?

I: **Ha igbdu. Igbed, minn hawn fuq**

Here, pull it. Pull it, from up here

(There is a loud pop)

E: It did it!!!

I: **Smajtu jagħmel il-pop?**

Did you hear it make a pop?

E: Sugar mahn

I: Sugar mahn? **X'ihu** Sugar Mahn?

What is

N: It's from Pokemon

Ni: **Inti...** no... **Inti...** You have... **pastaz**

You... no... you... You have... bad man

I: **X'ihu? Jiena għandi...**

What? I have...

Ni: **Aghlaq saqajk**

Close your legs

(laughter)

I: Like we used to tell Max, ey?

N: We used to tell Max '**aghlaq saqajk**' and that's what you remember?

'close your legs'

I: And then we used to say 'aghlaq is-saqajn'
'close those legs'

E: Maltese, it's in Maltese. It means pants

N: Yes, Maltese. No, 'aghlaq saqajk' means 'close your legs'. We used to tell Max when he used to...
when we used to pat him

E: Inti aghlaq saqajk
You close your legs

(laughter)

N: What is so funny?

Ni: He said 'You pants'

N: No, Ed, pants are

E: You are pants...

N: Ajma. How silly. You've got it so wrong Ed...
My goodness.

E: Issa I'm looking at scores now
Now

N: Edmund, we haven't finished...

E: I want to see them score

I: Ejja poggì
Come sit down

N: You can see them score after... Ed, you're disobeying

I: Ejja poggì
Come sit down

Ni: Temper, hi, temper

E: I just want...

N: You won't watch TV again. **M'intix qed tobdi**

You're not obeying

E: Carry me, carry me

N: **Hux** carry you, Edmund

No way,

I: **Kemm qed tkun ardit,** Edmund

How rude you are being, Edmund

E: Carry me, carry me...

N: I'm not going to carry you. Come on

E: Why? I'm too heavy?

N: Sit down, Ed

I: **Ghajjejt. Inti kellek tennis illum? Eh? Kellek tennis illum?**

I'm tired. Did you have tennis today? Eh? Did you have tennis today?

N: No, Edmund had nothing. Edmund didn't have anything. He ...

Ni: **Xi trid hi?**

What do you want, dear?

N: ... just followed and tap danced...

E: I want to watch the 'Boss Baby'

N: Please. Can you sit down?! You are not going to watch TV right now. Now it is family time

E: I want to watch 'Boss Baby' ok?

N: No, you can't. You have to watch 'Boss Baby' unless you put it on my laptop. Now sit properly. We haven't finished supper

E: Can we watch 'Boss Baby'?

N: I heard you

I: I want to watch it too

E: Yay! Who wants to watch 'Boss Baby'?

N: That's all you think of you. Patata...

Bottoms...

Ni: I'm like Boss Baby ok? I'm on my chair, you can see my nappy, then he goes... (claps)

N: Why? Boss Baby wears a nappy? Does he?

E and Ni: Yes

Ni: Then the brother, he puts powder on his nappy and then he does... (claps) And then the powder flies out...

(laughter)

N: My goodness. What flies out?

E: Powder flies out

N: Powder?

I: Like it shows on the box

E: Cos he farts (laughter)

N: Eh. So it's like smoke...

E: It's so funny. Interessante

I: Edmund you don't see it, we saw it already

N: What? Interessante?

Ni: Hilarious-sante

E: Watch the video, watch the video...

I: Edmund, n-o. N-o.

Appendix 7

Coded transcript for Family 7

Ophelia, Paul, Julian, Aunt Jane

(Self-perceived English-speaking)

J: What pizzas did you order, mum?

O: Um, I ordered one Margherita, no, no, not one Margherita, I ordered ehm, eh...

P: Mhux five you ordered?

Wasn't it

O: I ordered a... ehm- a Maltija um ...

P: Five extra-large ta! (Laughter)

you know

O: hmm extra-large (laughter) A Maltija...

P: What pigs we are

O: Maltija, Hawaiian, Fungi...

P: Peperoni hux?

right?

O:...Peperoni and, and Bufola

Gm: Where did you order them?

O: Can you put down the sound, please?

Gm: Where...where did you order them?

O: From 'Pizza by Luca'

Gm: Balluta?

O: 'Pizza by Luca'

P: Balluta (laughs)

O: Ajma, anyway...

Oh come on,

J: Well this is awkward

O: What did you do today, ma ?

Gm: Hmm...?

O: What did you do today ?

Gm: Ehmm... I cooked...

O: Mhmm...

Gm: I washed some flo...some cloths

O: Aha...

Gm: And I dusted...I read a bit

J: Even I washed the floor

O: You started a new book?

Gm: Eh ?

O: You started a new book?

Gm: Aha

O: Tajjeb, good

Good

J: I washed the floor today ma

Gm: It's called ah...

O: Really? No...Imma not here though I didn't realise that...not here

But

Gm: "A sister's promise" ...

J: No (laughs)

O: Where? In your flat ?

J: Ehe (laughs)... tbażwart

I was exhausted

O: Ehe ?

Gm: It's called "A sister's promise"

O: Ehe? She's trying to get down

Gm: Ehe?

O: Mini

Gm: Let me put her down...come Mini...ejja...ejja...because if she falls...

come...come...

O: Eh we don't need any injured, blind dogs, do we?

Gm: Course not

J: (laughs)

P: She's our black bitch dog

J: (laughs)

P: She is...she is hux...

right...

J: (laughs)

P: Mhux hekk...she is

That's right...

J: Ajma...

Oh come on...

P: Ma nafx għalfejn...

I don't know why...

J: Tajba din

That's a good one

O: All right, emm

J: Ma

O: Anyway...What time did you tell Sarah to come?

J: Stop it...stop it

O: What time did you tell Sarah to come?

J: At seven-thirty I told her to come

O: So she'll probably be here at eight?

P: Insomma the pizzas won't be here before eight

Anyway

J: That's...quite bitchy of you

O: No we ordered them before eight

J: Don't you think...?

O: No, no...it's not, it's not

J: (laughing) No, it's not, it's not ? Why not?

O: Tha...tha...acknowledge it, that you know that she comes a bit late

P: It's true she comes late

O: Allura there's nothing...don't be too...so touchy

So

J: Ta...(laughter)

So...

O: It's not...its not meant as an insult or anything

P: Mhux hekk...

That's right...

J: (laughter) I'm not touchy u ejja come on I was joking

oh come on

O: Okay

O: I threw away the flowers by the way...don't , you're not offended, are you ?

P: No, not at all

O: Ok, they died, they died

J: (laughter)

P: They've been there for two weeks

P: They've been there for two weeks

J: What flowers?

P: Two weeks they've been there

J: Eh for Valentine's Day you got her flowers?

O: No no no no of course not

J: You didn't get her any flow...flowers for Valentine's Day?

P: I got her some from Lidl

J: (laughter)

J: Vera jew?

Is that true of what?

O: He got me a...he got me...

P: Listen they are still flowers and they are better than those roses up there

O: He got them for me from... he no actually got me a plant

P: Ehe I got her a plant and she paid for it

O: And its flowering now

J: She paid for it?

P: She paid for it

O: And I paid for it

J: (laughter)

P: From the **xirja**

shopping

Gm: Jacqueline has com... community this evening

Gm: Community this evening she says she's going to remain until midnight

O: Ehe?

P: **Mela** Jacqueline goes to Komunità still?

Then

O: It's a good thing you came here then, it's a good thing you came here then

P: Jacqueline will soon be a saint

J: (laughter)

Gm: You solved it for her because she said

O: Yes

Gm: ...she would pick me up at two o'clock

O: But em...Roberta was going to come downstairs and stay with you

Gm: Yes I know

O: So what are you doing Ju?

P: Crossword

J: Can't you see what I'm doing?

P: Crossword

O: No

P: So that's what you did in Berlin?

J: Ehe I did it a lot

P: Crosswords all the time?

J: I got addicted to it, it's so fun

O: Oh no he has another addiction now

J: But this is a healthy one, no?...old-school. You know what old-school means ma?

P: So how was Berlin, Ju?

O: What did you think I am? An idiot?

P: Tell us about Berlin. You didn't tell us anything

J: *ljjj, mela*, nothing I told you, *u*?

Oh, of course, , right?

Gm: How was the weather?

J: It was great

O: Cold. Cold?

J: It was too good *imma issa*. I wanted it to be... snowing

but now

P: *Imma* it was freezing, *le*?

But no?

J: *Ehe imma* only the first night it was really really cold but the following... the rest of the week... it got warmer and warmer and warmer

Yes, but...

P: *Imma* was it raining all the time or *imma* blue skies?

But but

J: Le blue skies, only Friday and Sunday, it was raining

No

O: Good, hu. But it was very cold, right? You broke your mobile, again?

right.

J: Ili, xi ġimagħtejn ilu

A while ago, about a fortnight ago

O: Oh my God!

P: Vera? When?

Really?

O: Il my god, listen

P: If I went to Berlin...

J: Ehe, xi ġimagħtejn ilu, I cracked it

Yes, about a fortnight ago,

P: Again!!? Il-Madonna...

Good gracious!!

O: It's cracked, the screen... again...

J: Ehe, the screen

O: Again. Don't even think of having it fixed

J: Le, I'll just get a new one. I was going to get one in Berlin imma I spent too much money

No,

but

Gm: Ophelia, is the lighter... getting through?

O: No, no

Gm: Because I went to switch it off and he went in and he switched it on again

P: Imma it's your fault cos you don't have a bumper for it

But

J: I had a bumper for it when it broke. Now I removed it because it's destroyed il-bumper

The

P: Vera? No not that one, the elastic one

Really?

J: E, the rubber, you call it a bumper?

P: The cover, the cover he means

J: E, the cover

P: No, no, bumper. It ...

J: Bumper tal-karozza pa.

of a car,

P: Ehe, bumper, it's a bumper

O: That's what they call it, Ju

P: It's a bumper, it's a rubber bumper

O: The thing which goes round it, the, the, the what you call it, hawn (*here*)... the perimeter or whatever you call it... it's called a bumper. It's not very convenient though because you can't...feel... the buttons...

P: Ehe, but it's good, ijja but it's good

Yes,

yes,

O: But you're going to buy another one now?

J: I think I'm going to buy ...

O: The Samsung

J: No, not the Samsung, I think I'm going to get one of those One... what you call them...

O: E, e, e, they're good..

Yes, yes

J: What are they called?

O: Ehe, ehm...

P: Which ones?

O: The One something it's called...?

P: The One??

O: Ehe. One ehe, you have to get it on... from the internet

P: Like of eh, Dominique's son?

O: Ehe, like Gabriel's

J: What are they called, **istra**?! One...

damn it?!

O: One Plus?

J: Plus, ehe, ehe, like that

, yes, yes,

O: They're good, ehe, not that cheap

J: Yes, ehe, they're good, not cheap but they're cheaper **hu**?

right?

O: Ehm. Apparently there's a new Nexus which is called something else now

J: It's called something else? How nice

O: No, no, it's not Nexus. I gather it's the same, it's a google phone

J: Eh, the google phone?

O: It's a google phone

J: It's called The Google Phone?

O: I, I, I went... I looked it up, it's about... six hundred so it must be a google phone

P: Why is it a...???

O: Should be a good one

P: It's not cheap 600 eh?

J: Ma, you're going to hurt your back on the floor like that, eh?

O: No, I'm fine

J: One Plus is actually a google phone

O: Is it?

J: Istra I looked up the google phone and it said, One, One Plus

Wow

O: Mini's hungry, look, that's why she came up

J: One Plus Three. A day's power in half an hour

O: She's hungry...

P: Istra

Wow

Gm: She's hungry?

O: Let me get her something to eat

J: A partire da four hundred thirty nine euro. Four hundred thirty nine euro ta, it is
(Original is in Italian: Starting from ... you know,

P: Eh, four hundred thirty nine? Not bad

J: It's very good for what you're getting

P: Jien ħsibt li xi hundred imma...

I thought it was about a hundred but...

O: No, no, something like that, four hundred and thirty nine, actually

J: That's good, hu? Better than an iphone, spend double the money and you're getting the same thing

right?

O: Anyway, iphone seven but apparently that's special, the eight is going to be, the difference of the eight is going to be shown more now, in the, in the eight, iphone eight

J: How do you...?

P: What?

J: I want to see the specs of it, it's not really user friendly this website

O: Apparently you have to be a member, you know...

J: It used to be like that imma now...as far as I know...

but

O: Inkella ask Gabriel, he got one from there, you don't know him imma I'll ask my cousin. Ejja ha Mini, go eat, go

Otherwise

but

Come

J: One Plus Three, specs. Let's see the specs

Gm: It smells nice

O: U ejja ma, dog food?

Oh come on mum,

Gm: Dog's food? Is it... I'm smelling tuna

O: No, it's not, it's actually chicken something, but dog food

J: Smells horrible actually

Gm: Allura? It still smells nice

So?

O: It smells nice? I can assure you it doesn't smell nice

J: That's something papa would say

(laughter)

Gm: She's eating ta

You know

O: The human garbage bag.

P: You can taste it ta...

you know...

O: Because we have three garbage bags in this house, we have the black one which we take out every day, we got the grey one for recycling and then there's a pink one

Gm: What's the pink one for?

O: Paul

P: It's Paul

Gm: X'jigifieri?

What do you mean?

O: Because he eats all the food that's eh...

J: Going bad

O: The remains of food, yes, he eats them

P: Mhux I eat them...

I don't

O: You eat them and he always cleans...

Gm: If it tastes good...

O: He always feels confident that they're good enough to eat and he eats them

P: I take them...

O: Eh?

P: I take them to work for lunch. Like today I took the soup, the minestrone, and I took an omelette

O: A spinach omelette, eh

P: A spinach omelette with potatoes, it was really good, very good... it was still good

Gm: You can put everything in an omelette hu?

right?

P: It was in the fridge... It had been in the fridge for two days. It hadn't been in the fridge for one week. It was in there for two days. It was still good

Gm: You wouldn't eat it if it was bad

P: I heated them in the microwave and I ate it

J: Jaqaw it was the ... or Martina isn't doing that diet thing

By any chance

P: No, no, no...

J: She's not buying the meat...

P: Martina was supposed to take it yesterday for work but she was sick and didn't go so she left it there

J: She was sick ehe...

O: What ma?

Gm: That film I was telling you about... when they... I think it was called "Tamed", "Tamed"...

O: The one of yesterday?

Gm: No, I was telling you about ...

P: Bobotomy...

O: Lobotomy...

Gm: They had operated on him because he was...

O: Eh, eh, eh, it was an old film...

Gm: Yes...

P: Bobo... Lobotomy...

O: I've seen this kind of treatment done

J: What is a lobotomy?

P: They used to do operations...

O: Treatments for people who they reckoned were mentally ill... they used to actually pierce their skull

P: Even like ADHD...

O: And take out a piece of their...

P: People with ADHD...

J: Take a bit of their brain tissue...

O: Brain out...

P: Mela...

Of course...

O: And they all ended up really badly... no, no...

J: Obviously dead, hu...

right...

P: No, not dead...

O: Not dead...

P: They become a vegetable...

O: They become...

P: Most of them. Obviously because they're touching their...

J: Instead of fixing them...

P: Their brain... their brain...

O: They used to experiment

P: A lot they used to experiment...

J: They developed...

P: We're watching this series, it's really good... and this is what they're doing at this moment for this guy

O: It's really good, it's called eh, eh, eh, "A place to call home". It's an Australian series. It's really nice. And there's a person who's, who's being given this treatment because he was gay. That's what they used to do to them

P: They thought that they can cure it with this, this operation...

J: You watch "The Danish Girl" hu? You watched the film hu? Mhux hekk għamlulu?

right?

right? Isn't that what they did to him?

O: Ehim, ehim, they did, he had that shock treatment as well...

P: E!!! They did! The shock treatment, that's right! That's true. And it's in the same era...

Appendix 8

Coded transcript for Family 8

Margaret Daniel Sebastian Zayne

(Self-perceived English-speaking)

M: Put down the tablet for me, please

D: You want I open it for you, Seb?

M: You need salt, ey?

D: **Ma poğgejtx xorta xi ftit?**

Didn't you put in some anyway?

M: I put a little bit. So tell, tell papa... oh no... So tell papa, Zayne. Tomorrow. What do you have for the party? What do we have to give you?

D: No, no, no, Zayne

M: Tell me, what do we have to give you?...Popcorn's good?

S: That, that, that, that

D: Excuse me Seb

M: And do I write a note about the chicken nuggets?...Can you speak Zayne instead of being silly?

S: ???

M: Tell me Shaun, how did you get on in your exams? You're happy they're over?

M: So tomorrow, what do you have besides the... What do you have, lessons? Or just the ...

Sh: Ehm, I need one twenty five for the hotdog, one for charity

M: What?

Sh: And I can bring a board game

D: One twenty five

M: A board game? You're not taking a board game, eh!

Sh: I can bring the cards

D: What cards? Uno cards?

Sh: No, seven... hawn...

I mean...

M: No. How many people can play seven up?

Sh: More than three at least

D: But we... ??? a board game

M: Can you sit at table properly Zayne, please?

Sh: Ma, is it recording?

M: No, honey

Sh: Good

M: Why good?

Sh: Can I record?

M: Tomorrow

D: Can you tell us, so, about football, Zayne? Cos in the bathroom, then I had to leave. Tell me!

Z: I was good!

M: He was good. He was one of the best ones

D: You mentioned about passing though. What happened passing?

Z: Ah yes, they weren't passing that much.

M: He was very fast. It's not true Zayne, Matthew was giving you five and pass then

Z: No, not everyone. Mark didn't pass me once

D: Finished

M: That's because... you haven't been going a long time

D: Cos you didn't... you weren't taking the medicine properly

M: Mmm... And the coach did the same? He just shaved his beard?

D & Z: Mmm (assent)

M: I didn't recognise him

S: This, this...

M: Now he's speaking more English, ey? I heard him say 'Get the cones'... 'And get the balls'. **Għax**
[Because] Zayne, did you know you have a match on Saturday?

Z: Yeah

M: Against whom?

Z: I don't know, against who

M: Did you see the email?

Z: It's not on it

M: Ehe. Your parents did

D: What I received was that it's now Saturday for the...(???) match's season

M: No, they got an email, they said you're not allowed to shout as a parent...

D: **Imma** no..., yes, the rules but not that there's a match this Saturday

But no

M: Ehe, you're not allowed to shout, you're not allowed to interfere, I don't know, I always thought...

S: ??? today...

M: Ehm. What did he do?

S: When he was talking... when, when, when they were going to throw the ball to me, she was talking to me and making me look back

Z: Ey, pa, it's not about when you're doing a forward, you do to the ball, to a player, it's drawn into the field... no, not into the feet, into the field, don't do it to the ball, just do it into the field

M: The field? What field?

S & Z: The pitch, the pitch

Z: **Hu l-oħxon?**

Is he the fat one?

S: Like an easy get it, remember like last time? They got it?

M: What did they get?

S: Cos I threw it into the, the, the...

Z: Can I have some water?

M: Please!!

S: Pitch

M: Start using the... polite words, please, guys

S: Can I have the hotdog?

M: No, hon, at school the hotdog, it's only for Zayne

S: Eh?

M: Only Shaun has a hotdog at school

S: When we have... ??? we start having hotdogs

Z: I mean now... after my eyes!!!

D: We don't have bread for hotdog...

S: Yes we do

D: No

M: We didn't buy bread today

S: Give us a... just the sausage...

M: No...

Z: Please, sausages

M: Sausages are unhealthy

D: Is it all right?

M: Very little

D: You can have the ???

M: Is it all right, Zayne?

Z: No, I don't like it

(Boys mumble, protesting)

M: Stop being silly please

Z: Mama? One day I want you to do something...like make your own cheese...

M: Make my own cheese? How do I make my own cheese?

Z: Like make your own...like a food, that you invented, not like a material, like olive oil, I mean like a surprise cake with like olives and...

M: A cake with olives!?...Are you crazy?

Z: Just something like the ...

D: Doesn't mama do her own cakes?

Z: I know but I want...

D: Which is a bad thing...

S: Pa, I like, like pasta, with like... I'm imagining, not this is real and I don't think it's ever going to be real, with ol... squeezing olives into some cheese

M: What!?!?

D: Well, on the pasta we throw the olive oil and then we add cheese, first the cheese and then olive oil

M: How about first learning how to eat vegetables in your pasta?

S: Ew!

M: It's so good, you really don't know what you're missing out on

D: Like what you had with Santiago...

Z: Can I have a sausage?

D: No

M: Can you sit down at table, we're still eating? Sit at table, Zayne

M: Mmm. Today we went to the park and Zayne was making friends with other people, ey?

D: Which park?

S: Ta' San Ġiljan

The St Julians one

M: No, just up the road

Z: Can I go and eat something else?

M: No Zayne. If you want you can have more rice. Sit down. You're not eating any more rubbish, Zayne

S: Can I have a packet?

M: No!

D: It's rubbish

S: No it isn't... Cheese and Onion, it isn't rubbish

M: You must be joking, ey?

S: Onion? is rubbish?

D: No

S: Cheese? Rubbish?

D: Too much cheese - Yes

M: No but the crisps Cheese and Onion are rubbish

S: No they're not...They're actually really good

M: Ehim? I didn't say, I didn't say that they don't taste good. Zayne come here please. Sit down at table

Z: U din, ma, like you make a home-made olive oil

And this,

M: Mmm

Z: Example and you...

M: You know how many olives you have to squeeze to make a bottle like that?

Z: Or you can make your own chicken wrap, you do your own recipes

M: Will you eat it?

Z: Yes...

M: Liar

Z: Or you can do your own lasagne, not a normal one like a

D: No

S: Let me open the packet and you taste...

D: No

S: Just one!

M: I've eaten them before you were born darling

S: Really...

M: I'm hundred percent sure. They existed before I even existed. Yes...

S: Can I have one...

M: Yes, they existed.

S: Just one...

M: In the UK they used to sell them I'm sure

S: Cheese and Onion

M: **Le**

No

S: There's not too much cheese anyway

M: Tell me the sentence in Maltese...

S: (Negative noises)

M: And then if you're polite and say it well...

S: I'm not talking

M: ...I'll give it to you

S: (Makes giving up and crying noises)

D: Talk to me in Maltese

Z: We'll leave it for him...

S: What?

D: No

M: Say it in Maltese I said... properly

S: Sentence in Maltese?

M: Ask me in Maltese properly...

S: For a packet?

M: Ehim

S: (Giving up noise)...

Z: May I help him?

M: No.

M: I'm watching you...

S: **Kwiet!**

Quiet!

M: **Kwiet** what?

Quiet

S: **Kwiet!!**

Quiet!!

M: Who's **kwiet**?

Quiet

S: Zayne says.. **Jien, jien, jien**

I, I, I

Z: I'm just trying to say...

M: What are these black pieces, **ghid**?

Say

Z: Be quiet I'm thinking...

S: Zayne, look...

M: Can you go and get me the **borma** so I can have some more?

pot

S: Ma, look.... Ok

M: Le. That's not for you and I told you, don't cheat

S: Ma?

M: **Hawn**

Here

S: Water!!

M: **Eh ilma, minn hemm**

Yes, water, from there

S: **Iva jew le?**

Yes or no?

M: **Le.** And you didn't say it properly. Say it properly. Sit down at table, we are eating I said

No.

S: **Jien...**

I...

M: **Jien...**

I...

(This sequence is repeated several time)

S: Jien... għandu... Walkers...

I... he has...

M: Għandu?

He has?

S: I have Walkers

M: Ehe, what is 'I have' in Maltese? Jien...

I...

M: You're having more or no? Have a bit more, don't waste it jaħasra

what a pity

M: Jien what?

I

Z: Hudu wieħed!

They take one!

S: Wieħed!! Wieħed

One!! One

Z: Kulu wieħed (whispers)

They eat one

M: Le. X'kulu wieħed! What are you saying?

No. What 'they eat one'!

S: I don't say it in Maltese if I don't know the words. Like, I don't know...

M: That's why you must read in Maltese and practice

D: And you're not studying, that's why

S: Can I have watermelon?

M: Bil-Malti

In Maltese

D: Watermelon? What's the word for watermelon? We don't even have watermelon!

Z: Why?

S: Pa, can you get some cheese?

D: It's not in season

S: Ma, tini Walkers. Ma, how do we say it in Maltese?

give me

D: (Whispers) Gobon

Cheese

M: What?

S: You know how you say it in English?

M: What?

S: The sentence? And then you translate it in Maltese and then after you translate it I will try and remember what you told me... to say?

M: Mmm

S: So! Can I have Walkers?

M: Walkers?

S: Eja... Yaaaaah, not even you know!

Come on...

M: Hux I don't know!

What

S: Jien... niekol... Walkers! Issa!

I... eat... Walkers! Now!

M: No...

S: Stop!

Z: I'm helping you

S: You keep saying no!

M: These black pieces, what are they, **ghid**?
say

D: Of the rice.

M: Of the rice!?? **Mela** there are black pieces in rice
Then

Z: Tell me, **iekol** ...
eat...

M: What was that?

S: **Kelli... kelli niekol...**
I had to... I had to eat...

M: **Kelli niekol?**
I had to eat?

S: **Mela m'ghandi xejn** Zayne?
Then I don't have anything, Zayne?

Z: **M'ghandi xejn, m'ghandi xejn**
I don't have anything, I don't have anything

M: What does it mean, **m'ghandi xejn**?
I don't have anything?

Z: It means nothing

M: Shaun, come and have your dinner. What, did he just get up?

D: Shaun, get to table, please! Mama's still eating

S: (Screams) **Jiena iekol Walkers issa!**

I eat Walkers now!

Z: **Bil-Malti mhux bl-Ingliż**

In Maltese not in English

M: How do you say, 'I want'?

D: Can you please sit down?

S: I don't know. **Jiena, jiena** ... (cries)

I, I...

M: **Jiena rrid...**

I want...

S: **Jiena rrid Walkers**

I want Walkers

M: And how do you say 'please' in Maltese?

S: Ehm... **għandek pjaċir?**

your pleasure?

(Laughter)

D: Not a bad try but...

S: At least I said something. **Jekk jogħġbok!**

Please!

D: Well done

S: And so, **iva jew le?**

yes or no

M: **Le.** Cos you were helped. **Pogġi bilqiegħda mal-mejda**
No. Sit down at the table

S: **Jien irrid Walkers**
I want Walkers

M: **Għax qegħdin nieklu**
Because we're eating

S: **Jekk jogħġbok**
Please

M: **Ajma!**
Ouch!

D: Seb, stop playing sweetie

S: **Jekk jogħġbok, jekk jogħġbok**
Please, please

M: **U jekk ma jogħġobnix?**
And if I don't please?

Z: He'll die. **Imlejt, irmejt?**
Did you fill it in, did you throw it away (these phrases sound similar in Maltese)

D: **Irmejt?**
You threw it away?

S: **Għaliex?**
Why?

M: **Għaliex, xiex? Għaliex xiex, qalbi?**

Why, what? Why what, darling?

D: **Xiex?**

What?

Z: Why, it means

D: Why what we said

S: Why can't I...?

D: **Eq! Bil-Malti!**

Watch it! In Maltese!

S: Zayne, Zayne. **Daqshekk, m'għandi xejn**

That's it, I don't have anything

D: Get to table please and continue... finish off your dinner

S: You're not saying anything in Maltese so why should I?

Z: Ok. Talk about a day in the garden

M: **Gurnata fil-kampanja**

A day in the countryside

Appendix 9

Copy of Questionnaire given to participants

Consent Form

Please be assured that:

- *The purpose of this questionnaire, as well as the recorded conversation, is solely for purposes of linguistic study and has no intention of throwing any light, whether positive or negative, on any individual or group of individuals.*
- *The use of the initial of the participant's name is required only to enable comparison with speaking preferences as used in the recording.*
- *Participants in this study may choose to withdraw the recording they submitted to the researcher at any time.*
- *Participants may choose not to fill in this questionnaire, either in part or in whole.*
- *The confidentiality of the recording and questionnaire is guaranteed by the researcher.*

Thank you.

Dominique Gauci

Contact Number: 79415817

Email: dominiquogauci@gmail.com

Signature of supervisor:

Prof L. Sciriha

Participant's signature signifying consent to allow recording and data to be used for the purposes of this study:

Questionnaire to be filled in by participants in the study: **Adults**

Please tick:

I agree to be audio recorded

I do not agree to be audio recorded

Signature signifying consent

Signature and declaration:

I understand that the information in this questionnaire is confidential and my participation in this study may be withdrawn at any time.

Please fill in or underline as appropriate.

Section A: Background information

1. Participant's initial

2. Age

3. Gender

4. Town/village of residence as a child

5. Town/village of residence as an adult

6. Town/village you consider as home

7. Primary school attended: (please underline)

State

Church

Independent

8. Secondary school attended (please underline)

State

Church

Independent

9. Highest level of education attained:

Section B: Language Usage

10. Do you consider yourself **primarily** English or Maltese speaking at home? (please underline)

Maltese English Other Both

11. Why did you decide that this language would become the language spoken in the home?

12. Which language did you speak at home when you were a child?

Maltese English Other Both

13. Language used at work:

i. Name of job/profession:

ii. Language spoken at work: (please underline)

English Maltese Both Other

iii. Reason for speaking this/these language/s (if different from language spoken at home)

14. Are there any situations where you will speak only in **Maltese**? Please give (an) example/s.

15. Are there any situations where you will speak only in **English**? Please provide (an) example/s.

16. Which language (Maltese or English) do you prefer to: (please underline)

i. **speak** in: Maltese English Other

ii. **read** in: Maltese English Other

iii. **write** in: Maltese English Other

17. How would you rate your competence/fluency in **Maltese** when (please underline)

- i. **Speaking:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor
- ii. **Reading:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor
- iii. **Writing:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor

18. How would you rate your competence/fluency in **English** when (please underline)

- i. **Speaking:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor
- ii. **Reading:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor
- iii. **Writing:** excellent, very good, acceptable, poor, very poor

Section C: Switching between Maltese and English in speech

19. How often do you think you use words in **English** when you are speaking Maltese:

All the time Often Sometimes Rarely Never

20. How often do you think you use words in **Maltese** when you are speaking English:

All the time Often Sometimes Rarely Never

21. What is your attitude to the Maltese habit of switching between languages whether from Maltese into English or from English into Maltese?

- i. I enjoy having two languages at my disposal
- ii. It's not a problem
- iii. I try to avoid it
- iv. It's a terrible habit

22. Is there a reason for your positive or negative attitude to switching between languages? (Please underline one: Positive/Negative)

23. Is there any other information which you consider relevant to your language use? (Ex: Are there any particular people or one person with whom you will speak only one particular language? Is there a reason for this?)

Consent Form

Please be assured that:

- The purpose of this questionnaire, as well as the recorded conversation, is solely for purposes of linguistic study and has no intention of throwing any light, whether positive or negative, on any individual or group of individuals.
- The use of the initial of the participant's name is required only to enable comparison with speaking preferences as used in the recording.
- Participants in this study may choose to withdraw the recording they submitted to the researcher at any time.
- Participants may choose not to fill in this questionnaire, either in part or in whole.
- The confidentiality of the recording and questionnaire is guaranteed by the researcher.

Thank you.

Dominique Gauci

Contact Number: 79415817

Email: dominiquegauci@gmail.com

Signature of supervisor:

Prof L. Sciriha

Participant's signature signifying consent to allow recording and data to be used for the purposes of this study:

Questionnaire to be filled in by participants/parents of participants in the study: **Children**

Signature signifying consent (please sign where applicable)

Signature and declaration:

I understand that the recording and the information in this questionnaire is confidential and my participation in this study may be withdrawn at any time.

Signature of Parent/guardian

I, the undersigned, give permission for my child/ward's participation in the recording and the information in the questionnaire, to be used for this study.

Section A: Background information

1. Your initial

2. Age

3. Male or female

4. The name of the town or village you live in

5. Primary school attended: (please underline)

State

Church

Independent

6. Secondary school attended (please underline only if you attend secondary school)

State

Church

Independent

Section B: Language Use

8. Do you think you speak mostly English or Maltese at home? (please underline)

Maltese

English

Both

Other

9. Do you think you speak mostly English or Maltese at school? (please underline)

<i>Maltese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Other</i>	
10. Do you think you speak mostly English or Maltese with your friends? (please underline)				
<i>Maltese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Other</i>	
11. Which language do you prefer to: (please underline)				
iv. speak in:	<i>Maltese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	
v. read in:	<i>Maltese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	
vi. write in:	<i>Maltese</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	
12. How good are you at Maltese when (please underline)				
iv. Speaking :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
v. Reading :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
vi. Writing :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
13. How good are you at English when (please underline)				
iv. Speaking :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
v. Reading :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
vi. Writing :	<i>excellent, very good, average, poor, very poor</i>			
Section C: Switching between Maltese and English in speech				
14. How often do you think you use words in Maltese when you are speaking English: (please underline)				
<i>All the time</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
15. How often do you think you use words in English when you are speaking Maltese: (please underline)				
<i>All the time</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
16. Is there any other information you would like to include which you think is important about how you speak?				