The Malta Project: Maltese-English and the Nativization Phase of the Dynamic Model

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Abstract

Edgar Schneider (2007), in his recently published book, *Post-Colonial English*, posits a Dynamic Model for plotting the timeline of any post-colonial variety of English (PCE). The model reveals five fundamental evolutionary phases to any new English: foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation. At each phase, the structure of the settler strand (STL) and the indigenous strand (IDG) of English is affected at four different linguistic levels: history/politics, identity construction, sociolinguistics, and linguistic developments. In each phase, researchers of a PCE must find specific instances of development that correspond to the correct phase of evolution. In an attempt to assess the universal applicability of the Dynamic Model, this study seeks to use the country of Malta as an example of a new post-colonial English residing in phase three: nativization. The Malta Project was researched and written by a group of graduate students in the field of linguistics at Northeastern Illinois University. The article was compiled over a four month period, and presents data based on recent and relevant research in the history of English in Malta.
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Research on new varieties of English often reflects specific lexical shifts between a standard variety of English and an outer or expanding variety of English. Studies conducted on Nigerian-English, Indian-English, Malaysian English, etc., list examples of morphological, syntactical, and lexical nativization without mentioning the evolutionary progression of a post-colonial English (PCE). Most studies, of course, do not have the time to commit such data to their examples. The focus of the Malta Project is twofold. First, research shows that English in Malta has progressed through two phases of Schneider’s (2007) Dynamic Model: foundation and exonormative stabilization. Malta is currently centered in phase three, nativization, but important examples show Malta is moving into phase four: endonormative stabilization. Second, the postcolonial movement of Englishes through Schneider’s phases is not often apparent. The model may require more specific criteria for deciding whether or not an English variety resides fully in one phase or another. Malta is peculiar because its history in the foundation phase (phase one) implies that Malta may have moved through the Dynamic Model several times with other languages, which may offer other historical interpretations of English usage and Maltese usage. Following Schneider’s Dynamic Model, the following study will present the structure of the settler strand (STL) and the indigenous strand (IDG) of English at the four different linguistic levels: history/politics, identity construction, sociolinguistics, and linguistic developments.

The Maltese Islands, a tiny archipelago in the Mediterranean Sea between Europe and North Africa, have been at the center of many key historical moments: Rome, Islam, the Crusades, Napoleon, the British Empire, Fascism, the Nazis, the Cold War and the
turn of the century, marked by a new European Union. Consequently, the island nation has also developed one of the most linguistically significant conditions of the modern era. Its continual connections with foreign powers both politically and geographically have created a truly unique language situation that has significantly affected the cultural, social and economic progression of the Maltese people.

During the mid-13th century, the island chain of Malta fell under the control of Aragon and Castille (modern-day Spain). At this time, Malta was divided among feudal lords, and this remained the political situation until 1530, when the Knights of St. John took possession of the country. During the 250 years that the Knights held Malta, the capital city of Valetta was established and a Jesuit University was founded. In 1798, a French army under Napoleon invaded Malta on its way to Egypt and the French retained occupation of Malta for the next two years until the British took the islands under their protection. In 1800, the battle over Malta caused the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars.

The foundation phase of the settler strand of English (STL) appeared when the first Council of Government with elected officials was established in 1835 under British rule. Within 50 years, a national railway was built and postage stamps were issued. An experimental “dual control” Council of Government was attempted in 1887, but by 1903 the original system of British control was reinstated. Though not directly involved in World War I, Malta was granted self-government under British rule in 1919, and two years later, the first Parliament in Malta opened with John Howard as Prime Minister. Under this new government, the first Maltese trade union (the Maltese Union of Teachers) was established and the Maltese National Anthem “Innu Malti” played for the
first time in public. In 1930, the constitution was withdrawn as Fascist Italy began to establish its regime in the area, and Malta reverted to “Crown Colony” status.

In June of 1940, the Italians began bombing Malta – joined by the Germans in 1941. The people of Malta were awarded the St. George Cross for their bravery during the fighting. Malta served as a meeting place for Churchill and Roosevelt. Upon surrender in 1943, the Italian Fleet arrived in Malta and the General Workers Union, Malta’s largest trade union, was established. A National Assembly in 1947 resulted in a new constitution under British rule, self government was restored and the Malta Labour Party won the Prime Minister position in a landslide victory. After more than 15 years of political, economic and religious conflict, Malta was finally granted its independence as a sovereign nation within the British Commonwealth in 1964. Present-day Malta is a varied representation of this rich and diverse history:

**Culture**

Malta has been called a “nationless state”, given its position as a crossroads between Europe, Africa and the Middle East, as well as its history of multiple attempted and/or successful dominations by other nations (Baldacchino 2002, as cited by Cini, 2005). Its culture, by virtue of this multiplicity of origins, is a mixture of behavior patterns, beliefs, institutions and the arts.

**Language**

Its most recent colonizer, Britain, although not the most long-lived (164 years), is the nation whose linguistic heritage impacts Maltese speakers most heavily due to its coincident appearance world-wide as a post-colonial English on its way to becoming the new lingua franca. English replaces Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta
, the other being Maltese. While most people in Malta speak Maltese, many wealthy people use English primarily, and some children are raised without a Maltese language education.

When Malta joined the European Union in 2004, the Maltese language was accepted as an official EU language (Pace 2004). With a population of only 402,000 in 2007, Malta had a limited number of specialist translators available to render the 85,000 page EU regulations into Maltese. Officials were quoted as saying that “the EU laws could be said to not pertain unless published in the country’s native tongue,” which looked to be 4 months late in the coming (The Lawyer, April 2004).

**Religion**

Considered to be the site of St. Paul’s shipwreck in the first century CE, Malta is 98% Catholic, with Catholicism stipulated by the Constitution of Malta as the state religion. Regular Mass attendance in 2005 was estimated at 52.6%; 10 years earlier it was estimated at 63.4% (Archdiocese of Malta, Census 2005).

The Constitution also provides for freedom of religion. The remaining 2% of the populace is composed of Protestant congregations (most are British, not Maltese), one Muslim mosque with plans approved for a cemetery of 500 graves, one Jewish congregation and 500 individual Jehovah’s Witnesses. Mormons, Baptists and Evangelical Churches have a total of 60 affiliates. The Jewish population reached a peak of around 500 in the 11th century. The Alhambra Decree of 1492 forced all Jews to leave the country and their previously substantial numbers have not been re-established (International Religious Freedom Report, 2003).
In response to the U.N. demand that Malta and Chile allow abortions in cases of rape or incest or the endangerment of the mother, three bishops of Malta and Gozo issued a statement on December 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2004, that the U.N. demand is unacceptable. Seven months earlier, Malta had already signed a protocol exempting its abortion laws from EU controls (\textit{America Press}, 12/20-27/04).

**Healthcare**

Malta’s hospital system dates back to the 17\textsuperscript{th} century under the Knights of St. John/Hospitaliers, and in 1815, the British unified the hospitals under a single system. There are 2 side-by-side health care systems operating in Malta: one is funded by taxes and is free to the user; the other is private and accounts for 30\% of all health expenditures (\textit{The Lancet}, 2005). With a savvy clientele and obligations to the EU accession criteria, Malta is now facing financial pressures in the healthcare sector.

Plans for a new state of the art hospital had been ongoing since 1990 when Mater Dei Hospital finally opened in June 2007 with 825 beds and 25 operating theatres. The project had been plagued with political and legal disputes. When Malta joined the EU, it accepted constraints regarding working time, which has had a negative affect upon the medical profession.

The Maltese diet has been “anglicized” and has resulted in a very high rate of childhood obesity, diabetes and heart disease, this latter killing people at double the EU average rate. The country’s biggest challenge for healthcare will be caring for the elderly in the future, compounded by a questionable sustainability of the whole medical system.

**Membership in the European Union**
Malta applied for membership in the EU in 1990. In 1996, it suspended the application, and then reactivated it in 1998. The issue of membership was highly debated and not voted upon until 2003. Of all registered voters, 91% turned out for the referendum. Membership was decided upon by 53% of voters in favor and 46% against, with 1% invalidated. These percentages reflect the collective dynamism of the Maltese and point to the polarization and partisan nature of their society. At the same time, they underscore the electorate’s political enthusiasm (91% voted). Clearly the citizenry understands that every vote counts (Cini 2004).

Two questions of interest surface here related to Malta’s current developmental phase per the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2007). First, is the decision to join the EU a move toward post-independence following their separation in 1964 from Britain and their 1974 self-identification as a Republic? Secondly, given Malta’s earlier history of domination by a long list of colonizers, can it be that Malta has moved beyond the Dynamic Model and can their willing membership in the EU be understood as a financial and political survival tactic, which will put an end to its repeated victimization? Finally, is Malta’s membership in the EU a move toward independence from other nations or toward the continuation of imposed dependence upon neighboring nations?

Several factors are considered when determining a country’s place within the sociopolitical parameters in Schneider’s Dynamic Model. Not only must the country’s political independence be considered, but beyond that, the level of cultural ties to its former colonizer after independence is achieved (Schneider, p. 56). The historical and sociopolitical features of Malta fit the nation in both Phases 3 and 4 in Schneider’s Model.
When considering Malta’s recent history alone, the political and economical status of Malta has flourished since attaining sovereignty. Malta has realized a tremendous amount of progress and stature as an independent nation in the global society in the past fifty years. Following its independence from British colonization in 1964, and the formation of Malta as a Republic in 1974, the last British forces left the island nation in 1979 (US Dept. of State). Since then, the people of Malta have seen the inauguration of nine presidents in their two-party parliamentary government and elected to join the European Union in 2003, which became official in May 2004 (US Dept. of State). Within the European Union, Malta is viewed as an important trading hub due to its central location in the Mediterranean Sea. With an economic growth of 3% in 2007, the country relies on tourism and exportation of manufactured goods as its economic base (US Dept. of State).

While these demonstrations of Malta’s political and economical stability suggest a secure placement in Phase 4, the country’s political, economical and cultural ties to Britain call for a reevaluation. In his 1993 article, Mazzon details these cultural ties between Malta and its mother country, Britain. One tie presented is Malta’s heavy dependence on foreign, particularly British, imports for sustainability. This has resulted in the tolerance of English instruction manuals and advertisements. Also, newer foreign policy has developed favorable legislation allowing the establishment of British businesses and institutions in Malta, which had once been denied post-independence. This may have contributed to the influx of British and other foreign peoples living on the islands (Mazzon, pp.174-5). These cultural ties to Britain within Malta’s politics and
economics threaten to hinder the country’s progression to Phase 4 in Schneider’s Dynamic Model.

**Identity Construction of the Maltese People**

The progression towards political independence is often achieved through the “nativization phase” and is usually associated with linguistic accommodation and social acculturation on behalf of both the settlers (STL) and the indigenous people (IDG) (Schneider, 2007). The perceived sociocultural boundaries between the British (STL strand) and the Maltese (IDG strand) groups begin to blur as they start to imagine what a new national identity would look like.

Malta already established strong social, cultural, and economic ties with Italy before the British occupation (Camilleri, 1996). The Maltese language was used as the home language spoken among indigenous people. In addition, Tuscan Italian was the lingua franca used by the Maltese in trading with neighboring Italy and other Mediterranean countries (Cassar, 2001). Italian was also the language used for Maltese’s Catholic masses (Cassar, 2001). Italian remained the official language of Malta until 1934 when English and Maltese became the official languages; however, the continued use of Maltese until present days implicates the Maltese still maintain their identity, drawing a line between indigenous people and foreigners.

The addition of Italian into the STL and IDG strands is accounted for in Schneider’s Model in “adstrate” strand (ADS). “In many colonization settings, English-speaking settlers and the indigenous population were not the only agents in the history of a nation and of its linguistic setup…we can largely disregard non-indigenous groups who arrived earlier than the British…typically they were ousted by the English immigrants”
Unlike other PCE examples, however, Italian continues to gain popularity in Malta via television, and many younger people use Italian because it is common in the media.

Nevertheless, English became the official language as a result of the British requiring its use in government and its use as a subject in the education system (Camilleri, 1992). As the people’s sense of Maltese nationalism and anti-British sentiments grew, a written standardized Maltese grammar and orthography was developed and also became an official language taught along with English in the education system (Camilleri, 1992).

Presently, the impact that British colonization has had on the Maltese identity pivots around the English language and re-enforcement stratification of the social classes. English was first limited to the Maltese individuals the British first contacted, mostly Maltese individuals in government and trade positions of the middle and upper classes. Moreover, private schools were opened, and English was the only medium of instruction permitted and could be afforded only by the elite (Camilleri, 1996). Thus, the British occupation and limited access to English re-enforced the inequality of the social class system in Malta; job opportunities and education were only accessible to the elite. Although there are now more educational opportunities for students to learn English and become qualified for positions in tourism and other fields, the affect it has on the class system is still evident. In Camilleri’s research (1996), she found that Maltese citizens who prefer to speak in English outside of the classroom are considered, by other Maltese speakers, to be “snobs,” while those that choose to speak in Maltese are “often stigmatized as uneducated” and “unsophisticated” (p. 91). Despite the stigmatization
that occurs, the Maltese language is a strong source of social and national identity and its resurgence is seen in literature, the civil services, and other professions among the working class and the elite (Camilleri, 1996).

In a 1993 survey, Vassallo broke down a sample group into socioeconomic status along with age and analyzed the use of English versus Maltese in the households. Overall, more people spoke Maltese in the home, an astounding 94.4%. However, if we break down the age difference, we can see that in the age group of 18-30, a reasonable drop in usage is evident. For this age group, 86.4% of respondents claim to use Maltese in the home. This is the future culture of Malta, the age bracket of 18-30, and they use Maltese much less than the older generations.

The research by Vassallo also reveals that socioeconomic status plays a large role in the use of English within the home. Vassallo broke down his research group into six sub-socioeconomic classes. The statistics show that the top three classes based on income speak English to their children more frequently than those of the lower three economic classes, with those people working in managerial and administrative positions speaking more English to their children than any other class. The higher classes are not at the top of the socioeconomic ladder; they are second in line.

With the data presented, it would be safe to posit the following: the construction of identity in Malta is ongoing. The younger generations are more focused on using English as a means of communication; however, a gradual change is present, thus indicating Malta’s correspondence with stage three: nativization.

Sociolinguistic Effects of English on Malta
Britain’s entry is the primary foundation point for English as a native language of the settler strand because, unlike other examples of linguistic imperialism, Malta requested assistance from Britain to usurp the French (Mazzon, p. 173). As a result, the attitude towards the English language may have been more accepting than in traditional colonization scenarios. However, the STL strand eventually violated the Treaty of Amiens, which called for their evacuation of the island, so after time, the attitude towards the British language from a variety of Maltese speech communities changed from one of tolerance to one of resistance. To best understand the attitudes towards English in Malta, three key areas will suffice for data collection: language in education, media and home.

**Education**

By the beginning of the 20th century, the STL strand viewed Italian (ADS), the language of the elite at the latter portion of the foundation phase (phase 1), as the language of Mussolini’s Fascist regime. The goal for the English became the eradication of Italian due to the political climate between English and Italy. This desire, of course, failed to consider the historical cultural relationship between Italy and Malta before the arrival of the English. The STL strand proffered assistance through education, offering what the people of Malta would hopefully view as a protection of Maltese. Alongside this education, however, was the teaching of English. The foundation of English, in tandem, can be assigned to Lakoff’s (date, p.) model of clarity/camaraderie vs. deference/distance. The request, so to speak, for English integration (deference) was accepted based on the parallel request for the protection of Maltese (camaraderie). Placed as such, the attitude towards both languages takes on the form of cultural preservation and partnership rather than suspicious English language colonization.
In the domain of education, Gabriella Mazzon’s study (1993) points to English as the language of the educated, "preferred in writing or when talking to superiors, but also that Maltese is no longer the ‘kitchen language’ it was once held to be, and that it is gaining ground in all domains" (p. 177). The STL strand implements final exams that are direct copies of British General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E) examinations. Therefore, the IDG strand is forced to use lesson plans that aim towards successful completion of English examinations. Private schools in Malta offer considerably more use of English than public schools, which means that English is used everywhere in and out of the classroom. Public schools, on the other hand, find teachers who "would rather write a letter or report in English (about 65%) but they would use Maltese in oral interaction, particularly when the interlocutor is a subordinate (53.9%) (p. 177-178).

The English language is stabilizing at the level of education in terms of nativization in Schneider’s model; however, it would be difficult to put sociolinguistic effects of English on Malta at the endonormative phase (phase 4) at this point. English is the prestige language, but Maltese is becoming more prestigious. "Moreover, in Malta, no local norm has developed (although a local variety has), and native speakers are still the reference group, which is typical of EFL, not ESL, situations" (Mazzon, 1993, p185). Schneider notes that at the stage of nativization, the STL and IDG strands are both critical of English deviation. At this point, no criticism of deviation can be assessed beyond the necessary requirements for learning the G.C.S.E. examination-level English. One might criticize the situation where English is used. For example, it is more likely that deviation may occur when the IDG strand speaks English with someone from the wrong class, or
they may avoid speaking English all together, which is typically a trait of people in the southern half of Malta rather than the Northern half. Such a divide makes it difficult to place Malta in Schneider’s model. Although it is safe to say that a stabilizing process has occurred, where the language divide seen through the two political parties (The Nationalist Party and the Malta Labour Party) made English usage a statement of class consciousness, it is difficult to find people avoiding the STL strand. Thus, the nativization process seems to be the current phase for Malta.

**Media**

There is a wealth of printed imported materials that make their way to Malta, as in any modern country. An English newspaper is available every day and advertising is almost all in English, regardless of the language used in the newspaper. This is consistent with other countries where English has become synonymous with consuming and purchasing, and ad designers create ads that appeal to readers’ acceptance of this fact. Even in something as basic as the decision of which newspaper to buy, we see evidence that English is used as to convey a message, as described in Mazzon’s article: “the rest are often bought by people who use them as a status-symbol.”

Magazines and books are no different; a plethora of titles, most of the magazines targeted at women, are in English; the most popular English books are those of imported fiction paperbacks (Mazzon, 1993, p.180). Television programs are always available in English, although it seems that there is a larger portion of programs shown in Italian and Maltese, compared to English. This could be because television watchers are a more complex and variable group compared to newspaper and magazine readers.
**Home**

Camilleri (1992) describes four types of families in Malta: first, those who start out with a dialect of Maltese, progress to standard Maltese, and then acquire English formally through school; second, families who start with standard Maltese and then also acquire English through formal education; third, families who begin with both standard Maltese and English, and fourth, families who start out with English and acquire Maltese though education and socialization. This latter group may be what Schneider would characterize as settlers.

Although speakers tend to constantly mix the two languages, Camilleri points out that they do not feel the need to establish a Maltese variety of English. The British standard, she says, is taken for granted. It seems that there are many dialects of Maltese, but only one of English.

Sciriha and Vassallo claim that 94% of people speak Maltese in the home. Only 1% stated that they communicate in English. According to Sciriha and Vassallo too, higher social classes and younger age groups tend to speak more English with their children than the lower classes and older age groups (p. 190). Overall, English is more of a written language than an oral one (Camilleri, 1996, p. 8). English is seriously valued, but few people would want to cut themselves off from their Maltese heritage and use only English (Camilleri, p.102).

According to Schneider, in stage three of the acquisition of English, contacts between the two languages occur on a regular and daily basis, and there is widespread second-language use. These two characteristics are definitely present in homes in Malta. As for whether STL strand speakers are adopting IDG strand features, or whether IDG
strand speakers show a marked local accent, also characteristics of stage three, limited linguistic effects are noted in the next section. If British English is considered the standard, one can presume that there is a complaint tradition, in which poor English would be corrected. Whether or not such a tradition exists, phase three nativization is still a more likely conclusion for Malta, as the STL and IDG strand co-exist and vary so much in terms of prestige in education, media and the home. Mazzon uses the term “Maltese-English” throughout her article, and points out that many -- but not all -- residents of Malta recognize it as an independent variety of English. Kmetova and Sciriha (1992:47) refer to the use of this term in a 1976 paper by G. Broughton, who also considered Maltese-English to be a variety of English. According to Schneider (2007: p. 50), such terminology is symptomatic of Phase 4. An approach to using the Dynamic Model must avoid strict categorization within phases, as Malta reflects an obvious central phase with movement into the subsequent phase.

Linguistic Effects

While the sociopolitical and identity construction views of present-day Malta argue for placing the country at least in Phase 3 of Schneider’s model, the sociolinguistic view is a bit fuzzier based on the variety seen in the STL, IDG and ADS strands. Since the linguistic structural effects presumably follow mono-directionally from the sociolinguistic aspect, according to Schneider (2007: p.30-31), we cannot rely on them alone to place Malta clearly in one phase or another. The research done in 1987 and 1988 by Gabriella Mazzon for her doctoral dissertation, and which was summarized in a 1993 article in the journal English World-Wide, indicates several effects of Maltese on both spoken and written Maltese-English[1]:

Phonological

In Malta, Mazzon (1993: p. 195, p. 204) notes phonetic substitutions in English usage. She attributes these substitutions to interference from Maltese, a Semitic language similar to colloquial Arabic. These primarily involve moving central vowels forward or backward (e.g., [a] replacing /æ/); replacement of certain fricatives with stops ([t] and [d] replacing /θ/ and /ð/); and the absence of vowel reduction ([e] or [i] replacing /ə/). In Maltese, /h/ is spoken pharyngeally, and /r/ is a flap, which further contributes to a Maltese “accent” when speaking English. Mazzon also notes that the syllable-timed nature of Maltese prosody affects Maltese-English stress and intonation patterns.

Morphological

Several effects were noted (p. 196-197):

- Underuse of the indefinite article in English, and deviations in the use of the definite article: “the English” (when speaking of the language, not the people).
- Overuse of the periphrastic possessive: “Have you got the latest record of Elton John?”
- Pronoun copying, probably motivated by the use of resumptive pronouns in Maltese: “These people they don’t understand.”
- Omission of subject and object pronouns, especially dummy it: “Have you got X? No, I haven’t got ___."
- Double comparatives: “I find it more easier.”
- Deletion or addition of prepositions, and uses of certain prepositions that would be considered ungrammatical by a native speaker of English: “Depends __ nationality...”; “He passed from the exam.”; “…words which resemble with English.”
• Inconsistency in third person marking of verbs: “Maltese people who *tries* to show off.”

• Use of the -ing form with stative verbs: “Are you understanding my point?”

As Mazzon points out (p. 196), a number of these morphological changes -- the last one for example -- are common to world Englishes.

**Syntactic**

• Frequent use of topicalization: “Maltese English, I do not use a lot.”

• Formation of interrogatives without *do*-inversion: “How came he, then?”

• Asymmetric or uncertain use of correlative structures: “This... will enable *not only*... *but will also* ensure...”; “I like this painting; I prefer the other one, *but*.”

**Lexical**

Semantic shift, extension, and new collocations:

• “The scope of the Touring club is [to promote...] (with the meaning of “scope” closer to *aim* or *goal* rather than *compass* or *range.*)

• “She pretended I would give her my seat.” (with “pretend” actually meaning *demand.*)

• “A characteristic... *for long years* was that...”

The first two examples above reflect the influence of Italian loanwords on the Maltese language; the third is an example of a calque directly from Maltese. Stoltz (2005: p. 135) points out that the etymologist Giuseppe Brincat estimates (2000) that more than 52% of modern Maltese vocabulary is of Italian origin. Although the English contribution is significantly less, Agius (1998, p. 45) notes that among the younger generation, Maltese technical terms of Arabic origin are gradually giving way to English usage.
One of the factors complicating the identification of Maltese-English as a “nativized” variety of English is the ambivalence of the Maltese population toward its use, and the fact that among many segments of the population it is mixed with Maltese in everyday speech. Mazzon discovered, in fact, that some of her informants defined “Maltese-English” as the code-mixed variety, rather than the Maltese-English spoken without any Maltese mixing (Mazzon, 1993: p. 192).

Mazzon labels this switching and mixing “Mixed Maltese-English”, although the examples she offers (p. 200-201) indicates that the insertion of English into Maltese -- which can occur at loanword, phrase, clause or sentence levels -- is more common than the insertion of Maltese words and phrases into Maltese-English.

Besides this inability to point to one clearly distinct “variety” of Maltese-English, there are other issues unique to the Malta experience that challenge a comfortable fit with Schneider’s PCE model:

- Geographic differences in the use of English in Malta, in spite of the small land area and what would otherwise be considered a small and relatively homogenous population. (Mazzon 1993: p. 176, p. 186)
- The legacy of the Italian language, the availability of Italian media (primarily television), and the increasing adoption of Italian words and phrases by Maltese youth (p. 181, p. 184).
- The tourism industry, which markets Malta to Europeans as a place to learn English -- presumably as an EFL, with “native-like” proficiency as the target (Davidson 1996: p. 22-23).
These and other factors pose questions as to the applicability of Schneider’s model to every post-colonial situation. Certainly, more research is needed to answer more specific questions pertaining to Malta. As a corollary, can it be determined by more intense historical research that Malta has cycled through the Dynamic Model with each colonizer in its past, from the Phoenician, Carthaginian, and Arab through Norman, Knight Hospitaliers, and finally British occupation? At this point, the new English in Malta is in phase three, nativization, and possibly moving into phase four, endonormative stabilization. Yet it is interesting to think of whether or not Malta has been through these phases before, and Maltese-English peculiarity in terms of Schneider’s model may stem from their consistent adaptability over time.
References


