

**“Language use, language choice and language attitudes among
young Mauritian adolescents in secondary education”.**

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Abstract

The present study reports on a research project conducted in Mauritius in 1992/93. The project was designed to investigate patterns of language use, language choice and language attitudes of a subsection of the Mauritian population: adolescents in full-time education.

Mauritius has been a French and British colony and therefore, both English and French are used in formal and official contexts. Furthermore, a French Creole is the lingua franca of the island and several Indian and Chinese languages, often called Oriental languages, are also spoken.

The research was carried out in the field, and data was collected by means of a questionnaire and interview from a representative sample of the secondary school population.

The basic questions raised in this study are the following:

- (i) Which language(s) is/are used in a given context, Creole, English, French, Indian or Chinese?
- (ii) What are the linguistic choices of this particular section of the population?
- (iii) What kind of attitudes do informants have towards Creole in education?
- (iv) What is the influence of social factors on the language use, language choice and language attitudes of the informants?

The findings of this investigation are compared to the results of the 1990 census on language use. They reveal that although the present sample cannot be considered as representative of the whole Mauritian population, it is representative of the adolescent population in education. The responses indicate

that Creole is the first language of the home, but that French and English, to a lesser extent, are also spoken. The majority of the sample seems to be against the idea of studying Creole in school, and yet, accept Creole as the national language of Mauritius. Despite the efforts of successive governments to promote Indian and Chinese languages as “ancestral languages”, their use is generally declining, and the majority of informants see little or no use for them in practical terms.

The statements made by informants interviewed appear to suggest that there are no conflicting attitudes relating to languages. There is a widespread feeling that Creole should not be used as the language of instruction, but should remain the national language for informal communication. English and French are more useful than Creole and Oriental languages, since they allow success in education and upward social mobility. Oriental languages are not important in daily life, but they represent cultural values, as such they are primarily used in religious practices and learnt as third languages in schools.

To my parents

Bhagwantee and Kishore Bissoonauth

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Foreword

The present study has its origins in a research project carried out by the author in secondary schools in Mauritius in 1992. The aim of this first project was to produce authentic resources to enhance the French language teaching and learning experience, in the United Kingdom, from a non-European francophone country, where French is not necessarily the only norm. Mauritius was chosen because of the following reasons:

- (i) Its multi-ethnicity: as a result of its colonial history the Mauritian population is multi-ethnic, composed of Indian, Chinese, African and European descendants.
- (ii) Its linguistic diversity: English and French are taught in schools, but a variety of Asian languages, also called Oriental languages, are optional in primary and secondary education. In addition to English and French, all Mauritian adolescents speak a French-based Creole, which is not taught in schools.
- (iii) Its importance as a francophone country: Mauritius staged the “cinquième conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement des pays ayant le français en partage” in October 1993. Some of the schools which were visited were involved in the preparation of cultural and literary activities for the summit.

The first research project focused on two themes chosen within the framework of the British National Curriculum (BNC). Those were: Migration and Cultural Diversity. The specific areas of study which were investigated were those of daily life, travel, leisure, personal experience, views and beliefs as they relate to young teenagers (11 to 16 year olds) in Mauritius, with a view to comparing them with similar issues in the United Kingdom.

Official permission was obtained from the Ministry of Education in Mauritius to visit some secondary schools. Nine schools were visited in total, during school time, and data was collected in the field by means of a questionnaire, interviews, observation notes and case studies.

Finally, the data thus gathered was assembled into a teaching pack with activities and tasks, to supplement existing textbooks and teaching resources in French, for pupils studying for GCSE, in secondary schools in the United Kingdom.

This first project was of vital importance, since it also provided the author with the opportunity to carry out a pilot investigation for the present study, as well as making personal contacts with schools and the Ministry of Education, which were crucial in the development of the present study, as will be explained more in detail in chapter four.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1) The choice of Mauritius and the development of the present project

There was a personal element involved in designing the second project. Being born and educated in Mauritius (primary and secondary education), and therefore a Creole speaker, the author has first-hand experience of the country, its social and cultural environment. Her own academic background and interests in linguistics enabled her to set up this project from a sociolinguistic perspective with a desire to make a contribution to the field of sociolinguistics, focussing on the use of languages in a multicultural, multi ethnic and Creole-speaking community.

It was decided to concentrate on the student population of the island for three reasons. First, it appeared from a bibliographical search that few sociolinguistic studies had been undertaken in Mauritius, specifically on younger generations. Second, young generations represent the future of the country and they are going to be influential, by reason of their education, social and economic aspirations in shaping the sociolinguistic development of the island. Third, the first project (see foreword) had made it possible to establish and maintain useful contacts with schools already visited.

The information gathered during the pilot investigation, together with the author's own background and first-hand experience of the country, gave rise to a number of initial assumptions about the adolescents and factors which influence their language use, language choice and language attitude:

- (i) Creole is the lingua franca of the island but has a low status.
- (ii) In the educational field, English and French are both taught as foreign languages and they are highly valued. The medium of instruction is officially English but teachers often resort to French, and sometimes to Creole, during lessons.
- (iii) Indian and Chinese languages described as Oriental languages are optional in addition to English and French in schools, but Indo and Sino-Mauritians do not study and speak them as much as their elders.
- (iv) Students who participated in the Francophonie project appeared to believe that in order to secure a well-paid job in Mauritius, knowledge of European languages is more useful than that of Oriental languages.
- (v) The first project carried out in Oct 1992 showed that, although pupils would like to study abroad, the majority preferred to live and work in Mauritius, for economic and social reasons. Another related reason was the individual enhancement provided by growing up in a less stressful, multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural environment.
- (vi) The French language appears to have a preferential status in the mass media, since it has the highest percentage of broadcast time (Sharma and Rao 1989: 48), and is most frequently used in newspapers and local publications (Stein 1982: 114, Cornic 1993: 88-89). Many Mauritian television viewers from all ethnic backgrounds watch French programmes broadcast by La Réunion, a French “département d’Outremer”. Furthermore, since the beginning of the 90s, it has been possible for Mauritians to receive French news live from the francophone satellite TV5 every morning.

1.2) Hypotheses of the present study

Based on the assumptions above, a few hypotheses for investigation were made:

- (i) It is expected that the ability in English, French and Oriental languages learnt through education will be higher in this section of the population than in the overall Mauritian population, as revealed in the national census results (see 2.10.2).
- (ii) It has been shown that the usage of Oriental languages is generally declining among the younger generations (see 4.4.4 & 4.4.6). It is likely to emerge that Oriental languages are not a popular option in secondary schools and that their usage is dropping in the home.
- (iii) It was predicted that certain communicative contexts would give rise to more French, others to more English or Creole, yet others to more Oriental languages.
- (iv) It is known from several studies (see 4.4.3, 4.4.5 & 4.4.6) that Creole is not viewed as a favourable option in the educational system by the Mauritians. It is nevertheless, accepted as the language known and spoken by all Mauritians. It is hoped to investigate to what extent Creole be acceptable in education by secondary school pupils, and also, suggest whether a national identity based on speaking the Creole language is worth pursuing.
- (v) It is said that linguistic behaviour is “influenced by the nature of the audience, topic and setting” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181). It is expected that the language behaviour of the pupils investigated here will be influenced by educational norms and values.

Time was a practical constraint: since Mauritius is remote and expensive to reach, the instruments used to collect the linguistic data had to be efficient and reliable. Once it was decided to use a questionnaire and interviews to collect the data, the hypotheses above were taken into account when drafting the final questionnaire. The choice of methodology and research instruments are explained in detail in chapter four.

The second visit took place in March/April 1993 and lasted approximately two-and-a-half months. The objective was to visit as many secondary educational establishments as possible catering for pupils from all ethnic, linguistic and social groups.

1.3) Aims and objectives of the study

The main objectives of the study were as follows:-

- (i) To investigate the language use of secondary school pupils in a variety of everyday contexts.
- (ii) To compare the results of the present study to those of the national census for similar questions, in order to determine whether the present results can be considered as representative of the Mauritian population.
- (iii) To discover linguistic choices and preferences of Mauritian pupils, as well as their motivation to study and speak languages.
- (iv) Specifically to analyze language perceptions of young adolescents with particular emphasis on Creole.
- (v) To study the correlation between language use and social factors: for example, influence of sex, age, place of residence and socio-economic background of informants.

- (vi) To make some prognosis on the future development of languages in Mauritius from the results obtained in the present investigation.

With the responses obtained in the questionnaire and interviews, it was hoped to address the following sociolinguistic issues:

- (i) Accommodative behaviour in academic environment.
- (ii) Language maintenance and shift, especially the relative decline of Indian and Chinese languages and the increase of Creole, French and English speaking in young adolescents in education.
- (iii) Representation of identity in multilingual speakers through language and behaviour.

1.4) Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters. In chapter one, the origins and development of the present project are explained. In chapter two, a general introduction to Mauritius is given, thus providing the reader with the necessary background to the social context and the language situation under investigation.

In chapter three, a general definition of Creole languages is provided and the main theories put forward to explain their formation are reviewed with reference to Mauritian Creole. The focus then moves to Mauritian Creole, the controversy associated with its origins, and the sociolinguistic issues raised by the standardization of the Creole language in the Mauritian context.

Chapter four discusses methodology and reviews sociolinguistic studies carried out in a multilingual environment, their methodology and relevance of these studies to the present project. It goes on to justify and describe the methodology

adopted in the present study. An account of the fieldwork is also given with problems that were encountered.

The following five chapters constitute the major part of the thesis and, as such, contain the data analysis and interpretation of results. Chapter five defines the parameters for selection and determines whether the present sample can be considered as representative of the Mauritian population. The next three chapters investigate language ability, language use and language choice of the adolescents in secondary education. The responses of all informants are presented in tabular and graph forms, so as to represent visually the questionnaire results. Chapter 9 examines the language views and attitudes of Mauritian adolescents towards various languages, with special reference to Creole in the educational system. The responses obtained either confirm the hypotheses, or they do not. In some cases, however, the conclusion to be drawn was not always clear-cut and possible explanations are suggested.

The penultimate chapter discusses the sociolinguistic issues raised by the results and relates them to similar situations described in the literature. It also puts forward a model of identity and attempts to make a prognosis on the future development of languages in Mauritius on the basis of the investigation.

In the last chapter the results are summarized and discussed in a wider context, hoping to encourage other projects based in other multi-ethnic, multicultural and post-colonial societies.

Chapter 2: Mauritius

In this chapter some of the essential facts about Mauritius will be outlined covering its social history, its people, the language situation and its educational system. This will provide the reader with the necessary background to the sociolinguistic situation in Mauritius and the relevance of socio-economic and educational factors to the linguistic situation.

2.1) Discovery and early occupation of Mauritius

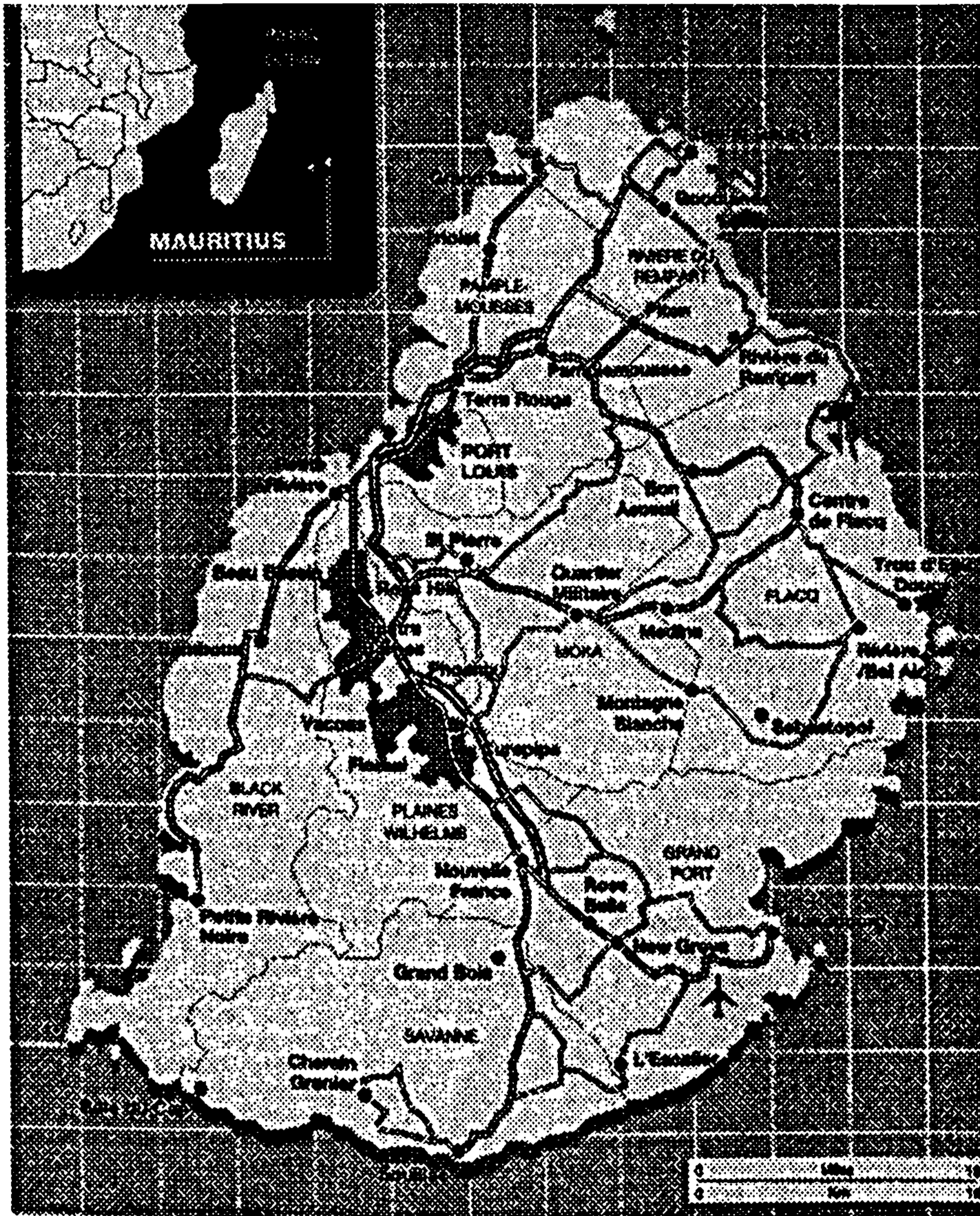
Situated in the Indian Ocean, about 500 miles off the east coast of Madagascar, is the island of Mauritius. This independent state of approximately 720 square miles has a population of over one million inhabitants and is a member of the Commonwealth as well as the “Conseil permanent de la Francophonie” since 1991 (Actes du Sommet de Maurice 1993: 47).

Port-Louis, the capital and harbour, is also the chief commercial centre. The main industries on the island include sugar, textile and tourism. Probably the most striking feature for someone visiting Mauritius for the first time is not so much the high density of the population, but the diversity of languages and ethnic groups living in a relatively small island.

Mauritius was discovered long before it was colonized. It is thought to have been visited by Arab sailors in the fifteenth century, since Arabic maps of this period show it with the Arabic name Dina Arobi (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1972:

1130). The first European to discover the island in the sixteenth century is believed to be a Portuguese explorer, Domingo Fernandez, since the island appears under the Portuguese name of Cerné (ibid). The Portuguese made no settlement on the island.

There was no indigenous population before the Dutch took possession in 1638. They called it "Mauritius" after Maurice of Nassau, prince of Holland. The Dutch occupation saw the beginnings of sugar-cane cultivation, large-scale exploitation of the ebony forests and extinction of the Mauritian indigenous bird, the Dodo. In 1710 they left the island, preferring the cape of Good Hope for economic reasons, but also because of bad weather conditions, lack of slave labour and pirate attacks in the Indian Ocean (Chan Low 1993: 18).



2.2) French colonization (1721-1810)

In 1721 the French East India Company took over the island and renamed it Isle de France. The French settlers, who mainly originated from Brittany, Berry, Burgundy, Normandy and some other French provinces, developed the sugar industry by using slave labour from East Africa, Madagascar, Mozambique, and to a lesser extent, India (Baker 1969: 73). It is believed that at the end of the 1730s Mauritius was already a multi-ethnic colony, with slaves from different tribes and

nationalities, unable to communicate amongst themselves and with their plantation masters (Baker 1982: chapter.4). It would appear that Mauritian Creole was born in the eighteenth century, arising from contact between the French settlers and the slave population. The question of the origins of Mauritian Creole is discussed in detail in chapter three.

The administration of the colony was not perceived in the same manner by the French government and the governors on the ground. Although the colony flourished under the governorship of Mahé de Labourdonnais' (French governor 1735 - 1767), his ideas and ambitions to develop the colony were only partially shared by the directors of the East India Company, who called him back to Paris in 1767, following a disagreement (Chan Low 1993: 18-21).

The period which followed Labourdonnais' departure (1767-1810) saw relative prosperity in various sectors: the judiciary system was set up, population grewed, agriculture and commerce flourished, along with intellectual and cultural life. Nevertheless, there was still discrepancy between the decisions taken in Paris and what was recommended, and needed in the colony at that time. Chan Low (1993) has summarized the colonial policy of France in these terms: "la France n'avait pas les moyens de ses ambitions dans l'Océan Indien. Ainsi, elle ne soutint pas pleinement les administrateurs locaux, et, ensuite, les solutions proposées aux problèmes insulaires n'étaient trop souvent qu'une transposition d'un modèle tenté aux Antilles et qui souvent ne cadrerait pas avec les réalités sociales. Ainsi, les administrateurs ne purent concevoir de grands projets du fait d'un traitement indigne de leur statut, ils étaient tentés par la malversation et le despotisme, tares que leur reprochaient leurs contemporains" (Chan Low 1993: 21). These obstacles, which could not be overcome, may well have been responsible for the decline of French influence in the Indian Ocean in the nineteenth century.

2.3) British occupation (1810-1968)

During the long Napoleonic wars between France and England, the French in Mauritius were a constant source of danger to English Indiamen and other merchant vessels. The British government, determined to put an end to French control in the Indian Ocean, captured the islands of La Réunion, Rodrigues and Mauritius in 1810. La Réunion was returned to France but Mauritius, Rodrigues and Seychelles were ceded to Great Britain (Stein 1982: 79). The British renamed the island "Mauritius", reverting to its Dutch name.

The Act of Capitulation signed between the French and the British in Mauritius, in 1810, guaranteed "*que les habitants conservent leurs Religion, Loix, et Coutumes*" (Benedict 1961: 16). Thus, the Roman Catholic church, the French system of civil law, French language and culture, already well established on the island, were given official recognition and acceptance, and indeed have remained the dominant cultural features of present-day Mauritius. The business of the government was, however, to be conducted in English (Baker 1972: 8).

Slavery was suppressed in the British colonies of the West Indies, South Africa and Mauritius after 1833. After the abolition of slavery in Mauritius, the freed slaves migrated towards the coast and settled in the coastal villages, where they started small businesses and fishing. The abolition of slavery was a source of economic loss, as there remained no free labour to work on the sugar cane plantations. To replace the slaves, the British government recruited a considerable number of labourers from India to work on the sugar cane fields.

The Indian labourers who reached Mauritius were mainly from the northern states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, districts surrounding Calcutta and a smaller number came from southern India (Baker 1972: 8). Although living and working conditions

for the Indian labourers and other workers were very harsh, Indian immigrants continued to arrive on the island until the beginning of the twentieth century. They were either of Hindu or Muslim faith and came with families and friends from different parts of the Indian subcontinent, bringing their customs, languages and traditions, which were highly diverse. The Indian languages to reach Mauritius were Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Gujrati and Bhojpuri, a North-Indian dialect. It appears that other Indian dialects such as Bengali, Kokni, Kutchi, Punjabi and Sindhi may also have reached Mauritius at the same time, but they seem to have died out since they are not mentioned in the language censuses and in Stein's sociolinguistic survey of Mauritius (Stein 1982: 84-85). The continuous flow of Indian immigration until the beginning of the twentieth century transformed the demographic profile of the colony, making the Indians the major ethnic group in Mauritius.

It should also be mentioned that there was a relatively small number of Chinese immigrants from Hong-Kong and mainland China in the nineteenth century. Although they seem to have arrived earlier, it was not until the 1861 census that they were recognized as forming part of the Mauritian population (Stein 1982: 94). The Chinese immigrants who reached Mauritius at that time spoke mainly Hakka, a Chinese dialect, but a few also spoke Cantonese and Mandarin. Immigrants from China continued to arrive in Mauritius, but on a smaller scale, until the island's independence in 1968.

2.4) Present population, its main occupations and place of residence

According to the 1990 census, the total population of the island of Mauritius was of 1,022 456 inhabitants. Of those 69% were described as Indo-Mauritian, 2%

as Sino-Mauritian and 29% as General Population. The term General Population includes the Creole community (the term “Creole” in Mauritius refers both to the Creole language and to Mauritians of African and mixed descent-in particular those of partial European or African origins) and the Franco-Mauritian community (descendants of the original French settlers). The classification of the population according to sociocultural and ethnic criteria was laid down in the Mauritian constitution in these terms: “...the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community and a Sino-Mauritian community, and every person who does not appear from his way of life, to belong to one or other of these three communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population which shall itself be regarded as a fourth community” (Stein 1982: 97). The main religions followed by these ethnolinguistic groups is described in further detail in section 2.6.

Table 1 Main socio cultural groups in Mauritius

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Indo-Mauritian | 69% |
| General Population | 29% |
| Sino-Mauritian | 2% |

The distribution of occupations generally appears to follow the ethnic classification. A small number of Hindus are wealthy businessmen, professionals and politicians (Gulhati & Nallari 1990: 2). The majority are small planters, sugar estate and industrial workers. The Muslims are mostly traders in urban areas. The Creoles are mainly skilled artisans, dockers and fishermen. The Sino-Mauritians play a key role in commerce and industry. The Franco-Mauritians own most of the sugar estates, big commercial firms and factories. Although some ethnic groups still dominate in certain sectors (Hindus in politics, and Franco-Mauritians in

economy), economic development and the advent of free education, since the 1980s, seem to have enabled Mauritians, from all ethnic backgrounds, to work in all sectors of employment.

Mauritius is divided into nine administrative districts, among which two are classified as urban (Plaines Wilhems and Port-Louis), and the remaining seven (Pamplemousses, Rivière du Rempart, Flacq, Grand-Port, Savanne, Black River and Moka) as rural. Almost 45% of the population is concentrated in Port-Louis and Plainses Wilhems as can be seen from table 2 below. The main activities in the rural areas are agriculture and fishing, whilst the urban areas support commercial, industrial and cultural activities (Moorghen and Domingue 1982: 56). An analysis of the population composition in the urban and rural areas shows that the population distribution has not changed a great deal since Moorghen and Domingue's study in 1982 (Moorghen and Domingue 1982: 55-57). Whilst the urban areas are relatively mixed, the rural districts have a higher proportion of Indo-Mauritians.

Table 2 Main religious groups in urban and rural districts

Source: 1990 Population Census of Mauritius Table D12

| Districts | Buddhist | Christian | Hindu | Muslim | Other |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|-------|
| Port-Louis | 1541 | 68,758 | 28,886 | 49,727 | 461 |
| Plaines Wilhems | 1319 | 128,524 | 139,784 | 50,439 | 1647 |
| Rural districts | 1298 | 202,209 | 366,266 | 113,796 | 1298 |

2.5) Industry and employment

Unemployment averaged 20 per cent in 1971 (Gulhati & Nallari 1990: 5), and was negligible in 1994 (Hawkins & Holman 1994). The economic recovery in Mauritius owes its success to a combination of various factors, among which the transformation of the sugar mono-economy to a “finely balanced three-legged stool- sugar, clothing, and tourism” (Holman 1992) can be cited.

The tourist industry is the third industry of Mauritius. It has capitalized on the exotic scenery, tropical climate and political stability to attract high-income visitors. In the brochures published by the Mauritius Government Tourist Office, Mauritius is described as an island paradise:

“Mauritius has all the exoticism of the most exotic resorts, but none of their scars. No highrise, no concrete jungles. No charter flights, no mass tourism. No social or environmental pollution. Only virgin beaches embraced by coral reefs, translucent sea lagoons, weird and wonderful landscapes, chic hotels, sophisticated cuisine, charming cosmopolitan people, civilised politics- like a paradise free from original sin. No wonder Mark Twain was moved to exclaim that God modelled heaven on Mauritius”.

The island has many attractions for tourists: excellent facilities for deep sea diving, big game fishing, waterskiing, windsurfing, riding and sailing. Tourism has become increasingly important. During 1983, the number of tourists who visited Mauritius was 124 000 and this number increased to 375 000 in 1993 (Hawkins & Holman 1994). Efforts are being done to encourage tourists to spend more money

in the country by increasing the number of duty free shopping centres.

Historically, the sugar industry has been important, but the textile industry, based in the Export Processing Zone (E.P.Z), was responsible for the economy's take off in the 1980s (Hawkins & Holman 1994). This created employment in the country and the E.P.Z could thus draw upon a cheap, but literate and multilingual work force to become one of the leading clothes exporters in the world (Holman 1992). Various goods such as clothes and textiles were made for export to Europe and the United States. Later on, the E.P.Z diversified its industry by adding electronics, watch assembling and manufacture. Other industries are the production of tea, tobacco and flowers. It should also be pointed out that there is no heavy industry. The retail trade caters for the needs of the local population (food, clothes, electrical goods, etc). In recent years several European chain-stores have moved into the island among which are Prisunic, Spar and Continent.

Although the economic forecasting may still sound healthy (low inflation, healthy balance of payment), Hawkins and Holman (1994) warn that the country may have to face new challenges in the near future. The changing environment in international trade has precipitated three kinds of competition. The first is represented by post-apartheid South Africa, which is offering cheaper air fares and a bigger variety of leisure activities than Mauritius. The other competitors are the "Asian tigers" such as Korea, Taiwan and Thailand, where labour costs are below Mauritian levels, and where people appear to be prepared to work harder and longer hours than Mauritians. The third challenge is that, in the long run, the off-shore facilities provided by the free port in Port-Louis, for processing and assembling of goods and material for export around the world, may not attract sufficient off-shore companies, which may prefer to invest in Europe or elsewhere.

It may be added at this point that the relative prosperous socioeconomic state

of the region should be kept in mind when analyzing the sociolinguistic problems (see chapter 3) associated with standardization of the Creole language and attitudes of informants towards languages (see chapter 9).

2.6.) Religion

The three main religions of the island are: Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Whilst the Indo-Mauritians are either Hindu or Muslim, the majority of the General Population and Sino-Mauritians are Roman Catholic, who generally lead a life modelled on a European cultural pattern. The Church of England has a small number of adherents in the Christian section of the population.

All the Hindu religious ceremonies are conducted in Indian languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil and Telegu, but the priests can also preach and explain the meaning of the sacred writings in Creole (Foley 1992: 362). Services in the Catholic churches are mainly conducted in French, but public announcements can be made in Creole. Services in other Christian churches are conducted either in French or in English. Islamic services are held in mosques where prayers and readings from the Koran are in Arabic. Here again, as in the previous cases, the priest will often address his audience in Creole.

2.7) Media

Mauritius had one television and one radio channel in the 1960s (Baker 1972: 25-26). The multilingual character of the island was reflected by providing programmes in a variety of languages and by giving specific time-slots to each language. In 1982, the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MaBC), which is state-owned (Sharma & Rao 1989: 82), claimed that one of its aims was "to provide

independent and impartial broadcasting services of information, education, culture and entertainment in Creole, Bhojpuri, French, Hindustani, English and such other languages spoken or taught in Mauritius as the Board may, with the approval of the Minister, determine” (quoted from Hookoomsing 1987: 35). Two additional television and radio channels were introduced. All channels are multilingual, but have specific times allotted to various languages. During religious festivities, more space is allocated to specific communities affected by those festivities. In addition to the three television channels, Mauritians can also subscribe to two pay channels on satellite (Canal+ and Skyvision).

The transmission time for various languages on television and radio programmes has changed considerably since independence. Although European language programmes still have the highest percentage of broadcast time, Oriental language programmes, on both radio and television, have progressively increased since independence. An example is the airtime allotted to various languages on television programmes. The percentage of airtime allocated to each language for a weekly programme in March 1970 are quoted from Baker (1972: 25-26), although the number of hours are not given. Those for January 1994 have been provided by the MaBC.

Table 3 Airtime allocated to each language on television

| Language | March 1970 (50 hours weekly) | January 1994 (97 hours weekly) |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| English | 51% | 23% (23 hours) |
| French | 41% | 51% (50 hours) |
| Indian languages | 6% | 25% (25 hours) |
| Other | 2% | Not specified |

As can be noted, the transmission time in 1994 was twice as much as in 1970. Indeed, the service provided by the MaBC, on a weekly basis, was approximately 50 hours in 1970 (Baker *ibid*), and 97 hours in 1994. Not all languages appear to have benefitted equally from this increase: French-language programmes have increased by 10%, whilst English-language programmes seem to have decreased by half. The number of Indian language programmes, on the other hand, has been multiplied by four. Although Creole is not mentioned as such, it is used on radio and television in specific circumstances, such as the broadcasting of important political information, programmes on health, cyclone communiqués, commercial advertising of consumer products and summarizing the main evening news (approximately 5 minutes).

Among the films broadcast on television on a weekly basis in 1994, four were in French, five in Oriental Languages and two in English. Television programmes for children and adolescents for one week were: six programmes in French and two in English. Although the choice of programmes is varied, most of the films and series in the English language are dubbed. This can be explained by the fact that these programmes are shown in Réunion first, before reaching Mauritius.

Table 4 Children's programmes on television

| January 1994 (24th -30th) | Films | Children's programmes |
|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| English | 2 | 2 |
| French | 6 | 6 |
| Oriental languages | 5 | 0 |

2.8) Literature

Literature in various languages (English, French, Indian and Chinese) does exist but some languages are more popular than others. The Hindi language is more popular in Indian literature. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute (a state secondary school) is officially supporting all kinds of writing in Indian languages (Chintamunnee & Ramdhony 1993: 73). Although there is a Mauritian Chinese literature, it is limited and is only written by older generations, as younger generations prefer to write in English or in French (Tsang Man Kin 1993: 79). As far as English is concerned, most of the literary work dates from the sixties (Gopaul 1993: 63). Literature in French appears to be the healthiest, with approximately a hundred writers, from all ethnic backgrounds, pointing to the fact that writing in the French language “n’est plus l’apanage d’une bourgeoisie de l’avoir et du savoir” (Fanchin 1993: 44). It should also be mentioned that the Mauritian national school curriculum (primary and secondary) includes Mauritian literature.

The case of Creole is different. Although it is used in specific circumstances in the mass media (see 2.7), its extension to other spheres of communication, such as literature and education for workers, has always been associated with left-wing political ideologies. Ramarai (1993) has warned that the future of Creole literature seems bleak because the writers lack “cet esprit critique qui leur aurait permis de séparer la politique de la littérature, de mieux intérioriser les techniques littéraires pour essayer de produire des oeuvres que les lecteurs mauriciens auraient pris plaisir à lire” (Ramarai 1993: 58). Since there is no official orthography for Creole, writers can either use one of the three private orthographic systems, or devise their own.

Mauritian writers have to bear the high financial cost of their publications. This

in turn, may have a harmful consequence on Mauritian literature in the future. As Ramarai (1993: 88) puts it “ils n’arrivent pas à publier leurs oeuvres, même à compte d’auteur. Le coût de production est hors de portée de ces auteurs”.

Theatre going is not as common as in Europe. Before independence it was reserved to an elite. After independence plays in Creole became political and were influenced mostly by left-wing ideologies. Since the mid-eighties, an annual Arts Festival is organized by the Minister of Arts and Culture. Plays are performed in ten different languages, but popular theatre is mainly in Creole (Favory & Fievez 1993: 119). Plays in Creole are often adaptations of famous English and French writers, such as Shakespeare and Molière. These are mostly watched by schoolchildren and teachers who study them in school. The mid-eighties also coincided with the economic boom (see 2.5) in Mauritius. This enabled Mauritians to purchase videoplayers, thus encouraging them to stay at home instead of going out.

2.9) Background to the educational system

This section will provide a brief overview of the structure of the Mauritian educational system, but the main emphasis is given to secondary education, as this thesis is concerned with secondary schools only. The information in this section is derived from the Master Plan for the year 2000 and educational statistics, both published by the Ministry of Education.

Immediately after independence in 1968, unemployment was high, school facilities were inadequate and teachers were not properly trained. During the seventies and early eighties, the main emphasis was on improving the physical infrastructure, and heavy investment was made by the government to improve facilities. The demand for more education led to strong pressure for more secondary education and 50% of the present stock of school buildings was

constructed over that period, most of which were private institutions.

In the 1970s, the higher education sector also developed and the University of Mauritius as well as the Mauritius Institute of Education (M.I.E) were established. The M.I.E is particularly involved in teacher training and the national curriculum for primary and secondary education. The most decisive steps taken by the Ministry of Education were the extension of free education to secondary level in 1977, and the abolition of fees at the University of Mauritius in 1988.

2.9.1) Primary education

Approximately 80% of children aged between 3 and 5 years attended pre-primary schools in 1992, mainly in the private sector, but with government assistance.

There were 272 primary schools in Mauritius in 1992, out of which 80% were run by the state. The remaining were either state-aided (17%) or private schools (2%). The total number of pupils enrolled in primary schools was 123,931 in 1992. Three quarters of the enrolled students were in state schools, and nearly 70% of these pupils were learning at least one of the following seven Asian languages: Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Arabic and Mandarin.

Primary education lasts for six years (Standard I to Standard VI), promotion from year to year is automatic, but standard VI may be repeated. The Standard VI examination (Certificate of Primary Education or C.P.E) is a national and highly competitive examination. It selects those students who will proceed to secondary school, and among these, the best-ranked candidates are admitted to schools for which there is greatest demand. There are approximately 400 scholarships for the top 200 girls and 200 boys in the C.P.E examination results. These pupils are given

first choice among the state or confessional schools, plus free travelling expenses and a grant. There are four disciplines compulsory for the C.P.E examinations: Maths, English, French and Environmental Studies (EVS), which combines the history and geography of the island. An Oriental language may be taken as an option, but the results are not taken into account in the grading of the C.P.E results.

Table 5 Primary Schools

| Type of Schools | Total number (272) |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| State | 80% |
| State-Aided | 17% |
| Private | 2% |

2.9.2) Secondary education

Most secondary schools in Mauritius are non-governmental. Fewer than 20% of the secondary schools are state schools; a further ten per cent are confessional (Catholic, Hindu or Muslim); the remaining 70% are private. About 80% of secondary school pupils attend private schools. In 1992 the number of secondary schools was 120 and the total secondary school population was 81707.

There are three types of secondary schools in Mauritius (state, confessional and private). The state schools include the “traditional” state schools as well as the “new” state schools, introduced in the 1970s, also called State Secondary Schools. All the state schools come under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, but the “traditional” state schools generally have better infrastructural and educational facilities, and only candidates with the highest ranking (among the top 200 listed candidates in the C.P.E) are accepted. The state secondary schools, generally,

accept pupils with a lower ranking in the C.P.E.

The second and third types of colleges come under the control of a semi-governmental body, the Private Secondary Schools Authority (P.S.S.A), which has an inspectorate section to advise on academic and teaching methods.

Confessional colleges are run by religious orders. The majority of confessional colleges in Mauritius are Catholic and they are run jointly by the Church and the P.S.S.A. Although the education of pupils is funded by the state, confessional colleges have an "arrangement" with the Ministry of Education to admit a certain percentage of Catholic pupils, who are either admitted directly from the C.P.E listed candidates or from Catholic Primary feeder schools. The academic performance of these colleges is comparable to those of the traditional state secondary schools because they provide good teaching resources and facilities.

The third type of colleges are privately owned, and are therefore run on a profit-making basis. The managers of these schools are responsible for providing all educational facilities in their establishment, and in return they are inspected by the P.S.S.A, and given grants according to the quality of facilities provided to pupils. The pupils in these colleges have a lower ranking in the C.P.E than in the previous two cases and are of a very mixed ability.

Table 6 Secondary Schools

| Secondary schools | Total number (120) |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| State | 20% |
| Private Confessional | 10% |
| Private | 70% |

The secondary educational system is based on the British system of education. There are five years of secondary schooling (Form I to Form V) leading to the School Certificate (S.C) and a further two years to the Higher School Certificate (H.S.C or A levels). Repeating a year is possible at any stage, but students are not, normally, retained in secondary schools beyond the age of twenty. The first five years of secondary schooling are divided into two stages: pupils in Forms I to III follow a more or less general common curriculum (average of 12 subjects) devised by the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE); Forms IV and V prepare students for the S.C, and cover both core subjects and a wide range of options (these options were taken into account in the questionnaire of the present study and they have been listed in question 12). Form VI (Lower and Upper Six) prepares those who have successfully obtained their S.C for the H.S.C or A level. In this case, students prepare three main and two subsidiary subjects; a pass in General Paper (i.e. English) is compulsory. The School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate examinations are prepared and marked by the Cambridge Overseas Examining Board in Great Britain. There are approximately 25 English and French scholarships for the students who score the highest marks in the H.S.C examinations. The winners of these scholarships are offered a university course either in Great Britain or in France, in a subject of their choice. Their tuition fees and living allowances are paid for four years. Other scholarships are also awarded to Mauritian students by the governments of India, Russia, Australia and Canada.

The “Francophonie” project (see foreword) highlighted the major part played by private tuition in the lives of adolescents in forms IV, V and VI. The majority of adolescents who were interviewed at these stages of secondary education mentioned that they were taking private tuition either on a weekly basis or twice a week after school hours and/or at weekends. The importance given to private tuition was again confirmed during the interviews both by the informants and their

teachers (see chapter 9), thus showing how highly education is valued in Mauritian society and how it is believed to hold the key to good academic results, and therefore, securing better jobs.

2.9.3) Languages in the educational system

The medium of instruction in school was recommended in the Education Ordinance of 1957 in the following manner:

“In the lower classes of Government and aided primary schools up to and including Standard III, any one language may be employed as the medium of instruction, being a language which in the opinion of the Minister is most suitable for the pupils.

In Standards IV, V and VI of the Government and aided primary schools the medium of instruction shall be English, and conversations between teacher and pupils shall be carried on in English; provided that lessons in any other language taught in the school shall be carried on through the medium of that language” (quoted from Stein 1982: 119).

In practice, however, this is not the case. Both English and French are taught from the first year in primary school, but as Moorghen and Domingue (1982: 57) observed, French is the language most heard in the classroom, and Creole in the school yards. The accounts of Baggioni, a French linguist, in the late eighties, as quoted in Lionnet (1993), may explain how this apparent paradoxical situation of languages between theory and practice, in the educational system, is reconciled in the Mauritian attitude: “Face à mon étonnement d'étranger que surprend la situation (une école en principe anglophone qui fonctionne en fait en français, un

pays où tous les actes officiels sont rédigés en anglais mais où l'expression publique passe par le français), mes interlocuteurs répondent souvent par un sourire et, non sans une certaine fierté, justifient cette situation. "Si nous ne parlions que le français nous serions une petite France, si nous ne parlions que l'anglais, nous serions une petite Angleterre, tandis que ce mélange, c'est justement ça Maurice" (Lionnet 1993: 105).

Since the eighties the multilingual character of Mauritian society has been recognized and promoted by the government through the emphasis given to the "ancestral languages" (Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Gujrati, Mandarin) in education. Thus, Hindi and Urdu classes are taught in the primary schools situated in areas where sufficient interest is shown. Mauritians of Muslim faith choose to study Urdu in schools. Unlike Urdu, Hindi attracts almost exclusively Bhojpuri speakers, and speakers of other Oriental languages find their own literary tradition by studying Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Gujrati and Mandarin at school or privately. The importance of multilingualism and the value of Oriental languages is also highlighted in the master plan for education elaborated by the Ministry of Education in 1991 for the year 2000. The teaching of Oriental languages is viewed as a means to preserve the ancestral languages and "to encourage an awareness of the child's cultural roots and an appreciation of those of other communities" (The Master Plan, 1991:35).

2.10) Present language situation

Although under British occupation English was the official language (see 2.3), various other linguistic and cultural loyalties remained strong, and French continued to be an influential language. This state of affairs has not changed a

great deal and an analysis of the role, status and function of the various languages will demonstrate the complexity of the linguistic situation in Mauritius. The languages mentioned below are presented in alphabetical order for practical reasons and the information in the following paragraphs is mainly derived from Moorghen & Domingue (1982: 51-66), Stein (1982 chapter 2) and Foley (1992: 359-372).

2.10.1) Role and status of the various languages

Creole is the lingua franca of the island, but does not have official status. As such it constitutes the main link between the different communities in the island. Although Creole is used (informally) in education, government administration and the media, French generally overtakes Creole in formal social interactions. The relationship between Creole and French is one of diglossia (a situation where two languages coexist but which have different, often complementary functions), where Creole has a lower status than French.

English is the official language of the island and has high status. As such, it is taught as the first language in school and is used in state institutions, but in practice, it is much more a written than a spoken language. In the legislative assembly only English and French are spoken. In the courts of justice English is the main language, but French and Creole are also allowed (Hookoomsing 1987: 36). Although it is officially the “medium of instruction” in education, teachers tend to use more French than English in classrooms. English is the mother tongue of a few Mauritians and, as a spoken language, is very rare outside the restricted circumstances cited above. In this social context English has been described as a neutral language, which “does not carry with it any cultural load which could be

deeply felt as a heritage of the past by any community in Mauritius” and “it does not serve as an indicator for group identity” (Moorghen and Domingue 1982: 58).

Historically, French has played a dominant role on the island, and it has always been associated with the elite. Today, French is largely spoken and used in everyday life, schools and in the media. It is taught as a second language through all grades of primary and secondary curricula. French has a high status and is most commonly used in the workplace such as banks, schools, smart shops, etc. It is also the mother tongue of all the Franco-Mauritians as well as many families from the non-white “bourgeoisie” who live mainly in the urban areas. The French language according to Sheik Amode Hossen (1993) “n’est plus l’apanage de la bourgeoisie historique: langue familiale d’un nombre grandissant de foyers, prestigieux instrument de communication et de création culturelle, elle est la langue dominante la plus populaire de l’île” (Sheik Amode Hossen *ibid*: 56).

In the Mauritian context the term Oriental languages refers specifically to the following Asian languages: Hindi, Bhojpuri, Urdu, Telegu, Tamil, Gujrati, Marathi, Cantonese, Hakka and Mandarin. These are the languages which were spoken by the first Indian and Chinese immigrants (see 2.3). Bhojpuri is exclusively an oral language and has a lower status than Hindi. The relationship between Hindi and Bhojpuri is also one of diglossia. Private organisations, often religious, have endeavoured to teach the Indian languages from the beginning of the present century, and even today, the use of most of these languages is confined to education, religious ceremonies and folklore. A conversational form of Hindi and Urdu, called Hindustani, is also used by educated Bhojpuri speakers when interacting with visitors from North India or Pakistan. The standard Indian languages (mainly Hindi and Urdu) play the same role for Indo-Mauritians, as French does for the Franco-Mauritians and the educated portion of the General Population.

The diversity of Mauritian society with its diverse ethnic groups and people with loyalties to different languages and cultures, the presence of a variety of languages with different statuses, roles and functions, renders the linguistic situation intricate and complex. As Hookoomsing (1993) puts it “l’usage tend vers le créole, [...] l’école tend vers l’anglais et le français et [...] la tradition, confrontée comme partout ailleurs aux rudes exigences du développement, a du mal à assurer la fonction identitaire des langues orientales” (Hookoomsing 1993:31). The complexity and the emotive power of various languages in the Mauritian context, will be seen in more detail in chapter three and the last chapter. The quantitative development of languages over the years can be assessed by comparing national censuses which have always added linguistic information to demographic data. The results of the last census are analyzed in the following pages.

2.10.2) Languages spoken in the home: analysis of the 1990 census

In the 1990 census, at least seventeen languages were mentioned as being still spoken in the home. These are by alphabetical order: Arabic, Bhojpuri, Creole, Cantonese, other Chinese, English, French, other European, Gujrati, Hakka, Hindi, Mandarin, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu, Other Oriental. For the linguistic questions Mauritians were asked to indicate:

- (i) Which was/were their forefathers’ language(s) (see Table 7 below).
- (ii) Which language (s) they usually or most often use at home (see Table 7 below).

Until 1990, the two questions above allowed only a single language to be mentioned, but in the 1990 census, bilingual combinations could be listed. These

bilingual criteria seem to indicate that the national census is prepared to take into account the widespread multilingualism in Mauritius.

The “ancestral languages” have always played a major role in the censuses. They can be viewed as maintaining the link with the informants’ cultural and linguistic heritage. Furthermore, they function as a marker for group identity as Hookoomsing (1993) points out, “la catégorie ‘langue ancestrale’ sert d’abord à définir l’appartenance à un ‘groupe linguistique’ et remplit de ce fait une fonction essentiellement identitaire”. (Hookoomsing 1993: 28).

A comparison between “language(s) of ancestors” and “language(s) usually spoken in the home” shows that all the Oriental languages have lost speakers in varying degrees since the time of their “forefathers”. The reverse is true for English, French and especially Creole. The gains in English and French are small compared to Creole, which is declared by more than half of the population to be their home language. The reduced use of Indian languages is compensated for by a gain in the use of Creole, thus confirming its role as the lingua franca of the island. This decrease in Oriental languages has caused the government to intervene directly in educational policy by promoting the teaching of “ancestral languages” in primary and secondary schools (see 2.9.3).

Table 7 Language(s) spoken at home and language(s) of ancestors

Source: 1990 Population Census of Mauritius Table D10

| Languages | Language spoken in the home | Language (s) of ancestors |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Arabic | 0% | 0.2% |
| Bhojpuri | 19.7% | 33.6% |
| Chinese | 0.4% | 1.7% |
| Creole | 60.5% | 33.8% |
| English | 0.2% | 0.1% |
| French | 3.4% | 2.2% |
| Hindi | 1.3% | 3.7% |
| Other Indian | 2.2% | 8.7% |
| Urdu | 0.7% | 4.4% |
| Others not stated | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Bilingualism | 11% | 10.9% |

Total Population in 1990: 1.056.660

The figures obtained for bilingual combinations in question 2 are presented in table 8 below. They show that Creole and Bhojpuri are the two main spoken languages on the island. Creole is the only language associated either with a European language, or with another Oriental language. All bilingual combinations including Creole have gained in their number of speakers, while bilingual speakers including Bhojpuri have declined. These results tend to confirm the relative decline of Oriental languages and the fact that Creole is slowly replacing the two major Oriental languages, Bhojpuri and Urdu, in the home. On the other hand, for languages of ancestors, one would have expected the number of Hindi and Bhojpuri bilinguals to be greater than the Creole and Bhojpuri bilinguals, since the Indians, when they first arrived in Mauritius, spoke only Indian languages. The

higher percentages recorded for Creole and Bhojpuri as language of ancestors appear to confirm the gradual expansion of Creole as the language of the home, and also, a growing acceptance of Creole as the “language of ancestors” by the Indo-Mauritian population.

Table 8. Bilingual Combinations

Source: 1990 Population Census of Mauritius Tables D7 & D8

| Languages | Present bilinguals | Bilingual ancestors |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Bhojpuri & Hindi | 2% | 3.1% |
| Bhojpuri & Other Indian | 0.03% | 0.1% |
| Bhojpuri & Urdu | 0.05% | 0.3% |
| Creole & Bhojpuri | 4.6% | 3.2% |
| Creole & Chinese | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| Creole & Other European | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Creole & French | 2% | 1.4% |
| Creole & Hindi | 0.3% | 0.2% |
| Creole & Other Indian | 0.8% | 0.7% |
| Creole & Urdu | 0.1% | 0.6% |

It may be added that the bilingual guide (English and French) to the census form indicates very clearly that it is “the Head of the Household or person for the time being acting as head” who should complete the census form. The head of the household is defined as “any adult member, whether male or female, who is acknowledged as head by the other members” and “a household is either (i) a person living on his own or (ii) a group of two or more persons who may not be

related , but who live together and make provision for food and other essentials for living” (quoted from the 1990 census form). The underlying assumption of the census forms is therefore, that the whole family takes its social and cultural position from the language habits and status of the father or his substitute, who is most frequently the breadwinner in the family.

Researchers over a number of years have warned that census results in general should be interpreted with caution. In the 1970s, Chaudenson pointed out the limitations of this kind of census data in sociolinguistic research, and particularly that of the language spoken in the home. In his view, “la question concernant la langue habituellement parlée à la maison était elle-même ambiguë et entraînait généralement une réponse “globale” émanant du chef de famille et ne rendant pas nécessairement compte de l’usage linguistique des différents membres du groupe familial” (Chaudenson 1974: 165). Some years later, Stein (1986: 276) and Hookoomsing (1993: 26) also insisted that census data should be treated with reserve, as they tend to reveal general tendencies rather than the development of specific languages. In the present study, the results of the 1990 census are also considered with caution and from a general perspective.

After this short description of Mauritius and its social and ethnographic realities, the following chapter will focus more specifically on Creole languages, their formation and sociolinguistic problems associated with them, with specific reference to Mauritian Creole.

Chapter 3: Some theoretical and sociolinguistic issues raised by Creole languages

Before discussing the social problems associated with Creole languages, the context of their formation together with an overview of the major theories on their origins must be dealt with. This chapter is divided into three main subsections:

- (i) A general definition of Creole languages and their geographical distribution across the world.
- (ii) A review of the major theories about their formation, with specific reference to the problematic origins of Mauritian Creole.
- (iii) Sociolinguistic issues raised by the Creole language in Mauritius.

Theoretical issues related to the origins of Creole languages are derived from studies by Todd (1974, 1990), Chaudenson (1974, 1979, 1992), Stein (1982), Mühlhäusler (1986), Romaine (1988, 1994) and Holm (1992).

3.1) Creole languages

The word “Créole” in French is derived from the Spanish term “Criollo”, used to describe people of Spanish parentage born in the American colonies in the seventeenth century. The term “Créole” occurred for the first time in Trévoux’s dictionary in 1732 (Stein 1982: 11). In the eighteenth century the word extended its meaning, and was used by French, and other European settlers, to name Europeans born in the colonies, as well as animals, plants and other objects

originating from these regions (Stein *ibid*).

In contemporary dictionaries like “Le Petit Robert” for example, the term “Créole” has two definitions. The first one is social and points to populations: “personne de race blanche, née dans les colonies intertropicales”. But this definition has changed over the years in geographical areas, as underlines Chaudenson: “aux Antilles comme aux Mascareignes, dans la première moitié du XVIIème siècle, le qualificatif “créole” peut être appliqué aussi bien à des Blancs qu’à des Noirs. Cependant [...] les significations du mot ont évolué de façon différente selon les lieux et les sociétés. Aux Antilles, le terme a été progressivement réservé à la désignation des Blancs nés dans les îles tandis qu’en revanche, à l’île Maurice, “créole” ne peut qualifier que des Métis ou des Noirs (de phénotype africain) à l’exclusion des Blancs et des Indo-Mauriciens. Seul le créole réunionnais paraît avoir conservé le sens ancien puisqu’à la Réunion, “créole” désigne les Blancs, les Noirs ou les Métis nés dans l’île” (Chaudenson 1979 a: 11).

The second meaning of the word is linguistic. It is defined in “Le Petit Robert” as “un système linguistique mixte provenant du contact du français, de l’espagnol, du portugais, de l’anglais, du néerlandais avec les langues indigènes ou importées (Antilles) et devenu langue maternelle d’une communauté”. Although defined as a linguistic system in dictionaries, Creole languages were frequently referred to as marginal languages and corrupt versions of their parent language until recently (Wardhaugh 1988: 54). In recent decades, however, linguists have argued that Creole languages are languages in their own right with their own vocabulary, syntax and sound system. Consequently, attitudes towards Creole languages are changing.

The next paragraphs look at the general definitions and characteristics of Creole languages, before focusing on the theories which have been suggested to explain their formation.

3.1.1) Definition of Creole languages

Creole languages are often associated with Pidgins, which are another type of language. A Pidgin is a language which is not the native tongue of those who use it and “one whose structure and lexicon have been drastically reduced” (Hall 1972: 142). As Offord (1990: 247-248) notes, the use of Pidgins as a common system of communication was generally confined to certain types of communicative situations, such as trading, or as a contact language between masters and slaves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In contrast to a Pidgin, a Creole has native speakers. In multilingual areas a Pidgin can develop and expand, and, when it acquires all the functions and characteristics of a traditional language, it is called a Creole. This process occurs over a number of years during which social and economic stability are required. Such circumstances were provided during the time of the slave trade between Europe and its colonies. The first generation of children born in the colonies would have been exposed to a Pidgin which they acquired as their first language. Consequently, successive generations learnt this language as their mother tongue, and thus, a Pidgin would have developed into a Creole.

In many cases a Creole is believed to have developed from a Pidgin (Hall 1972: 142), but as Stein (1982: 6) points out, researchers such as BOLLÉE have argued that not all Creole languages have a Pidgin in their ancestry. The debate about whether a given Creole does, or does not, originate from a Pidgin is too complex and vast an issue to be addressed here, and besides, the scope of this thesis does not involve the relationship between Pidgin and Creole languages. For this reason the existence of Creole languages in this study will be accepted as a fact.

3.1.2) Geographical distribution of European Creole languages in the world

Smith (1994) has listed over three hundred known Pidgin and Creole languages in all parts of the world, most of them based on European languages. The term 'based' means that the Pidgin or the Creole draws most of its vocabulary from one language, usually European, while the grammatical structure can be influenced by another, usually non-European (Valdman 1978: 5-6). In the case of French Creoles for example, the vocabulary is mainly derived from French and the structure is often influenced by an African language.

Smith (ibid: 339-362) has updated and extended the list of Pidgins and Creoles provided by Hancock (1977). He also points out that it is not always easy to classify these languages, particularly in the case of non-European Pidgins and Creoles whose social histories are unknown (Smith ibid: 331-332).

The following table is derived from Smith (ibid) and gives an idea of the distribution of known European Creoles in the world. It was decided to focus on Creole languages only since the Mauritian variety is defined as a French Creole. The geographical location and estimated numbers of Creole speakers, where available, are also provided. The extinct Creoles have not been included in the list below as well as those with a controversial status as debate is still going on whether they should be regarded as Creole languages.

Table 9 Distribution of European Creoles in the world

| Type of Language | Name of language | Geographical location | Number of Speakers |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| English Creoles | Sea Island Creole | USA | 250,000 |
| | Afro-Seminole | USA/Mexico | several hundreds |
| | Bahamian Creole | Bahamas | |
| | Virgin Islands Creole | Lesser Antilles (L.A) British/US Territory | 70,000 |
| | Anguillan Creole | (L.A) British Territory | 6500 |
| | St. Maarten Creole | (L.A) Dutch/French Territory | |
| | St. Barts Creole | St. Barthélemy French Territory | |
| | Statian Creole | St. Eustatius Dutch Territory | |
| | Antiguan Creole | Antigua | 75,000 |
| | Barbudan Creole | Antigua | 1100 |
| | St. Kitts-Nevis Creole | St. Christopher | 60,000 |
| | Montserrat Creole | (L.A) British Territory | 12,000 |
| | Barbadian Creole | Barbados | 250,000 |
| | Vincentian Creole | St. Vincent | 138,000 |
| | Carriacou Creole | St. Vincent | |
| | Granadan Creole | Grenada | 110,000 |
| | Tobagonian Creole | Trinidad & Tobago | 50,000 |
| | Trinidadian Creole | Trinidad & Tobago | 1,100,000 |
| | Guyanese Creole | Guyana & Surinam | +700,000 |

| | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | Rupununi Creole | Guyana | |
| | El Callao Creole | Venezuela | |
| | Jamaican Creole | Jamaica | 2,250,000 |
| | British Jamaican Creole | Britain | several hundred thousand |
| | Limon Creole | Costa Rica | 55,000 |
| | Panamanian Creole | Panama | 100,000 |
| | Miskito Coast Creole | Nicaragua | +40,000 |
| | Rama Cay Creole | Nicaragua | +500 |
| | Belizean Creole | 115,000 | |
| | San Andres-Providencia Creole | Colombia | 15,000 |
| | Corn Island Creole | Nicaragua | |
| | Sranan | Surinam | 500,000 |
| | Ndjuka-Paramaccan-Aluku-Kwinti | Surinam/French Guiana | 30,000 |
| | Saramaccan-Matawi | Surinam | 25,000 |
| | Aku/Krio | Gambia | 3500 |
| | Krio | Sierra Leone | 500,000 |
| | Porto Talk/Fernandino/Fernando Poo Krio | Equatorial Guinea | 4000 |
| | Cameroonian Krio | Cameroon | |
| | Fulani Pidgin English | | |
| | Creolized Nigerian Pidgin English | Nigeria | +1 Million |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|
| | Hawaiian Creole | Hawaii | 500,000 |
| | Creole Tok Pisin | Papua New Guinea | 50,000 |
| | (Creole) Pijin /Salomon Is. Pidgin | Solomon Is. | 1300 |
| | Creole Bislama | Vanuatu | |
| | Pitcairnese | British Territory | 100 |
| | Norfolk Island Creole English | Australian Territory | 500 |
| | Northern Territory Kriyol | Australia | 10,000 |
| | Broken/Torres Strait Creole | Queensland | +3000 |
| | Queensland Urban Creole | Queensland | |
| French Creoles | Louisiana Creole | USA | 80,000 |
| | Haitian Creole | Haiti | +5,750,000 |
| | Guadeloupean Creole | Lesser Antilles French Territory | 335,000 |
| | Marie-Galante Creole | Lesser Antilles French Territory | 15,000 |
| | Ile des Saintes Creole | Lesser Antilles French Territory | 2500 |
| | St. Barthélemy Creole | Lesser Antilles French Territory | |
| | St Thomas Creole | Lesser Antilles US Territory | few hundreds |
| | Martiniquais Creole | Lesser Antilles French Territory | 325,000 |
| | Dominican Creole | Dominica | 83,000 |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|---|--------------|
| | St. Lucian Creole | St. Lucia | 120,000 |
| | Carriacou Creole | St. Vincent | |
| | Grenadan Creole | Grenada | few speakers |
| | Trinidadian Creole | Trinidad & Tobago | |
| | Güiria Creole | Venezuela | |
| | El Callao Creole | Venezuela | |
| | San Miguel Creole | Panama | |
| | Guyanais Creole | French Guiana | 50,000 |
| | Yugoslavian German | ex Yugoslavia | |
| | Karipuna Creole | Brazil | 500 |
| | Mauritian Creole | Mauritius | +1 Million |
| | Rodriguais Creole | Mauritian Territory | 34,000 |
| | Seychellois Creole | Seychelles/Ghana | 66,000 |
| | Ilois Creole | Chagos Archipelago British Territory | |
| | Agalega Creole | Agalega Mauritian Territory | |
| | Réunionnais Creole | Réunion French Territory | 550,000 |
| | Tayo/St. Louis Creole/Kaldosh | New Caledonia French Territory | 4000 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|-------------------|
| Portuguese Creoles | Sotavento Crioulo | Cape Verde | |
| | Barlavento Crioulo | Cape Verde | |
| | Ziguinchor Kriul | Senegal | 55,000 |
| | Guiné-Kriyol | Guiné-Bissau | 700,000 |
| | São Tomense Creole | São Tomé en Príncipe | 85,000 |
| | Angolar | São Tomé en Príncipe | 9000 |
| | Fa d'Ambu | Equatorial Guinea | 4500 |
| | Nikariku Creole | Guyana | |
| | Macanese Creole | Macao/Hong-Kong | |
| | Burma-Siam Creole | Burma & Thailand | |
| | Papia Kristang | Malaysia/Singapore | +1500 |
| | Daman Creole | Daman, Diu & Goa, India | several thousands |
| | Bombay Creole | Maharashtra, India | +700 |
| | Central Kerala Creole | Kerala, India | 30 |
| | Sri Lanka Creole | Sri Lanka | 2250 |
| Spanish Creoles | Palenquero | Colombia | 3000 |
| | Papiamentu/Papiamento | Curaçao, Aruba & Bonaire (Dutch Territory) | 250,000 |
| | Chavacano/Caviteño | Philippines | 28,000 |
| | Chavacano/Ternateño | Philippines | 4000 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Chavacano/Zamboangueno | Philippines/Malaysia | 200,000 |
| | Chavacano?Cotabato | Philippines | 7000 |
| Dutch Creoles | Berbice Dutch | Guyana | 3 |
| | Afrikaans | South Africa/Namibia/Zimbabwe | 3,5 Million |
| | Orange River Afrikaans | South Africa/Namibia | a few hundred thousands |
| | "Deep" Cape Afrikaans | South Africa | 1,5 Million |
| German Creoles | Unserdeutsch/Raubaul Creole | P.N.G/Australia | 100 |

3.1.3) French Creoles

There are between nine and ten million creolophones who speak French-based Creoles throughout the world (Chaudenson 1992: 1248). The majority of these Creoles originated in former French colonies, between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. It is widely agreed that the division of the French Creoles falls into two main groups: the New World Group and the Indian Ocean Creoles (Holm 1992: 353).

The New World Group includes the Caribbean area, French Guiana in South America (today a French "département d'Outre-Mer" or DOM) and Louisiana in North America. These areas were settled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as plantation colonies and most of their work force was drawn from West Africa (Holm *ibid*). The Caribbean area includes the French DOM (i.e Martinique,

Guadeloupe and their dependencies: Marie Galante, Les Désirades and Saint Barthélemy), Haiti, Dominica, St Lucia, Grenada and Trinidad (Aub-Buscher 1993: 201).

The Indian Ocean area constitutes the second group of French Creoles and consists of the islands of Mauritius, Réunion, Rodrigues and Seychelles. Mauritius and Seychelles were both former French and then British colonies, and, although their social histories are different, there are few structural differences between both Creoles (Holm 1992: 362).

Rodrigues is located some 360 miles to the east of Mauritius and is a dependency of that island. It was visited by French colonists from Mauritius and Réunion in the eighteenth century, but permanent settlement only started at the beginning of the nineteenth century when it became a British colony. The variety of Rodriguais Creole has been described as “an offshoot” of that of Mauritius with very few linguistic differences (Holm 1992: 400).

Réunion, today a French DOM, has a Creole which is said to differ markedly in structure and lexicon from the other Indian Ocean varieties. Although Mauritius and Réunion were both French colonies, the sociolinguistic conditions were different in each colony, and this in turn, appears to have influenced the development of these two varieties of Creole. The origins of these two Creoles and any possible link between them is discussed in more detail in section 3.3.

3.2) An overview of the theories of origins of Creole languages

Grammatical similarities between a number of Creoles has led to the crucial question of how Creole languages are born. Although there is no consensus on where these languages originated from, all linguists acknowledge their existence

and several theories have been suggested to explain their origins. Mühlhäusler (1986 chapter 4) has distributed these theories into two categories: “language-specific theories” and “general theories”. The first category includes the “nautical language” theory and “baby talk/foreigner talk”; and the second one combines “relexification”, “substratum” and “universalist” theories.

Since the various theories of origin have been dealt with by many linguists, a simple overview of the major theories will be outlined in the following paragraphs, along with their relevance in the formation of Mauritian Creole.

3.2.1) Nautical jargon theory

This theory postulates that a nautical jargon was used on ships among the crews of various nationalities and it was passed on to Africans, Asians, Polynesians and others (Todd 1990: 30). It may have formed the basis of a Pidgin which would have developed into a Creole.

Faine (1939) has attempted to relate French Creoles to nautical varieties of French. According to him a “composite patois”, which was used “sur les vaisseaux marchands et autres, et certainement parmi les marins et navigateurs dans les ports de la Manche et de l’Océan où se recrutaient les équipages” (quoted from Stein 1982: 31), could have been the ancestor of the French Creoles.

Baker & Corne (1982) assess the influence of this kind of maritime variety in the formation of Mauritian Creole. In their discussion of this theory, Baker & Corne point out that “if something not totally different from Faine’s “composite patois” had indeed existed, it would have been readily available to the extent that there would have been speakers of this on board every ship which visited the various French trading posts and colonies overseas” (Baker & Corne 1982: 243). They tested this

hypothesis by reconstructing verbal contacts which could have occurred on the recruiting ships sailing to Mauritius and in other ports. Baker and Corne reject Faine's hypothesis of a nautical patois and argue that "there is nothing to indicate that just one "nautical patois" existed, or that the collective expertise of sailors in communicating with non-Francophones would have equipped them all with a single uniform pidgin or *even* Creole which they propagated everywhere" (Baker & Corne 1982: 244). Baker & Corne go on to suggest that the Mauritian variety was born *in situ*. This hypothesis is further elaborated in section 3.3.3.

Although the existence of a nautical element in all European Creoles seem to lend support to this theory, it nevertheless fails to explain structural similarities between European Creoles (Todd *ibid*: 31), and clearly cannot be generalized to all French Creoles as pointed out by Baker and Corne (1982: 244).

3.2.2) Monogenetic and Relexification theory

This theory suggests that all European-based Pidgins and Creoles are the descendants of a fifteenth-century Portuguese Pidgin, or possibly a medieval Lingua Franca sometimes referred to as Sabir. The differences between various Pidgins and Creoles are explained by a process called "relexification", which is the replacement of lexical items of one language by another, while the grammar is retained. Linguists who support this theory argue that this Portuguese Pidgin was relexified as it came into contact with other European languages such as Dutch, English, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish.

A number of lexical and syntactic similarities found in some of the European-language-based Pidgins and Creoles appear to support the relexification theory. Vocabulary items, particularly in English Creoles derive from Portuguese (Todd 1990: 33). In her earlier studies, Todd (1974: 24-25) gives the example of

Saramaccan which has its vocabulary derived from several languages (54% from English, 38% from Portuguese, another 4% from African languages and 4% from Dutch). It can also be noted that she refers to Saramaccan as an English-based Creole of Surinam whereas Hancock (see table 9 in 3.1.2) has listed it as a Portuguese Creole. It would appear that Todd has classified Saramaccan as English-based Creole because a higher percentage of its lexicon is derived from English. However, one could also argue that since Saramaccan has two lexifier languages it can be considered either as an English or a Portuguese Creole.

Whilst the monogenetic/relexification theory seems to suggest that some European-based Pidgins and Creoles have the same historical origins, it does not however, explain why a Creole would lose its original lexicon and replace it with another (Fasold 1993: 206, Todd 1990: 35), or why some non-European-based Creoles share common characteristics with European-based Creoles (Todd 1974: 39-42).

3.2.3) Baby talk and Foreigner talk

Since the 1870s, many travellers observed similarities between Pidgins, early speech of children and language used by foreigners. Bloomfield (1933: 472) put forward the view that Pidgins arose from the imperfect learning of the model language as the result of a process of mutual imitation between masters and slaves. He also claimed that there was a link between the speech of the master imitating the slave and that of the foreign tourist attempting to make himself understood.

Mühlhäusler (1986 chapter 4) compares Foreigner talk with Pidgins. He conducted experiments to elicit Foreigner talk between native and non-native

speakers of German and English. He observes that the input given by foreigners is quite inconsistent in many cases, and that speakers use various communicative strategies, which vary from one speaker to another. He concludes that, although Baby Talk or Foreigner Talk may occur in the formation of Pidgins, their influence is minimal and restricted to the early stages only and not to their later development.

It would appear that this theory, on its own, is insufficient to explain the formation of Pidgin and Creole languages. Since there is no Creole in its early stages of formation in the world (Fasold 1993: 206), a case study cannot, therefore, be carried out to determine the extent to which Baby Talk or Foreigner Talk is involved in the development of Pidgins and Creoles.

3.2.4) Substratum theory

The substratum theory suggests that Pidgins and Creoles combine the lexicon of one language (the socially dominant language also called 'superstrate') with the grammar of another (the socially inferior or 'substrate'). Goodman (1964) compared several French Creoles from the American zone with the Mauritian variety and concluded that: "Only by positing a single origin for creole can one account for this historical connection, and its place can scarcely have been other than West Africa, from which it was transported to the various parts of the world where creole is now found. It most likely developed out of a slave jargon of some sort, whose French element [...] may or may not have been the kind of dialectal mélange which Faine suggests, but which almost certainly incorporated a number of the slaves' native languages[...]. The West African jargon or pidgin then began to develop independently in the various colonial areas to which it had been transported and to become more stable as it came in increasing measure to

supplant the native language of the Africans” (Goodman *ibid*: 130-131).

Baker does not agree with Goodman’s hypothesis and argues that there is no evidence of a West-African influence on Mauritian Creole. He claims that “the records that survive of court cases involving slaves for the period 1729-35 do not show that West Africans were able to give evidence without an interpreter any more frequently than other slaves. The lack of probability that any of these slaves had spent enough time in a depot to acquire a form of speech the existence of which has not been proved, and the lack of evidence that any African reached Mauritius with a fluent knowledge of it, lead me to conclude that while not impossible, it is unlikely that West African Pidgin French was readily available for adoption as the vehicle of interethnic communication on the island in 1728-30” (Baker and Corne 1982: 245).

Whilst Baker does not seem to reject the possibility of some West African influence in the case of Mauritian Creole, he shows that the number of West African slaves was too small to have played a key role in the formation of Mauritian Creole (see 3.3.2). This again highlights the fact that the substratum theory is limited in scope and as Todd (1990) puts it “one must not forget that the African slaves came from widely separated areas of West Africa and to overstress the similarity of their linguistic backgrounds is to oversimplify” (Todd *ibid*: 30).

3.2.5) Universalist theory

The similarities encountered in many Pidgins and Creoles and the difficulties of finding a satisfactory “common” origin have led researchers to appeal to linguistic universals, in the sense of universal patterns of linguistic behaviour relevant to contact situations. Todd (1990) suggests that the “similarities in all

pidgins from the past as well as the present, and from all continents, may well be accounted for if we can show that human beings are biologically programmed to acquire *Language* rather than any particular language, and that the programming includes an innate ability to dredge our linguistic behaviour of superficial redundancies where there is a premium on transmitting facts, on communicating, as it were, without frills" (Todd *ibid*: 40).

The fact that children appear to acquire the grammar of the language of their environment has raised great interest among linguists and psychologists, but the explanation of how it occurs fails to attract a common view (Todd *ibid*). Bickerton (1977, 1981, 1986) suggests that the overall capacity to acquire a language is contained in the genetic or biological program of every individual. He goes further by comparing Creole grammars with studies of child language acquisition. He found similarities between children making incorrect hypotheses in the process of their first language acquisition and structures found in Creole grammar. He believes that a Creole language develops as a result of the biological program or "bioprogram" instructions with minimal linguistic or cultural interference.

Baker and Corne's (1982) reconstruction of the sociolinguistic history of Mauritius has led Bickerton to revise and refine his "bioprogram theory", by considering the influence of social factors in the formation of Creoles. Basing himself on Baker and Corne's demographic study of Mauritius, in the early decades of its colonization, Bickerton (1986: 176) predicts that the longer the non-dominant group (slaves and other workers) is out-numbered by the dominant groups (settlers), the greater the exposure of the early arrivals to the dominant language (French), and hence, the language which would be transmitted to the newcomers (i.e the pidgin) would be richer (i.e with more lexical items, pronouns, clauses, tenses etc). The immigrants arriving after the period when both groups have reached numerical parity would have heard a more "diluted version" of the

dominant language from people who were non-native speakers. Bickerton concludes: “the richer the pidgin, the richer the input to the creole, hence the less the deficit between input and the minimal necessary structure for a natural language; conversely, the more impoverished the pidgin, the greater that deficit, hence the greater the demand on the language-creating capacity of the species [i.e. the bioprogram]” (Bickerton *ibid*: 178).

Bickerton explains the divergence between Réunionnais and Mauritian Creoles by referring to the bioprogram hypothesis. In the case of Réunion, the slaves were out-numbered by native French speakers for a longer period of time than in Mauritius, therefore the Réunionnais Creole is more influenced by French and is “further from the bioprogram”. Mauritian Creole, by contrast, is “closer to the bioprogram” because there were fewer native French speakers in the early years of colonization, and subsequent generations had to “repair” the impoverished pidgin transmitted by the first generation of immigrants by resorting to the instructions of the bioprogram thus allowing a Creole to develop.

The idea of a biological program has raised interest as well as controversy among linguists. Mühlhäusler (1986), for example, agrees with the view that in the case of inadequate input in the early stages of a pidgin, members of a community may resort to universal strategies. Romaine (1988 chapter 7), in her discussion of the bioprogram hypothesis, makes the point that, in his introduction, Bickerton admits to the fact that his bioprogram hypothesis is concerned with Creoles with the following two criteria:

- (i) Creoles which derive from Pidgins which are not older than one generation.
- (ii) The number of the dominant language speakers should not exceed 20% of the whole population and the remaining 80% should be composed of

diverse language groups.

Consequently, Romaine argues that “these restrictions rule out just about all ‘creoles’ except Hawaiian English Creole and Guyanese Creole; and even in these cases, the conditions are not ideal for observing the bioprogram” (Romaine *ibid*: 258). Furthermore, like Fasold (see 3.2.3), she also points out that there are no case studies of children in the process of acquiring a Creole language which can help to validate the bioprogram hypothesis (Romaine 1994: 109).

Although the bioprogram theory was an innovation in linguistic research on the kind of theories of origins put forward, it nevertheless appears to be a more exclusive than an inclusive theory.

As to the origins of Mauritian Creole, none of the theories discussed above seems to apply and there is still much controversy on this issue between Baker and Chaudenson, as will be seen in the next section.

3.3) Origins of Mauritian Creole: a controversial debate

The matter of the origins of Indian Ocean Creoles has been much discussed and debated in the late seventies and early eighties. Since the publication of Chaudenson’s thesis in 1974, “Le lexique des parlers créoles”, then, Baker’s dissertation “Towards a history of Mauritian Creole” in 1976, the question of the origins of Mauritian Creole has led to bitter controversy between these two linguists. To date this question still remains unsolved as the authors continue to disagree with each other.

Chaudenson (1974a, 1974b, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c) believes that Bourbonnais (the Creole of Réunion) is the ancestor of all Indian Ocean Creoles, whereas Baker (1976, 1982, 1983) argues that Réunionnais Creole is a distinct variety which has

developed independently from Mauritian Creole. Both, nevertheless, agree on one fact: the first fifteen years of French colonization (1720-35) were crucial in the formation of Mauritian Creole.

The following discussion will focus on the two major sources of disagreement between the two linguists, which are:

- (i) The number of Réunionnais inhabitants in Mauritius between 1720 and 1735.
- (ii) The number of West African slaves during these fifteen years in Mauritius.

3.3.1) Réunionnais presence in Mauritius from 1721-35

Chaudenson's reconstruction of the social history of Mauritius is somewhat different from Baker's. The colonization of Réunion, formerly known as Bourbon island, started in 1665, much earlier than Mauritius (colonized in 1721 and named Ile de France). The French East India Company, which was running the colonies at that time, wanted Mauritius to be settled from Réunion. Chaudenson (1979a) takes the view that "la volonté était bien entendu de favoriser l'installation à l'île de France de créoles ayant l'expérience de la vie coloniale..." (Chaudenson *ibid*: 47). He claims that the Réunionnais represented 25% of the population of Mauritius from June 1722 to April 1723 but that, from May 1723 to August 1729 they formed 10% of the white population and from May 1729 to May 1730 they represented 25% of the white population. According to him, "il ne fait pas de doute qu'une des premières choses qu'ils ont dû enseigner à leurs nouveaux compagnons d'infortune est le créole qu'ils parlaient eux-mêmes" (Chaudenson *ibid*).

Baker (1982), after consulting parish registers, ships' logs and legal proceedings from archives and libraries in Paris and Mauritius, rejected these figures. His investigation leads him to believe that, although Réunionnais visitors

did give agricultural advice on plantations in Mauritius, the governor of Réunion failed to send families to settle in Mauritius. Baker argues that “there can have been very few Réunionnais who settled in Mauritius in this fourteen year period [1721-35]. However, in an attempt to clear up any possible doubts, I have cross-checked all the names which occur in my data on the population of Mauritius in the period 1721-37, drawing on all the relevant sources listed in the bibliography and involving a total of about 3,500 names, with all the names in Ricquebourg’s *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles de l’Ile Bourbon* (1665-1767). This exercise has revealed a grand total of two people who were born in Reunion and who had settled in Mauritius by the end of 1735” (Baker *ibid*: 170). His findings lead Baker to conclude that the few Réunionnais who settled in Mauritius could not have played a dominant role in the formation of Mauritian Creole.

Chaudenson acknowledges that he did not refer to the archive documents of the East India Company and that his conclusions are drawn from data gathered by historians, such as Lougnon and Toussaint. He justifies his view in the following manner: “On se demande à quoi servent les travaux des historiens, surtout lorsqu’il s’agit d’hommes aussi rigoureux et éminents qu’A. Lougnon et A. Toussaint, si on ne peut utiliser sans crainte et tremblement les résultats qu’ils ont donnés” (Chaudenson 1983: 203).

3.3.2) West African presence in Mauritius from 1721-35

The second main point of conflict is concerned with estimated figures on the number of West African slaves that arrived in Mauritius by the two vessels “la Méduse” and “la Diane”. The disputed figures, as well as the interpretation of data, are summarized below.

Table 10 The number of West African slaves

| West African slaves | La Méduse | Diane |
|------------------------|-----------|-------|
| Baker (1982: 181) | 178 | 248 |
| Chaudenson (1983: 205) | 89 | 124 |

With regard to la Méduse, Baker argues that despite the East India Company's orders to divide the slaves equally between both colonies, this was not implemented in actual fact. One example which can be cited is the number of slaves who arrived in Mauritius in 1729. A letter addressed to the Company mentions that there were 237 slaves who boarded the Méduse in Juda (Baker & Corne 1982: 182). Whilst both Baker and Chaudenson apply the 25% mortality rate to the total of 237 slaves (i.e 59), Baker mentions a census report by Chélin, for November 1729, which mentions "recensement de la colonie: 486 noirs, y compris 178 de Guinée; 89 soldats" arrived in Mauritius (ibid: 183). Baker bases his estimations on Chélin's figures and concludes that all the remaining West African slaves ($237 - 59 = 178$), from the Méduse, disembarked in Mauritius (ibid: 184) and were not distributed equally between Réunion and Mauritius. He admits however, that "the ultimate source of Chélin's figures remains to be established".

Chaudenson (1983), on the other hand, refers to findings by Lougnon and Toussaint. Although he concedes that "la répartition des Noirs entre les deux îles n'est pas sûre, quoique les témoignages des historiens sérieux concordent", he concludes that the orders of the Company were respected, and the slaves who survived were equally divided between Mauritius and Réunion ($178 + 2 = 89$).

With regard to la Diane, Baker refers to a letter written in December 1730 by the representatives of Réunion to the Company in France reporting that: "le vaisseau la Dianne....venant du Sénégal, mouilla à St Paul, Isle de Bourbon, le 26

juin 1730 chargé de 324 têtes de noirs, en ayant débarqué 248 à l'Isle de France, et apporté 76 à celle de Bourbon [...] (Baker 1982: 184). Basing himself on the studies of three historians, Baker concludes: "all three suggest that the total number of slaves brought by the Diane was 324 (248 + 76), [...] I take the majority's interpretation to be the correct one" (Baker *ibid*: 185).

Chaudenson (1979b) refers to the *Recueil trimestriel de documents et travaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire des Mascareignes* to reveal that "la Diane débarque à l'île de France le 9 mai 1730, 248 esclaves du Sénégal mais, en fait, 86 repartent pour Bourbon dès juin 1730" (Chaudenson 1979: 51). According to Chaudenson, there were "248 arrivants mais seulement 172 valides dont 86 repartent pour Bourbon; nous supposons que 50% des malades ont survécu, soit 38" (Chaudenson *ibid*: 53). In a subsequent article, he explains his estimated figures in the following way: "pour l'affaire de la Diane j'ai donc estimé que 50% des malades avait survécu soit 38 [76 + 2], ce qui ne paraît pas un chiffre trop faible si l'on considère que parmi les bien portants envoyés à Bourbon, plus de 10% sont morts en route. Le chiffre total des débarqués survivants de la Diane à l'île de France est donc non pas 248 comme le prétend Baker, mais $86 + 38 = 124$ " (Chaudenson 1983: 207).

It would appear that, since no written evidence was found giving exact numbers of slaves who disembarked at Mauritius and Réunion from the *Méduse* and the *Diane*, the number of deaths, as well as the distribution of West African slaves to both colonies are reached by estimations. The sources which are quoted are different in each case, and this would explain the divergence between Baker and Chaudenson's views. It would seem that, whatever the actual circumstances may have been, final estimations of the number of West African slaves have to rely on empirical data and subjective judgment.

3.3.3) Proposed origins of Mauritian Creole

Chaudenson believes that Mauritius was mainly colonized from Réunion and that Bourbonnais was thus transmitted to the other Indian Ocean islands when they were colonized at a later date. According to him Bourbonnais “est passé dans les autres îles quand elles ont été occupées par des colons et des esclaves venus d’abord de la seule île Bourbon (occupation de l’île de France), puis des deux îles déjà peuplées (installation aux Seychelles et à Rodrigues)” (Chaudenson 1979c: 218). He sustains the view that “l’occupation successive des différents territoires a provoqué, en effet, la constitution à travers l’Océan Indien de systèmes linguistiques qui, quoiqu’issus d’une source principale unique, le “bourbonnais”, se sont progressivement différenciés (parfois jusqu’à l’impossibilité d’intercompréhension)” (Chaudenson 1974a: 156).

Chaudenson explains the differentiation of the Indian Ocean Creoles by suggesting the idea of “generations”, in a similar way to computer generations, but in the case of Creoles, the improvement factor from one generation to the next would be absent. Therefore, according to him “le créole de première génération serait dans cette hypothèse le bourbonnais dont nous admettons, pour le moment, qu’il est apparu et a évolué selon le schéma décrit par Hall (d’abord pidgin puis créole lorsqu’il devient langue maternelle de la première ou de la seconde génération créole); le mauricien serait un créole de seconde génération puisqu’il se développe à partir d’une situation linguistique qui ne comporte pas que le français et des langues serviles mais, outre ces langues, un créole “importé” le bourbonnais qui sert dès le début de langue de relation et est probablement appris aux premiers esclaves introduits dans le pays [...] Les créoles des Seychelles et de Rodrigues seraient des parlers de troisième génération dans la mesure où à la fois ils

apparaissent ultérieurement (un demi- siècle et plus après le mauricien) et où ils empruntent à la fois aux deux autres créoles dans le cadre d'un processus identique à celui du parler de deuxième génération (la relation avec le créole mauricien est certes dominante mais cependant les créoles seychellois (surtout) et rodriguais présentent avec le réunionnais des traits communs (que ne connaît parfois pas, ou plus, le mauricien) et qui ne permettent pas de mettre sérieusement en doute la relation entre les créoles de l'océan Indien" (1974a: 156).

As underlined earlier (see 3.3), Baker and Chaudenson agree that the first fifteen years of colonization were crucial in the formation of Mauritian Creole. Baker's investigation (Baker & Corne 1982: 150-171) leads him to conclude that between 1720 and 1735, there were only a few Réunionnais who had settled in Mauritius, and therefore Bourbonnais did not play a dominant role in the formation of Mauritian Creole. Having rejected Chaudenson's Bourbonnais hypothesis, Baker proposes a pidginization process "in situ" which may have occurred "in the absence of any vehicle suitable for ethnic communication". He explains the process from Pidgin to Creole by referring to the social and linguistic conditions of the slaves, and by laying emphasis on the role played by the first generation of locally-born slave children. The linguistic situation in the early days of colonization allowed a close relationship between the masters and the slaves, where the latter were told and shown how to work. Thus, the first generation of slaves could have been exposed to a considerable amount of eighteenth-century French. Later, when other slaves arrived, they would have been less exposed to native French speakers and received more and more instructions from their predecessors already established on the plantations, and to whom instructions were delegated.

Baker believes that slaves on one plantation could well have spoken a pidginized form of French influenced by ancestral languages of the slaves such as

Fon, Malagasy, Bambara, Dravidian or Wolof. He also discovered that out of the eighty children born in 1737, thirty four were of mixed descent. He therefore suggests that the language of communication between parents and children could well have been a Pidgin French, since children and parents had different native tongues. Later on, as the number of slaves increased, it would have become easier to find a partner with the same, or related, ancestral language. Thus, this pidginized French, from one generation to the other, became the native language of the inhabitants as it developed into a Creole.

To conclude, although there is still disagreement between Baker and Chaudenson about whether Mauritian Creole is a descendant of “Bourbonnais” or, on the contrary, born “in situ”, Baker’s research appears to be more exhaustive and methodical than Chaudenson’s. In the light of evidence provided by both linguists, Baker’s conclusions seem more plausible than Chaudenson’s for two reasons:

- (i) He provides more first-hand historical evidence than Chaudenson.
- (ii) He also attempts to explain why Chaudenson’s estimations may be incomplete in certain cases, or may be wrong.

For these reasons, Baker’s hypothesis that Mauritian Creole was born “in situ”, and developed independently from Réunionnais Creole, will be adopted in the present thesis.

Beside theoretical aspects of Mauritian Creole, there are also sociolinguistic issues which have to be considered, before moving on to the methodology employed in the present study. These will be discussed a little further in the following section.

3.4) Sociolinguistic issues raised by the normalization of the Creole language in Mauritius

Creole is the lingua franca of Mauritius, but it does not have official status (see 2.10.1). The problems affecting normalization and standardization of Mauritian Creole are closely linked to social, political, economic and educational factors. People's attitudes to Creole are also influenced by all these factors and cannot be viewed in isolation as will be seen in chapter 9. The following section will analyze the influence of each area with reference to others, and with reference to the overall situation in Mauritius.

3.4.1) Socio-cultural factors

The issue of normalization and standardization of Creole orthography divides public opinion in Mauritius. Foley (1992: 359-372) sees three types of social attitudes. The first one is represented by Mauritians like Virahsawmy, a writer and politician, by whom Creole is seen as an autonomous language, the national language of Mauritians and as "the language of unity in diversity". In the 70s, Virahsawmy called for a policy of normalization of the Creole language by appealing to the nationalistic sentiment of Mauritians, expressed in these terms: "We, Mauritians, have something in common. It is a very useful tool for the creation of the nation. It can release the feelings of loyalty, self-respect and complete participation. It is the creole we speak...People should not be ashamed of being a creole speaker. On the contrary we should be proud of it as the most genuine aspect of Mauritian culture. It is an important part of our inheritance. Whether we like it or not, it is our national language...For this reason, I suggest that it should be given recognition and from now on be called "Morisise" (Mauricien) (I have here

used the phonemic based orthography which I have devised for the language) as the term creole or Mauritian creole may suggest that it is spoken by only one sector of the population i.e the creoles. And this we all know is not the case” (quoted from Foley 1992: 360). This point of view however, has been associated with left-wing ideological values, since Virahsawmy was member of the M.M.M (Movement Militant Mauricien), a left-wing party, which defended Creole as the national language of Mauritius in the 1970s.

The second attitude is represented by conservative Franco-Mauritians for whom Creole and the French language are considered as having the “same physiognomy as Siamese twins” which “are two complementary aspects of the same vernacular language” (quoted from Foley *ibid*: 361). In this case, the French language is looked upon as the linguistic model and the relationship between Creole and French as one of diglossia, where French has a higher status than Creole.

The final attitude is represented by members of various ethnic communities who view the Creole language as a threat to the development of European and Indian languages. Foley referred to the national newspaper, *l'Express*, in which unsigned articles pleaded: “They have changed our good old creole and made it Kreol. Our good old creole, the language of our forefathers, which was so easy to write in the French orthography, is now written in Swahili” (Foley *ibid*: 361). The Indo-Mauritians view Creole as a step away from Indian culture, religion and the language of their ancestors. Sharma and Rao (1989) explained these negative attitudes, particularly from members of the Hindu community, by suggesting that “Creole has always been associated with Christianity which most of the Hindus avoided as far as possible” (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 109-110).

3.4.2) The socio-economic and educational factors

Economic factors also play an important role in people's attitudes towards languages. Increased commercial links with Europe, South Africa, Australia and Asia, where English is the language of business, made English, as well as other European languages, seem more desirable than Creole. Another important aspect is the state of the island's economy. Full employment and the generally sound economic situation in the 90s (see 2.5) caused Mauritians to want to stay and work in the country. The situation was the opposite in the 70s, when unemployment and political instability caused the exodus of many Mauritians who went looking for work in Europe and Australia. As seen earlier (see 2.9.3), the importance of English and French is seen in the official policy of the educational system. In order to enter any well-paid job, people have to have school or university qualifications. English and French are therefore seen as the languages of social mobility and parents tend to use French at home to give their children a better chance of success in academic studies and to secure a good job (see 9.4.1). Many people, especially in urban areas, seem to be ashamed of speaking Creole, viewed as the language of the uneducated, and prefer to use French in formal social interactions (see 2.10.1).

As far as education is concerned, the situation is somewhat different. Whilst a UNESCO report recommended the use of Creole in the early stages of education (Foley *ibid*: 367), successive governments since independence, have, generally, ignored these issues and preferred to continue the colonial legacy of using English and French in education. The official linguistic policy of the state has promoted multilingualism in education (see 2.9.3) and in the mass media. Radio and television programmes have devoted larger broadcasting space and time to all

languages (see 2.7). Although Creole has also benefitted from this multilingual policy, the debate about the normalization of Creole does not seem to be a major issue in a multilingual state, where Creole is already used, on an informal basis, in many situations.

3.4.3) A theoretical perspective

The failure of the normalization process in Mauritius may be explained from a theoretical point of view. The two main obstacles to the official recognition of Creole seem to be lack of “intellectualization” and “rootedness”, as defined by Alleyne and Garvin (1980). The first aspect involves Creole as a language which can have “the goal of making possible, precise, and if necessary, abstract statements” (Alleyne & Garvin *ibid*: 55). The case of Mauritian Creole has shown that although state institutions allow the use of Creole on an informal basis, English and French naturally take over in formal situations (see 2.10.1). Most writings in Creole and, therefore, the potential to form abstract statements and thinking, has to date been influenced by left-wing political ideas (see 2.8). This has given rise to suspicion, as well as negative attitudes towards the standardization of Creole, thus depriving it of the opportunity of becoming a literary language. Furthermore, the linguistic policy of the state remains very cautious and reserved on the issue of the standardization of the Creole language (Hookoomsing 1993: 151). Attitudes towards Creole in education, as will be seen in chapter 9, have highlighted the fact that Creole is clearly not considered as having the same qualities as “academic” languages such as English and French.

The second aspect underlined by Alleyne and Garvin is that “une langue standard se produit si la variété sélectionnée pour ce développement prend racine

dans la tradition culturelle de la communauté” (Alleyne & Garvin *ibid*: 55). It would appear that the official state policy in favour of multilingualism has contributed to further differentiate the functions of various languages and has encouraged the promotion of ancestral languages in Mauritius (see 2.9.3). Although Oriental languages are found to be generally on the decline, they are nevertheless viewed as representing cultural identity (i.e religious and linguistic) for the Indo-Mauritians, a role which is not fulfilled by Creole. The same can be said of the French language which is viewed as the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Franco-Mauritians.

To conclude, the promotion of Creole to the status of national language and as a vehicle for education involves complex issues, as seen above. However, there seems to be hope for the future of languages in Mauritius, as long as the official linguistic policy favours multilingualism and the functions of various languages are different and complementary. Although Indian and Chinese languages are, generally, declining as will be seen from the results of the present study, the future of English, French and Creole seems to be quite secure, although this situation may change. Whatever the pattern of linguistic development in Mauritius, people's attitudes would undeniably play a decisive role in this evolution.

Chapter 4: Methodological principles and fieldwork strategies

Before deciding on the most appropriate methodology for this project, a number of other works covering a wide variety of approaches used in sociolinguistic research were consulted. As has been seen in the introduction, the essential aim of the present study is to investigate the language use of secondary school adolescents in different contexts, and to look at the factors which motivate their language choice and language attitude. Consequently, a method was required which would provide accurate information on a representative sample of the secondary school population. Careful consideration was thus given to different research methods commonly used in the Social Sciences, in order to find the most suitable one, bearing in mind the requirements and constraints of the present project. This chapter is therefore, organized and laid out according to theoretical and practical considerations and is divided into three main parts:

- (i) The first part gives a brief account of the general principles of some of the research techniques and the reasons why they were either adopted or rejected.
- (ii) The second part reviews some sociolinguistic studies which used similar methods of enquiry to the present study and discusses their relevance to the present project.
- (iii) The third part describes in detail the methodology of the present study, as well as the fieldwork methods and practical problems encountered in

carrying out the survey.

4.1) Review of methodologies

Several studies seemed to be potentially useful and their advantages and disadvantages are discussed in this section, before justifying the choice of the specific methodology for the present investigation. Much of this section draws on previous studies by Stacey (1969), Moser & Kalton (1971), Hoinville & Jowell (1978), Francis (1983), Oppenheim (1966, 1992), Robson (1993) and O'Donnell (1994).

4.1.1) Participant Observation method

Participant Observation is an anthropological research method in which the researcher identifies as closely as possible with the informants. This method is used by psychologists observing children at play for example, or by sociolinguists in the study of small groups in interaction. Milroy (1987 chapter 4) has discussed the advantages and disadvantages of this methodology. The three main advantages are:

- (i) It can provide a good sample of everyday language.
- (ii) It can give insight into the social and communicative norms of the community.
- (iii) It can provide insights into why a speaker's language occupies a particular position in a wider social structure.

This method, however, has a few disadvantages:

- (i) The data, no matter how good, cannot be located within a wider sociolinguistic context if this method is not supplemented by contextual

data from broader studies.

- (ii) It is very demanding on the personal resources of the fieldworker in terms of energy, persistence, time, tact and emotional involvement.
- (iii) It is wasteful in that a large quantity of data is unanalyzable when compared to the small amount that is analyzable.
- (iv) It can be difficult to find a sufficient number and variety of participants to fulfil the range of qualities and criteria required for a properly stratified sample (see section 4.2.4.1).

Hence, so far as the present study is concerned, participant observation was not considered an appropriate method of investigation for two main reasons. First, the aim was not to describe and record specific patterns of speech or cultural linguistic utterances amongst adolescents, so there was no need to engage pupils in dialogue and record linguistic data for long periods of time. Second, this method was felt to be too restrictive and limiting: the fieldwork was to be carried out entirely by the author. Although she possesses all three qualities desirable in a fieldworker, as pointed out by Francis (1983: 80), in this kind of situation -being a native of the area investigated, having familiarity with the socio cultural context and being a Creole speaker -participant observation would have seriously reduced the chances of getting a representative sample of the secondary school population in a short amount of time. Moreover, there were limited financial resources which helped to decide in favour of a method which would yield a maximum amount of useful, reliable and representative data in a limited period of time.

The participant method was used successfully by Trudgill (1974) to describe the particular variety of English language in Norwich. As mentioned earlier (see 4.1.1), his aim was to collect large amounts of “natural speech” in order to study patterns of variation in styles of speech and to correlate them to social categories

of speakers.

Milroy (1980: 43), on the other hand, used this method which “sacrificed representativeness in the interest of developing techniques of recording a wide stylistic range” to obtain a repertoire of speech styles in her study of the Belfast working-class community. This was clearly not the kind of data which was required for the present study. Milroy (1980: 44) used the concept of “social network” by introducing herself as a “friend of a friend” to gain the confidence of her informants. She also carried out a “doorstep survey” in conjunction with this one to study variations in speech across a wide social range. As pointed out by Marley (1991: 28), this clearly suggests that participant observation, on its own, could not provide all the data needed by Milroy for her study.

4.1.2) “Matched-guise” technique

Social psychologists have used matched-guise experiments to study how people’s speech can influence how they are perceived by other speakers. The matched-guise approach has been used in several studies in the United Kingdom to evaluate speakers’ attitudes to different types of accents (Trudgill 1995: 178-179). In these experiments, tape recordings of different or same speakers were played, all reading the same text, with different accents. The informants were then asked to give their opinions on the speakers they had listened to and to locate them on attitudinal scales, for example varying between “very intelligent” to “unintelligent”, and “very friendly” to “very unfriendly”. The results of these experiments have shown that speakers using a standard speaking accent are generally perceived as more intelligent and more educated, but less friendly than the same persons using local accents.

Stieblich (1986) has successfully used the matched-guise technique to investigate Quebecois students' perceptions of anglophones customers (American and Canadian) when interacting with a francophone salesperson in Quebec. The results showed that whilst the use of English by the customer was considered as acceptable, use of French produced more positive judgments (see also 10.2).

Marley (1991: 26) has underlined that this technique can be a valuable method in the study of attitudes towards languages in bilingual or multilingual societies, as well as in the evaluation of the different varieties of language present in these societies.

This method could have been used in conjunction with some other technique to elicit attitudes towards languages in Mauritius. This idea had to be abandoned, since the primary objective of the present study was not to study attitudes of informants to various forms of languages in class-room situation, but the use and choice of these languages by young adolescents of all social-class backgrounds in various communicative contexts. Attitudes towards languages constituted only a minor part of the research and were dealt with by the interview method for reasons explained in section 4.2.3.

Having set aside both the participant observation and matched-guise techniques, the other methods which were consulted were the questionnaire and interview survey. Both methodologies have their advantages as well as their disadvantages. These are now discussed in the following sections.

4.1.3) Questionnaire and Interview methods

Oppenheim (1992: 100) has pointed out that the word "questionnaire" can be used either in a strict or a broad manner. In its limited sense the term questionnaire

refers exclusively to self-administered and/or postal questionnaires. In a broad sense it includes administered, face-to-face or telephone interviews as well. In the present study the term questionnaire is used in its broad sense for reasons of convenience.

Francis (1983 chapter 5) has discussed the two principal methods used to collect data in surveys. These are the "indirect" and "direct" methods. The indirect method, using a postal questionnaire, was found to be successful to gather information for linguistic atlases in Scotland, Wales and Germany by Francis (ibid: 68-69), where informants were carefully selected and precise instructions were provided to guide them. The use of a postal questionnaire in this study was discarded for two main reasons: the first one is that a valid list of all the addresses of pupils in secondary school establishments to whom the questionnaire could be sent to was virtually impossible to obtain and postage would have been very expensive. The second reason is that a lot of time can be involved waiting for replies and there is no guarantee of a high rate of reply.

The second way of administering a questionnaire is the direct method. This may be a questionnaire administered by telephone or in a face-to-face interview by the researcher. The telephone method was immediately decided to be inappropriate for two major reasons. First, not all parts of the island have been provided with telephone facilities, this is the case for many Mauritian households many of whom live in rural areas and remote coastal settlements. The other reason is related to the first one, which is that a telephone survey would have excluded school adolescents who do not own a telephone, thus making the sample less representative of the secondary school population.

Face-to-face interviews involving an administered questionnaire, on the other hand, "offer the possibility of modifying one's line of enquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives in a way that postal and

other self-administered questionnaires cannot" (Robson 1993: 229). Their main drawbacks are that they are time-consuming, expensive and prone to bias (O'Donnell 1994: 16-17). The respondents may for instance give answers which they think will please the researcher, or they may wish to show that they know more about the subject than they in fact do. The researchers are also likely to influence the respondent's answer either by their manner of asking the questions or their physical appearance. As Oppenheim has pointed out, these types of problems exist, they tend to happen regularly, and "every interviewer must also learn how to cope with the biases and distortions which these problems create" (Oppenheim 1992: 66). This technique was used successfully by Marley (1991) to gather sociolinguistic data on varieties of languages spoken in Perpignan. The bias factor was minimized by visiting informants in their homes at different times, by keeping a record of all informants visited and by contacting people in different public places.

The idea of an administered questionnaire in a face-to-face interview was retained, but the practical constraints of time and money, as seen above, would not have allowed an investigation spread over a long period of time. Some time was, therefore, devoted in order to find the most suitable type of interview for this study and how it could be adapted to the nature and context of the present project.

Questionnaires as well as interviews can be of three types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. In the structured questionnaire the form of all the questions and their order are predetermined. The advantages of a structured questionnaire are that all the informants are asked exactly the same questions, in the same order and in the same format (Stacey 1969 chapter 5). The disadvantage of such a questionnaire is that it forces the respondents' replies into a fixed pattern and thus does not allow them to record finer, more nuanced shades of responses. These finer shades of meanings can be more clearly evaluated in open-ended

questions.

In the unstructured questionnaire, the question order is not set in advance, the answers can be left open and the informants often have to answer in their own words. Stacey (ibid: 80) recommends open-ended questions for matters dealing with beliefs and feelings but, at the same time, makes the point that these can be time-consuming and problematic for analysis.

The semi-structured questionnaire can contain both closed and open questions.

The interview can also be structured in the same way, as described above for the questionnaire, with slight variations due to the nature of the tool. The structured interview has a precise format with definite questions and the responses can be recorded. In the semi-structured interview, the researcher works out a set of questions in advance which are relatively open-ended, but is free to modify their order, to include or leave out questions according to the context. In the unstructured interview, the interviewer does not follow a given sequence of questions, but lets the conversation develop within a general area of interest or concern. Although this type of interview allows greater freedom to both interviewer and informant, it needs a skilled and experienced interviewer, and tape recorders are often needed to record the information.

A structured questionnaire seemed most appropriate for the present study, since comparable data from all informants was required in order to carry out quantitative analysis. Thus, answers to the questionnaire were pre-coded so that the responses could be fed straight into a computer with a program which could receive these answers.

The face-to-face interview appeared to be more suitable as a follow-up in order to obtain more information on opinions and views on languages. The chief advantages of these two methods are that they needed few financial and

technological resources to yield useful and reliable data in a relatively short amount of time. Once the field methods had been chosen, the next two considerations were finding a suitable sampling procedure and designing the questionnaire.

4.2) Sampling procedure

There are several stages involved in the presentation of a sample survey. The first step is to define the population to be surveyed, that is, the population from which the sample is to be drawn. In the present study the term population refers to adolescents in secondary education in Mauritius. If the population to whom the questions are addressed is a large one, it becomes necessary to put the questions to a representative sample rather than to the entire population. A representative sample “has the same characteristics as its population but is much smaller in numbers” (Oppenheim 1992: 38). As will be seen in the second part of this chapter, not all samples are necessarily representative, or they may only be representative of part of a population. For the present study, the restriction of time and personnel made it crucial to use a procedure which would provide a most representative sample in order to make any valid claims about the target population.

4.2.1) Sample size

The next step was to determine the sample size. Oppenheim (ibid: 43) argues that “a sample’s accuracy is more important than its size”. According to Hoinville and Jowell the size of a sample is more a matter of judgment than of calculation (Hoinville & Jowell 1978: 61). Some well-known sociolinguistic studies are based

on a small sample size, like Labov's study of New York (1972), which involved 88 informants and Trudgill's Norwich sample which included only 60 people (1974).

Marley (1991: 31) argues that the figure of 5% appears to be a relatively standard and adequate percentage from which valid conclusions can be drawn. In the present study such a proportion would have been difficult to handle. The total secondary school population in Mauritius was 81707 in 1992 (see 2.9.2) and the total number of secondary schools was 120 according to education statistics. The total number of pupils in each school varied from 500 to 1000 depending on the size of the schools. Thus, a sample of 5% would have included more than 4000 pupils, which is a very large number for a sample. This was the reason for consulting some sampling techniques in order to find a suitable one which would allow the most representative sample to be drawn from the secondary school population.

4.2.2) Some sampling techniques

Random sampling involves selecting at random from a population list (Robson 1993: 137). It has the advantage of giving every person an equal chance of being included in the sample. In this context randomness is not an arbitrary process but a statistically defined procedure that requires a table, or set of random numbers which are generated by a computer or by statistical calculations (Oppenheim *ibid*: 40). This method is used in lottery draws for example. A random sample can only be produced from a whole list of the population being studied. Although this method is regarded as ideal in theory, in practice it would have been very difficult to obtain a full list of all the pupils in secondary education. Therefore, other sampling methods were consulted which would allow representative sample to be drawn and which would also take into account practical considerations such as time and costs.

In a stratified sample the population is divided into a number of strata before sampling the population. A sample is then drawn in correct proportion from each section within the group being studied (Moser and Kalton 1971: 85).

Oppenheim has pointed out that quota sampling can be used to obtain a representative sample. He has defined a "quota" as a "cell within an overall sample, designed to have the same socio-demographic characteristics as its population" (ibid: 41). The quota can be set in advance, so that, for example, the interviewer can decide on the number or percentage of men, women, the age groups, social classes which need to be included in the overall sample. This method of sampling is cheaper to operate because a specified percentage or "quota" of each category in the target group is decided upon in advance, and the researcher then has to look for anyone who fits the categories. The final selection of interviewees is left to the researchers who have to use their local knowledge and initiative to make sure that their quota has been filled. According to Moser and Kalton (ibid), "it is this non-random element that constitutes its great weakness" (Moser & Kalton ibid: 127). Although the quota method, like most methods, is prone to bias because of its non-randomness and its statistical errors, which cannot be measured with precision, it was felt that a combination of the quota and stratified method would be the most appropriate one since, it would yield a relatively great amount of data in a relatively short amount of time.

Thus, ten secondary schools out of 120 (8.3%) appeared an adequate number from which to obtain a representative sample. In Mauritius the area where a school is situated is not a decisive factor for the students, since the small size of the island and good road conditions make it possible for students to travel relatively long distances to attend the school they have chosen or been allocated to, according to their academic performance in the C.P.E examination (see 2.9.2).

The number of secondary schools were selected on a quota basis according to whether they were in rural or urban areas, single-sex or mixed schools, run by religious orders or not, whether state or private schools, thus ensuring that all types of schools were represented, as well as the sociolinguistic and socioeconomic characteristics of the whole secondary school adolescent population. The schools' location can be found in the map in section 5.4.3 on page 137.

4.3) Account of the fieldwork

Once the theoretical issues related to the preliminary stage of the research had been considered, the practical section dealing with the preparation of the fieldwork and how it was carried out follows in the next section. As pointed out earlier (see 4.1.1), the fieldwork was carried out by the author, and for this reason, the next section is written in the first person.

4.3.1) Contacting the Ministry of Education

From an early stage personal contacts proved to be a very useful means of obtaining information required at the Ministry of Education. I requested, through writing, a complete list of all the secondary schools with their location, as well as official permission to visit ten of these schools. In the same letter, I also outlined the aims of my study, methods of research and relevance of these results as a pilot project on adolescents' language use, language choice and language attitudes in a multilingual environment.

4.3.2) Pilot study

The first draft of the questionnaire was circulated to colleagues and other persons for criticisms and comments. In the light of these comments the first draft was amended and tested in the field in a pilot study. Personal contacts here again helped to accelerate and finalize the administrative and formal requirements necessary for the survey to take place.

The pilot work was conducted on a small sample by myself in October and November 1992. The completion of the questionnaire required between thirty and forty-five minutes. The two languages in which the students were most at ease in completing the questionnaire were English and French. A version in Creole was attempted, but since Creole lacks a standardized orthography, it proved impractical as students could not decipher the questions. On the other hand, the two most popular languages for the interviews were French and Creole with a slight preference for Creole in rural areas.

There were a few constraints which the research had to face in this particular instance. The timing of the visits had to take into consideration the Mauritian school calendar, which is opposite to the European one: September- November is the third term leading to the end of the academic year. I was aware of this fact, but did not realize that fifth formers and A level students were currently revising for their final examinations and, therefore, were less available at that time. As already seen in section 2.9.2, this stage represents an important and decisive period in the lives of Mauritian adolescents; consequently, revision sessions and mock examinations play a crucial role in the preparation for the final S.C and A-level examinations, which take place at the end of the third term.

The pilot study proved to be essential in suggesting modifications of the

questionnaire. These changes were made to ensure the efficiency and pertinence of the material in the amount of time allotted for carrying out the survey. Responses were examined to see if they were yielding the required data. This exploratory work helped to finalize the form and length of the questions, and suggested other amendmends to be incorporated into the final version of the questionnaire. Some questions had to be reworded, others with little or no discriminative value were dropped, and yet others broken down into separate questions in the final draft.

4.3.3) Main visit

The main visit took place in March and April 1993. A preliminary timetable of the visits was drafted and submitted to the chief education officers responsible for state and private colleges. The colleges were then informed officially of the research visit, the day and the time.

The survey was carried out during weekdays. The state secondary schools were visited first because they break up earlier than the private schools. The procedure followed was much the same for each school visit. I arrived early in the morning, before the start of the first lesson, and I stayed on average three to four hours in each school. On arriving at the school I first introduced myself or was introduced when I was accompanied by the education officers. When requested, I showed a copy of the questionnaire I was using to the heads of schools. Thus they were convinced that the data obtained would always remain confidential and anonymous, so that the findings could not be traced back to a particular respondent. I also assured the heads of school that a report on the results of my study would be sent to them, if they so wished, once the research was completed.

4.3.4) Data collection

The informants were gathered in a classroom made available and they completed the questionnaire in my presence. The sample consisted of a total of 15-20 students from each school, from all social and ethnic backgrounds. Before starting each session, I explained that I was a student at the University of Nottingham working on languages spoken by young adolescents living in a multilingual society, their preferences and their views on these languages. The respondents were kindly requested to complete a questionnaire. I pointed out that all their answers would remain anonymous and that no signature would be asked for, and that each questionnaire would be given a number. In this way it was hoped that informants would not be afraid to give frank answers.

I ensured that the respondents understood the procedure for answering the multi-response questions. The only variation introduced in the procedure was a change of language. It was decided for reasons of convenience that all informants within one school would answer in one language only- English or French- to the questionnaire. The language rota between English and French was set up on an alternative basis.

The questions were read aloud in the order in which they occurred, in the language of the questionnaire (French or English), one at a time, while the respondents wrote down their answers on their questionnaires. After each question I allowed a few minutes for the students to answer and waited until every student had finished, thus making sure that a 100% response rate was achieved. The completion of the questionnaire took between 45-60 minutes, which is the time of a school period. In this way I made certain that all informants answered the questions in the same order and that they all had roughly the same amount of time to do so.

After the questionnaires were completed, I requested 4-6 volunteers for the interviews, and I stressed that they should be from different school years and different ethnic groups. Informants' reactions to the interview were positive. The only problem was that most of them wanted to stay behind rather than getting back to their lessons. Finally, I selected one student at random from each school year, and from different ethnic groups, whenever possible, for the interviews. For the interviews all three languages were used (English, French, Creole). Altogether 42 students were interviewed for 10-15 minutes, each in the language of their choice.

After the interviews, respondents, heads of schools and members of staff were thanked for their efforts on behalf of the University and myself for allowing the investigation to take place, as well as the school for being cooperative. I reassured the heads of schools that a report and a summary of the findings would be available on request at the end of the study.

The responses in the schools varied from mere curiosity from members of staff to positive interest, especially from language teachers. An official authorization from the Ministry of Education helped and gave more credibility to the study, and most of the heads of schools, as well as the members of staff and students, were willing to cooperate. People felt reassured that the survey aimed at gathering information for academic purposes rather than being merely a personal initiative.

4.4) Review of some selected studies

Before deciding on the final form of the questionnaire and interview for this project, several sociolinguistic studies using these two methods of enquiry were consulted. Some of these studies proved to be more useful than others, particularly those with aims similar to the present one. The following section reviews these

studies and gives some account of the methodology used, along with their relevance to the present project.

4.4.1) Le Page and Tabouret-Keller in the Caribbean

One interesting study, which has a certain amount in common with the present one, is Le Page and Tabouret Keller's "Sociolinguistic survey of multilingual communities" in British Honduras (B.H) and Saint Lucia (S.L). As the title suggests, this is a large-scale sociolinguistic survey carried out in a multilingual, diglossic Creole-speaking environment.

The aims of the survey were twofold: the first one to discover and elaborate a sociolinguistic theory "by examining a community in its formative stages, and the members of that community at their formative ages, to lay a firmer basis for the discussion of the role of language in society and its relationship to social problems" (Le Page 1975: 541). The second aim, practical in nature, was "to improve the quality of education in multilingual communities" (Le Page 1972: 155).

The research has led to a number of subsequent publications, which focussed on particular sets of data, published separately over several years. Unfortunately, it appears that the investigation undertaken and its results have not been compiled into a single volume, thus making it difficult for the reader to know which parts of the study were fully completed.

The main reasons for choosing B.H and S.L are that these countries were approaching independence and were undergoing rapid cultural and linguistic change. Le Page & Tabouret Keller (1970) describe the linguistic situation in B.H as "fluid", where "les dialectes créoles y sont en contact non seulement avec l'anglais comme langue modèle, mais également avec l'espagnol et certaines

langues amérindiennes” (Le Page & Tabouret Keller 1970: 111). The population near the Guatemalan border speak Spanish, are Roman Catholics and are mainly poor and often illiterate farmers. At the other end of the district, people speak Creole, are Roman Catholic, Anglican or Protestant, have a higher level of literacy and work as labourers or in urban jobs (Le Page et al. 1974: 2).

The second survey on the Eastern Caribbean island of S.L is carried out on a smaller scale than B.H. S.L replaced Mauritius, which was originally intended to form part of a comparative study between Mauritius and B.H (Tabouret-Keller & Le Page 1970: 109). Yet no explanation is given for this change of setting. Stein (1982) provides a plausible explanation: “l’envergure de l’entreprise, d’une part, qui requiert l’approbation, sinon le soutien des instances officielles; d’autre part la sensibilité des Mauriciens dans tout ce qui touche les langues et le statu quo linguistique, qui aurait pu être troublé par la présence d’une équipe de chercheurs et par leurs activités qui ne seraient pas passés inaperçues” (Stein 1982: 55). Only one article (Le Page 1977) refers to the second survey. The sociolinguistic situation in S.L was somewhat different to that of B.H. S.L changed hands several times between France and England between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but English is the dominant language and the main religion is Catholicism. As a result of its social history, an English-based Creole and a French-based Creole are spoken on the island, but there are fewer speakers of French Creole.

The sampling procedure for B.H is described in detail in Le Page (1972). It is carried out in several stages. The final sample consists of 280 school children. It was decided to carry out the investigation in schools, since school is the place where members from different ethnic groups are most likely to be found (Tabouret Keller & Le Page 1970: 115). The language of education is English, but in the playground children of all ethnic groups communicate with each other in Creole, the lingua franca. Informants, aged between 10 to 17 years, were selected at

random by taking every fourth name on class-lists of Standards IV, V and VI together with the first year of secondary school (Le Page 1972: 161-162 & 1974: 3). Le Page points out that “by chance [the sample was] equally divided between boys and girls. They covered the geographical region, and most socio-economic, religious, ethnic and occupational groups” (Le Page 1972: 162).

The children were interviewed and the recordings lasted for “approximately 1 hour or more [...] talking with each child, usually sitting in the Mini-Moke vehicle some distance from the school, recording the conversation, the stories the child told, and its reading of a prepared text and a word list. Subsequently, Dr Christie completed a questionnaire with each child, getting details of the languages said to be used with different members of the family and so on. Each child’s home was then visited by one member or another of the team, and a questionnaire completed relating to the family background, origins of parents and grandparents, location of siblings, general academic and economic achievement and ambitions, religious and cultural allegiances, nature of the home, opinions expressed about various ethnic groups, etc. These interviews took generally between 1.5 and 3.5 hours, and were occasionally recorded” (ibid).

Further investigations were also carried out in order to obtain information on family life as well as other aspects of everyday life and the region in general. The language in which this first part of the survey was carried out is not stated explicitly, but may well have been either English or Creole, or both.

The methodology followed in S.L is approximately the same as in B.H, i.e socio-economic and cultural data were gathered via questionnaires, and conversation/story-telling was audio taped. The sample in this case consists of 100 school children chosen from the northern part of the island, aged 10 and 14 years from Creole and East Indian origins (Le Page 1977: 114). However, details as to

how the children were selected is not provided.

In B.H five linguistic features were selected as being associated with prestige pronunciation of English or with Creole vernacular usage or with Hispanization (Le Page 1974: 3). In S.L twelve linguistic features were identified as being associated with standard English or with the English-based Creole or with the French-based Creole (Le Page 1977: 114). These linguistic features were then quantified into percentages according to their frequency in the stories narrated by the children. Although the results obtained in S.L do not allow clear-cut conclusions (Le Page *ibid*: 123), those from B.H revealed correlations between socio-economic status and the use of English, Spanish and/or Creole. Moreover, the survey also reveals that speakers frequently use a mixture of English, Creole and Spanish in a same conversation, but the portions of each language varied according to the requirement of the situation.

Le Page (1975) finds that the patterns of linguistic behaviour in a child are influenced by three factors: the linguistic behaviour of his peers, the economic prospects of employment in the country, and the cultural and political allegiance of the community with which he chooses to identify himself (Le page *ibid*: 550). He also argues that in a constantly changing multiracial and multilingual society, the individual creates his systems of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes from time to time to be identified. These results have allowed him to elaborate on the concept of a flexible identity in multilingual speakers in a subsequent publication. This last point is of particular interest to the present study as it deals with the identity construct in multilingual environment and is discussed in more detail in chapter 10.

In his critical review of the Caribbean project, a decade later, Le Page and Mc Entegart (1982: 105-124) identify a number of problems associated with “defects

and failures in the fieldwork methods". The main weakness is related to the inconsistency in the sampling procedure, which is different in both regions. In the light of these difficulties, in order to collect standard and comparable samples of speech for valid statistical analysis, Le Page and McEntegart (ibid: 115) recommend a structured approach to investigations in multilingual settings:

- (i) Interviews should be standardized.
- (ii) The use of a standard list of topics should be studied.
- (iii) The response time should be the same for all respondents and each interview should be transcribed.
- (iv) The interviewer's transition to each topic should be standardized.

Finally, Le Page himself acknowledges that the project was too ambitious insofar as its aims were to relate social and psychological factors to the linguistic behaviour of children by means of a single survey.

The influence of the Caribbean survey itself on the present project is limited. Although both studies deal with creolophone countries, each has a different aim; therefore, the type of survey and information elicited in Le Page's survey is different from the present study. Whilst Le Page et al. are concerned with correlations between speech styles and social context, the present study is aiming to look at language use in a variety of contexts as well as language attitudes in a multilingual setting. Nevertheless, some linguistic variables seem appropriate to the present study. These are: language use within the family and information on the cultural and linguistic background of the informant. The recommendations made by Mc Entegart and Le Page were also kept in mind before deciding on the specific interviewing procedure for the present study.

4.4.2) Zéphir In Haiti

Another interesting study which was of some help, particularly for the section on language attitudes, was Zéphir's (1990) "Language choice, language use, language attitudes of Haitian bilingual community". The bilinguals who speak Creole and French constitute a privileged group in Haiti, and represent between 5 and 10% of the population. In this study, Zéphir looks at:

- (i) Language use and language choice in different situations and with different interlocutors.
- (ii) Social norms that are reflected in the use and choice of language.
- (iii) Language attitudes of Haitian bilinguals toward Creole and French.

The sample consisted of 52 informants who were aged between 20 and 59 years. The majority (81%) were college graduates with different professions. Zéphir uses the participant method to collect her data. Among the topics covered by the research are those of family, personal matters, current events and education. She notes that it was difficult to observe every informant in every situation (ibid: 135-136). As she could not observe all 52 informants, she based her results on twenty of them and supplemented this method by an oral interview, which lasted approximately one hour. This study corroborates the point, made earlier (see 4.1.1), that participant observation is very demanding and often inadequate method, on its own, it could not yield all the data required by Zéphir for her study.

Zéphir (ibid: 163) discovers that language use and language preference are influenced by a series of factors, among which are location of interaction, personal characteristics of interlocutor, degree of intimacy between interlocutors and sex of informants. The use of Creole, for example, is preferred when interacting in a rural context, with illiterates, people from a low socio-economic background and for transmitting national messages concerning the general public (Zéphir ibid: 178-

180). French, on the contrary, is preferred in scientific and technical contexts, public offices and administration, universities, business meetings and transactions with strangers and when meeting people for the first time. The results also show that, in the home Creole is the predominant language but French is also used to a small extent. However, with younger children Zéphir found that informants prefer to speak French as they “feel that it is necessary for children to start learning French at a very young age” and they view themselves as “conveyors of the French language to their youngsters” (Zéphir *ibid*: 149). This “monitoring” role of parents tends to decrease as the children grow older but continues with grandchildren. Zéphir also notes a tendency to “overuse” French even at home, where it may not be the standard practice (Zéphir *ibid*: 182). She explains this tendency by suggesting that the use of French is linked to the prestige attached to that language and to favourable characteristics attributed to its speakers. Estimations of language use on a daily basis were difficult to evaluate, since the changing environment and interaction with different people entail a variation in the use and choice of language which is not easily quantifiable (Zéphir *ibid*: 161).

Zéphir also observes a high level of code-alternation or code-switching between Creole and French, defined as “the practice of alternatively using two (or more languages) within the same conversation” (Zéphir *ibid*: 214). She points out that code-switching occurs both in Creole and in French but for different reasons in each case. Although the data on code-switching did not allow conclusive remarks, since it involved only a few informants, Creole code-switching occurs in French when informants want to express emotions and feelings. French code-switching occurs in Creole when the topic of conversation is of a technical, academic or specialized nature.

Zéphir finds out that although many informants had reservations as to the

status of Creole as a “real” language, they nevertheless accepted the fact that Creole was symbol of “haitianness” (Zéphir *ibid*: 246). She describes the nature of the attitudes of bilingual Haitians as conflictual, since informants appear to be at the centre of a constant tension between Haitian nationalism, as a member of the Haitian community, and the desire for social status, prestige and social promotion (Zéphir *ibid*: 245). In her opinion, this contradiction reflects the diglossic relationship between Creole and French where both languages have a different but complementary status as seen above.

Zéphir (*ibid*: 20-25) argues that although the constitution recognizes the bilingual status of the Haitian state, Creole is not fully accepted in all institutions. Furthermore, the educational reform which aimed at imposing Creole as the sole vehicle for education has been unpopular with both privileged and unprivileged social classes. Whilst the low socio-economic classes viewed this reform as “un enseignement au rabais” depriving them the possibility of learning French and therefore, of social promotion, Haitians from a privileged background opposed the reform for social and ideological reasons.

Zéphir concludes that despite official linguistic policy to promote Creole in Haiti, the diglossic relationship between Creole and French is reflected in the choice of languages, as well as attitudes of Haitian bilinguals. Whilst Creole is theoretically accepted in all domains, French is still the language associated with educational success and social and economic advancement for the majority of Haitians, irrespective of their social class and background. According to her, “efforts of codification, normalization, standardization and establishment of a stable orthography for Creole are not necessary to valorize Creole. Language attitudes, choice and use are all important factors that need to be considered in addressing this issue” (Zéphir *ibid*: 253).

This study does not have a direct influence on the present one, since the methodology and areas investigated are different from that adopted in the present one. It nevertheless does provide some useful and comparative information as to the language attitudes of the most educated portion of a creolophone society, as well as social factors that influence its language use and language choice.

The following four surveys are of particular interest as they are based in Mauritius. Each of these studies was carefully evaluated and the relevance to the present project is discussed in the following pages. Consequently, some have a greater amount of influence on the present one than others. Moreover, all four studies, reviewed here in chronological order, use a questionnaire to gather linguistic data, and so, are of some help in that respect.

4.4.3) Kistoe-West in Mauritian Primary Schools

An interesting study which was of limited scope was Kistoe-West's "Languages in Primary Schools in Mauritius: a survey study" (Kistoe-West 1978). The aim of this survey was to investigate the views of headteachers, teachers and parents on language teaching in primary schools in Mauritius. Although Kistoe-West fails to provide specific details on the research methodology and how the schools were chosen, the survey nevertheless provides useful information on language use and language choice in schools.

Postal questionnaires were sent to 246 primary schools. Each category of informant received a different questionnaire:

The **headteachers** were asked to give their views on:

- (i) When a child should start learning languages at school.

- (ii) At what stage should the following four languages be used as medium of instruction: English, French, Oriental languages and Creole.

The teachers were asked to express their views on:

- (i) Which language is best understood in year 1 of primary education.
- (ii) In which school year a child could pass examinations in English and French.
- (iii) Which of the four languages mentioned above is used to facilitate comprehension in year one.

The parents had to indicate:

- (i) In which languages they speak to their children.
- (ii) In which languages the children answer back.
- (iii) In which order they prefer languages to be taught in school.
- (iv) In which school year the four languages mentioned above should be used as medium of instruction.

The number of informants is approximately the same in each category (165, 164 and 152 respectively). Statistical calculations were carried out on the quantifiable data and percentages produced. The opinions expressed were highlighted.

The results show that whilst parents favour the idea of teaching languages from an early stage in primary schools, teachers and headteachers have a different view on the question. Teaching French in year 1 presents no obstacle, but teachers often have to resort to Creole to facilitate understanding of English and Mathematics. Headteachers prefer a progressive introduction of languages in primary schooling: French in year 1, English in year 2 and Oriental languages in

year 3.

Kistoe-West's survey does not have a direct influence on the present project because the aims of both studies are different. Nevertheless, two attitudinal questions (Kistoe-West *ibid*: 7 & 16) seemed to a certain extent applicable to the present study namely:

- (i) Which languages would you like your children to study at school- in order of preference.
- (ii) Which of the following languages do you use in Standard I to facilitate an immediate understanding of English, French, Mathematics.

It can be seen from questions 13 &15 of the present questionnaire (see appendix), how these two questions were adapted and integrated to the present investigation.

4.4.4) Stein in Mauritius

Another interesting source which was of great help was Stein's "Connaissance et Emploi des langues à l'île Maurice" (Stein 1982). The primary aim of this study, as Stein puts it, is to give "une vue d'ensemble aussi complète que possible de la situation des différentes langues de Maurice, de leur coexistence, de leur concurrence et de leur rivalité" (Stein 1983: 79).

The sample consists of 720 respondents, selected by quota sample, explained by Stein in these terms: "nous avons profité de toute occasion pour poser nos questions, mais [...] nous avons non moins veillé à diriger notre attention vers des catégories de témoins insuffisamment ou pas encore représentés dans le corpus" (1983: 85). The five sociological variables are those of ethnic and linguistic

group, age, place of residence, sex and socio-economic status.

Stein used a questionnaire which he divided into two parts for collecting personal and linguistic information. In the first part informants had to indicate their language use in various contexts on a daily basis. Respondents also had to give estimations of their abilities in the four skills: writing, understanding, reading and speaking, for the following languages: English, Bhojpuri, Chinese, Creole, French, Gujrati, Hindi, Marathi, Urdu, Tamil and Telegu. In the second part of the survey respondents were also asked to give an interview in the language of their choice. The interviews lasted between 15 minutes and an hour. Unfortunately, the results of these interviews were not completed at the time Stein wrote his thesis, and do not appear to have been published in a subsequent paper.

Stein (1982) distinguishes four main diglossic models in the Mauritian context (Stein *ibid*: 135). The first two are cases of classic diglossia, as defined by Ferguson (1964: 435), where the two languages are genetically related but have a different status. The first one is between French and Creole and the second one between Hindi and Bhojpuri, where Hindi has a higher status than Bhojpuri in the same way as French and Creole.

The third case, however, is a non-classic case of diglossia, since it involves two languages which are not related genetically: Creole and Bhojpuri. In this particular case, Creole has a higher status than Bhojpuri. Stein refers to Domingue (1971) to explain this situation in which "Creole has the prestige of a more useful language since it allows communication with members of other speech communities, and it represents the values of city living and white collar jobs" (Stein 1982: 136).

The fourth case involves English which is not genetically related to any of the other languages, but nevertheless "joue un rôle non négligeable comme variété

haute” (Stein *ibid*: 136). Furthermore, its high status gives English an undeniably strong position as “[il] s’introduit dans la diglossie créole-français déjà existante pour y concurrencer le français” (*ibid*).

These last two cases of diglossia can be considered as illustrations of Fishman’s (1967) broader definition of diglossia which takes into account multilingual societies in which languages are not necessarily genetically related.

Stein (*ibid*: 613) classifies the languages into two categories according to their status and use by the various ethnic communities (see table below). The first category or “*langues supracommunautaires*” includes English, French and Creole. Their use is not confined to any ethnolinguistic group in particular. The second category or “*langues intracommunautaires*” comprises eleven Oriental languages, which are spoken by members of different ethnic groups.

Table 11 Stein’s typology

| Language category | Non-standard language | Standard Language |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| “ <i>langues supra-communautaires</i> ” | Creole | French English |
| “ <i>langues intra-communautaires</i> ” Indian (majority) (minority) Chinese | Bhojpuri Kutchi & Sindhi | Hindi & Urdu Marathi, Telegu Tamil & Gujarati Hakka & Cantonese |

(Sindhi and Kutchi are two dialects of Gujrati which are spoken only by a handful of elderly people, Stein 1982: 619)

Creole is the only language used by almost the whole population. French occupies second position after Creole, being used frequently by two-thirds of the sample, but a small minority (5.3%) claims to use it most of the time. English is used less frequently, by two thirds of the whole sample and is mainly confined to formal and written contexts.

Hindi is used by one third of the Indo-Mauritians (who also speak Bhojpuri) as well as some Marathi speakers. With the exception of Hindi and Bhojpuri, the other Indian languages are not used on a regular basis. The Chinese languages (Hakka and Cantonese), although declining, are still used by three quarters of the Sino-Mauritians of the older generations.

Stein highlights several degrees of multilingualism among the respondents. Trilingualism (English, French and Creole) is the dominant model; mono, penta and hexalingual speakers being the exception. Three levels of performance are posited: "good", "average" and "know a few words". Those who say they speak English, French and Creole "well" belong to the "population générale". Good levels of performance for English, French and Creole are also found among the young Indo-Mauritians and Sino-Mauritians, who do not seem to know and speak their ancestral languages. Those who claim not to speak English well appear to be the main speakers responsible for the increase in the good performance of French and Creole.

Stein shows that knowledge of French and English depends on the level of schooling of the informants, their age and socio-economic status. Both English and French are learnt as second languages at school and are "la condition sine qua non de toute promotion sociale", except for the Franco-Mauritians, Mulattoes and a few Mauritians whose mother tongue is already French. However, knowledge of French and English are specifically linked to the development of education on the

island.

The minority Indian languages (Tamil, Telegu, Marathi and Gujrati) are seldom used outside the family circle and religious context. Stein's results show that these languages are generally on the decline. The Marathi and Telegu speakers appear to have a better knowledge of their languages than the Tamil speakers, who have largely abandoned theirs. Gujrati is least well-known. On the whole, these minority languages are mainly spoken by the older generations.

Stein describes the linguistic evolution in Mauritius in terms of a shift from the "langues intracommunautaires" to the "langues supracommunautaires" particularly amongst the younger generations. In a subsequent article, he explains the increase in the number of Creole speakers as a result of this shift since the Tamils, Muslims and Sino-Mauritians, when interacting with members of other communities, have to communicate in Creole (1983: 102-103). His results also reveal a growing tendency amongst younger generations living in urban areas to drop the Oriental languages in favour of English, French and Creole. The two languages most commonly used in this trilingual combination are Creole and French.

Stein concludes: "malgré 150 ans de domination britannique et malgré une majorité d'Indo-Mauriciens qui sont venus avec leurs langues, l'île Maurice est restée à ce jour une île franco-créolophone. Ni l'anglais, ni les langues indiennes n'ont pu menacer les deux langues ou les écarter de leur position dominante [...]. La régression des langues indiennes et du chinois montre que ces langues ne sont pas indispensables pour l'île Maurice actuelle, bien qu'elles aient une grande valeur symbolique pour les membres de ces groupes respectifs. De même, un remplacement de l'anglais par le français semblerait être réalisable, malgré des problèmes d'ordre technique, si le gouvernement l'envisageait. Le créole et le français, par contre, sont trop bien établis et enracinés à Maurice pour pouvoir être menacés dans leur existence. La société pluriethnique de Maurice serait

impensable sans ces deux langues créole et française". (Stein 1982: 622).

This survey is obviously an important source of reference in any sociolinguistic study of Mauritius. Although Stein's questionnaire was designed to cover the Mauritian population as a whole and not a subsection, as in the present study, it does give some idea as to which areas to investigate. Of particular interest are the questions dealing with language use and language ability (Stein 1982: 249-251) as can be seen from the two questions quoted below:

(i) "Indiquez le pourcentage de l'emploi des langues dont vous vous servez assez régulièrement:

a) quand vous parlez

b) quand vous écrivez

(ii) “Quelles langues connaissez-vous? Indiquez par les chiffres: 1= très bien; 2= bien; 3= assez bien; 4= un peu; 5= quelques mots”.

| | comprenez -vous | parlez- vous | savez- vous lire | savez- vous écrire | avec qui avez vous appris la langue? |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Anglais | | | | | |
| Bhojpuri | | | | | |
| Chinois | | | | | |
| Créole | | | | | |
| Français | | | | | |
| Goujerati | | | | | |
| Hindi | | | | | |
| Marathi | | | | | |
| Ourdou | | | | | |
| Tamil | | | | | |
| Télégou | | | | | |

It can be seen from questions 9, 10 and 19 of the present questionnaire (see appendix), how these two questions were adapted and integrated to meet the requirements of the study.

4.4.5) Hookoomsing in Stanley-Trèfles

Another source of some help was Hookoomsing's "Emploi de la langue créole dans le contexte multilingue et multiculturel de l'île Maurice" (Hookoomsing 1987). Unlike Stein, Hookoomsing aimed to look at the use of languages and perceptions of Creole in the working-class community of Stanley-Trèfles described as "une région à prédominance ouvrière et socio-économiquement défavorisée de Rose-Hill" (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 157).

Hookoomsing carried out a questionnaire survey on 348 informants from all ethnic groups. The three social variables were those of sex, age and ethnic group. All ethnic groups are represented, although the percentages do not reflect the distribution of the national census (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 165).

A questionnaire written in Creole using a simple orthography based on French was used to collect the data. Although a French version of the questionnaire is provided, the Creole version used to collect the data was, unfortunately, not included in the thesis. The questionnaire is divided into four main sections:

- (i) Biographical information.
- (ii) Information on language use.
- (iii) Estimations of performance in the four skills: writing, understanding, reading, speaking according to the following scale: well, quite well, a few words, not at all.
- (iv) Perceptions and opinions on Mauritian Creole.

Hookoomsing does not seem to have encountered any major difficulties. There were, nevertheless, some unexpected results to the question on language of ancestors, in the first section of the questionnaire. Informants seem to have misinterpreted the meaning of the word "grand dimounes" in Creole (this word

literally means elder members of the family). As Hookoomsing puts it “le terme “grands dimounes” signifie selon le contexte les vieux ou les ancêtres” (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 188). The fact that Creole was mentioned as a language of ancestors by the majority of informants shows that informants misunderstood “grands dimounes” for grand-parents. This difficulty was borne in mind when preparing the present questionnaire, and it can be seen from the wording of question 7 (see appendix) how this ambiguity was avoided.

Like Stein, Hookoomsing finds that the majority of the informants are trilingual, and that the two most popular languages mentioned after Creole are French and English in this order. (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 232). Hookoomsing also discovers the same patterns of diglossia as Stein (see section 4.4.4), and a shift from Oriental languages to Creole, which appears to be irreversible (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 196, 256 & 258).

The results show that the level of schooling is directly linked to language performance. Creole has the highest score in speaking and understanding skills, followed by French and English in this order (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 215). Estimations of reading and writing skills are approximately the same for French and Creole but they are slightly lower for English.

The estimations of skills in Oriental languages (OL) score the lowest percentages averaging 10%, thus relegating Oriental languages to the status of third languages. Apart from Bhojpuri, all the other OL are learnt in schools, and their use is confined to religious and cultural activities, but not to everyday life (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 215).

Hookoomsing also discovers that Creole is more and more used in written forms: half of the sample claim to have come across some form or another of written Creole (public notices, advertisements, leaflets etc). The older ones claim to

write more in Creole than the younger ones (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 205). However, the use of Creole on its own is very rare; the most common forms of letter writing being a mixture of Creole, French and English or a combination of Creole and French. These results may not be surprising as Hookoomsing makes the point that for the informants involved, Creole is “une langue intégrée à leur vie et à leur univers (et non un simple accessoire folklorique)” (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 230).

The second part of the survey, which deals with perception of Creole, is of particular interest, since the attitudinal questions are relevant to any study on language perceptions in Mauritius. Hookoomsing asked the respondents to give their opinion on a change of name from Creole to “Morisyen”, the introduction of Creole in schools and its relationship to other languages. Although the data obtained for this part of the study do not always allow clear-cut conclusions, because of the ambiguity of certain answers (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 252), they nevertheless show a difference of opinion between different ethnic groups.

In response to the question whether Creole should be called “Morisyen” instead of Creole as the national language, the majority of informants (56%) agree to the change in name and among those who are unfavourable, there is a higher percentage of informants from the Chinese and Hindu communities. Older people are more in favour of a change in name than younger ones.

In response to the question related to the introduction of Creole in schools, Creole is viewed as a handicap by the vast majority, in all age groups. A higher percentage of women respond negatively to this question. Of those who express a feeling of indifference, the majority are from the Tamil community.

In response to the question on the perception of other languages, more than half of the informants claim they do not consider Creole to be a threat to English. The position of French, on the contrary, appears to be less certain and more fragile

than English. Unlike Stein's results (see 4.4.4), two thirds of the informants, in this section of the population, think that the expansion of Creole could be a danger to French. Here again, those who believe that French is most threatened by Creole are informants from the Chinese and Hindu communities. The majority of Hindus also consider that amongst the Indian languages, Bhojpuri is the most threatened by Creole.

Like Stein (see 4.4.4), Hookoomsing expresses the feeling that the disappearance of Bhojpuri in the near future can not be ruled out. He concludes that the future development of Creole in Mauritius would depend on the attitudes of the Indo-Mauritian group, and that "quoiqu'il en soit, les implications de leur attitude peuvent être lourdes de conséquences, car, étant donné leur situation numérique, sociale, économique et politique, l'avenir de tout projet en faveur de CM [Créole Mauricien] non-cautionné par eux est incertain" (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 253).

Although these results cannot be generalized to the whole Mauritian population, due to the "localisation de notre enquête en un point géographique donné et la modeste envergure de notre échantillon" (Hookoomsing *ibid*: 236), it nevertheless provides an interesting psycho-social analysis of language perception in a Mauritian working-class community. However, whilst the results show that the use of Creole is accepted in a variety of contexts, they also highlight the fact, as was seen in Kistoe-West's survey (see 4.4.3) and in this study (see chapter 9), that Creole is clearly not favoured in education.

Hookoomsing's study does not have much in common with the present one, in so far as they both concentrate on groups of people in very different settings. It nevertheless does provide some useful information and helpful points, which were kept in mind when preparing the present questionnaire, in particular the question on language of ancestors, as pointed out above.

4.4.6) Sharma and Rao's survey of Indian languages in Mauritius

Another interesting source, but of limited scope, is Sharma and Rao's "A Sociolinguistic survey of Mauritius" (Sharma & Rao 1989), with specific reference to Indian languages. This study concentrates on two particular groups of people: Bhojpuri and Telegu speakers. Sharma and Rao are interested in finding out information on the use of Indian languages in various contexts, language choice in education and finally, attitudes towards Indian languages and Creole.

Sharma and Rao carried out their survey on a much smaller scale than Stein's (152 informants). A questionnaire in English was used to collect the data. The three sociological variables were those of sex, age, place of residence and socioprofessional categories. Data analysis was carried out by statistical means.

Although Sharma and Rao find that generally the use of Indian languages is "declining in all domains, across professions and areas" (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 56), there is a difference between language use of Bhojpuri speakers and that of Telegu ones. The breakdown of the results by age shows contrasts between different generations of Bhojpuri and Telegu speakers. Younger Bhojpuri speakers (under 25 years) tend to use Bhojpuri less than older generations (over 50 years). Sharma and Rao's results show that it is the middle generations (25-50 years) who maintain the balance between the Bhojpuri monolingualism of the older generations and the Creole monolingualism of the younger generations. The opposite is true of their Telegu counterparts (25-50 years), who use Creole more with older generations than their Bhojpuri counterparts. Sharma and Rao explain the results in terms of language shift and loss from Telegu and Bhojpuri to Creole. The shift appears to have started earlier and faster for Telegu speakers (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 76).

The analysis by socio-professional categories shows that teachers and workers/labourers use Indian languages more frequently than officegoers and

“other” professions. It should be mentioned that Sharma and Rao do not give any detail as to which other socio-professional categories are included in the survey (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 61-62). Their results also reveal that Telegu housewives have completely given up Telegu in favour of Creole, whereas Bhojpuri housewives use Bhojpuri along with Creole (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 81)

Sharma and Rao show that there is a contrast between language preference of Telegu and Bhojpuri speakers. Bhojpuri speakers consider Hindi to be as useful as English in primary education, with a low preference for Creole. Telegu speakers, on the contrary, have a broad tendency to prefer Creole.

When it comes to higher education both groups prefer English and French to Creole. As in the previous three studies (see 4.4.3, 4.4.4 & 4.4.5), the results are explained in terms of the economic advantages and social prestige of English and French as factors determining these choices (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 83).

Sharma and Rao find that Bhojpuri and Telegu speakers mainly differ in their attitudes towards Creole. Whilst Bhojpuri speakers view Creole as a threat to the Indian identity and to Indian languages in general, Telegu speakers find no harm in using Creole, which is considered as promoting national integration. This difference in attitudes is explained in terms of language shift and language loyalty: “The Bhojpuri language commanded the status of lingua franca during the late nineteenth century and it was slowly replaced by Creole in the island. The Telegu language speakers, being a minority, never aspired for any status for their mother tongue except striving to keep it alive. On the other hand, the Bhojpuri speakers spoke a language which enjoyed a predominant position among all Indians. Moreover, Creole has always been associated with Christianity which most Hindus avoided as far as possible. While the Telegus share this sentiment in general, their attitude towards Creole language is mostly favourable”. (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 109-

110).

This study does not have much in common with the present one, since it is mainly concerned with Indian languages, but it does provide some helpful information on language variation and attitudes of Indo-Mauritians towards Indian languages and Creole in education.

In conclusion, the surveys which have been reviewed had varying degrees of relevance to the present study. Those with similar aims have been concerned with different groups of people in different social contexts, but they nevertheless provide useful information and helpful points which were taken into account when preparing the present questionnaire.

4.5) The questionnaire and interview procedures adopted in the present study

As pointed out in section 4.3.2, several changes were made to the original draft in both form and content. The final draft of the questionnaire, an example of which can be found both in English and French in Appendix 1, was designed to facilitate both completion and subsequent analysis of the answers. It was made attractive by being presented on a coloured sheet. Two colours were used: blue for the English version and green for the French one. It was hoped that the clear visual design and the consistent pattern would help the respondents. The questions were presented on A4 size pages, and informants had to answer by ticking boxes.

The order in which the questions are presented received a great deal of attention. Since the initial contact consisted of explaining the nature and purpose of the research (i.e language use of secondary school adolescents in Mauritius), the

opening questions had to follow on as naturally as possible from this introduction. These first questions ask for factual information relating to the respondents such as, name of their school, school year, age, sex, place of residence, profession of parents, ethnolinguistic groups etc. The remaining questions are grouped by topics designed to investigate use of languages by the pupils in a variety of situations and their linguistic habits (for example subjects studied in school, subjects liked, disliked, languages used to address questions to teachers, future preoccupations in terms of study and work, language choice and language preference of parents and pupils). Thus, while the middle questions cover specific areas of language use, the last questions focus specifically on the informants' language choice and preference, as well as their views on the use of Creole in school.

4.5.1) Personal questions

The first eight questions, as can be seen below, deal with biographical and social details so that the informants would feel at ease without having to think too hard about the answers. Questions 1 to 4 deal with the school, sex, age and school year of the informant. Then they had to indicate their place of residence, parents' professions, country of origin of ancestors and family religion.

1. Name of your college : _____

2. What is your sex ?

Male

Female

3. What is your age ?

4. What class are you in ?

| | |
|----------|--------------------------|
| Form I | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form II | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form III | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form IV | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form V | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form VI | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Where do you live ? _____ Is this place a :

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Town | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Village | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Coastal Village | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. What are the professions of your parents ?

| | Mother | Father |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Caretaker, Labourer or Works in factory | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teacher, Nurse or Office worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Doctor, Lawyer or Dentist | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Business person or manager | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Stays at home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Do you know where your ancestors came from ?

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| India | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| China | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Africa | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Madagascar | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| France | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| United Kingdom | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. Do you follow any of these religions ?

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Hinduism (Hindu, Marathi, Gujrati or Tamil) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Islam (Muslim) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Buddhism | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Christianity (Catholic, Anglican or Protestant) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

It has been indicated that the place of residence language choice in Mauritius (Moorghen and Domingue 1982: 51). At this point in the study, a third category, that of "coastal village", is added to the categories "urban" and "rural" areas, since a number of adolescents live in coastal settlements. The social make-up of these areas is different. Whilst the population in the urban areas is generally mixed and varied, that of the rural areas is Indo-Mauritian in majority (see 2.4). The coastal villages, on the other hand, have a higher number of members of the General Population (Moorghen and Domingue *ibid*: 55-56), and the main activities in these areas are agriculture and fishing. Port-Louis, the island's harbour and capital city, was not counted as a coastal settlement because it is a very diverse centre, including government offices and an important industrial processing zone. Unlike the other coastal regions, it has a mixed population from all socio economic and ethnic backgrounds. Thus, by adding a third category, it is hoped to investigate whether language use and language choice in coastal villages are different from the two traditional categories.

The answers to the questions on parents' professions, ancestors' countries of origin and religion are crucial, since they provide information on the socio-

economic, linguistic, socio-cultural and religious backgrounds of the informants.

4.5.2) Linguistic questions

The linguistic questions fall into four sections:

- (i) Self-estimation of language ability according to a ranking scale.
- (ii) Language use in various contexts and with different individuals.
- (iii) Language choice/preference of informants.
- (iv) Personal attitudes towards Creole as an alternative language in the school context alongside English and French.

Multi-response questions were considered most appropriate here since the majority of Mauritian adolescents are multilingual.

Question 9 differentiates the four skills -speaking, reading, writing and understanding - and the informants had to indicate which languages they could speak, write, read and understand. All twelve languages reported in the official censuses are mentioned; German is also added, since it is offered as an optional language in some secondary schools. It can be noted that languages are always listed in alphabetical order for reasons of convenience.

9. Which of these languages do you speak, write, read and understand:

| | Speak | Write | Read | Understand |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonese | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| German | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

In Question 10 informants were asked to estimate their spoken performance in Creole, French and English according to four categories: "very well", "well", "not so well", "a few words". It is also hoped that the interviews would be a way to validate these subjective estimations, and that they would give a general indication as to the language ability of the informants particularly in English and French.

10. How well do you speak each of the following languages :

| | Very well | Well | Not so well | A few words |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Question 11 is aimed at discovering what the language use of the informants is in the home with various family members. The twelve languages mentioned are those reported by the 1990 national census.

11. Which language(s) do you speak with your family and relatives:

| | Parents | Grandparents | Brothers & sisters | Cousins | Aunts & uncles |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonese | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Question 12 establishes a hierarchy between the subjects studied in school. The informants were asked to tick their three favorite subjects by order of preference as well as the subject they disliked. The aim is to find any correlation between subject(s) liked or disliked on the one hand, and language use and language preference on the other.

12. Which of these subjects do you study at school, which are your favourite ones, which one do you dislike ?

| | Do you study | Your favorite | 2nd favorite | 3rd favorite | You dislike |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Accounts | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Biology | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Chemistry | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| German | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Oriental language (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Social science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Questions 13 and 14 deal with the three languages (English, French and

Creole) most commonly used in the school context in various classroom situations. A final category left blank is also provided for any other type of response. Question 13 studies the language(s) most commonly used and the language least commonly used by the various teacher(s) in the different lessons. This question is based on the main subjects studied by the students, as seen in the previous question. The lessons chosen are varied as can be seen below in order to represent a range of skills.

13. Which language is most often used by your teacher in these different lessons:

| | Most Common (Tick 1 box only) | | | When giving an explanation (Tick 1 box only) | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Creole | English | French | Creole | English | French |
| Accounts & economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

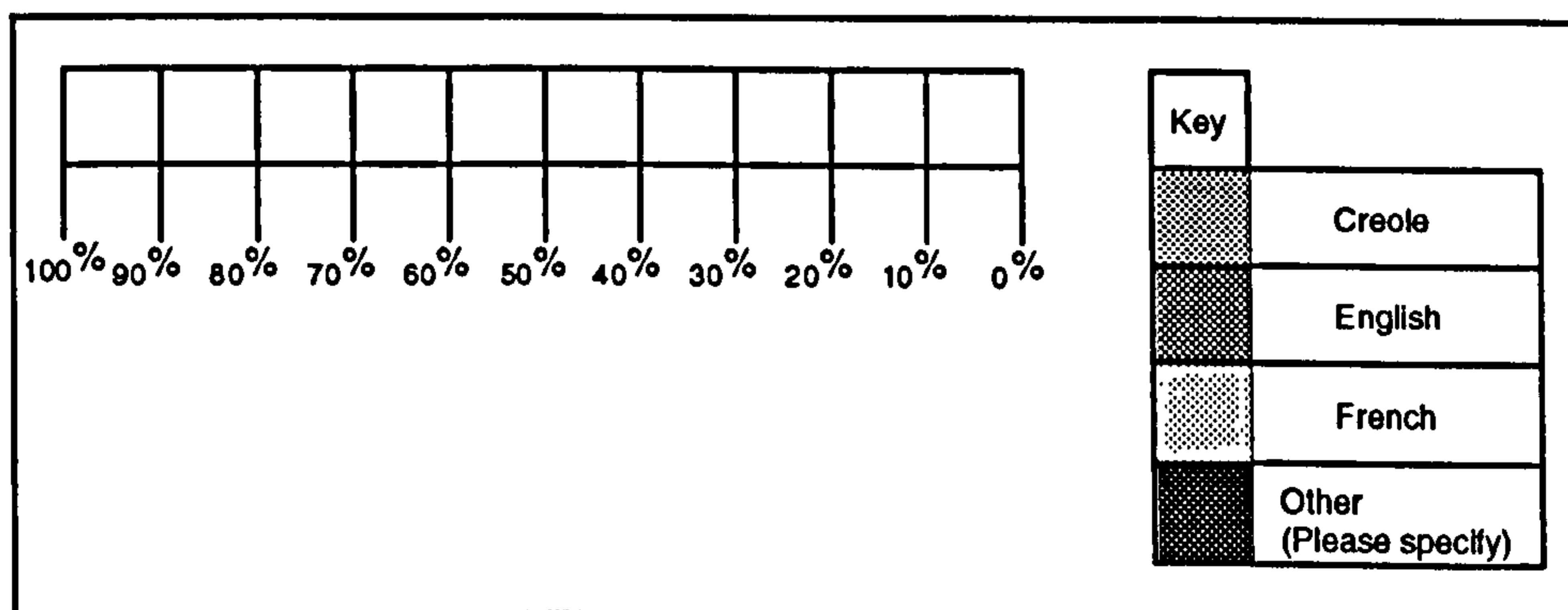
Question 14 asked informants to mention in which language(s) they would ask a question put to the teacher in different lessons. The lessons chosen are the same as in the previous question, as it is hoped to effect comparisons between the two questions.

14. If you ask a question to your teacher which language are you most likely to use in the following lessons ?

| | (Tick 1 box only) | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Creole | English | French |
| Accounts & economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Question 19 investigates the daily use of the various languages by the informants. The adolescents were asked to estimate the percentage of all languages they speak on a daily basis. An example was given on the blackboard to explain this question, which was not easy to understand. As pointed out earlier, the form of this question is adapted from Stein (see 4.4.4) and aims at getting a visual representation of the quantitative use of various languages on a daily basis.

19. Can you fill the chart in so that it shows your daily use of each language you speak.



Questions 15 to 18 are designed to obtain data on informants' motivations for learning languages and to correlate these motivations to their future expectations and plans. In question 15, respondents had to indicate the language(s) their parents considered important by ranking them in the order in which they are preferred.

15. Which language do your parents want to be your:

| | Main (Tick 1 box only) | 2nd | 3rd |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

In question 16 informants had to indicate which language(s) they thought would be most useful to them in the future by order of preference. For each language informants could choose from the following categories: "very useful", "useful", "of little use", "of no use".

16. Which language(s) will be useful to you in your future:

| | Very useful | Quite useful | Little use | No use |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Question 17 investigates the future aspirations of the informants with regard to their studies, work and place of residence. The two categories informants could choose from were: “abroad” or “Mauritius”.

17. Where would you like to study, work and live in the future:

| | In Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Study | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Live | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Question 18 asks if the informants generally like speaking English, French and Creole. It was hoped to correlate the data obtained for this question to that of the last question on the use of Creole in school from a general perspective.

18. Do you like speaking these languages:

| | Yes | No |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

The last question was designed to find out personal opinions and views on the use of Creole in education. The first four sets of questions were constructed to find out whether the informants:

- (i) Would like to learn Creole as another subject in school.
- (ii) Would like to be taught in Creole in school.
- (iii) Would like to speak Creole only.

(iv) Would like Creole to be the main language in Mauritius.

This question was left open and informants were allowed to express their personal views spontaneously and say as much as they liked.

20. If you had the opportunity would you like to:

| | Yes | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Learn Creole at school ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Be taught in Creole at school ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Speak Creole only ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Have Creole as the main language in Mauritius? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Can you say why in general ? _____

The questions are phrased in, what is hoped to be, a simple and unambiguous manner which would facilitate comprehension and render the data more reliable. The advantages of the closed questions are that they were answered quickly by the students and all the questions were fully answered in a given amount of time (i.e 45-60 minutes). The author was, however, aware of a loss of spontaneity and expressiveness, and there was no opportunity, while the questionnaires were being filled out, to probe further the answers to the last question. This was the main reason why the interviews were designed as a follow-up, as will be seen in the following section.

4.5.3) Individual interview

As mentioned above, the interviews for the present study were structured and designed to supplement the data on the last question dealing with personal opinions and feelings on having Creole in the educational system. They took the form of individual face-to-face interviews which were carried out on a small sample of the same informants who had completed the questionnaires. Informants were asked to justify their answers to question 20. There was also an additional question on how they viewed the future and importance of various languages (English, French, Creole and Oriental Languages) in Mauritius in the next thirty to forty years.

The interviews were conducted individually in a classroom during school hours. As pointed out earlier (see 4.3.4), they were carried out in the language chosen by the informant (French and/or Creole most of the time) in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, where informants felt at ease to talk freely. The interviews lasted approximately 15 minutes each. The procedure followed was the same for every interviewee, and the questions were asked in the same order. All the interviews were audio-taped in order to keep the interviewer's misunderstanding and bias to a minimum. Informants were invited to expand their views whenever they answered simply with "yes" or "no" by probes like: "Eski to capave dire moi kifer d'après toi..." (Can you say tell me why in your opinion) or "Peux-tu me dire pourquoi à ton avis...".

4.6) Data coding and analysis

The analysis of the questionnaire data involved coding and statistical calculations. The responses to the multi-response questions were coded in a form

that could be accessed by the SPSS-X (Statistical Package for Social Scientists). The coding procedure involved dividing the answers or data collected into categories which are clearly defined, so that they cover all responses and do not overlap with each other. The statistical analysis of the data consisted of computerizing for every answer the frequency and the percentage of responses falling in each response category. This procedure allowed the production of figures and cross-tabulations very quickly.

4.6.1) Questionnaire data

In the data analysis by computer, each category of answer in the questionnaire was given a code number. Provisions were also made to deal with non-responses by creating a non-response category for each question. Thus in question 11 on language use at home (see appendix 1) each language was given a different number (i.e 1 to 13), a non-response was given number 0.

The information gathered was numbered so that variables could be linked, compared and correlated. Computer analysis was required to code the quantitative data from the questionnaires and statistical methods were used to yield results which could be laid out and presented in visual forms, such as tables and histograms.

4.6.2) Interview data

The interviews were transcribed and the main points of view expressed by the students were noted and summarized. The opinions were then analyzed to find out whether they revealed general trends or sharp contrasts, particularly on the

question of what would happen if Creole, were to be adopted in education. It was hoped to make comparisons between the results obtained by computer to the first part of the question and the views elaborated in the interviews on the same question.

To conclude this chapter, it should be clear that despite all precaution taken to ensure that the questionnaire and interview were carried out in an unbiased and professional manner, it is impossible to know how informants are going to react and respond to the questions. With hindsight it appears that certain questions could have been phrased differently and others, perhaps better ones, could have been asked. Having thus, acknowledged the limitations of the present questionnaire, every effort was made to ensure that the data analysis was as accurate as possible, and the results were analyzed and interpreted in an objective manner.

Chapter 5: Presentation of the responses

The following chapters contain a presentation of the responses to the questionnaire and interviews, interspersed with interpretation and commentary.

The chapters have been organized according to the following criteria:

- (i) The responses of the whole sample are presented in parallel with educational statistics (whenever available) and the results of the 1990 official census for comparable variables, together with the interpretation of the results.
- (ii) The responses obtained for the present study are analyzed by sex, age group, place of residence and income level of parents. This breakdown is followed by an interpretation of the analyzed results.

The interview tapes were transcribed and then classified according to their main tendencies and individual disparities. The analysis of the 10-15 minute interviews from the tapes proceeded in two stages. Firstly, the answers were identified and grouped into categories; secondly, one informant's opinions and views were related to other informants and finally, the results were compared to other findings on the same subject. Chapter 9 deals with the findings of the interviews in detail.

This chapter presents the analysis of the responses obtained for the first eight questions of the questionnaires by social categories. The responses of the present sample are compared to those of the 1990 national census in order to find out whether the present sample can be considered as representative of the Mauritian

population. The analysis of results generally follows the questions in their order of appearance in the questionnaire.

5.1) Data analysis

As mentioned earlier in 4.6.1, the analysis of the questionnaire data was carried out by computerizing for every response the frequency and percentage falling into each response category. A statistical analysis of this kind allows a rapid production of figures and makes cross-tabulations possible, which otherwise would require a great amount of time, if calculated and carried out manually. The use of statistical methods also permits a more detailed and refined analysis of the data.

Marley (1991: 61) points out the drawbacks of computer analysis which she describes in terms of a "loss of the *ensemble* of individual questionnaires". She refers to Ghiglione and Matalon (1978) who cite the case of researchers who did not personally conduct the investigation, and who saw the responses only in tabular form. In such a case, the researchers may be surprised either by the vagueness of the answers, their complexity or the regular distribution of the figures obtained by the analysis procedure. This may lead them to forget that the data were not only gathered, but subsequently compiled and combined for analysis. Marley puts forward the idea that data is put together on the assumption that it may reveal general tendencies, and thus make it possible to draw general conclusions, or at least show a certain pattern of language use. It is also true that by breaking up the questions, the answers would tend to lose their relevance. Moreover, some questions are asked in the hope that they will be linked to others and thus reveal a correlation or an emergent pattern or a sociolinguistic profile. It can also happen that a number of individuals fall outside this pattern or profile. This apparent disparity needs to be looked at more clearly in order to analyze further what might

be the possible explanations for such differences.

Marley (ibid: 62) argues that statistical results may appear to be “dehumanized”, but she also points out that the advantage of such a method is that it allows any faults contained in an individual questionnaire to be quickly localized. This way responses can be checked to find discrepancies or mistakes. Any abnormality can easily be detected and possible explanations attempted. In the present study, the field work and analysis of data were conducted by the researcher. It was, therefore, possible to recall the circumstances of any unexpected response given in the interviews and so to give a plausible explanation for them.

5.2) Setting up of code categories

As mentioned in 4.6.1, for all the questions except for the last, coding was not a problem since all possible answers were supplied with a code. There were three types of questions in this project:

- (i) Questions which yielded only one response.
- (ii) Questions which yielded several answers (i.e multiresponse questions).
- (iii) One open-ended question with a range of possible answers.

Before the questionnaires were considered ready for analysis, they were checked for completeness (i.e to ensure that every question was answered). Each questionnaire was identified by giving it a questionnaire number. In case of error, it was therefore easy to find the appropriate questionnaire, since it had a number and was stored in numerical order. The coding of the responses was done in two stages: firstly, an analysis of responses enabled the setting up of the codes according to relevant categories; secondly, every individual response was given

one of these codes. The SPSS-X package allows a maximum of nine categories. The categories of answers had been thought out beforehand, and no question needed more than nine separate codes. Three categories in particular need to be mentioned: they are the “other response” category, “do not know” category, and refusal to answer. The “other answer” category allowed pupils to express any answer which the researcher had not thought of beforehand. Informants were also asked to give details on their “other” answers so that the significance of such replies could be further analyzed. The “non-response” and “do not know” categories should be distinguished from the “other answer” category. The “non-response” or “do not know” categories were anticipated and were coded as separate categories. There were, however, very few questions which were not replied to; possible explanations for the non-responses are dealt with in corresponding chapters.

5.3) The numbering system adopted in this and subsequent chapters

Apart from the first section and a few other questions (for which histograms were not needed), the responses of the whole sample are presented in the forms of tables and histograms. The tables and histograms are numbered in a consecutive manner and there is usually a set of histograms and tables for each sociological variable unless indicated otherwise. Thus, “Graphs and Tables 34 Breakdown by sex for question 11” are the histograms and tables representing question number 11 which deals with language use with various family members at home.

Responses broken down by sex, place of residence, age group and parents' income are presented in percentages in tabular form and the number of informants is shown in brackets in the tables.

5.4) Defining factors

This initial section presents the responses to the first part of the questionnaire. These “personal” questions were placed at the beginning because they are easy to answer and it was hoped that they would put informants at their ease from the beginning (see 4.5.1). The responses to these questions also provide complementary information on the identity of informants involved in the sample, and this seemed a logical way to start analyzing the results. The responses from this first section on personal information are divided according to whether they are “primary” defining factors or “secondary” factors. Primary defining factors are factors on which the quotas were constructed. These quotas are presented alongside the results of the 1990 census. The secondary defining factors help to show informants’ ethnic, linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds.

5.4.1) Primary defining factors

The four variables of sex, age, place of residence and socio-professional category were used as a means of “identifying” and categorizing informants in an effort to get a fully representative sample. These variables are considered as “classic” and objective variables. According to Ghiglione and Matalon “ les variables ‘classiques’ ont acquis leur objectivité d’abord à cause de la facilité de la mesure, et aussi parce que ce sont elles qui servent à catégoriser les individus dans la vie quotidienne” (Ghiglione and Matalon 1978: 250). It appears to be the most straightforward way of defining a population- although, as Ghiglione and Matalon (ibid: 249-250) stress, there may be different nuances implied in the difference between “male” and “female”, or “young” and “old”, or “urban” and “rural”,

or “high” and “low” income. Although the concepts of sex, age, residence and income may not be the same in every society and culture, these factors have, nevertheless, constantly been used to identify sociological variables in research and it would be difficult to conduct a sociolinguistic study without taking them into consideration.

The four factors mentioned above have been broken down into smaller categories as means of differentiating the informants into smaller groups. This is explained further in the next section.

5.4.2) Breakdown of the primary factors

The breakdown operations for the primary factors were carried out in several stages:

- (i) Respondents were classified according to their sex, either male or female. A single code was allocated to each combination.
- (ii) The “place of residence” was classified according to the two classic categories: “urban” and “rural” areas, to which a third category, “coastal village”, was added, as seen in section 4.5.1.
- (iii) The ages of the informants were grouped into two sets, which correspond to the two stages in the secondary curriculum (see 2.9.2). Thus the first group (11 to 14 years) refers generally to the first three years of secondary education. The second group included informants from 15 to 20 years of age, corresponding to the second stage of the secondary curriculum.
- (iv) The socio-professional category of the informants’ parents was worked out in two stages. Firstly, the occupations were grouped according to the socio-professional categories as defined in the 1990 official census (see table 15). In a second stage, these categories were redistributed according

to the level of income they generated (i.e high, medium, low). In the case of a non-working mother, the level of income for the household was based on the father's profession, and in the case of two different professions it was decided to base the family income on the parent who earned the higher salary.

As mentioned in 4.2.2, the sample for the present study was selected on a quota basis. The establishment of quotas was problematic for informants aged between 15 and 20 years, since these informants were either revising or sitting mock examinations (see 4.3.3) in some of the schools. Therefore, it was not always easy to fill these quotas, and as a result, some schools have a lower number of 15 to 20 year olds than others (see table 19 in 5.4.3). The following tables show clearly to what extent different quotas are under- or over-represented, according to national census figures, for each of the four factors (sex, place of residence, age group, family income). The number of informants are represented in brackets.

The table below represents the breakdown by sex of informants who were in secondary education and those who participated in the present study. The numbers of adolescents attending secondary education, in this case, is based on figures published by the Ministry of Education in 1992 (see 2.9.2), whenever these were available. When this was not the case, the 1990 census figures are presented as a means of comparison with the present sample. It can be seen that the percentage of girls is slightly higher than the percentage of boys in the official figures and it is the reverse for the present sample. The difference, however, is minimal, as can be seen below, and this was due to the fact that it was decided to fill the quotas, so that they reflect as closely as possible, the distribution of the educational statistics.

Table 12 Breakdown by sex

| Sex | Educational Statistics | Present Study |
|-------|------------------------|---------------|
| Boys | 49.3% (40363) | 51% (102) |
| Girls | 50.6% (41344) | 49% (98) |

The next table reveals the breakdown by place of residence for the present sample only, since comparable educational statistics were not available. The breakdown shows that the majority of pupils (45.6%) live in urban areas, whilst 39.2% stay in rural areas and another 15.2% live in coastal villages. The breakdown by sex and place of residence shows what percentage of the total sample is represented by each group. It also reveals that the percentages for similar places of residence is approximately the same for both sexes.

Table 13 Breakdown by place of residence and sex

| Residence | Present Study |
|-------------|---------------|
| Urban | 45.6% (91) |
| Rural | 39.2% (78) |
| Coastal | 15.2% (30) |
| Boys Urban | 23% (46) |
| Rural | 19% (38) |
| Coastal | 9% (18) |
| Girls Urban | 22.5% (45) |
| Rural | 20% (40) |
| Coastal | 6% (12) |

As in the previous case, the breakdown by age group and sex reveals what percentage of the total sample is represented in each age band. In this case, table

14 below reveals two age groups: 11 to 14 years and 15 to 20 years for both boys and girls. There were only two informants aged twenty in the present sample. The 1990 census figures as to the resident population attending school by sex and age are also presented as means of comparison (see table 20 in 5.4.3). It can be noted that the highest percentages of young adolescents who attend school belong to the first category (11 to 14 years). This may be explained by the fact that students aged between 15 to 20 either drop out after failing their examinations or choose not to complete their secondary education for some other reason. A comparison between both tables shows that, whilst the overall percentages are comparable, there is a bigger difference for the age bands. In the present sample, both boys and girls are under-represented in the younger group and the reverse is true for the older group. This is due to the fact that in the present study, the aim was to get approximate quotas for each sex so that comparisons and correlations could be made more easily. It may also be noted that the census figures are two years younger than the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education. Although the increase in the number of pupils in the 1992 educational statistics seems to indicate a closer numerical parity between the two sexes (49.3% boys and 50.6% girls), the percentages of boys and girls in each age group was not provided, thus closer comparisons with the present study could not be effected.

Table 14 Breakdown by age group and sex

| Sex & Age-group | 1990 census (table E3) | Present Study |
|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| Male+Female | Total 98831 | Total 200 |
| 11-14 years | 51% (50468) | 49% (98) |
| 15-20 years | 48.9% (48363) | 51% (102) |
| Male | Male | Male |
| 11-14 years | 32% (31654) | 25% (50) |
| 15-20 years | 19% (18814) | 26% (52) |
| Female | Female | Female |
| 11-14 years | 31.9% (31552) | 23% (46) |
| 15-20 years | 17% (16811) | 26% (52) |

There were nine socio-professional categories used by the 1990 census to classify the major occupations in Mauritius. These were:

- (i) Legislators, senior officials & managers.
- (ii) Professionals.
- (iii) Technicians and associate professionals.
- (iv) Clerks.
- (v) Service workers & shop & market sales workers.
- (vi) Skilled agricultural & fishery workers.
- (vii) Craft & related trades worker.
- (viii) Plant & machine operators & assemblers.
- (ix) Elementary occupations.

As mentioned earlier, these occupations were grouped according to their level of income: low, medium and high (see table 15 below). Thus, the first and second categories (legislators, senior officials, managers and professionals) were put together as generating a high income, the third, fourth and sixth categories

(technicians, associate professionals, clerks, skilled agricultural and fishery workers) were considered as yielding a medium level of income, and finally, the fifth, seventh, eighth and ninth categories (service workers, shop and market sales workers, craft and related trades worker, plant and machine operators and assemblers and elementary occupations) were grouped as generating a low level of income. Informants were then classified according to their parents' level of income. The table also contains a fourth category which is the non-active group, which includes people who were not working such as housewives, retired and unemployed persons.

Although a non-active category is absent from census tables, it was relatively easy to calculate the number of men and women without a profession. In a first instance, the potential number of men and women who could be at work was calculated separately (i.e aged between 20 and 60 years as in Mauritius the retirement age is 60). In a second instance, the numbers of men and women at work, provided by the 1990 census, were subtracted from the first, and thus a percentage for non-active men and women could be calculated.

A comparison between the census results and the present sample shows that percentages are similar for the last category (i.e the non-active category). The table also pinpoints the variation in male and female professions which can be seen as an illustration of general differences in employment pattern. One out of two informants in the sample claims that the mother "stays at home". These mothers without a profession are most probably housewives. There is also a very low proportion of male unemployed (2%). These persons could be retired or unemployed fathers. Although some parallels can be drawn between census figures and some of the professions in the study (service workers, shop, market sales workers, and elementary occupations), the same thing cannot be said with

regard to other socio-professional categories.

Table 15 Breakdown by socio-professional category and sex

| Occupations | 1990 Census | Present Study |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| Legislators, Senior officials, managers, professionals | (M) 7% (F) 4.3% | (M) 0% (F) 7% |
| Technicians and associate professionals, clerks, plant and machine operators | (M) 26.9% (F) 52.4% | (M) 42% (F) 22.5% |
| Skilled agricultural and fishery workers, craft and related trade workers | (M) 30.2% (F) 9.5% | (M) 15.7% (F) 2% |
| Service workers and shop and market sales workers, and elementary occupations | (M) 35.5% (F) 33.5% | (M) 28.3% (F) 21.6% |
| Non-Active | (M) 2% (F) 56% | (M) 2.4% (F) 50.8% |

The breakdown by level of income (see table 16 below) shows that most of the informants belong either to a household earning an average or a low income. There is a minority of informants (all female) who are from a high income household. This may be explained by the fact that the two all girls' schools which were visited (Loreto Convent and Queen Elizabeth) have a relatively high number of pupils from a high income background.

Table 16 Breakdown by family income and sex

| Level of Income | Present Study |
|-----------------|---------------|
| High | 7.2% (14) |
| Medium | 49.6% (99) |
| Low | 38.7% (77) |
| Boys High | 0% (0) |
| Medium | 22.5% (45) |
| Low | 26.5% (53) |
| Girls High | 7% (14) |
| Medium | 27% (54) |
| Low | 12% (25) |

5.4.3) Secondary defining factors

This second category of defining factors was not specifically decided upon before preparing the quotas, but they are relevant in a general analysis of the sample. These factors are: number of each type of school, country of origin of ancestors and family religion. The first variable indicates the types of educational establishment, the two last variables are useful indicators of the ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds of the sample.

The schools were classified according to whether they were state, confessional and private, single sex or mixed, along with their geographical location. Table 17 below shows that each type of school is represented in the present sample in comparable proportions to the educational statistics.

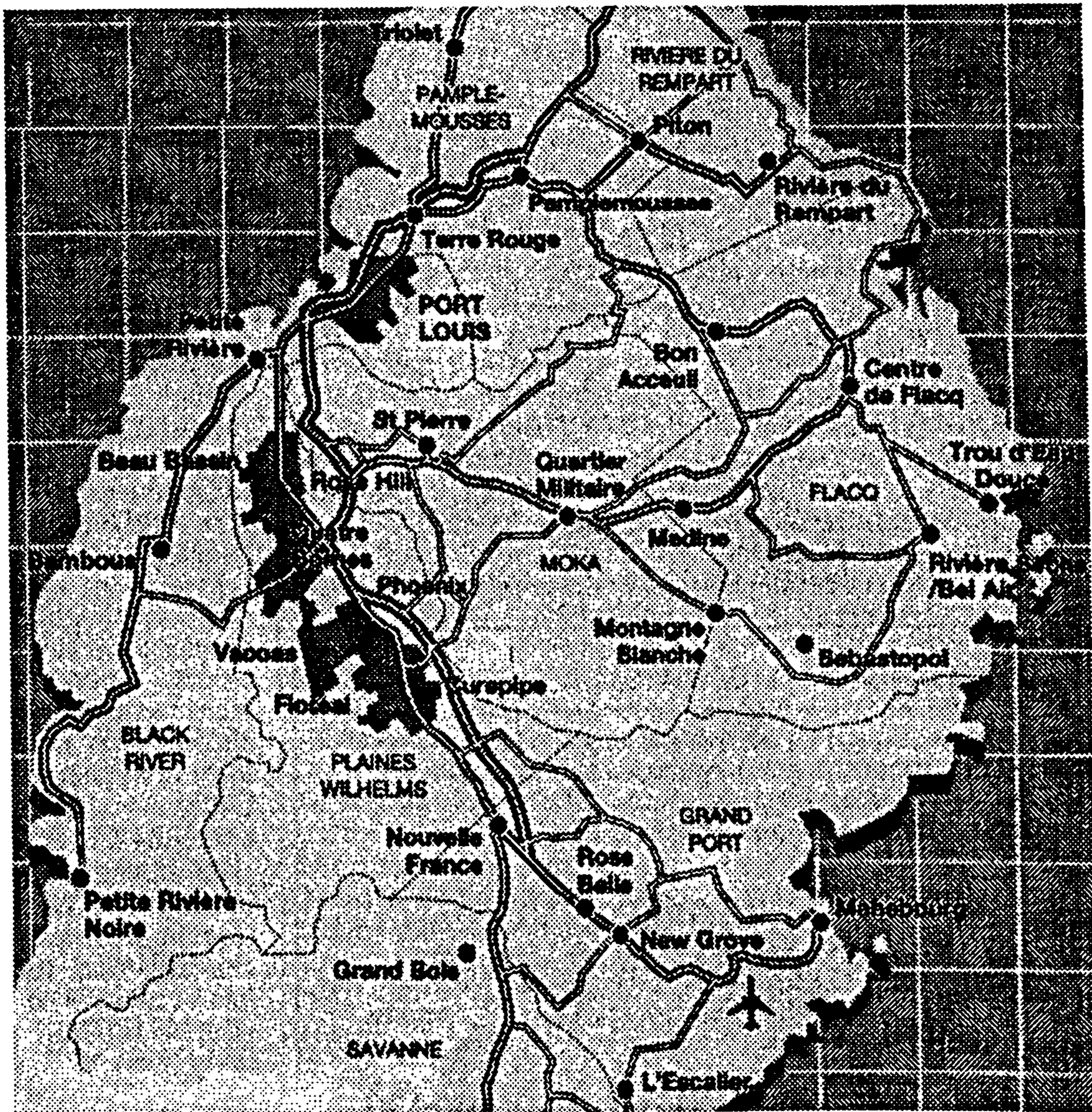
Table 17 Type of educational establishment

| Secondary Schools | 1992 Educational Statistics | Present Study |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Number of Schools | 120 | 10 (8.3%) |
| State | 19% (23) | 20% (2) |
| Private | 80% (97) | 80% (8) |

In table 18 the secondary schools are presented in an alphabetical order, for reasons of convenience, as well as their geographical location. As can be seen from the map below, half of the schools are situated in the district of Plaines Wilhems. Apart from Port-Louis and Plaines Wilhems, all the other districts are considered as being rural (see 2.4). Plaines Wilhems is the most populated of all the areas and has 38% (i.e 46) of the secondary schools.

Table 18 Breakdown by type of school and geographical location

| Name of School | Location | State/Private/Confessional | Single Sex Mixed | Urban/Rural/Coastal |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Aleemiah | Phoenix (Plaines-Wilhems) | Confessional (Islamic) | Mixed | Urban/Rural |
| Bhujoharry | Port- Louis (Port-Louis) | Private | Boys | Urban |
| Curepipe | Curepipe (Plaines Wilhems) | Private | Boys | Urban |
| Darwin | Centre de Flacq (Flacq) | Private | Mixed | Rural |
| Hamilton | Mahebourg (Grand-Port) | Private | Mixed | Rural/Coastal |
| International | Triolet (Pamplemousses) | Private | Mixed | Rural |
| Loreto Convent | Curepipe (Plaines Wilhems) | Confessional (Catholic) | Girls | Urban |
| New Eton | Rose-Hill (Plaines Wilhems) | Private | Boys | Urban |
| Queen Elizabeth II | Rose-Hill (Plaines Wilhems) | State | Girls | Urban |
| Swami Sivananda | Bambous (Black River) | State | Mixed | Rural/Coastal |



The quotas for the number of informants were based on the size of the schools. Thus, for the big schools (more than 700 pupils), the quota was 25, and for the medium size schools (fewer than 700 pupils), the quota was set at 20. Table 19 below shows how well these quotas are represented. Although the number of informants (200) in the present sample may seem a small number, when compared to the total secondary school population in 1992 (81548), every effort was made to ensure that the sample was representative of the adolescent population in

secondary education. This is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Table 19 Breakdown by school size and quota

| Schools | Size | Quotas | Number |
|-----------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Aleemiah | big | 25 | 22 |
| Bhujoharry | average | 25 | 25 |
| Curepipe | average | 20 | 21 |
| Darwin | average | 20 | 15 |
| Hamilton | average | 20 | 22 |
| International | average | 20 | 15 |
| Loreto Convent | big | 25 | 18 |
| New Eton | average | 20 | 16 |
| Queen Elizabeth | big | 25 | 22 |
| Swami Sivananda | average | 25 | 22 |

A comparison between the number of school attenders and non attenders (see table 20 below) indicates that there were over 81000 adolescents who were not attending school in 1990. The figures for the 1990 census on school attendance were not detailed in the same way for the school attenders and for the non attenders. Whilst the data on the population attending secondary school was explicitly defined year by year (1990 census: table E3), the population not attending school was given in age bands (1990 census: table E6). In this respect, the age bands comparable to the present sample were: 10 to 14 years and 15 to 19 years. It should be noted that in the 1990 census, the number of pupils aged 10 enrolled in primary and secondary education at that time is not given whilst the number of 20 year olds still attending secondary schools was 1300. In the present study there

is no informant aged 10 and there are only 2 students aged 20 years. The total population aged between 10 and 19 years is also provided as means of comparison. Although the census figures can by no means be interpreted in a definitive manner, they nevertheless provide some indication as to the general tendencies in these two cases.

It would appear from the census data that a high number of adolescents (81 074) aged between 10 and 19 years of age were not in fact attending school at that time. It may also be reminded that the total number of pupils enrolled in secondary education was 81 707 in 1992 (see 2.9.2). Although the number of non attenders may have fallen in the following two or three years, it would appear that this number could have been relatively close to the total number of pupils (81 707) enrolled in secondary establishments in 1992 (see 2.9.2). The high number of non attenders may be explained by pupils dropping out of the educational system at three different times of their schooling. The first drop out appears to affect the younger age (10-14 years). Indeed, table E5 on non attendance (see table 20 below) by educational attainment shows that, among the non attenders, 80% appear to have failed the C.P.E examinations (17 898 out of 22 238 non attenders). The second and third drop outs seem to affect the second age band (14-19 years) at two different times during the secondary schooling. The first one would be between forms I and III and the second one would appear to involve pupils who have completed forms IV and V, but who may have failed the S.C examinations.

As far as the present sample is concerned, although over 120 000 adolescents were attending school in 1990, it also appears that more than 81 000 were not attending school at the same time. It can therefore be argued that the present sample is not representative of the whole Mauritian population, but can be described as representing a subsection of this population (i.e the secondary school

population).

Table 20 Population attending & not attending school in 1990

| Population attending school by age band (table E3) | Population not attending school by age band (table E5) | Total Population by age band |
|--|--|------------------------------|
| 10-14 years: 86084 | 10-14 years: 22238 | 10-14 years: 108322 |
| 15-19 years: 34325 | 15-19 years: 58836 | 15-19 years: 93161 |
| Total : 120409 | Total: 81074 | Total: 201483 |

Question 7 on country of origin of ancestors was intended to define the sample further, as it provides information on the ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the informants. The relevance of this question can be seen in relation to the following question on family religion (i.e question 8), and when both sets of data are put in parallel. A significantly high proportion of informants claim they “do not know” where their ancestors originated from. The results also pinpoint the fact that, there are more boys (10%) than girls (8%) and that the proportion is higher for the older group (12.5%) than for the younger one (5%). These results are somewhat unexpected given that one of the subjects studied at primary school is area studies, where pupils learn about the history and geography of the island. Pupils are also encouraged to learn an Oriental language, also called “language of forefathers”, as a way of maintaining close ties with their linguistic and cultural heritage (see 2.9.3). It may also be noted that the percentage of informants who claim their ancestors came from Africa, Madagascar, France, the United Kingdom, when added to those who claim that they “do not know” is 35.8% (11% + 7.8% + 16.2%= 35.8%). These figures are relatively close to the census figures for the General Population (i.e descendants of African, European and mixed origins) in

Mauritius. It would appear that the majority of informants who claimed they did not know the origins of their ancestors may be from the General Population. This hypothesis is further confirmed in the analysis of question 8 on family religion in the next section.

It should be pointed out that in the censuses, Mauritians were never asked to indicate which countries their ancestors originally came from, but the “language of their forefathers” (see 2.10.2). In order to avoid confusion of any sort, as seen in section 4.4.4, the term “ancestors” was used instead of “forefathers”, since it was thought best to refer to those ancestors who first arrived on the island. Thus, data on countries of origin of ancestors, together with information on the family religion and a knowledge of Mauritian history (see 2.3), can help to obtain a close approximation of the ancestors’ languages, as well as their ethnic groups.

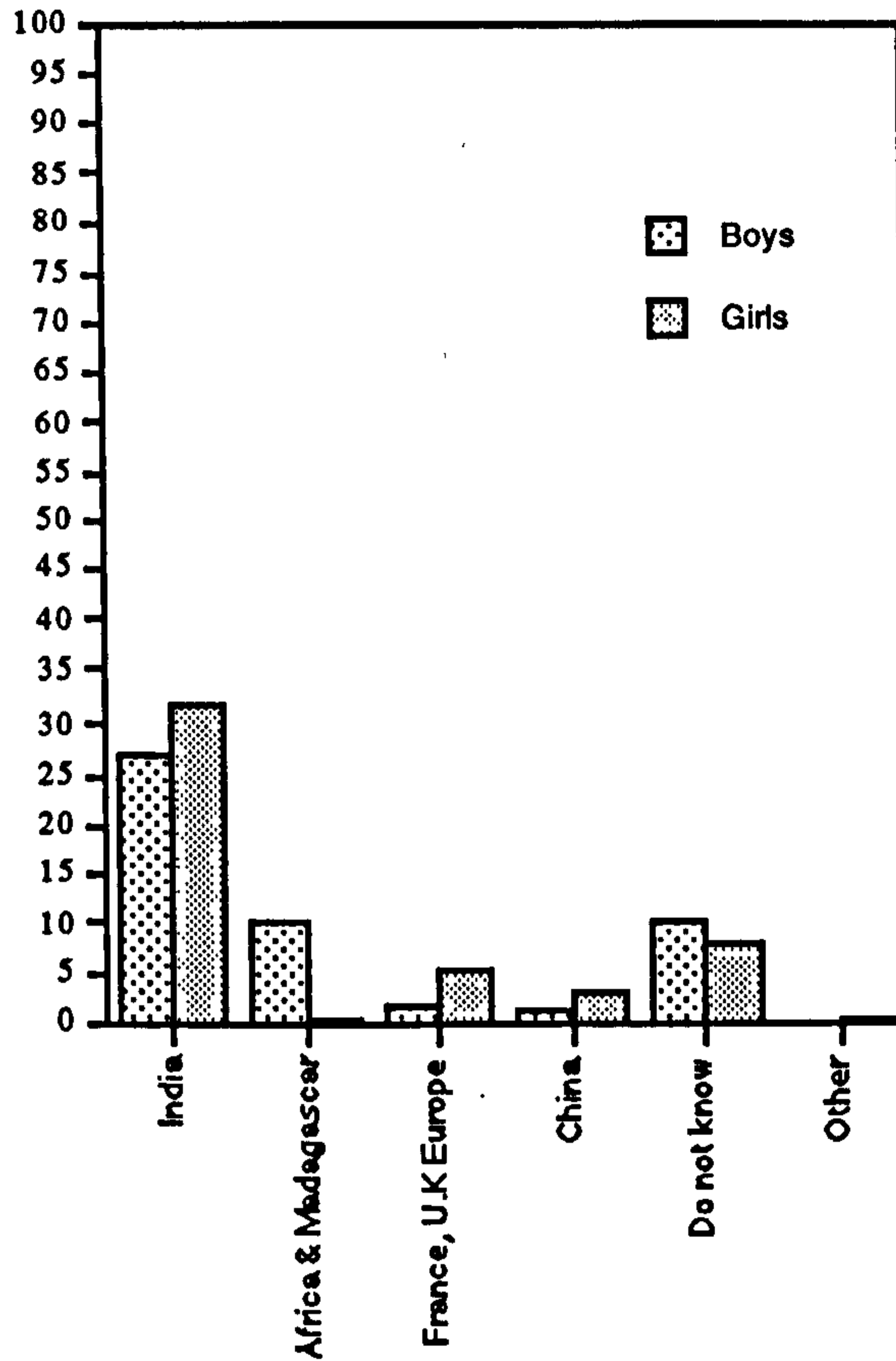
The following table compares the countries of origin of informants’ ancestors with the main socio-cultural groups as described in the census results. The figures show that proportions are not the same in both tables, but the majority of informants in the sample are of Indian extraction (58.6%), whilst there is a minority of Chinese ancestry (4.1%). It should be remembered that these proportions were not decided upon for these factors, and therefore deficits and surpluses in each category were likely to occur as it will be seen in the next paragraphs.

Table 21 Breakdown by country of origin of ancestors

| Country | 1990 census | Study sample |
|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
| India | 69% | 59% (117) |
| Africa & Madagascar | 29% | 10.6% (21) |
| France U.K, Europe | | 7.5% (15) |
| China | 2% | 4.% (8) |
| Do not know | NA | 18.1% (36) |
| Other | | 0.5% (1) |

As far as the breakdown by sex is concerned, there is a gap between both sexes for each category, but this disparity is compensated for between the different categories. The higher percentage of girls of Indian origin is compensated for by a higher percentage of boys from the General Population. There is a higher percentage of girls than boys who claim European ancestry. This is explained by the fact that the confessional school visited (i.e Loreto Convent) is an all girls' college, with a high number of pupils from the Franco-Mauritian community.

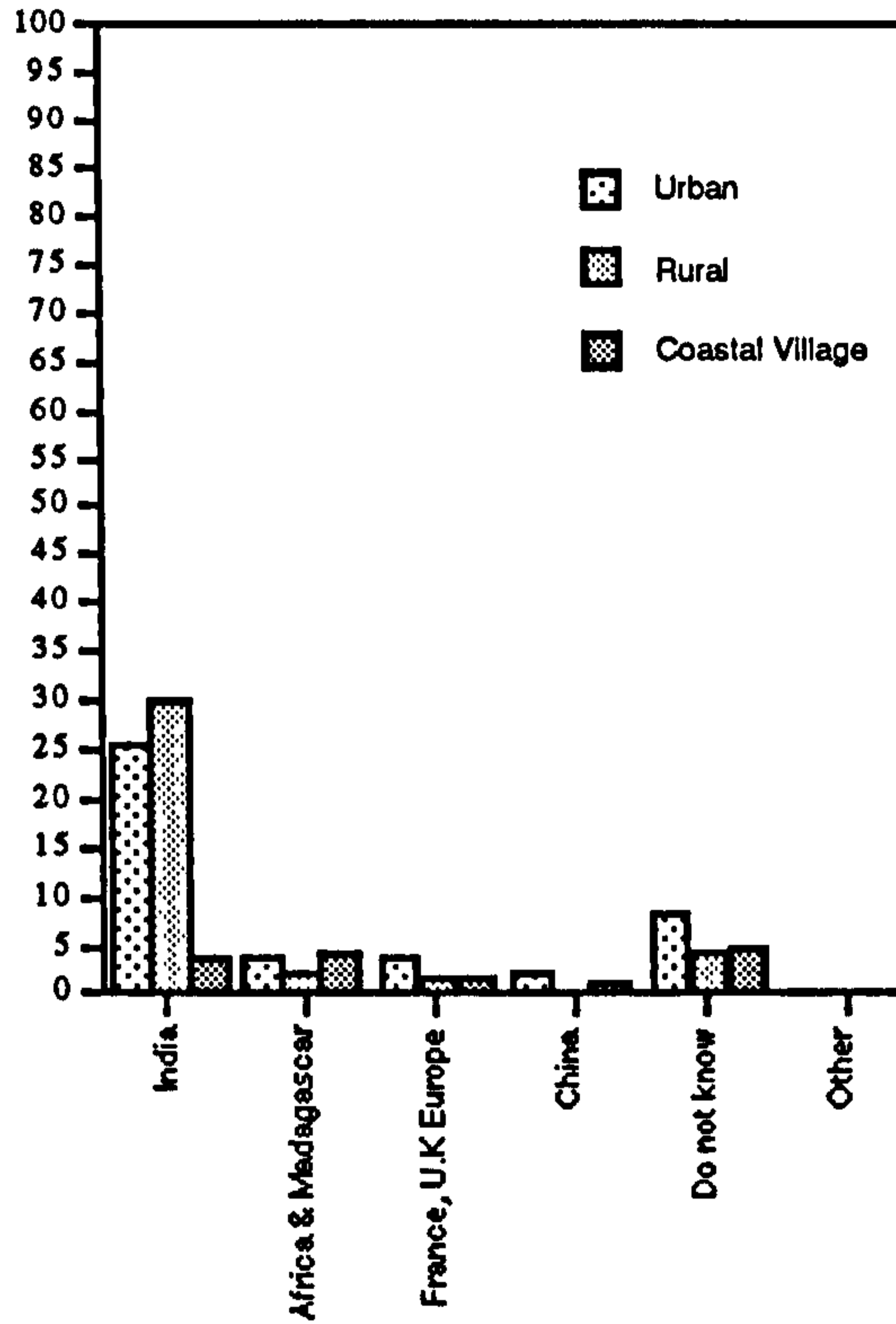
Graph & Table 22 Breakdown by country of origin of ancestors and sex



| Country | Boys | Girls |
|---------------------|----------|------------|
| India | 27% (54) | 31.5% (63) |
| Africa & Madagascar | 10% (20) | 0.5% (1) |
| France, U.K Europe | 2% (4) | 5.5% (11) |
| China | 1% (2) | 3% (6) |
| Do not know | 10% (20) | 8% (16) |
| Other | | 0.5% (1) |

The breakdown by place of residence shows that the majority of informants, who live in urban and rural areas, are Indo-Mauritians. It may also be noted that informants living in coastal villages seem to be mainly from Indian and General Population backgrounds. However, it will be seen in the following pages that the majority of informants living in these areas are from the General Population, which is to be expected, as has already been seen in section 4.5.1. Here again, it may be noted that a substantial number of informants claim they “do not know” where their ancestors originally came from. In both rural and coastal regions the percentage is similar (4.5%), with a higher percentage for urban regions (8.5%).

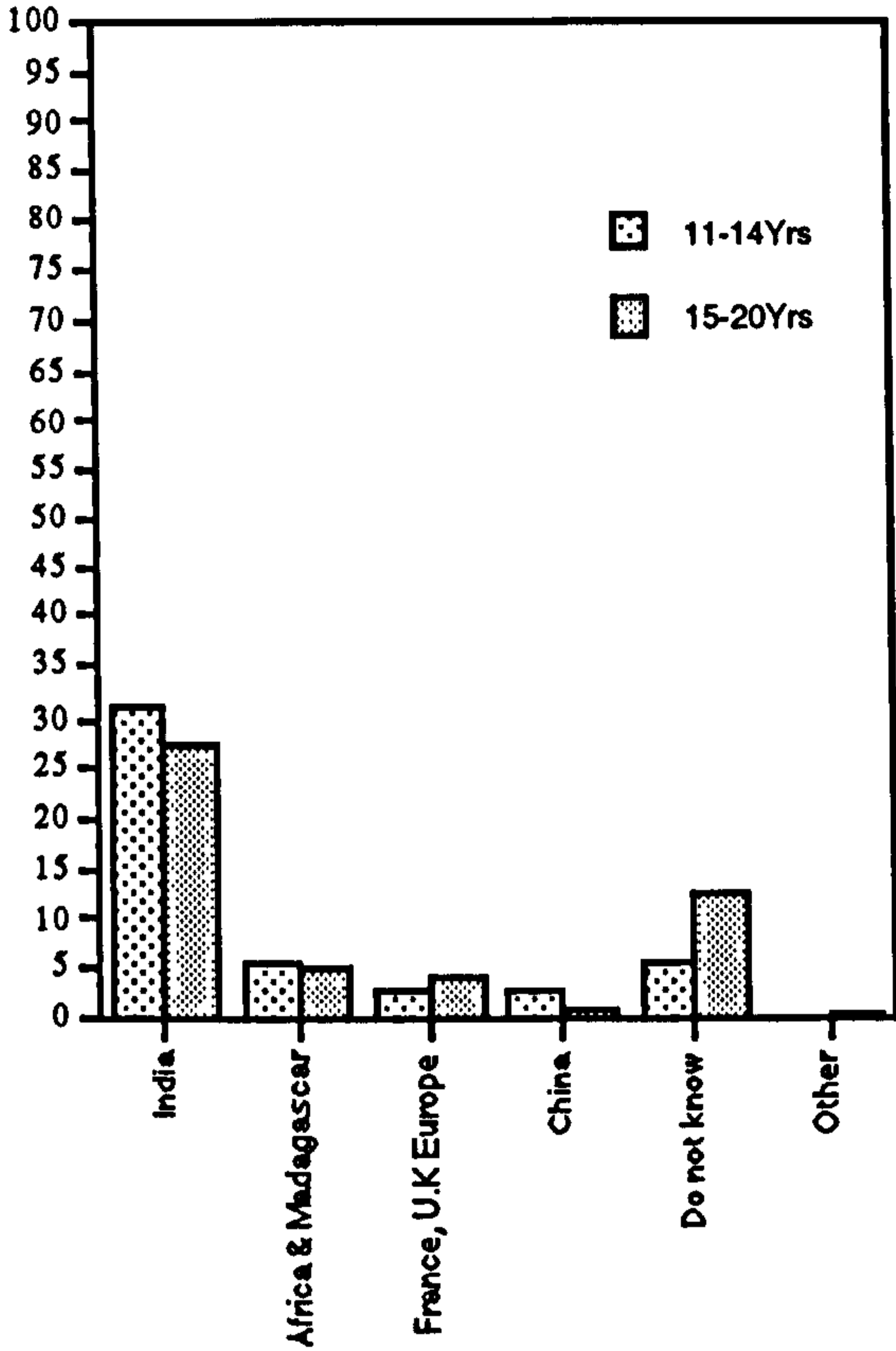
Graph & Table 23 Breakdown by country of origin of ancestors and residence



| Country | Urban | Rural | Coastal |
|----------------------|------------|------------|----------|
| India | 25.7% (51) | 29.8% (59) | 3.5% (7) |
| Africa & Madagascar | 4% (8) | 2.5% (5) | 4.5% (9) |
| France, U.K & Europe | 3.5% (7) | 2% (4) | 2% (4) |
| China | 2.5% (5) | 0.5% (1) | 1% (2) |
| Do not know | 8.5% (17) | 4.5% (9) | 5% (10) |
| Other | 0.5% (1) | | |

The difference between the two age groups is relatively small. Although there are some slight differences for each group, they do not exceed 4%, except for the “do not know” category which is discussed at the end of this section.

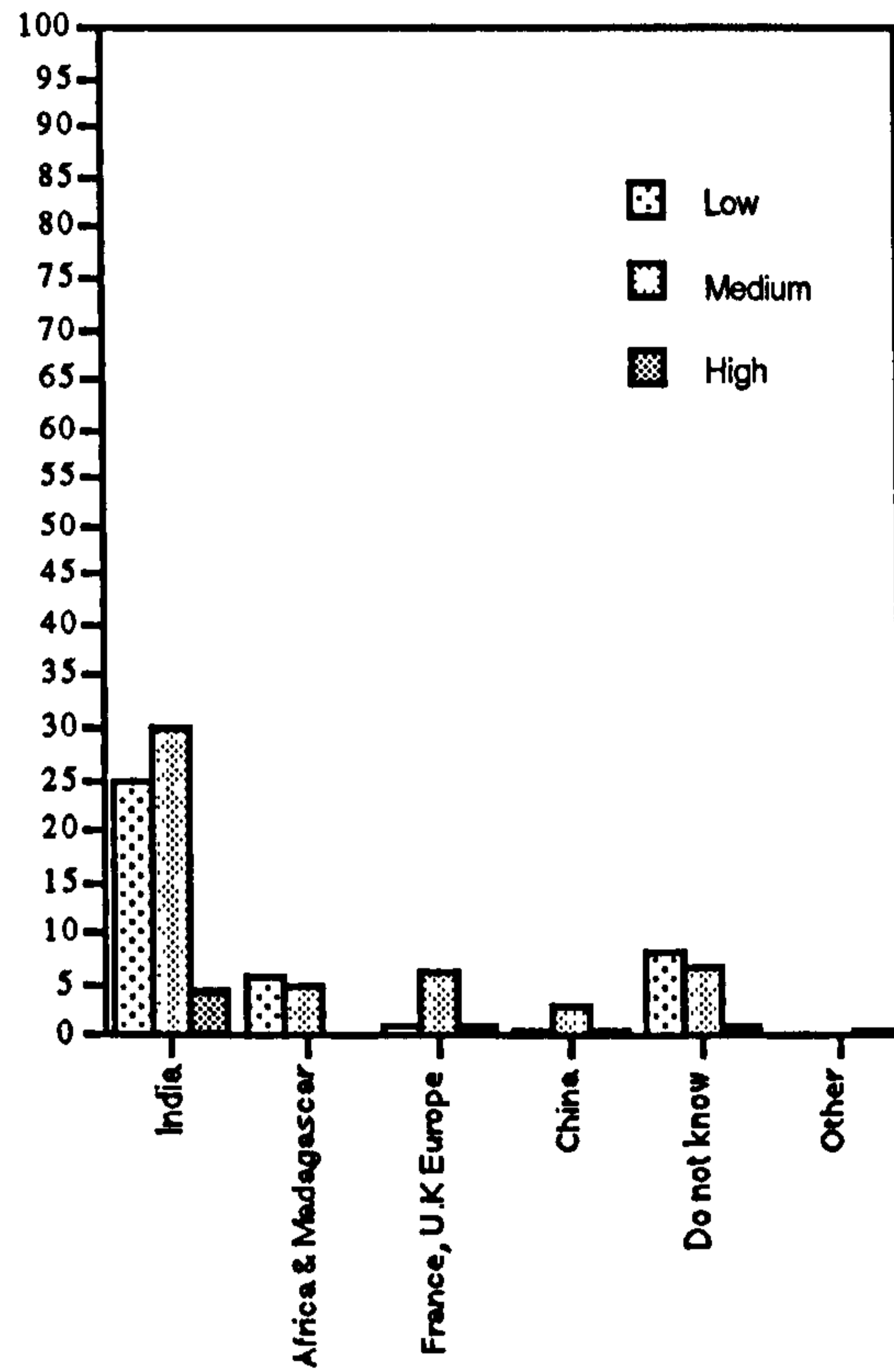
Graph & Table 24 Breakdown by country of origin of ancestors and age



| Country | Age (11-14 years) | Age (15-20 years) |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| India | 31% (62) | 27.5% (55) |
| Africa & Madagascar | 5.5% (11) | 5% (10) |
| France, U.K & Europe | 3% (6) | 4.5% (9) |
| China | 3% (6) | 1% (2) |
| Do not know | 5.5% (11) | 12.5% (25) |
| Other | | 0.5% (1) |

The breakdown by family income reveals that the majority of informants belong either to a family with a medium level of income, or with a low level of income. The percentage of informants with a family earning a high income is relatively small (4.5%). In all three cases the majority of informants belong to the Indo-Mauritian community. These results are expected, considering that the majority of Mauritians are of Indian origin, and that the socio-economic positions held by this group are varied.

Graph & Table 25 Breakdown by country of origin of ancestors and income



| Country | Low | Medium | High |
|------------------------|------------|------------|----------|
| India | 24.8% (47) | 30.1% (57) | 4.7% (9) |
| Africa & Madagascar | 5.8% (11) | 5.2% (10) | 0% (0) |
| France, U.K and Europe | 1% (2) | 6.3% (12) | 0.5% (1) |
| China | 0.5% (1) | 3% (6) | 0.5% (1) |
| Do not know | 8.4% (16) | 6.8% (13) | 1% (2) |
| Other | | | 0.5% (1) |

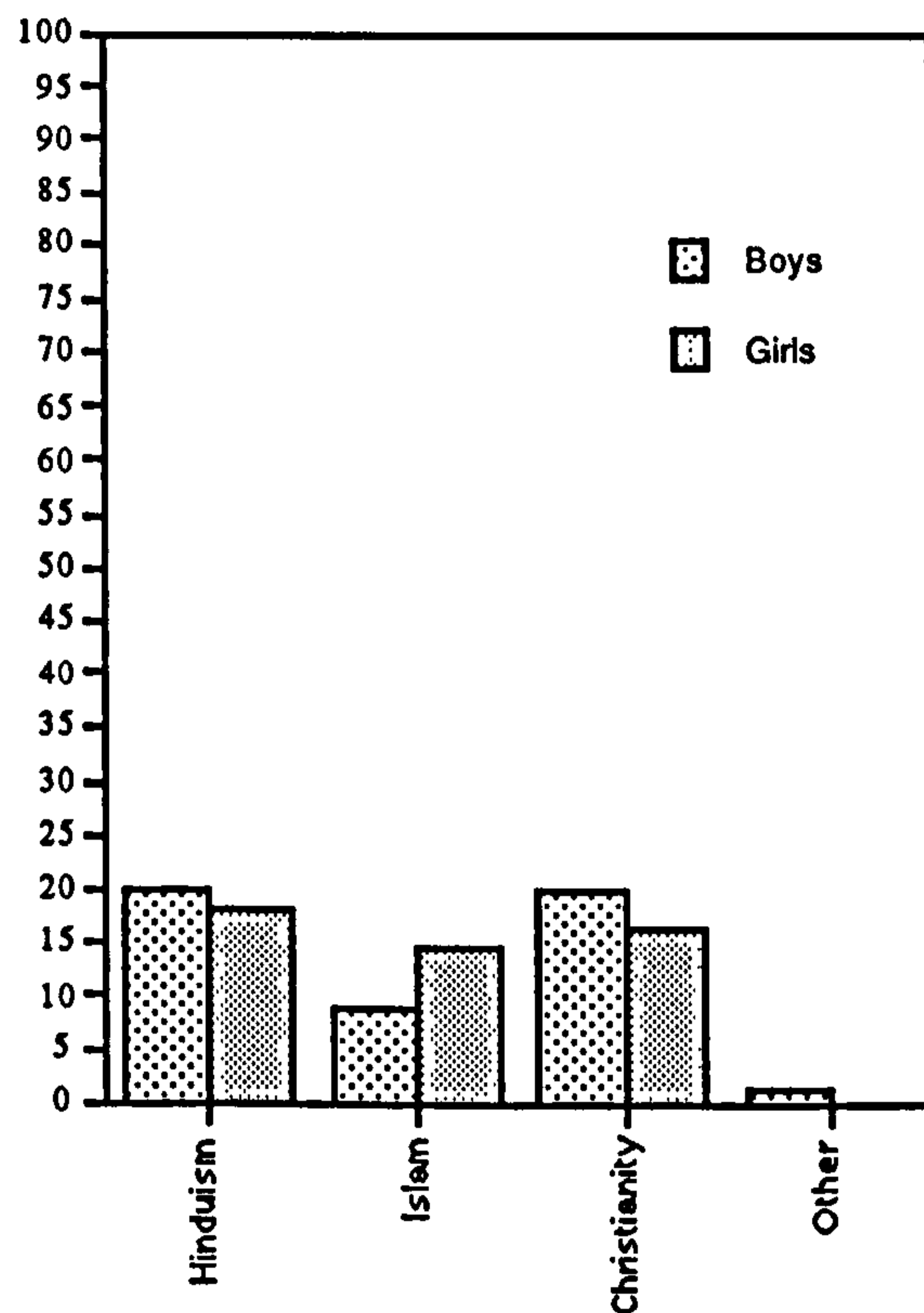
The question on family religion was intended as a follow-up to the previous one on country of origin of ancestors. The breakdown by family religion reveals a correlation between the two sets of tables. The three main religions (Hinduism, Christianity and Islam) of the island are present, although the data for the present study are slightly different from the 1990 census figures. Only two informants answered they followed another religion apart from the three main ones on the island. These informants also chose not to specify which other religious belief they associate themselves with. It can also be noted that there is only one informant (male) claiming to be Bhuddist. Indeed, there are very few Bhuddists left in Mauritius as the majority of Sino-Mauritians today follow the Christian religion. All these three informants have been counted as “other” in the graphs since their number is minimal. The combined figures for Hindus and Muslims equals 62.2%, that is almost two thirds of the sample. However, this percentage is higher when compared with the percentage of informants who claimed their ancestors came from India (58.6%). One explanation may be that some of the informants who are of Muslim faith did not answer India as country of origin of their ancestors.

Table 26 Breakdown by family religion

| Religion | 1990 Census | Study |
|--------------|-------------|------------|
| Hinduism | 50.2% | 38.6% (77) |
| Islam | 16.8% | 23.6% (47) |
| Christianity | 32% | 36.6% (73) |
| Buddhism | 0.3% | 0.5% (1) |
| Other | | 1% (2) |

The breakdown by sex reveals that there is a higher percentage of Muslim girls which is compensated for by a higher percentage of boys from Christian background. As pointed out earlier on, these deficits and surpluses are to be expected since these secondary criterias of selection were not specifically decided upon before the investigation.

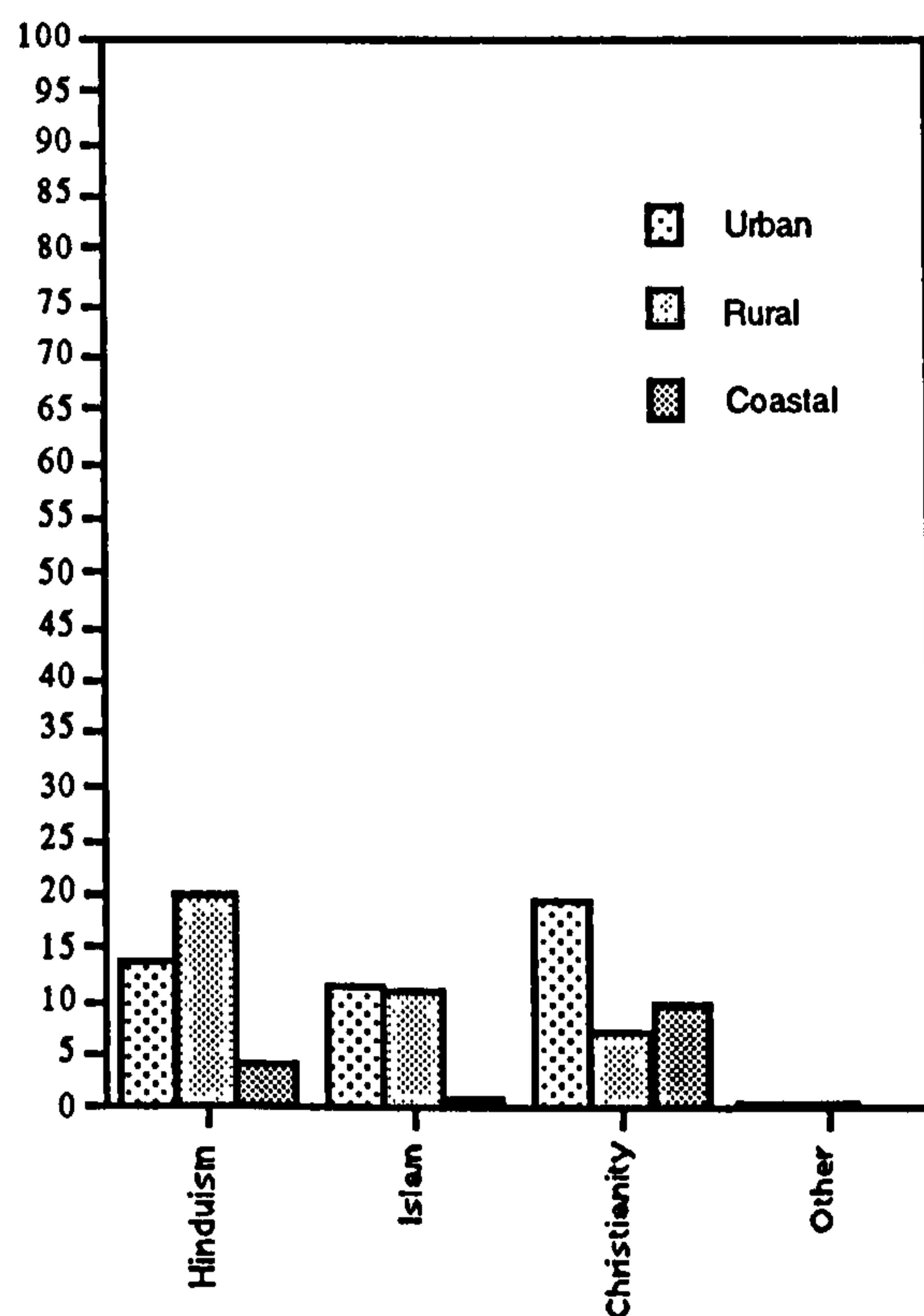
Graph & Table 27 Breakdown by family religion and sex



| Religion | Boys | Girls |
|--------------|----------|------------|
| Hinduism | 20% (41) | 18% (36) |
| Islam | 9% (18) | 14.5% (29) |
| Christianity | 20% (40) | 16.5% (33) |
| Buddhism | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Other | 1% (2) | 0% |

The breakdown by place of residence shows the same tendency as for the national census (see 2.4): informants from urban areas follow the three main religions in comparable percentages, whilst those from rural areas are primarily from Hindu religion and those from coastal regions are mainly Christians.

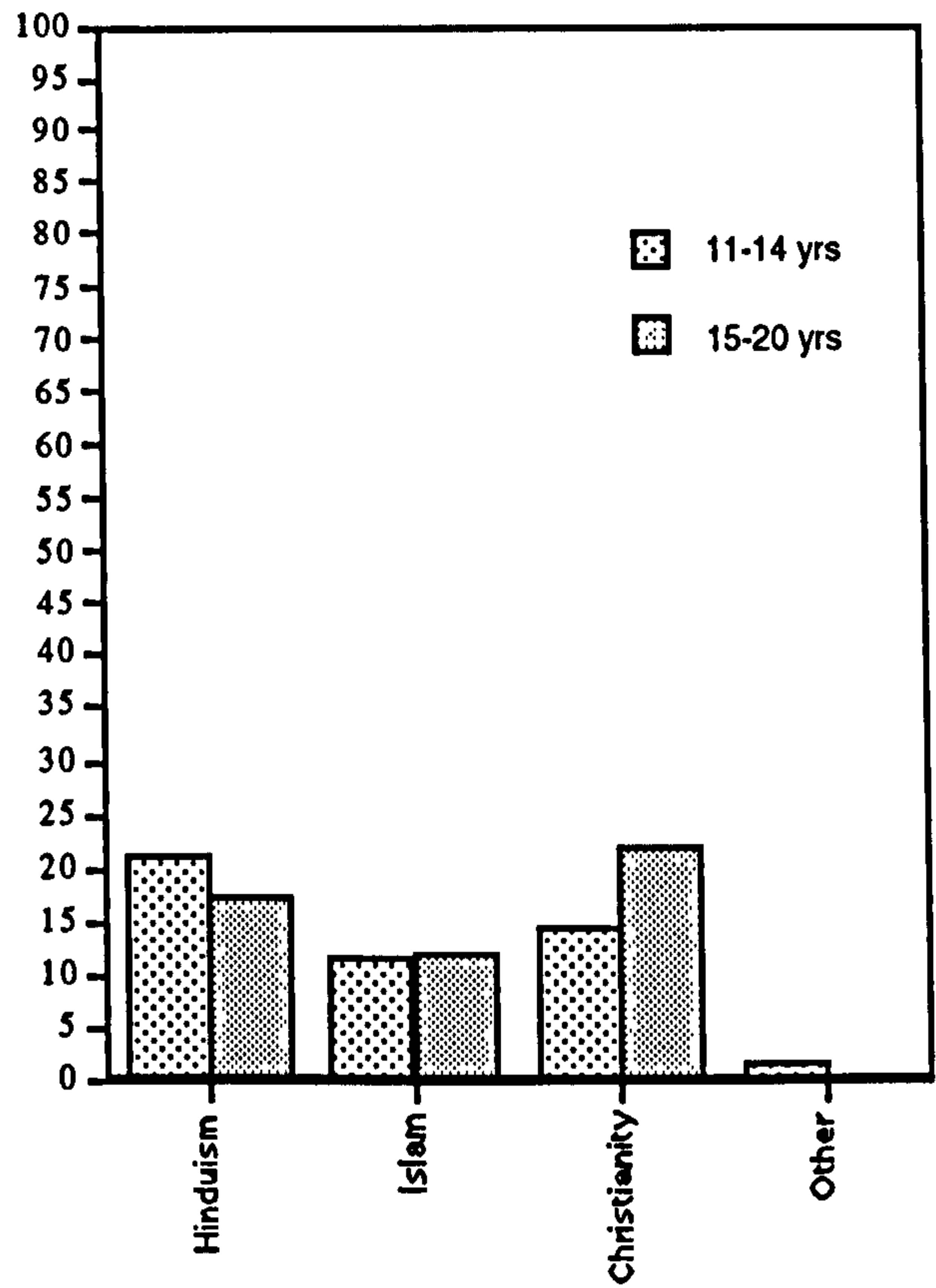
Graph & Table 28 Breakdown by family religion and place of residence



| Religion | Urban | Rural | Coastal |
|--------------|------------|----------|----------|
| Hinduism | 14% (28) | 20% (40) | 4.5% (9) |
| Islam | 11.5% (23) | 11% (22) | 1% (2) |
| Christianity | 19.5% (39) | 7% (14) | 10% (20) |
| Buddhism | 0% (0) | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Other | 0.5% (1) | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |

The breakdown by age group indicates that there is a higher percentage of informants from a Christian background in the older group. This can be explained by the fact that the all girls' school visited in Curepipe has a majority of pupils from the General Population which is Christian.

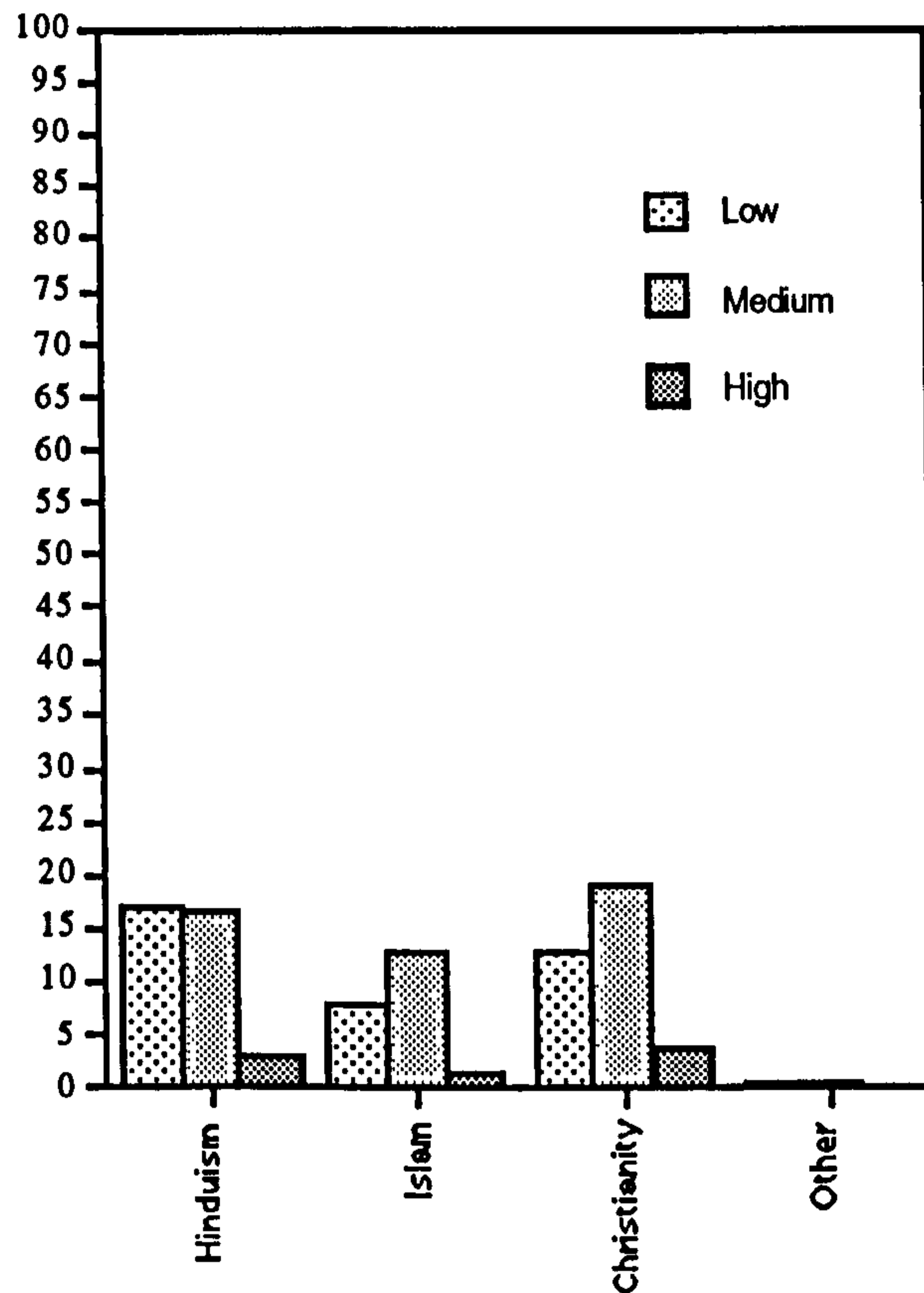
Graph & Table 29 Breakdown by family religion and age group



| Religion | Age (11-14 yrs) | Age (15-20 years) |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Hinduism | 21% (42) | 17.5% (35) |
| Islam | 11.5% (23) | 12% (24) |
| Christianity | 14.5% (29) | 22% (44) |
| Buddhism | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Other | 1% (2) | 0% (0) |

The breakdown by family income shows that the majority of informants from a medium and low income brackets are Hindus. This is explained by the fact that the majority of informants in the sample are from rural regions, where the family income tend to be medium and low.

Graph & Table 30 Breakdown by family religion and family income



| Religion | Low | Medium | High |
|--------------|------------|------------|----------|
| Hinduism | 17.8% (34) | 17.2% (33) | 3.1% (6) |
| Islam | 8.4% (16) | 13.7% (26) | 1% (2) |
| Christianity | 13.7% (26) | 20.1% (38) | 3.7% (7) |
| Buddhism | 0% (0) | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Other | 0.5% (1) | 0.5% (1) | 0% (0) |

The breakdown by sex, place of residence, age group and family income reveals that the percentage of informants who claim to be of Christian faith is equal to 36.5%. Here again, this would tend to suggest that the 18% who answered they “did not know” where their ancestors originated from (see table 23) may belong to the General Population, who consider that their family religion is more important than the links with their first ancestors. It could also be that these informants chose deliberately to answer “do not know” for some other reason.

The unexpected high percentage (18%) for the response “do not know”, to the previous question, can be seen as reflecting a feeling that first ancestors are too distant, from a historical perspective, to bear real significance for the informants. It may also be that these informants did not actually consider their ancestors as a group through which they could claim some form of group identity, but that this vital role is instead taken on by the family religion. The fact that the majority of informants identified themselves with one form of religious belief or another suggests that religion assumes a greater importance than first ancestors.

To sum up, this chapter has defined the parameters for selection which have allowed an analysis of the sample by social categories. Although it has not been possible to fill in all the quotas, the present sample can be said to reflect the distribution of the educational statistics of 1992 (see 5.4.2). With regard to the 1990 census, a comparison between both samples reveals that although the present sample is not representative of the Mauritian population (see table 20 in 5.4.3), it represents a subsection of it which is in secondary population.

After this detailed analysis of the present sample the next four chapters will interpret and discuss the results obtained for the linguistic questions.

Chapter 6: Analysis of language skills

The first part of this chapter analyzes the results of the 1990 national census, related to the literacy of the population. The second part compares responses to question 9 on language ability with those of the national census. The third part presents responses to question 10 which further probed: "How well do you speak each of the following languages?" In this question informants were invited to evaluate their ability in Creole, English and French according to the four criteria: "very well", "well", "more or less well" and "a few words".

6.1) Analysis of the 1990 census results

The first set of data and histograms (see table 33 on page 160) represents the results of the census to the question: "In which language(s) can the person, with understanding, both read and write a simple statement on his everyday life?". For this question, only the population aged over 12 years was involved. It can be noted that, in the census, reading and writing skills are counted as one skill, and the wording of the question implies understanding as well.

As has been seen earlier (see 2.10.2), the heads of the households completed the census questionnaire. It was therefore their answers which constituted the tables available as census results. The census data on the population were given in age bands starting from the age of twelve. Although too rigorous a comparison would not be appropriate, the figures do give some indication as to what the main trends are for the adolescent population on the island. In order to relate these figures to the present study, the only two age bands

which were taken into consideration from the census results are 12 to 14 years and 15 to 19 years. As seen earlier (see 5.4.3), there were only two pupils aged 20 in the sample, and, in principle, they should not have been allowed to stay in school (see 2.9.2). Besides the age bands, the two other social variables taken into account by the census were those of sex and place of residence. The results for these two social variables are summarized in table 31 below.

The census results reveal that there is a small percentage of illiteracy (7.5%), which is inevitable in any society. One explanation for this could be that some adolescents never had any opportunity to attend school, or some may have dropped out of the educational system at various stages of their primary schooling (see 5.4.3). There are slightly more boys with a lower level of literacy than girls. This may be explained by the fact that there are more boys in these age groups than girls.

The figures show that the European languages are read and written by more than 57% of the population. Although the languages are not detailed, one can almost without doubt say that these are English and French, since they are the two main languages in the educational system (see 2.9.3). These figures appear to be low, given the fact that the majority of this particular population should have completed primary schooling, and therefore should have some basic literacy skills. Creole and Bhojpuri are at the bottom end of this table, thus putting strong emphasis on their function as oral languages, which are learned through "natural" social situations, i.e in the home or in the school playgrounds with friends (see 2.10.1). Literacy in standard Oriental languages (1%) appears to be minimal and refers most probably to Oriental languages primarily learnt in schools (see 2.9.3).

The breakdown by sex shows that similar ability is claimed for both sexes. The slightly lower percentage claimed for girls in both cases may be due to the

smaller number of girls than boys. There is however, a higher percentage of girls than boys who seem to have higher ability for European + Oriental languages. This could be attributed to the fact that although there is a predominance of boys in both age groups, girls may tend to learn Oriental languages, offered as an option in schools, more than boys.

Analysis of place of residence points to the fact that the higher percentage of ability in European languages occurs in urban areas. This is explained by the fact that the population in urban areas is more mixed than in rural areas, and French is preferred to Creole and Bhojpuri for reasons seen in section 3.4. The results also show that the ability claimed for Oriental languages in rural areas is higher than in urban areas. This is expected since the majority of the population in rural areas are from Indian descent (see 2.4).

The age breakdown reveals that the claimed linguistic ability for the older group is higher than the younger group, thus reflecting the fact that those who have been in education for a longer period are likely to be more competent in their language skills.

The census tables also reveal that the percentage of "other" and "not stated" languages claimed to be read and written is negligible, without giving any further details as to which ones they are. Since the population referred to consists of adolescents, this category may include the native language of a non-Mauritian parent.

Table 31 Languages read and written in the 1990 census (table E2)**12-14 years**

| Languages | Total 62 300 | Boys 31485 | Girls 30815 | Urban 22498 | Rural 39802 |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Bhojpuri only | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.08% | 0.2% |
| Creole only | 2.6% | 2.7% | 2.5% | 2.9% | 2.4% |
| Creole & Bhojpuri only | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| European | 57.8% | 58.5% | 57.1% | 71.9% | 49.8% |
| European & Oriental | 30.3% | 28.7% | 32% | 19.1% | 36.6% |
| Oriental | 1% | 1% | 1.1% | 0.7% | 1.2% |
| Other | 0.01% | 0.01% | 0.01% | 0.03% | 0.01% |
| Not stated | 0.09% | 0.1% | 0.08% | 0.1% | 0.06% |

15-19 years

| Languages | Total 93213 | Boys 47231 | Girls 45982 | Urban 33524 | Rural 59689 |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Bhojpuri only | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.07% | 0.2% |
| Creole only | 3% | 3.3% | 2.8% | 3.5% | 2.8% |
| Creole & Bhojpuri only | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.1% | 0.5% |
| European | 59.2% | 60.4% | 57.9% | 73.4% | 51.2% |
| European & Oriental | 28.2% | 26.3% | 30.2% | 17% | 34.5% |
| Oriental | 1.1% | 1% | 1.2% | 0.7% | 1.3% |
| Other | 0.006% | 0.006% | 0.006% | 0.01% | 0.003% |
| Not stated | 0.06% | 0.07% | 0.05% | 0.08% | 0.05% |

6.2) Analysis of the present results

The second set of data (see table 32 on p. 162) consists of responses to question 9 for the present sample. Question 9 asked: "Which of these languages do you speak, write, read and understand?". For this question informants could choose among the twelve languages most spoken, as mentioned in the 1990 census results (see 2.10.2). German was also added to this list since it is offered as an option in some secondary schools. The percentages represented in all the tables for the different variables do not add up to a hundred, since informants speak, read, write and understand more than one language and are, therefore, counted in more than one column.

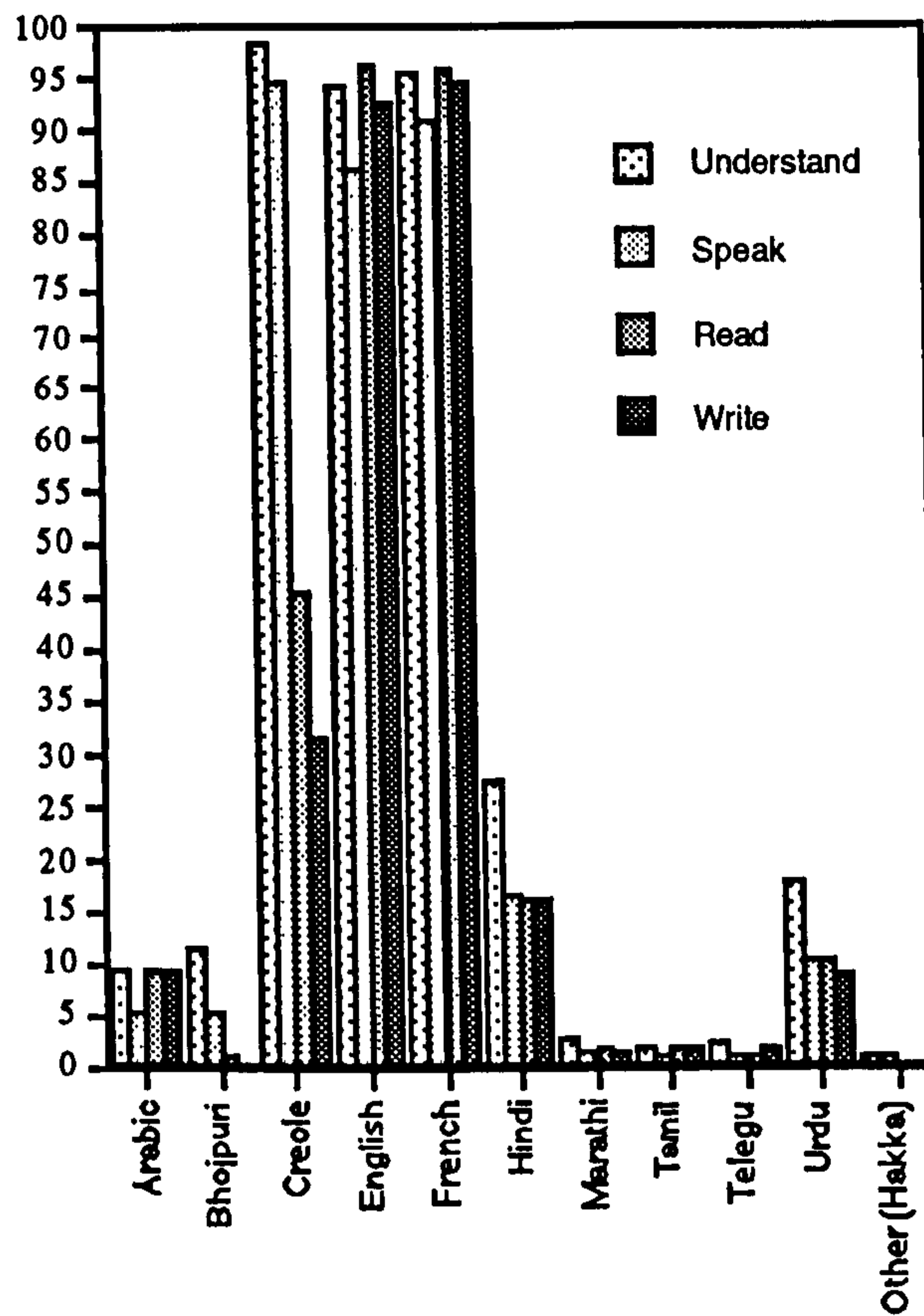
The order in which the languages are presented is different in the census and in the present study. In the census, languages are divided into standard and non-standard categories and are grouped under general headings, such as European or Oriental languages. Creole and Bhojpuri, the two oral languages, are kept as separate categories. In the present study, it was thought better to list all the languages in alphabetical order for practical reasons. A general comparison between the census and the study's results shows the same tendencies: a higher percentage of ability claimed for European languages than for Oriental languages and much lower literacy skills in oral languages. However, results in the present study also reveal a much higher ability in all standard languages.

The overview for the present sample reveals that German was not offered as an option in the visited schools. The high percentages obtained for English and French tend to reflect literacy skills of a subsection of the population which has been in the educational system for more than seven years. The majority of the sample would have completed their primary education successfully, although their

ability in the skills listed above may be very variable. The percentages of informants claiming to know standard Oriental languages are noticeably low across the sample when compared with European languages. The explanation can be found in the fact that whilst English and French are compulsory throughout the educational system (see 2.9.3), Oriental languages are optional and they do not appear to be a popular option with pupils as results from question 12 reveal. Indeed although the majority of informants are from an Indian background (61.6%) only 21.5% (43) are learning their ancestral languages in schools. Among the Oriental languages which are studied are Arabic (13 informants), Hindi (20 informants), Urdu (9 informants) and Mandarin (1 informant). Results on language choice and language attitudes in chapters 8 and 9 shed light on the reasons why Oriental languages are little chosen in schools.

The results for the overall sample also indicate that higher percentages in understanding skills than in speaking, reading and writing ability, thus suggesting a higher passive knowledge of the languages, and particularly of the Oriental languages. This can be attributed to the fact that although many Indo-Mauritians tend to drop Oriental languages as they progress in secondary education, they nevertheless watch Indian films regularly either on video or/and on channel 2, which broadcasts Indian films several times weekly.

Graph and table 32: Responses to question 9 for the whole sample



| languages | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Arabic | 9.5% (19) | 5.4% (11) | 9.5% (19) | 9.5% (19) |
| Bhojpuri | 11.5% (23) | 5.5% (11) | 1.1% (2) | 0.6% (1) |
| Creole | 98.4% (196) | 94.5% (189) | 45.5% (91) | 31.7% (63) |
| English | 94.4% (188) | 86.6% (173) | 96.5% (193) | 92.5% (185) |
| French | 95.5% (191) | 90.8% (181) | 96.1% (192) | 94.5% (189) |
| Hindi | 27.2% (54) | 16.6% (33) | 16% (32) | 16% (32) |
| Marathi | 3% (6) | 1.5% (3) | 2% (4) | 1.5% (3) |
| Tamil | 2% (4) | 1% (2) | 2% (4) | 2% (4) |
| Telegu | 2.7% (5) | 1.1% (2) | 1.1% (2) | 2.2% (4) |
| Urdu | 17.9% (36) | 10.5% (21) | 10.5% (21) | 9% (18) |
| Other (hakka) | 1.1% (2) | 1.1% (2) | 0.6% (1) | 0.6% (1) |

6.2.1) English and French

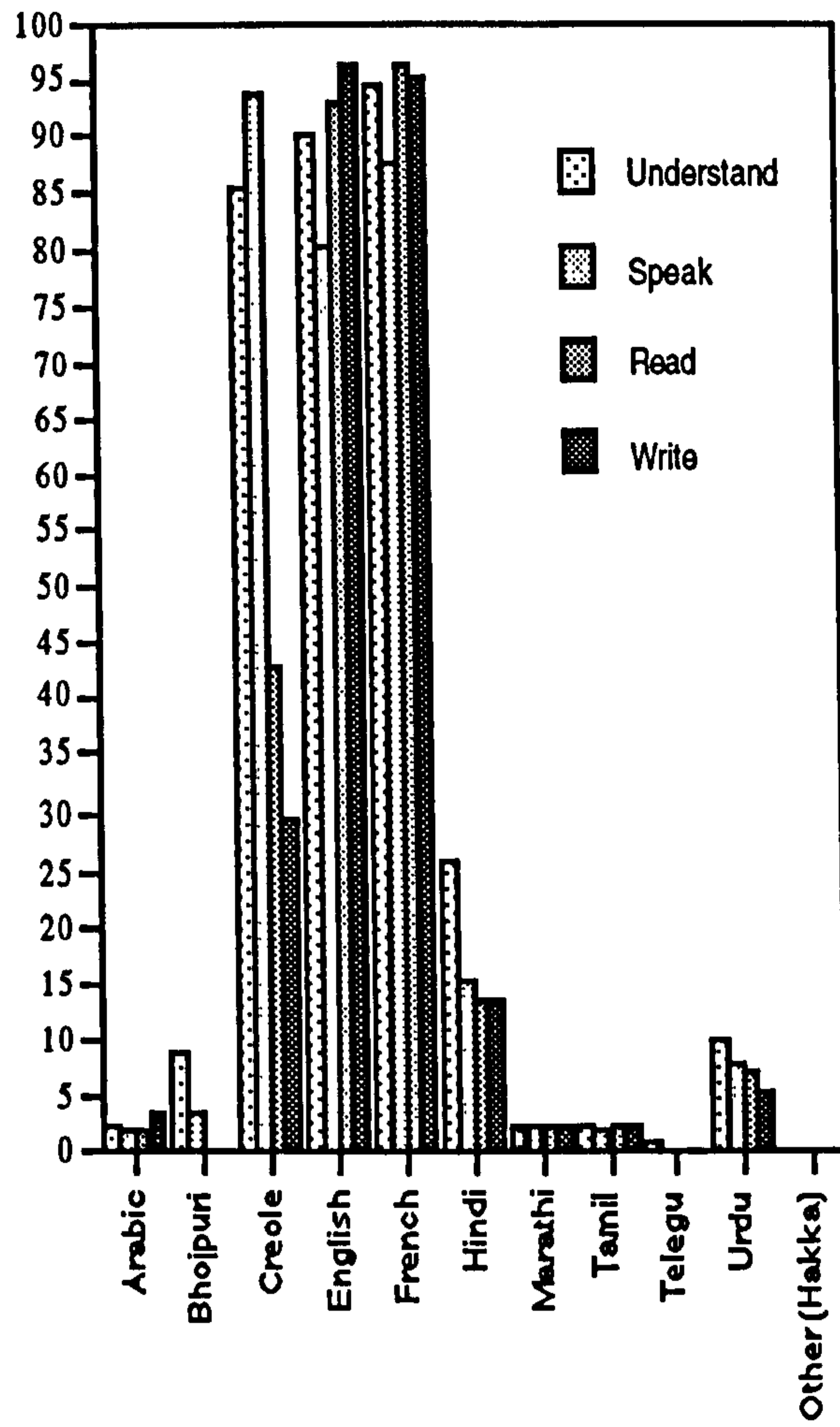
The percentages in English and French are higher for all the language skills although there is a slight difference for the speaking and writing skills between English and French. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that English is more a written than a spoken language in Mauritius. As far as French is concerned, a higher percentage of informants claim to be able to speak French than English. This disparity in fluency which occurs again for next question on estimation of linguistic ability was later confirmed during the interviews as illustrated in the next section.

The breakdown by sex reveals that although the actual number of boys and

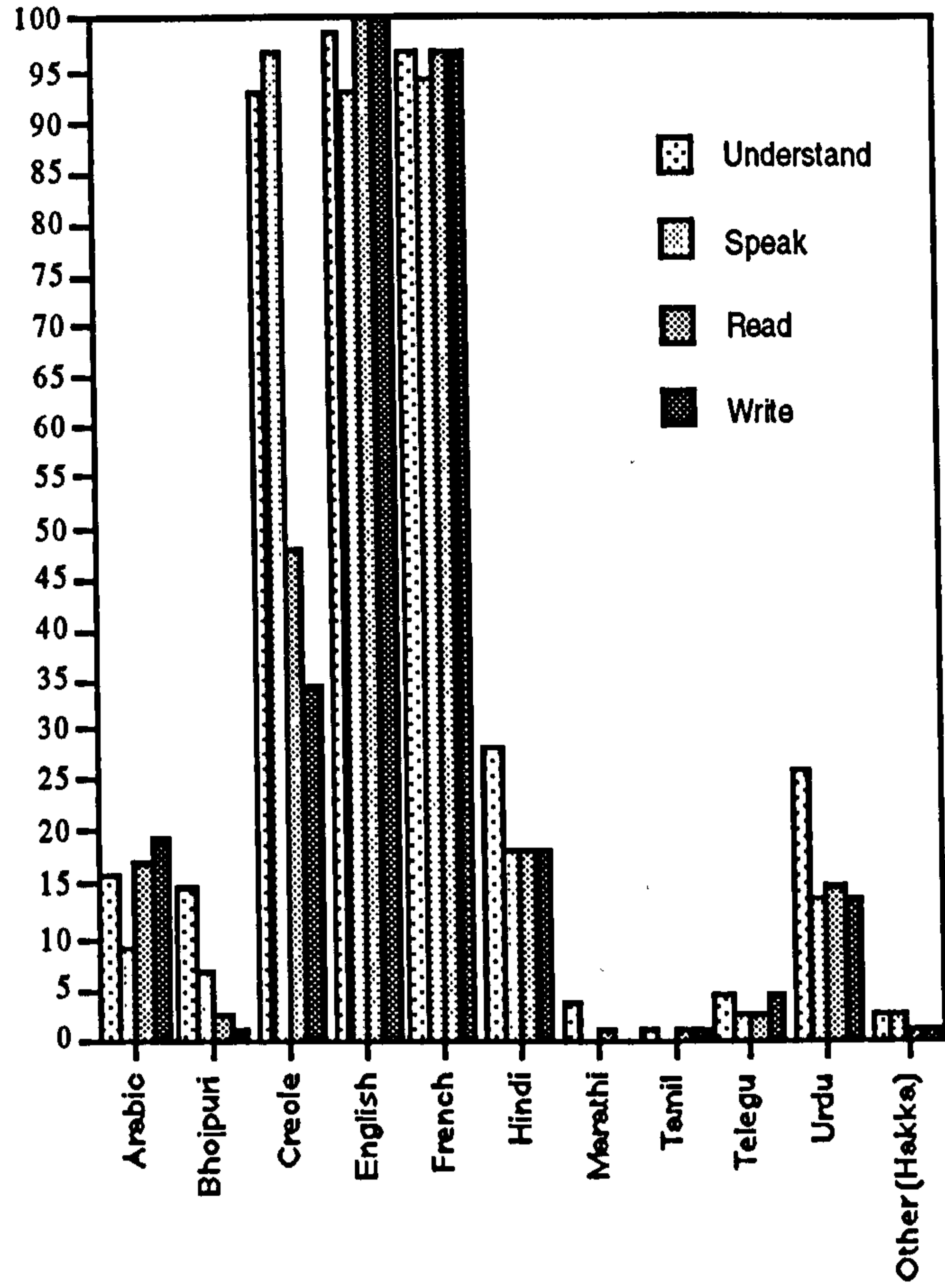
girls is approximately the same, girls seem to have claimed higher ability, in all skills for all languages apart from Tamil and Marathi. Responses in chapter 7 (see 7.1) on language use in the home seems to suggest that informants claiming to speak Tamil and Telegu are primarily boys. One explanation could be that girls have overrated their linguistic ability more than boys, in the same way as they have over-estimated their use of high status languages as will be seen in the next chapter. Another explanation could be that there are more girls who choose to learn Oriental languages than boys.

Graphs & Tables 32.1 Breakdown by sex for question 9

Boys



Girls



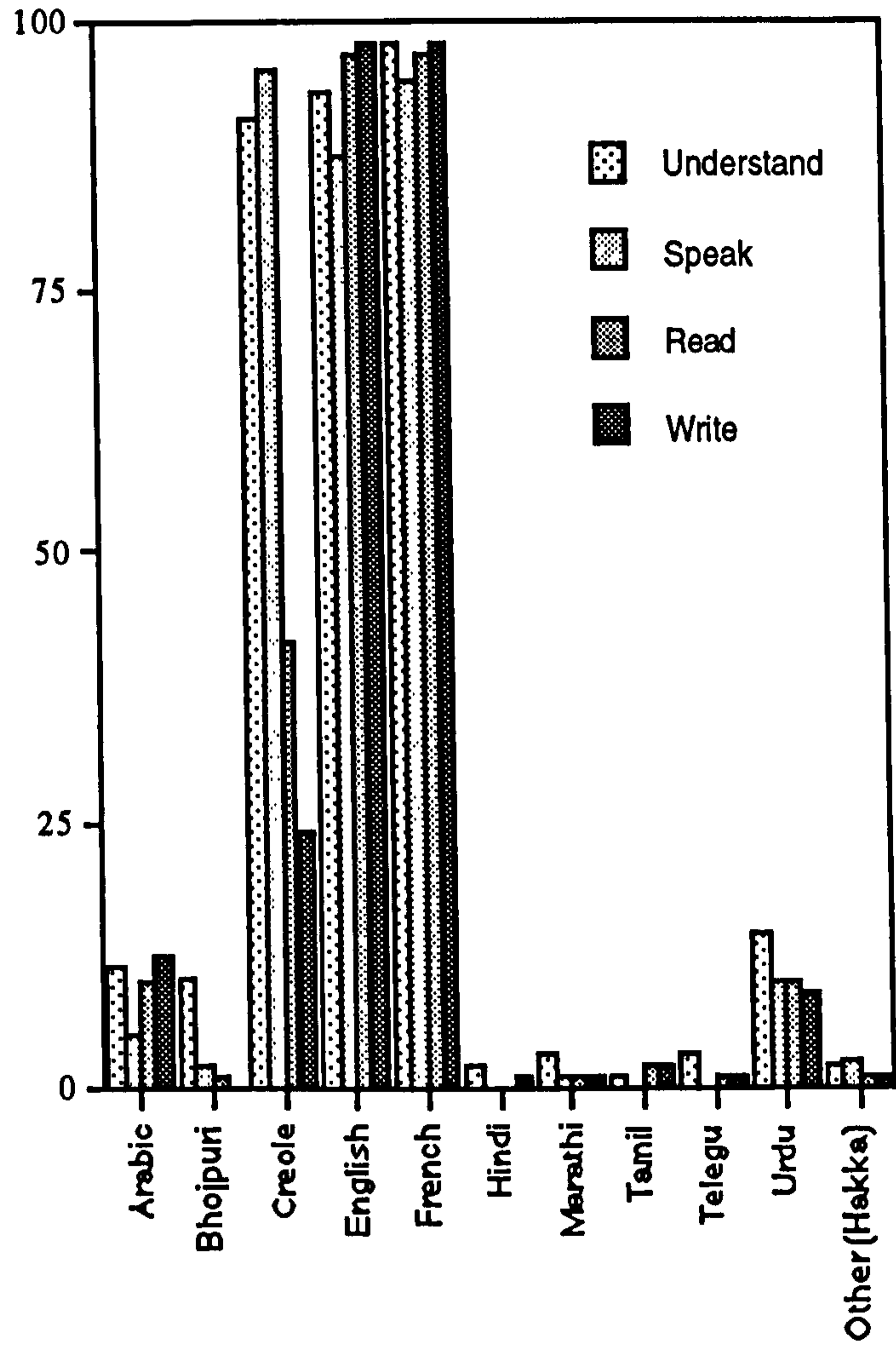
| Boys | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 2.7% (3) | 1.8% (2) | 1.8% (2) | 3.6% (4) |
| Bhojpuri | 9% (9) | 3.6% (4) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 85.6% (86) | 93.7% (95) | 42.9% (44) | 29.5% (30) |
| English | 90.1% (91) | 80.4% (82) | 92.9% (95) | 96.4% (98) |
| French | 94.6% (95) | 87.5% (89) | 96.4% (98) | 95.5% (97) |
| Hindi | 26.1% (26) | 15.2% (15) | 13.4% (14) | 13.4% (14) |
| Marathi | 2.7% (3) | 2.7% (3) | 2.7% (3) | 2.7% (3) |
| Tamil | 2.7% (3) | 1.8% (2) | 2.7% (3) | 2.7% (3) |
| Telegu | 0.9% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Urdu | 9.9% (10) | 8% (8) | 7.1% (7) | 5.4% (5) |

| Girls | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 15.9% (16) | 9.1% (9) | 17% (17) | 19.3% (19) |
| Bhojpuri | 14.8% (14) | 6.8% (7) | 2.3% (2) | 1.1% (1) |
| Creole | 93.2% (91) | 96.6% (94) | 47.7% (47) | 34.1% (33) |
| English | 98.7% (97) | 93.2% (91) | 100% (98) | 100% (98) |
| French | 96.6 (94) | 94.3% (92) | 96.6% (94) | 96.6% (94) |
| Hindi | 28.4% (28) | 18.2% (18) | 18.2% (18) | 18.2% (18) |
| Marathi | 3.4% (3) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Tamil | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |
| Telegu | 4.5% (4) | 2.3% (2) | 2.3% (2) | 4.5% (4) |
| Urdu | 26.1% (26) | 13.6% (13) | 14.8% (14) | 13.6% (13) |
| Other (Hakka) | 2.3% (2) | 2.3% (2) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |

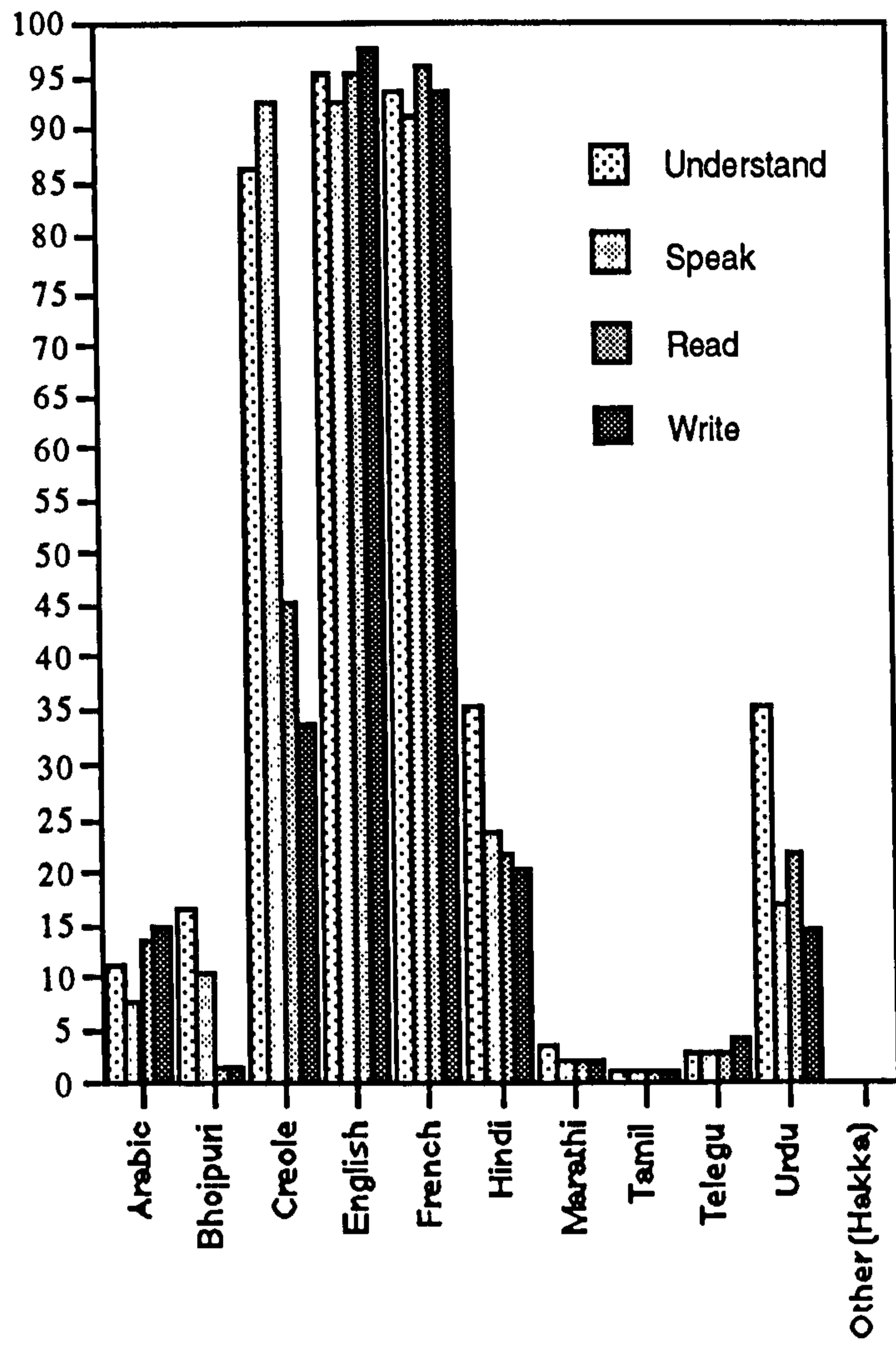
The breakdown by place of residence does not show an emerging pattern for European languages in the three places of residence. There is a slightly higher percentage of informants from urban areas who claim all four abilities in French. These high percentages are explained by the fact that French is used more frequently in urban than in rural and coastal areas (see 2.10.1). It would appear that, for the informants, and perhaps for most of the adolescents in education, learning English, French and any other language may also mean being able to speak, write and read these languages in an equal manner. This was the reason for devising question 10, which dealt with rating one's ability according to the four criteria already mentioned. This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Graphs & Tables 32.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 9

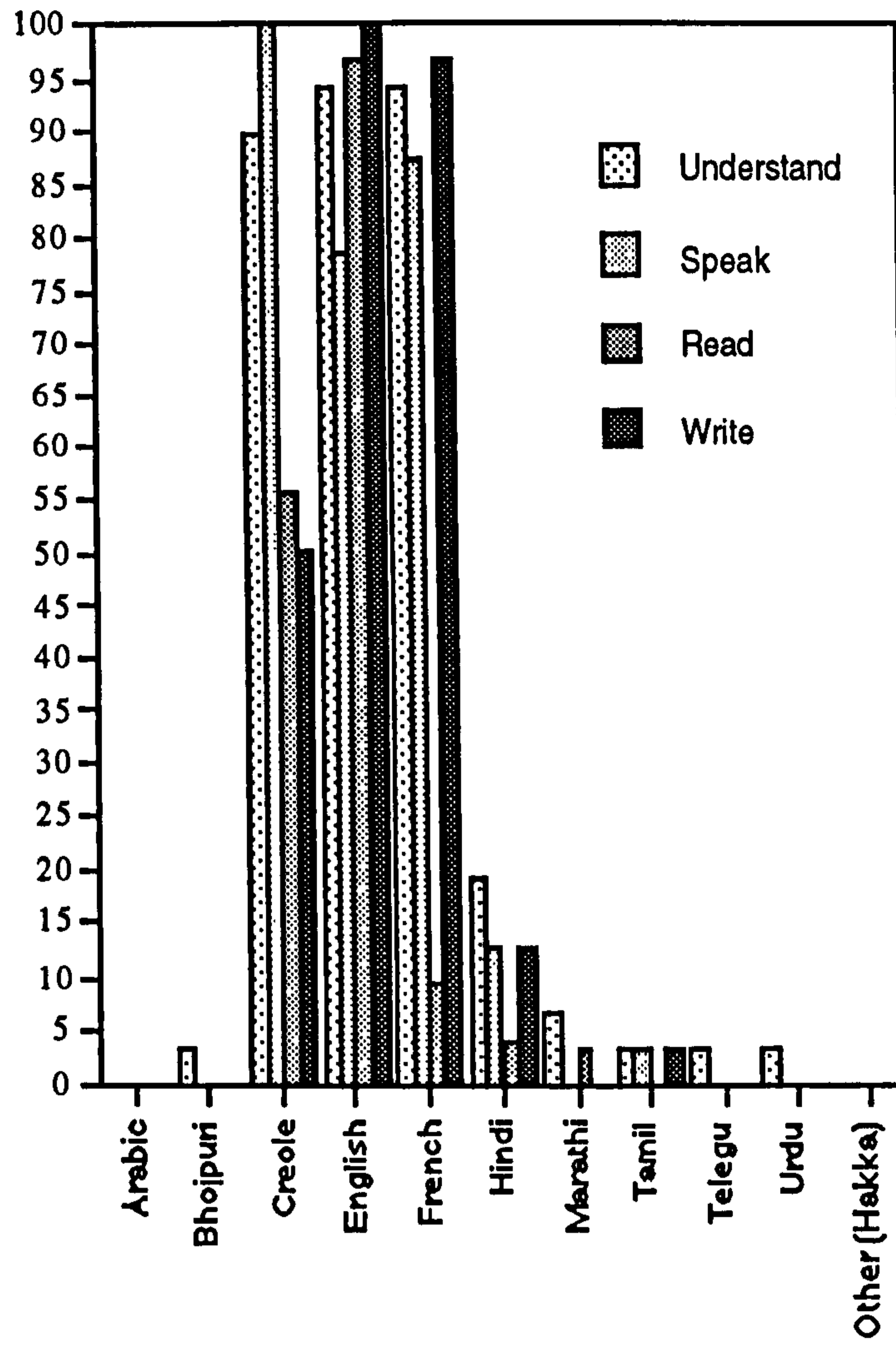
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 11.1% (10) | 5.2% (4) | 9.5% (8) | 12% (11) |
| Bhojpuri | 10% (9) | 2.2% (2) | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 91.1% (82) | 95.5% (87) | 41.7% (38) | 24.1% (22) |
| English | 93.3% (84) | 87.5% (77) | 96.7% (88) | 97.8% (89) |
| French | 97.7% (88) | 94.3% (83) | 96.7% (88) | 97.8% (89) |
| Hindi | 2.2% (2) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) |
| Marathi | 3.3% (3) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |
| Tamil | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) | 2.3% (2) | 2.3% (2) |
| Telegu | 3.3% (3) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |
| Urdu | 14.4% (13) | 9.5% (8) | 9.8% (9) | 8.7% (7) |
| Other (hakka) | 2.2% (2) | 2.4% (2) | 1.1% (1) | 1.3% (1) |

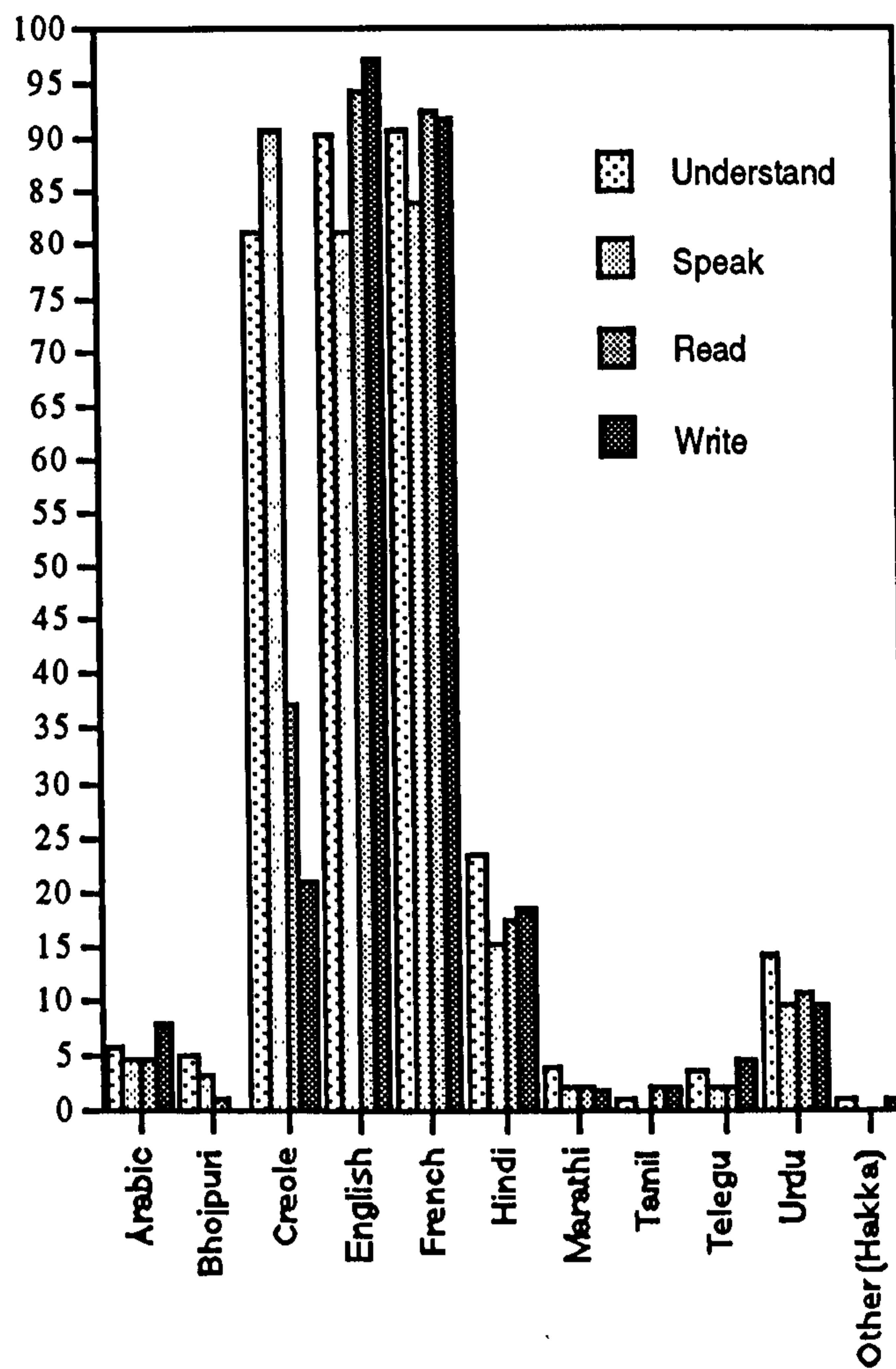
| Rural | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 11.1% (9) | 8% (6) | 13.7% (11) | 15.1% (12) |
| Bhojpuri | 16.9% (13) | 10.3% (8) | 1.4% (1) | 1.4% (1) |
| Creole | 86.4% (68) | 92.5% (72) | 45.3% (35) | 33.6% (26) |
| English | 95.3% (75) | 92.5% (72) | 95.3% (75) | 97.7% (76) |
| French | 93.7% (73) | 91.3% (71) | 96% (75) | 93.7% (73) |
| Hindi | 35.4% (28) | 23.9% (19) | 21.6% (17) | 20.4% (16) |
| Marathi | 3.7% (3) | 2.3% (2) | 2.3% (2) | 2.3% (2) |
| Tamil | 1.2% (1) | 1.2% (1) | 1.2% (1) | 1.2% (1) |
| Telegu | 2.8% (2) | 2.8% (2) | 2.8% (2) | 4.3% (3) |
| Urdu | 35.4% (28) | 17.2% (13) | 21.6% (17) | 14.6% (11) |
| Other | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |

| Coastal | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Bhojpuri | 3% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 89.7% (27) | 100% (30) | 55.5% (17) | 50.2% (15) |
| English | 94% (29) | 78.4% (24) | 97% (29) | 100% (30) |
| French | 94% (29) | 87.4% (27) | 97% (29) | 97% (29) |
| Hindi | 19.3% (6) | 12.6% (4) | 9.6% (3) | 12.6% (4) |
| Marathi | 6.6% (2) | 0% (0) | 3.7% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Tamil | 3% (1) | 3% (1) | 3% (1) | 3% (1) |
| Telegu | 3% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Urdu | 3% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Other | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |

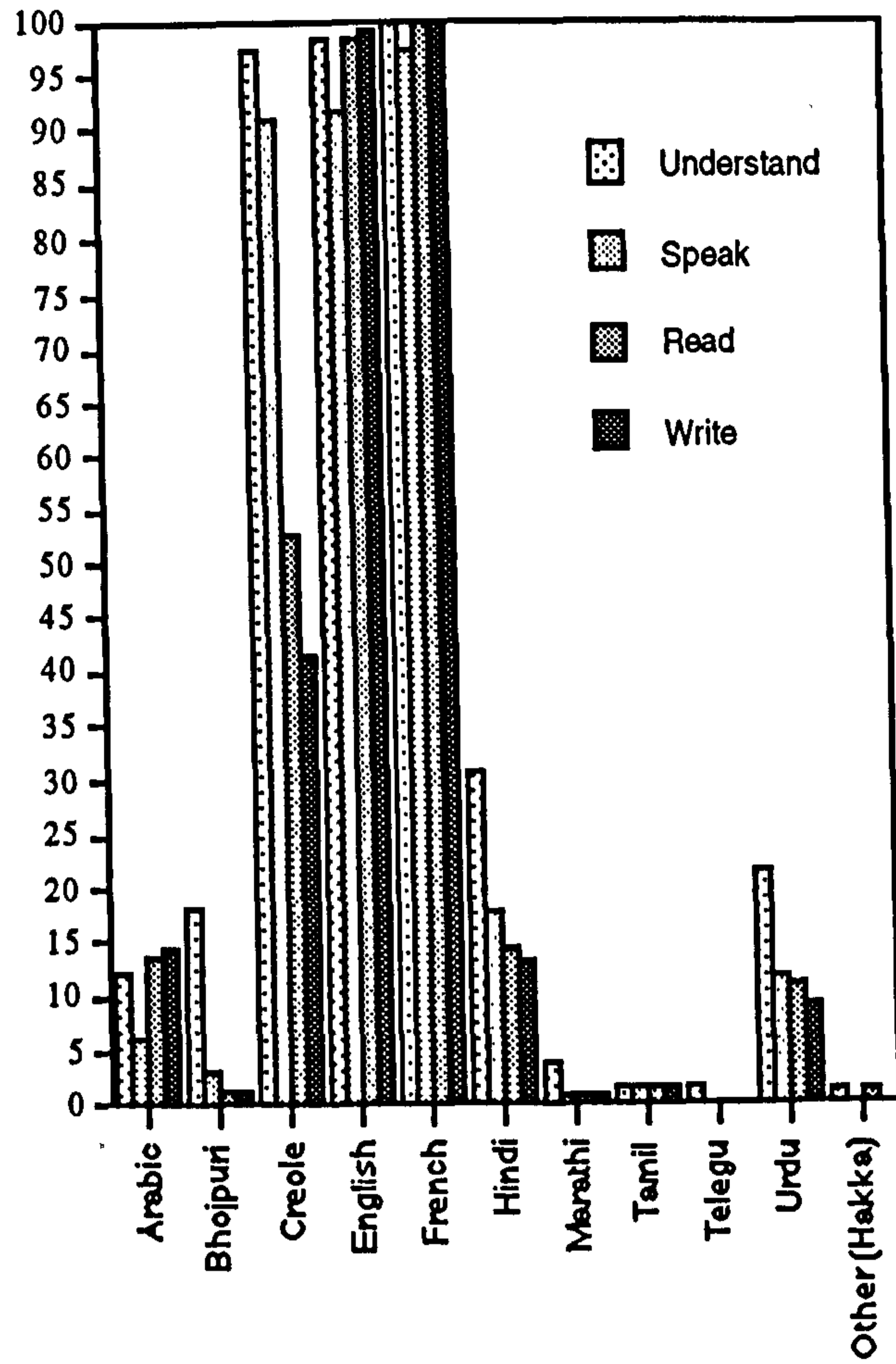
The breakdown by age group shows that the older group claims to be more competent in all four skills. The high percentages are expected, since this group has been in education for a longer period of time and, therefore, should be more fluent and competent in all four skills. Although the percentages for both English and French are very close, those for French are undoubtedly higher than any other language, thus showing that informants rate their ability in French higher than in any other language.

Graph & Table 32.3 Breakdown by age group for question 9

11-14 years



15-20 years



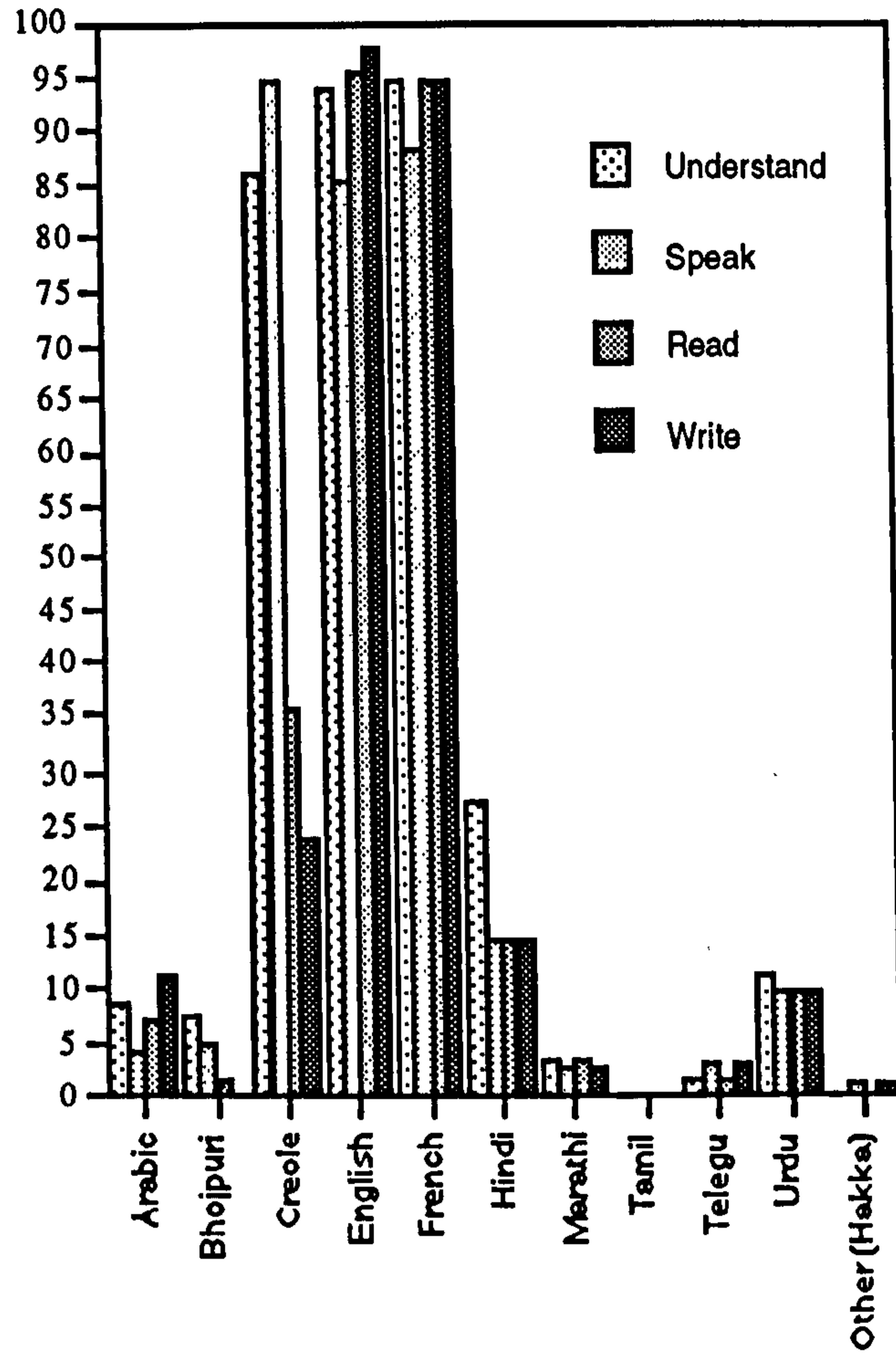
| 11-14 years | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 5.8% (6) | 4.7% (4) | 4.7% (4) | 7.9% (8) |
| Bhojpuri | 5.2% (5) | 3.3% (3) | 1.2% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 81.1% (77) | 90.8% (87) | 37.3% (36) | 21.1% (20) |
| English | 90.3% (86) | 81.3% (78) | 94.3%(90) | 97.1% (93) |
| French | 90.8% (87) | 84.1% (80) | 92.7%(89) | 91.8% (88) |
| Hindi | 23.6% (23) | 15.3% (15) | 17.4% (17) | 18.4% (18) |
| Marathi | 4% (4) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) |
| Tamil | 1% (1) | 0% (0) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) |
| Telegu | 3.6% (3) | 2.4% (2) | 2.4% (2) | 4.8% (4) |
| Urdu | 14.3% (14) | 9.6% (9) | 10.8% (10) | 9.6% (9) |
| Other (Hakka) | 1.2% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 1.2% (1) |

| 15-20 years | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Arabic | 12.3% (13) | 6% (6) | 13.5% (14) | 14.4% (15) |
| Bhojpuri | 18% (19) | 3.3% (3) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |
| Creole | 97% (100) | 90.8% (87) | 52.5% (55) | 41.5% (43) |
| English | 98.2% (101) | 91.6% (95) | 98.3%(102) | 99.1% (103) |
| French | 100% (104) | 97% (101) | 100% (104) | 100% (104) |
| Hindi | 30.7% (32) | 17.9% (19) | 14.2% (15) | 13.3% (14) |
| Marathi | 3.9% (4) | 0.9% (1) | 0.9% (1) | 0.9% (1) |
| Tamil | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) |
| Telegu | 2% (2) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Urdu | 21.3% (22) | 11.8% (12) | 11% (11) | 9% (9) |
| Other (Hakka) | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) | 0% (0) |

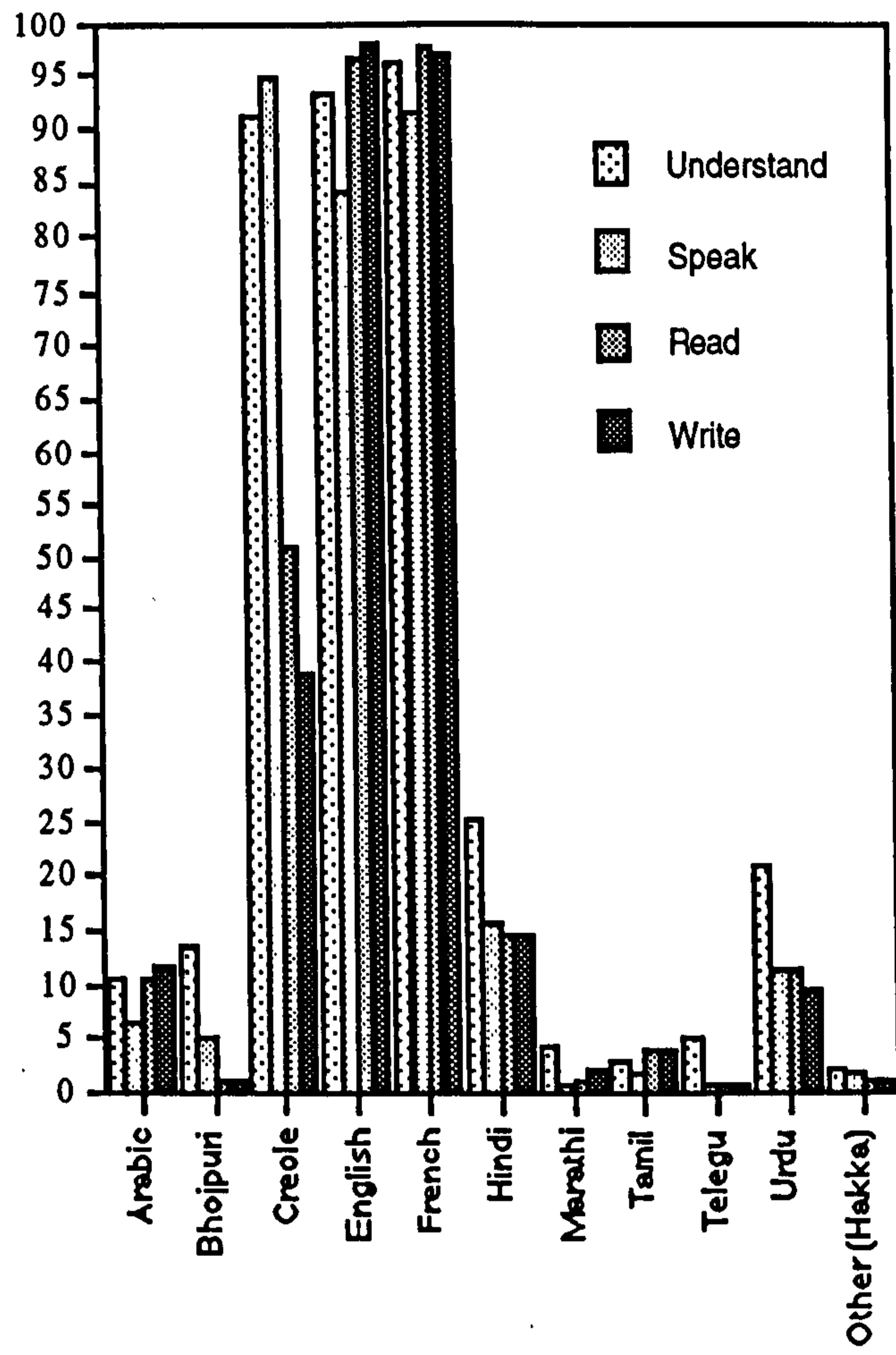
The breakdown by family income shows that it is the informants from a high income household who claim a higher ability for English and French in all four skills. These figures can be explained by the fact that parents earning a high income are, from a financial point of view, able to afford the cost of higher education in France or an English-speaking country, and therefore, are likely to encourage their children to speak and study these two languages as much as possible. The percentages for English and French are very similar for the low and medium level households, with a slight predominance for French in the medium level households.

Graph & Table 32.4 Breakdown by level of income for question 9

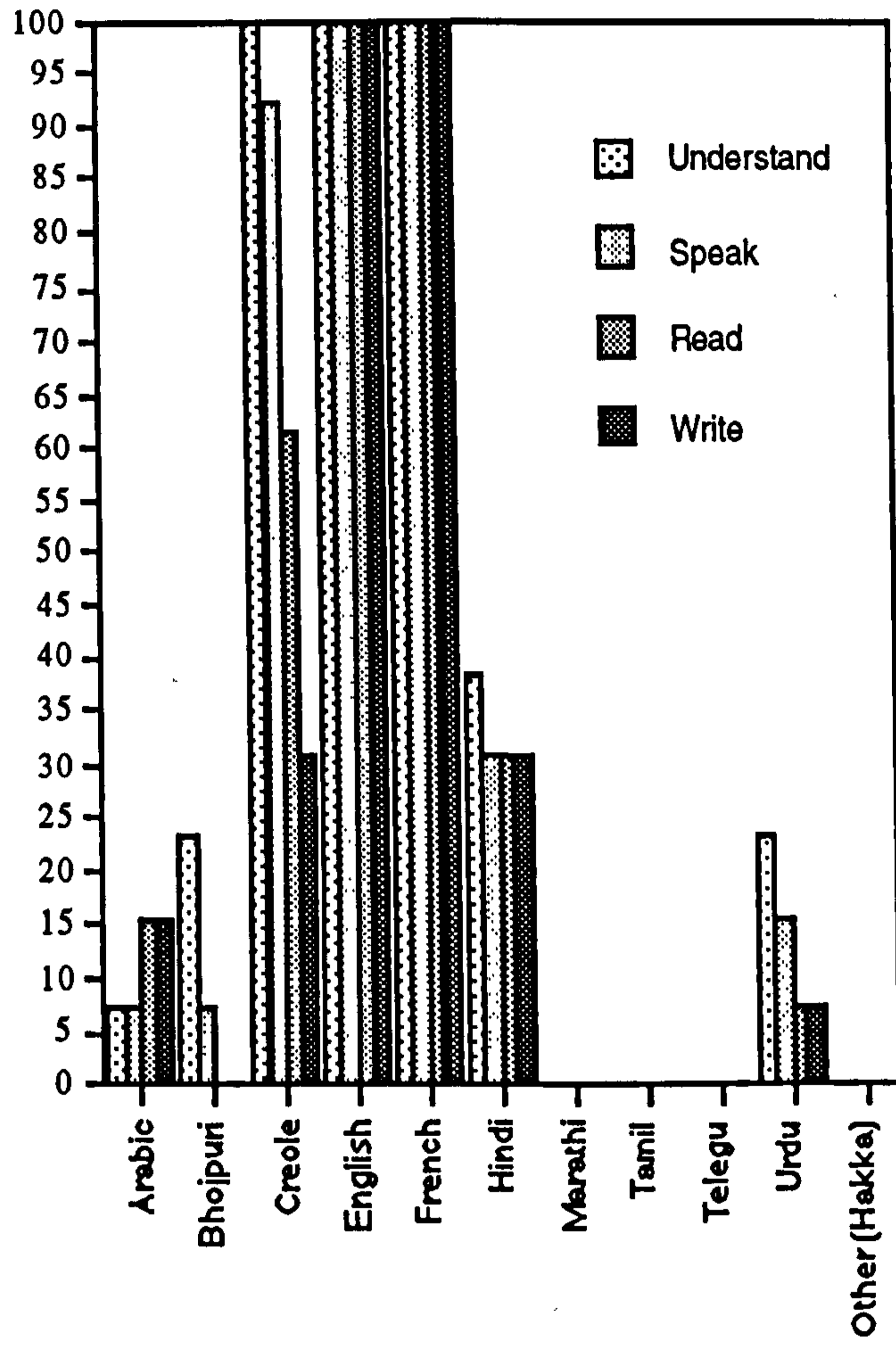
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 8.5% (6) | 4.3% (3) | 7.2% (6) | 11% (8) |
| Bhojpuri | 7.7% (6) | 5.2% (4) | 1.4% (1) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 86.1% (66) | 94.8% (73) | 36% (28) | 23.7% (18) |
| English | 94% (72) | 85.3% (66) | 95.3% (74) | 97.6% (75) |
| French | 94.7% (72) | 88.4% (68) | 94.8% (73) | 94.8% (73) |
| Hindi | 27.3% (21) | 14.7% (11) | 14.7% (11) | 14.7% (11) |
| Marathi | 3.6% (3) | 2.4% (2) | 3.6% (3) | 2.4% (2) |
| Telegu | 1.5% (1) | 1.5% (1) | 1.5% (1) | 3% (2) |
| Urdu | 10.9% (8) | 7.9% (6) | 9.6% (7) | 9.6% (7) |
| Other | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) | 1.1% (1) |

| Medium | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arabic | 10.8% (11) | 6.3% (6) | 10.8% (11) | 11.9% (12) |
| Bhojpuri | 13.4% (13) | 5.2% (4) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |
| Creole | 91.3% (90) | 94.8% (73) | 51% (51) | 39% (39) |
| English | 93.4% (92) | 84.5% (84) | 96.3% (95) | 98.2% (97) |
| French | 96.1% (95) | 91.5% (91) | 98% (97) | 97% (96) |
| Hindi | 25.1% (25) | 15.6% (15) | 14.7% (15) | 14.7% (15) |
| Marathi | 4.3% (4) | 1% (1) | 1.1% (1) | 2.2% (2) |
| Tamil | 2.8% (3) | 1.8% (2) | 3.9% (4) | 3.9% (4) |
| Telegu | 5% (5) | 1% (1) | 1% (1) | 1% (1) |
| Urdu | 21% (21) | 11.3% (11) | 11.3% (11) | 9.5% (9) |
| Other Hakka | 2.2% (2) | 1.8% (2) | 1.1% (1) | 1.1% (1) |

| High | Understand | Speak | Read | Write |
|----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Arabic | 7.7% (1) | 7.7% (1) | 15.4% (2) | 15.4% (2) |
| Bhojpuri | 23.1% (3) | 7.7% (1) | 0% (0) | 0% (0) |
| Creole | 100% (14) | 92.3% (13) | 61.5% (9) | 30.8% (4) |
| English | 100% (14) | 100% (14) | 100% (14) | 100% (14) |
| French | 100% (14) | 100% (14) | 100% (14) | 100% (14) |
| Hindi | 38.5% (6) | 30.8% (4) | 30.8% (4) | 30.8% (4) |
| Urdu | 23.1% (3) | 15.4% (2) | 7.7% (1) | 0% (0) |

6.2.2) Oriental languages

The three most popular Oriental languages in the study are: Hindi, Urdu and Arabic in this order. The reason for this is that Hindi and Urdu are the two most popular options offered in primary and secondary schools. Arabic is offered in Aleemiah College (Islamic confessional school), where, for instance, Islamic studies are an option, and pupils can choose to study Arabic or Urdu. Since 75% of the pupils in this school are from a Muslim background, the relatively high percentages for these two languages would tend to suggest that it is a popular option with informants. The percentage of those who claim to know and understand the Oriental languages is very similar for Hakka, Marathi, Mandarin, Tamil and Telegu.

Among the Chinese languages, Mandarin and Hakka score a minimal percentage in all four abilities. As will be seen in chapter 9, there were only a few informants from a Chinese background who admitted to speaking, writing and reading at least one Chinese language. These results also indicate that Chinese languages, like the Indian languages, are generally on the decline.

The breakdown by sex reveals that girls claimed higher ability in all four skills for Oriental languages than boys. These higher percentages would tend to suggest that, like for the census results (see 6.1), that these optional languages, most certainly acquired through education, are perhaps chosen more by girls than by boys.

The place of residence analysis reveals that a higher percentage of informants from rural areas claim higher ability in Oriental languages for all four skills. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of informants in rural areas are from an Indian background and it is primarily in these areas that these

languages are mostly alive (see chapter 7). Informants in coastal regions do not speak any Oriental language, apart from Hindi and Tamil. Only one informant claims to have all four skills in Tamil. It is more likely that this informant learnt this language in school. The language which is absent in the coastal areas is Arabic. This can be explained by the fact that there are only 2 informants from a muslim background who live in these regions and the Arabic confessional school which was visited is located in an urban/rural area.

The breakdown by age group indicates that the older group claims higher ability in all Oriental languages. This may be due to the fact that younger generations tend to drop these languages. Indeed according to table 29 in 5.4.3 there are more younger informants from an Indian background in the sample and yet the results show that they claim a lower ability than the older group. This would tend to confirm what was said earlier that Oriental languages do not appear to be popular options in schools.

The breakdown by family income shows that informants from a high level income background claim highest ability in all four skills. A small percentage of informants from medium and low income households claim to have an ability in Oriental languages. Although the four minority Oriental languages (Hakka, Marathi, Tamil and Telegu) are those with the lowest percentages across the spectrum, it is informants from a medium income household who claim higher speaking and understanding skills than the two other categories. Informants from a high income household claim ability in all four skills in Hindi and Arabic. This may be explained by the fact that the majority of informants with a high income background are Indo-Mauritians (see table 27 in 5.4.3).

6.2.3) Creole and Bhojpuri

The percentage of informants who claim to have reading and writing skills in Creole and Bhojpuri is much lower than for the other languages. This is expected, since these two languages, as has been seen earlier (see 2.10.1), are predominantly oral languages learnt in “natural” social situations. There are however, a very small number of informants (3) who claim to be able to read and write Bhojpuri. This is unexpected and one explanation may be that for these informants Bhojpuri equally meant Hindi.

The reading and writing skills for Creole is higher than for the standard Oriental languages. This is explained by the fact that the informal use of Creole has considerably increased in the media (see 2.8 and 2.10.1), and informants come regularly into contact with one form or the other of written Creole in newspapers, posters and public notices. They may also be using Creole themselves in written communication. It should be reminded that Hookoomsing found that his informants who claimed to be using Creole in letter writing in fact used a mixture of French, English and Creole (see 4.4.5). It is likely that informants in the present study do use a mixture of all the languages they know and think or perhaps believe they are writing only in Creole.

The breakdown by sex reveals that Creole does not score 100% for the speaking and understanding skills for both sexes. This is unexpected since Creole was expected to score 100% at least for the speaking and understanding skills for both sexes. This may be explained by the fact that informants may have understood this question to mean more specifically “speaking Creole on a daily basis” and not “being able to speak” the language from a general perspective. As far as understanding Creole is concerned, informants may have understood it to

mean “understand written and spoken Creole equally”. It would appear that this question may have been misunderstood as the analysis by the other variables seem to suggest.

The breakdown by place of residence shows a higher percentage of informants from urban areas claiming to understand Creole than those from rural and coastal areas. This would seem logical, given the higher percentage of informants from urban areas (see table 15 in 5.4.2). However, here again the speaking and understanding skills in Creole do not score 100% in all three places of residence.

The age breakdown reveals that informants claiming higher ability in Creole are from the older group. Although this group may be more competent and fluent than the younger one, it would also seem that these informants claim to read and write considerably more in Creole than their younger counterparts.

The breakdown by family income suggests that a higher percentage of informants from a low income bracket claim not to understand Creole. This is rather unexpected and could be explained by the fact that it may be these specific informants who may have misinterpreted the question as suggested above.

6.2.4) “Other” languages

The results show that there is a negligible percentage of “other” languages known to the informants. The languages include Italian (1 female informant), German (1 female informant), Russian (1 male informant). In all these cases the informants claim variable ability in the four skills, with a predominance in the “understanding” one. These three languages mentioned above may have been acquired as another language although their occurrence in the Mauritian context appears unusual.

6.3) Estimation of language ability

In question 10 informants were invited to grade their skills, for the three main languages (English French and Creole), according to four estimations: “very well”, “well”, “more or less well” and a “few words”. Histograms are not provided in this section, since the interviews were also designed to validate these subjective estimations with the actual linguistic ability of informants (see 4.5.2).

The results suggest a hierarchy in which Creole and French are the languages which are claimed to be known best (in this order). English occupies third position, with a mere 15.3% claiming to speak it very well. The high percentages for French and Creole are expected, since they are the two most common languages for adolescents in education. The high percentages for a “good” ability in English and in French is also expected, considering the fact that this section of the population is the most educated.

Table 33 Responses to question 10 for the whole sample

| | Creole | English | French |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| very well | 93.2% (186) | 15.3% (31) | 47.1% (94) |
| well | 5.3% (11) | 80.2% (160) | 50.4% (101) |
| more or less well | 0.6% (1) | 1.8% (4) | 2% (4) |
| a few words | 1% (2) | 2.7% (5) | 0.5% (1) |

The hierarchy shown by the questionnaire results was later confirmed in the interviews which allowed an overall evaluation of the informants' competence in

English, French and Creole. Informants were undoubtedly better at sustaining a conversation in French and Creole than in English as shown in the few examples below. Some even preferred switching to French when asked questions in Creole, thus suggesting an instant and spontaneous preference for French. However, the spoken ability of the informants interviewed in English would have been rated "average" rather than "good" by the author. The answers to the open question on Creole in education also show a great number of spelling mistakes both in English and in French, as can be noted in the examples taken from the interviews.

(F20 years): "Creole does not have very good [sic] importance. Creole is not important like English and French".

(F15 years): "I like English because one day I like to studies [sic] in foreign countries [sic] very much and I have a pen-friend there I would like to talk [sic] English very much and French too. My pen-friend they invite me at [sic] the countries [sic]. For that I want to go and for that I must speak very good [sic] in French too".

(M17 years): "Dans les classes à la télévision dans les journals télévisés et dans les magazines on parle plus beaucoup [sic] de sujets comme en anglais et en français et on sait plus les sujets des affaires qui passent dans notre île à travers les langues anglais et français [sic]".

These examples suggest that informants may have slightly over-estimated their language skills. One explanation for the high percentages in languages acquired academically, particularly English and French, may be that for these informants studying English, French and an Oriental language, also meant that they were able to speak, write and read them equally and without difficulty. It would appear that a grading system whereby informants could rate their skills according to several criteria might have allowed a sharper contrast between the different skills.

To conclude, the great majority of informants have rated themselves as speaking English less well than French and Creole. One explanation of this may be the issue of language exposure and practice. Although these abilities are measured in a subjective manner, competence in French and Creole was higher than in English from the evidence of the linguistic interviews in chapter 9. It can therefore be said that the estimations are reliable and that language ability in French is higher than in English for the majority of informants. The disparity in linguistic ability between these two languages was also reflected in the results of the Advanced Level examinations in the beginning of the 90s. The low achievement in English of Mauritian pupils has caused much concern to the educational authorities and steps have been taken to improve and enhance the teaching and learning experience of the English language as will be seen in chapter 11.

Chapter 7: Analysis of language use

This chapter combines responses to questions on language use encountered in the following three communicative contexts:

- (i) At home with various family members.
- (ii) On a daily basis.
- (iii) In the classroom.

The first part of this chapter analyzes responses to question 11 on language use in the home and compares them to the census results for languages spoken in the home as seen in 2.10.2. The second part presents responses to question 19 on use of various languages on a daily basis. The third section analyzes responses to questions 13 and 14 on language use in the classroom in different lessons.

7.1) Language use among various family members

This first section discusses responses to question 11: “Which language(s) do you speak with your family and relatives?” In this multi-response question informants were invited to indicate which language(s) they use on in the home with their close family (parents, grandparents, siblings) and other relatives (uncles, aunts, cousins). The three categories of family members were chosen according to age and can be grouped as belonging to one of the these three generations: (i) grandparents, (ii) parents, uncles and aunts, and (iii) siblings and cousins. The languages informants could choose from were based on the official list of

languages published in the 1990 census. For practical reasons, Hakka and Cantonese were grouped together; Hindi and Bhojpuri have also been counted together. Although Gujrati and Telegu were listed as possible languages, no informant in fact indicated either of these in their responses. This is the reason for not mentioning them in the tables and histograms.

An analysis of the whole sample shows that Creole is undoubtedly the first language of the home, spoken in the domestic situation with every family member. A significantly high percentage claims to use other languages apart from Creole, the most frequent ones being French and English in this order. It is also noticeable that the use of Oriental languages in the home seems to be decreasing with age as they are mainly spoken with grand-parents and very little with parents and siblings. This can be explained by the fact that older generations, especially Indo-Mauritians, usually did not have the opportunity to go to school, and therefore cannot converse much in English or French. The only languages they are most likely to have learnt is either an Indian or Chinese language (for those who live in rural areas) and/or Creole (for those who moved to urban areas). The low percentages scored by the other such as Hakka, Cantonese, Marathi and Tamil suggest that they have virtually disappeared with this section of the Mauritian population who is by definition young and the most educated. Arabic is the only language which is spoken neither at home nor with the grand-parents thus confirming the fact that Arabic is not an ancestral language in Mauritius (see 2.3) and as a learnt language its usage is restricted to the school and religious contexts.

These results would tend to confirm the claim already made by Stein (1982) and Sharma and Rao (1989) that the use of Oriental languages is steadily declining with age. Their loss seem to be compensated for by a shift towards Creole, English and French in the educated section of the Indo-Mauritian population. The same can be said of Chinese languages which also appear to be non-existent in this

educated section of the population. The hypothesis of a language shift is discussed in more detail in the light of the present findings in chapter 10.

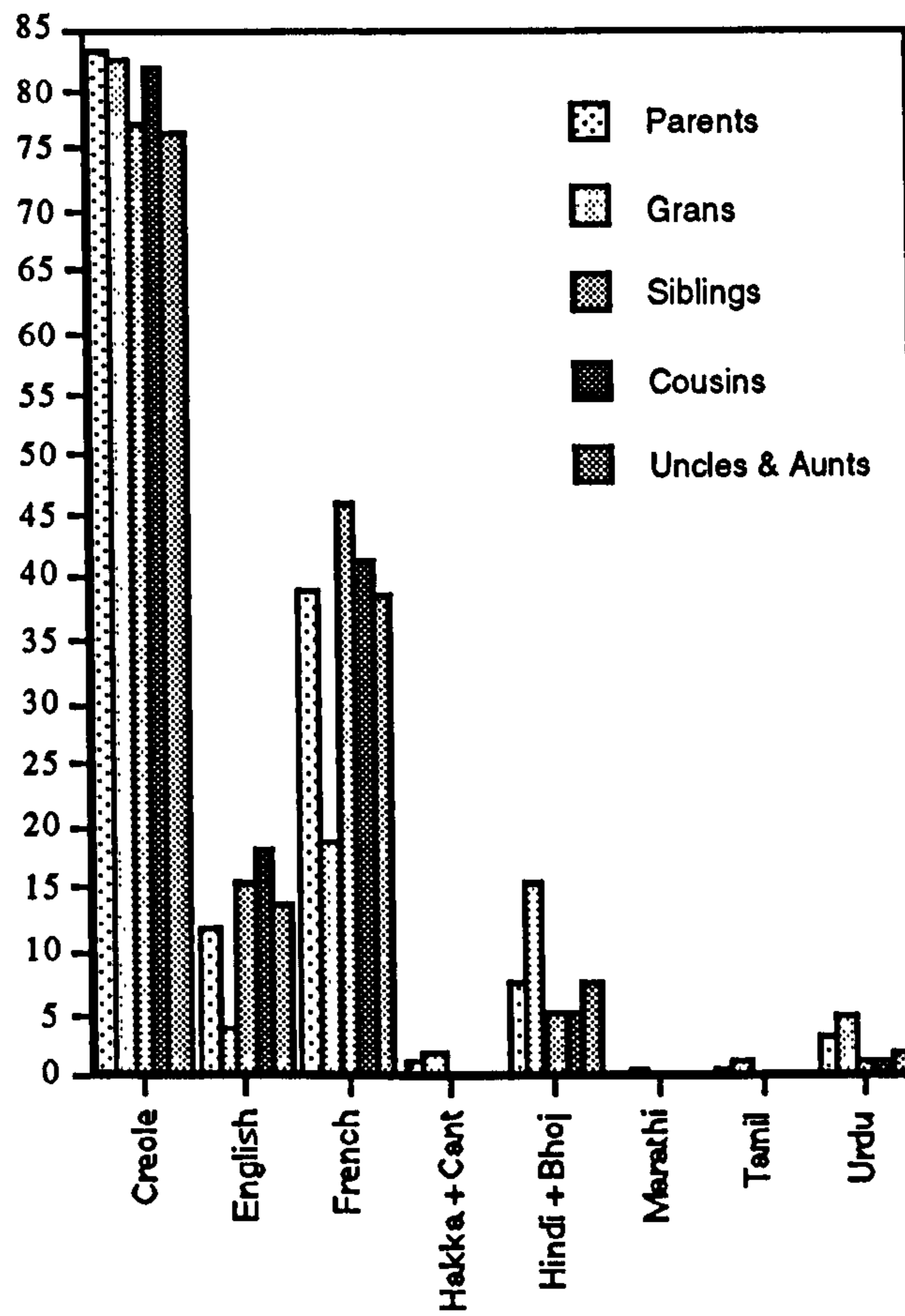
The census results for languages spoken in the home (see 2.10.2) shows that the second language of the home for the Mauritian population is Bhojpuri. Although the score for Hindi and Bhojpuri (15.5%) in the present study is comparable with those of the census results for these same languages (21%), it is primarily the percentages recorded by European languages that seem to be in contradiction with the census results. Indeed, the present results reveal that French and English are the two languages most frequently used after Creole in the home context. A few explanations can be attempted to explain this apparent contradiction between both sets of data. First, it should perhaps be recalled that the widespread multilingualism suggested by the present results are due to the fact that this question was a multi-response one whilst the question in the census allowed only two languages to be answered.

Second, the high percentages scored by the European languages can be explained by the fact that these languages are associated with high status and prestige and the investigation, which took place in school environment, may have prompted the informants to overestimate their use of European languages and underestimate their use of Creole and Oriental languages viewed as impediments to academic success (see chapter 9).

Another explanation for the high percentages recorded for European languages can be envisaged by referring to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985 and also 4.4.2) who found that speakers, particularly in multilingual settings often use different portions of the languages they know in a same conversation. In the present case, it is very likely that informants do use several languages perhaps, intermittently. Although the questionnaire did not investigate to what extent

informants use different portions of the various languages, it would seem logical to think that the language is likely to be a mixture of Creole, French and English, since results in chapter 6 show that the majority of the informants are trilinguals with varying degrees of competence in each language. In fact, responses to question 19 in the next section suggest that informants found it difficult to quantify the various languages spoken on a daily basis. Furthermore, results in chapter 9 reveal that informants have a higher ability in Creole and French and the variety of language they often use can be described as a mixture of Creole, French and English as quoted examples show in chapter 10. The concept of language mixing and its link to the accommodation theory would be an interesting framework within which to examine more closely the use of languages in a multilingual Mauritius. An explanation of the different concepts is made in chapter 10 together with a discussion of the present results.

Graph and Table 34 Responses to question 11 for the whole sample



| Language | Parents | Grans* | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles+A* |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Creole | 83.2% (166) | 82.5% (154) | 77.1% (149) | 82.1% (161) | 76.6% (150) |
| English | 11.9% (24) | 4.1% (8) | 15.4% (30) | 18.1% (35) | 13.9% (27) |
| French | 39.2% (78) | 18.6% (35) | 46% (89) | 41.4% (81) | 38.7% (76) |
| Hakka+ Cantonese | 1.2% (2) | 1.8% (3) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhojpuri | 7.5% (15) | 15.5% (29) | 5.1% (10) | 5.1% (10) | 7.5% (15) |
| Marathi | 0% | 0.6% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Tamil | 0.6% (1) | 1.2% (2) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 3% (5) | 4.8% (8) | 1.2% (2) | 1.2% (2) | 1.8% (3) |

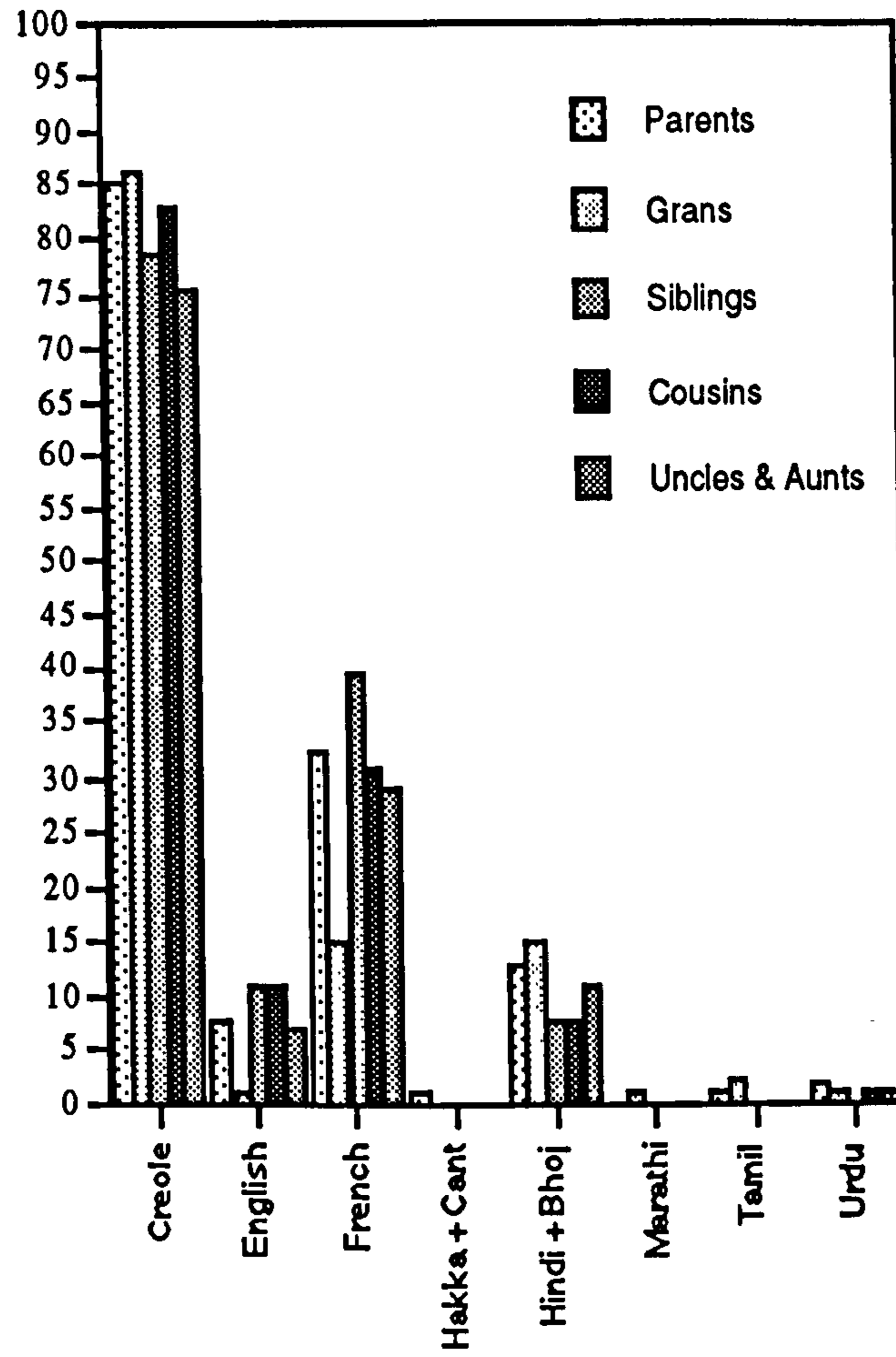
* Grans is the abbreviation for grand-parents and Uncles+A for uncles and aunts.

The breakdown by sex shows that boys tend to make less use of European languages and more use of Oriental languages than girls. Indeed although French is claimed to be the second main language after Creole, a higher percentage of girls seem to speak it more frequently than their male counterparts. The pattern for using an Oriental language is different in each category. Although the use of Oriental languages for boys is more widespread, the percentages of boys claiming to speak these languages with their family members are higher than for the girls. It should be pointed out that the question asked was intended to identify the language in which the informants themselves spoke to their family and relatives, and not the reverse (i.e in which languages the others reply). It may well be that parents, aunts, uncles and grand-parents use one language and the informants answer in another.

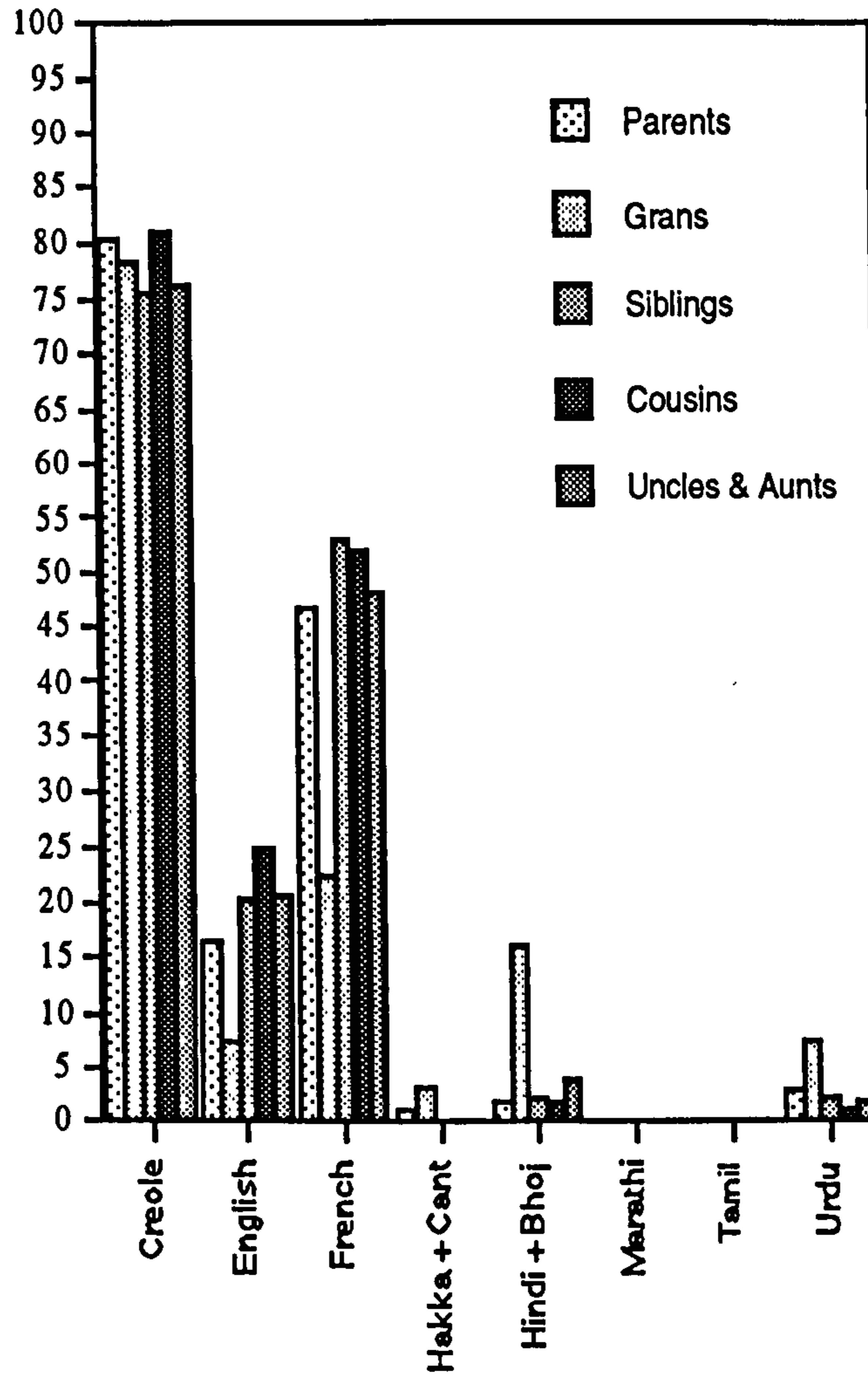
These findings are similar to those of other sociolinguistic studies which have reported a significant relationship between sex and linguistic variation. Women speakers tend to use and choose languages with a "higher" status more frequently than men speakers. A number of psycho-sociological explanations have been offered to support the difference in attitude and behaviour between the two sexes. These suggest that women's tendency to choose or/and prefer high status languages can be explained by the fact that they may be wanting to secure and signal their social status linguistically. References can be made to Trudgill (1974, 1983, 1995), Maurand (1981), Hadjadj (1981), Holmes (1992) and MacKenzie (1992) among others.

Graphs & Table 34.1 Breakdown by sex for question 11

Boys



Girls



| Boys | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncle & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|----------|---------------|
| Creole | 85.2% (87) | 86.1% (81) | 78.7% (78) | 83% (83) | 75.7% (75) |
| English | 7.8% (8) | 1% (1) | 11% (11) | 11% (11) | 7% (7) |
| French | 32.3% (33) | 14.8% (14) | 39.3% (39) | 31% (31) | 29.2% (29) |
| Hakka + Cant | 1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 12.7% (13) | 14.8% (14) | 8% (8) | 8% (8) | 11.1% (11) |
| Marathi | 0% | 1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Tamil | 1% (1) | 2.1% (2) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 1.9% (2) | 1% (1) | 0% | 1% (1) | 1% (1) |

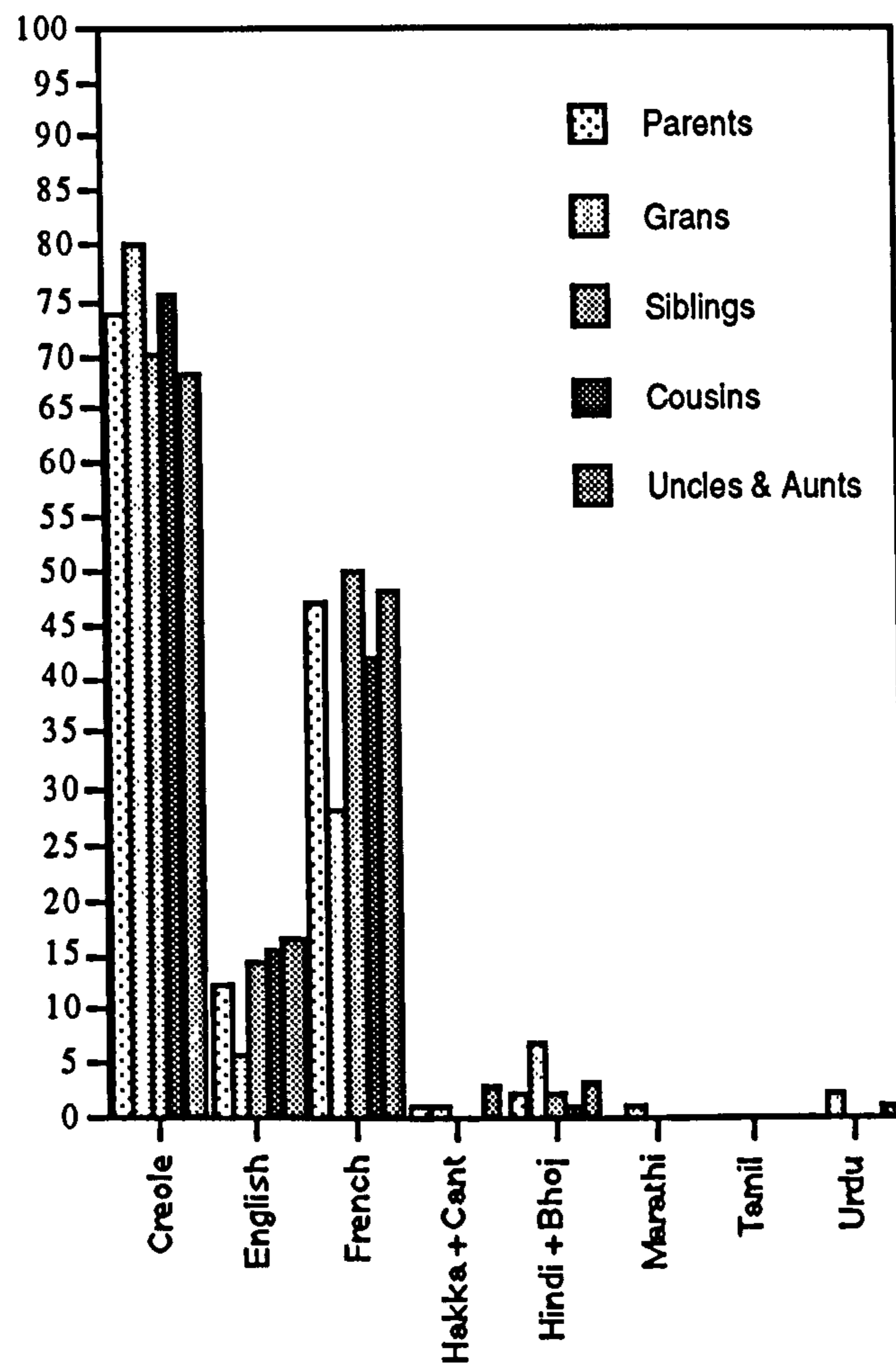
| Girls | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncle & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Creole | 80.6% (79) | 78.4% (73) | 75.5% (71) | 81.2% (78) | 76.2% (74) |
| English | 16.3% (16) | 7.5% (7) | 20.2% (19) | 25% (24) | 20.6% (20) |
| French | 46.9% (46) | 22.5% (21) | 53.1% (50) | 52% (50) | 48.4% (47) |
| Hakka + Cant | 1% (1) | 3.1% (3) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 2% (2) | 16.1% (15) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 4.1% (4) |
| Urdu | 3.1% (3) | 7.5% (7) | 2% (2) | 1% (1) | 2% (2) |

The breakdown by place of residence shows a similar pattern in the case of Creole and a different pattern for European and Oriental languages in each of the three places of residence. Among the Oriental languages the most common ones are Hindi, Bhojpuri and Urdu across the whole spectrum. Although the first language spoken in the home is Creole for the three areas, French comes second and English position for both urban and rural areas. These results are quite unexpected, especially the relatively high percentage of French used in the rural and coastal areas. One would expect the Oriental languages to come in second position in rural areas, since the majority of the sample is of Indian origin. One explanation, from a general perspective, may be that since the questionnaires were filled in at educational establishments, where European languages have an intrinsically high status, informants may have overestimated their use of English and French because they thought that it would be expected of them.

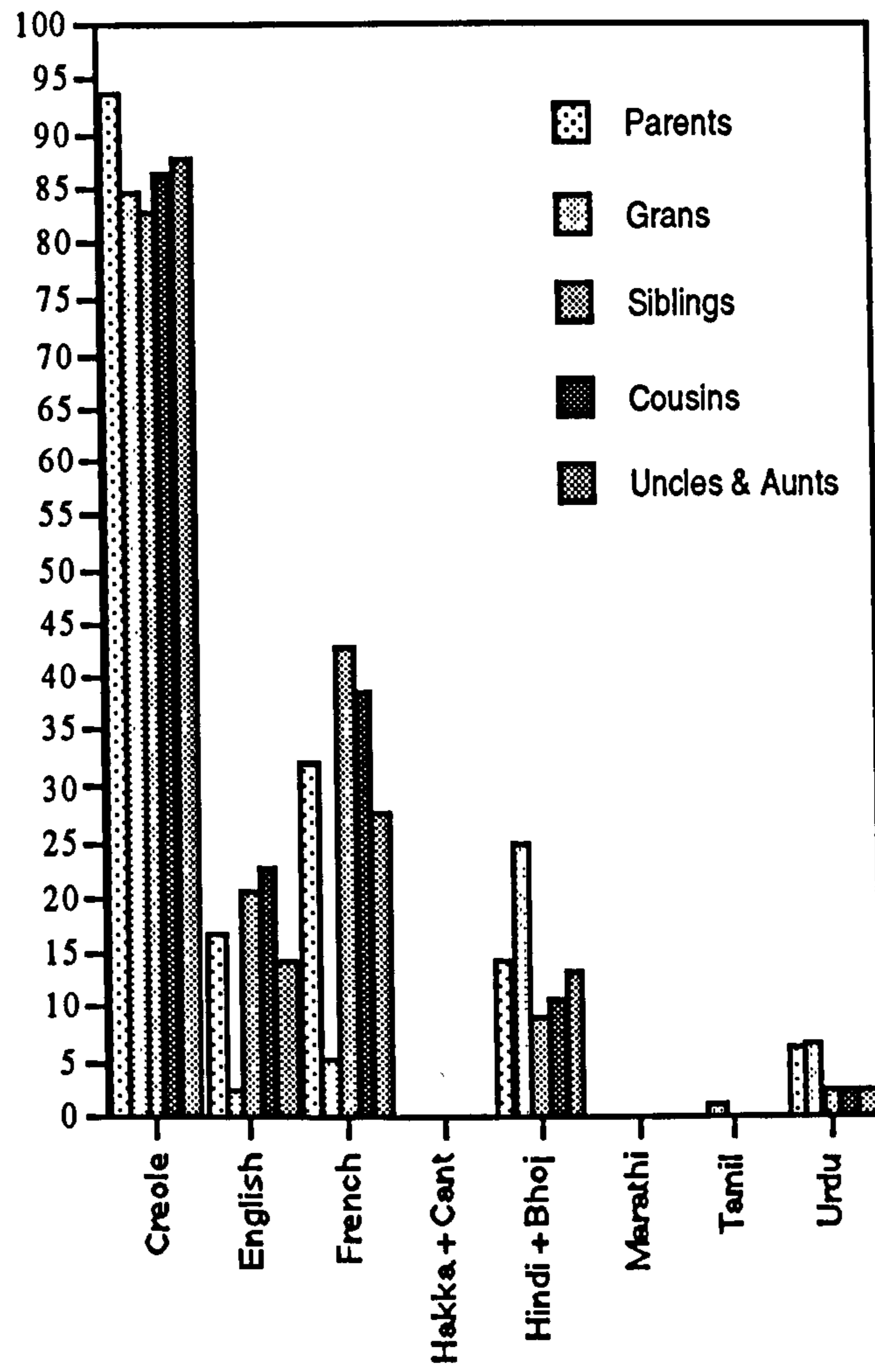
French is also claimed to be the second language of the home in coastal areas, where the majority of the population is from the General Population (see table 28 in 5.4.3). One explanation for the high percentage for French in these areas may be that French has always been a high prestige language for this section of the population, and one through which they are able to lay claim to some form of group identity. This may explain why French is either spoken, or claimed to be spoken, by the informants living in the coastal areas.

Graph & Table 34.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 11

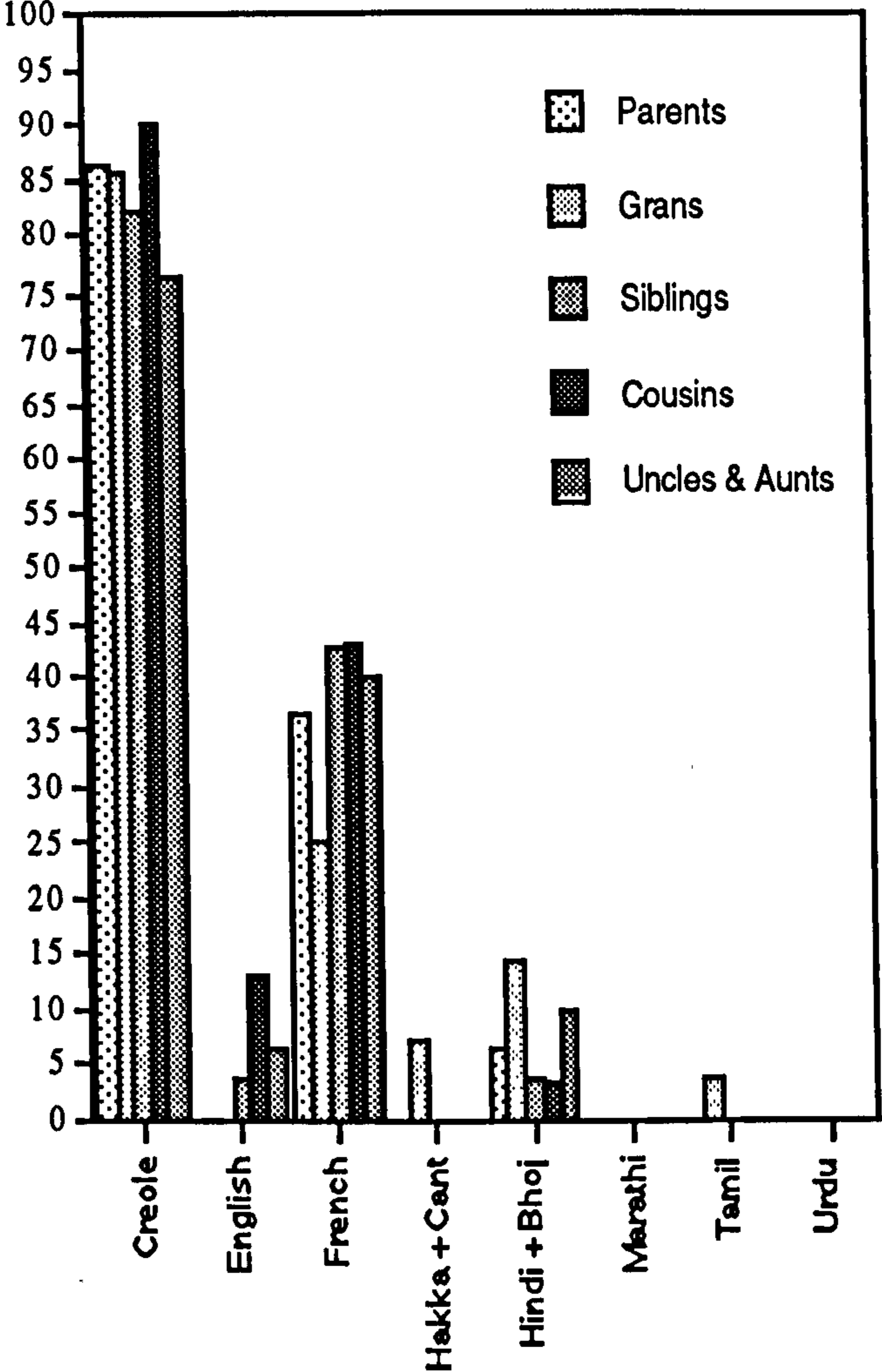
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncle & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Creole | 73.6% (67) | 80% (69) | 70.4% (62) | 75.5% (68) | 68.5% (61) |
| English | 12% (11) | 5.8% (5) | 14.7% (13) | 15.5% (14) | 16.8% (15) |
| French | 47.2% (43) | 27.9% (24) | 50% (44) | 42.2% (38) | 48.3% (43) |
| Hakka + Cant | 1% (1) | 1.1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 2.1% (2) | 6.9% (6) | 2.2% (2) | 1.1% (1) | 3.3% (3) |
| Tamil | 0% | 1.1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 1% (1) | 1.1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |

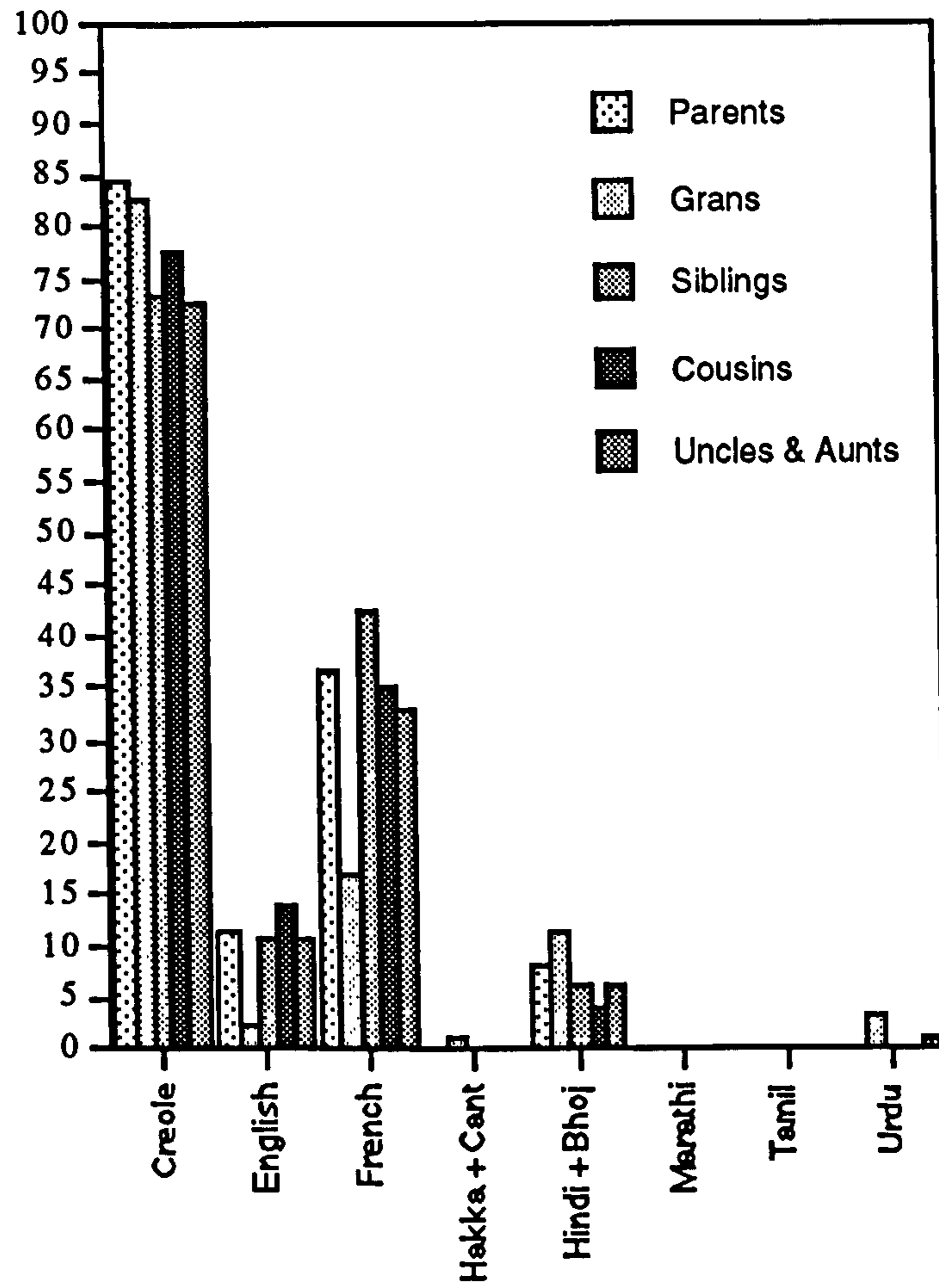
| Rural | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncle & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Creole | 93.5% (73) | 84.7% (61) | 83.1% (64) | 86.6% (65) | 88.1% (67) |
| English | 16.6% (13) | 2.7% (2) | 20.7% (16) | 22.6% (17) | 14.4% (11) |
| French | 32% (25) | 5.5% (4) | 42.8% (33) | 38.6% (29) | 27.6% (21) |
| Hakka + Cant | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 14.1% (73) | 25% (18) | 9% (7) | 10.6% (8) | 13.1% (10) |
| Tamil | 0% | 1.3% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 6.4% (11) | 6.9% (5) | 2.5% (2) | 2.6% (2) | 2.6% (2) |

| Coastal | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 86.6% (26) | 85.7% (24) | 82.1% (23) | 90% (27) | 76.6% (23) |
| English | 0% | 0% | 3.5% (1) | 13.3% (4) | 6.6% (2) |
| French | 36.6% (11) | 25% (7) | 42.8% (12) | 43.3% (13) | 40% (12) |
| Hakka + Cant | 0% | 7.1% (2) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 6.6% (2) | 14.2% (4) | 3.5% (1) | 3.3% (1) | 10% (3) |
| Tamil | 0% | 3.5% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |

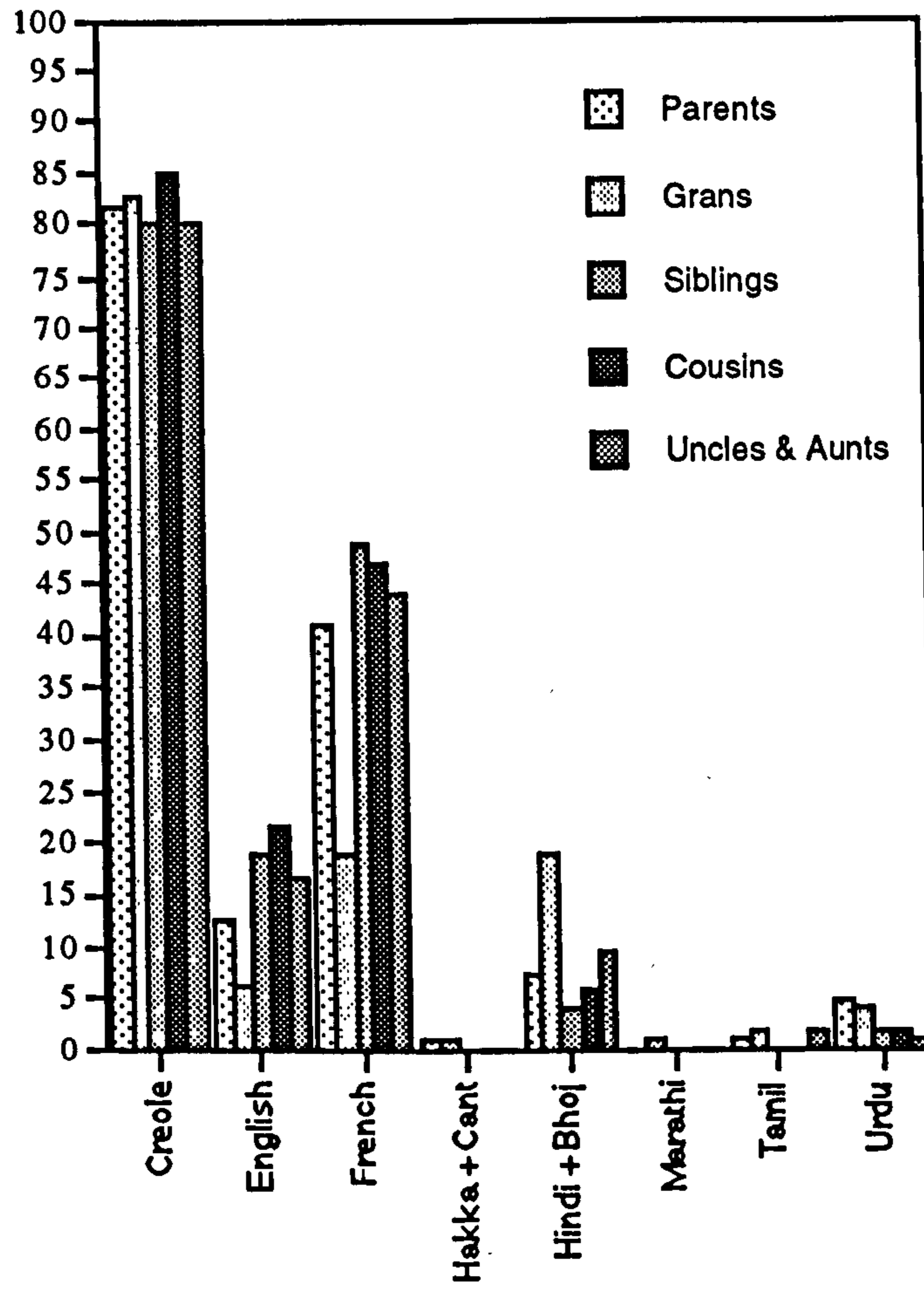
The age breakdown suggests similar a trend to the previous cases. However, the older group claims to speak French and English more frequently than their younger counterparts. It would be difficult to attempt a meaningful explanation at this point, but it may be hypothesized that the older group could be more tempted to say that they use European languages since they are expected, academically, to sit for the School Leaving Certificate and the Advanced level exams. This educational phase of their lives is a difficult one for these adolescents who are under pressure to achieve good academic performance at these examinations (see 2.9.2). Also noticeable is the low percentages of Oriental languages claimed to be spoken by the informants, particularly with younger family members. It would also appear that apart from Hindi/Bhojpuri the other Oriental languages are non-existent in the younger group.

Graphs & Table 34.3 Breakdown by age group for question 11

11-14 years



15-20 years



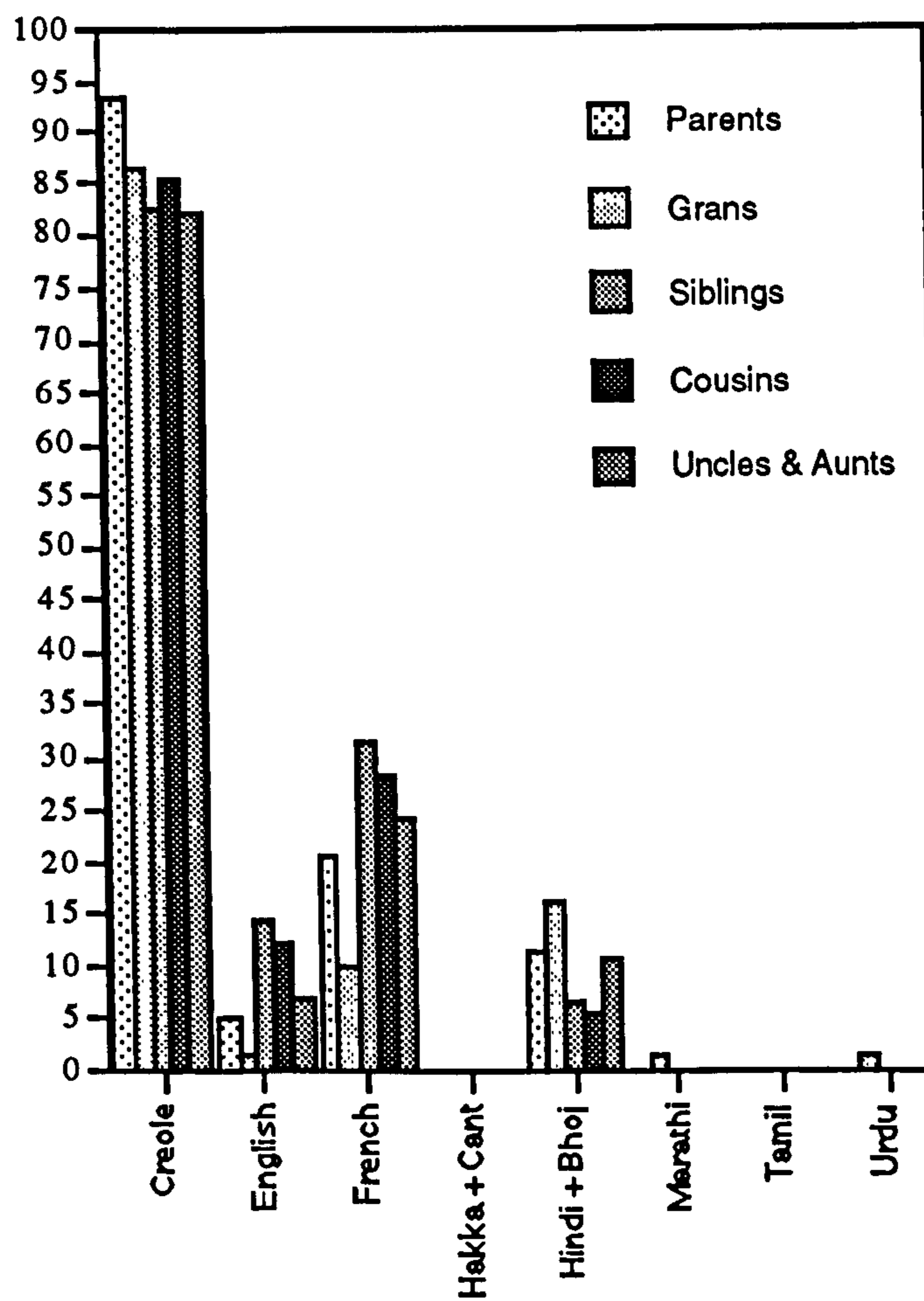
| 11-14 | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 84.3% (81) | 82.7% (72) | 73.4% (69) | 77.6% (73) | 72.3% (68) |
| English | 11.4% (11) | 2.2% (2) | 10.6% (10) | 13.8% (13) | 10.6% (10) |
| French | 36.4% (35) | 17.2% (15) | 42.5% (40) | 35.1% (33) | 32.9% (31) |
| Hakka + Cant | 0% | 1.1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 8.3% (8) | 11.4% (10) | 6.3% (6) | 4.2% (4) | 6.3% (6) |
| Urdu | 0% | 3.4% (3) | 0% | 0% | 1% (1) |

| 15-20 | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|----------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 81.7% (85) | 83% (83) | 80% (80) | 85.2% (87) | 80.3% (82) |
| English | 12.5% (13) | 6% (6) | 19% (19) | 21.5% (22) | 16.6% (17) |
| French | 41.3% (43) | 19% (19) | 49% (40) | 47% (48) | 44.1% (45) |
| Hakka + Cant | 1% (1) | 1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 7.6% (8) | 19% (19) | 4% (4) | 5.8% (6) | 9.8% |
| Marathi | 0% | 1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Tamil | 1% (1) | 2% (2) | 0% | 0% | 1.9% (2) |
| Urdu | 4.8% (5) | 4% (4) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 1% (1) |

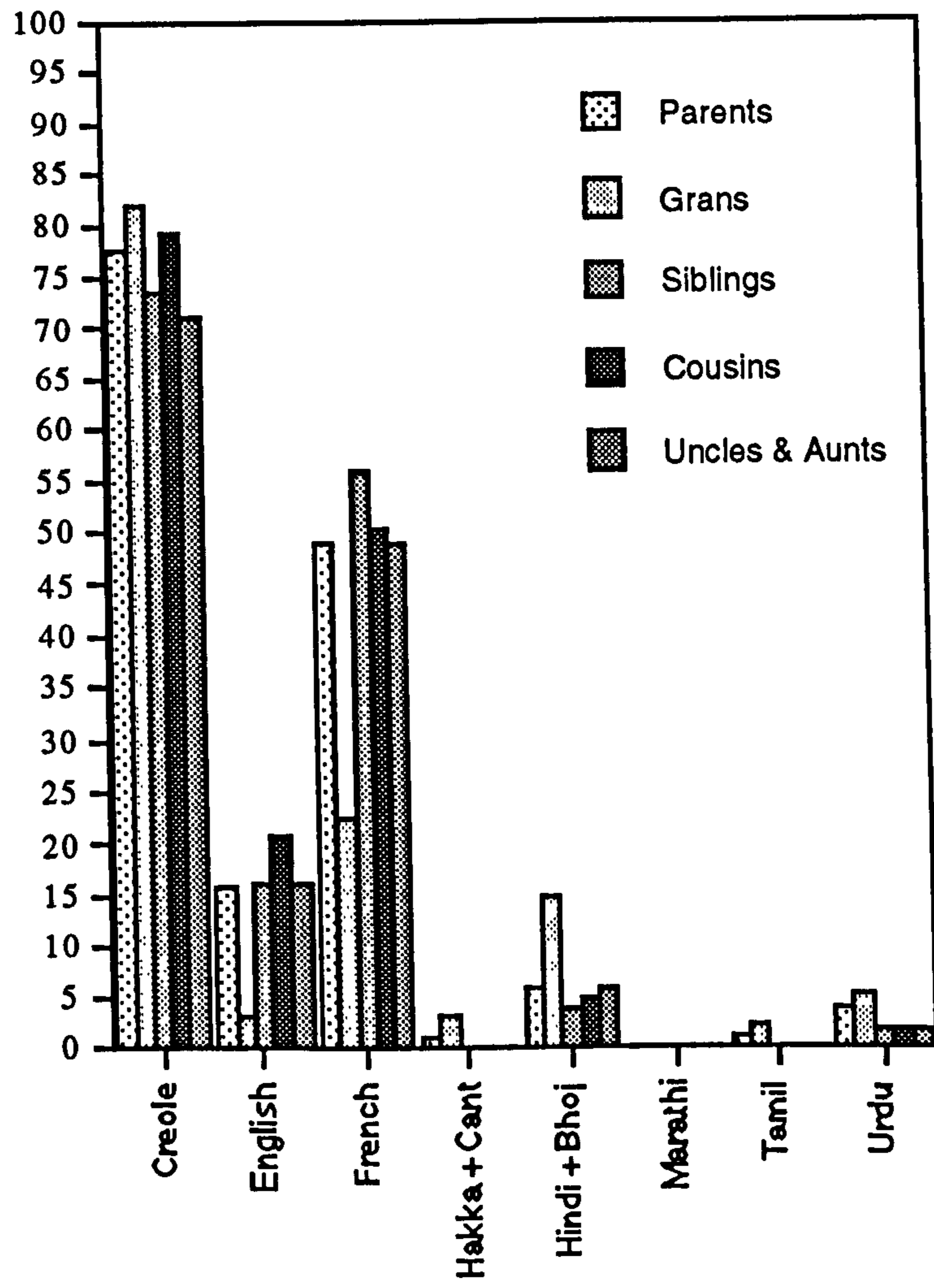
The breakdown by family income shows that the difference is more striking between the use of European languages and that of Oriental languages with the family members. Informants from a high or medium income household speak more European languages with all family members than those from a low level income. It is also noticeable that only a very small percentage speak an Oriental language other than Bhojpuri/Hindi in the home with family members other than grandparents. The majority of informants from a high income background are from an Indo-Mauritian background (see table 25 in 5.4.3) but the percentages for Hindi, Bhojpuri and Urdu are minimal. These results suggest that Indo-Mauritian families earning a high income, and probably with a high level of education, have not only abandoned the use of Oriental languages, but may be using a higher proportion of French than Creole at home.

Graphs & Table 34.4 Breakdown by parents' income for question 11

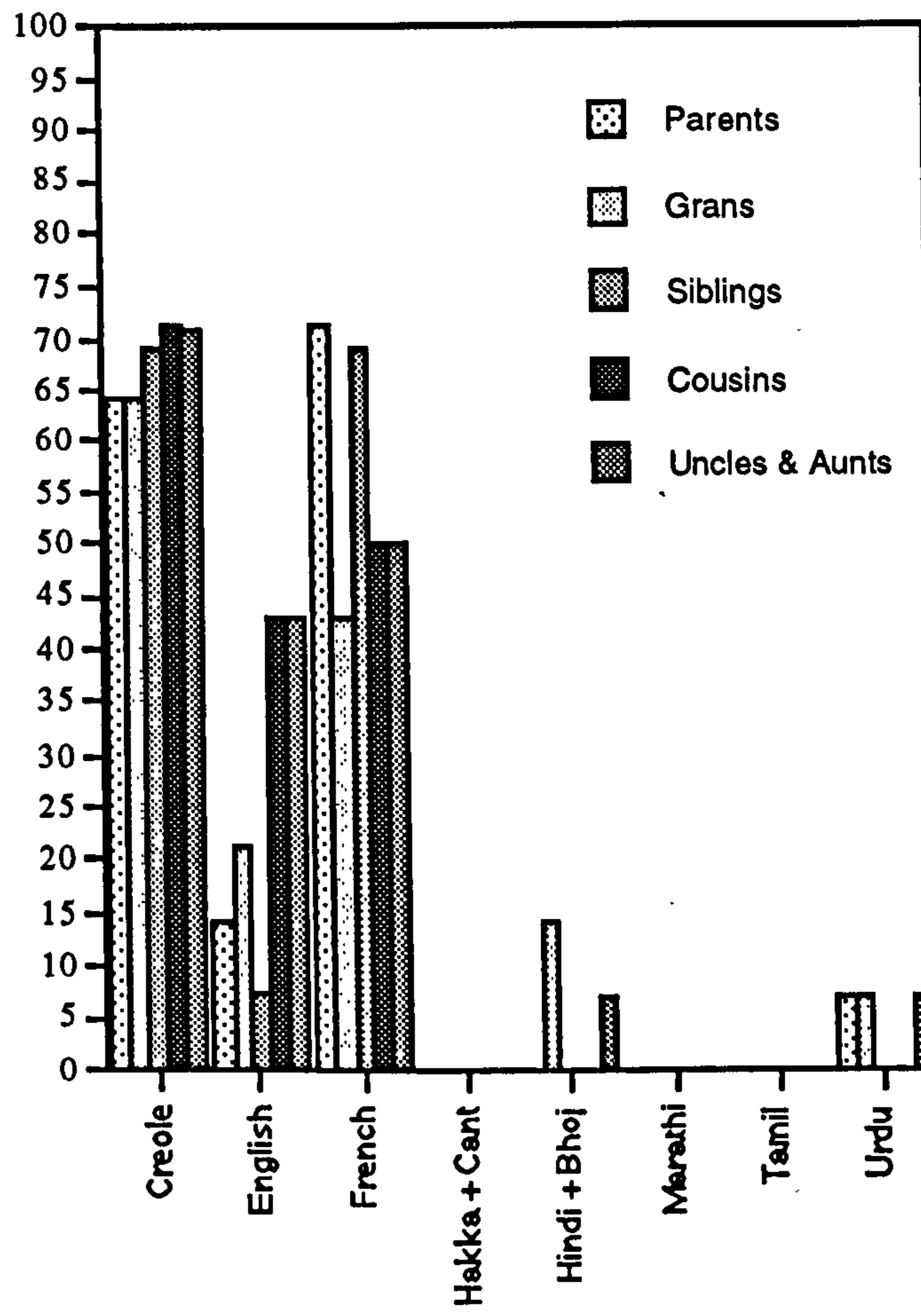
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 93.5% (72) | 86.7% (60) | 82.8% (63) | 85.3% (64) | 82.4% (61) |
| English | 5.1% (4) | 1.4% (1) | 14.4% (11) | 12% (4) | 6.7% (5) |
| French | 20.7% (16) | 10.1% (7) | 31.5% (24) | 28% (13) | 24.3% (18) |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 11.6% (9) | 15.9% (11) | 6.5% (5) | 5.3% (9) | 10.8% (8) |
| Marathi | 0% | 1.4% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 0% | 1.4% (1) | 0% | 0% | 0% |

| Medium | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 77.7% (77) | 81.9% (77) | 73.4% (72) | 79.3% (77) | 71% (70) |
| English | 16.1% (16) | 3.1% (3) | 16.3% (16) | 20.6% (20) | 16.3% (6) |
| French | 49.4% (49) | 22.3% (21) | 56.1% (55) | 50.5% (49) | 48.9% (48) |
| Hakka + Cant | 1% (1) | 3.1% (3) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 6% (6) | 14.8% (14) | 4% (4) | 5.1% (5) | 6.1% (6) |
| Tamil | 1% (1) | 2.1% (2) | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Urdu | 4% (4) | 5.3% (5) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) | 2% (2) |

| High | Parents | Grandparents | Siblings | Cousins | Uncles & Aunts |
|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| Creole | 64.2% (9) | 64.2% (9) | 69.2% (9) | 71.4% (10) | 71.4% (10) |
| English | 14.2% (2) | 21.4% (3) | 7.6% (1) | 42.8% (6) | 42.8% (6) |
| French | 71.4% (10) | 42.8% (6) | 69.2% (9) | 50 (7) | 50% (7) |
| Hindi + Bhoj | 0% | 14.2% (2) | 0% | 0% | 7.1% (1) |
| Urdu | 7.1% (1) | 7.1% (1) | 0% | 0% | 7.1% (1) |

7.2) Daily use of languages

The figures below represent responses to question 19: “Can you fill in the chart so that it shows your daily use of each language”. The intention was to find out what percentage of each language was used on a daily basis. The interviews revealed that this question proved particularly difficult for informants to answer because the use of languages cannot always easily be quantified in terms of percentages, particularly when informants are using a mixture of languages on a regular basis as analysis of interviews revealed later (see 10.4). However, the data gives some indication as to the degree of multilingualism of the informants and some general trends can also be noted.

7.2.1) Degrees of multilingualism

Among the different languages spoken on a daily basis, English, French, Creole and “other” are the four main languages quoted. A significantly high percentage of informants (69%) claim to speak three languages daily, while a smaller percentage (12.5%) speak a fourth language on a daily basis. These “other languages” in the Mauritian context are likely to fall into the Oriental languages category, as seen earlier.

There was also a small percentage (3.5%) which answered “no language” or “one language” (2%) spoken on a daily basis. Although these percentages are significantly low, the informants could be retraced, and it was found that they all responded to question number 13 by giving an estimation of their ability to speak English, French and Creole. The only explanation that appears to be plausible at this stage would be that the question was totally misunderstood by these

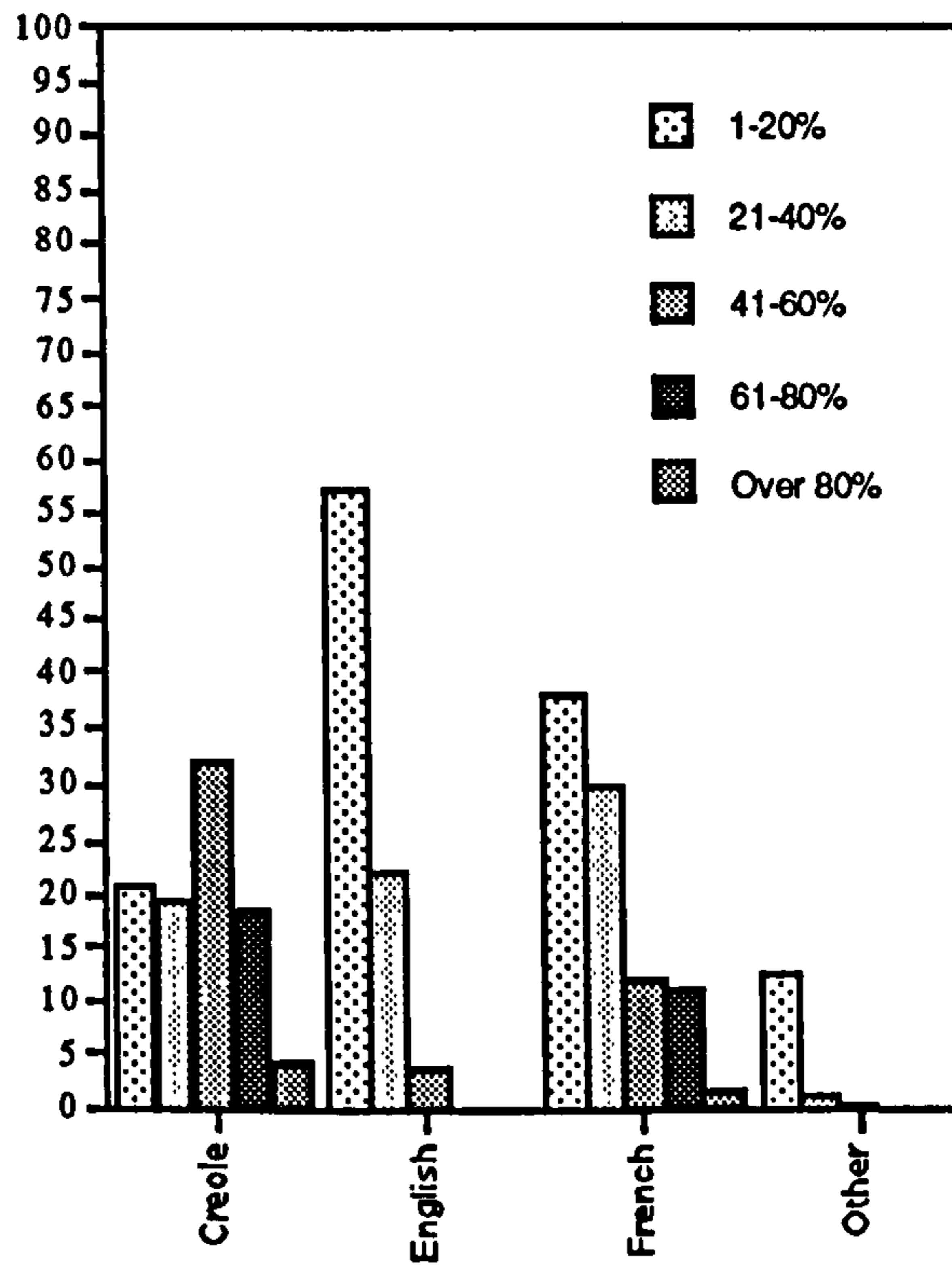
informants, in spite of the example given by the author on the blackboard.

Table 35 Degrees of multilingualism for the whole sample

| Number of languages | Sample |
|---------------------|--------|
| 0 (7) | 3.5% |
| 1 (4) | 2% |
| 2 (26) | 13% |
| 3 (138) | 69% |
| 4 (25) | 12.5% |

The percentages were regrouped according to the way informants used the scale. This gives a better picture of the percentages of each language used on a daily basis. The results for the whole sample reveal that although the use of Creole and French are more widespread across the spectrum, the proportions are different for each language. The responses indicate that the majority of the sample estimate their use of Creole as being more than 40% on a daily basis, whilst the reverse is true for French. English and Oriental languages are the least used on a daily basis. This is explained by the fact that Creole and French are used more frequently in a variety of contexts, as will be seen in the next section, whereas the use English and Oriental languages are primarily confined to the classroom environment.

Graph & Table 36 Responses for question 19 for the whole sample



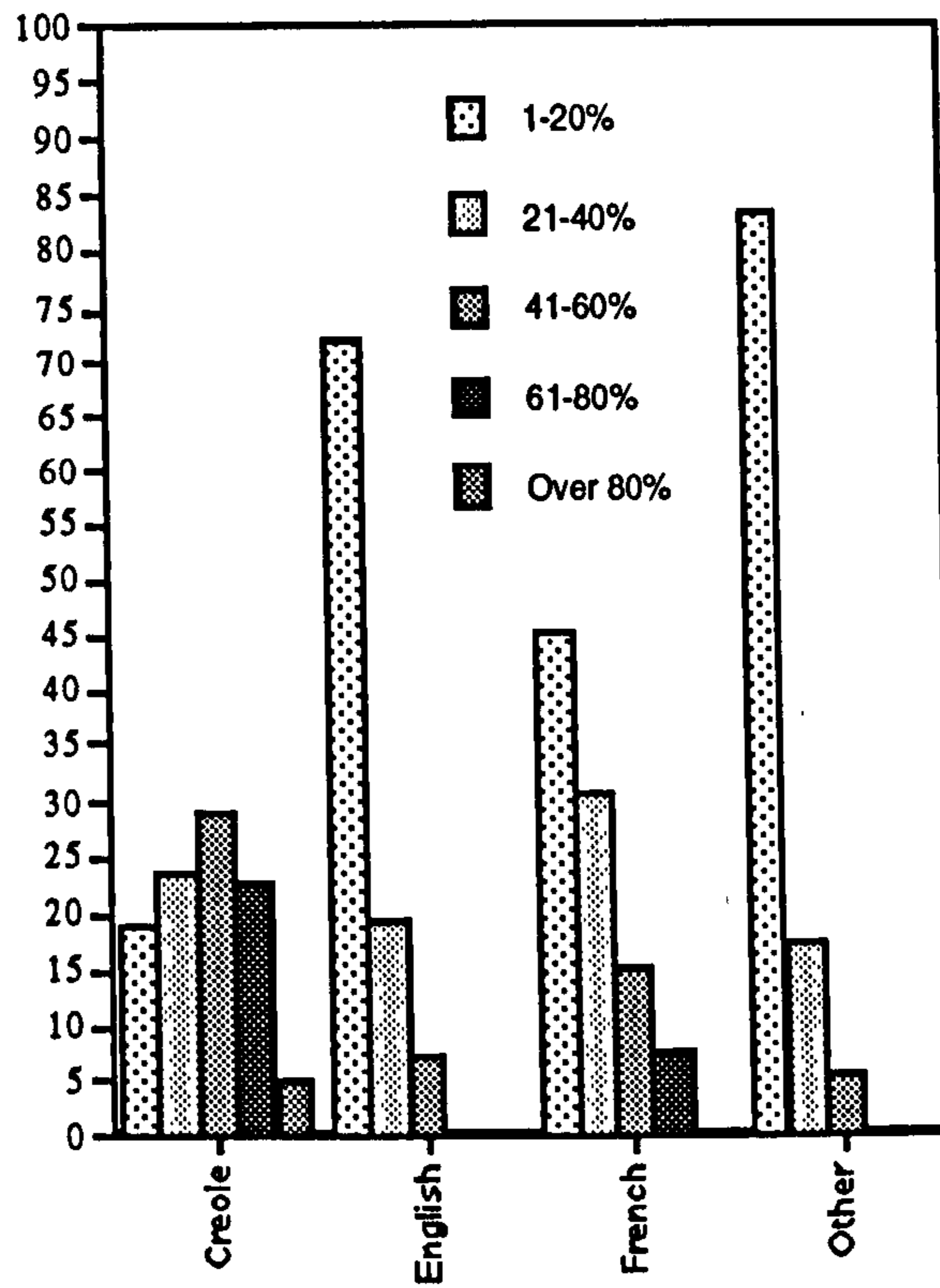
| Daily use | Creole | English | French | Oriental |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% | 21% (42) | 57% (114) | 38% (76) | 12.5% (25) |
| 21-40% | 19.5% (39) | 22% (44) | 30% (60) | 1.5% (3) |
| 41-60% | 32% (64) | 4% (8) | 12% (24) | 0.5 (1) |
| 61-80% | 18.5% (37) | 0% (0) | 11.5% (23) | 0% (0) |
| over 80% | 4.5% (9) | 0% (0) | 2% (4) | 0% (0) |

7.2.2) Analysis by social categories

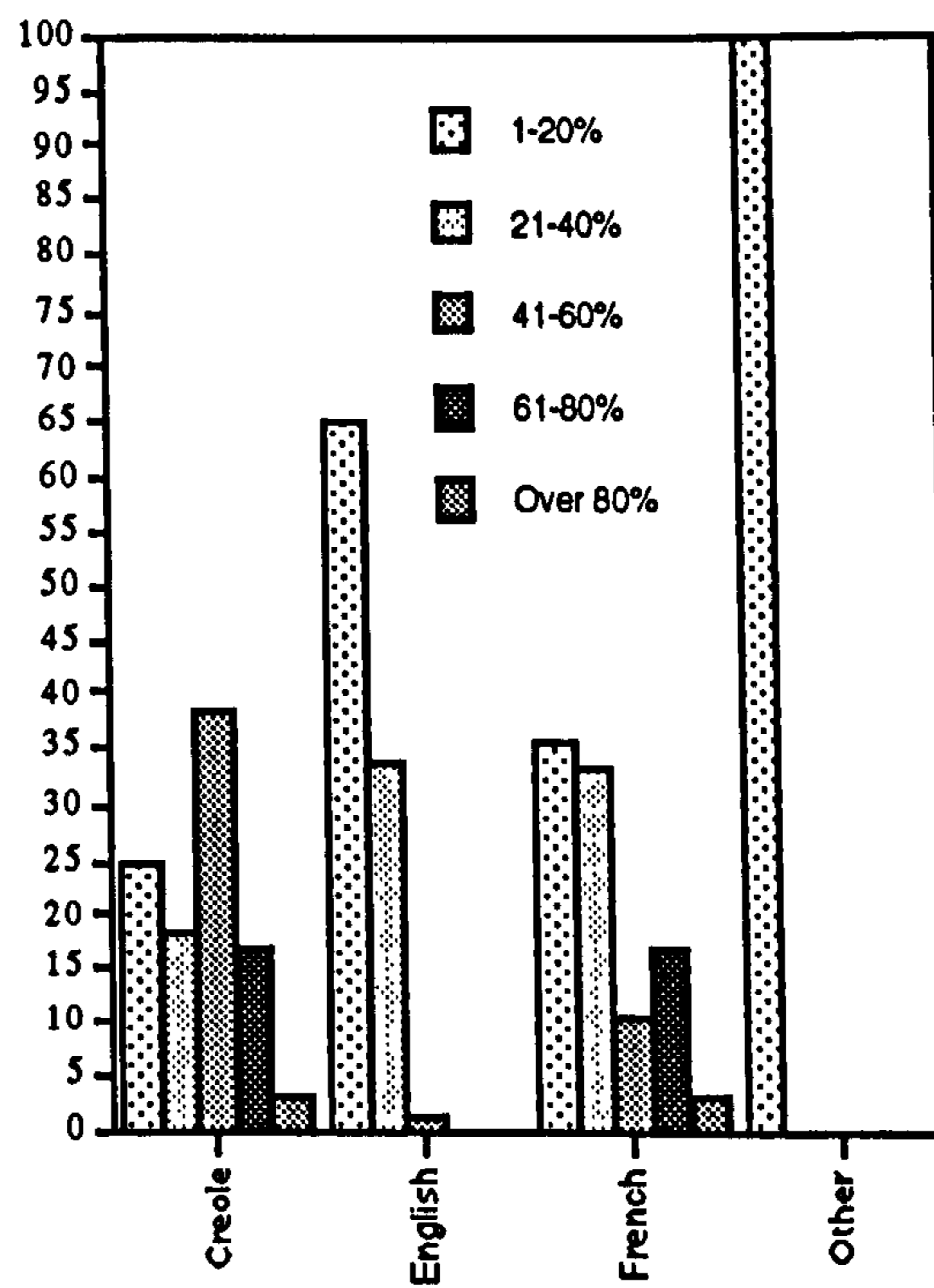
Analysis by social categories does not reveal an emerging pattern for all cases. However, some similarities as well as distinctions can be noted. The breakdown by sex reveals that boys seem to use an Oriental language more frequently than girls. French and Creole appear to be widely spoken by both boys and girls. However, one can note that the overall percentages in English are higher for girls than for boys.

Graph & Table 36.1 Breakdown by sex for question 19

Boys



Girls



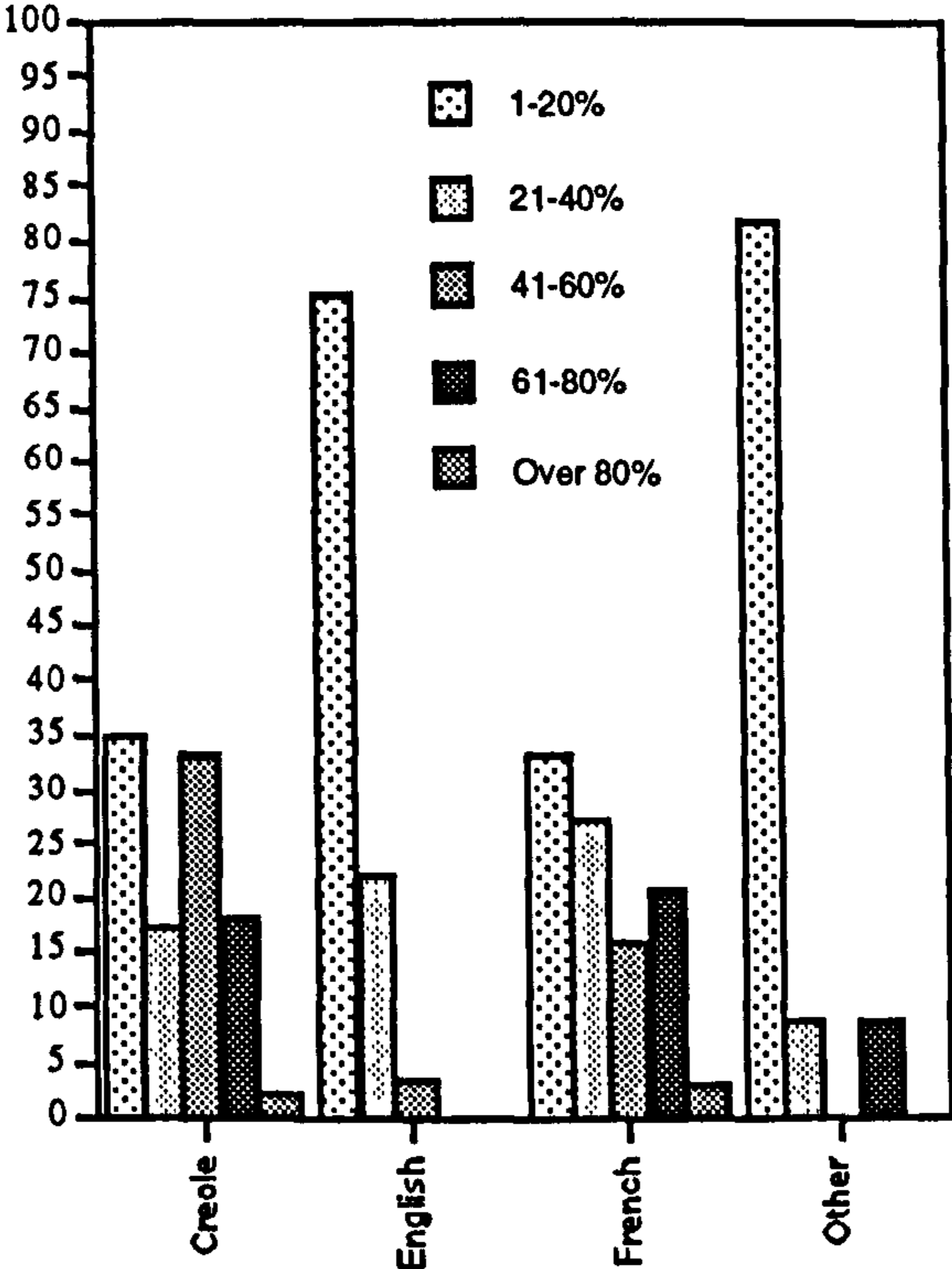
| Boys | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% daily | 18.7% (18) | 71.9% (59) | 45.6% (42) | 83.3% (14) |
| 21-40% | 23.9% (23) | 19.5% (16) | 30.4% (28) | 17.6% (3) |
| 41-60% | 29.1% (28) | 7.3% (6) | 15.2% (14) | 5.8% (1) |
| 61-80% | 22.9% (22) | 0% | 7.6% (7) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 5.2% (5) | 0% | 1% (1) | 0% |

| Girls | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 1-20% daily | 24.4% (23) | 65% (54) | 35.4% (33) | 100% (11) |
| 21-40% | 18% (17) | 33.7% (28) | 33.3% (31) | 0% |
| 41-60% | 38.2% (36) | 1.2% (1) | 10.7% (10) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 17% (16) | 0% | 17.2% (16) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 3.1% (3) | 0% | 3.2% (3) | 0% |

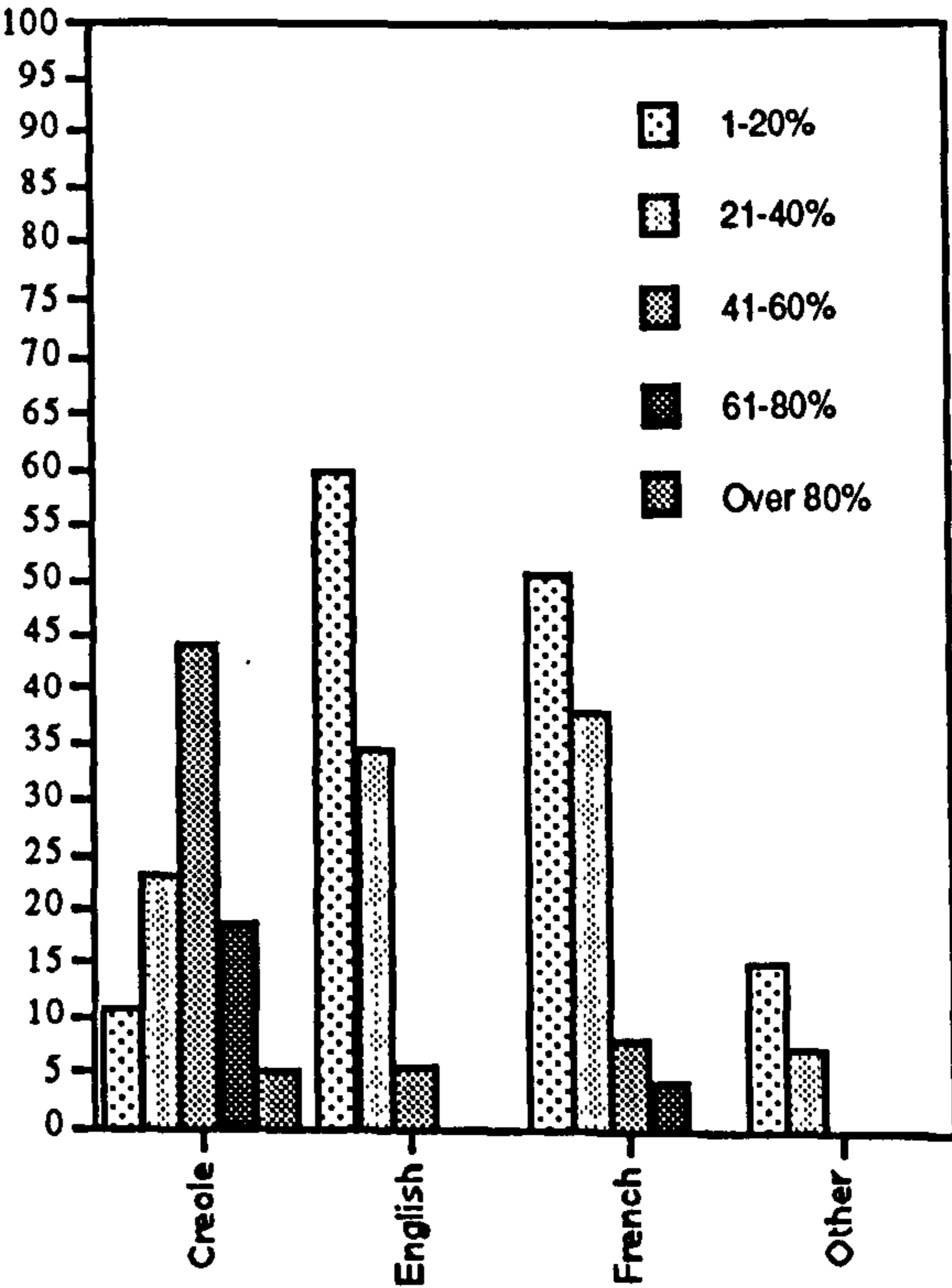
The breakdown by place of residence in each of the three categories suggests that English and French are less frequently spoken than Creole on a daily basis. Their use would appear to be primarily linked to their use in the school context. However, there is a very noticeable distinction between French and the other languages in the three areas of residence. Although French generally appears to be more widely spoken than English and the Oriental languages, the number of informants who claim to speak it regularly (40-80%) on an everyday basis is higher in the urban areas than in the rural and coastal areas. This is expected since it is in these areas that French is more likely to be used outside the school context than in rural and coastal areas. Oriental languages are used very little (1-20%) in rural areas. It appears from the results obtained for question 11 in the previous section that these languages, although in steady decline, are primarily used with the family members in those areas. It can also be added that the overall percentages for Creole, particularly in the coastal regions, are lower than expected for all three cases. At this stage, it is difficult to attempt a sociological explanation, but in the light of findings above it may be that informants have reported themselves as using "prestigious" languages at which they are aiming (English and French) more than they actually do since these are perceived in a favourable light in the educational context. This explanation is further developed in the light of the accommodation theory in chapter 10.

Graphs & Table 36.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 19

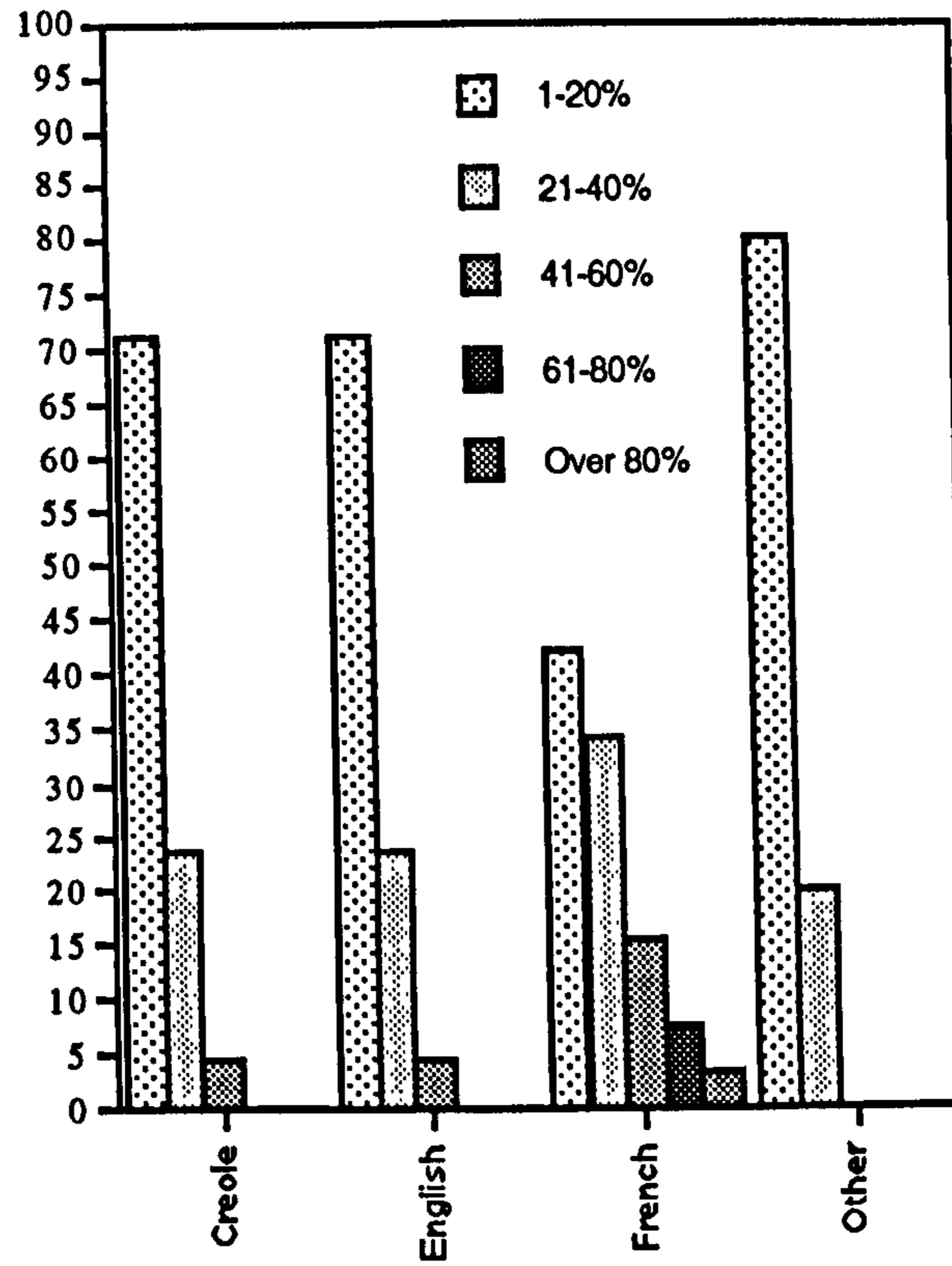
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 1-20% daily | 35.2% (31) | 75.3% (58) | 33.3% (29) | 81.8% (9) |
| 21-40% | 17% (15) | 22% (17) | 27.5% (24) | 9% (1) |
| 41-60% | 33.3% (25) | 3.3% (3) | 16% (14) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 18.1% (16) | 0% | 20.6% (18) | 9% (1) |
| Over 80% | 2.2% (2) | 0% | 3.3% (3) | 0% |

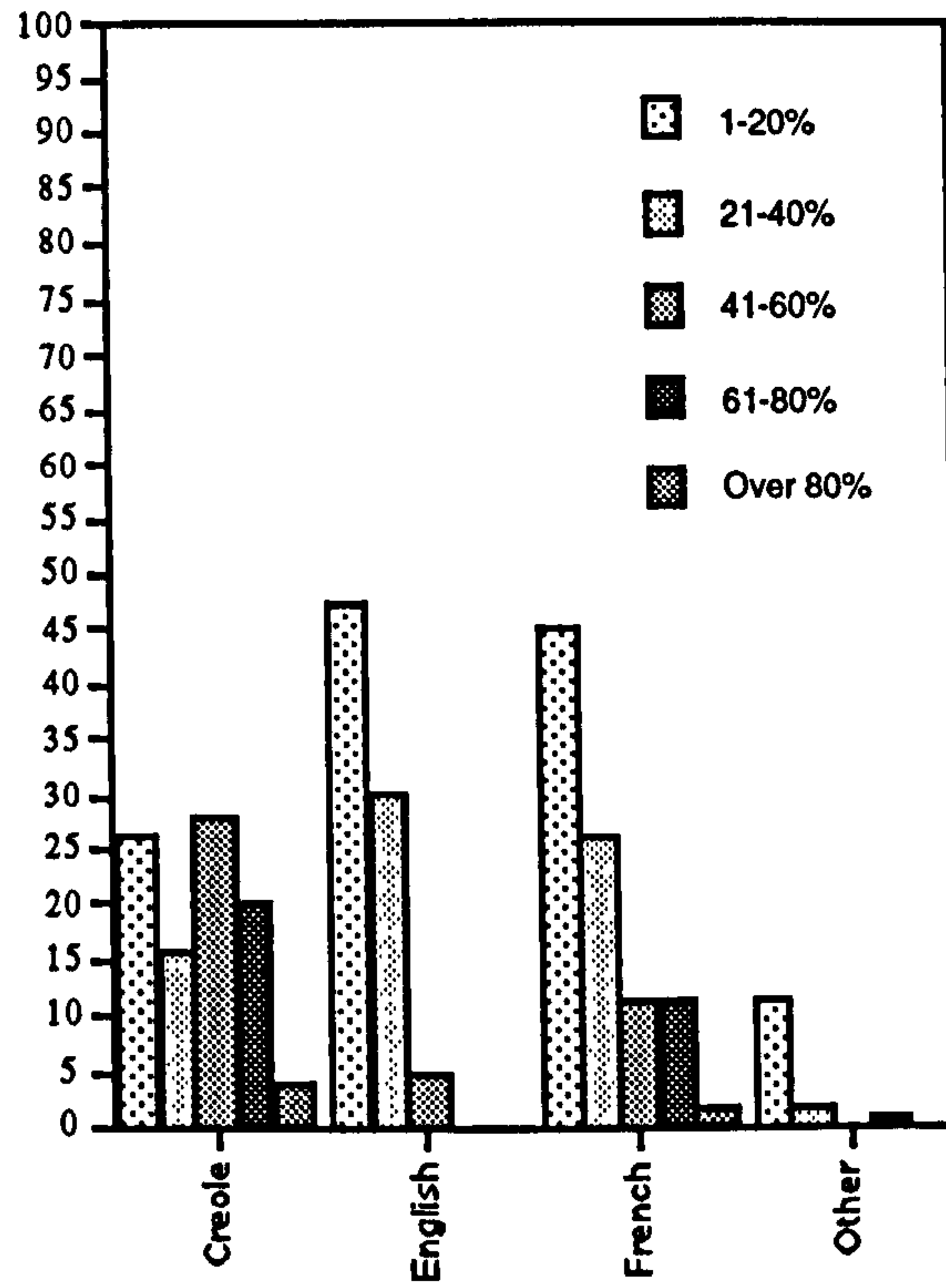
| Rural | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% daily | 10.6% (8) | 59.7% (58) | 50.7% (36) | 93.3% (12) |
| 21-40% | 22.6% (17) | 34.3% (23) | 38% (27) | 7.6% (1) |
| 41-60% | 44% (33) | 5.9% (3) | 8.4% (6) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 18.6% (14) | 0% | 4.2% (3) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 5.3% (4) | 0% | 0% | 0% |

| Coastal | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|---------|
| 1-20% daily | 71.4% (15) | 71.4% (15) | 42.3% (11) | 80% (4) |
| 21-40% | 23.8% (5) | 23.8% (5) | 34.6% (9) | 20% (1) |
| 41-60% | 4.7% (1) | 4.7% (1) | 15.3% (4) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 0% | 0% | 7.6% (2) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 0% | 0% | 3.8% (1) | 0% |

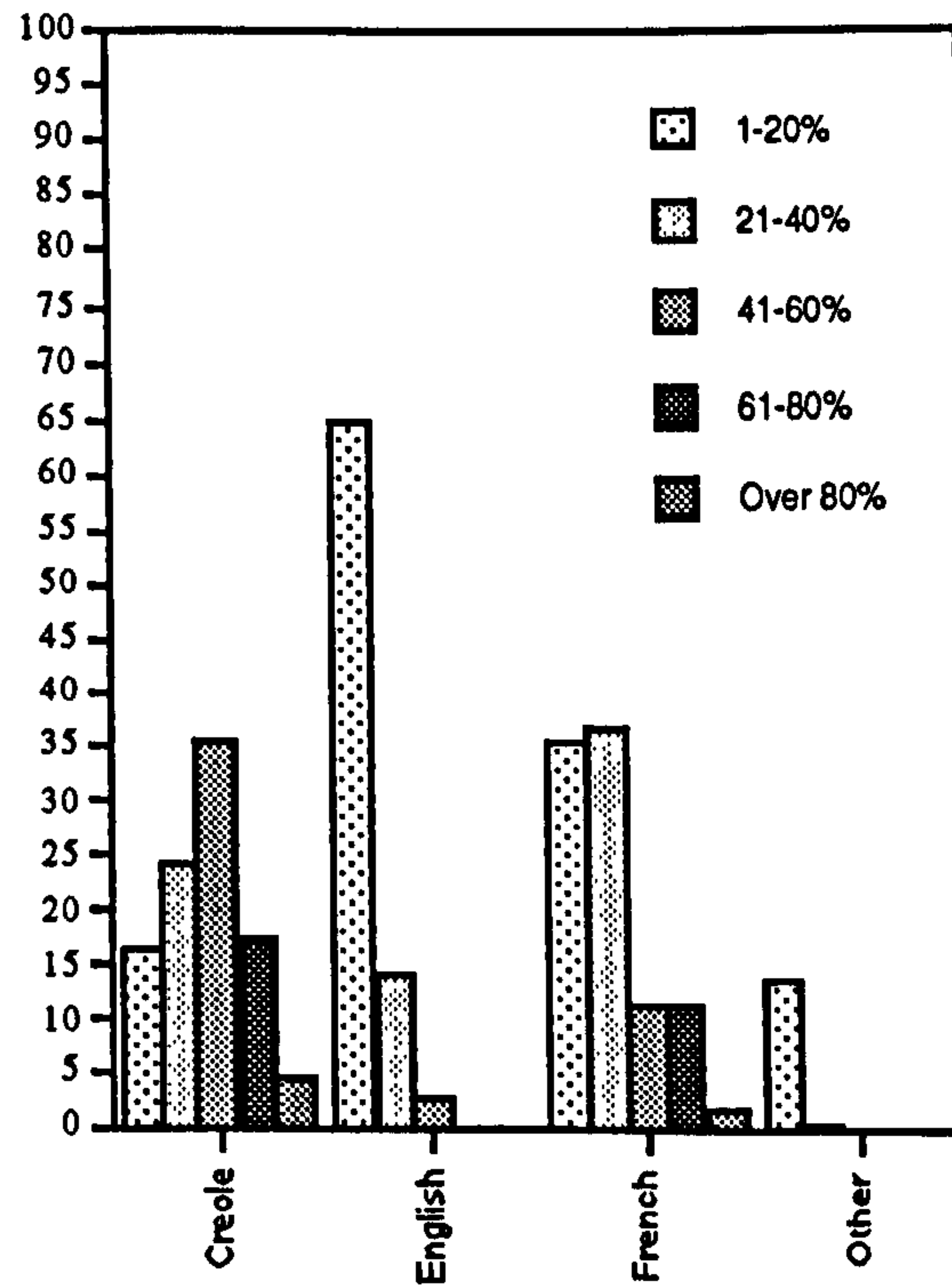
As for the breakdown by age it is clearly Oriental languages which are the least frequently used on a daily basis by the informants from both age groups. The older group claims to use French more frequently than the younger one. The higher scores for English for the younger group may be linked to its use in the classroom context, since this group tends to study more subjects than their elder counterparts (see 2.9.2) and are therefore more likely to use English more frequently on a daily basis. The scores claimed for Creole by both groups is quite surprising, since one would expect a higher percentage of Creole to be spoken on a daily basis, particularly with peers at school. One explanation may be that informants interpreted this question as referring primarily to the use of languages in the school environment, rather than from a more general perspective.

Graphs & Table 36.3 Breakdown by age group for question 19

11-14 years



15-20 years



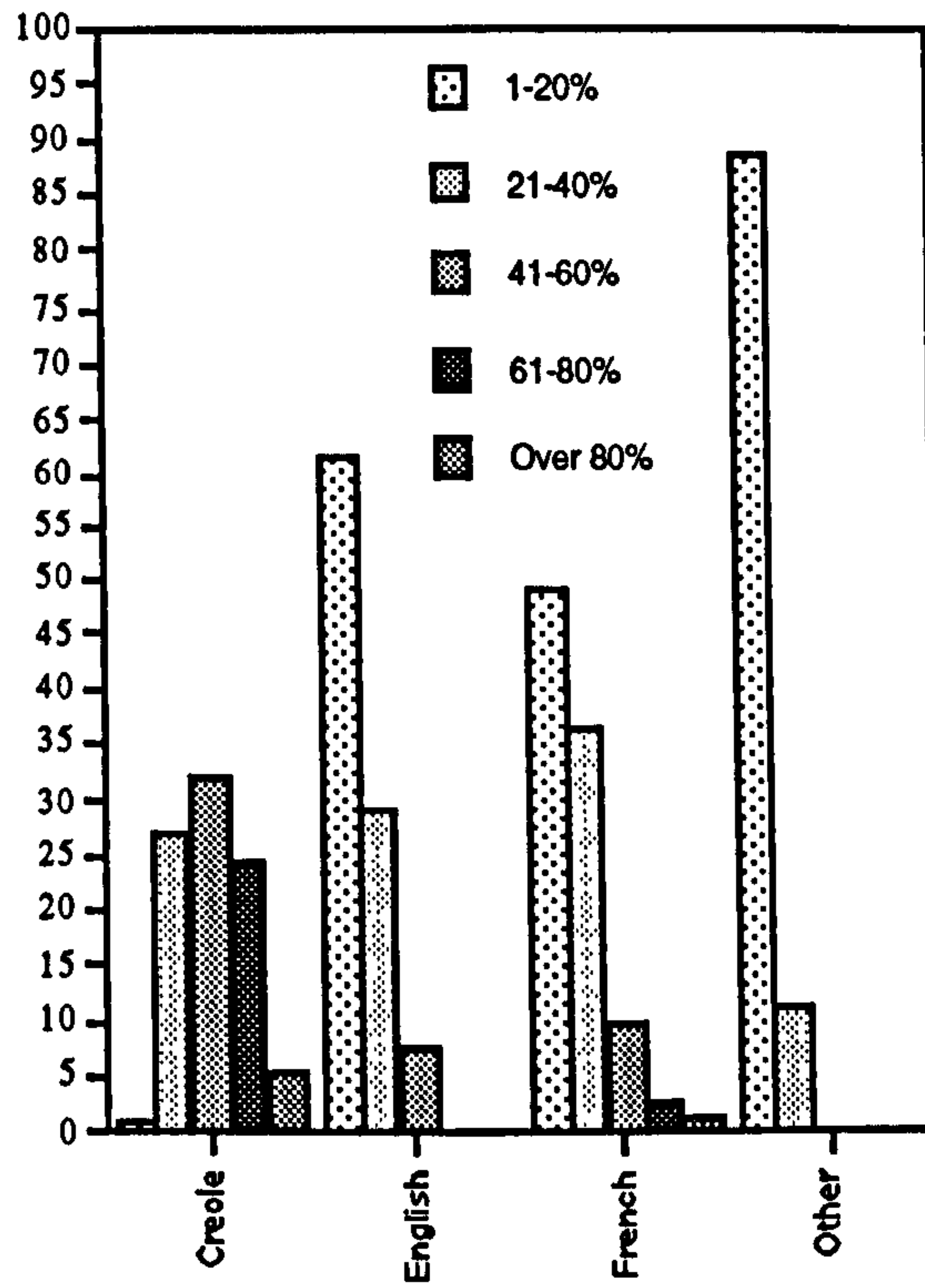
| 11-14 | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% daily | 26% (25) | 47.6% (46) | 45.2% (38) | 11.4% (11) |
| 21-40% | 15.6% (15) | 30.2% (29) | 26.1% (22) | 2% (2) |
| 41-60% | 28.1% (27) | 5.2% (5) | 11.4% (11) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 20% (20) | 0% | 11.4% (11) | 1% (1) |
| Over 80% | 4.1% (4) | 0% | 2% (2) | 0% |

| 15-20 | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% daily | 16.3% (17) | 64.4% (67) | 35.5% (37) | 13.4% (14) |
| 21-40% | 24% (25) | 14.4% (15) | 36.5% (38) | 0.9% (1) |
| 41-60% | 35.5% (37) | 2.8% (3) | 11.5% (12) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 17.3% (18) | 0% | 11.5% (12) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 4.8% (4) | 0% | 2% (2) | 0% |

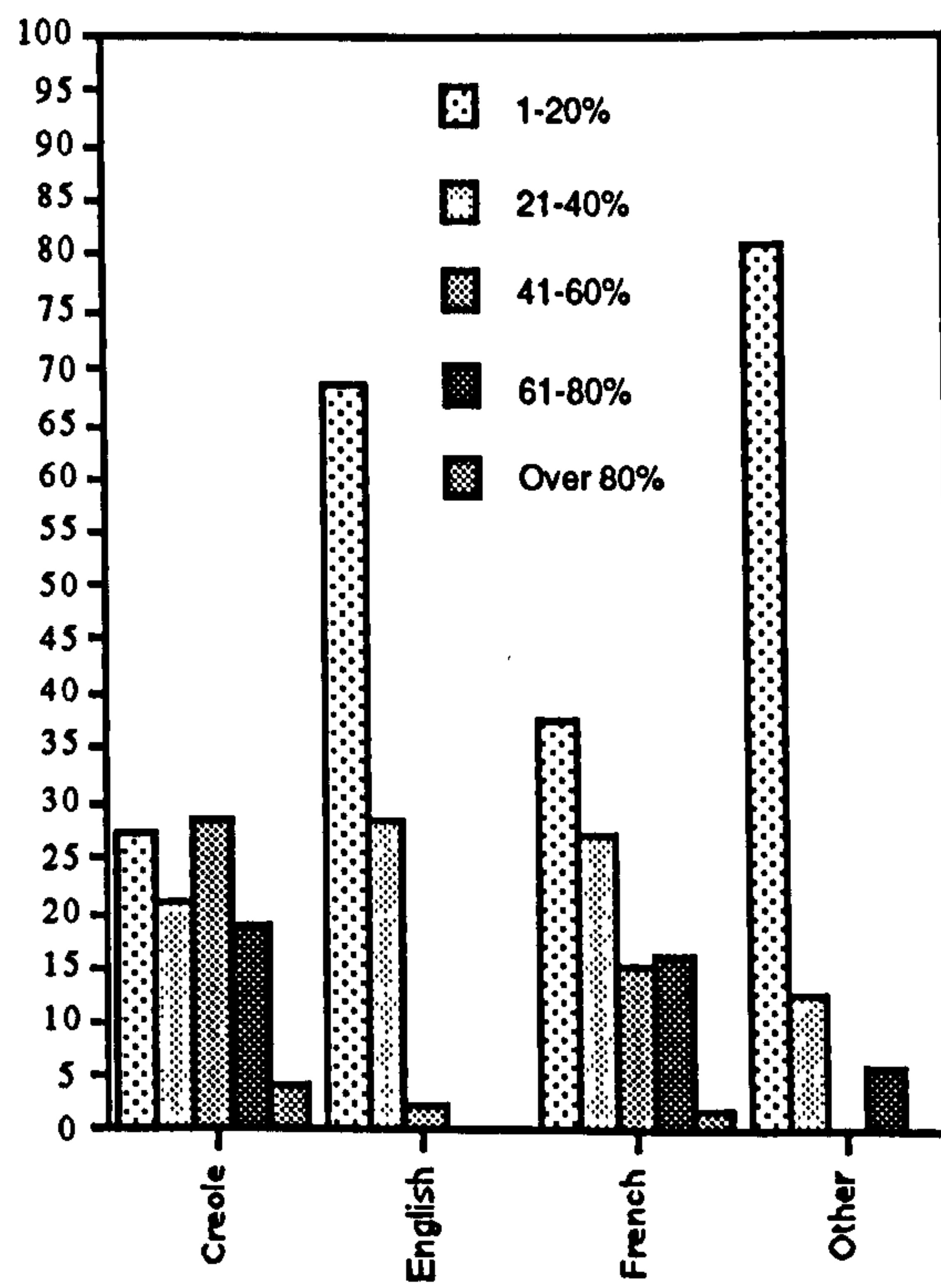
The breakdown by parents' level of income suggests that in all three cases English is the language least frequently used by informants. It should also be mentioned that when the number of respondents is small (i.e. 14), the actual number of informants instead of percentages should be taken into account so that the results can be interpreted in a concrete and objective manner. The informants who claim to speak a fourth language belong to the low- and medium-income brackets. Although the number of informants from a high income household is not very high these results appear to confirm the trend found for question 11 in the previous section that French is the language claimed to be most frequently used on a daily basis. Although the use of Creole appears to be similar for informants from a low and medium income households, the use of French is more widespread in the case of informants from a medium income than those from a low income bracket.

Graphs & Table 36.4 Breakdown by parents' level of income for question 19

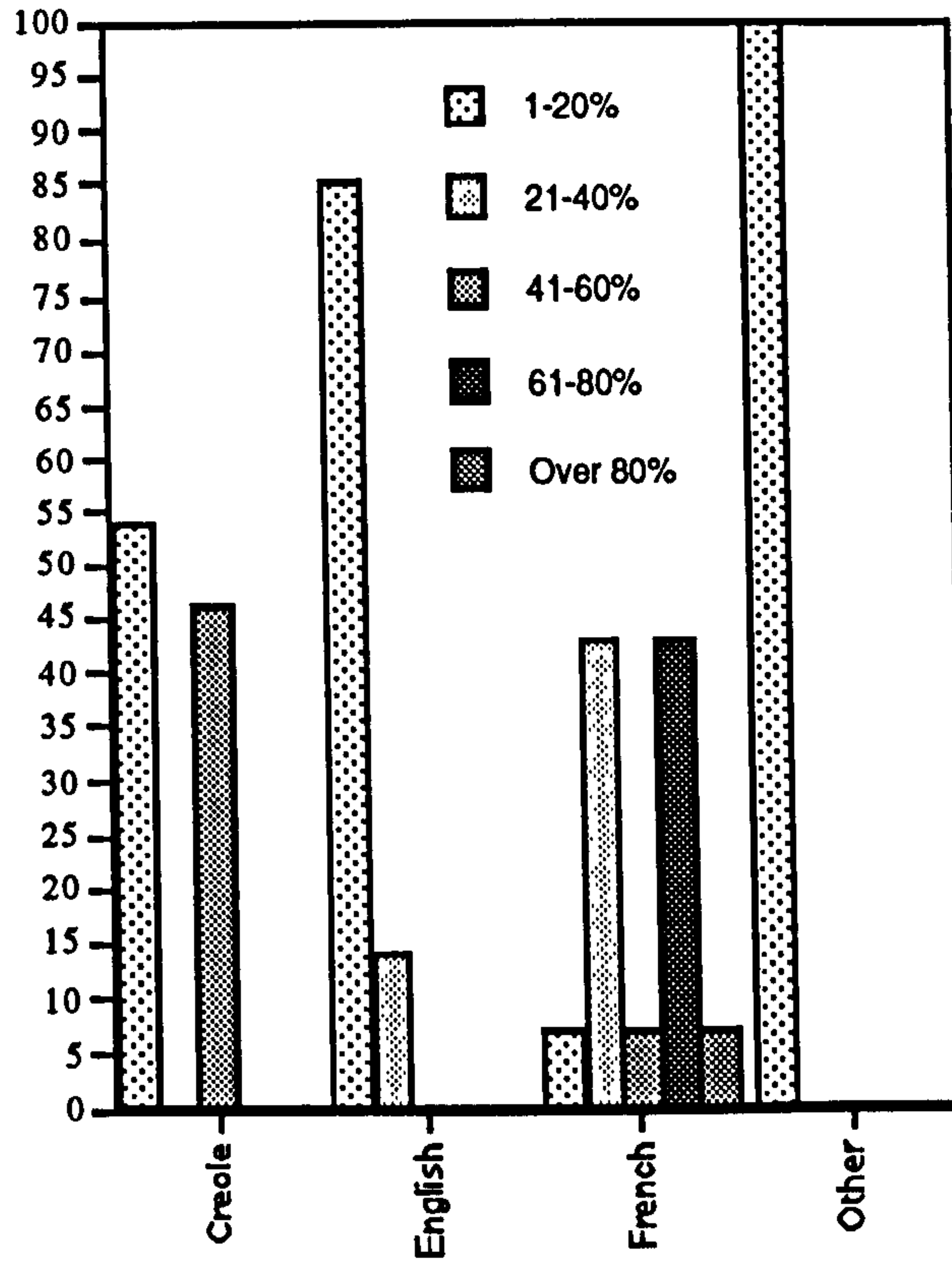
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 1-20% daily | 1.3% (7) | 61.5% (40) | 49.2% (35) | 88.8% (8) |
| 21-40% | 27% (20) | 29.2% (19) | 36.6% (26) | 11.1% (9) |
| 41-60% | 32.4% (24) | 7.6% (5) | 9.8% (7) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 24.3% (18) | 0% | 2.8% (2) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 5.4% (4) | 0% | 1.4% (1) | 0% |

| Medium | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-20% daily | 27.3% (26) | 68.8% (53) | 38% (35) | 81.2% (13) |
| 21-40% | 21% (20) | 28.5% (22) | 27.1% (25) | 12.5% (2) |
| 41-60% | 28.4% (27) | 2.5% (2) | 15.2% (14) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 18.9% (18) | 0% | 16.3% (15) | 6.2% (1) |
| Over 80% | 4.2% (4) | 0% | 2.1% (2) | 0% |

| High | Creole | English | French | Other |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1-20% daily | 53.8% (7) | 85.1% (12) | 7.1% (1) | 100% (1) |
| 21-40% | 0% | 14.2% (2) | 42.8% (6) | 0% |
| 41-60% | 46.1% (6) | 0% | 7.1% (1) | 0% |
| 61-80% | 0% | 0% | 42.8% (6) | 0% |
| Over 80% | 0% | 0% | 7.1% (1) | 0% |

7.3) Language use in the classroom

The following tables and graphs combine the responses to questions 13 & 14 as to the language most frequently used in the classroom in eight different lessons: Maths, Science, Economics & Accounts, General Paper, Home Economics, Graphic Mechanical Drawing, Art and Physical Education. Four lessons were then chosen from the eight listed subjects: Art, Economics & Accounts (henceforth Economics as they are taught together), Mathematics and Physical Education. The reason for selecting these four subjects was to get the lessons taken by the majority of informants in as varied circumstances as possible within the overall range of lessons. In question 14, informants were asked in which language they were most likely to put a question to their teachers in these four lessons. In question 13 informants had to indicate the language their teachers use most commonly:

- (i) in the four lessons as seen above, and
- (ii) when giving explanations in these same lessons.

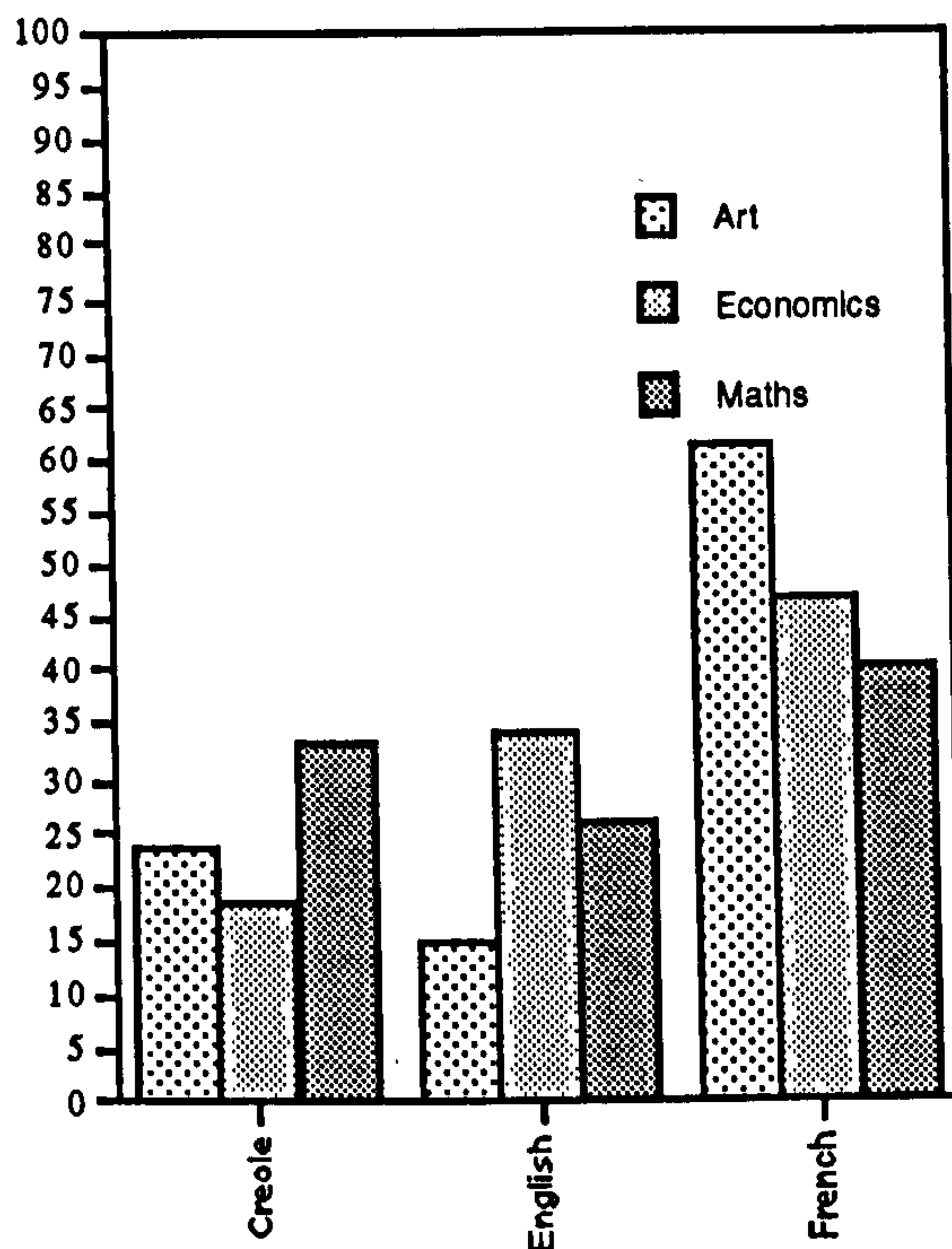
It should be noted that the interpretation of the results for question 13 is based solely on responses provided by the informants in the questionnaire and not on teachers' responses.

7.3.1) Putting a question to the teacher in four chosen lessons

Question 14 asked "If you ask a question to your teacher which language are you most likely to use in the following lessons?". It can be noted that under no circumstances are Oriental languages used in lessons either by the pupils or the teachers, other than lessons specifically devoted to these languages. Although

French is in no case the only language to be used in these given lessons, it is used more widely than any other language, including Creole. Finally, apart from Economics and Accounts lessons, English appears to be least used for asking questions, especially in Art and Physical Education lessons. It would seem logical for informants to ask for explanation in French and Creole rather than English, since in the Mauritian context French is more accessible, and easier than English to Creole speakers because of the dominant francophone environment of everyday life (see chapter 2).

Graph & Table 37 Responses for question 14 for the whole sample



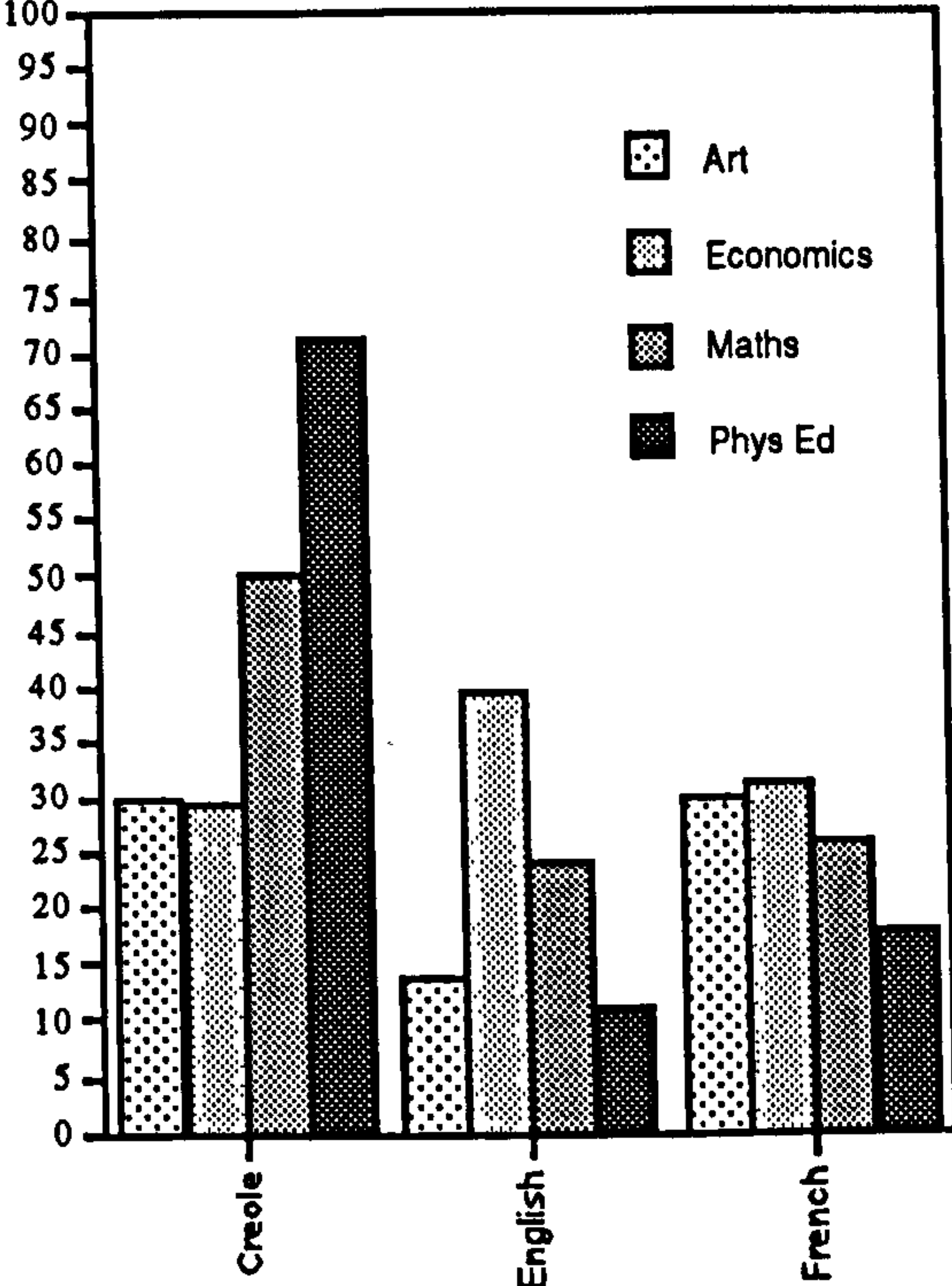
| | Art | Eco* | Maths* | Phys ed* |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 23.8% (25) | 18.5% (19) | 33.3% (65) | 49.9% (73) |
| English | 14.8% (15) | 34.5% (36) | 26.1% (51) | 7.1% (10) |
| French | 61.4% (64) | 47% (49) | 40.6% (79) | 42.9% (63) |

* Eco is the abbreviation for Economics, Maths for mathematics and Phys ed for Physical education

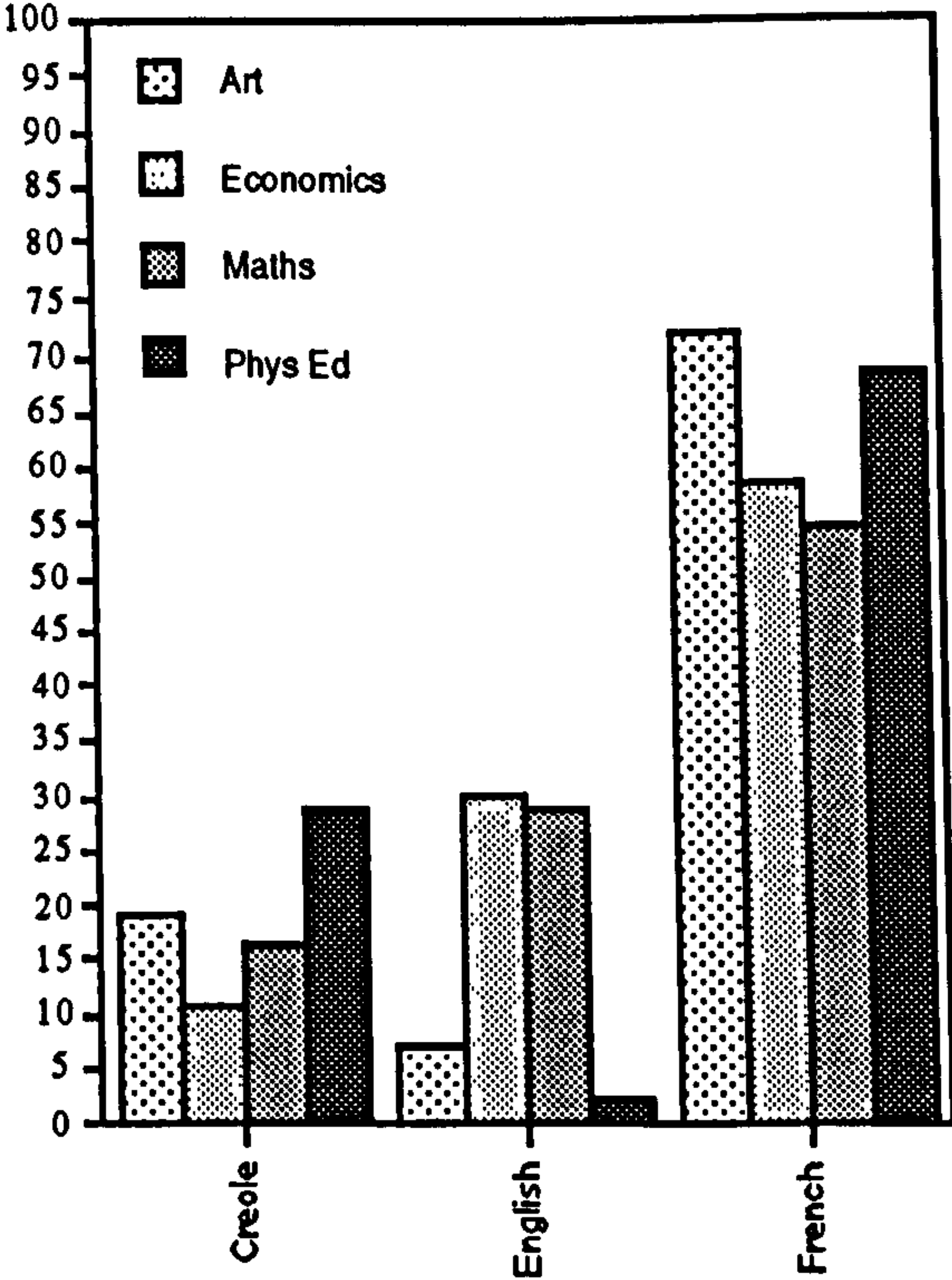
The breakdown by sex reveals that boys claim to make more use of all three languages, i.e English, French and Creole, in any of the four lessons when putting a question to the teacher than girls, who tend to show a preference for French. The sociological explanation that women have a tendency to prefer or to speak high-status languages more frequently than men finds confirmation in these results, particularly in this case, where this type of attitude and mode of sociolinguistic behaviour is further reinforced by the educational context.

Graphs & Table 37.1 Breakdown by sex for question 14

Boys



Girls



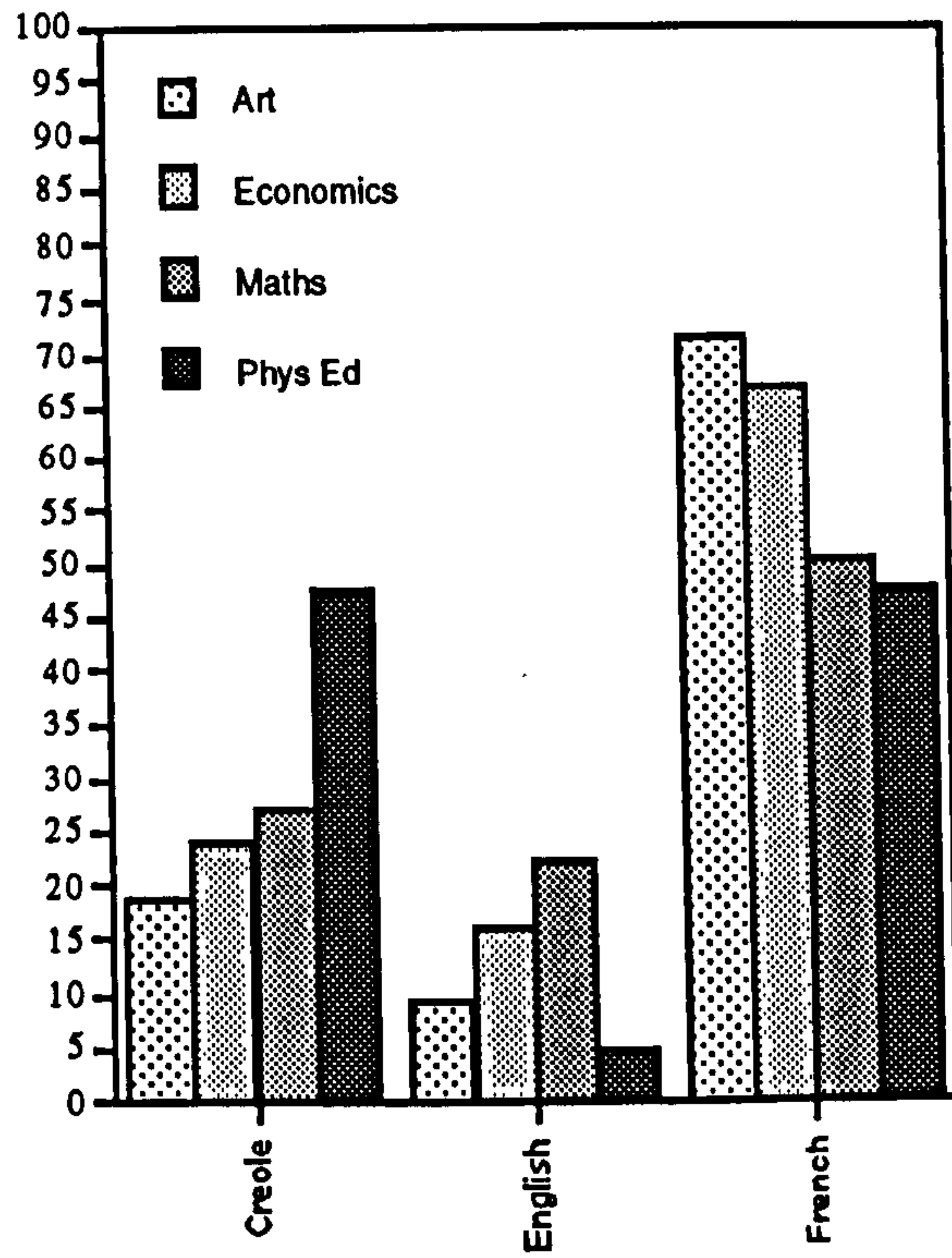
| Boys | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 29.7% (14) | 29.1% (14) | 50.5% (49) | 71.2% (52) |
| English | 13.4% (11) | 39.5% (19) | 23.7% (23) | 10.9% (8) |
| French | 29.7% (14) | 31.2% (15) | 25.7% (25) | 17.8% (13) |

| Girls | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 19.2% (11) | 10.7% (6) | 16.4% (16) | 28.7% (21) |
| English | 7% (4) | 30.3% (17) | 28.8% (28) | 2.7% (2) |
| French | 71.9% (41) | 58.9% (33) | 54.6% (53) | 68.4% (50) |

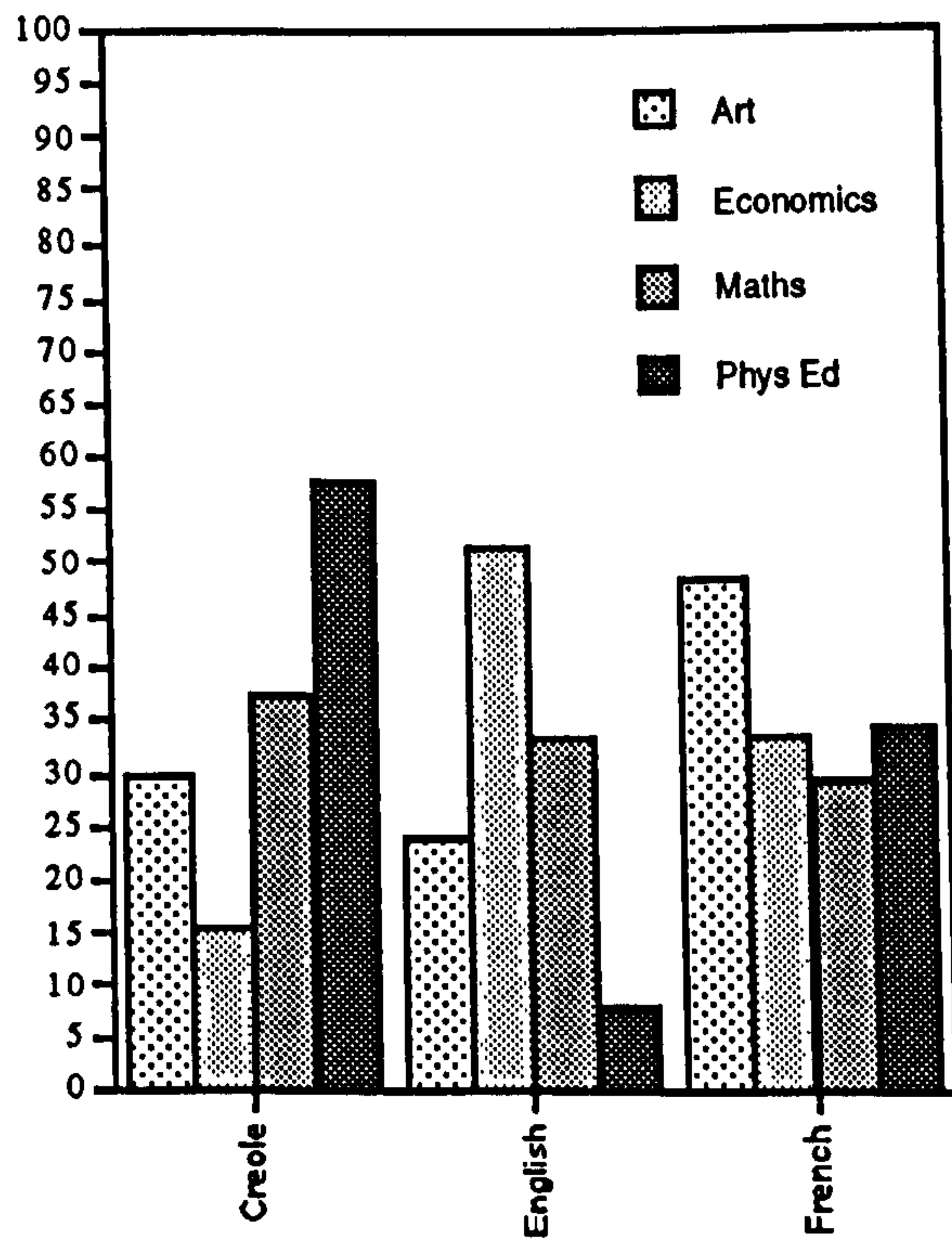
The breakdown by place of residence shows the same trend in each place of residence. The higher percentages of French are not surprising, since this is the first language Mauritian pupils would resort to when addressing their teacher in class. These results would tend to suggest that educational norms exert a strong influence on the linguistic behaviour of young adolescents, and that the majority of teachers would expect their pupils to use either English or French when putting a question to them during a lesson.

Graphs & Table 37.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 14

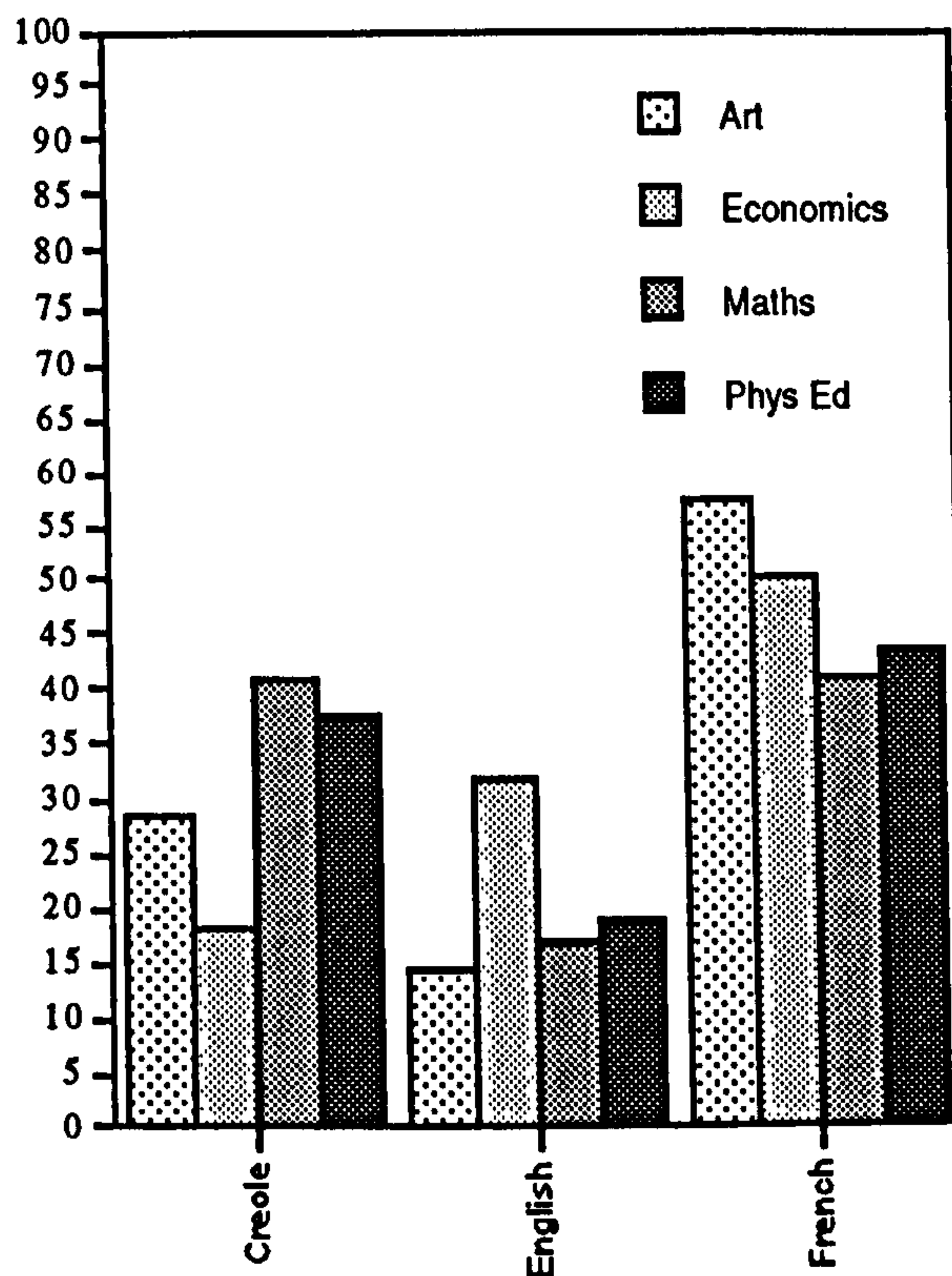
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban areas | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 18.8% (10) | 24.3% (9) | 26.9% (24) | 47.5% (38) |
| English | 9.4% (5) | 16.2% (6) | 22.4% (20) | 5% (4) |
| French | 71.6% (38) | 66.6% (22) | 50.5% (45) | 47.5% (38) |

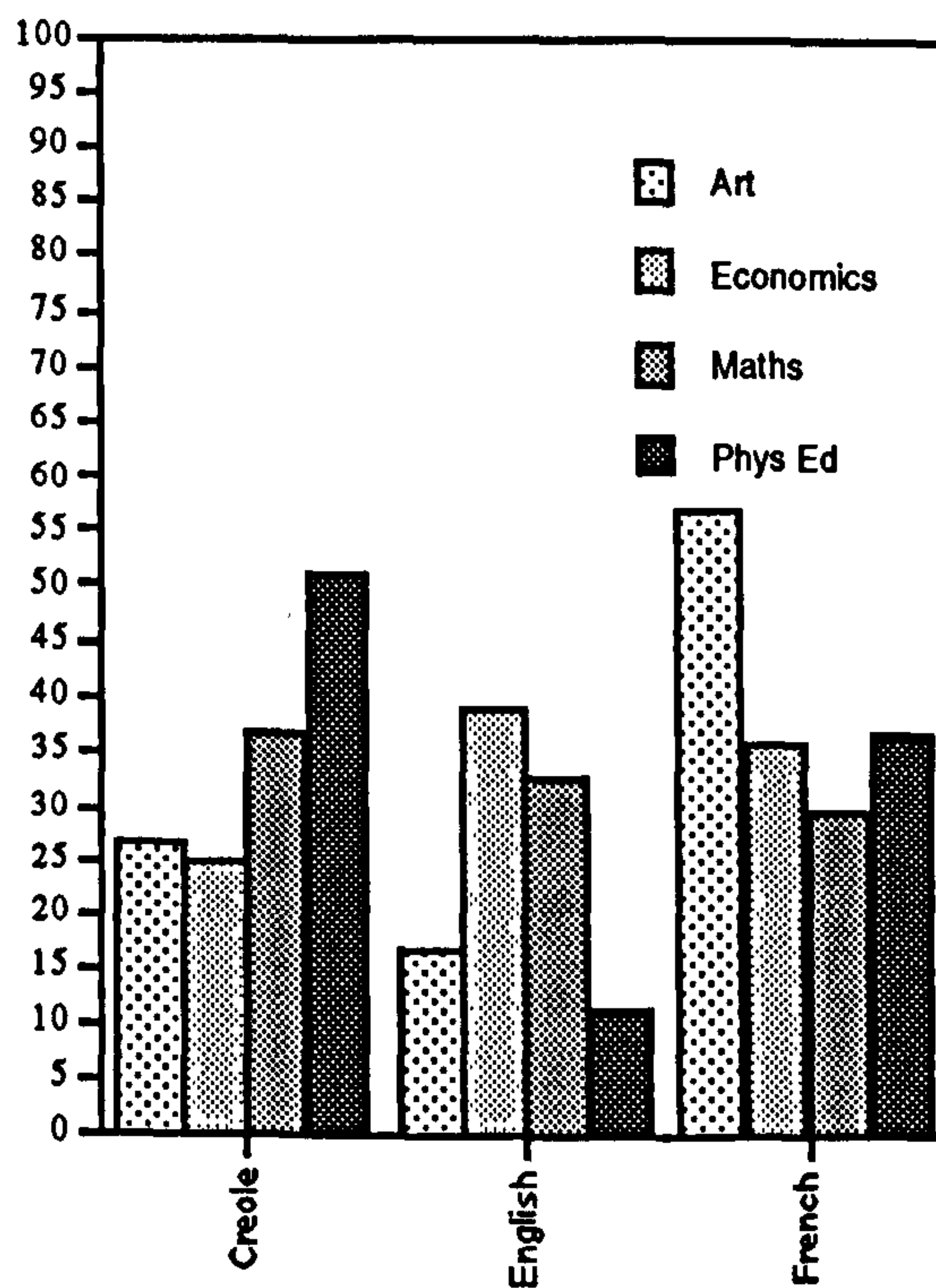
| Rural areas | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|----------|
| Creole | 29.7% (11) | 15.5% (7) | 37.3% (28) | 58% (29) |
| English | 24.3% (9) | 51.5% (23) | 33.3% (25) | 8% (4) |
| French | 48.6% (18) | 33.3% (15) | 29.3% (22) | 34% (17) |

| Coastal | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Creole | 28.5% (4) | 18.1% (4) | 41.3% (12) | 37.5% (6) |
| English | 14.2% (2) | 31.8% (7) | 17.2% (5) | 18.7% (3) |
| French | 57.1% (8) | 50% (11) | 41.3% (12) | 43.7% (7) |

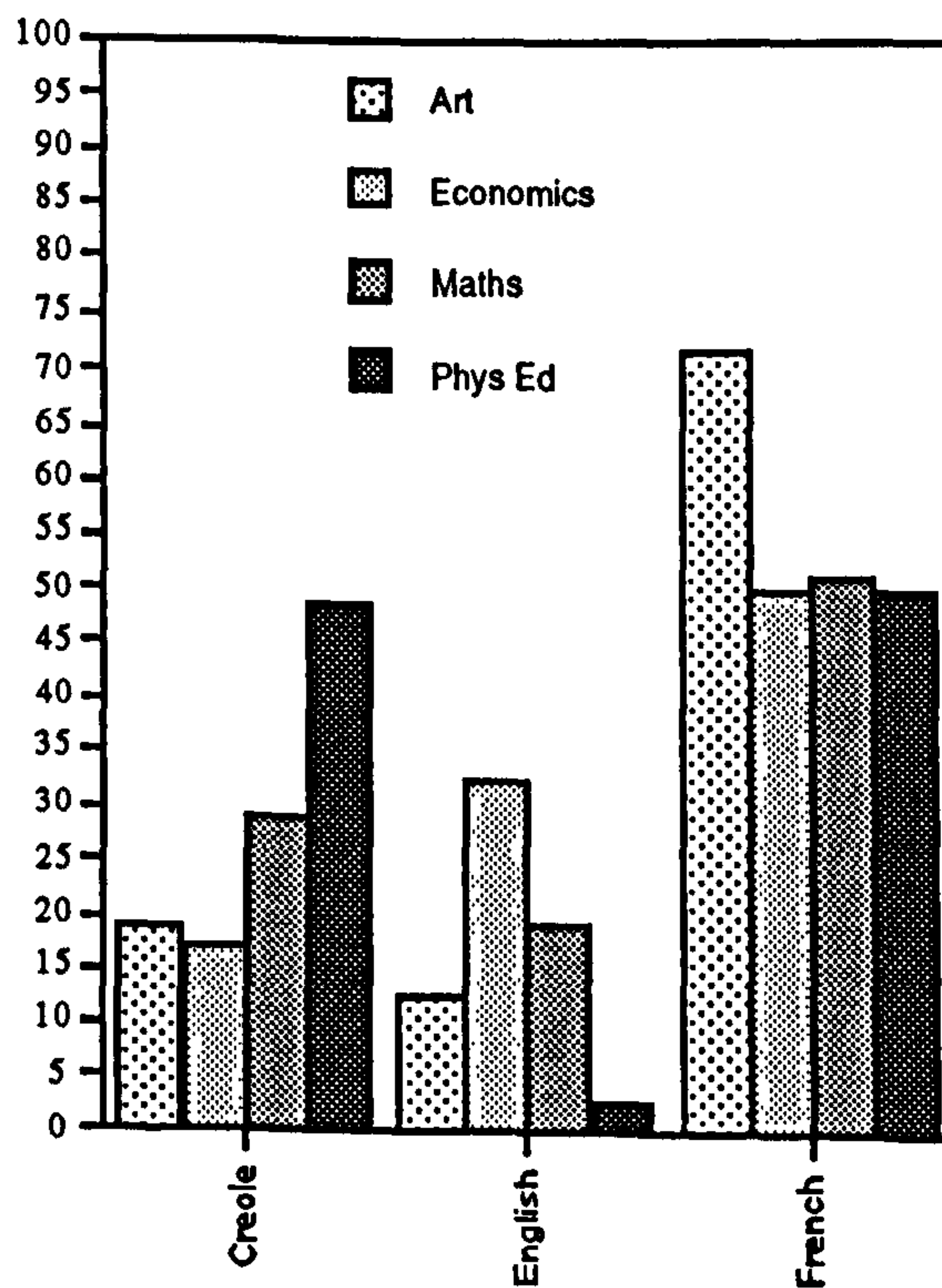
The breakdown by age suggests that there are noticeably more older adolescents who ask questions in French than younger ones, who claim to make use of all three languages more than their elders. One would have expected a higher percentage of English in the older group since these informants be more fluent than the younger group. These results may be explained by the fact that the younger group is perhaps more prepared to use all three languages in a classroom context than the older group who seems to prefer French because it is easier, or perhaps as a way to rebel against the medium imposed by the educational system (i.e English).

Graphs & Table 37.3 Breakdown by age group for question 14

11-14 years



15-20 years



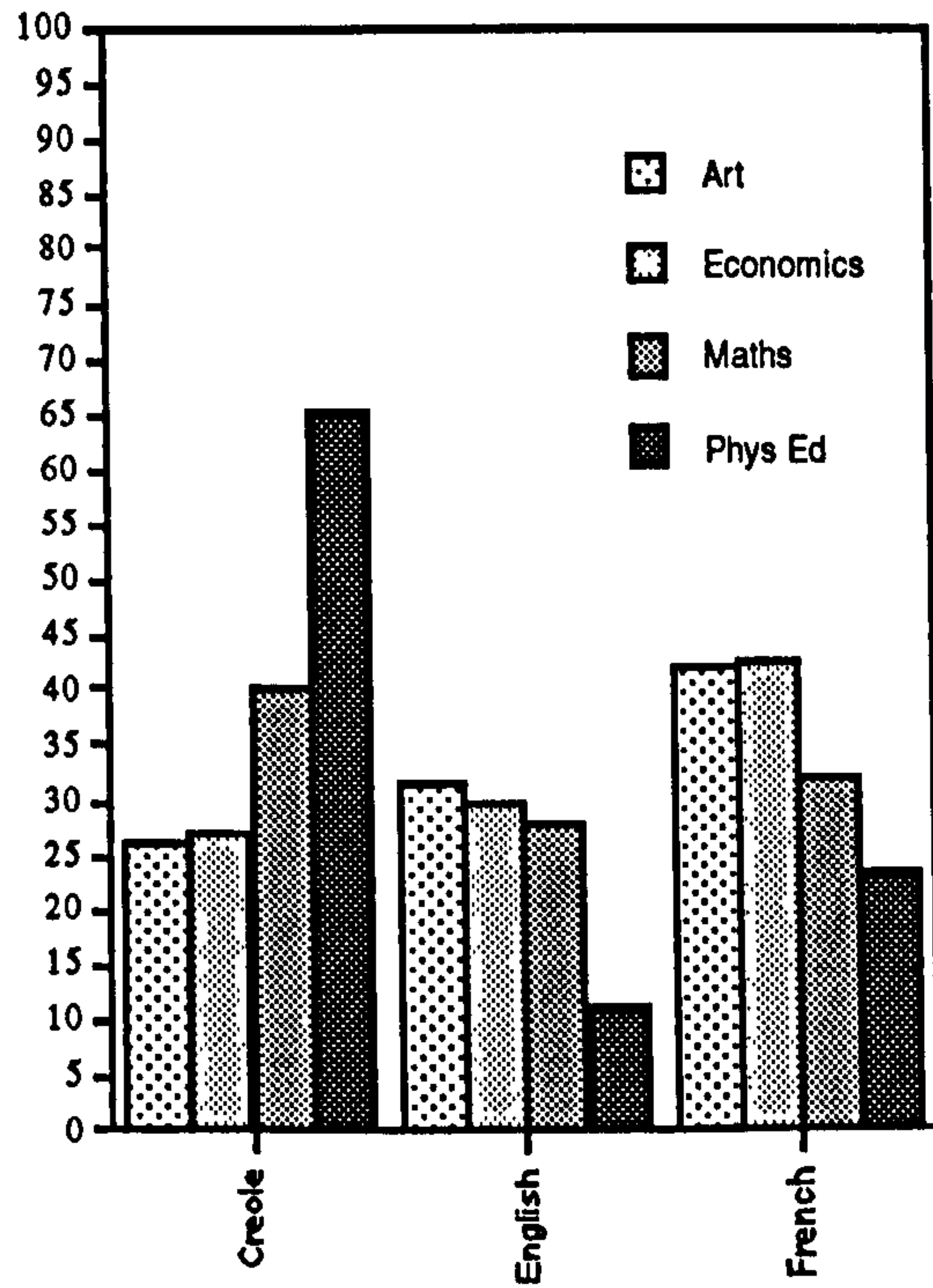
| 11-14 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 26.3% (19) | 25% (7) | 36.8% (35) | 51.2% (40) |
| English | 16.6% (12) | 39.2% (11) | 32.6% (31) | 11.5% (9) |
| French | 56.9% (41) | 35.7% (10) | 29.4% (28) | 37.1% (29) |

| 15-20 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 18.7% (6) | 17.1% (13) | 29.2% (29) | 48.5% (33) |
| English | 12.5% (4) | 32.8% (25) | 19.1% (19) | 2.9% (2) |
| French | 71.8% (23) | 50% (38) | 51.5% (51) | 50% (34) |

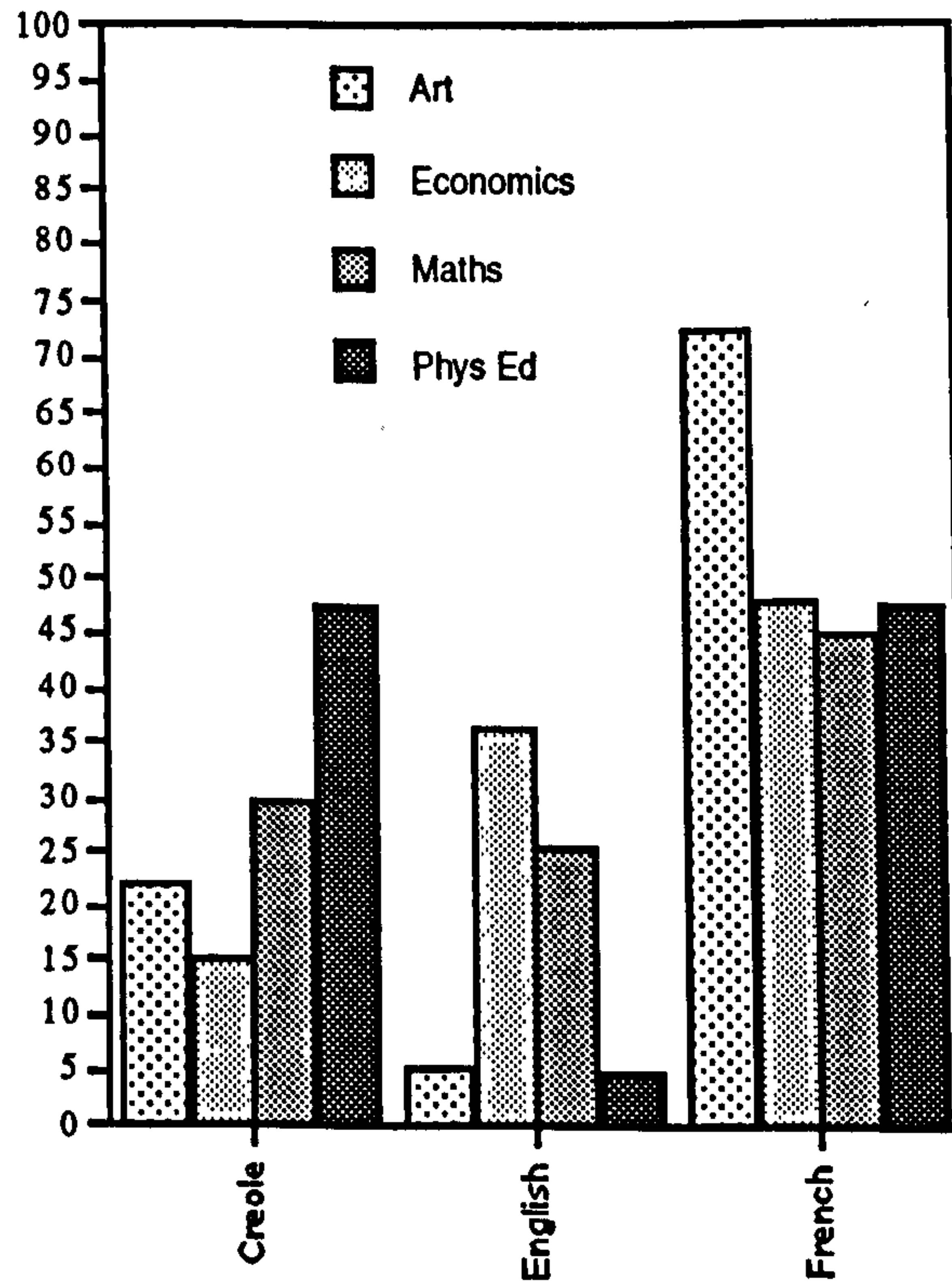
The breakdown by family income shows a similar pattern to that of the breakdown by place of residence. It is the informants from high and medium family income who seem to use more European languages than those from the low income bracket. It would appear that all three languages are used by informants from a low income background, Creole being the most frequently used (an average of 40%), followed by French (35%), and English (25%). Informants from a high income household claim to use mostly French (an average of 75%) in all four lessons. Creole and English appear to be far less widely used (10%) by these informants. A sociological explanation may not be appropriate in this case although a knowledge of the socio-cultural background as seen earlier helps to understand why Creole and French are preferred to English in most cases.

Graphs & Table 37.4 Breakdown by parents' level of income for question 14

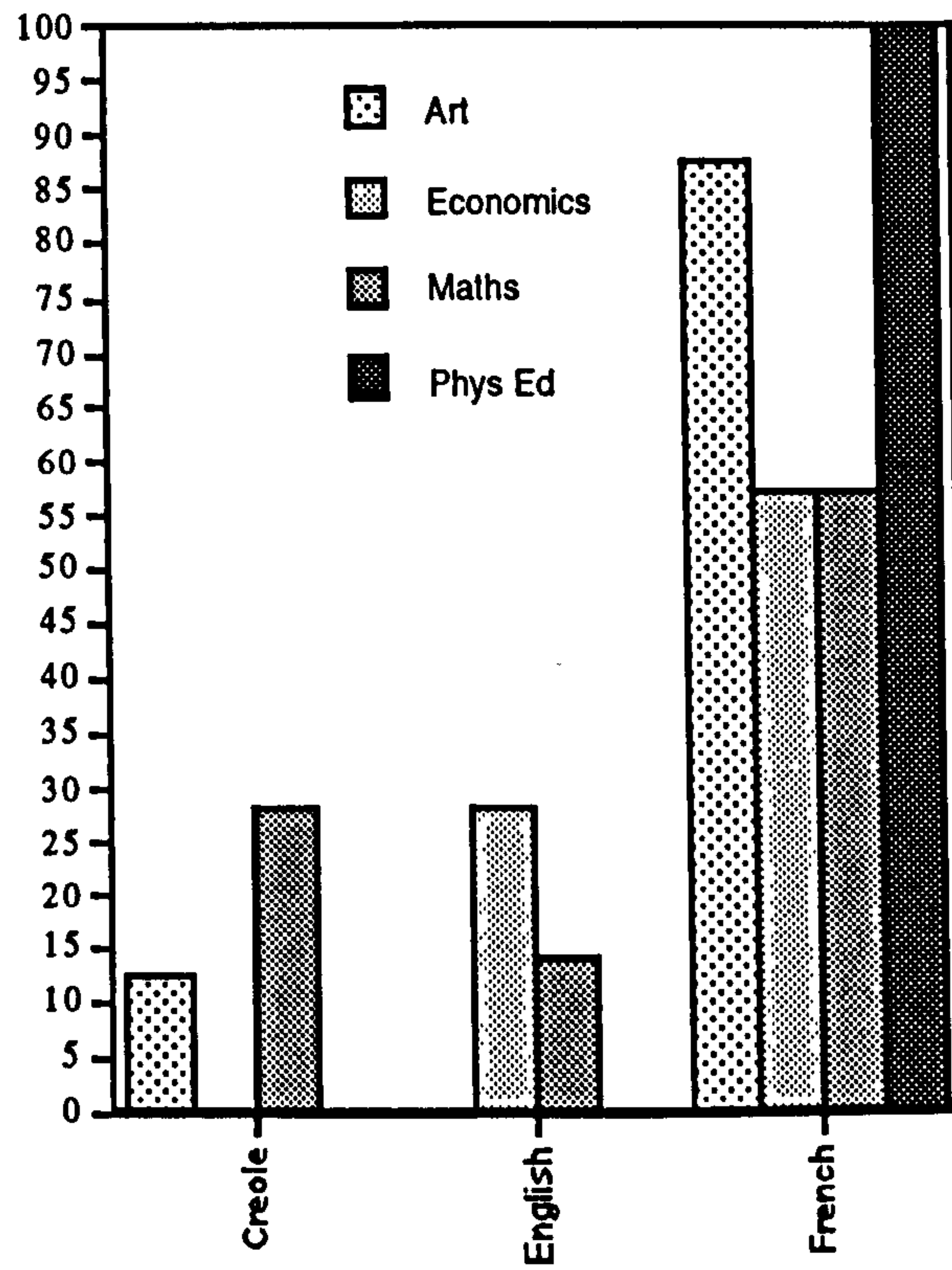
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|----------|------------|
| Creole | 26.3% (13) | 27.5% (11) | 40% (30) | 65.4% (36) |
| English | 31.5% (12) | 30% (12) | 28% (21) | 10.9% (6) |
| French | 42.1% (16) | 42.5% (17) | 32% (24) | 23.6% (13) |

| Medium | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Creole | 22.2% (12) | 15.3% (8) | 29.4% (28) | 47.4% (37) |
| English | 5.5% (3) | 36.5% (19) | 25.2% (24) | 5% (4) |
| French | 72.2% (39) | 48% (25) | 45.2% (43) | 47.4% (37) |

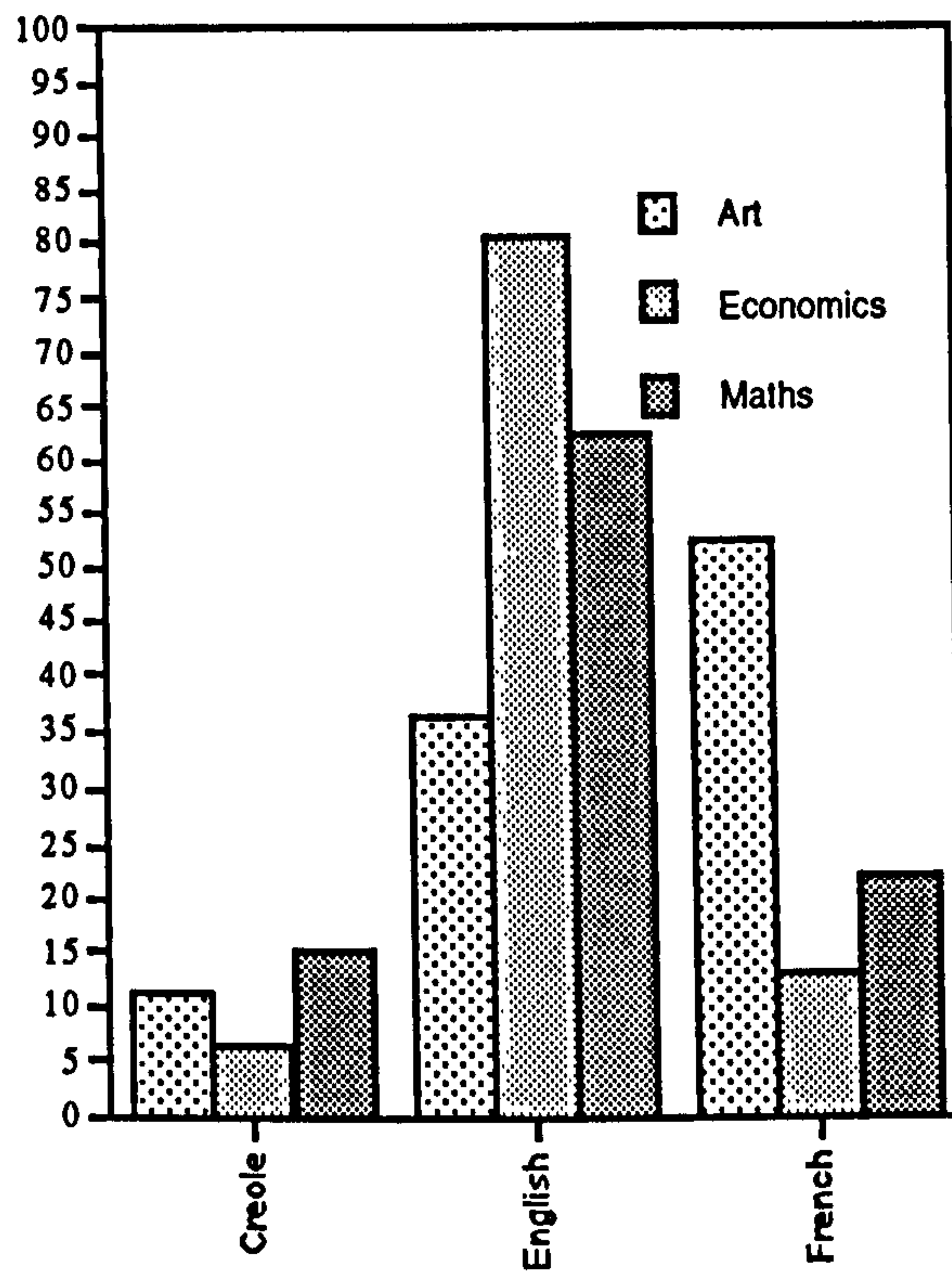
| High | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Creole | 12.5% (1) | 0% (0) | 28.5% (4) | 0% (0) |
| English | 0% (0) | 28.5% (2) | 14.2% (2) | 0% (0) |
| French | 87.5% (7) | 57.1% (4) | 57.1% (8) | 100% (10) |

To sum up, it would appear that although all three languages are used when putting a question to the teacher, informants prefer to ask questions in French and in Creole mainly. Whilst girls show a preference for French, boys would tend to use Creole more frequently. The case of Physical Education illustrates a different pattern by comparison to the other lessons (i.e Maths, Economics and Art). This can be explained by the fact that Physical Education is not an academic subject, and it would be quite logical, in the Mauritian context, for the informants to use French and Creole rather than English. This would explain why English is very little represented in these lessons.

7.3.2) The language most frequently used by teachers in four chosen lessons

In the first part of question 13 informants were asked: "Which language is most often used by your teacher in these different lessons". An overview of the whole sample shows that informants claim their teachers use primarily English in Economics and mathematics classes and French in Art and Physical Education classes. It would appear that English is used more frequently by teachers in academic and technical subjects whilst French is used more frequently in non-academic ones.

Graph & table 38 Responses for question 13 a for the whole sample

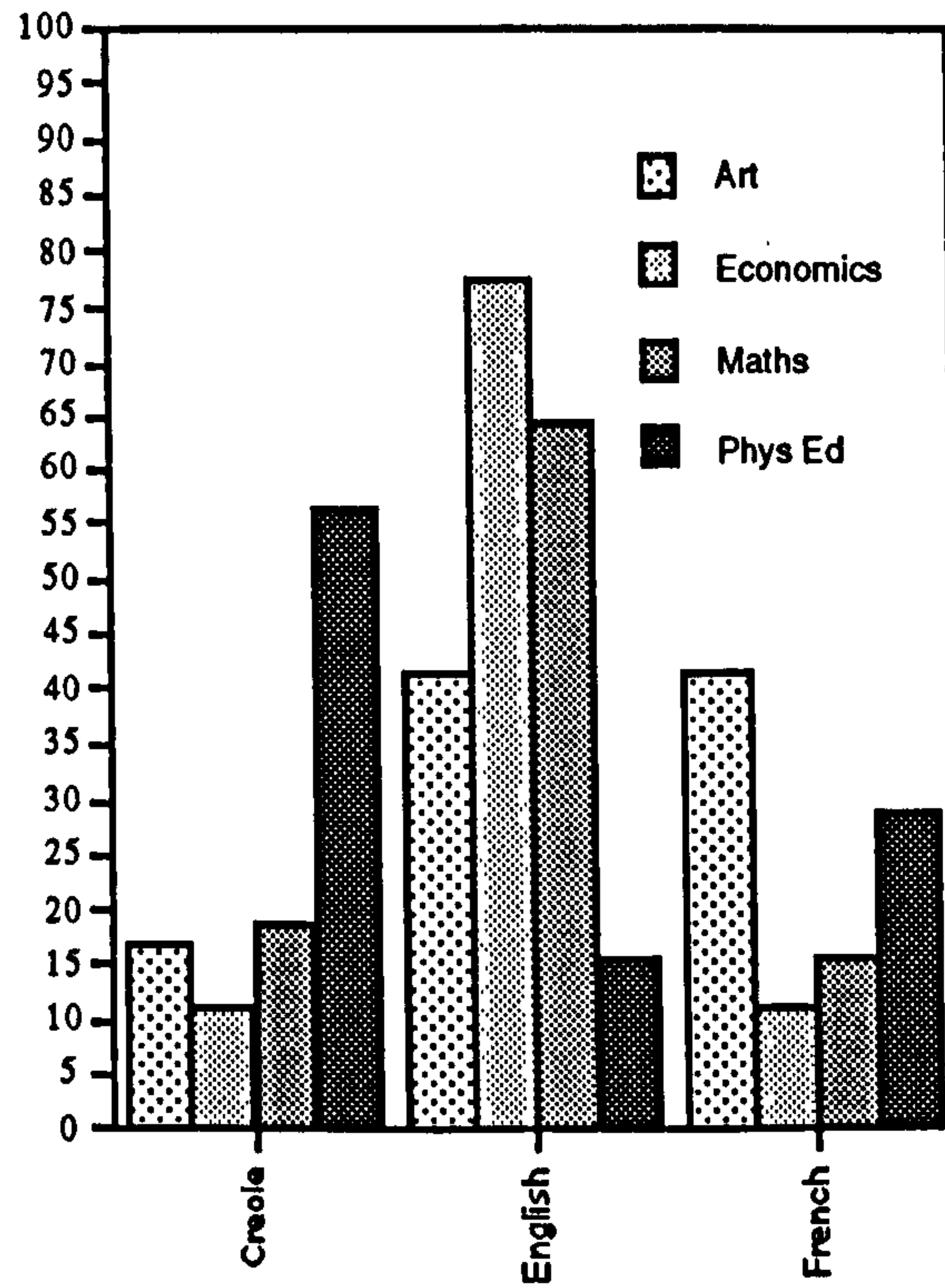


| | Art | Eco | Maths | Phys ed |
|---------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| Creole | 10.9% (12) | 6.6% (7) | 15.4% (29) | 43.1% (65) |
| English | 36.7% (39) | 80.6% (83) | 62.4% (119) | 9.3% (14) |
| French | 52.4% (56) | 12.8% (13) | 22.2% (42) | 47.6% (72) |

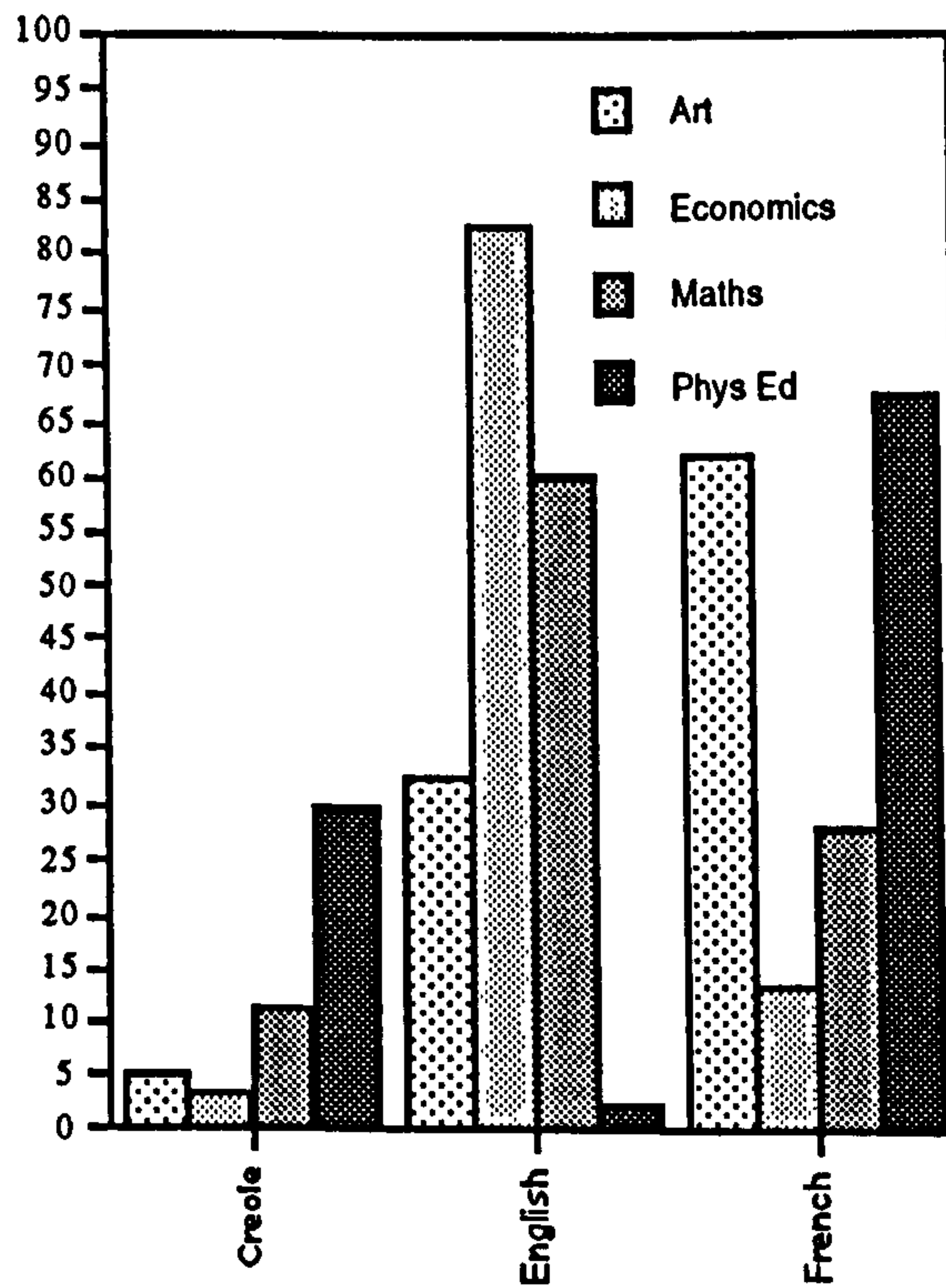
As far as the breakdown by sex is concerned, a higher percentage of girls than boys claim that their teachers use French in any of the four lessons, particularly during Art and Physical Education lessons. The figures for Physical Education also reveal an interesting difference between both sexes. Indeed boys claim that Creole is used most frequently by their teachers in these classes whilst girls claim French is used more frequently by their teachers. It should be noted that the number of boys (77) and girls (74) taking Physical Education are approximately the same. Although it would be difficult to attempt a meaningful explanation at this point, it may be reasonable to suppose that this difference may be explained by referring to the sociological explanation already mentioned in 7.1.

Graphs & Table 38.1 Breakdown by sex for question 13.a

Boys



Girls



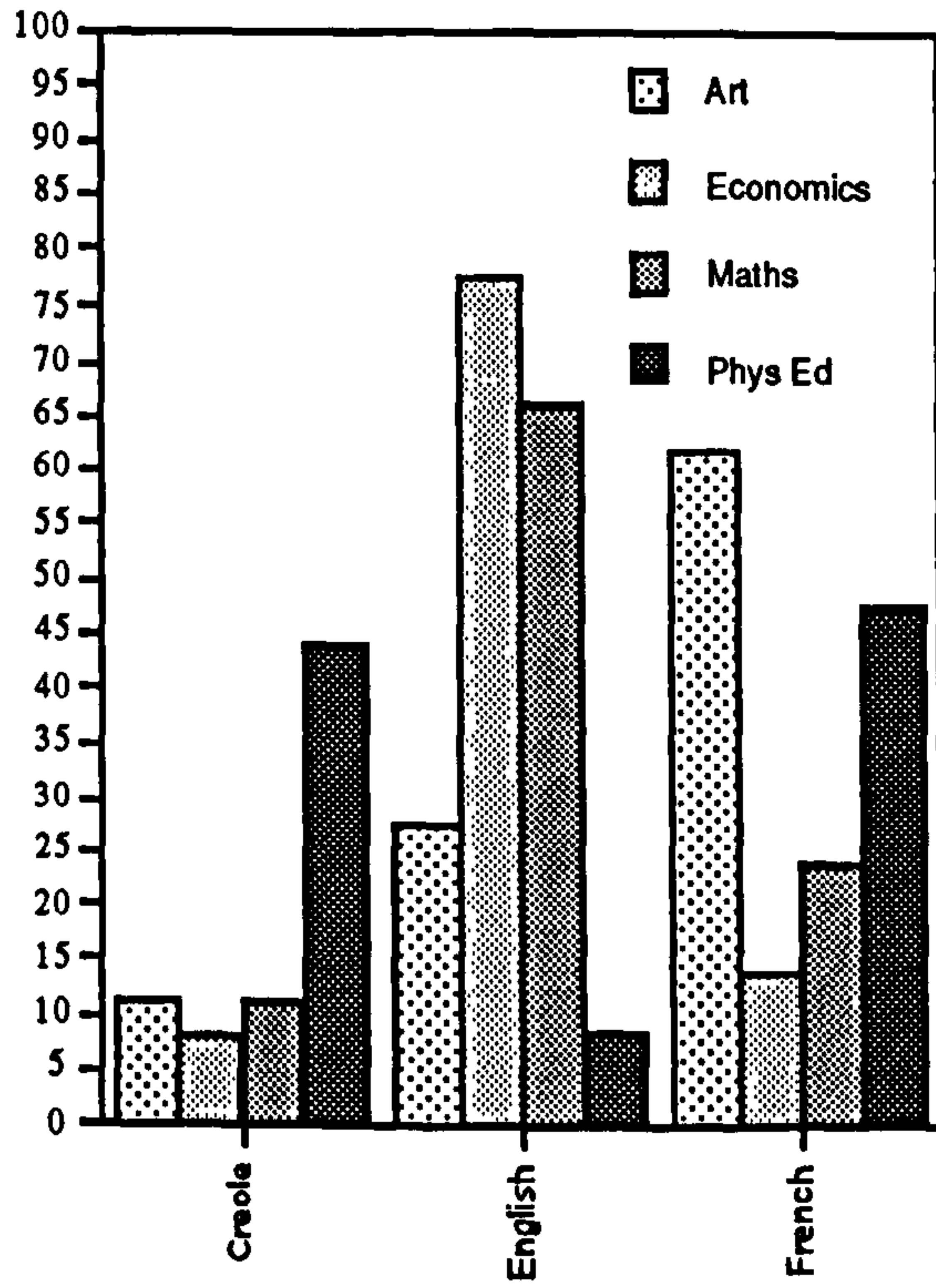
| Boys | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 16.6% (8) | 11.1% (5) | 18.9% (18) | 56.5% (43) |
| English | 41.6% (20) | 77.7% (35) | 64.2% (61) | 15.7% (12) |
| French | 41.6% (20) | 11.1% (5) | 15.7% (15) | 28.9% (22) |

| Girls | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 5.1% (3) | 3.4% (2) | 11.4% (11) | 29.7% (22) |
| English | 32.7% (17) | 82.7% (48) | 60.4% (58) | 2.7% (2) |
| French | 62% (36) | 13.7% (8) | 28.1% (27) | 67.5% (50) |

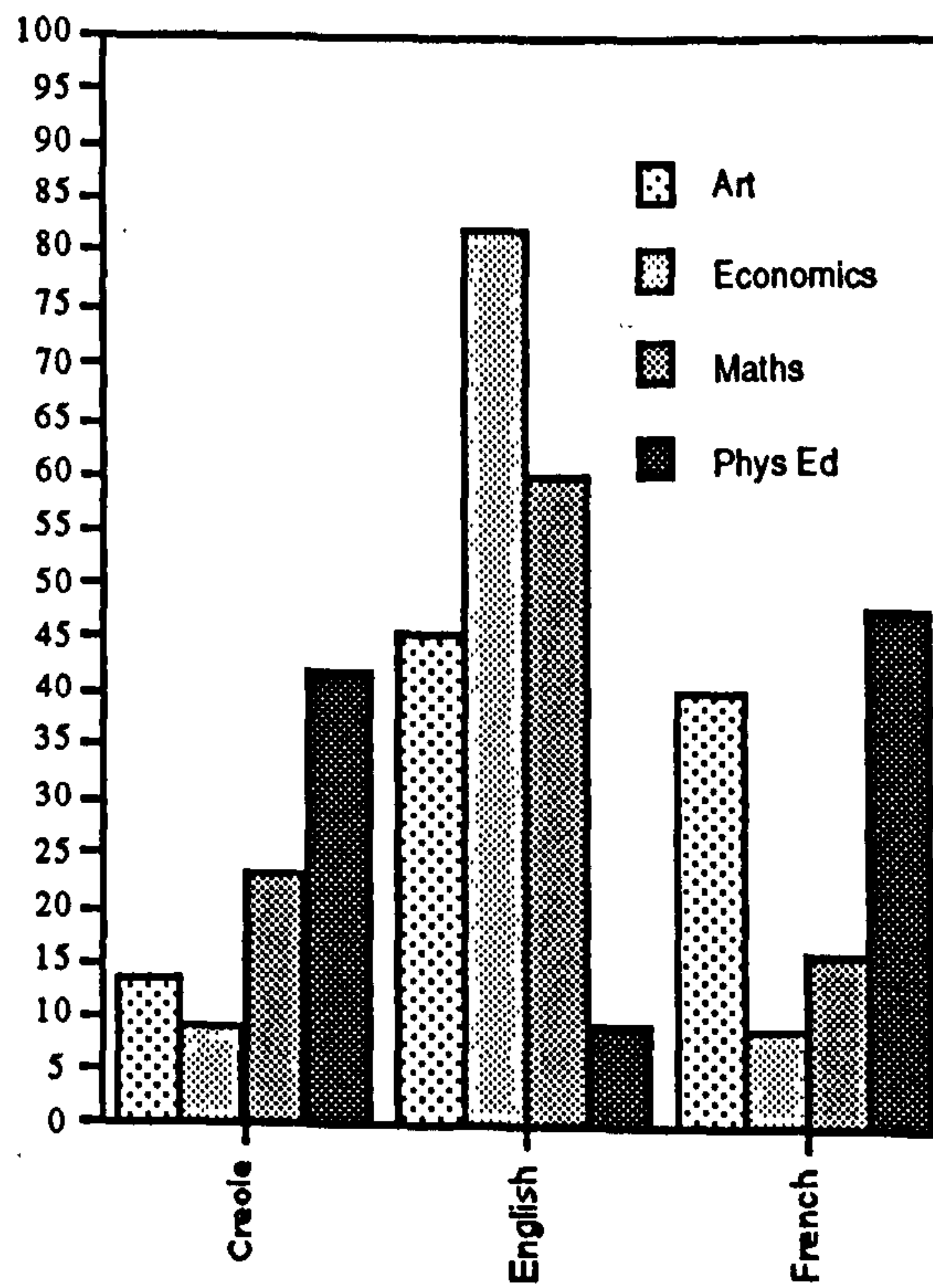
In the breakdown by place of residence a similar pattern to that for sex can be noted in the case of Economics and Mathematics lessons. In the case of academic and technical disciplines i.e. Maths and Economics. In the case of Art informants from urban areas claim their teachers use French most frequently. In the two other places of residence informants claim their teachers use a higher percentage of English than French. In the Physical education classes this pattern changes since French and Creole are claimed to be almost equally used in all three places of residence classes thus confirming a difference in usage for non-academic and non-technical subjects between urban areas on the one hand and rural and coastal on the other.

Graph & Table 38.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 13.a

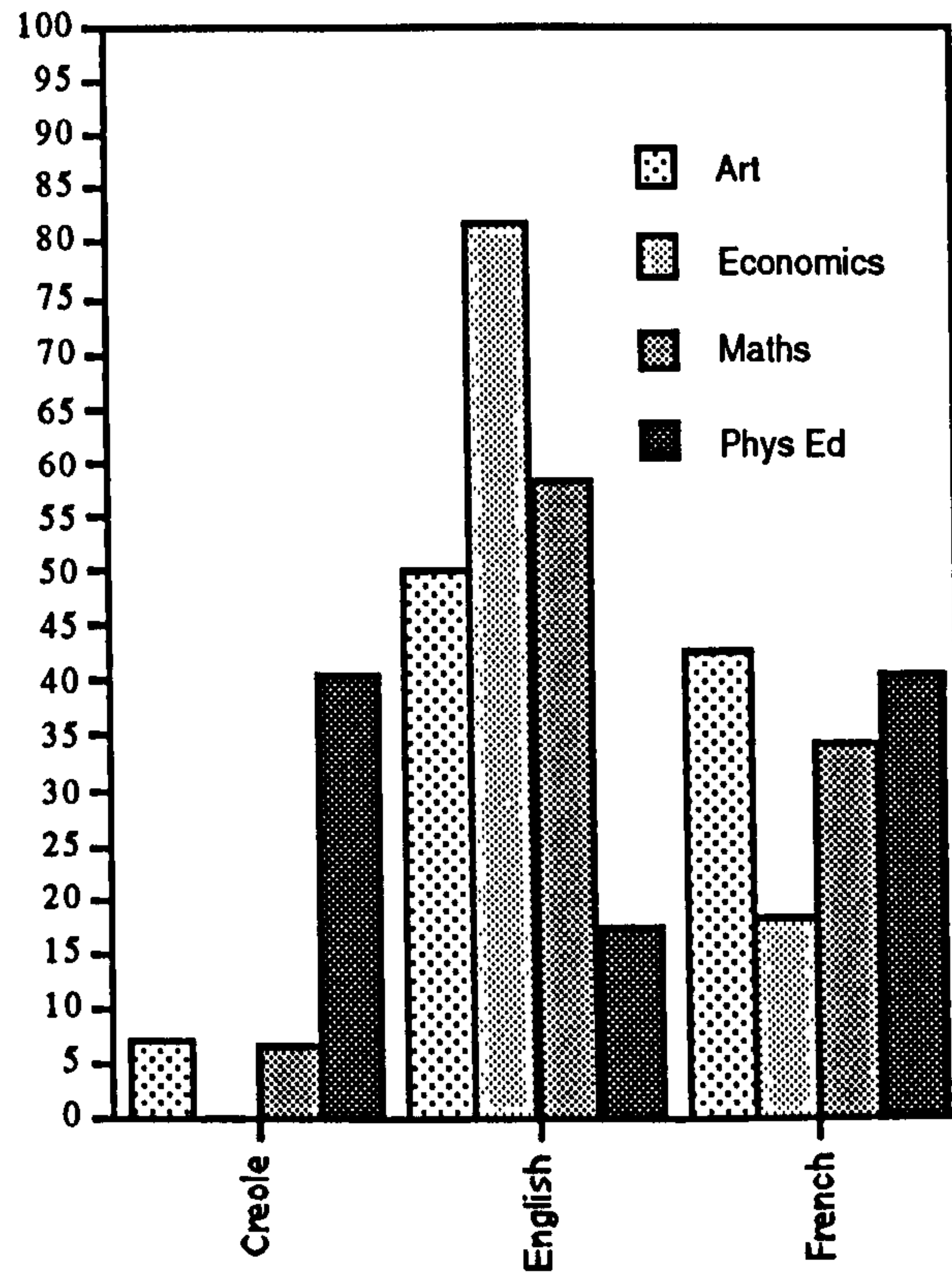
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 10.9% (6) | 8.3% (3) | 11.3% (10) | 43.9% (36) |
| English | 27.2% (15) | 77.7% (28) | 65.9% (58) | 8.5% (7) |
| French | 61.8% (34) | 13.8% (5) | 23.8% (21) | 47.5% (39) |

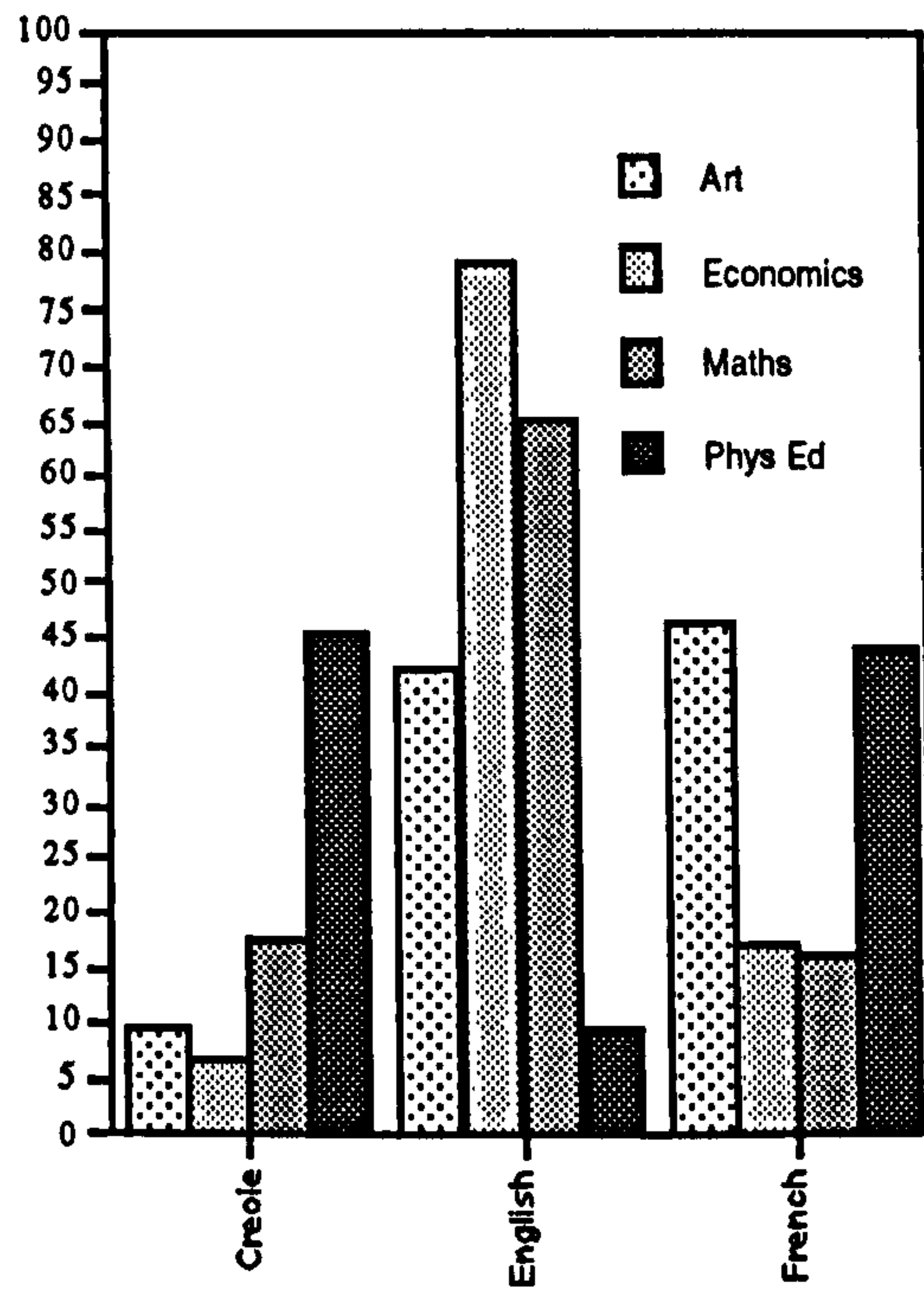
| Rural | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 13.5% (5) | 8.8% (4) | 23.2% (17) | 42.3% (22) |
| English | 45.9% (17) | 82.2% (37) | 60.2% (44) | 9.6% (5) |
| French | 40.5% (15) | 8.8% (4) | 16.4% (12) | 48% (25) |

| Coastal | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Creole | 7.1% (1) | 0% | 6.8% (2) | 41% (7) |
| English | 50% (7) | 81.8% (18) | 58.6% (17) | 17.6% (3) |
| French | 42.8% (6) | 18.1% (4) | 34.4% (10) | 41% (7) |

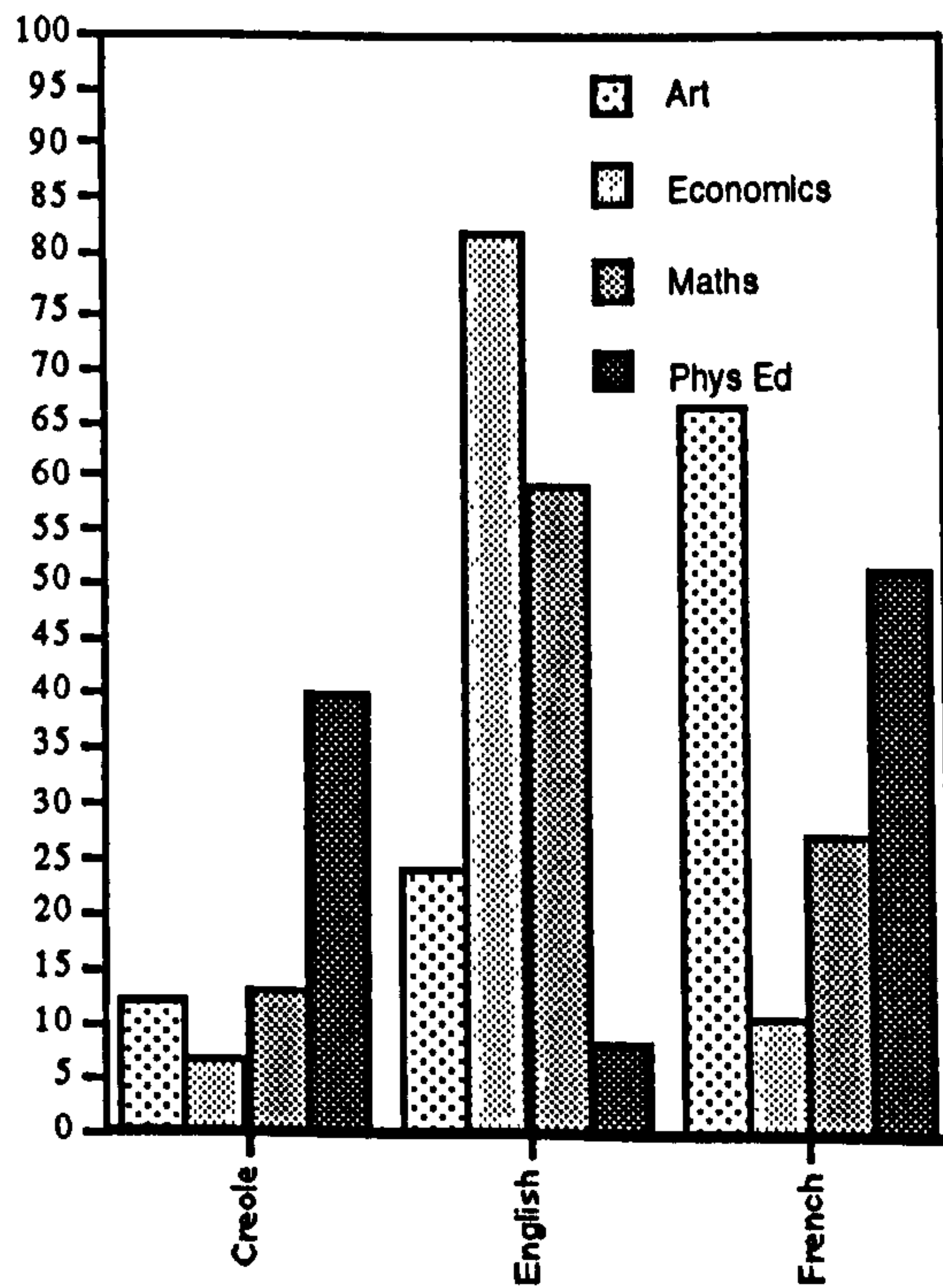
The breakdown by age suggests a similar pattern for both age bands. However the older group claims that French is more frequently used by their teachers in non-academic subjects than the younger group.

Graphs & Table 38.3 Breakdown by age group for question 13.a

11-14 years



15-20 years



| 11-14 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 9.5% (7) | 6.8% (2) | 17.3% (16) | 45.6% (37) |
| English | 42.4% (31) | 79.3% (23) | 65.2% (92) | 9.8% (8) |
| French | 46.5% (34) | 17.2% (5) | 16.3% (15) | 44.4% (36) |

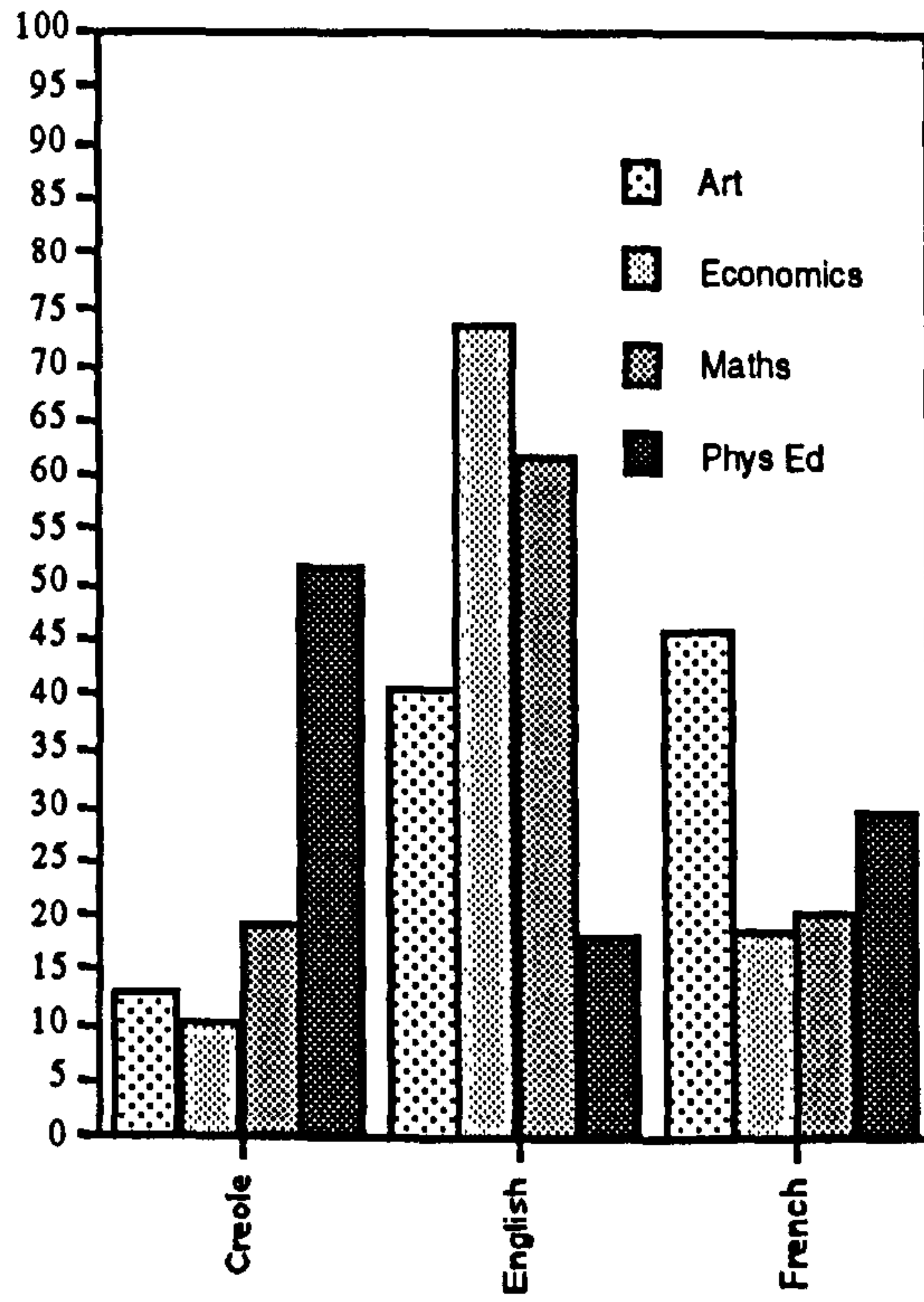
| 15-20 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 12.1% (4) | 6.7% (5) | 13.2% (13) | 40% (28) |
| English | 24.2% (8) | 82.4% (61) | 59.1% (58) | 8.5% (6) |
| French | 66.6% (22) | 10.8% (8) | 27.5% (27) | 51.4% (36) |

The breakdown by family income reveals that informants from a low income bracket claim their teachers use English and French equally in Art classes whilst informants from medium and high income bracket claim that French is used more frequently in the same lessons. This pattern changes slightly for Physical Education classes, whilst informants from a high income and medium background claim their teachers use French more frequently, those from a low income background claim their teachers use Creole more frequently in the same classes.

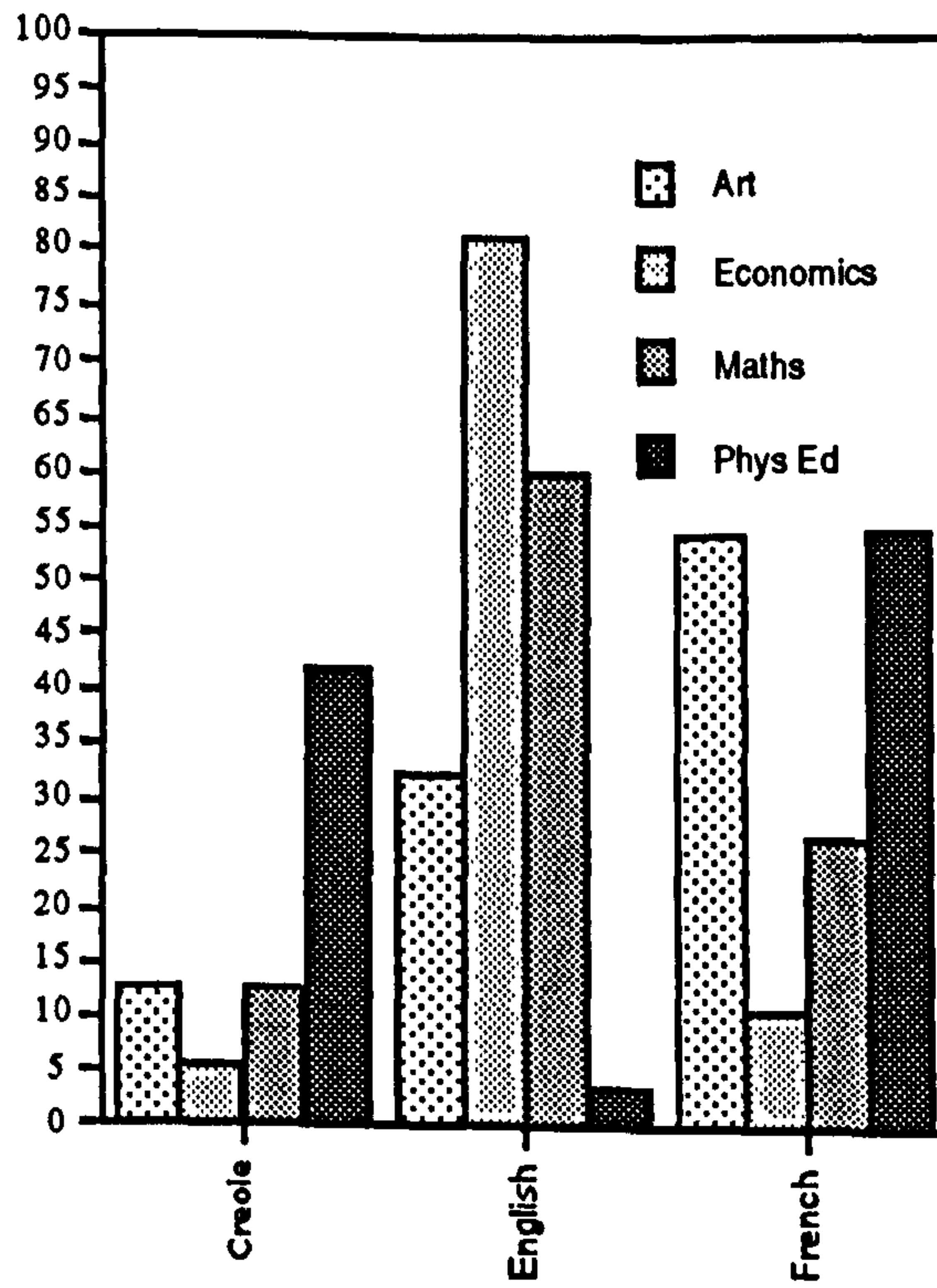
To conclude this section, it may be reasonable to suggest that although teachers appear to use all three languages in classes, French appears to be the predominant language for non-academic and non-technical subject, particularly with older pupils.

Graphs & Table 38.4 Breakdown by family income for question 13.a

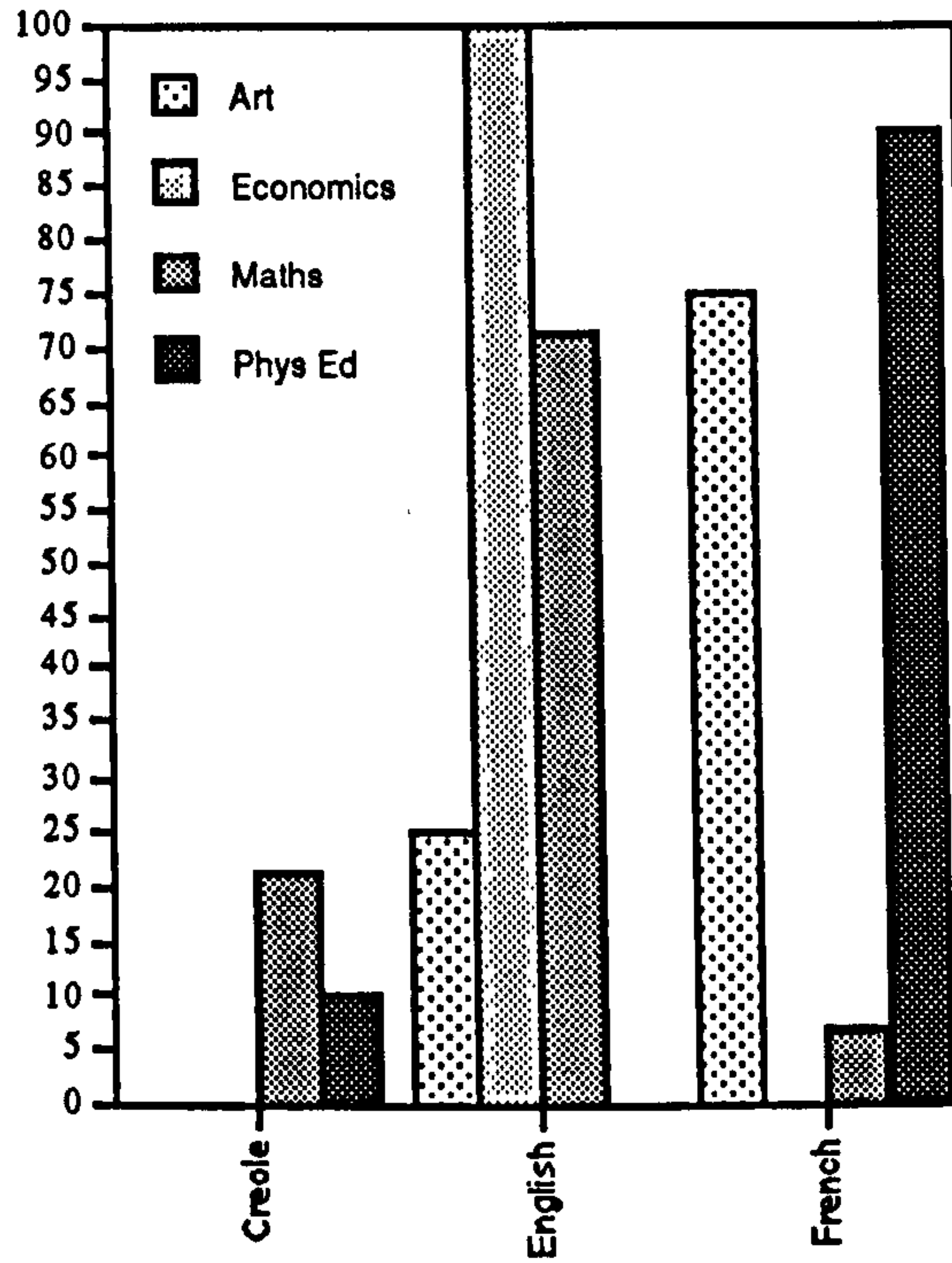
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 12.8% (5) | 10.5% (4) | 19.1% (14) | 51.6% (31) |
| English | 41% (16) | 73.6% (28) | 61.6% (45) | 18.3% (11) |
| French | 46.1% (18) | 18.4% (7) | 20.5% (15) | 30% (18) |

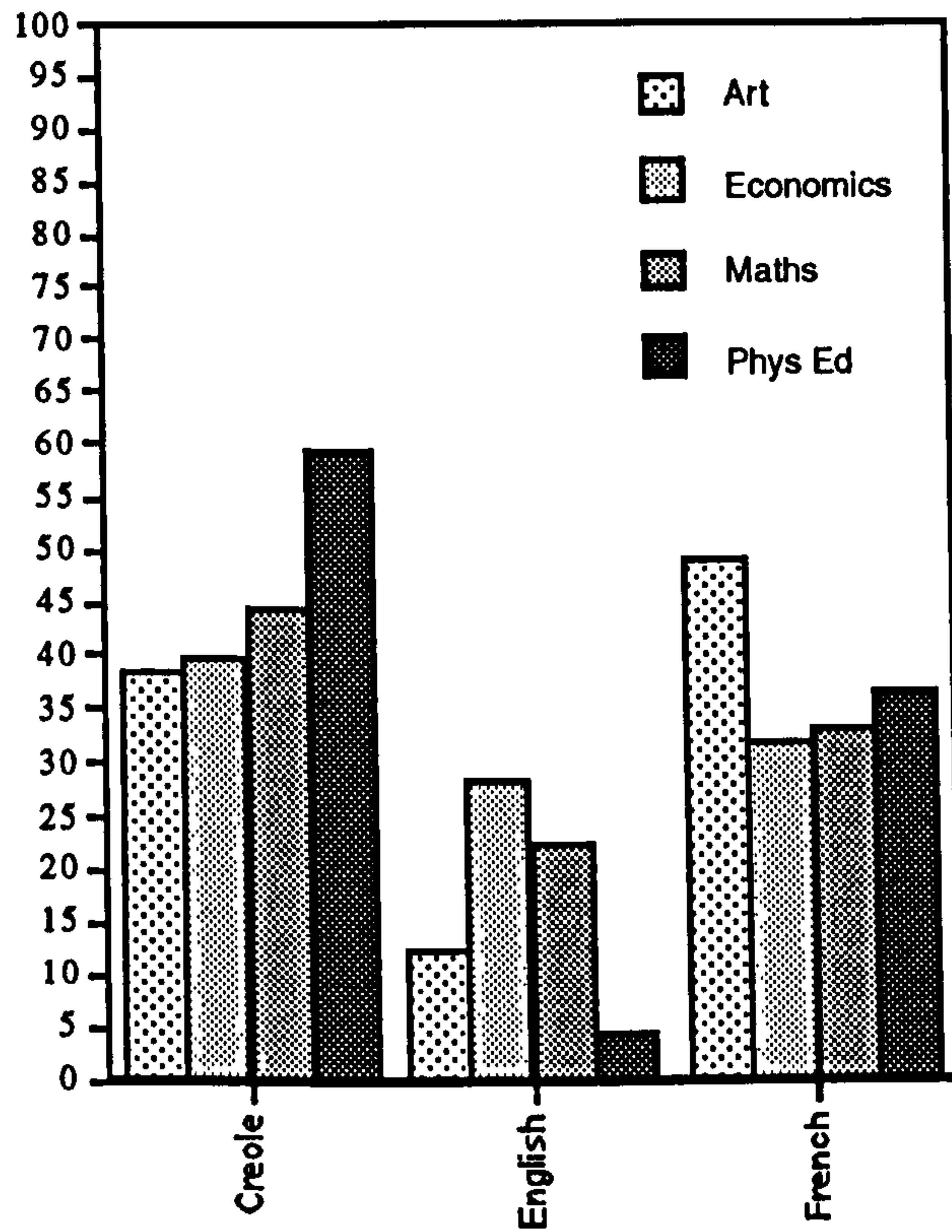
| Medium | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 12.7% (7) | 5.5% (3) | 12.9% (12) | 42.3% (33) |
| English | 32.7% (18) | 81.4% (44) | 60.2% (56) | 3.8% (78) |
| French | 54.5% (30) | 11.1% (6) | 26.8% (25) | 55.1% (43) |

| High | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|---------|-----------|------------|---------|
| Creole | 0% | 0% | 21.4% (3) | 10% (1) |
| English | 25% (2) | 100% (7) | 71.4% (10) | 0% |
| French | 75% (6) | 0% | 7.1% (1) | 90% (9) |

7.3.3) The language most frequently used by teachers to give explanations in four chosen lessons.

In the second part of question 13 informants had to indicate which language is used most frequently by their teachers when giving an explanation in the four chosen lessons. Interestingly, in all cases a large number of informants claim that their teachers use a higher percentage of languages other than English for explanation purposes in the four chosen lessons. Although in this case there does not appear to be a big difference between French and Creole, it is primarily French followed by Creole that informants claim their teachers use. This situation is reversed for Physical Education classes where a higher percentage of Creole is used than French. It would appear that teachers use all three languages to ensure that their pupils have understood difficult points.

Graph & Table 39 Responses for question 13 b for the whole sample

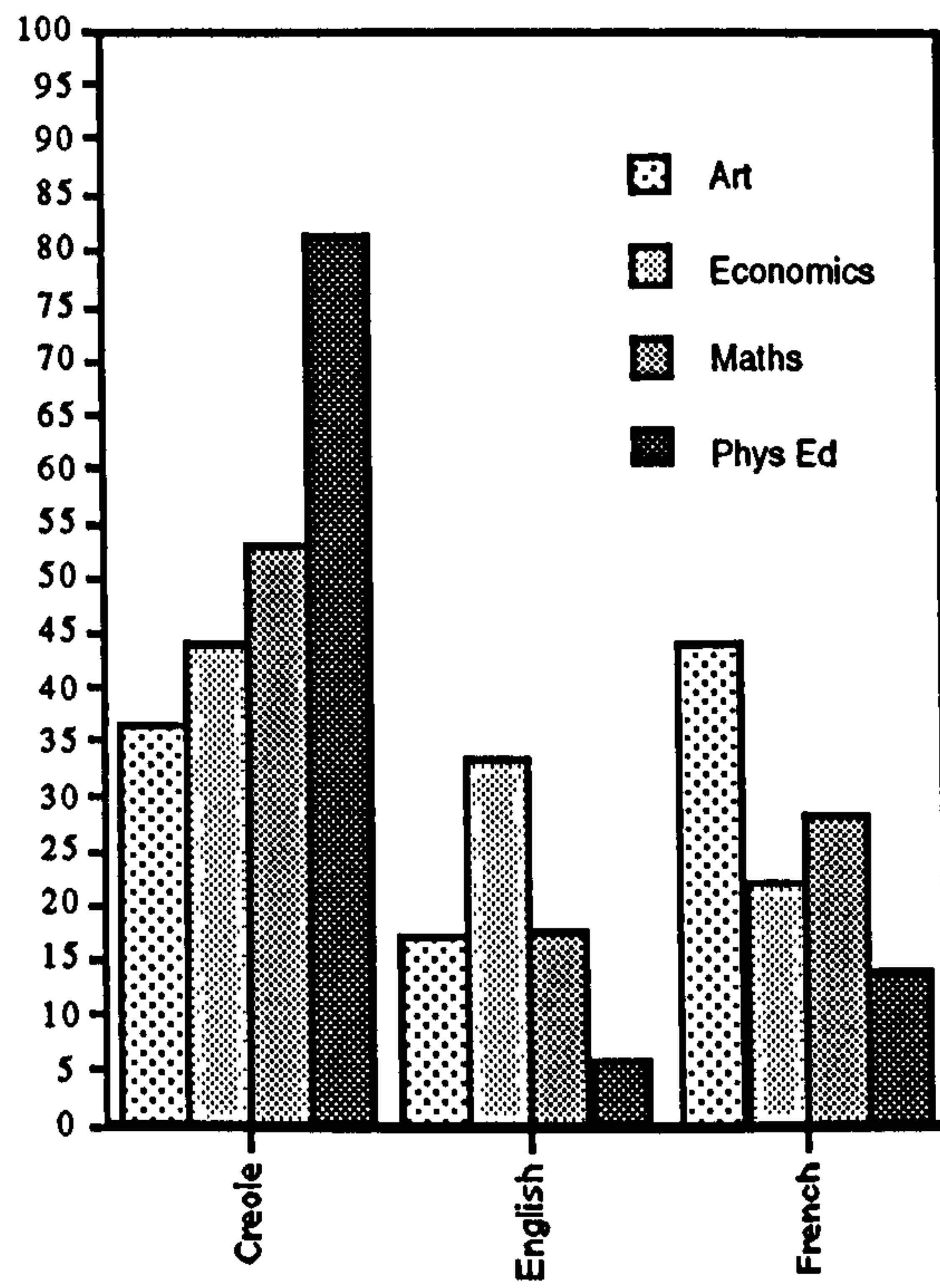


| | Art | Eco | Maths | Phys ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 38.5% (35) | 39.5% (40) | 44.3% (82) | 59.4% (81) |
| English | 12.7% (12) | 28.6% (29) | 22.5% (42) | 4.3% (6) |
| French | 48.7% (45) | 31.8% (32) | 33.2% (62) | 36.2% (49) |

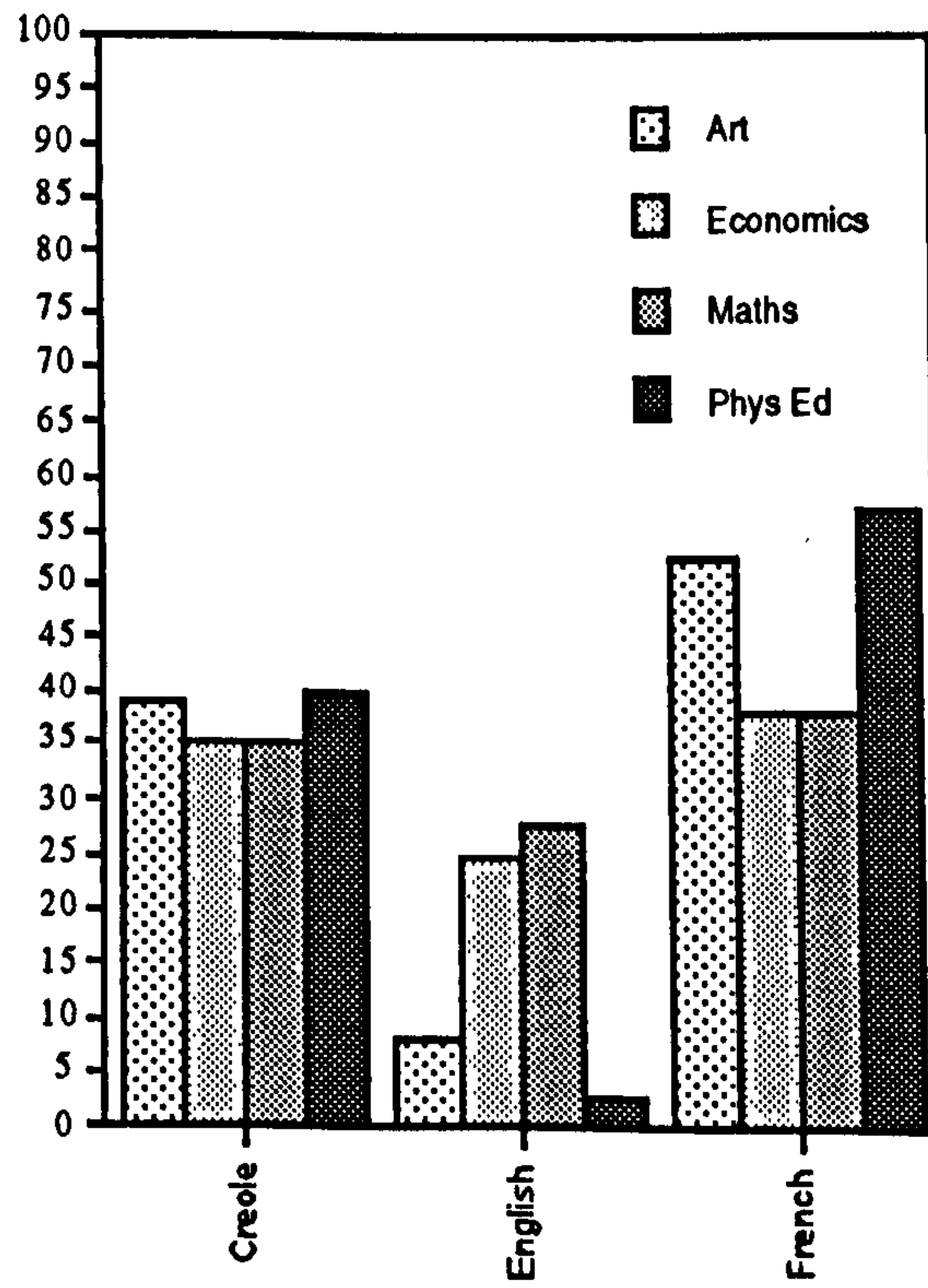
The breakdown by sex shows that a higher percentage of boys than girls claim their teachers give explanations in Creole. This difference is markedly high for Physical Education since the percentage of boys claiming their teachers use Creole is twice as high as that for the girls.

Graphs & Table 39.1 Breakdown by sex for question 13.b

Boys



Girls



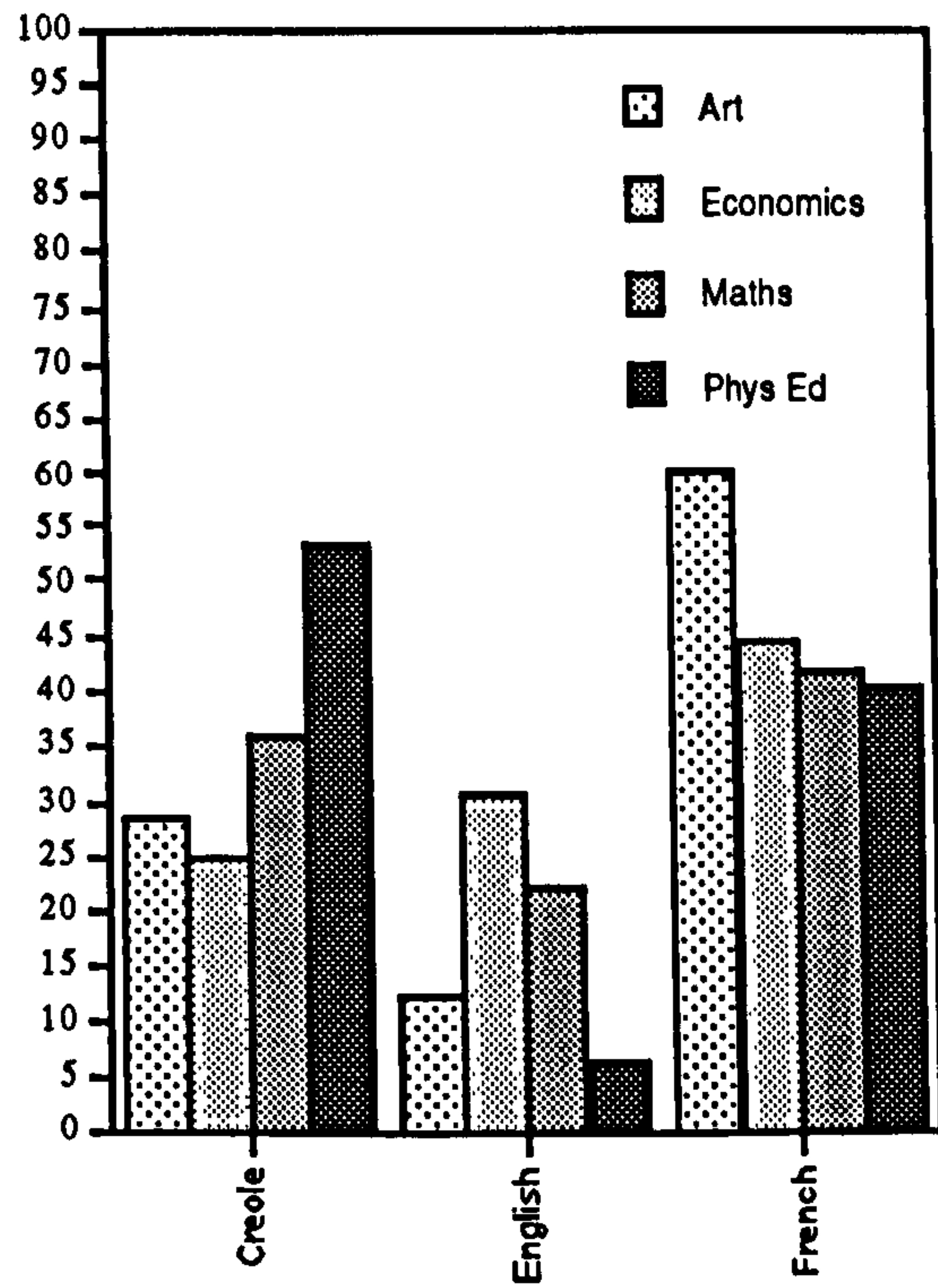
| Boys | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 36.5% (15) | 44.4% (20) | 53.2% (49) | 81.5% (53) |
| English | 17% (7) | 33.3% (15) | 17.3% (16) | 6.1% (4) |
| French | 43.9% (18) | 22.2% (10) | 28.2% (26) | 13.8% (9) |

| Girls | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 39.2% (20) | 35% (20) | 35.1% (33) | 40% (28) |
| English | 7.8% (4) | 24.5% (14) | 27.6% (26) | 2.8% (2) |
| French | 52.9% (27) | 38.5% (22) | 38.2% (36) | 57.1% (40) |

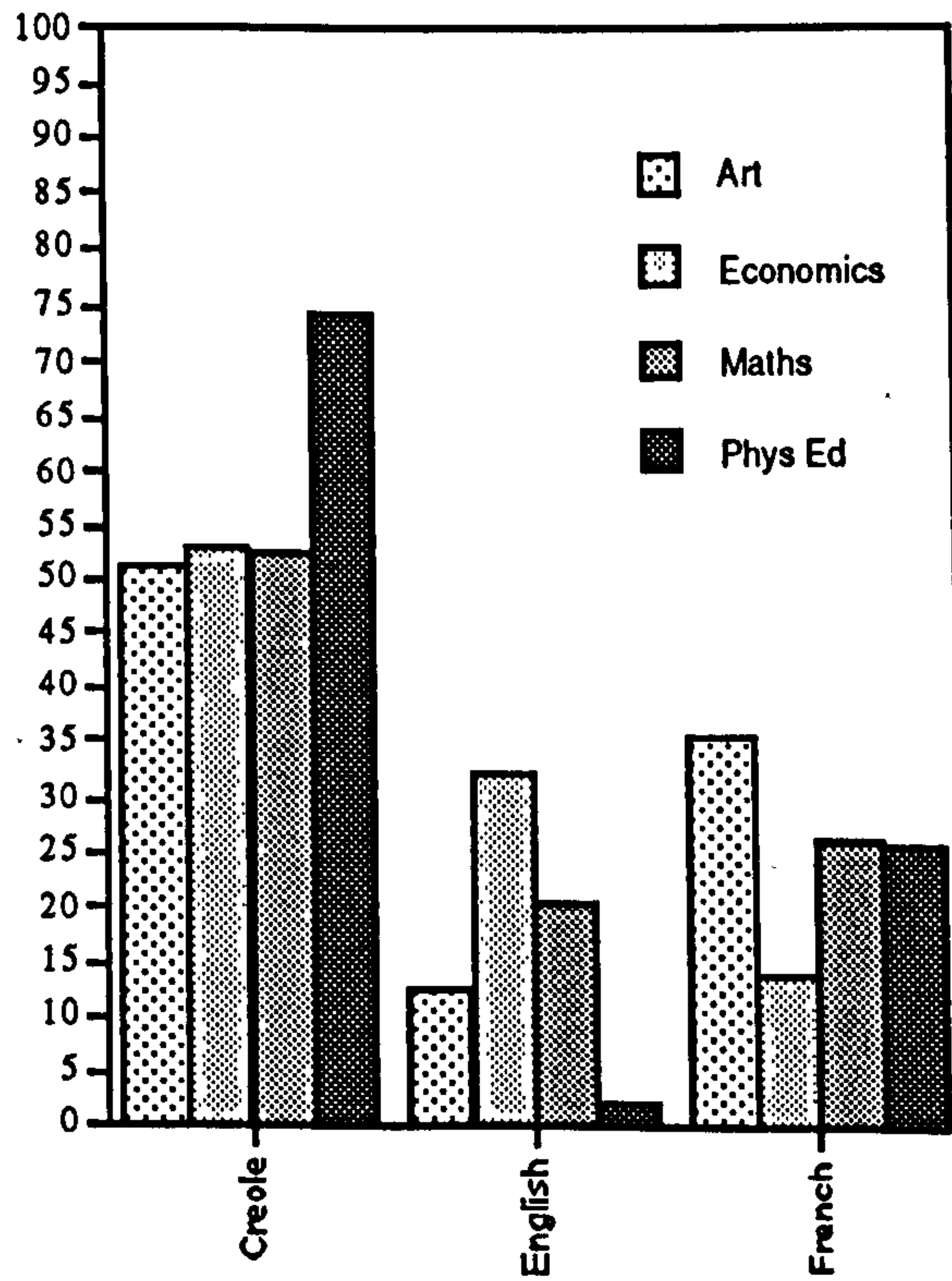
The breakdown by place of residence reveals that it is informants from urban areas who claim that French is more frequently used by teachers than Creole and English. Informants from rural and coastal regions claim that Creole is used more frequently than French by their teachers. These results are expected since pupils in urban areas would find French easier to understand than English and those from rural areas would find Creole easier to understand, since it is one of their native tongues, along with an Indian language most probably Hindi/Bhojpuri (see table 23 in 5.4.3).

Graphs & Table 39.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 13.b

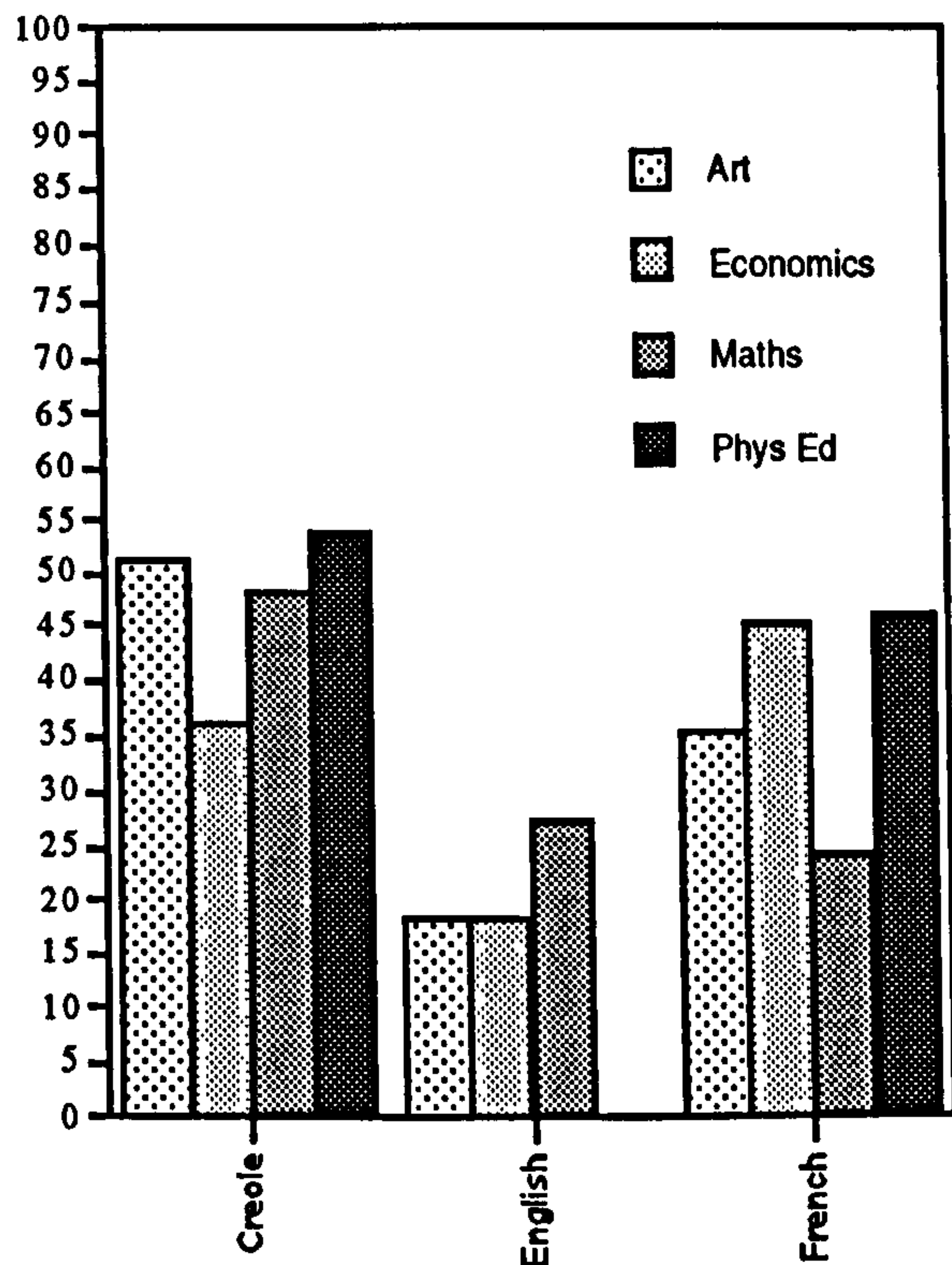
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|----------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 28% (14) | 25% (9) | 36% (31) | 53.1% (42) |
| English | 12% (6) | 30.5% (11) | 22% (19) | 6.3% (5) |
| French | 60% (30) | 44.4% (16) | 41.8% (36) | 40.5% (32) |

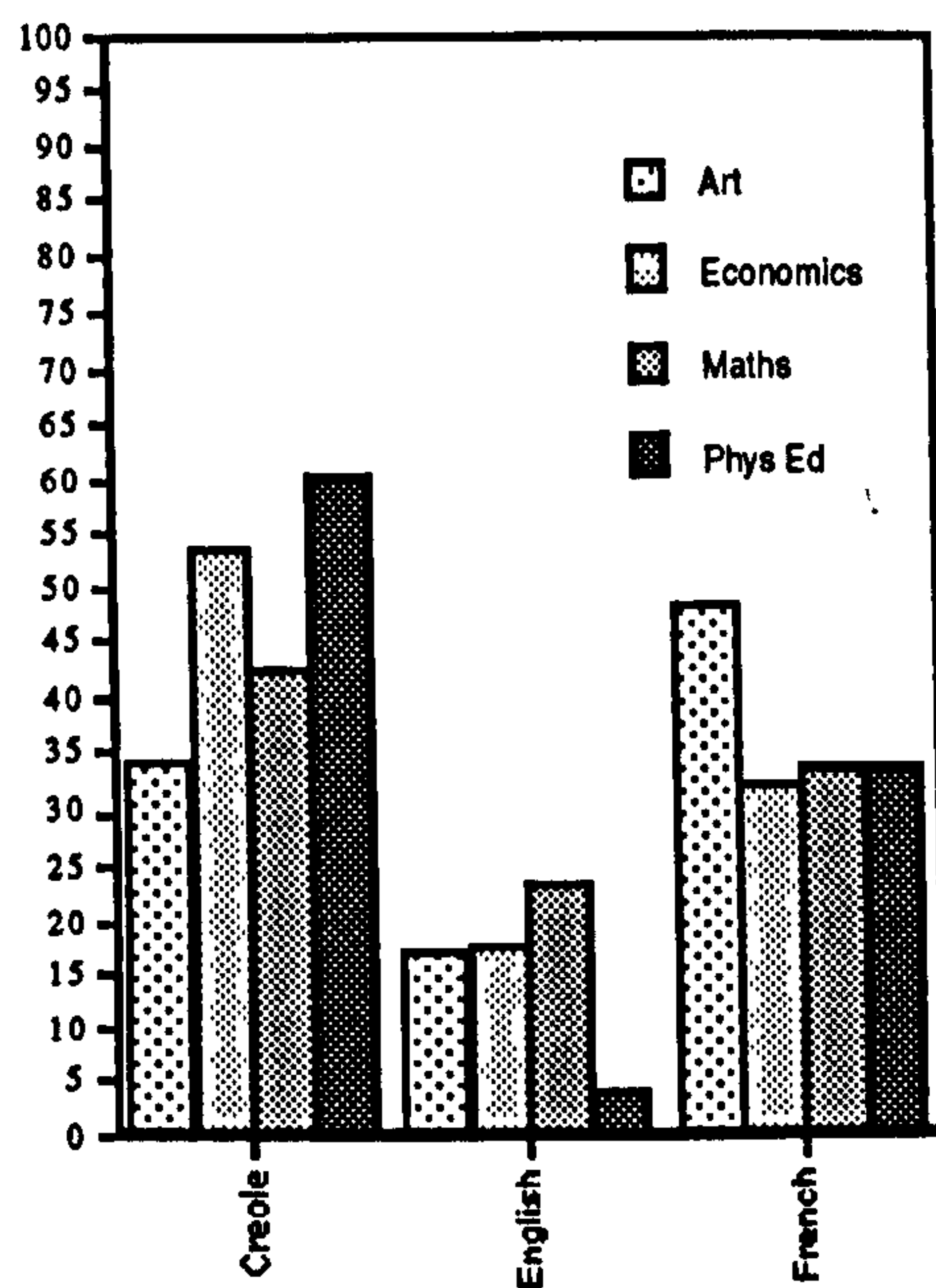
| Rural | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 51.6% (16) | 53.4% (43) | 52.7% (38) | 74.4% (32) |
| English | 12.9% (4) | 32.5% (14) | 20.8% (15) | 2.3% (1) |
| French | 35.4% (11) | 13.9% (6) | 26.3% (19) | 25.5% (11) |

| Coastal | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Creole | 51.6% (16) | 36.3% (8) | 48.2% (14) | 53.8% (7) |
| English | 18.1% (2) | 18.1% (4) | 27.5% (8) | 0% |
| French | 35.4% (11) | 45.4% (10) | 24.1% (7) | 46.1% (6) |

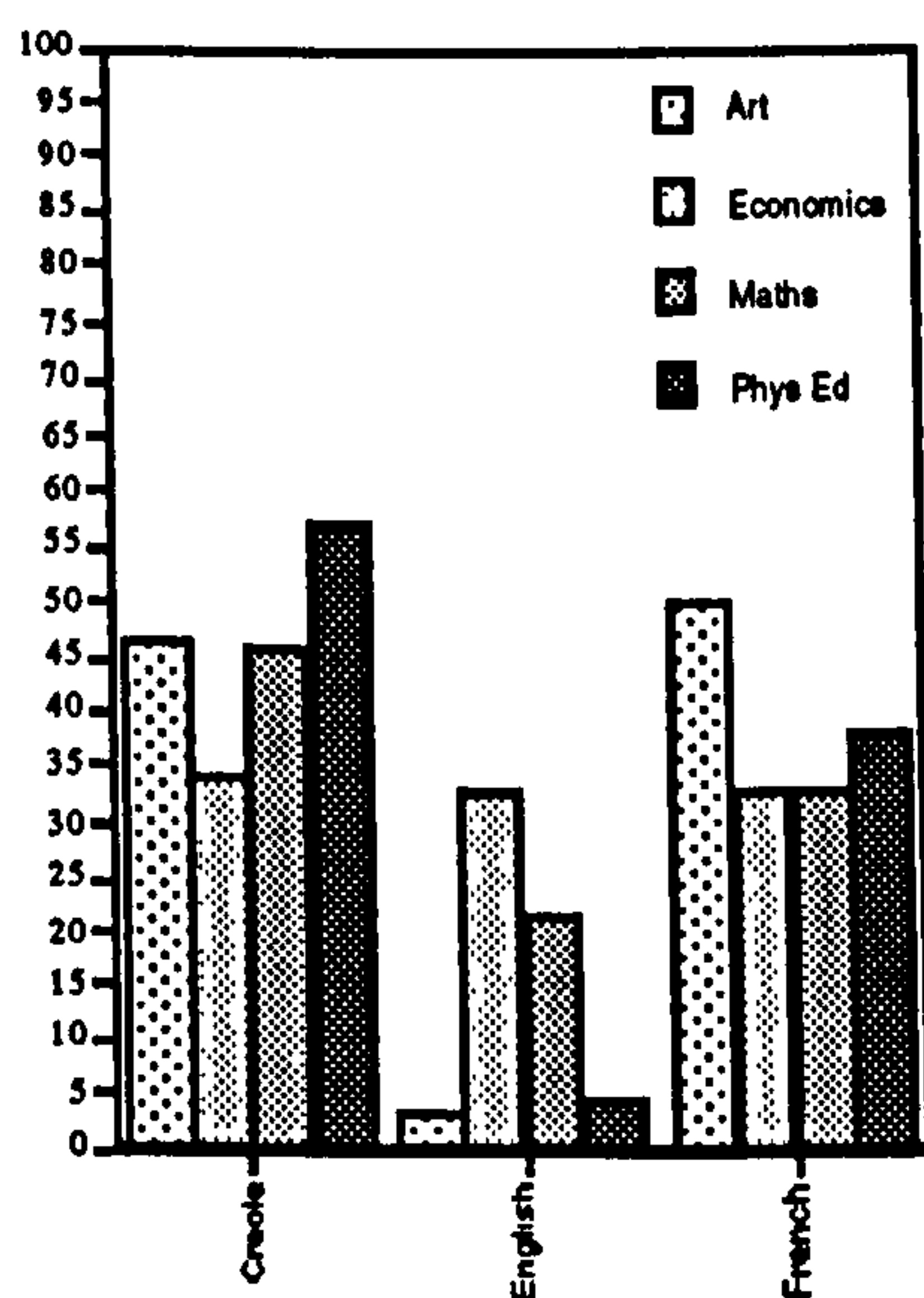
As for the breakdown by age the slightly older group claims that their teachers use English and French more frequently than the younger group for Mathematics and Economics lessons. This is probably due to the fact that the slightly older ones are preparing for their SC and HSC examinations and the teachers' language use is strongly influenced by academic reasons. Another explanation may be that the technical terms in subjects like Mathematics and Economics are not easily translated, and, therefore, teachers prefer to use the original terms or expressions. As far as explanations in the Art lessons are concerned, French is claimed to be the language most frequently used by teachers, whilst Creole is used most frequently in Physical Education lessons for both groups.

Graphs & Table 39.3 Breakdown by age group for question 13.b

11-14 years



15-20 years



| 11-14 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 34.3% (22) | 53.5% (15) | 42.6% (38) | 60.2% (41) |
| English | 17.1% (11) | 17.8% (5) | 23.5% (21) | 4.4% (3) |
| French | 48.4% (31) | 32.1% (9) | 33.7% (30) | 33.8% (23) |

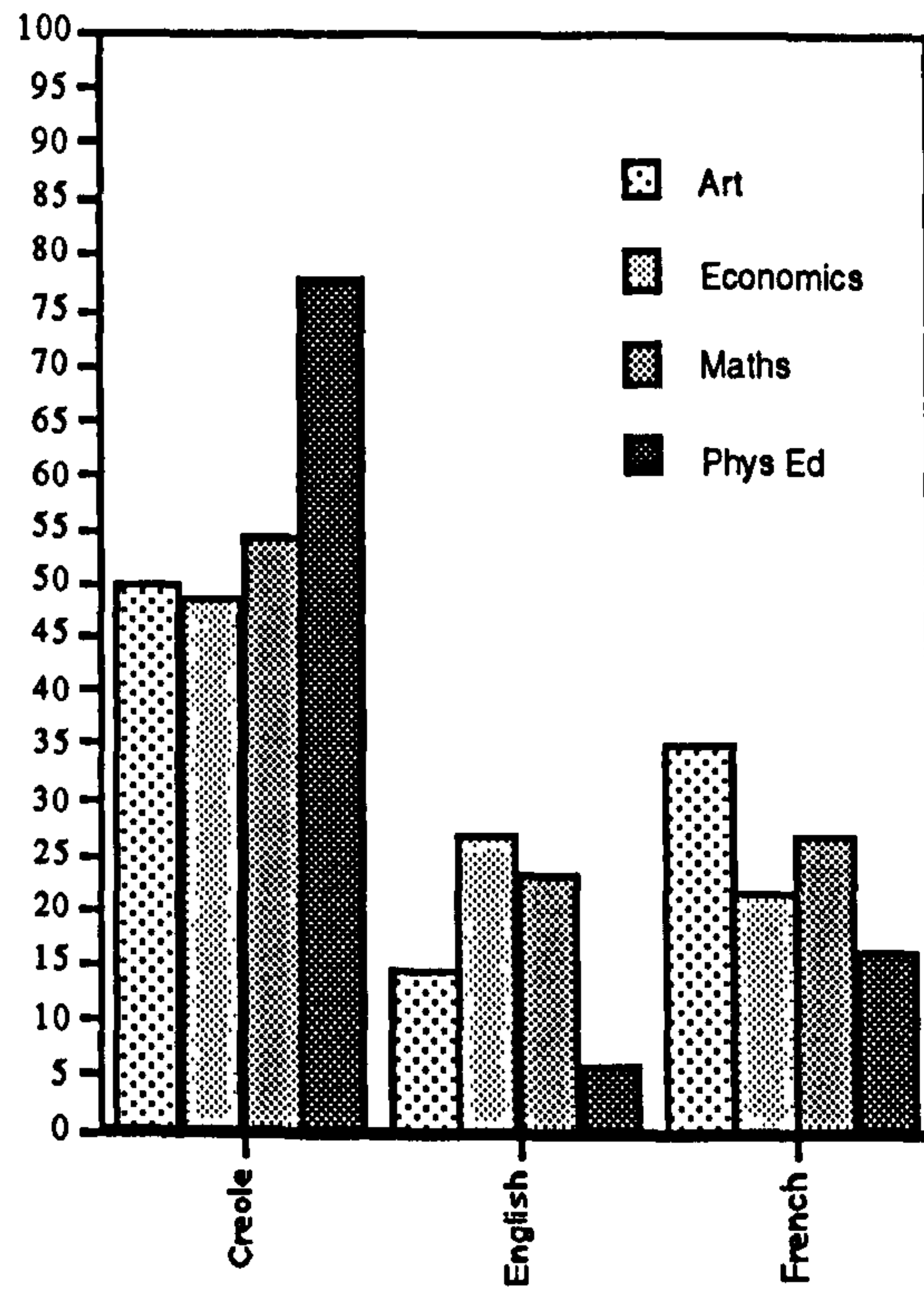
| 15-20 yrs | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 46.4% (14) | 34.2% (25) | 46.3% (45) | 57.3% (39) |
| English | 3.5% (1) | 32.8% (24) | 21.6% (21) | 4.4% (3) |
| French | 50% (15) | 32.8% (24) | 32.9% (32) | 38.2% (26) |

The breakdown by family income shows that informants from a low income household claim that the language most frequently used by their teachers in all four lessons is Creole. However, this pattern changes for the other two cases. With regard to informants from medium income households, all three languages appear to be equally used for explanations in Economics, although French is preferred by the Art teachers and Creole by the Physical Education teachers. Informants from a high income household claim their teachers use mainly French for explanations in all four lessons.

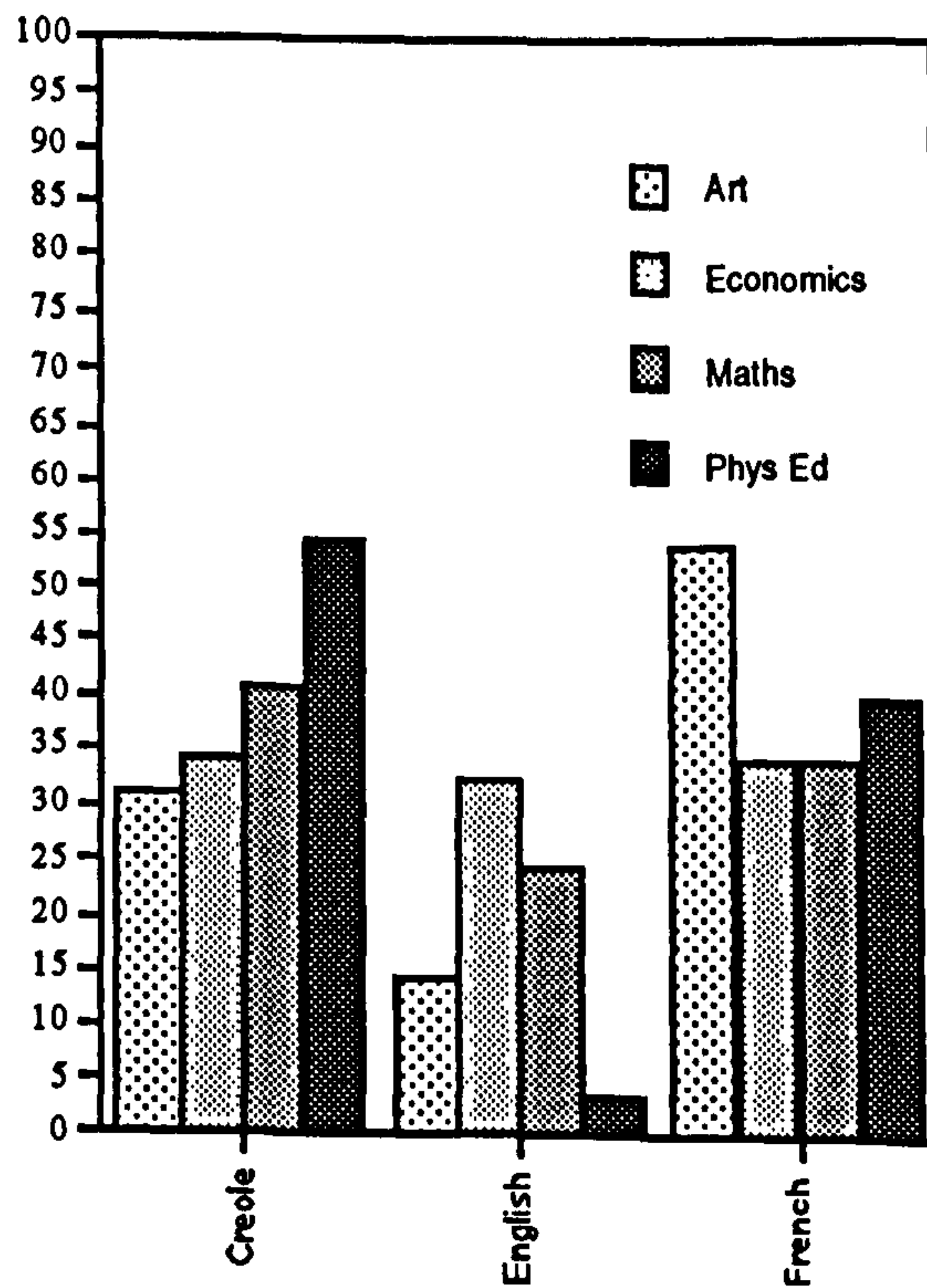
To conclude, it would appear that teachers pitch their explanations according to the linguistic ability of their pupils and switch to Creole and/or French when doing so. It seems logical to think that teachers switch to Creole more often than French, when dealing with poor and perhaps less able pupils, in order to ensure that lessons and difficult points are understood.

Graphs & Table 39.4 Breakdown by family income for question 13.b

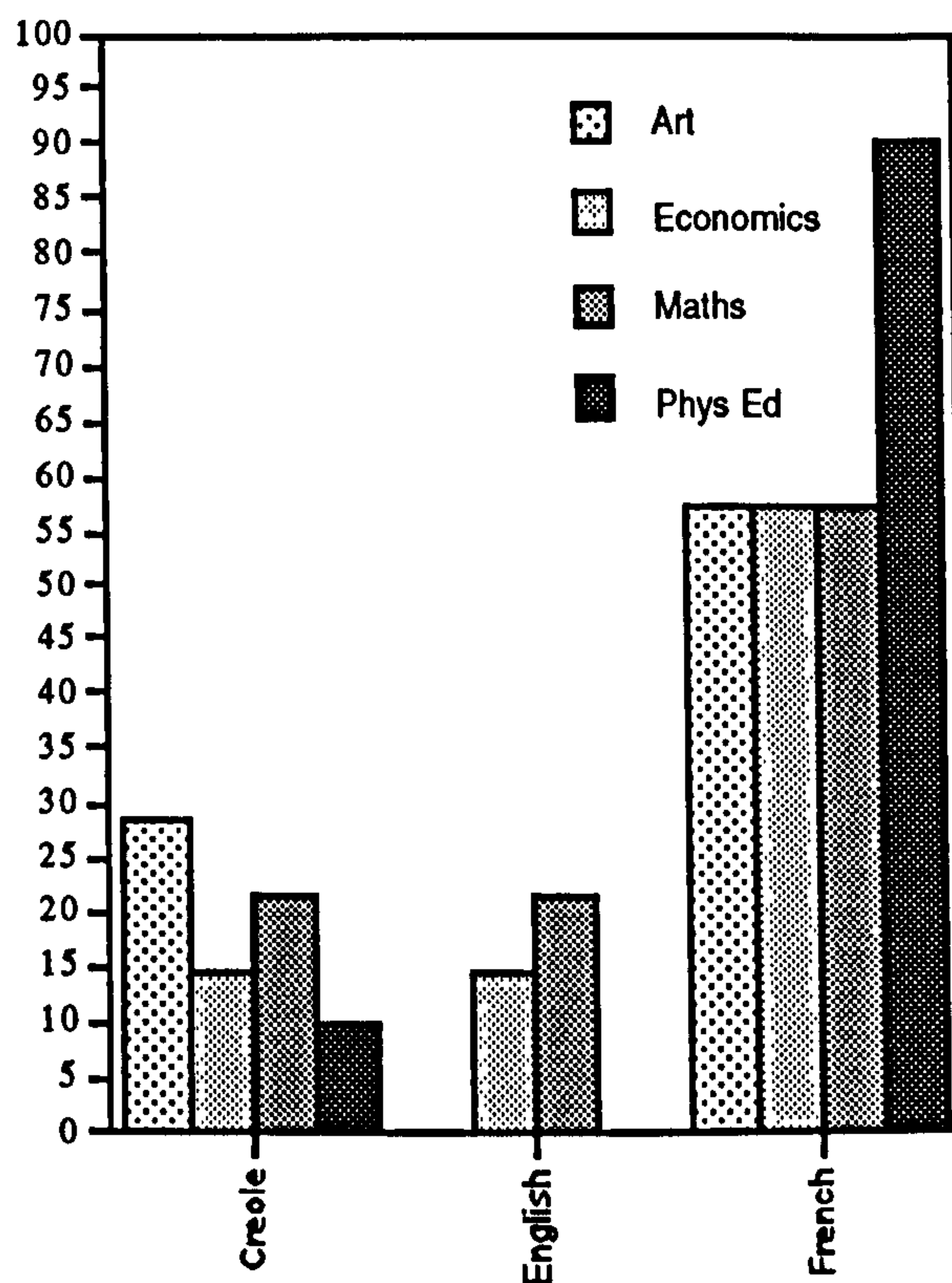
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 50% (17) | 48.6% (18) | 54.2% (38) | 77.5% (38) |
| English | 14.7% (5) | 27% (10) | 23.5% (12) | 6.1% (3) |
| French | 35.2% (12) | 21.6% (8) | 27.1% (19) | 16.3% (8) |

| Medium | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 31.2% (15) | 34.6% (18) | 40.8% (38) | 54.6% (41) |
| English | 14.5% (7) | 32.6% (17) | 24.7% (23) | 4% (3) |
| French | 54.1% (26) | 34.6% (18) | 34.4% (32) | 40% (30) |

| High | Art | Economics | Maths | Phys.Ed |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Creole | 28.5% (2) | 14.2% (1) | 21.4% (3) | 10% (1) |
| English | 0% | 14.2% (1) | 21.4% (3) | 0% |
| French | 57.1% (4) | 57.1% (4) | 57.1% (8) | 90% (9) |

Chapter 8: Language choice and preference

This chapter will analyze responses to related questions on language choice and language preference in a variety of circumstances. The first set of data show the answers to question 12 “Which of these subjects are your three favorites and which one do you dislike?”. The second set of data reveal the answers to question 15 “Which language do your parents want to be your main, second and third language?”. The third set of data present responses to the three subsequent questions: 16 “Which languages do you think will be useful to you in the future?”, 17 “Where would you like to study, work and live in the future?” and 18 “Do you like speaking these three languages?”. The results to question 16 are compared to responses obtained for question 18 from a very general perspective. Responses to questions 12 and 18 were not broken down by sociological variables, since they were intended to show general tendencies for the whole sample instead of distinctions between social categories.

8.1) Personal preferences for school subjects

Question 12 asked “Which of these subjects do you study at school? Which are your favourite ones? Which one do you dislike?”. It was intended to find out if there is a hierarchy between the subjects studied at school and the place of languages in this hierarchy. The responses obtained for question 12 show that the favourite, as well as the one which is disliked, cover a wide range of subjects. The three subjects which scored the highest percentages are French, English and

Mathematics in this order. Although these results are based on a small majority of responses as can be seen in table 39 below, they nevertheless seem to reveal that European languages play an important role as subjects studied at school. These choices, in favour of French and English, appear to be motivated by factors such as success in education and good job prospects as will be seen in section 8.4. The subject which is the most disliked is Mathematics. One explanation for having Mathematics both as the third favourite subject, as well as the one which is most disliked, may be that in each case the group of informants is different. Those who claim to dislike Mathematics may tend to find this subject more difficult than languages or other subjects. Responses also reveal that in addition to being little studied in schools (see 6.2), Oriental languages do not appear among the favourite subjects. In fact, a very small minority of informants (2) indicated that they disliked Oriental languages as a school subject.

Table 40 Personal preferences for school subjects

| | 1st fav | 2nd fav | 3rd fav | dislike |
|---------|------------|----------|------------|------------|
| English | | 14% (28) | | |
| French | 22.5% (45) | | | |
| Maths | | | 11.7% (23) | 17.3% (31) |

8.2) Parents' language choice

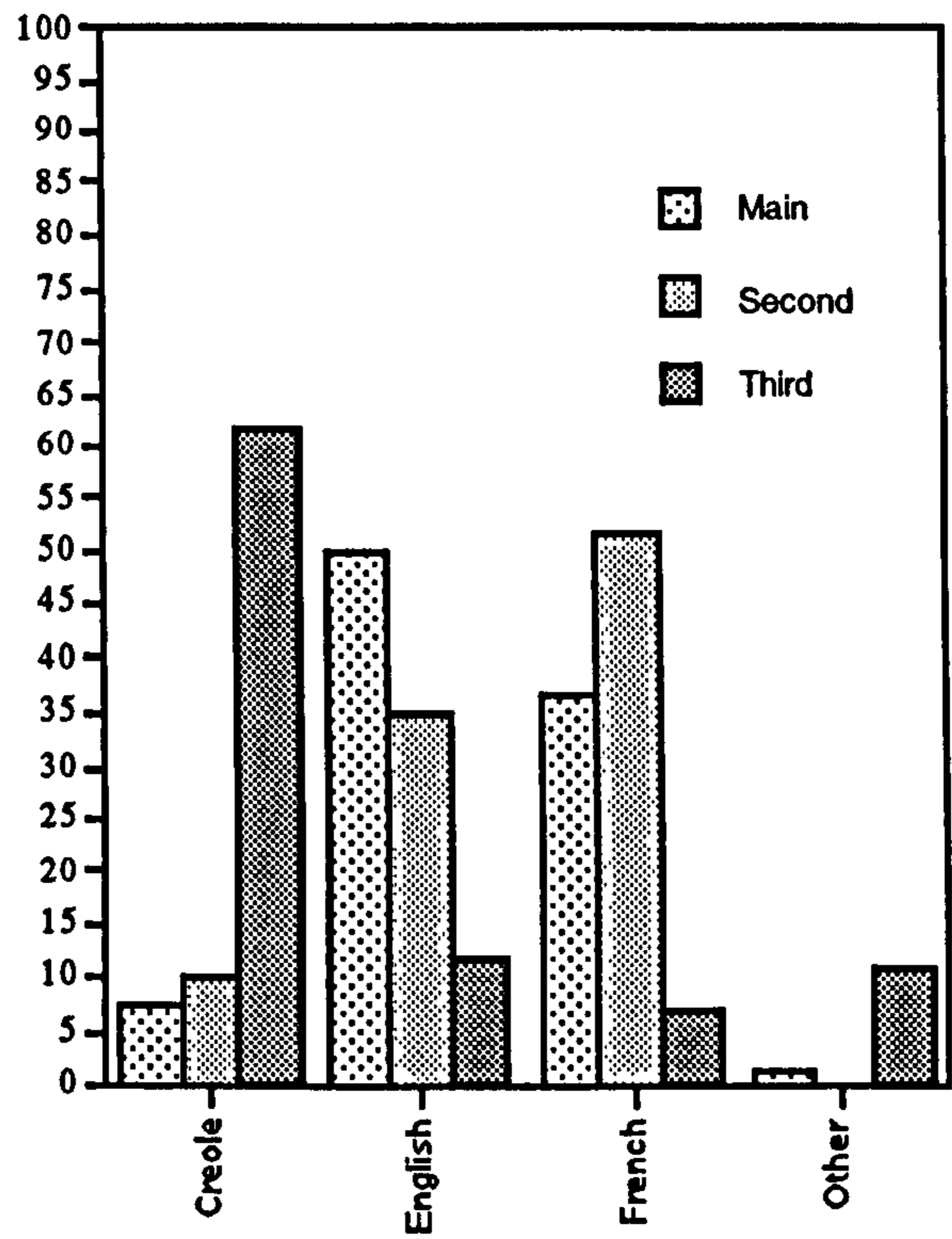
The responses obtained for question 15 "Which language do your parents want to be your main, second and third?" indicate that informants claim their parents would rank languages in the following order: English would be their first choice (50%), French their second choice (51.6%) and Creole third (61.7%).

English is acknowledged as the most important language across the whole sample. There is a noticeable drop in the number of parents who would place Creole or an “other” language as the main, second or third language for their children. It may be noted that this “other” language is claimed to be the first choice of three informants only and is not once chosen as a second language.

A small percentage of informants (11.2%) include the classification “other”, as a third language instead of Creole, among the languages their parents seem to consider as valuable assets. In most of these cases the “other” language which is specified is Hindi, other possibilities being Urdu or Chinese. These responses can be explained by the fact that the majority of informants in the sample is of Indian descent (61.6%) and this choice clearly reflects an attachment to their ancestral language and culture. Another reason for rating Hindi as a third choice, in place of Creole, may be socio-economic and educational: many Indo-Mauritian parents within a low and medium income brackets tend to send their children to India to pursue university studies, mainly for financial reasons. Learning to speak and to write Hindi would therefore seem to be a logical - indeed necessary -choice.

The regular pattern then is that English occupies first place in the hierarchy, French the second and Creole the third; this pattern is consistent across all the sociological variables.

Graph & table 41 Responses for question 15 for the whole sample

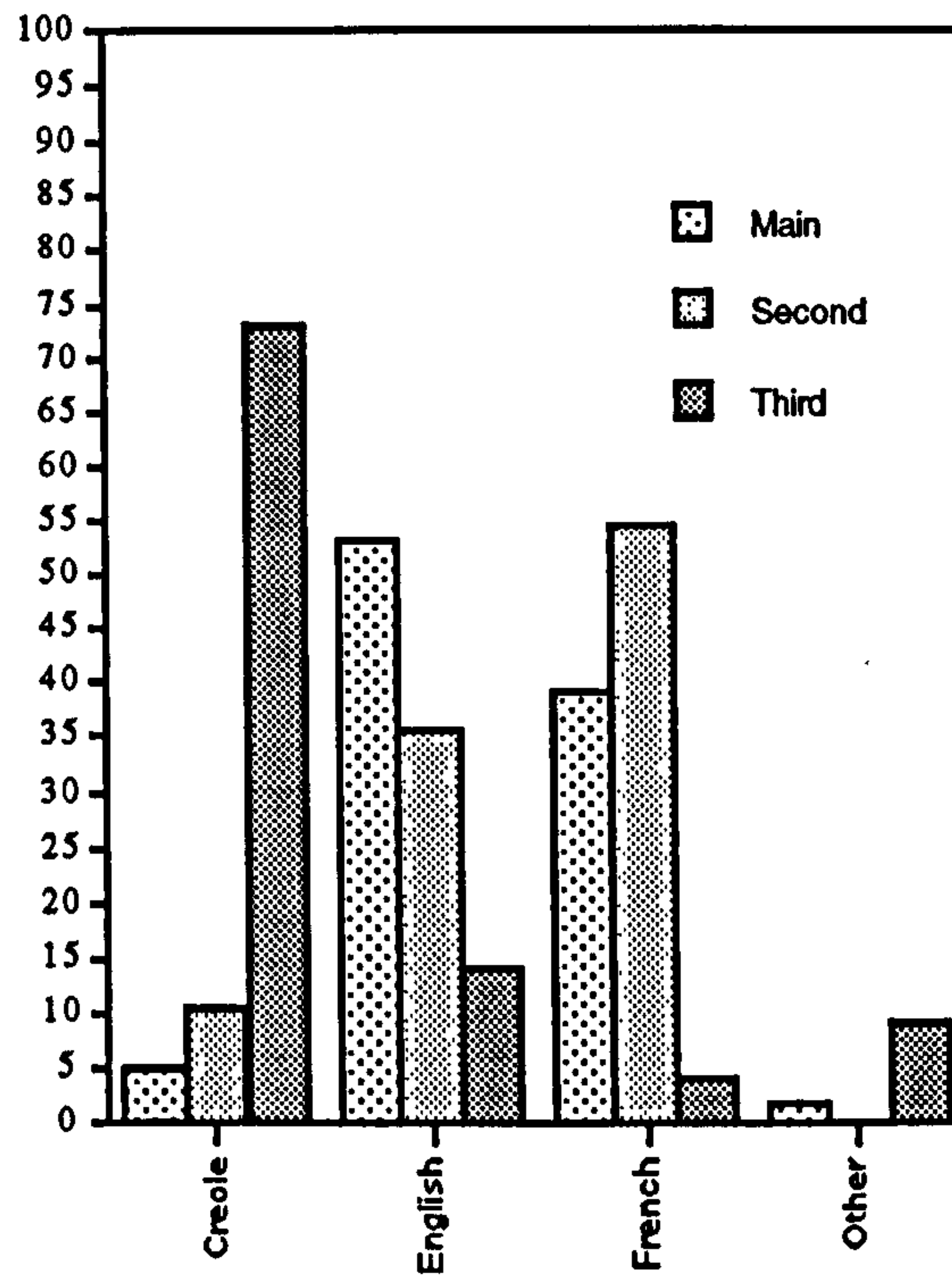


| Language | Main | Second | Third |
|------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Creole | 7.7% (15) | 10% (20) | 61.7% (123) |
| English | 50% (100) | 34.7% (69) | 11.8% (24) |
| French | 36.9% (74) | 51.6% (103) | 6.8% (14) |
| Other (Oriental) | 1.5% (3) | 0% | 11.2% (22) |

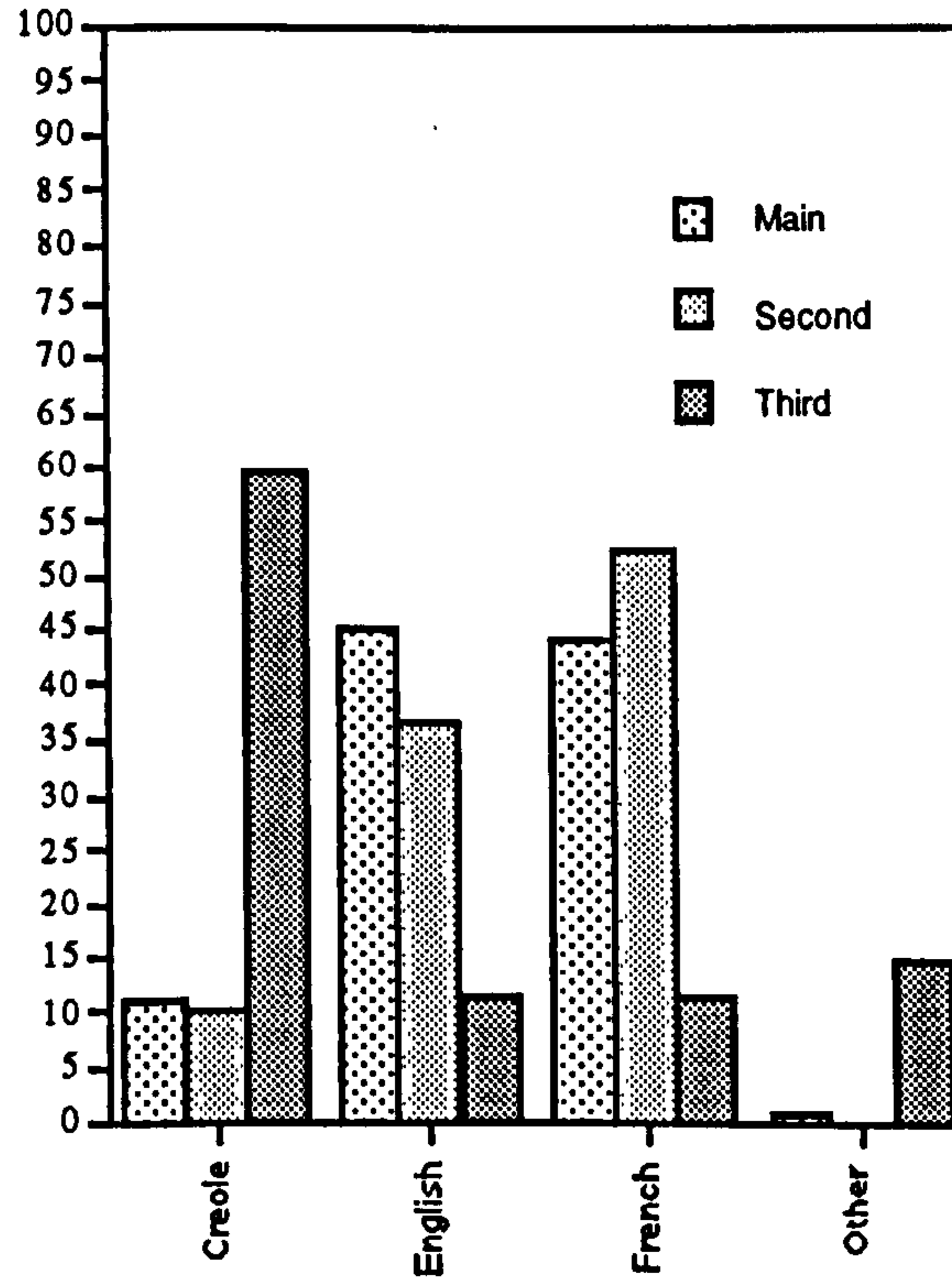
The breakdown by sex shows that girls rate English and French equally as first language. There is also, a higher percentage of boys than girls who claim that their parents would prefer English as their main language and Creole as their third language. Although there is a slightly higher number of boys than girls in the sample (51% and 49% respectively), the results clearly show a more clear-cut pattern in the case of girls than boys.

Graphs & Table 41.1 Breakdown by sex for question 15

Boys



Girls



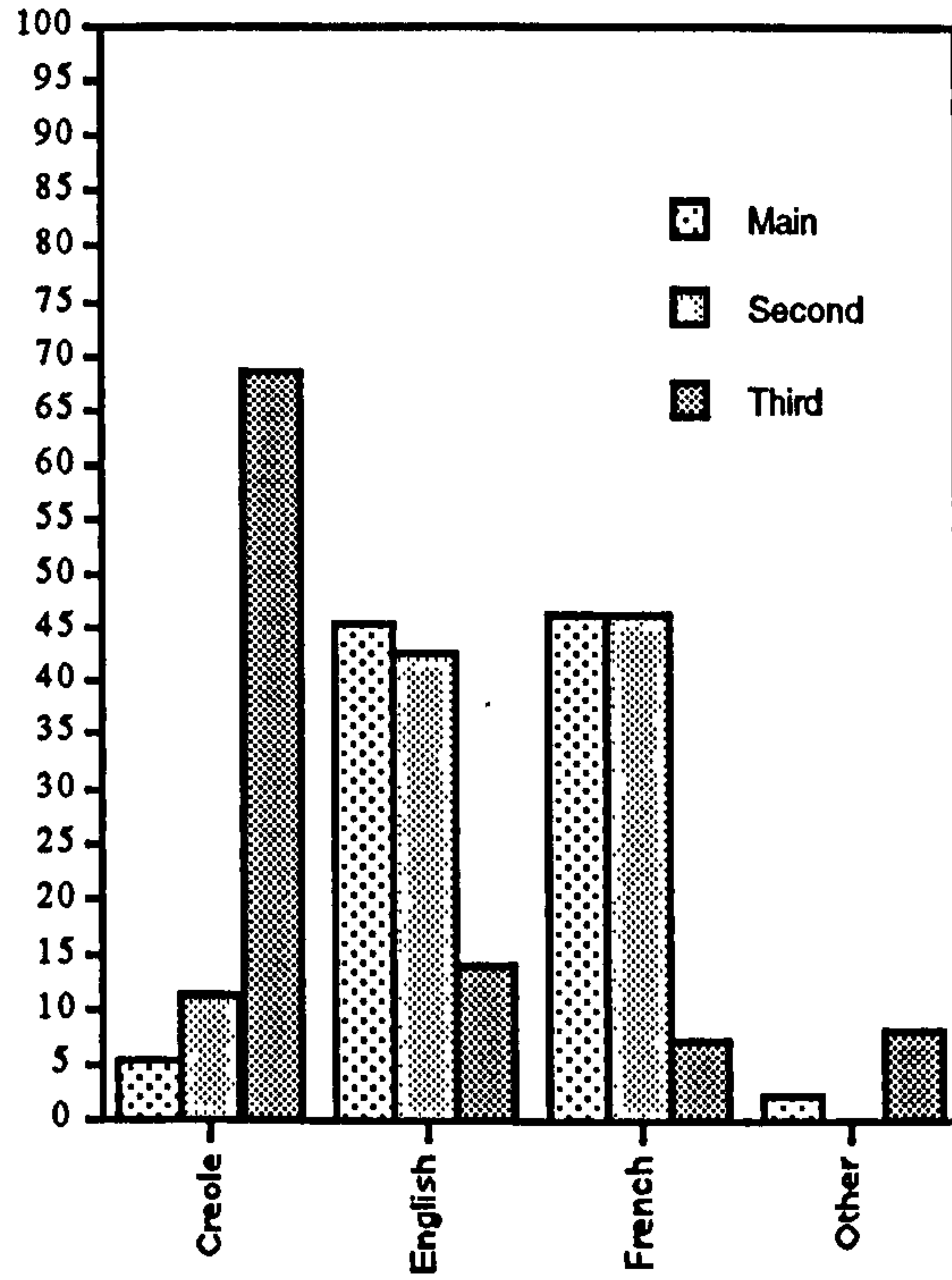
| Boys | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 5.2% (5) | 10.5% (10) | 73.1% (71) |
| English | 53.1% (51) | 35.7% (34) | 14.4% (14) |
| French | 39.5% (38) | 54.7% (52) | 4.1% (4) |
| Other | 2% (2) | 0% | 9.2% (9) |

| Girls | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|----------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 11% (11) | 10.3% (10) | 59.7% (52) |
| English | 45% (45) | 37.1% (36) | 11.4% (10) |
| French | 44% (44) | 52.5% (51) | 11.4% (10) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 14.9% (13) |

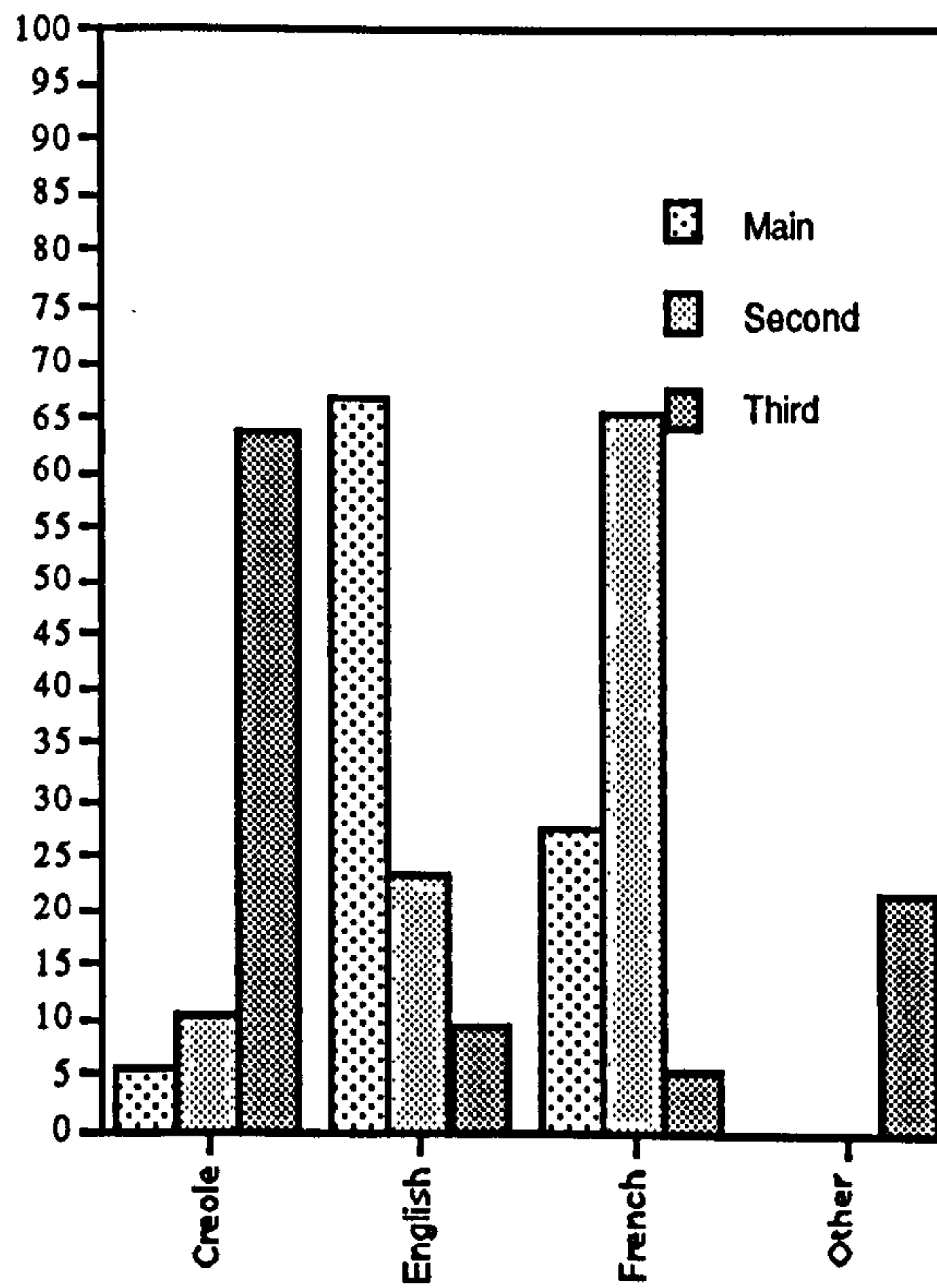
As far as place of residence is concerned, there is no significant difference between English and French as main and second language in urban areas. In fact, they appear to be equally important. In the rural areas, English tends to be preferred as the main language, followed by French and Creole, whereas in the coastal regions this pattern is reversed giving the lead to French followed by English. Creole is consistently relegated to third place in all three categories (urban, rural and coastal regions). The higher percentage for Oriental languages (21.3%) in the rural areas is expected since it is in these areas that Indian languages are still most alive. However, this percentage is three times less than for Creole, indicating that although some informants claim their parents prefer an Oriental language as third language, the majority seem to consider Creole as more important than Oriental languages. As far as coastal areas are concerned there is a higher percentage of informants who are from the General Population as seen in 5.4.3 (table 28). As seen earlier in section 7.1, French would appear to be the language this section of the population would be aiming at given its higher status, particularly in the diglossic relationship with Creole.

Graphs & Table 41.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 15

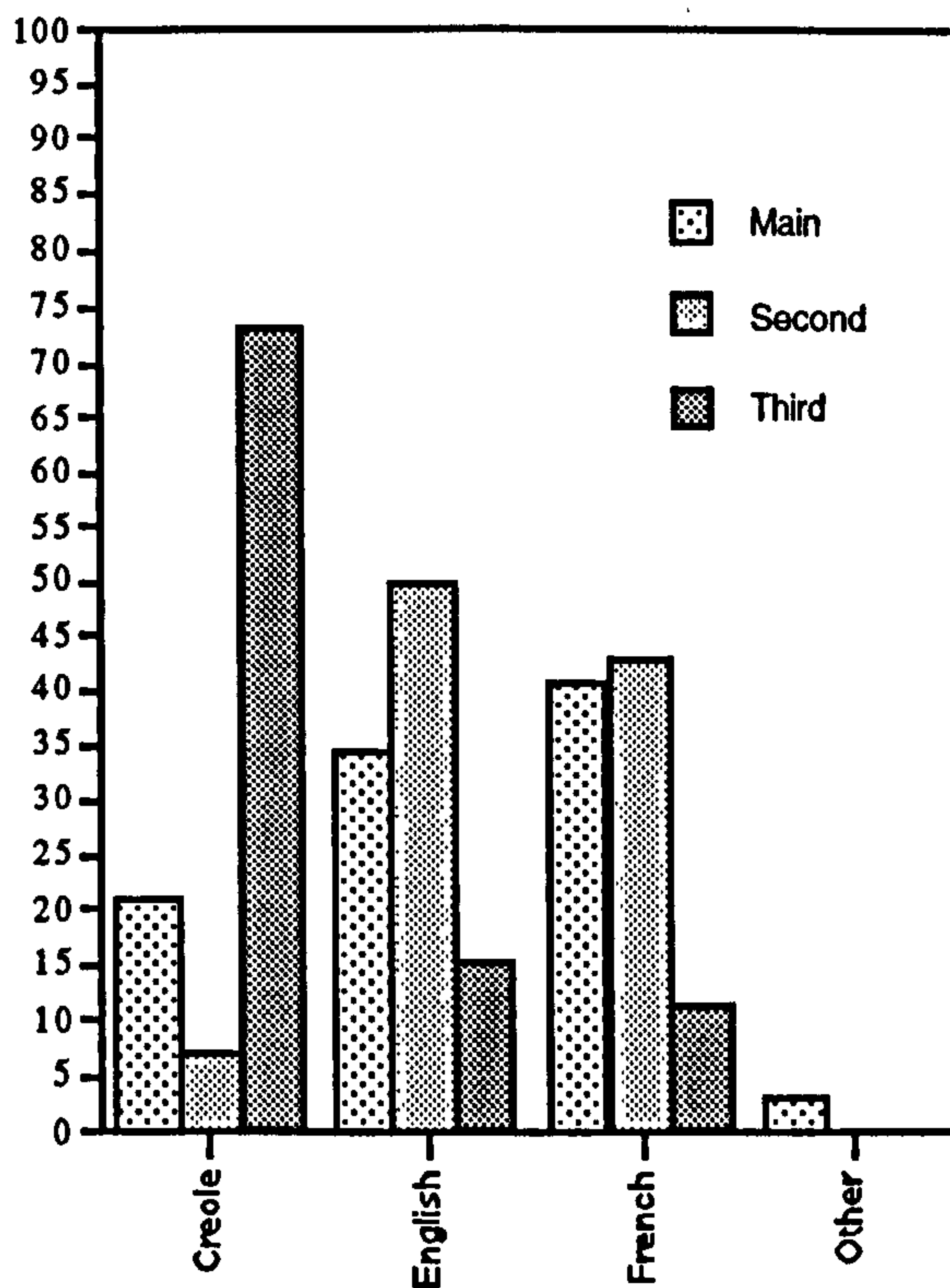
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 5.5% (5) | 11.3% (10) | 68.6% (57) |
| English | 45.5% (41) | 43.1% (38) | 14.4% (12) |
| French | 46.6% (42) | 46.5% (41) | 7.2% (6) |
| Other | 2.2% (2) | 0% | 8.4% (7) |

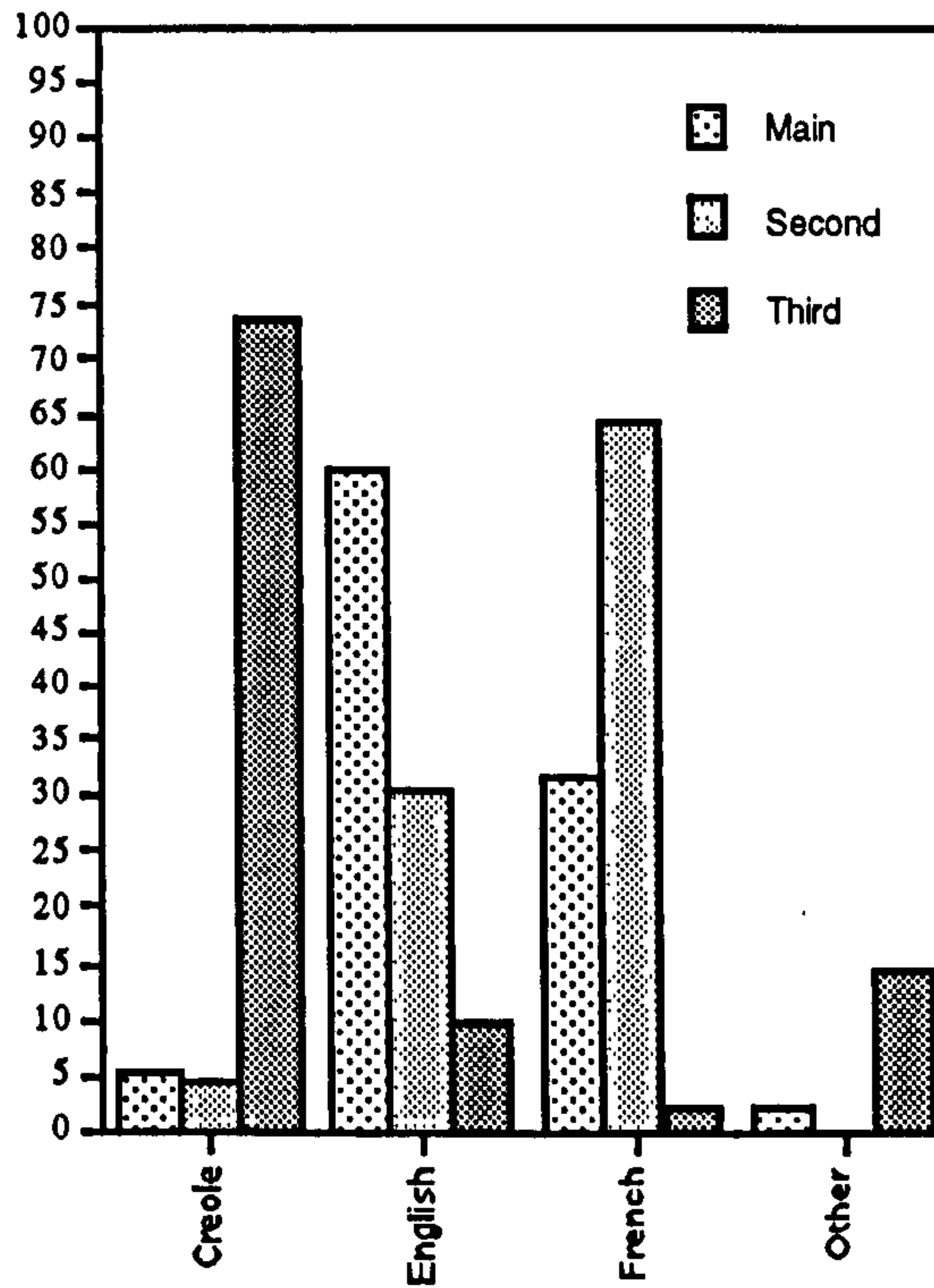
| Rural | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 5.4% (4) | 10.5% (8) | 64% (48) |
| English | 67.1% (49) | 23.6% (18) | 9.3% (7) |
| French | 27.3% (20) | 65.7% (50) | 5.3% (4) |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 21.3% (16) |

| Coastal | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Creole | 20.6% (6) | 7.1% (2) | 73% (19) |
| English | 34.4% (10) | 50% (14) | 15.3% (4) |
| French | 41.3% (12) | 42.8% (12) | 11.5% (3) |
| Other | 3.4% (1) | 0% | 0% |

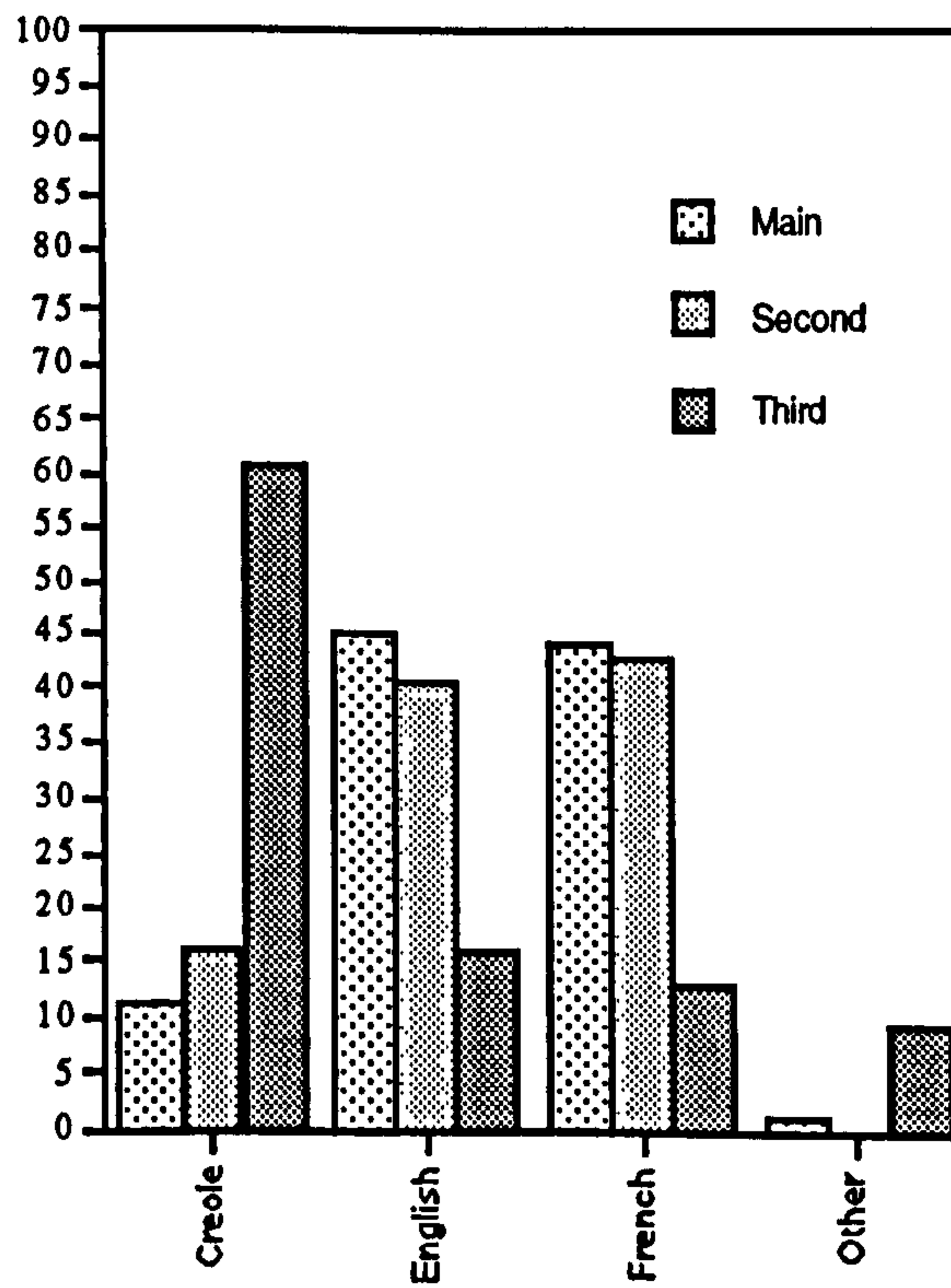
The breakdown by age reveals a contrast between the two age groups with regard to their preference for English and French as first and second languages. Whilst the younger group (11-14 years) claims that English is the most important language for their parents, the older group (15-20 years) claims that both English and French are equally important for their parents. It would appear that parents' language choice mirrors the importance of English and French at this stage in the education of any Mauritian pupil. As was seen earlier (see. 2.9.2), informants in this group are, generally, preparing for their School Leaving Certificate and Higher School Certificate, and it would appear that language choices are motivated by academic success. These results may be correlated to Kistoe-West's who studied parents' attitudes towards the medium of instruction (see 4.4.2). It would appear that in the parents' ranking of the most popular languages, there is a hierarchy in which European languages are considered to be more desirable and important than Creole and Oriental languages.

Graphs & Table 41.3 Breakdown by age for question 15

11-14 years



15-20 years



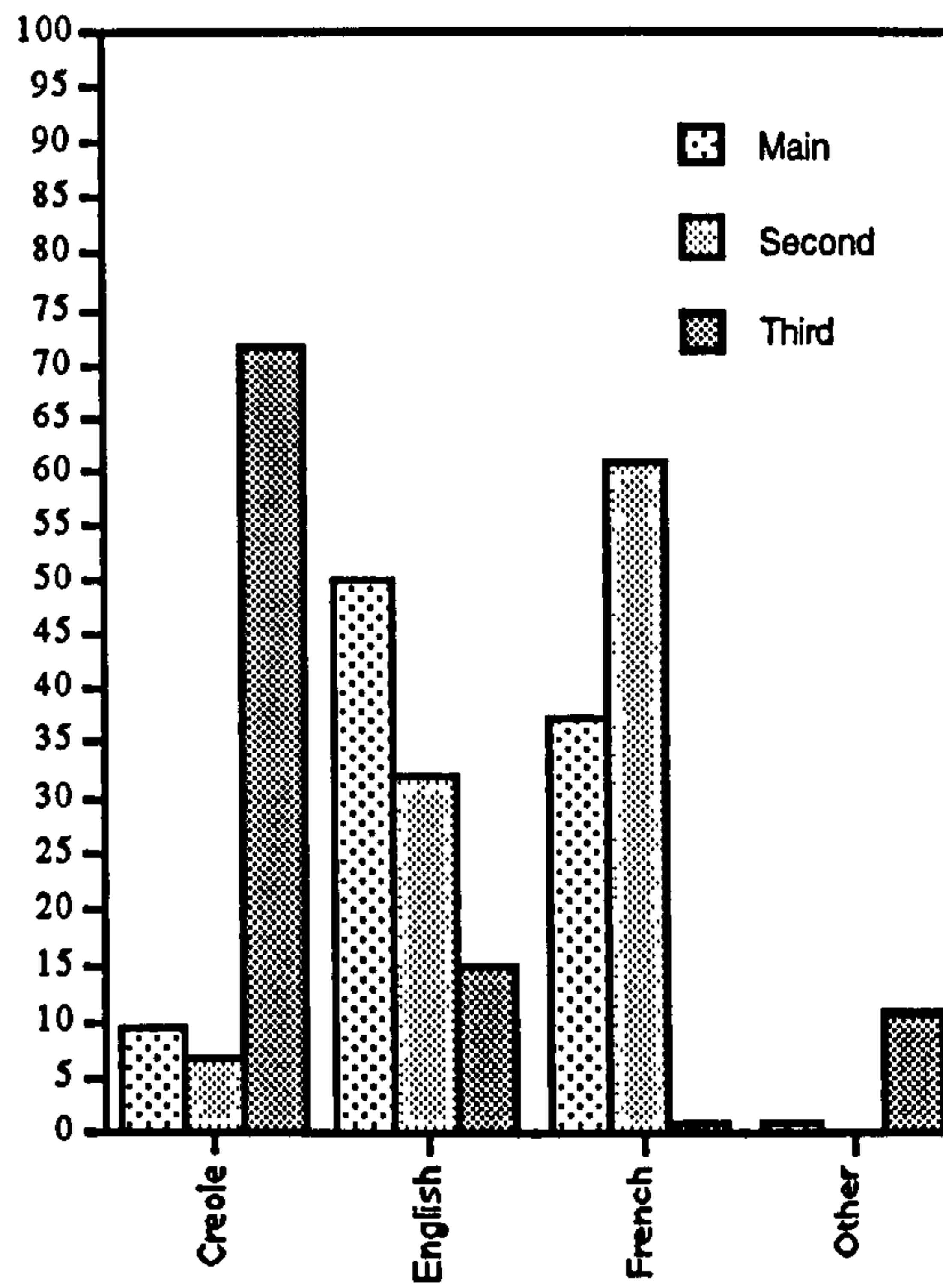
| 11-14 years | Main | Second | Third |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 5.4% (5) | 4.3% (4) | 73.3% (66) |
| English | 59.7% (55) | 30.4% (28) | 10% (9) |
| French | 31.5% (29) | 64.1% (59) | 2.2% (2) |
| Other | 2.1% (2) | 0% | 14.4% (13) |

| 15-20 years | Main | Second | Third |
|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Creole | 11% (11) | 16% (16) | 60.6% (57) |
| English | 45% (45) | 41% (41) | 15.9% (15) |
| French | 44% (44) | 43% (43) | 12.7% (12) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 9.5% (9) |

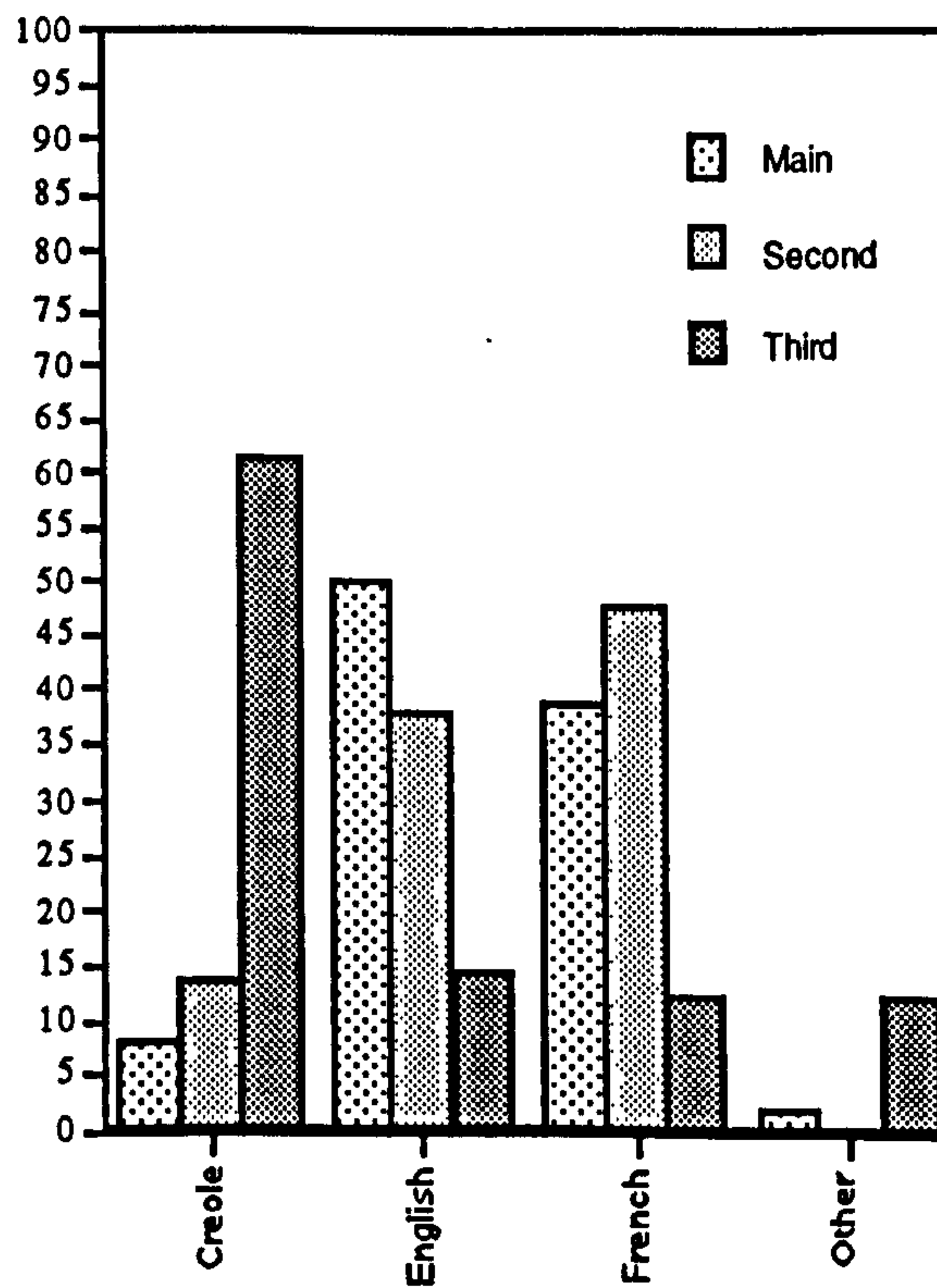
As far as the breakdown by parents' income is concerned, a similar pattern to the previous cases can be noted. Respondents from a high socio economic background claim that their parents would not wish any language other than English and French to be their main or second language. Although this may well be the case, especially in the light of what has been said above, these percentages should be considered with caution since they refer to a very small number of informants (14) and cannot therefore be generalized to the whole sample as all these informants are girls (see table 16 in 5.4.2).

Graphs & Table 41.4 Breakdown by parents' income for question 15

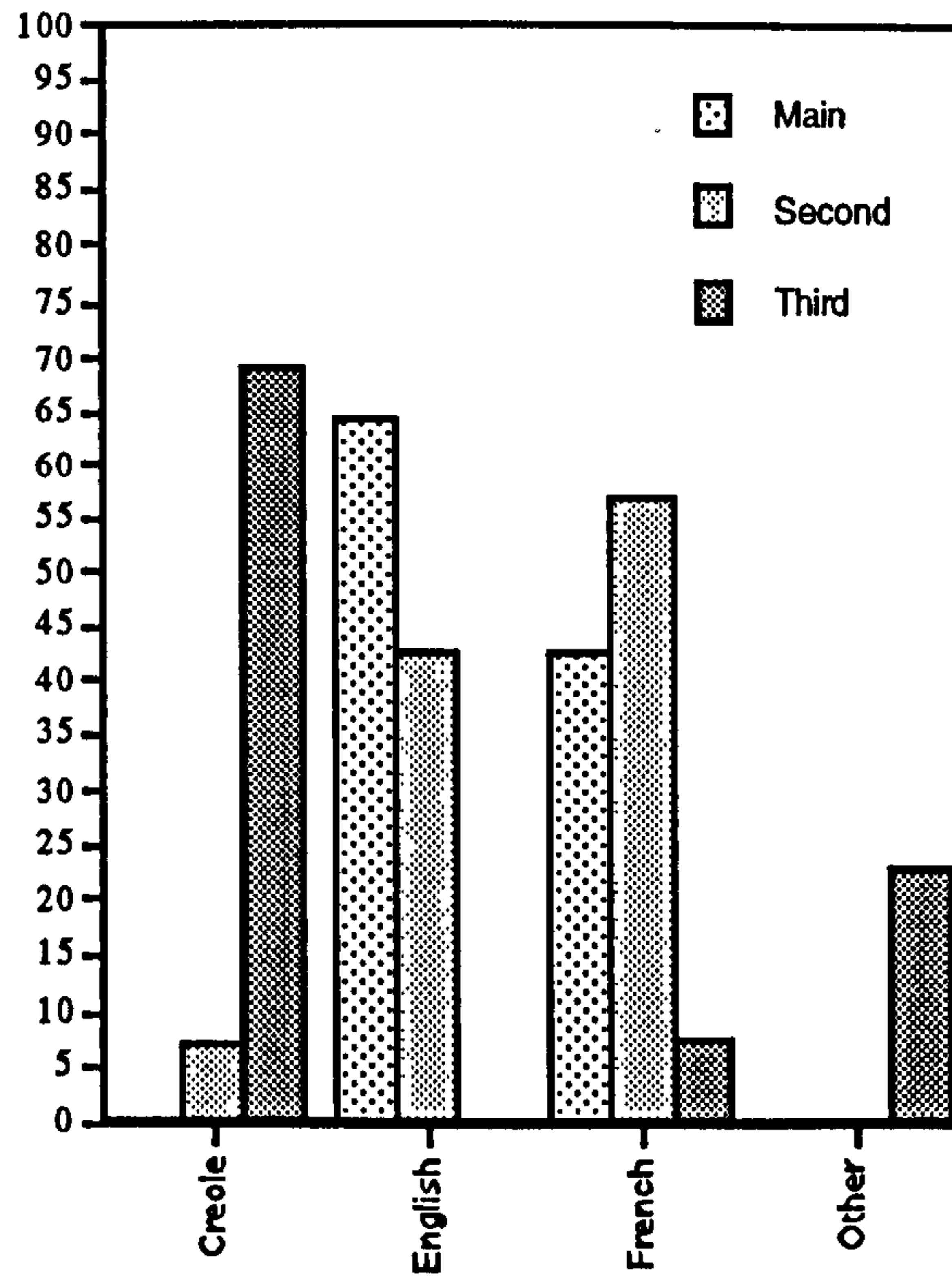
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 9.7% (7) | 6.9% (5) | 71.6% (53) |
| English | 50% (36) | 31.9% (23) | 14.8% (11) |
| French | 37.5% (27) | 61.1% (44) | 1.3% (1) |
| Other | 1.3% (1) | 0% | 10.8% (8) |

| Medium | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 8.2% (8) | 13.4% (13) | 61.3% (54) |
| English | 50.5% (49) | 38.1% (37) | 14.7% (13) |
| French | 39.1% (38) | 48.4% (47) | 12.5% (11) |
| Other | 2% (2) | 0% | 12.5% (11) |

| High | Main | Second | Third |
|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Creole | 0% | 7.1% (1) | 69.2% (9) |
| English | 64.2% (9) | 42.8% (6) | 0% |
| French | 42.8% (6) | 57.1% (8) | 7.6% (1) |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 23% (3) |

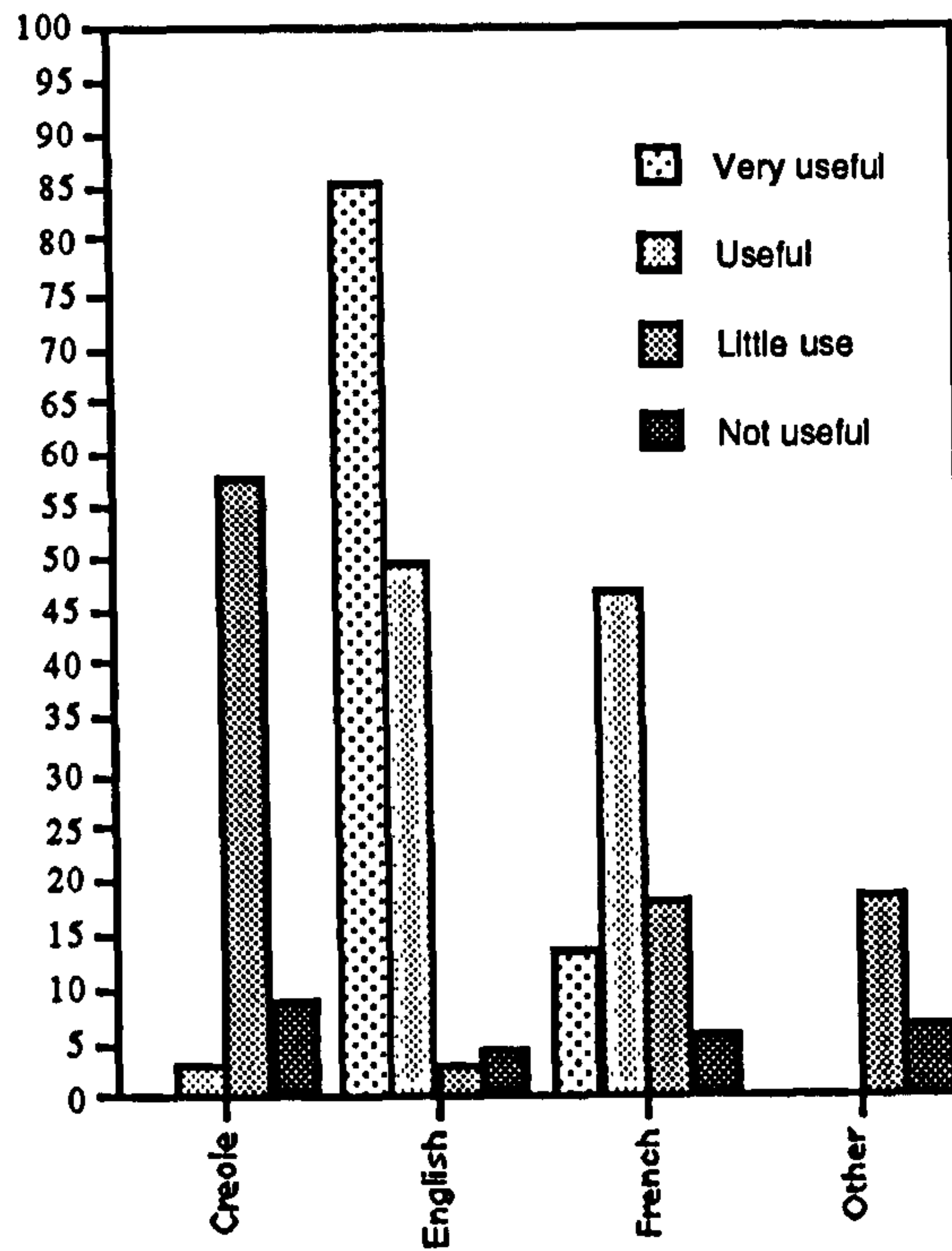
8.3) Relative importance of the different languages in the future

This section analyzes responses to question 16 “Which language (s) will be useful to you in the future?”. In this question, informants had to classify languages into four categories according to whether they thought they were going to be “very useful” “useful”, “of little use” or “of no use” in the future. As can be seen clearly from table 41, languages highly valued in the educational system and also connected with socio-economic advancement are perceived as most useful.

The discrepancy between European languages viewed as useful on the one hand, and Creole and “other” languages viewed as less useful on the other, appears to reflect the same divide already found with the parents’ choice of languages in 8.2. The fact that informants claim English to be the most important and useful language seems to be linked to its role and status in the educational and socio-economic environments. Indeed for the “A” level examinations, a “fail” in the English language cannot be retrieved by any other result, no matter how good it is, and thus means “fail” for the whole certificate. Furthermore, in many job interviews, candidates are requested to speak English and/or French. From this perspective, the two most important languages are undoubtedly English and French, while speaking or learning Creole or an Oriental language bears no relevance to improving one’s academic results.

There is also a noticeably small number of informants who claim that all four kinds of languages are of no use. One explanation may be that informants who entered “very useful” or “useful” for one language also entered “not useful” for another one. Another explanation may be that these informants are not convinced that languages are particularly useful to them.

Graph & Table 42 Responses for question 16 for the whole sample

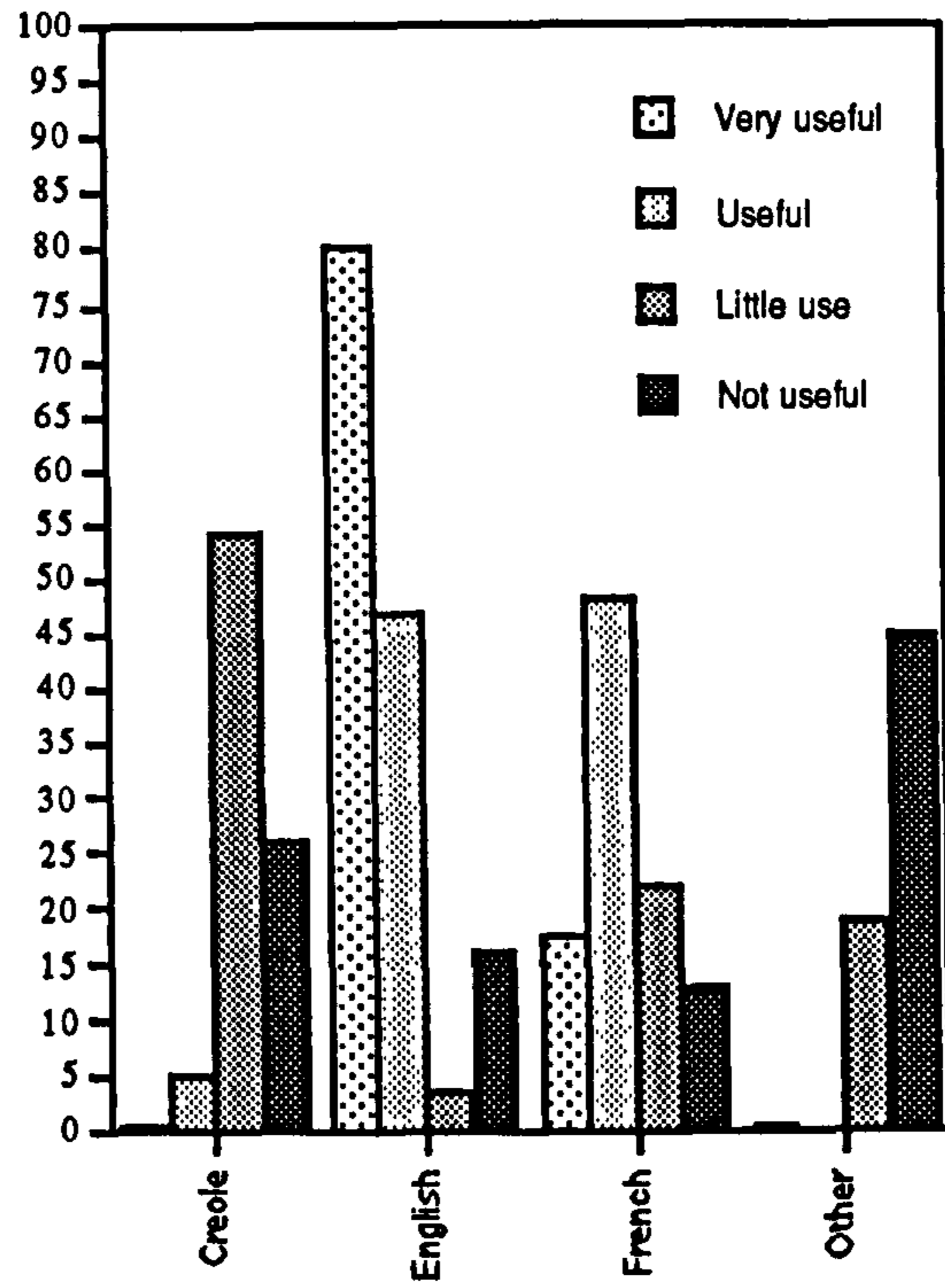


| Language | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|----------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0.5% (1) | 2.8% (6) | 58% (116) | 9.1% (18) |
| English | 85.5% (171) | 49.7% (99) | 2.9% (6) | 4.5 % (9) |
| French | 13.6% (27) | 46.9% (94) | 18.2% (36) | 5.7% (11) |
| Other | 0.5% (1) | 0% | 18.5% (37) | 6.3% (13) |

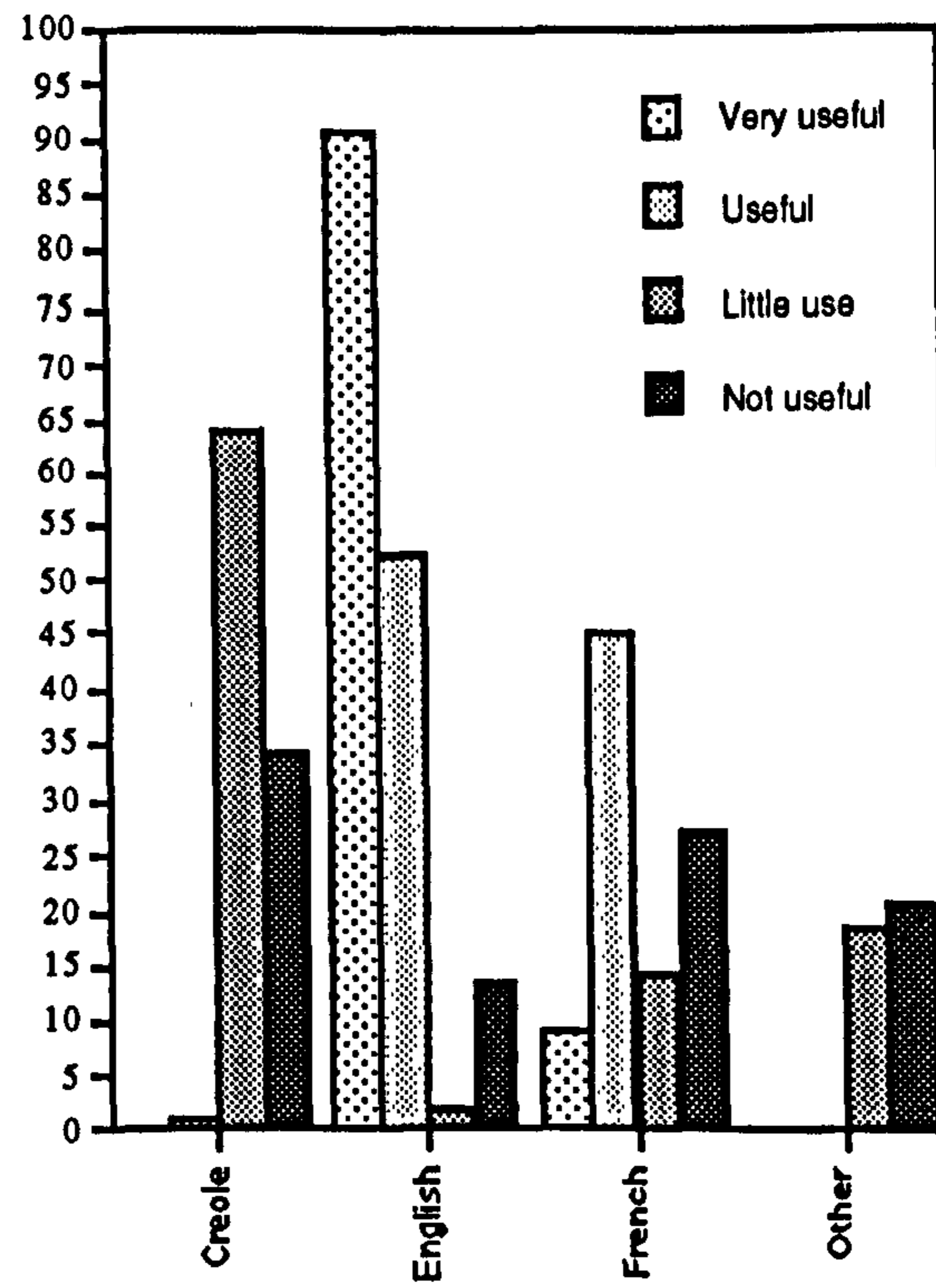
The breakdown by sex reveals the same trend for both girls and boys. There is, however, a distinction between the two categories: there is a slightly higher percentage of girls who find English to be most useful and French to be not useful, whilst a higher percentage of boys claim the “other” languages being of no use. It would be difficult to suggest any valid reason to explain the small variations in the percentages since they are likely to reflect the degree of importance attached to the various languages by informants.

Graphs & Table 42.1 Breakdown by sex for question 16

Boys



Girls



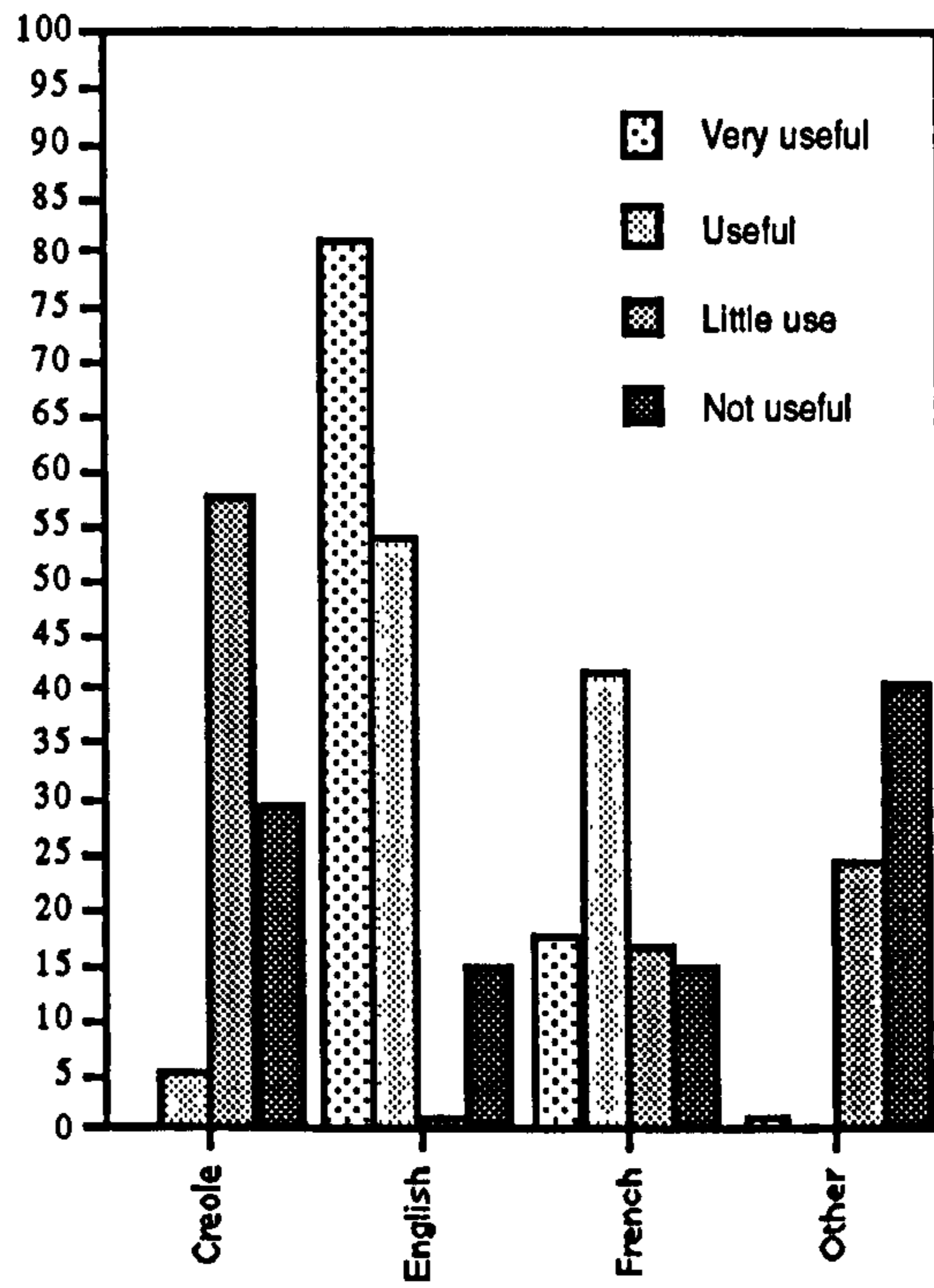
| Boys | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|----------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0.9% (1) | 4.9% (5) | 54% (54) | 25.8% (8) |
| English | 80.3% (82) | 47% (48) | 4% (4) | 16.1% (5) |
| French | 17.6% (18) | 48% (49) | 22% (22) | 12.9% (4) |
| Other | 0.9% (1) | 0% | 19% (19) | 45.1% (14) |

| Girls | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 1% (1) | 63.9% (62) | 34.4% (10) |
| English | 90.8% (89) | 52.5% (51) | 2% (2) | 13.7% (4) |
| French | 9.1% (9) | 45.3% (44) | 14.4% (14) | 27.5% (8) |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 18.5% (18) | 20.6% (6) |

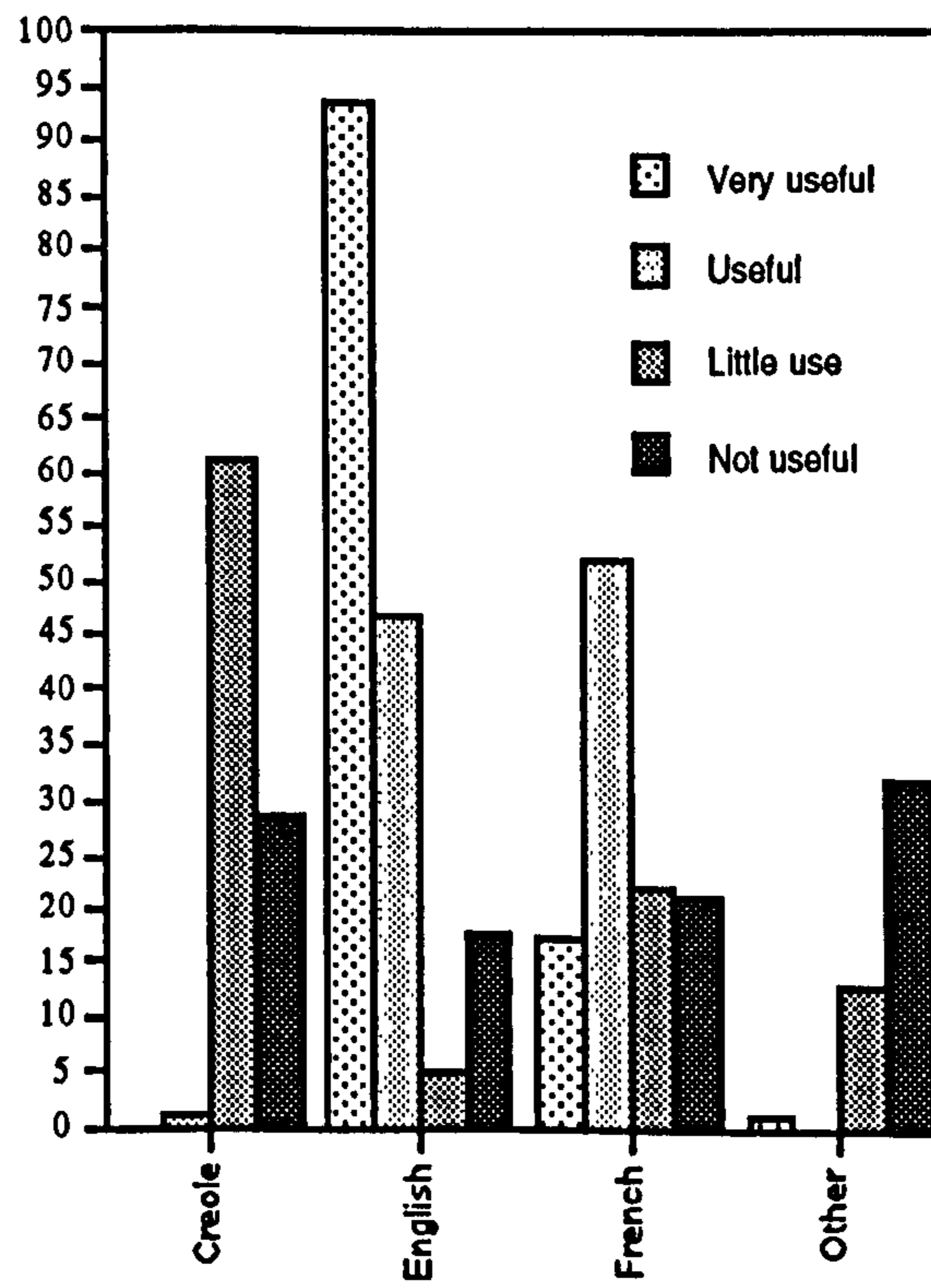
The breakdown by place of residence reveals that in all three places of residence Creole and the “other” i.e. Oriental languages are perceived as having little or no use. These low percentages for Creole and Oriental languages may be explained by the fact that the informants understood this question as meaning exclusively useful in the school, professional or administrative environment, rather than from a more general, social perspective. Although the informants may have understood this question to mean useful in the educational context, the results would tend to suggest that Creole is considered as more important than Oriental languages even in rural areas. This can be explained by the fact that on a realistic and practical level that informants see little use of Oriental languages for their studies and in most of the communicative situations, including the home, as seen in chapter 7. From this perspective the results would tend to indicate that the linguistic policy of the government in promoting Oriental languages through education (see 2.9.3) has not been successful, or, at least, has not convinced the Indo and Sino-Mauritian population that they are particularly important or useful.

Graphs & Table 42.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 16

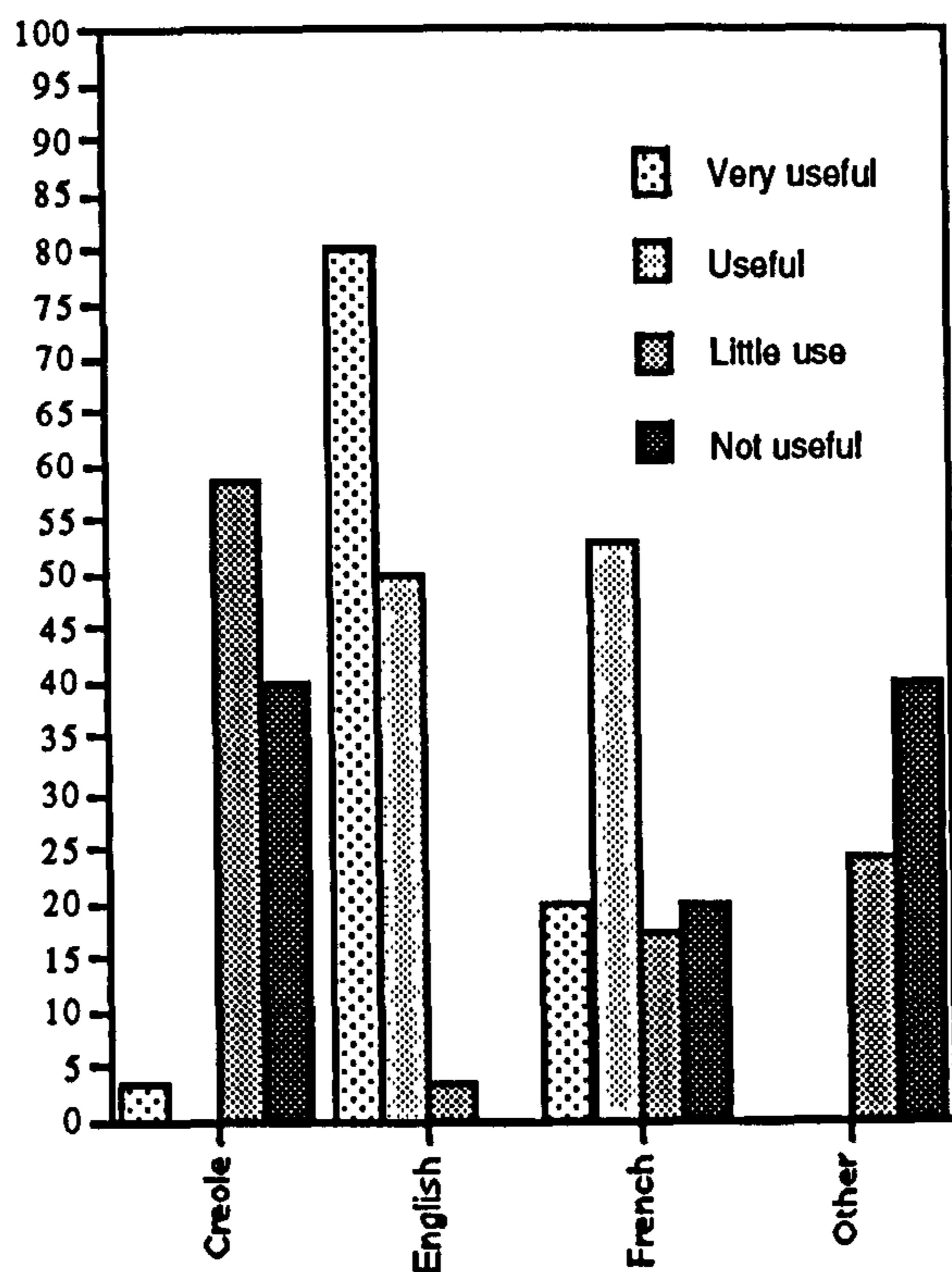
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 5.4% (5) | 57.7% (52) | 29.6% (8) |
| English | 81.3% (74) | 53.8% (49) | 1.1% (1) | 14.8% (4) |
| French | 17.5% (16) | 41.7% (38) | 16.6% (15) | 14.8% (4) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 24.4% (22) | 40.7%(13) |

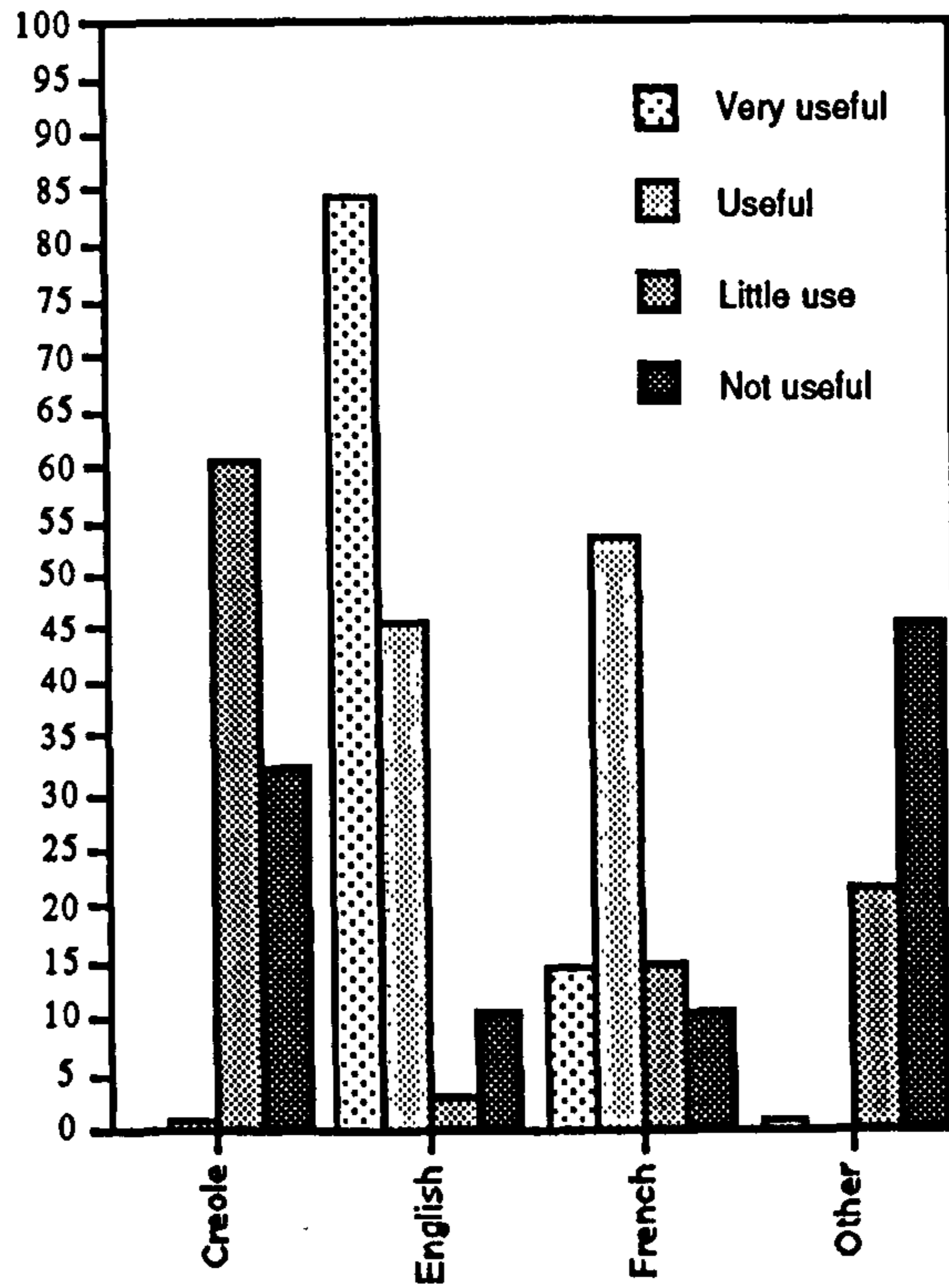
| Rural | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 1.2% (1) | 61% (47) | 28.5% (8) |
| English | 93.5% (73) | 46.7% (36) | 5.1% (4) | 17.8% (5) |
| French | 17.5% (16) | 51.9% (40) | 22% (17) | 21.4% (6) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 12.9% (10) | 32.1% (9) |

| Coastal | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 3.3% (1) | 0% | 58.6%(17) | 40% (2) |
| English | 80% (24) | 50% (15) | 3.4% (1) | 0% |
| French | 20% (6) | 53.3% (16) | 17.2% (5) | 20% (1) |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 24.1% (7) | 40% (2) |

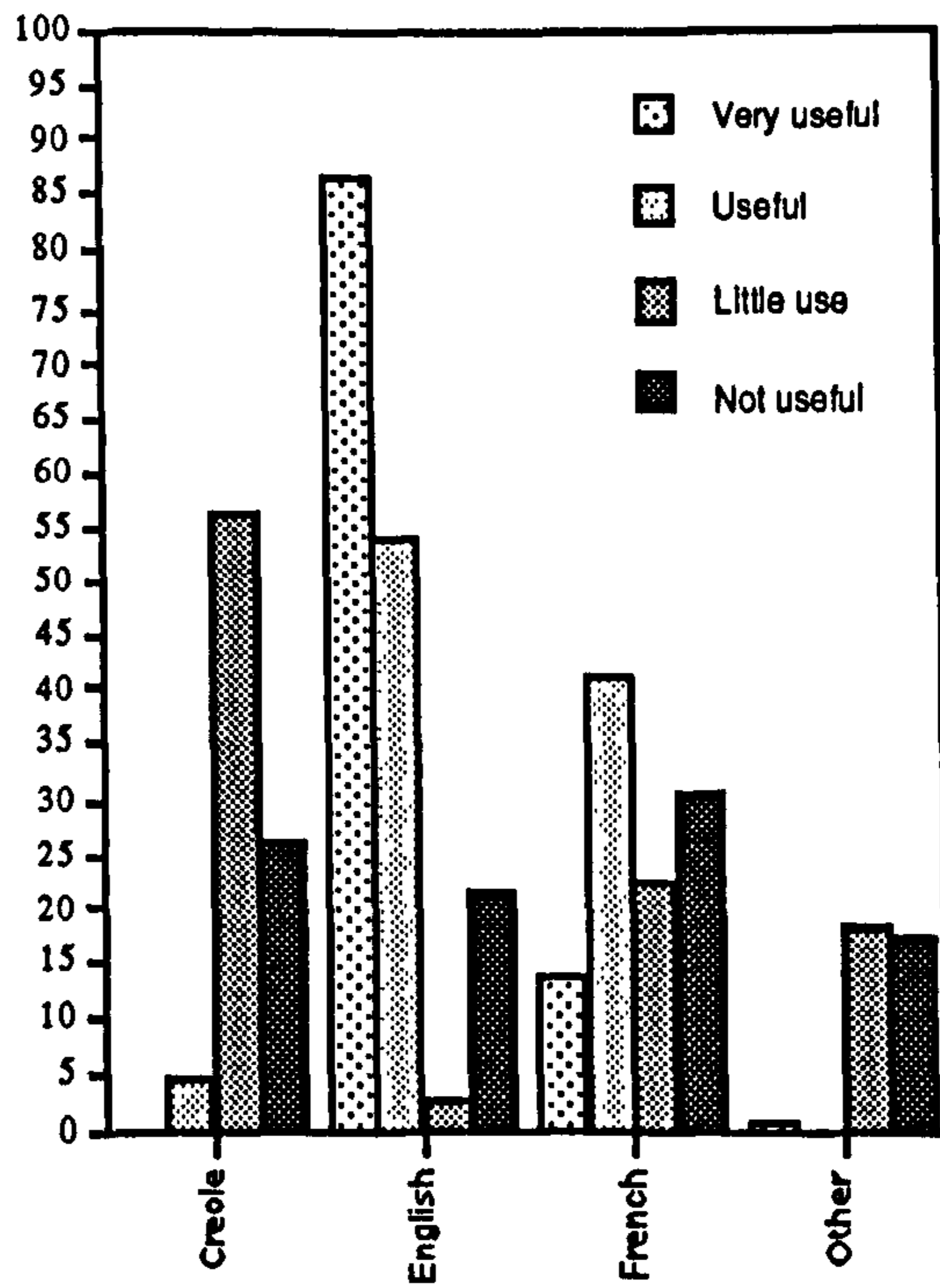
The breakdown by age shows very little difference for both age groups. There is a slight predominance of English as being “very useful” and “useful” for the older age group. This may be influenced by the fact that a pass in English is compulsory for the School Leaving Certificate and Higher School Certificate Awards as seen earlier.

Graphs & Table 42.3 Breakdown by age group for question 16

11-14 years



15-20 years



| 11-14 years | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 1% (1) | 60.6% (57) | 32.4% (12) |
| English | 84.3% (81) | 45.7% (43) | 3.1% (3) | 10.8% (4) |
| French | 14.5% (14) | 53.1% (50) | 14.8% (14) | 10.8% (4) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 21.2% (20) | 45.9% (17) |

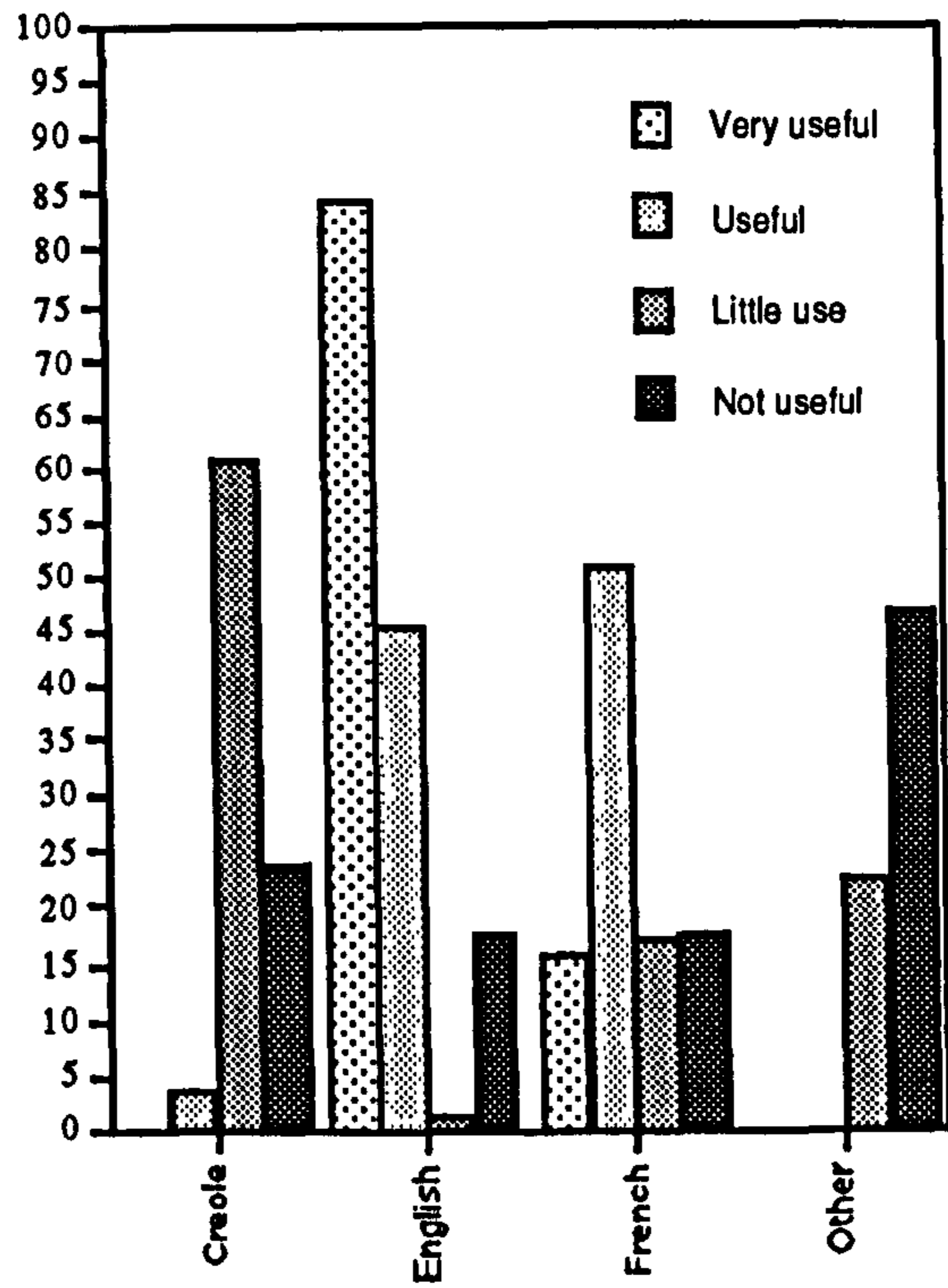
| 15-20 years | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 4.8% (5) | 56.3% (58) | 26% (6) |
| English | 86.5% (90) | 53.8% (56) | 2.9% (3) | 21.7% (5) |
| French | 13.4% (14) | 41.3% (43) | 22.3% (23) | 30.4% (7) |
| Other | 0.9% (1) | 0% | 18.4% (19) | 17.3% (4) |

The breakdown by parents' income shows the same pattern as before. However, the small variations seem to suggest a more clear-cut pattern in the case of high income bracket informants than those from a low and medium brackets, whose the responses appear to be more diverse.

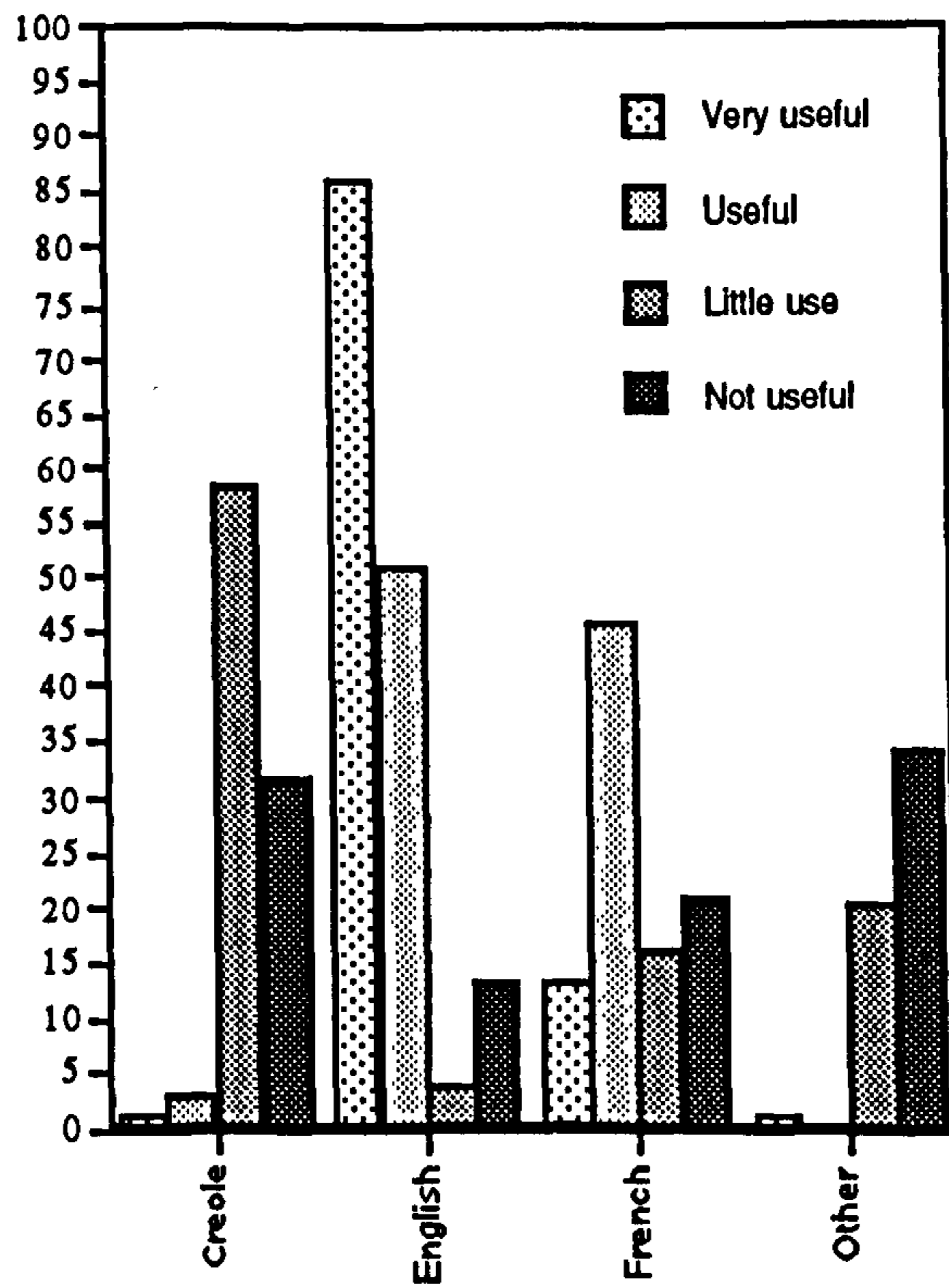
To conclude this section, the results show a hierarchy in the language choice and preference of the parents (see 8.2) as well as that of the informants (see 8.1). Indeed the language choice is not a "free phenomenon" but on the contrary appears to be influenced by social factors such as education and upward social mobility, particularly for this section of the population for whom success in education is an important goal. These results generally tend to reflect the prevailing opinion that both English and French are important and useful if one wants to succeed in school and have good job prospects. It is not, therefore unexpected that a large number of informants should respond in this way.

Graphs & Table 42.4 Breakdown by parents' income for question 16

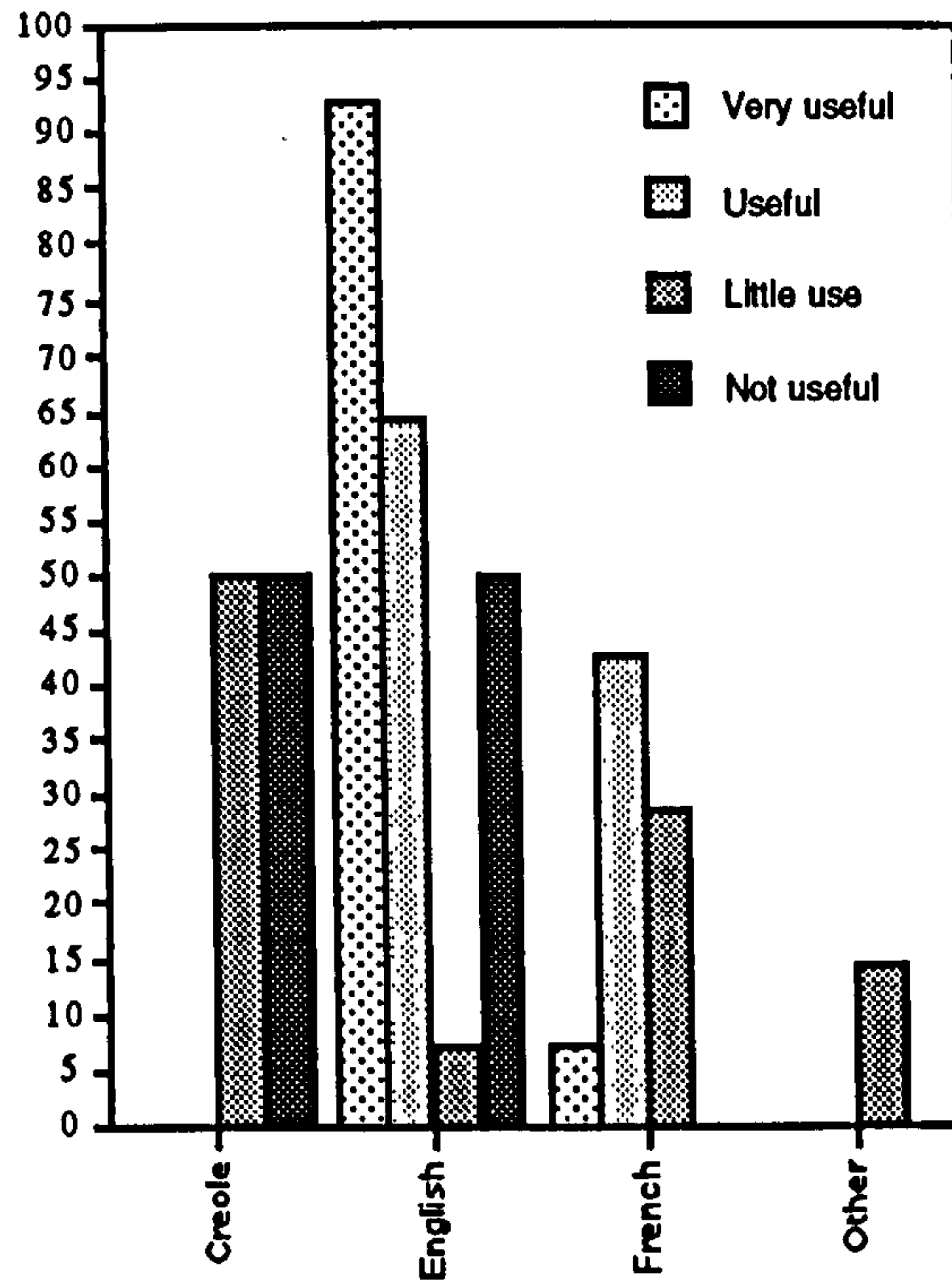
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 3.8% (3) | 60.5% (46) | 23.5% (4) |
| English | 84.4% (65) | 45.4% (35) | 1.3% (1) | 17.6% (3) |
| French | 15.5% (12) | 50.6% (39) | 17.1% (13) | 17.6% (3) |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 22.3% (17) | 47% (8) |

| Medium | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 1% (1) | 3% (8) | 58.7% (57) | 31.5% (12) |
| English | 85.8% (85) | 51% (50) | 4.1% (4) | 13.1% (5) |
| French | 13.1% (13) | 45.9% (45) | 16.4% (16) | 21% (8) |
| Other | 1% (1) | 0% | 20.6% (20) | 34.2% (13) |

| High | Very useful | Useful | Little use | Not useful |
|---------|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Creole | 0% | 0% | 50% (7) | 50% (1) |
| English | 92.8% (13) | 64.2% (9) | 7.1% (1) | 50% (1) |
| French | 7.1% (1) | 42.8% (6) | 28.5% (4) | 0% |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 14.2% (2) | 0% |

8.4) Personal likes and dislikes

The answers to question 18 “Do you like speaking English, French and Creole?” reveal some main trends for this section of the population. Although informants generally claim they like to speak all three languages, there is nevertheless a preference for French, followed by Creole and English. These responses seem to suggest that although informants like speaking Creole, they consider it as having little value when compared to English and French as seen in 8.3. One reason for choosing French over Creole may be explained in terms of the diglossic relationship between the two languages. As has already been suggested earlier, (see 7.2 & 8.2) the tendency to prefer French over Creole may be linked to the high status and more favourable characteristics attached to the French speaker than to the Creole one. The percentages are virtually similar in the cases of Creole and English. Although informants claim to like speaking English, fluency in the English language is an obstacle for many, as it is mostly used in the school environment. Results to question 10 in section 6.4 show that informants tend to rate their ability in English lower than French and Creole. Interviews in chapter 9 reveal that informants were indeed more fluent in Creole and French than in English thus suggesting a realistic approach to their linguistic ability.

Table 43 Personal likes and dislikes

| | Yes | No |
|---------|-------------|------------|
| Creole | 86.8% (173) | 11.7% (23) |
| English | 85.5% (171) | 13.4% (27) |
| French | 95% (190) | 3.9% (8) |

8.5) Personal choices about studying, working and living in Mauritius

In question 17 informants were asked: "Where would you like to study, work and live in the future?". This question was intended to complement responses obtained for question 16, as has been seen above, and more generally, responses on perception and attitudes towards languages. There is a clear pattern which emerges from the responses: in general, informants tend to choose abroad for higher studies, but that they claim to prefer to work and live in Mauritius. This general trend is found to be true with all the social variables. The responses to the first question were wholly predictable, since there is only one university in Mauritius (see 2.9), and the range of subjects and number of admissions are limited. Therefore, if candidates had the right grades and wanted to carry on with further studies, abroad would seem the best option, provided they can get a scholarship or financial support from the family. It should also be noted that degrees from abroad, in particular from the UK and France, are admired and highly valued.

Table 44 Personal choices

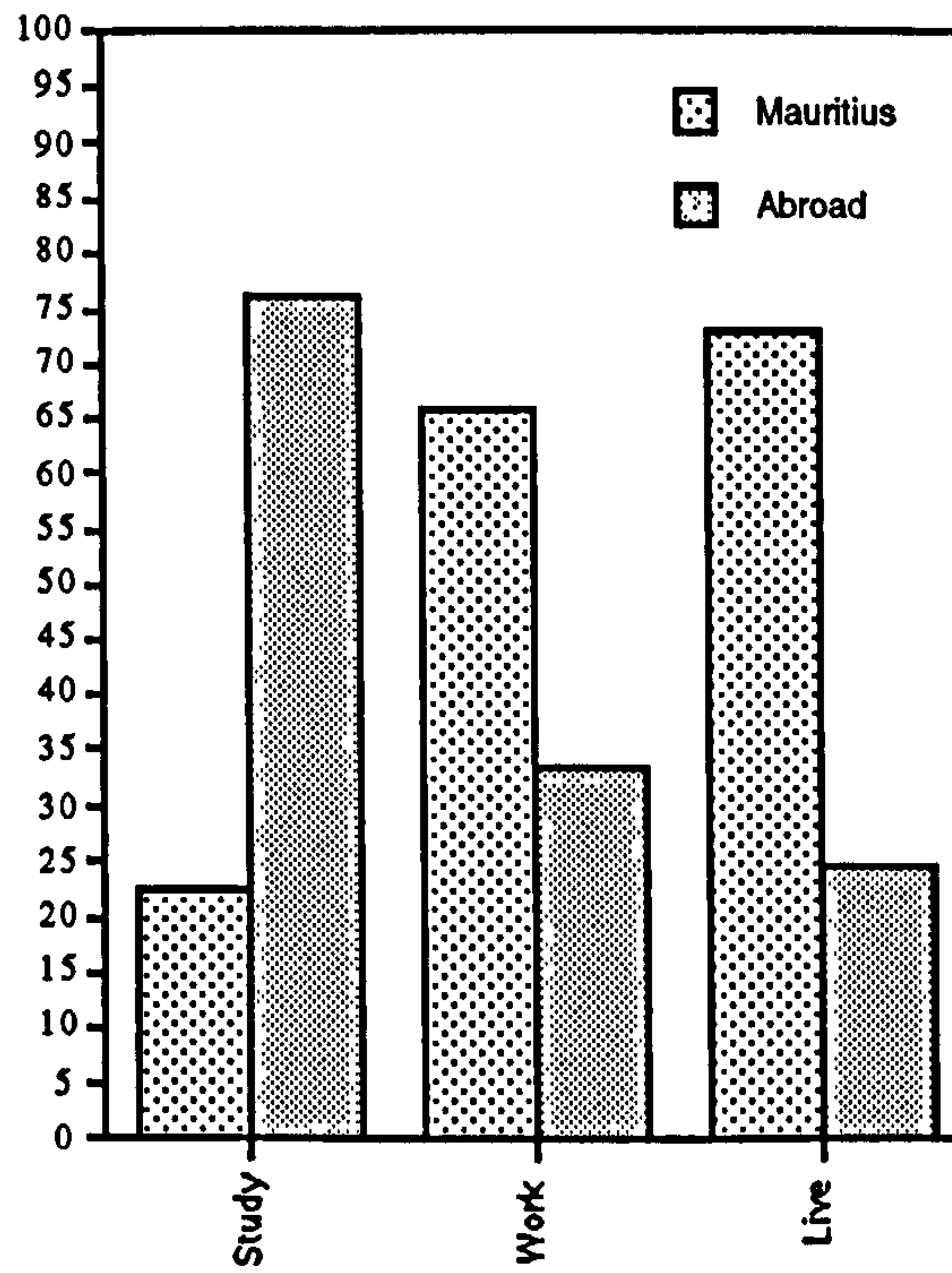
| Personal Choices | Mauritius | Abroad |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Study | 22.3% (44) | 76.3% (152) |
| Work | 66.1% (132) | 33.4% (67) |
| Live | 73.2% (146) | 24.7% (49) |

The breakdown by sex suggests that there is a slightly higher percentage of girls than boys who would prefer to study in Mauritius. This may be explained by the fact that Mauritian society is on the whole a conservative society where parents

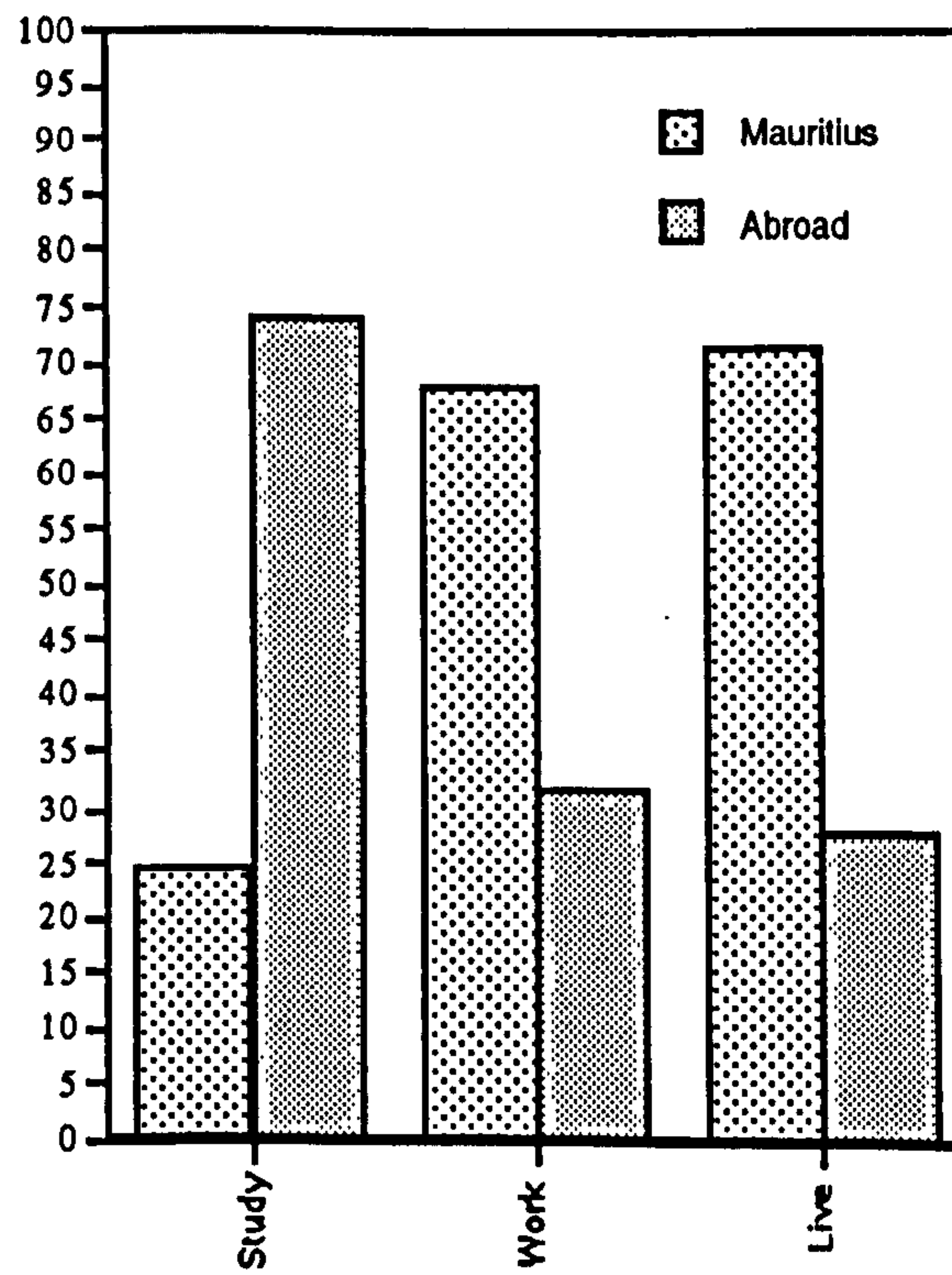
still allow a greater freedom to boys than girls, and may therefore send their sons abroad more easily than their daughters. It may also mean that girls are closer to their families than boys. Since there is not a big difference in the numbers, this explanation would have to be tested by other studies involving perhaps individual interviews before reaching conclusive remarks.

Graphs & Table 44.1 Breakdown by sex for question 17

Boys



Girls



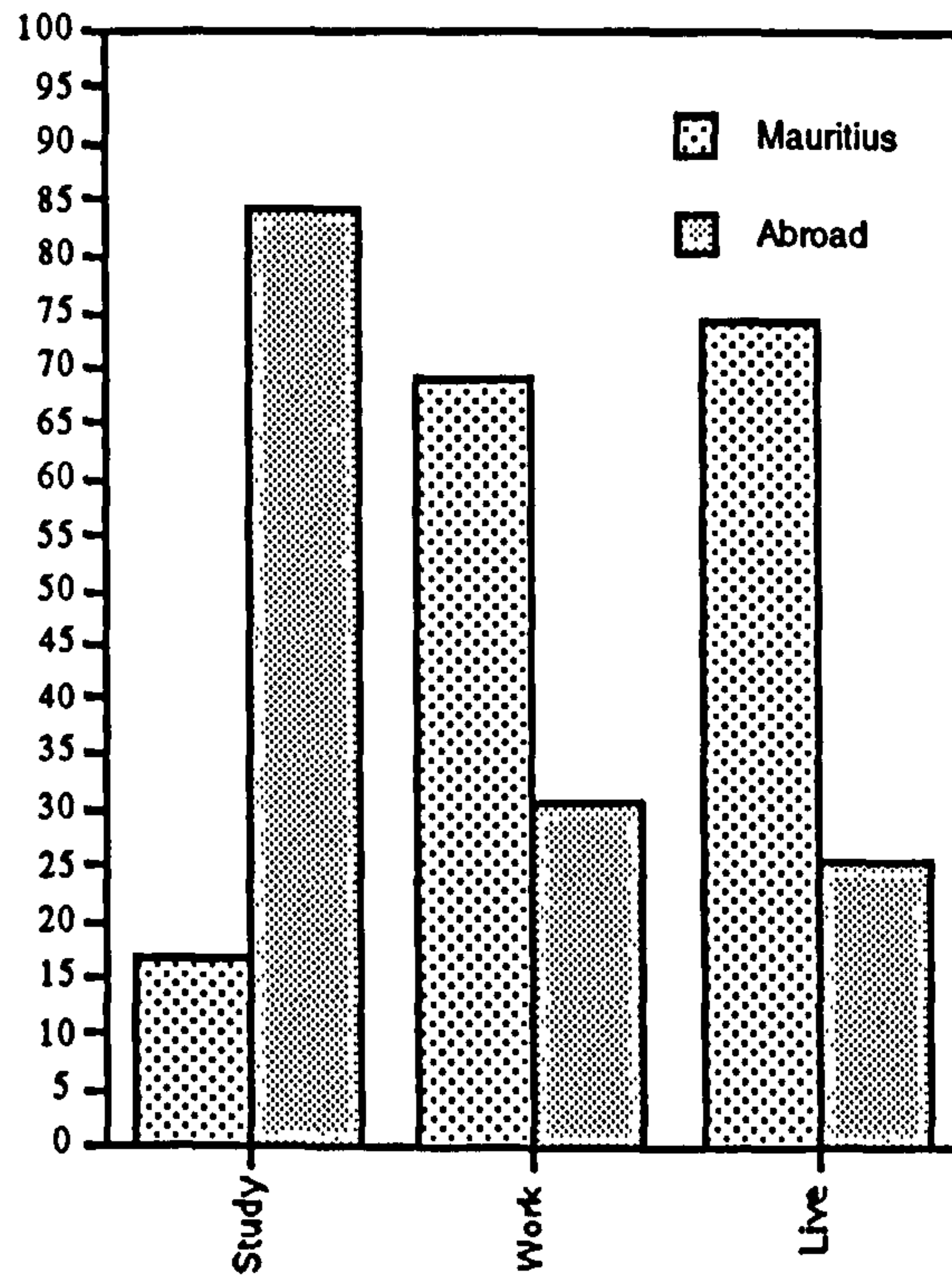
| Boys | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 20% (20) | 80% (80) |
| Work | 64.7% (66) | 34.3% (35) |
| Live | 77% (77) | 23% (23) |

| Girls | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 24.7% (24) | 74.2% (72) |
| Work | 68% (66) | 31.9% (31) |
| Live | 71.8% (69) | 28.1% (27) |

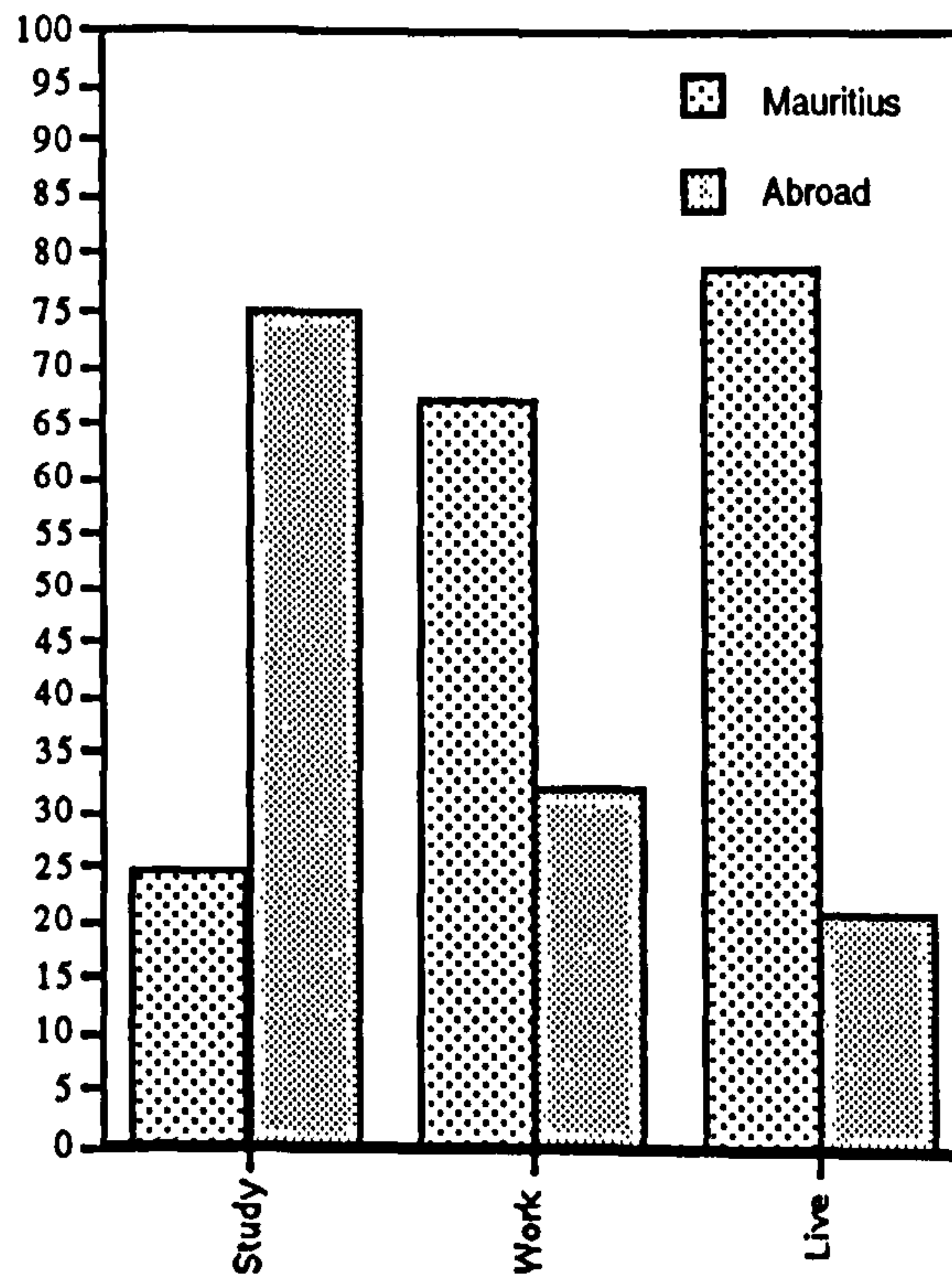
The breakdown by place of residence shows that there is a higher percentage of informants from coastal regions claiming to prefer to live and work abroad. The higher percentages in these two cases seem to suggest that living and working abroad appeals more to this section of the population. One explanation may be that the category abroad would appear to offer better prospects than working and living in Mauritius would. As in the previous case, more studies would have to be undertaken in this area before results can be generalized. The desire to study abroad appears to be motivated by the fact that many Mauritians have members of their families or relatives living abroad. This can be seen as an encouragement for those who think that they can stay with their relatives and benefit from their support while studying. These relatives may also play a role model since most of them have succeeded in having a professional career and a good standard of living compared to their friends and family at home.

Graphs & Table 44.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 17

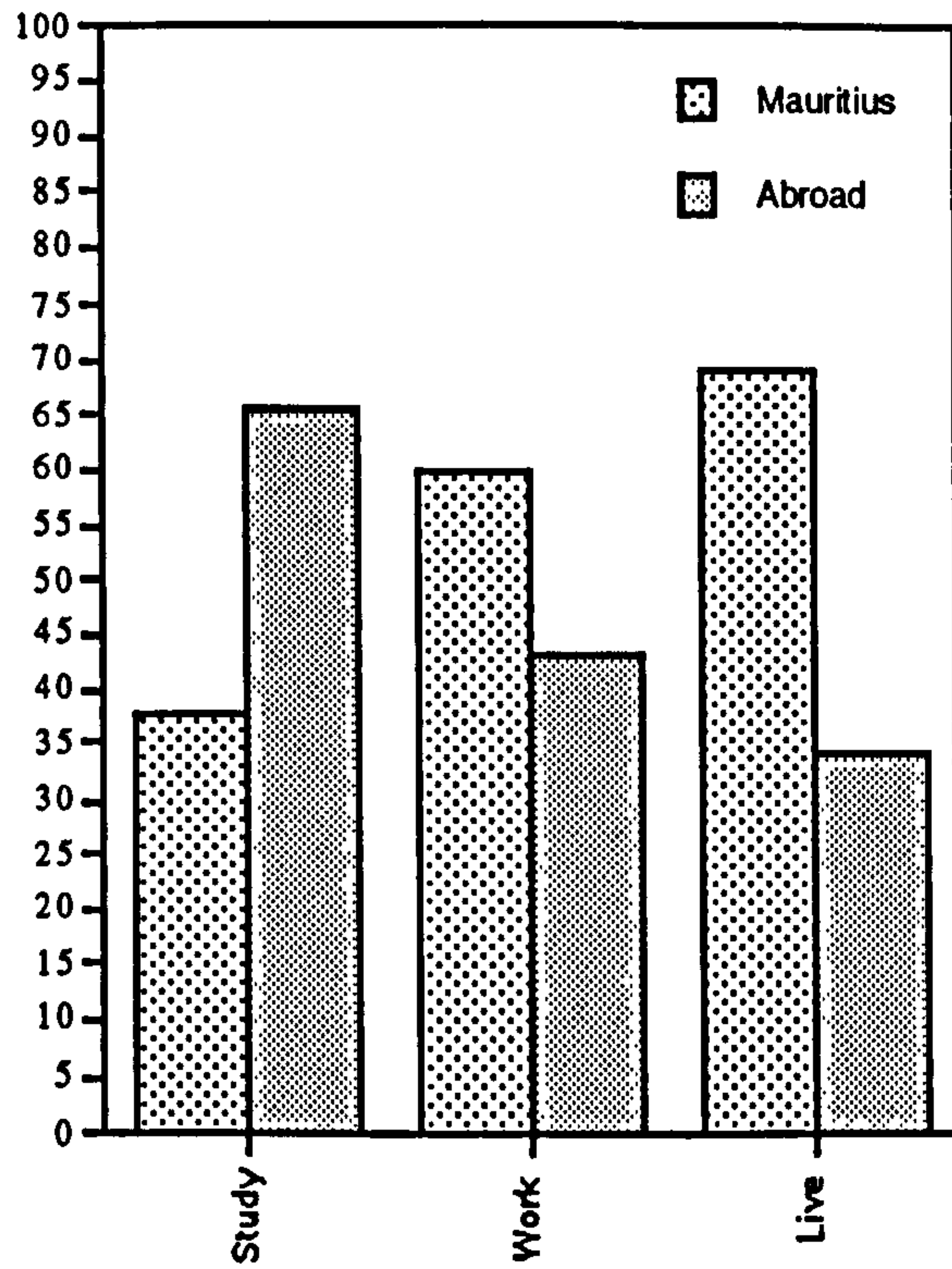
Urban



Rural



Coastal



| Urban | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 16.6% (15) | 84.4% (76) |
| Work | 69.2% (63) | 30.7% (28) |
| Live | 74.4% (67) | 25.5% (23) |

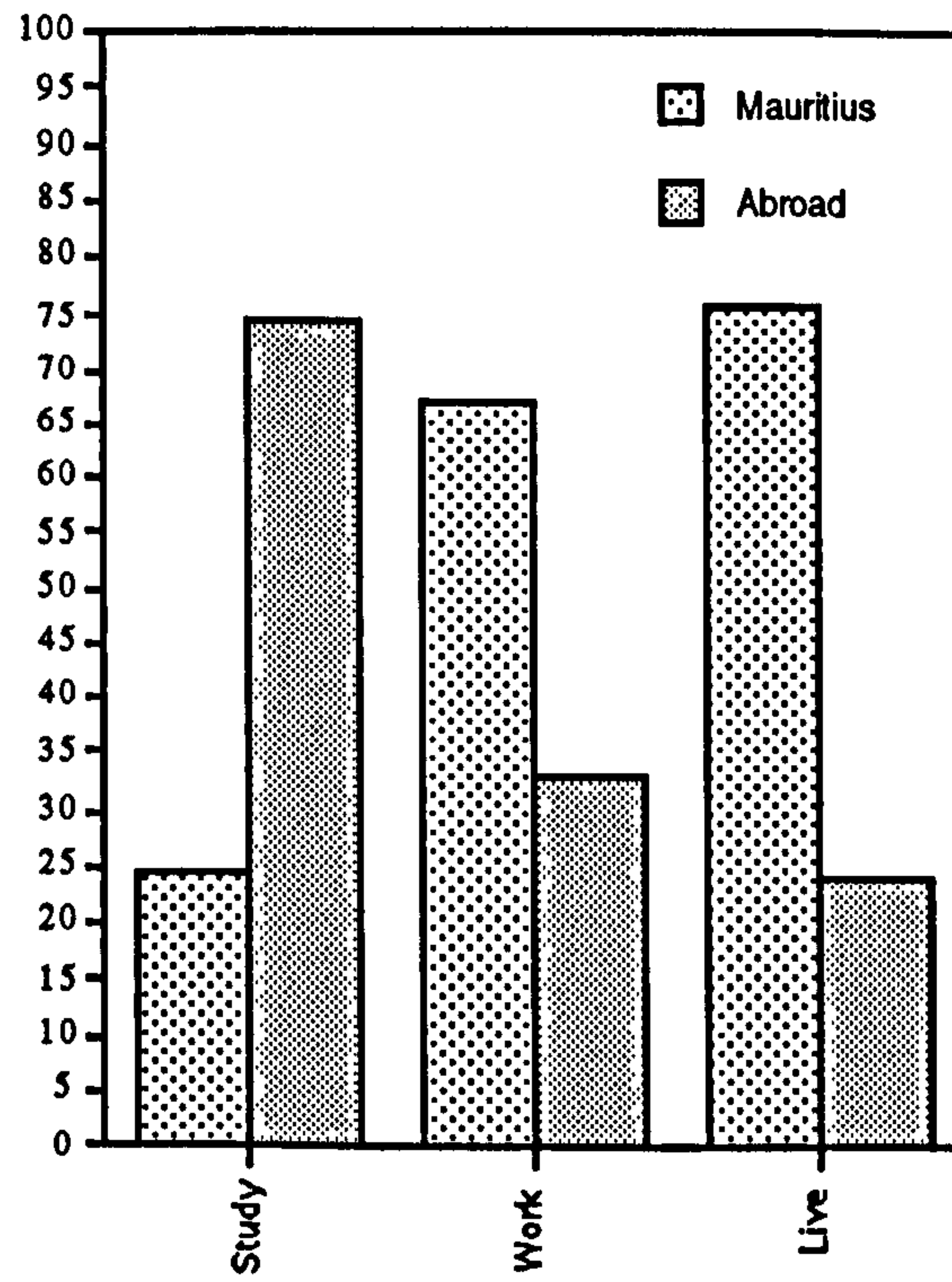
| Rural | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 24.6% (19) | 75.3% (58) |
| Work | 67.5% (52) | 32.45 (25) |
| Live | 78.9% (60) | 21% (16) |

| Coastal | Mauritius | Abroad |
|---------|------------|------------|
| Study | 37.9% (11) | 65.5% (19) |
| Work | 60% (18) | 43.3% (13) |
| Live | 68.9% (20) | 34.4% (10) |

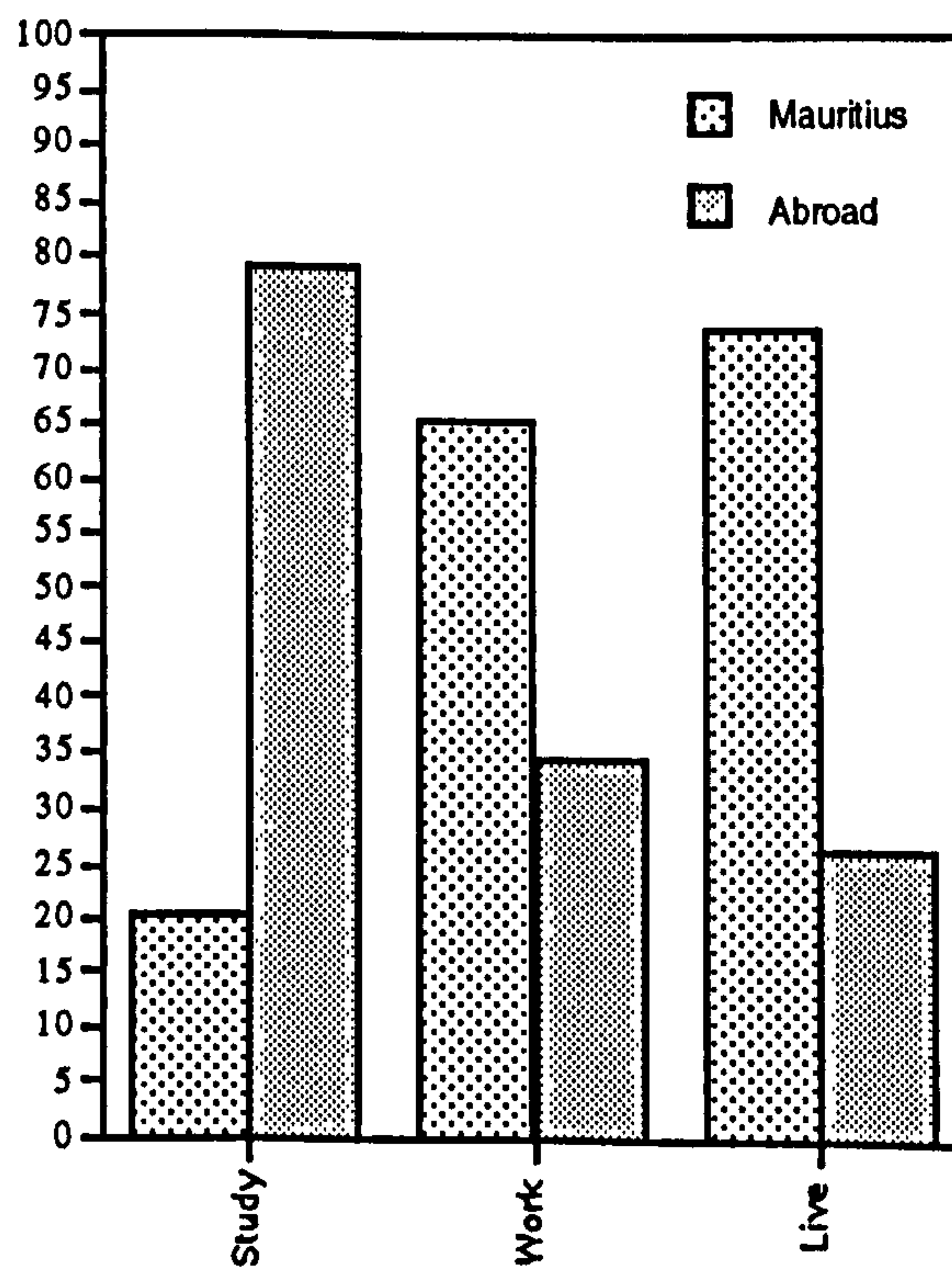
The breakdown by age reveals that going abroad for higher studies was the most popular option in both age groups. The percentage is higher in the older group than in the younger one. This may be because the slightly older ones were more concerned about their future and perhaps some are already planning to study abroad. One third of the informants claim they would prefer to work abroad. One explanation may be that working abroad appears a good opportunity to earn money and gain experience. Living in Mauritius, on the other hand, is more popular with both age groups than living abroad, probably for family, personal and socio-economic reasons as were stated in the “francophonie” project (see 1.1).

Graphs & Table 44.3 Breakdown by age group for question 17

11-14 years



15-20 years



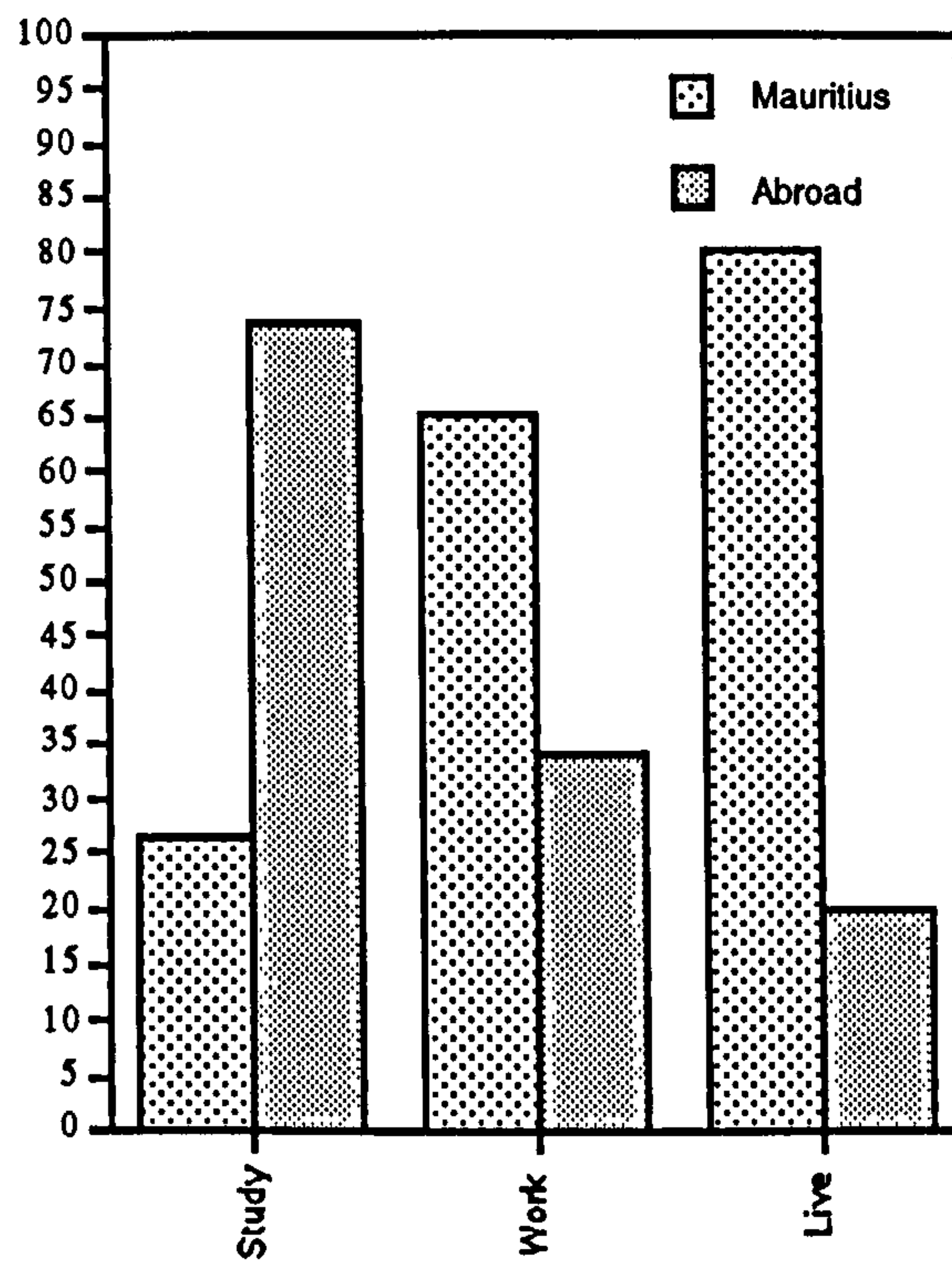
| 11-14 years | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------------|------------|------------|
| Study | 24.4% (23) | 74.4% (70) |
| Work | 67% (63) | 32.9% (31) |
| Live | 76% (70) | 23.9% (22) |

| 15-20 years | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------------|------------|------------|
| Study | 20.3% (21) | 79.6% (82) |
| Work | 65.3% (68) | 34.6% (36) |
| Live | 73.7% (76) | 26.2% (27) |

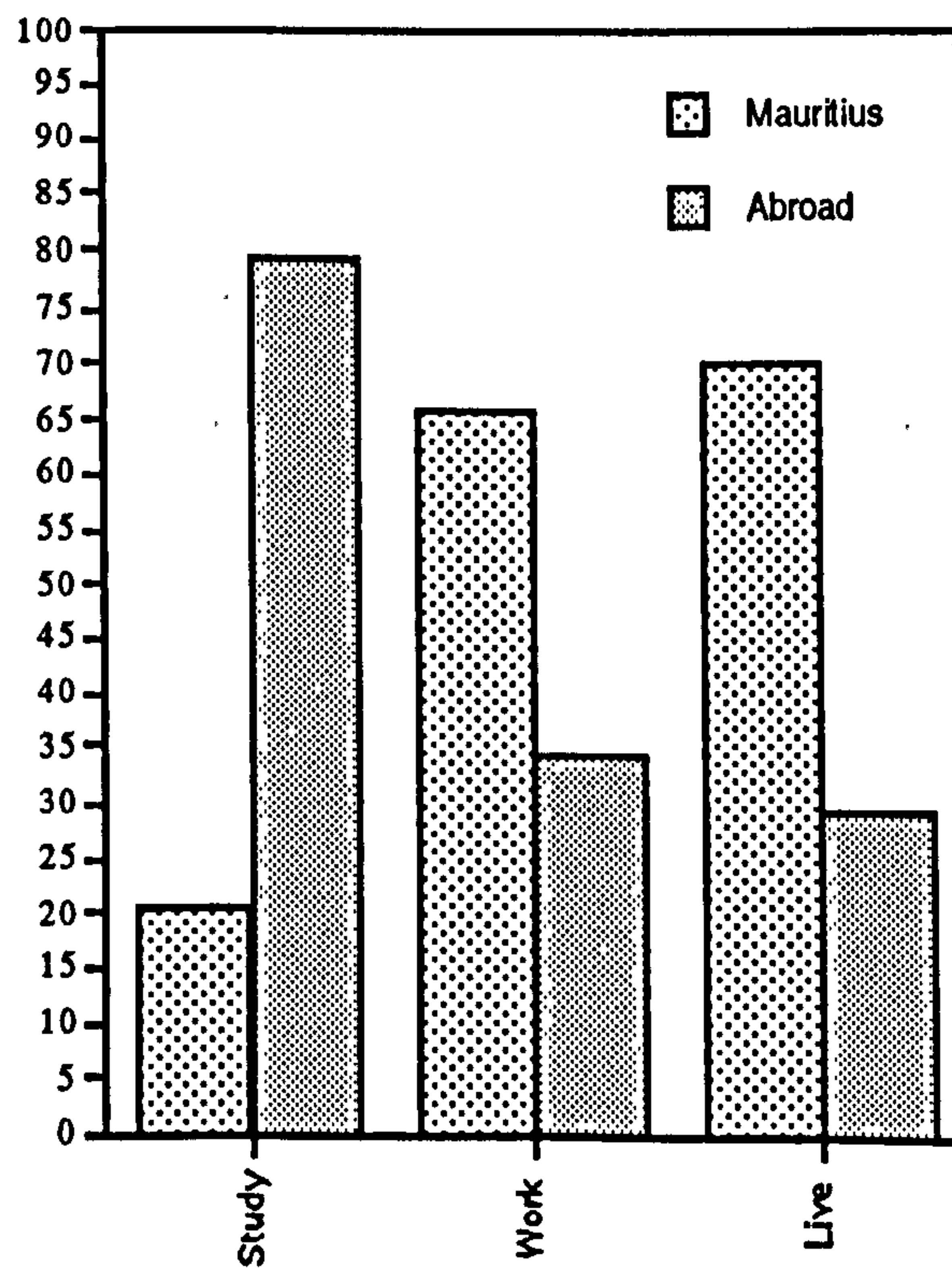
The breakdown by parents' income suggests that the majority of informants prefer to live and work in Mauritius. Those from a high income background show more of a desire to study abroad and work in Mauritius. This would be explained by the fact that informants from this income bracket would be more likely to afford the costs of studying abroad. Working abroad appears to be more popular with informants from a low and medium income brackets than those from a high income bracket. This may be explained by the fact that working abroad appears to offer better opportunities for improving one's socio-economic status and earn more money in comparison to Mauritius.

Graphs & Table 44.4 Breakdown by parents' income for question 17

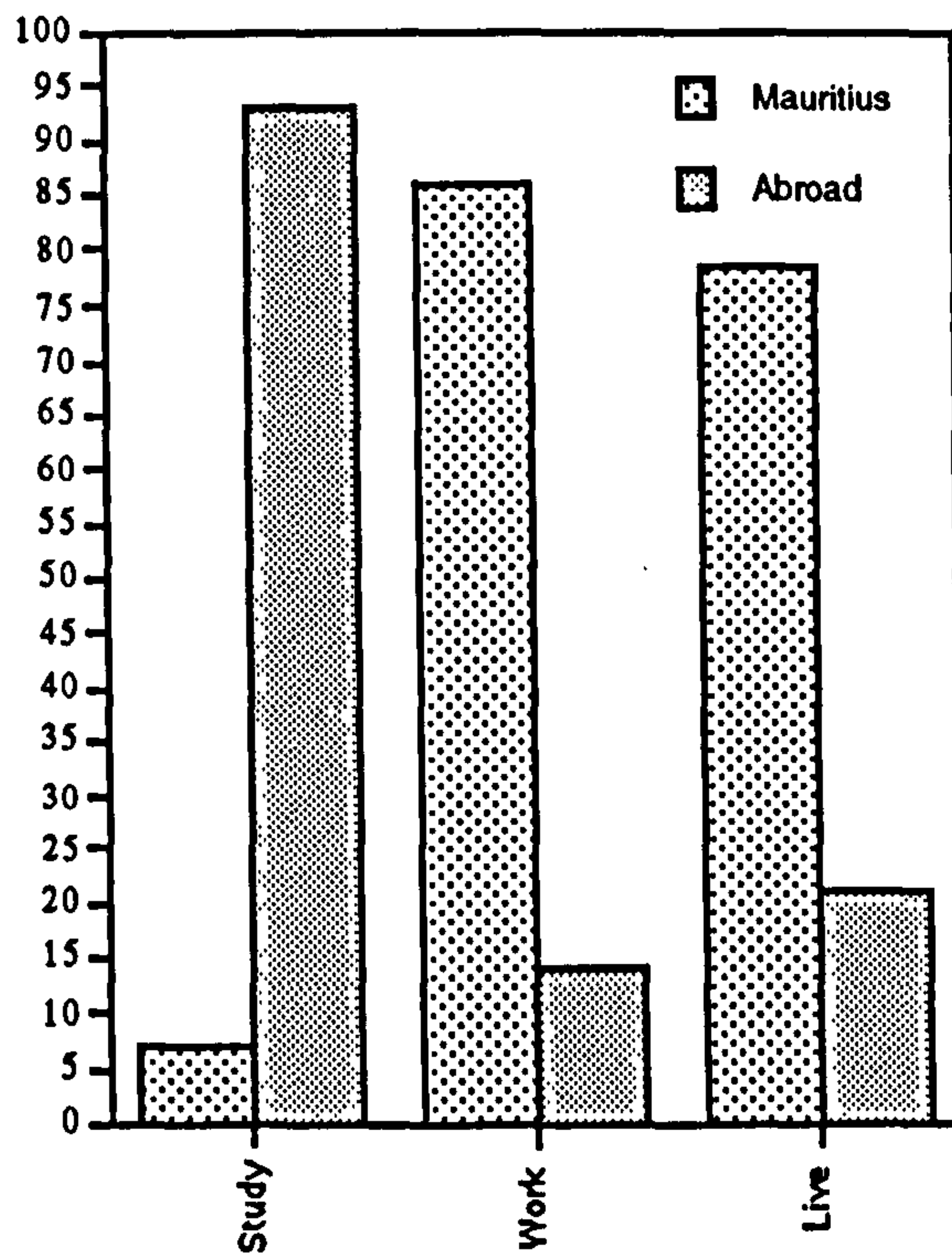
Low



Medium



High



| Low | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 26.3% (20) | 73.6% (56) |
| Work | 65.7% (50) | 34.2% (26) |
| Live | 80% (75) | 20% (15) |

| Medium | Mauritius | Abroad |
|--------|------------|------------|
| Study | 20.4% (20) | 79.5% (78) |
| Work | 65.6% (59) | 34.3% (34) |
| Live | 70.4% (69) | 29.5% (29) |

| High | Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|------------|------------|
| Study | 7.1% (1) | 92.8% (13) |
| Work | 85.7% (12) | 14.2% (2) |
| Live | 78.5% (11) | 21.4% (3) |

In sum, living abroad does not appear to be a very popular option (see 8.5). The majority of informants claim they prefer to work and live in Mauritius. This desire to live and work in Mauritius was not further probed in this project, but was explored in the “Francophonie” project (see 1.1) in which informants were asked about their future plans. There were three reasons put forward by those who said they would prefer to live and work in Mauritius: the proximity of family and friends, lack of stress and personal enhancement provided in a tolerant multilingual and multicultural environment. Another explanation for choosing to live in Mauritius may be that the healthy economic situation of the country was attractive to anyone with a university degree, as graduates from abroad normally lead a high standard of living once they find employment (see 2.5).

Chapter 9: Language attitudes: main factors at stake

This chapter examines responses to question 20 which was left open and interviews carried out to complement views and opinions on languages with special reference to Creole. Question 20 had two related parts on this subject. In the first part informants were invited to say whether they agreed or disagreed with each of the following statements:

“If you had the opportunity would you like to:

- (i) Learn Creole in school?
- (ii) Be taught in Creole at school?
- (iii) Speak Creole only?
- (iv) Have Creole as the main language in Mauritius?

In the second part of the question, informants were asked to justify their answers in an open question: “Can you say why in general?” In this case, all the informants had the same opportunity to express their views on this matter.

The starting point of the interviews was question 20. There were many informants who were enthusiastic to stay behind and spare a few moments to answer some questions. The procedure followed by the author was to try and choose informants from different school years, as well as from various social and linguistic backgrounds. It may well be argued that this way of sampling can introduce bias since it involves only the volunteers. However, another way would have been to interview as many informants as possible, but this procedure would

have been too time-consuming. The purpose of the interviews was to get informants as varied as possible in a small sample. Forty two informants (22 male and 20 female) who had already completed the questionnaire were asked to express their views freely. This gave the opportunity to the researcher to further probe the answers by asking more specific questions and to check on any ambiguous or difficult question. In the interviews, informants were asked an additional question, which was related to the future of various languages in Mauritius.

As in the preceding chapters, the responses have been broken down by sex, place of residence, age group and income of parents. Since this section deals with attitudinal questions, there are tables for the first part of the question only. Histograms are not provided in this chapter since the few percentages in the tables were considered to be clear and self-explanatory. The responses to the open question and interviews are summarized in a codified form followed by some comments. Quoted responses are numbered in two sets of brackets to facilitate reference: the first set of brackets with three digits corresponds to the questionnaire number, and the second set of brackets represents the sex and age of the informant. Thus (065) (M12) represents the questionnaire number 65 and the example quoted is from a male informant aged 12 years. For the interview quoted responses there is only one set of brackets which refer to the sex and age of the informants.

9.1) Questionnaire data

The responses to the first part of the question reveal that a negative answer has the highest percentage of responses in all four cases. There is also a small percentage of respondents who did not always reply to all four categories. These percentages are given in the "other" response category. One explanation for not

answering may be that informants found these sub-questions difficult, or/and did not have an opinion on this issue.

The figures also show a higher percentage of answers in favour of being taught in Creole (23.9%) and having Creole as the main language of Mauritius (29.4%). This was found to be true with all social variables. The answers to the open questions, and subsequently the interviews, gave some indication as to why these two categories were more popular and to what extent Creole would be acceptable in the educational system as will be seen in section 9.2.2.

Table 45 Responses to question 20 for the whole sample

| whole sample | learn Creole | be taught in Creole | speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 77.8% (155) | 72.7% (145) | 78.6% (157) | 65.6% (131) |
| Yes | 18.4% (37) | 23.9% (48) | 17.4% (35) | 29.4% (59) |
| Other | 3.8% (8) | 3.4% (7) | 3.8% (8) | 5% (10) |

The breakdown by sex reveals that a higher percentage of girls claim to be against Creole in education and as the main language of the island. These results indicate the same tendency as seen in sections 7.1 & 7.2, that female speakers tend to choose languages with a low status less than their male counterparts. Furthermore, the interviews later showed that the most unfavourable connotations associated with Creole also came from the female informants (see 9.2.4).

Table 44.1 Breakdown by sex for question 20

| Boys | learn Creole | be taught in Creole | speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 79.1% (76) | 63.9% (62) | 76.2% (74) | 62.8% (61) |
| Yes | 20.8% (20) | 36% (35) | 23.7% (23) | 37.1% (36) |

| Girls | learn Creole | be taught in Creole | speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 82.2% (79) | 86.4% (83) | 88.2% (83) | 78.2% (79) |
| Yes | 17.7% (17) | 12.5% (12) | 11.7% (11) | 21.7% (22) |

The breakdown by place of residence shows a similar pattern in all three categories. A slightly higher percentage of informants from rural areas claim they would like to be taught in Creole and have Creole as the main language of the island. However, a close look at the number of informants from urban and rural areas are relatively close, thus prompting to be cautious and not to draw conclusive remarks at this stage.

Table 44.2 Breakdown by place of residence for question 20

| Urban | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 81.8% (72) | 77.2% (68) | 80.8% (72) | 70.7% (63) |
| Yes | 19.3% (17) | 22.7% (20) | 19.1% (17) | 29.2% (26) |

| Rural | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 82.4% (61) | 72.3% (55) | 83.7% (62) | 65.7% (48) |
| Yes | 18.9% (14) | 27.6% (21) | 17.5% (13) | 34.2% (25) |

| Coastal | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|---------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 79.3% (23) | 78.5% (22) | 82.1% (23) | 70.3% (19) |
| Yes | 20.6% (6) | 21.4% (7) | 17.8% (5) | 29.6% (8) |

The breakdown by age reveals that the younger group appears to be more in favour of Creole in education and as the main language of Mauritius than the older group. One explanation may be that the older group has been in education for a longer period of time, and therefore, has a better knowledge and understanding of English and French than their younger counterparts. Another explanation may be that, as the most educated section of the adolescent population, the older group does not seem to see the relevance of Creole in an educational system where all the examination papers are set in the English language with the exception of any other language.

Table 44.3 Breakdown by age group for question 20

| 11-14 years | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 78.6% (70) | 74.7% (68) | 75.2% (67) | 58.4% (52) |
| Yes | 21.3% (19) | 24.1% (22) | 23.5% (21) | 41.5% (37) |

| 15-20 years | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 82.5% (85) | 75.4% (77) | 87.3% (90) | 78.2% (79) |
| Yes | 17.4% (18) | 24.5% (25) | 12.6% (13) | 21.7% (22) |

The breakdown by family income shows that it is informants from a medium and high income households who claim to be against Creole in the educational system and as the main language in Mauritius. These figures can be explained by the fact that these informants are more likely to be able to afford the cost of higher education abroad, and therefore, studying Creole in school bears no relevance in improving one's academic results and social status.

Table 44.4 Breakdown by family income for question 20

| Low | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 78.3% (58) | 69.3% (52) | 86.3% (63) | 63% (46) |
| Yes | 21.6% (16) | 30.6% (23) | 13.6% (10) | 36.9% (27) |

| Medium | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|--------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 81% (77) | 81% (77) | 81% (77) | 69.4% (66) |
| Yes | 18.9% (18) | 18.9% (18) | 18.9% (18) | 30.5% (29) |

| High | Learn Creole | Be taught in Creole | Speak Creole only | Creole as main language |
|------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| No | 84.6% (11) | 76.9% (10) | 84.6% (11) | 92.3% (12) |
| Yes | 15.3% (2) | 23% (3) | 15.3% (2) | 7.6% (1) |

9.2) Language attitudes

The answers to this open question as well as the interviews provoked a great deal of comments from informants. These responses have been classified into three main categories: those who are in favour of Creole in education, those who are against, and those who have divided views on this matter.

9.2.1) Learning Creole in school

The answers seem to reflect the prevailing general opinion of the public, as well as results of other studies such as Kistoe-West's and Hookoomsing's (see 4.4.2 and 4.4.4), that Creole as another subject of study does not appeal to the Mauritians. It is expected that the majority of informants should respond in this way since the Mauritian society, in general, highly values education and "academic" languages, particularly English and French, as has already been seen in chapter 8. Many responses strike by their logic and practicality that knowledge of several languages, particularly international ones, is clearly an asset in a modern and technological era. Some responses which can be quoted are:

-(073) (M19): "Learn Creole at school no because it is not an international language. All our final examination papers are set in English. So what is the use of studying Creole? Creole has no fixed writing every person writes his own way, therefore there would be a great problem".

-(115) (F16): "Je voudrais apprendre le Créole parce que c'est ma langue maternelle. Mais il y a aussi des désavantages parce que pour le futur nous aurons des problem [sic] car Maurice se développe de plus en plus. Et si jamais nous irons à l'étranger sa [sic] sera un problem [sic] majeur".

-(082) (F12): "Je voudrais apprendre le Créole car je suis Mauricienne. Je ne voudrais pas être enseigné [sic] en Creole à l'école pour qu'on puisse savoir

d'autres langues".

-(M16): "Si on apprend le créole on aura beaucoup d'ennuis à parler le français ou l'anglais. Et ça va nous poser beaucoup de problèmes en classe parce qu'on étudie l'anglais comme sujet principal et sans anglais on ne peut pas aller bien loin".

-(F18): "Si je ne savais pas parler Créole à l'école, oui, je voudrais l'apprendre peut-être pour pouvoir communiquer avec les autres ou pour mieux décrire quelque chose. Parler le Créole uniquement n'est pas pratique. Savoir parler plusieurs langues est extraordinaire- pouvoir s'expliquer, s'exprimer".

9.2.2) Creole as the medium of instruction

This second category may well have caused some confusion in the minds of informants as the interviews later revealed, when this question was further probed. For most of the informants interviewed, being taught in Creole meant having lesson explanations in Creole, and clearly not having Creole as medium of instruction, or as another academic subject. This would seem to suggest that Mauritians perceive the use of Creole from a realistic and practical angle: as a facilitator Creole can help to understand difficulties raised in studies. As a subject of study, or as a medium of instruction, it would be more of a handicap particularly to those who wanted to go and study abroad. Some examples which illustrate this point are as follows:

-(M18): "Je pense que je comprends mieux quand quelqu'un m'explique en Créole mais je préfère l'anglais ou le français comme langue principale à Maurice".

-(021) (M18): "Je préfère être enseigné en Créole à l'école, cela nous aidera à mieux comprendre. Avec les autres langues, on pourra améliorer nos connaissances au lieu de se concentrer en [sic] Créole".

-(179).(F16): “Etre enseignée en Créole serait plus facile pour moi, car c’est une langue que je comprends bien. Mais le Créole n’est pas un dialecte qui va m’aider dans le futur, car c’est l’anglais qui est la langue la plus demandée”.

-(M16): “It is useless because there are only a few islands in the Indian Ocean where people speak Creole”.

9.2.3) Creole as the only language

The questionnaire responses show that the negative answer scored a high percentage of responses (78.6%) in this third category, thus making it obvious that more than 75% of the sample appear against the idea of Creole monolingualism, thus favouring the use of other languages in Mauritius. It is expected that a large number of informants respond in this way, since anyone at school would have been made aware of the “supremacy” of European languages and their link to academic success and upward social mobility.

The questionnaire does not prompt any further questions as to which other languages are important, but in the interviews most informants had the opportunity to expand their views on the future of different languages in Mauritius, and most of them opted for European languages. This point is discussed more in detail in section 9.3. Some cases which can be quoted as examples in this section are as follows:

-(F14): “We already speak Creole at home. It does not seem to have so much importance in the country”.

-(114) (F16): “Premièrement le Créole est notre langue maternelle donc nous aimerions le Créole comme langue principale à Maurice. Deuxièmement parler le Créole uniquement est très bien mais dans le futur, avec notre pays qui se

développe de plus en plus se [sic] sera très difficile car, les enfants qui grandissent ne connaîtront qu'une seule langue".

-(M17): "Parce que le Créole on le sait déjà, c'est notre langue nationale. Avec d'autres langues on peut communiquer avec les étrangers. Les langues comme l'Anglais et le Français sont très utiles pour nous, les futures générations".

-(139) (M17): "Si on apprend le Créole se [sic] serait un désavantage pour nous. Si nous parlons le Créole uniquement nous aurons des difficultés pour apprendre les autres langues".

-(169) (M13): "If we had spoken only Creole and read Creole it would have been of no use if we went abroad, and when foreigners come to Mauritius. We wouldn't have been able to communicate with them".

-(F16): "Because abroad we can't speak Creole. It is only a Mauritian language".

9.2.4) Creole as the main language of Mauritius

The questionnaire data reveals that this fourth category is the category where a positive response towards Creole scored the highest percentage (29.4%). It is obvious that in Mauritius it is important to speak Creole for any Mauritian. In this case also the word "main" could have meant "national" language for informants, a role which is already fulfilled by Creole. Perhaps the term "official language like English" would have yielded different responses.

From the interview responses it appears that for many, Mauritius without Creole is hardly imaginable. There were a variety of reasons given for wanting to see Creole as the main language of Mauritius. The primary reason was that, by a clear majority, it was seen as the sole link between all Mauritians, it can serve as a vehicle of wider communication on the island, particularly in dealing with less

educated people.

-(F14): “Parce qu’il y a des Mauriciens qui ne comprennent que le Créole. Mais il n’est pas nécessaire de l’enseigner à l’école”.

In the second, and perhaps more subtle case, Creole is a vital element of the Mauritian culture, which gives the island its distinctive flavour and identity, thus distinguishing it from other neighbouring islands and countries. Creole is acquired naturally; therefore there is no need to learn it in school, but other languages which will allow access to the international sphere are an important factor for the future, and therefore, should be encouraged in education. A few examples follow:

-(101) (F18): “It would be needless to learn Creole at school because since it is our native language, we do not need to study it, and be taught at school, it will be a waste of time. We can study some other foreign languages to widen our knowledge. But Creole must remain as the main language in Mauritius since it is our tradition and custom in Mauritius”.

-(M15): “Si nous Mauriciens si nous zis konne koz Kreol pé ena personne ki koz Anglais ek Français dans Maurice li pas pou bon. Nous bizin koz ene tigitte Anglais ou soit Français, ou soit Hindi ou soit Kreol”.

(If we Mauritians only know how to speak Creole and if there is no one who can speak English and French it will not be a good thing. We need to talk a bit of English or French, or Hindi, or Creole”.

-(F17): “I don’t want to say that I don’t like Creole because I like Creole because it is a tradition of our ancestors but I don’t think it will be utile [sic] to us. Because I like French and English very much and then Creole”.

There is a small number of informants (6) who have answered “yes” to all four categories. There are four boys and two girls in favour of Creole in the educational and state system, and feel that Creole as part of the linguistic heritage should

become standardized. The ethnolinguistic groups of these informants vary suggesting that there may be no link between ethnic group and choice of Creole. However, five of these informants are from a low income background. Although these responses suggest a correlation between choice of Creole and socio-economic background, the number of informants is very small and more studies are needed to test the present hypothesis. The cases which may be cited are as follows:

-(030) (M18): "Le fait que c'est la langue majeure dans notre île et on ne doit pas négliger cette langue qui constitue la majeure partie dans les conversations des Mauriciens".

-(102) (M15): "If from our birth we are talking Creole why should we change this language. It is more easy and more understandable".

-(108) (M14): "We already know Creole. It is not difficult. It is easy to speak. Everybody speak [sic] Creole".

-(113) (F16): "Parce que le Créole c'est ma langue maternelle et ma famille parle le créole. Nous sommes des Mauriciens donc nous devons parler notre langue maternel [sic]. Depuis petit jusqu'à adulte nous parlons le même langage c'est à dire le créole. J'aime le créole et je ne l'oublierai jamais".

-(189) (F14): "Parceque c'est notre langue natale et que je parle tous les jours à la maison, avec mes amis, mes grands parents, mes cousins et tous les jeunes de mon âge. Je ne vois pas pourquoi on ne devrait pas parler le créole et le faire notre langue officielle, si nous voulons travailler dans notre pays. Si nous voulons aller immigrer ailleurs, ce sera un problème mais si comme moi je veux travailler à Maurice, je trouve tout à fait normal que créole devienne notre langue principale".

-(073).(M19): "If we see other countries they have their language, for example England, if someone says he comes from England we must talk [sic] English to him, or if they come from France we must speak French. Why when we Mauritians

go to other country, why shall we talk English and French if they don't talk our language?”.

In the interviews, a few informants were convinced that having Creole as the medium of instruction would lead to academic success and make job interviews easier. These informants live either in rural or in coastal areas and come from low income brackets. Their choice for Creole does not seem to be driven by ideological motives, but simply by the fact that for many it is the only language they know. Most of these informants appear to have difficulties in their schooling, as their oral ability in English and French revealed. This may be the reason for opting for an educational system in Creole, which is their native tongue, as well as that of their parents and grandparents, and to show their attachment to it. Some responses are as follows:

-(005) (F18): “Avoir le Créole comme langue principale à Maurice ce serait bien ainsi on n'aura pas à être interviewer[sic] en Anglais[sic]. Cette langue doit avoir une place importante à Maurice pour qu'elle ne soit pas à jamais oublier[sic] un jour”.

-(M12): “Il y a des élèves qui savent parler plus le Créole que l'Anglais et je pense s'ils étudient le Créole, ils seraient plus classés et puis sera[sic] meilleur dans ce sujet là”.

A small number of informants (13) admitted that they did not like Creole; one also claimed that Creole was not the language of her home. The informants in this category considered Creole to be a “dialecte”, a “patois”, with no great value. A few even thought it was vulgar. These informants were in majority female and were from both age groups, and from all three income brackets. Here again the results give support to findings in the literature that female informants have a tendency to prefer high status languages. Some responses which can be quoted are:

-(F15): “Je n’aime pas le Créole parce que je pense que cette langue ne va pas m’aider dans le futur car dans presque tous les pays c’est le français ou l’anglais qui prime sur tout”.

-(M15): “Quand koz Kreol pli vulgaire”.

(When one speaks Creole it is more vulgar).

-(F15): “I don’t like Creole very much because I think it’s a bit rude, I don’t know...”.

-(F16): “Le Créole n’a pas de grammaire. Donc comment avoir une langue principale sans grammaire. En plus le Créole n’est pas reconnu dans le monde puisque ce n’est pas une langue mais plutôt un dialecte”.

-(F16): “Premièrement le créole n’est pas une langue, c’est un dialecte qui n’a ni temps de verbe, ni aucune règle de grammaire. Le Créole n’aura donc jamais sa place, pourquoi donc l’étudier?”.

9.3) General opinions on the future of languages in Mauritius

This section presents interview responses to the question: “Comment vois-tu les langues évoluer (c’est à dire l’Anglais, le Français, le Créole et les langues Orientales) à Maurice dans mettons 30 à 40 ans. A ton avis est-ce-qu’elles vont prendre plus d’importance, moins d’importance, ou elles vont rester comme elles sont?”.

Among the forty-two informants who were interviewed, there are twenty-two male and twenty female. There are five respondents who answered “do not know” to this question. This suggests that these young Mauritians found this question difficult to answer, or may not have thought about the issue, or may not be interested in it.

The most frequent comment is that European languages will become steadily

more important, as would Creole, but that the Oriental languages would gradually disappear. A number of cases quoted in the following paragraphs show these three trends.

9.3.1) English and French as international languages

The most common response is that both English and French have a “good future”, in Mauritius, and there is no informant who thinks that these two languages have “no future”. Most informants foresee a good future for English and French because of economic reasons (importance of tourism industry and commercial links with Europe, South Africa and Asia), and for the important role they play in the Mauritian society, the administration and educational system. However, many informants feel that their command of English is limited, when compared with French. Among the reasons which are given are: lack of exposure to the English language, i.e not enough educational resources and books in English, lack of continuity of the English language in daily life, i.e not enough television programmes, newspapers, and magazines in English.

It is clear that the optimistic views on tourism are also inspired by the fact that most tourists visiting Mauritius speak either English or French, not Creole. (As already mentioned in section 2.5, the good climate and beaches in Mauritius make it an ideal centre for tourists.) Tourism has boomed and is today providing employment for many Mauritians in the hotel and catering industry all over the island. These factors appear to have influenced informants' opinions in favour of English and French, and, as a result of economic growth, these two languages are seen to have become more widespread as suggested in the example below:

-(M16): “Alle alle mauricien pou capave cause Anglais, ou Français soit tous les

deux, ek quitte Créole ek langues Orientales...parceki nou pe koz Anglais ek français avec touristes, parski touristes pas konne koz Kreol”.

(Little by little Mauritians will speak English or French, or both, and drop Creole and Oriental languages...because we speak English and French with tourists, because tourists don't know Creole).

-(F20): “Si on échoue en anglais on n'a pas de certificat. Même si j'aime bien parler le français l'anglais est plus important. “Ça a une importance primordiale. Le français aussi mais si on part chercher un boulot les interviews sont faits en anglais et en français, les deux”.

9.3.2) Creole as a lingua franca

Clearly, the most common response, by a large margin, suggests that Creole has its place in the Mauritian linguistic landscape. But many informants claim that, as it is already a language everybody knows, there is a greater need to know other languages as well. Most of them are of the opinion that Creole would not allow them to communicate with foreigners or to study abroad as seen above. There are only a few informants who indicate that the importance of Creole would decrease in the next thirty to forty years:

-(M17): “Dans ene certain le temps Kreol pas pou ena valere parski la plipart dimoun aster pe koz anglais ek français”.

(In the future Creole will not be valuable because most people speak English and French today.)

Overall the majority of the informants interviewed say that Creole would stay as it is. While these informants do not share the optimism of those who believe in the expansion of the language, they do not see any reason for it to lose importance or die out.

-(M15): “In the future I think that it will be the same as it is nowadays, because people are more encouraged to talk and read English and French not Creole”.

-(F16): “Li pas pou aboli, pou ena banne dimoune ki pas fine alle lekol et zotte pas pou konne koz Anglais ek Français. Zotte pou continuer koz Kreol ek li pas pou trop utiliser dans les années à venir”.

(It [Creole] will not die out there will be people who did not go to school and they will not know English and French. They will carry on speaking Creole and it will not be used a great deal in the future).

Although there is a clear majority of adolescents who claim they like speaking Creole irrespective of their sex, age, place of residence, socio-economic status of parents and ethnolinguistic group (see 8.4), only a few consider that Creole should have official recognition by the State in Mauritius and enjoy the same status as English and French. Two over-optimistic informants even predict that Creole could be taught overseas:

(F14): “Kreol capave vinne ene langue comme Anglais ek Français. Li capave commence enseigne dans banne le zotte pays”.

(Creole can become a language like English and French. It can also be taught in other countries.)

(F16): “On va continuer à parler Créole car c’est notre langue maternelle ça va peut-être augmenter. Peut-être on va donner plus d’importance au Créole”.

9.3.3) Oriental languages as traditional languages

The majority of informants hold a pessimistic view on the future of Oriental languages. They think that Oriental languages have no future, and some also predict that they will die out gradually. Here again the main reasons are that these languages are not going to be useful, and informants admit that their parents prefer

them to speak Creole rather than an Indian or Chinese language. Some responses which fall in this category are:

(F20) “Langues Orientales pou diminuer peut-être parceki nou pe trop frequente l'Europe”

(Oriental languages will decline because we are more and more influenced by Europe.)

(M20) “Langues Orientales mo pense pou eliminer, pou baisser, par contre Anglais ek français pou ena ene ti evolution positive ek Kreol pou ena ene ti baisse”.

(I think that the Oriental languages will die out, will decline; on the other hand, English and French will increase a bit, and Creole will decrease a little.)

There were only a few optimistic responses. They come in forms such as:

(F15). “Mo pense ki banne langues orientales pou prend plis l'importance parski gouvernement pe encouraz zotte”.

(I think that Oriental languages will become more important because the government is promoting them.)

The decline of Oriental languages can be explained by the fact that they are perceived as economically disadvantageous, and not allowing or promoting inter-ethnic communication as Creole does. The language appears to be less important in itself than the culture it represents. The primary uses of Indian and Chinese languages are for cultural, traditional and religious purposes. A noticeably small number say they would use and study these languages to keep the linguistic tradition and culture of their ancestors.

To sum up, the questionnaire data show that the majority of the informants are against the introduction of Creole in the educational system. The attitudes do not reveal any strong anti-Creole attitude, anti-Oriental, nor any anti-European one.

At the same time, no strong pro-English or pro-French attitude is felt, perhaps because informants do not want to be perceived as rejecting their ethnic and cultural heritage. It may be suggested that informants' opinions and views are modelled on the prevailing opinion that English and French are important to achieve academic success and to get a job. Creole is important in Mauritius to communicate with the family, friends, less educated people and other fellow countrymen. Oriental languages are perceived as not useful and important in everyday life, but have a cultural and symbolic value.

9.4) Teachers' attitudes to Creole in education

This section presents some of the attitudes and opinions which were gathered whilst talking to the teachers, who were available, either before or after conducting the investigation. It also analyzes the issues involved, values and motivations which influence language views and perceptions, from a wider perspective (i.e. psychological and socio cultural). The questions asked took the form of "Vous êtes professeur, pourriez-vous me dire:

- (i) Quel (s) matière (s) vous enseignez?
- (ii) Quels sont vos sentiments personnels sur l'introduction du Créole à l'école soit comme langue d'enseignement, soit comme sujet d'étude?"

The interviews lasted between 10-15 minutes each and they were also audiotaped. Twenty-seven teachers teaching various subjects were interviewed, among whom nine were female and eighteen were male. All the teachers had opinions on whether Creole should be adopted in education, or not, and it was hoped to make comparisons with some of Kistoe-West's results (see 4.4.3).

The interviews displayed a wide range of responses and in this case,

although the number of teachers interviewed is small, three main trends were noted: those who are for Creole in education, those who are against the idea, and those who have mixed feelings. The responses are classified into one of these three trends and are discussed in the following paragraphs.

9.4.1) Those against Creole in education

There is not a significant difference of opinion between language teachers, economics and science teachers on this point. All women teachers are against the idea of adopting Creole in the educational system. They admit to using French mostly and a few words of Creole if needed. The reasons justifying this choice are numerous and they seem to support many findings in sociolinguistic research that women have a greater tendency to use and prefer standard languages to vernacular forms.

For many informants, Creole would have a harmful effect on the acquisition of other languages. They concede that Creole as the native tongue is useful in rendering explanations easier, particularly in rural areas, but that it should be followed by French or English once the pupils have understood. Others think that the use of Creole would be a disadvantage as shown in the examples below:

-(Female) (F) (English teacher): "En tant que prof je dois d'abord dire que nous n'avons pas d'examen à passer en créole, nous avons à répondre aux sujets d'examen soit en anglais....donc il faut qu'un élève arrive à s'exprimer correctement en anglais et nous avons le sujet français qui est séparé. Donc où est la place du créole?...Moi je dis à l'école primaire, là où le prof n'arrive pas à faire traverser les messages, surtout dans les régions rurales, l'explication peut être, on peut avoir recours au créole. Pour l'explication uniquement mais là aussi lorsqu'on a fini d'expliquer en créole et l'on refait en français, graduellement on va emmener

à l'anglais, C'est ce que je fais ici".

-(F).(English teacher): "I don't think Creole should be used at all in classes. Why not use French instead of Creole..?. If they [pupils] can understand French why use Creole at all?"

-(M) (French teacher): "Je suis tout à fait contre parce que si à la maternelle vous commencez avec le créole déjà c'est une mauvaise habitude. Je regarde mes enfants. Ils ont été dans une bonne école maternelle. On parle français. Ils sont très bien. Ils peuvent parler le créole avec leurs amis mais ils peuvent bien s'exprimer en français, disons que le médium à l'école c'est le français pas l'anglais. Je suis contre parce que comment vous dire on croit que c'est difficile mais ce n'est pas tellement difficile parce que l'enfant peut facilement s'adapter..."

For some teachers Creole may even represent a step backwards, or "repli sur soi", particularly when taking into consideration the international sphere and the potential the European languages represent for Mauritius.

-(M) (Science teacher): "Il y a un danger là-dedans, je pense qu'on devrait maintenir l'anglais, utiliser le créole que quand il y a vraiment des difficultés autrement les élèves risqueraient de se faire attraper, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi. Ils doivent être en contact avec l'anglais parce que toutes les autres matières sont en anglais. Maintenant si on commence à enseigner en créole ils vont pouvoir comprendre mais ils ne pourront jamais pouvoir s'exprimer correctement."

-(M).(Science teacher): "Quant à introduire le créole vraiment comme une langue, je ne serais pas tellement d'accord parce que on devrait se baser dans une langue internationale, on est petit, on a besoin de voyager, on a besoin d'étudier ailleurs. Toutes les études professionnelles sont en anglais, je vois mal le créole s'insérer là-dedans".

-(M) (Economics teacher): "Je ne crois pas parce que déjà les élèves ont un

problème par exemple en ce qui concerne les traductions qu'on fait en français. Ils essaient de penser en créole maintenant si on continue avec le créole en classe je pense que le problème va s'accroître".

-(M) (English teacher): "I personally think that it should not be taught because it will create problems, especially for French because you cannot teach Creole and French at the same time. People will start mingling words from Creole to French and from French into Creole".

-(F) (English teacher): "As a Mauritian I am completely against because we all know that by the year 2010 English is going to be the major international language. We can't go backwards. Creole is a spoken language. If you write it down you are going to lose a lot especially in the tourism industry, business and all that. Nobody is going to accept it".

-(F) (French teacher): "Je suis contre l'utilisation des dialectes en classe. Parce que du point de vue international, il faut pratiquer les langues qu'on parle partout dans le monde si on veut que les enfants progressent".

9.4.2) Those in favour of Creole in education

In general, attitudes towards Creole in education are negative, because informants do not see a use for it on a practical and pragmatic level in education. A small number (3) are more hopeful: these are all male teachers teaching Languages and Science. They feel that Creole could be a valuable asset, but only if it is codified and standardized.

-(M) (Science teacher): "ça serait une bonne idée d'enseigner le créole comme une autre langue. Pour moi ce serait bien".

(M) (Economics teacher): "Si le créole est reconnu comme langue officielle à ce

moment là pourquoi pas? Mais faut-il qu'à ce moment-là les élèves soient évalués en créole parce que je pense si [sic] un Russe peut faire ses études en russe et une personne qui habite dans un autre pays peut se servir de sa langue pour faire ses études, je ne vois pas pourquoi nous ne pouvons pas nous servir de notre langue”.

There is one final optimistic comment from a teacher who seems to think that Creole could improve the rate of success for the final examinations:

-(M) (English teacher): “If this can help them I believe yes. Now it depends what they do in Creole because I believe it is difficult to write Creole. It is easier to teach in Creole they understand in Creole but when they have to take the things and write it in English, translate it in English then they find difficulties”.

The responses of this group compare closely with the results to similar questions asked by Kistoe-West (4.4.3). Kistoe-West also found that the majority of teachers were against Creole as a medium of instruction, and this attitude generally appears to have prevailed.

It also appears from the responses that teachers, as parents themselves, prefer to speak Creole and French at home, and they believe that continuity of French from school into the home is a valuable asset for their children and the key to their progress and good achievement in school. Even those who know Indian languages very rarely speak them at home; if they do, it is mainly with older generations of their family.

9.4.3) Those with mixed feelings towards Creole in education

A small number of teachers (4) have mixed attitudes towards introducing Creole into the school system. Although they acknowledge that it would be to the

benefit of the pupils, their reserve demonstrates a strong degree of realism and caution with respect to the present situation:

-(M) (Accounts teacher): “Oui et non. Oui parce que ça serait plus facile pour les élèves disons de comprendre et disons de répondre aux questions. Non aussi longtemps que les examens seront tenus en anglais par Cambridge, alors ça va poser un problème au niveau de la réussite. On ne peut pas traduire les questions d'examens alors ça va donner un problème. Alors dans ce sens-là je dirais non”.

-(M) (Economics teacher): “It is a good idea to unite may be all the various cultures, religions we have in this country but when the person has to work he needs more of English and French than Creole”.

-(M) (Sociology teacher): “Oui ça fait partie de notre culture, de notre héritage, mais je vois le côté pratique aussi. Je crois que ce sera trop pour l'enfant parce qu'il aura à apprendre comment écrire le patois pour moi c'est mieux qu'ils font [sic] seulement la langue anglaise et française parce que c'est un avantage d'être bilingue.

Reponses also reveal that Oriental languages, learnt in addition to English and French, are generally devalued, perhaps more than Creole because their acquisition is not viewed as an educational “plus” but more as a burden on the heavy and competitive curriculum inflicted by the school system as described in the following examples:

(M. English teacher): “...disons qu'il y a beaucoup de parents qui demandent à leurs enfants de négliger les langues orientales arrivant au niveau de la compétition comme le CPE où une langue orientale n'est pas forcément considérée comme une matière où on peut évaluer la performance de l'enfant...”.

(F Social Sciences teacher): “...l'enfant n'a pas l'occasion de faire une langue orientale surtout avec la compétition qu'il y a. Avec le CPE ils ne trouvent pas le temps le samedi, il y a les leçons [particulières] tout ça et ils ne peuvent pas

prendre des langues orientales en plus...”.

(M English teacher): “...people move around, development in the country, parents who are professionals quite well off in the country don't take things seriously. That's why these pupils are not interested, as far as Oriental languages are concerned. I think they are forgetting it now”.

(M Science teacher): “...disons à l'école gouvernement pé mette quantité d'argent dedans pé encourage banne langues orientales....ène migration pé prend place à Maurice banne bureaucrates pé quitte village, zotte pé alle vers la ville et [...] langaz banne bureaucrates c'est le français alors zotte pé encourage zotte banne zenfant pou koz français à l'école.”

(Well the government is putting a lot of money to encourage [the teaching] of Oriental languages...a migration is taking place in Mauritius at the moment. The office workers are leaving the villages they are going to live into towns and [...] they speak French and thus they are encouraging their children to speak French at school.)

As far as future of languages is concerned, the interviews show that although some teachers appreciate the situation in which European languages are crucial in the present context, they are conscious of the fact that Oriental languages are inevitably losing ground and are close to disappearance. Nonetheless, some Indo and Sino-Mauritian teachers equated this feeling with a positive desire for their children to learn their ancestral languages as shown by the examples below:

(F French teacher): “Je dois dire que j'ai épousé un Tamoul donc il y a des difficultés pour utiliser chinois et tamil.....ma fille apprend le tamil et peut-être elle est intéressée à apprendre le mandarin mais là malheureusement nous sommes à Flacq [i.e. rural] et il n'y a aucune personne pour enseigner [le mandarin] mais quand nous allons chez mes parents à Port-Louis ma fille apprend le chinois. Elle

partage elle dit “Ça on dit en Tamil comme ça et tu me dis comment on dit ça en chinois...”.

(F Science teacher): “I can’t speak Telegu but I’d like my children to learn. It’s an asset”.

To conclude this section, it is difficult to come to a clear-cut conclusion from these views, but it is clear that the majority of the teachers interviewed are against having Creole as another subject in school and as the medium of instruction in the educational system. The perception of Creole as a simple language lacking a formal set of rules is also found to be a recurrent argument in the interviews. It can also be noted that attitudes do not seem to have changed much twenty years after Kistoe-West’s survey (see 4.4.3). It may not be premature, at this stage, to say that the teachers’ views may have an influence on their pupils’ attitudes towards languages in Mauritius, and that having Creole in the educational system does not appear to be plausible in the near future. Oriental languages do not appear to weigh very much in this linguistic balance. Indeed, they are perceived as not useful and unnecessary in a highly competitive school system where the existing norms give and maintain the advantages to English and French.

Chapter 10: Sociolinguistic issues raised in this study

In this chapter some of the sociolinguistic issues which have become apparent from the results in the previous chapters will be addressed. The issues raised are of a social and psychological nature, and it is hoped to show how the accommodative behaviour revealed in the present investigation fits into existing frameworks and how it compares with other observed phenomena. It also suggests a model of identity which could be applicable to multilingual speakers and attempts to predict the future development of languages in Mauritius. The various theories outlined here are not mutually exclusive, but they are at least partially complementary and for this reason they are treated with reference to each other and with reference to the overall context.

10.1) Accommodation theory and language

In the early 70s Giles, Beebe et al. developed the theory of accommodation by using linguistic data to explain why speakers modify their language in the presence of others, to what extent they do it, and at what cost. Originally, accommodation theory was strictly a socio-psychological theory and much of the earliest work was carried out in laboratories and was descriptive in nature (Beebe & Giles 1984: 7). The main criticism was that it ignored contextual variables which influenced linguistic variation and speech styles. Later, in order to redress this balance social contextual variables were added to elaborate and refine the theory.

Since then it has adopted an interdisciplinary approach to explain strategies occurring in communicative interaction and has been of interest to researchers from a wide range of disciplines among which social psychology, medicine, law, second language learning and sociolinguistics can be cited (Coupland et al. 1991: 3). Sociolinguistics is a field of study which is constantly evolving as language behaviour is one aspect of human relations which is liable to frequent and not always predictable changes. It is also difficult to make theoretical constructs concerning accommodative behaviour as the whole context is important and what applies to one social context may not be appropriate to another. It is for this reason that the results of the present study should be treated with a degree of caution before reaching any conclusion, and this is why statements in the previous chapters have been rather tentative. Before considering specific cases of accommodative behaviour in the present investigation some concepts of language accommodation and strategies will be discussed a little further.

10.2) Basic concepts and strategies

According to Coupland (1991 ch. 1), accommodation theory can be divided into two central concepts: convergence and divergence. The first is a linguistic strategy whereby speakers adapt or adjust to each other's communicative behaviour in terms of a wide range of verbal and non-verbal features such as speech rates, pauses, intonation, smile, gaze etc. The second on the other hand, refers to the manner by which speakers accentuate the vocal and non-vocal differences between themselves and the others.

The social psychological motives underlying accommodative behaviour are numerous and varied. Linguistic convergence can be seen as a need for social approval and/or a desire for higher communicational efficiency, and/or a desire to maintain positive social identities (Giles, 1973, Bourhis & Giles 1977, Giles &

Beebe 1984). Conversely, speakers looking for greater social distance will display negative attitudes toward their interlocutor and diverge linguistically.

Coupland (1988: 101-102) refers to an interesting study by Bourhis and Giles (1976) to illustrate accommodative behaviour amongst theatre-goers in Cardiff. The researchers found that the Welsh bilingual audience responded more favourably to a request of completing a questionnaire when the interlocutor used Welsh than English. This type of behaviour gives an insight into the close link between language and identity. Indeed the choice of the Welsh language can be seen as expressing the respondents' affiliation to the Welsh identity and dissociation from the English identity.

Stieblich (1986 & also 4.1.2) has shown that accommodative behaviour does not always result in social approval and that social norms, in particular language legislation, can influence accommodative behaviour. Her study in Québec shows that francophone informants rated an anglophone speaker more favourably when he converged to French. However, the Quebecois salesperson was rated in an equal manner whether he spoke French or switched to English to accommodate the anglophone customer. Furthermore, this example shows that convergence and divergence are not necessarily mutually exclusive, since the effort at convergence was not evaluated in a more favourable manner by francophone shop assistants.

Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985) suggest a close link between accommodation and identity in multilingual communities. They discovered that Belizean Creole speakers, when interacting with speakers of English used a mixture of English and Creole and adjusted their speech to meet the needs required by the situation (see also 4.4.1). They refer to this process as code-switching and code-mixing (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller *ibid*: 11-14). In their view, linguistic behaviour is considered as a series of "acts of identity" in which the individual

“creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller *ibid*: 180-181). They point to the fact that in most Creole-speaking countries, the language of the home differs from that of the educational system. In these cases, multilingual speakers can keep one variety for their home, another for school, and so on, without conflict (*ibid*: 184). From this perspective, it would appear that multilingual speakers can “move” within a sociolinguistic space by shifting their identity in order to accommodate to different situations and different social contexts.

Linguistic convergence has been related to language shift. Trudgill (1986 ch. 2) found that younger people who were commuting to work from Norwich to London, on a daily basis, shared more linguistic features (words, idioms, pronunciation) with Londoners than with their elders. He suggests that everyday interpersonal accommodation can lead to longer-term language shift on an individual as well as group level language use.

The objective of this introductory section is not to review all the possible situations of language accommodation, as has already been done in the literature mentioned above. This first section aims at giving a general idea, although a very limited one, of the complex issues involved in the study of language accommodation. Since the information gathered on informants in the present study is limited, the following assessment will be of a generalised nature. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that no specific testing or observation was carried out, and therefore only an illustration of language accommodation and accommodative behaviour can be provided.

10.3) Accommodative behaviour in secondary schools

The motivation for accommodating appears to be varied for this section of the population. It should perhaps be reimphasized that the researcher is a native Mauritian who has been studying and working in European universities for several years. She may have provided an accessible role model to the informants in terms of ethnicity and being a Creole speaker, but with the added “prestige status” of a person who has successfully achieved academic and professional goals in a European context. It may, therefore, be argued that the need to “impress” her would have been relatively strong in the informants. The social physical characteristics (ethnic group, Creole native speaker) do not seem to have influenced the responses as much as her social image and academic and professional achievements. The nature of this relationship between the informants and the researcher, together with the general “academic atmosphere” of the study and the investigation carried out in an educational setting, would tend to support the hypothesis that psychological and linguistic convergence may well have taken place to a certain extent. Informants may have wished to gain the researcher’s approval by emphasizing and, perhaps, overrating their ability and frequent use of academic European languages as the high percentages of responses in favour of English and French in chapters 6 and 7 may seem to suggest.

Results from chapters 8 on language choice, usefulness of languages indicate clearly that European languages are learned with an instrumental motivation in a similar way to Cohen and Cooper (1986) who found that locals in Thailand whose livelihood depend on tourism and service industries often learn the languages of their visitors.

Responses in chapter 9 on perception of languages suggest that this instrumental motivation is closely related to economic reward and the need for

social approval and social prestige. Indeed, responses reveal that informants would adjust and speak French or English in formal contexts (i.e interviews), with their teachers and with foreign visitors. With foreigners, informants may feel they ought to be spoken to in their native language since visitors do not speak Creole. This could also mean that informants want to be perceived in a favourable manner by their interlocutors, and perhaps increase their interlocutor's sense of respect towards them by accommodating them and speaking their language.

Linguistic convergence can also be influenced by existing language norms that give advantage to English and French. The responses from teachers in chapter 9 tend to suggest that linguistic convergence towards English in formal context has more prestige status than French as shown in the second example: (M. English teacher): “when you speak a bit of French, people consider you higher in society, when you go into an office, when you talk in Creole, nobody takes you into consideration as if you are an illiterate. So when you speak in French, people say ok this is somebody who is educated at least who knows how to speak French. They think in this way”.

(F French teacher): “Actuellement à Maurice si on s'exprime en français, on est mieux considéré, si on s'exprime en anglais on est encore plus considéré. C'est l'état actuel quoi si par exemple vous entrez dans un bureau et que vous parlez le créole, on vous laisse de côté mais si vous parlez le français on vous prend un peu en considération mais si vous pouvez parler anglais c'est le mieux encore [...]”.

This “superior” status conferred on the English language can be explained by the fact that despite being the official language in Mauritius, it is rarely used in the social context (see 2.10.1) and Mauritians are more fluent in French than in English (see chapter 9). It would therefore appear that the ability to speak English fluently is rare, and is perhaps considered as an added privilege. Contrary to Stein's prediction that Mauritius without French would be un-thinkable (see 4.4.4), it would

appear that, in the light of the present findings, the future of Mauritius without English is also un-thinkable, and that it has to be included in the diglossic/triglossic model as perhaps the highest variety.

10.4) Language switching and language mixing

The definition of language or code-switching refers to the use of two or more language varieties in the same conversation (Scotton 1986: 403). Gardner-Chloros (1991) has pointed out the complexity of the code-switching phenomenon and the difficulty in distinguishing clearly between language switching, language borrowing and language interference, as no particular rule seems to govern these phenomena. In order to simplify these blurred distinctions one can say that if language switching is considered as a change either within a language or to another language variety, it can be viewed as an aspect of accommodation if in the course of a conversation speakers switch either by converging to or diverging from their interlocutor's speech or language.

Although the study of code-switching was out of the scope of the present study, since it would have required a large amount of natural speech before an analysis could have been carried out in an appropriate manner, responses in the interviews and general observation would appear to suggest that the type of switches encountered in the interviews, and indeed in the Mauritian context, corresponds to a language mixture in a similar way to what was observed in Belize by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985 and see also 4.4.1). Here are some illustrative examples:

(F 18) "Créole li déjà nous native language. Nous conne li. Li innate en nous même. Li ti pou mieux qui nous élargir ça banne knowledge la à travers banne lezotte languages comme allemand ki assez difficile. Si demain ène partie envie

alle faire l'étude là-bas li pou bon pou zotte même”.

(Creole is already our native language. We know it. It is innate. It would be better to widen our knowledge through other languages like German which is quite difficult. If some [students] would like to go and study in Germany it would be easier for them.)

(F 14): “[...] la vie n'est pas si vite à Maurice, pas “quite fast”.

(M Chemistry teacher): “Creole is difficult. If I have to write “moi” o.k en français on écrit “moi” mais en créole comment ils écrivent ça “mwa” vous voyez, it's a problem for the pupils to learn a new way of writing”.

The code-switching or code-mixing in the present case can be seen as a way of expressing effectively an idea or a subject of discussion. Moreover, it can be noted that the switching, in this context, is primarily into a higher variety i.e French and English and not into Creole. Although informants are Creole speakers, the data would tend to suggest that informants' responses were influenced, to a large extent, by the educational setting, where European languages have an intrinsically high status and value. Furthermore, it should be recalled that the author had emphasized the academic nature of her study during her fieldwork to the informants (see 4.3.4). This may also have prompted the informants to converge to English and French.

Results in chapter 7 on language use in the classroom (see 7.3) suggest that teachers will switch to French or/and Creole in the course of lessons to match the linguistic ability of their pupils with the aim of facilitating comprehension, since these two languages are best understood by the pupils. This was confirmed by the teachers themselves during the interviews as shown in the following examples:

(F Accounts teacher): “Pour la matière que j'enseigne c'est surtout l'explication qui se fait en français. Laissez-moi vous donner un exemple. Disons “dissolution of

partnership”, un des chapitres que je fais en Form VI. Donc si on doit leur expliquer qu’il y a des partenaires qui des fois veulent “dissolute” ce que ça veut dire, dissolute [sic], they end partnership acts. Qu’est-ce-que c’est les Acts, Company Law, ou partnership. De temps en temps on met un petit bout de français pour qu’ils puissent être dans le bain quoi”.

(M Sciences teacher): “[...] I am obliged to use it [Creole] when they [the pupils] do not understand certain topics like Maths, Science...”.

In some cases of language mixture noted in the responses, particularly when informants are speaking Creole and/or French, it is not always easy to isolate what is truly Creole and what is truly French (see first example quoted this section). Trudgill (1986) points out that multilingual speakers who tend to mix languages may or may not always have a very clear idea about the language they are speaking. Responses from question 19 in chapter 7 on language use on a daily basis suggest that this may have been the case since, informants who were interviewed admitted having difficulty in quantifying the various languages used on a daily basis.

Linguistic accommodation can be facilitated by phonological similarities between languages. In this kind of accommodation speakers do not modify their phonological systems but their pronunciation of particular words (Trudgill 1986). In the present case, the phonological similarities between Creole and French may have motivated informants to converge to the French pronunciation as shown in the following example in which the individual Creole words such as for example “ça dépane” were pronounced the same as in French “ça dépend”.

(M 18) “Ça dépend. Si comment dire ena banne sujets in pe difficile explique li en Créole avant. Si facile ler la faire li en anglais même”.

(It depends. For those subjects which are difficult explain them in Creole first. If

they are easy then do them directly in English.)

This type of linguistic convergence would tend to suggest that in addition to the socio-psychological factors, which lie at the root of accommodation (i.e desire for social approval, economic reward, not to be different), the French pronunciation of Creole words, socially marked as having more prestige, may be considered as a desire to impress and be intelligible by using a higher variety so as to gain a higher status.

Responses in chapter 7 on language use in the home suggest that language mixture may also be occurring in the home context as informants claim to speak three or even four languages with family members. Clearly in terms of linguistic skills the majority of the informants tend to be trilingual, although their ability in French and English may vary, as the interviews revealed in chapter 9. It may be recalled that this question was a multi-response question which allowed informants to enter several languages. Although the present questionnaire did not investigate which languages were more or less used with each family member, results would seem to suggest that informants adjust their language to the communicative situation and to their interlocutor (see 7.1). Thus, it would appear that the majority of informants use a mixture of Creole, French and English with all the other family members regardless of their ethnolinguistic backgrounds and places of residence. Consequently, it would seem plausible to argue that, without any intention to deceive or misrepresent, informants may have designated their use of Creole with an admixture of French and English words, phrases, expressions, technical terms, idioms etc - as Creole, French and English. Although the ideal solution would have been to follow up these informants in their homes to test this hypothesis - a procedure which would have been practically impossible - this would appear to be a plausible explanation, since in the Mauritian social context language switching and mixing would come naturally to anybody who is multilingual, and perhaps more

to someone who is educated.

10.5) Multiple Identity in Mauritius

Accommodative strategies can be assessed in terms of conformity to and identification with a group or an individual. From this perspective, linguistic convergence is seen as a strategy of identification with the communicative pattern internal to the group. Conversely, linguistic divergence is viewed as a strategy of identification with a communicative pattern external to the interaction.

In monolingual societies, speakers generally tend to associate themselves with the cultural and religious values of the language they use. This does not seem to be necessarily the case in multilingual societies. According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) multilingual speakers “move and position” themselves within a multidimensional sociolinguistic space in order to accommodate to different interactive situations and to their needs for various identities. This concept of multiple identity is not fixed but flexible, dynamic and moves away from a linear model described in terms of continuum (Bickerton 1975) in which the language variety of a bilingual creolophone speaker can be located within a continuum with the Creole at one end and the standard language at the other.

The concept of a multiple identity is also present in Sharma and Rao (1988: 77) who refer to the concept of “multi-identity” “mirrored” in the multilingual repertoire of Mauritians. Similarly, Lionnet (1993: 106) points to the concept of “multivocal” identity of Mauritians, which is constantly expressed and “renegotiated” depending on the communicative situation.

Although questions on cultural, ethnic and religious identities were not specifically asked in the present questionnaire, the outcome of the study’s results allows some insight into representation of identity in multilingual speakers, which

clearly remains to be investigated and corroborated with further studies in the coming years.

Results from chapter 6 on language ability show that the majority of the informants perceive themselves as trilinguals with a higher competence in Creole, French and English and a varying ability in Oriental languages. Although the majority of informants (62.2%) are from an Indian background, as seen earlier, only 12.4% claim to use these languages on a daily basis (see 7.2). The results also reveal that the majority are passive quadrilinguals (52.8% see 6.1), because they can understand but cannot produce these languages.

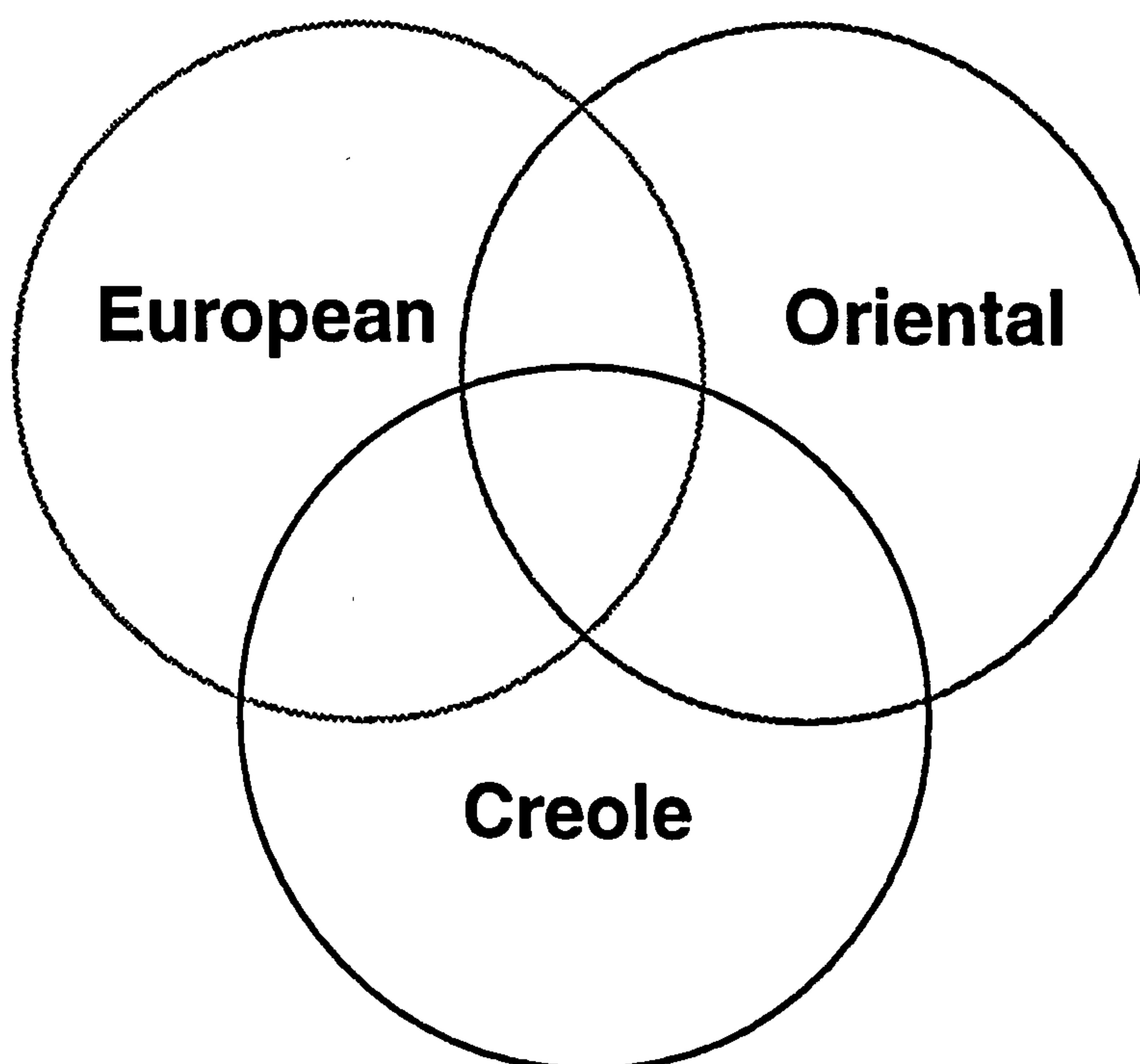
Results in chapter 8 suggest that language choice and language preference do not coincide with loyalty toward language of ancestors, but they are superseded by economic considerations and upward social mobility. In the present case, many informants feel that European languages possess superior linguistic values to Creole and Oriental languages. Competence in Creole does not appear to offer any extra social bonus since everyone knows it. Nonetheless, responses in chapter 9 indicate that the majority of informants have an affective attachment to Creole, since it is for the majority one of their main languages. The recognition of Creole as the language of all Mauritians and indeed the national language of Mauritius is present with all the informants who were interviewed. Thus the Creole language can be referred to as symbolizing Mauritian national identity.

Furthermore, the results also point to the fact that even if there is a sentiment of national identity associated with the Creole language, ethnic and religious identities cannot be overlooked as they seem to be profoundly rooted in Mauritian society. Indeed, results from chapter 5 clearly demonstrate that loyalty toward religion is stronger than the language and place of birth of ancestors. Thus it would seem that allegiance to family religion permits informants to maintain loyalty

towards their ethnic and religious group and retain their Hindu, Muslim, Chinese, or Christian identity. English and French languages are not viewed in terms of “being” English or French but are associated with the concept of an educated elite with a high sociolinguistic status. Hindu, for example, is a religious characteristic and there is no need to learn Hindi to be a “Hindu”. From this perspective, the low percentages scored by the Oriental languages would tend to suggest that their use is not important in asserting the informants’ ethnic identity and that the ethnic/cultural identity is perceived separately from the “educational” identity. Indeed, informants who were interviewed identify fully with Indian, Muslim, Christian and Chinese cultural values. They had no wish to identify with French or British culture.

If the multilingualism of informants can be considered as a way in which informants would express their multiple identity, it would seem that the hypothesis of a Mauritian identity based solely on speaking Creole is insufficient. The hypothesis of a “global” or multiple psychosocial identity is therefore suggested. This global identity would be composed of three different, but complementary identities: a “cultural and religious identity” which is expressed through the use and attachment to Oriental or European languages, a “sociolinguistic identity” expressed through the use of English and French in a certain number of communicative contexts (school, formal and administrative situations) and a “national identity” expressed through the use of Creole with friends, family and other Mauritians. This global identity can be portrayed as a tri-dimensional model, in which each ring represents a variety of language and the cultural values associated with it. The over-lapping parts show the languages known to the informants. Informants can thus be located in this multilingual space both in terms of their representation of their language competence, national, cultural and

religious values they identify with. This model of multiple identity is represented in the diagram below, where informants can be situated in terms of their degree of multilingualism and their ethnic, cultural and national allegiances in one, two or three dimensions simultaneously.



The present results would tend to show that informants have a different outlook on language use since for the majority of informants who are from an Indian background, knowing a language does not necessarily mean identifying with its cultural and religious values. From this perspective, the “acts of identity” expressed through accommodative behaviour in a multidimensional sociolinguistic space can include linguistic convergence as well as psychological divergence, particularly in the case of Indo-Mauritian speakers who associate themselves with cultural beliefs represented by languages they do not speak. For these informants, linguistic convergence to European languages in various communicative contexts and psychological divergence from the cultural and religious values these

languages represent can be viewed as a way of finding a psychological balance and avoiding an identity conflict. These multiple identities can be considered as “des moyens cognitifs servant à gérer la pluralité au plan social et à recouvrir, voire à oblitérer les contradictions subjectives qui peuvent en découler” (Tabouret-Keller 1994: 13). The strength of the present model is that informants can negotiate their identity in several dimensions simultaneously depending on the communicative context.

In sum, the present results suggest that accommodative behaviour may well have taken place. Although a high degree of linguistic convergence towards European languages can be demonstrated, the question whether the informants' desire to impress, win approval and maintain positive social identities would have been demonstrated so consistently over the whole range of the group, across all the schools, and during the whole time of the investigation, is difficult to answer definitively, but links to the question of language shift in a community where pressures are great to shift toward the majority languages. This is now discussed in the next paragraphs.

10.6) Language shift, language loss and language maintenance

Language shift can be described as a process through which “a particular community gradually abandons its original native language and goes over to speaking another one instead” (Trudgill 1995: 175). The possible end result of language shift can be language loss and death. Language maintenance is the opposite of language shift, since it refers to the use of a language by a community despite pressures to shift.

According to Appel & Muysken (1987: 32-38), there are three main factors which can influence language shift, language loss or language maintenance. These are: status, demographic factors and institutional support factors. The following types of status can lead to language shift:

(i) economic status in the case a minority group with a relatively low economic status. This group will tend to shift towards the majority language which is associated with academic achievement and economic advancement.

(ii) social status is to a large extent linked to economic status. If a group has a low socio-economic status it will generally consider itself as having a low social status too, and will tend to shift to the majority language as of way of improving its status.

(iii) socio-historical status is linked to the history of the group. Success in defending the group's identity or independence in the past is viewed as a mobilizing force to maintain that identity in the present.

(iv) language status is often linked to social status and different languages have different status. Languages with a low status are more prone to decline.

There are two kinds of demographic factors which can cause language loss:

(i) a minority language can decline and eventually disappear in the case of mixed or inter-ethnic marriages where only the prestigious language is passed on.

(ii) geographical distribution is likely to result in shift if members of a minority group are more dispersed than concentrated in one area. Immigration and emigration also favour language shift, particularly if a group does not hold political and economic powers. In the same way, language maintenance is more likely to occur in the case of rural groups where there is less pressure to use a majority language.

The third factor which can affect language shift or maintenance is institutional

support factors such as various institutions of the government, church, cultural organizations, etc. Language maintenance is also affected by:

- (i) the mass media which can have an important influence, particularly in modern societies, where it is impossible to avoid media exposure. In this case, radio, television programmes in the minority language as well as publishing of books and newspapers can contribute to the maintenance of a language.
- (ii) Religion is more likely to result in maintaining a minority language if it is used in the religious life of the group.
- (iii) Governmental or administrative services in the minority language can also stimulate its maintenance.
- (iv) Education can be a very important factor in maintaining a minority language which is encouraged and promoted in school.

Language shift is frequently attributed to causes such as migration, industrialization and urbanization, education in the majority language and other government pressures (Fasold 1984: 217). Knowledge and access to a language with higher prestige can also cause language shift (Paulston 1986: 487).

Mackenzie (1992: 378) found that Fijian educated women chose to suppress their own dialect and use standard Fijian with their children so that they had an advantage at school, where the standard variety was in use.

It is clear that all the factors mentioned above are closely related and can be of a greater or lesser importance depending on the type of society and the context. Intervening variables too can lead to different outcomes although situations may seem similar at first (Appel & Muysken *ibid*: 38). Although it is difficult to predict when a language shift will occur in a given situation, it is nevertheless possible to look at the present results, correlate them with factors mentioned above and with similar studies in the literature, and attempt to predict the future development of

languages in Mauritius. This is now discussed in the next paragraphs.

10.7) Signs of language shift in the present results

Language shift in most cases tends to be towards the majority or prestigious language (Appel & Muysken 1987: 32) and it usually takes several generations (Fasold *ibid*: 216). In this case, one generation is bilingual, but will only pass one language to the next through intergenerational switching. The three factors described by Appel & Muysken i.e. compulsory education, mass media and industrialization seem to influence a language shift towards Creole, English and French at the expense of Oriental languages in Mauritius. Indeed it has always been necessary to use English and French in order to take part in government, administration and white-collar jobs. In fact, not knowing English and French in Mauritius represents an obstacle to all educational, social and economic success.

Results from previous studies also suggest that level of education is perhaps one of the driving forces behind a shift from Oriental languages to Creole, English and French. Stein (1982) notes a language shift from Bhojpuri to Creole in many Muslim households, but “*en même temps les langues supracommunautaires [anglais, français] commencent à être employées dans la famille*” (Stein 1982: 523). This suggests that language shift can occur not only toward languages with higher prestige and status, but also toward a language which allows a wider communication despite its low status.

Sharma & Rao (1989) found that the loss of Creole for Indo-Mauritian literate groups has been a gain for English and French rather than an Indian language. Their results suggest an intergenerational shift which is progressively taking place in two stages: “the direction of change seems to be toward Creole first and English/French next as economic mobility increases” (Sharma and Rao *ibid*: 100).

It should also be noted that industrialization has led Mauritians, particularly

those living in rural areas, to work in the EPZ (see 2.5) rather than in agriculture. In addition, young Indo-Mauritians from rural areas have preferred to emigrate to urban areas as their level of education has increased and they have found jobs in the towns. All these factors seem to have favoured a language shift from Indian languages to Creole, which is more useful than Indian languages as it allows communication with Mauritians from other ethnolinguistic backgrounds, and to English and French associated with improving one's social and economic status.

The official policy of the government in the mass media, as mentioned in 2.7 favours multilingualism. However, judging by the informants' responses in chapters 6 on language ability, it would appear that although the Oriental languages are relatively widely understood, only a minority choose to study them in school. Responses in chapter 8 on language choice indicate that European languages are claimed to be more useful than Oriental languages, therefore the usefulness of these languages is decreasing as people speak them less and less and vice versa.

Responses in chapter 7 show that understanding a language and actually speaking it are two different things altogether. These results would tend to confirm the trend already noted by Stein (1982) and Sharma and Rao (1989) that the percentage of Oriental language speakers, even in rural areas, is declining with age. Furthermore, results from chapter 7 on language use in the home would tend to suggest an intergenerational shift in two stages as described by Sharma & Rao (ibid). Stage one seems to have been almost completed in urban and coastal regions, where Oriental languages are inexistent even with older generations, whilst rural areas are in a state of transition between the two stages as Oriental languages are spoken mainly with older generations. Although they are mainly alive in rural areas, only a minority of Indo-Mauritians use Oriental languages in domestic situations, the most frequent ones being Hindi/Bhojpuri and Urdu. This

loss of Oriental languages appears to be compensated for by an increase in Creole, French and English speaking in all places of residence particularly by the younger generations.

Another factor which can influence language shift is inter-ethnic marriages. Surprisingly, in a multicultural country such as Mauritius, inter-ethnic marriages are not frequent, as people prefer to marry somebody from their own ethnolinguistic background. However, even in this case, all the studies to date seem to indicate that there has been a tendency to shift from Oriental languages to Creole and French in particular (see 4.4.4 & 4.4.6). If in the future mixed marriages were to increase, particularly in the most educated section of the population, it would seem logical to think that this may lead to a total shift from Oriental languages to Creole, French and English in Mauritius.

10.8) The future development of languages in Mauritius

As far as the future of languages is concerned, on the basis of the responses in the present study, one can say that English and French are not threatened by Creole or by any Oriental language. The prosperous socio-economic condition of the eighties, particularly in the tourism industry and the Export Processing Zone (see 2.5), has encouraged and promoted the use of European languages. Results in chapters 8 and 9 show that their positions appeal as the languages of international communication and of personal and economic advancement and they are generally associated with getting better employment. Creole functions as a lingua franca: indispensable for use among the various communities, it is evaluated very favourably as the most advantageous language for informal ingroup communication by most of the informants.

Sharma and Rao (1989) observe that urban educated people tend to use

Creole with French and English for intergroup communication. They even predict that French may replace Creole in the next decades (Sharma & Rao *ibid*: 100). The predominance of the French language in Mauritius is not only facilitated by socio-historical reasons, but also by the active campaign of the French government on the ground and in the educational system (Bienvenu 1993: 59). As already seen in chapter 2 French experts provide assistance in the teaching field, and the main language of the media is French. The “Mission de Coopération et d’Action Culturelle” also plays an active role in supplying resources and material to the public libraries (Huguet 1993: 162-163). Although results in section 10.3 suggest a high degree of linguistic accommodation to French, the possibility of French replacing Creole in Mauritius, as suggested by Sharma & Rao, at this stage however, appears to be comparatively remote for three reasons. First, if French was to replace Creole, this would mean that it would have to play the role of *lingua franca* between all the communities in Mauritius. Such a case would imply that the majority of Mauritians are educated at least to secondary level. Given the high figures on school non attendance found in table 20 in section 5.4.3, it would appear that this is unlikely to happen in the near future.

Second, results in chapter 8 show that although there is a marked preference among informants to speak French (see 8.4), responses in chapter 9 indicate that there is nonetheless a strong feeling of sharing a common language: Creole. Indeed, it is Creole, and not French, which is considered as the language which links all Mauritians whoever they are and wherever they come from.

Third, results from chapter 7 on language use show that although English may not be used as frequently as Creole and French, it is nevertheless increasingly present in the daily environment and the linguistic repertoire of the sample. The English language is too firmly established in the areas of education and state

systems to be threatened by French in reality. Moreover, responses in chapter 9 reveal that informants are only too aware of the level of social power carried by the English language, in Mauritius and the international scene, to give it up. Thus, it would appear that the possibility of a language shift from Creole to French does not appear to be plausible at this stage.

Results in chapter 8 suggest that parents consider Creole to be more important than Oriental languages, even in rural areas, where they are mostly alive. Although the question whether government should intervene in making Creole the medium of instruction was not specifically asked, the recent attempt to include standard Oriental languages, as an alternative to French in the Certificate of Primary Examination examinations (C.P.E), has clearly demonstrated how sensitive and emotive Mauritians are to language issues, and also the risks involved in any attempt to change the existing situation, particularly in the educational field. This was the case in December 1995 when the government took the decision to change the existing situation in primary education by giving equal weighting to French and Oriental languages as optional subjects. In practice, it meant that the higher mark between these two subjects would determine the rank of the candidate in the C.P.E examination results. The disastrous consequences for the government (vote of confidence and losing the general elections) which resulted from such a decision will certainly serve as a lesson to its successors. It is from this perspective that the introduction of Creole as a "fourth language" in the educational system, in the near future, would not appear to be a realisable aim.

It should perhaps be mentioned that in comparison with Hindi, Bhojpuri and Urdu, the other Oriental ancestral languages (Gujrati, Marathi, Tamil and Telegu) are considered as minority languages. Their future seem to be less bright than Hindi and Urdu, since only a few informants claim to use these languages at home. In the sample there are only two speakers of Tamil and one of Marathi who use

these languages with their grand - parents. It seems highly probable that informants of these minority languages will not transmit their ancestral languages to their children. It would appear that this may have been the case for Telegu and Gujrati, which are non existent in the home for this section of the population. At this rate one can eventually expect a total shift from Tamil and Marathi to Creole, French and English, perhaps in the next generation.

However, there are clear signs of resistance to the decline of Oriental languages in Mauritius. Language maintenance has been encouraged by institutional factors such as the media and education (see 2.7 & 2.9). Successive governments have promoted the use of Oriental languages by introducing them as optional languages at primary and secondary levels. But the low percentages scored by these languages in the present study clearly indicate that this has not resulted in an increase in their use. However, results in chapter 6 on linguistic ability show a higher passive knowledge of these languages, in particular Hindi and Urdu. This can be explained by the fact that Indian films, particularly film songs and dances, are widely appreciated by Indo-Mauritians. It should also be mentioned that cultural exchanges between India and Mauritius have been numerous and continuous over the years and this is likely to continue. These factors should not be overlooked since they may have a potential influence on the maintenance of Hindi and Urdu in Mauritius.

In conclusion, this assessment of accommodative behaviour and its relationship to language identity and language shift has been treated in general terms here. Nevertheless it is hoped to have given a general idea of language patterns and language attitudes and the link between language and identity in Mauritius. The preceding sections would tend to suggest that the linguistic patterns

discovered in the present study may be reflecting a state of transition in the language habits of the most educated section of the population. Indeed it would appear that the more Mauritians get educated, the more they tend to use a mixture of Creole, French and English, and the proportions of the various languages depend on how the context is perceived by the speakers. The next decade may reveal whether French is more used than Creole at home and whether English will still be a linguistic hurdle, even to the most educated, and whether Oriental languages will be assimilated in the mainstream of Mauritian trilingualism.

Chapter 11: Summary of the investigation and conclusions

The purpose of this last chapter is:

- (i) To assess the overall performance of the research project with regard to its success in achieving its objectives and providing verifiable, generalisable results
- (ii) To summarize the findings of the investigation, and
- (iii) To discuss the implications of the present results in the field of sociolinguistics.

11.1) Assessment of the present study

It may be reminded that the present research was based not on the whole range of the adolescent population, but on the most highly educated portion of it. Second, the sample was restricted to the secondary school age range and excluded all others from young adults upwards. Therefore, the possible decline in use of the standard and “official” languages, namely French and especially English, after leaving the school environment, and entering the wider social sphere and the world of work, was not investigated within the parameters of this study.

Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that the investigation was planned using recognized sociological and statistical procedures. It is true that the quotas were not always filled due to reasons explained in chapter 4. However, chapter 5 shows that the present sample is derived from a representative sample of the secondary

schools and can be regarded as an adequate representation of a subsection of the Mauritian population which is in full-time secondary education. A series of hypotheses was set out and the present results have provided useful quantitative and qualitative data in a fairly short amount of time which generally support the original hypotheses which were set out in the introduction. When this was not the case, possible explanations have been suggested. In addition, general observation, background knowledge of the social context and personal contact with the informants have permitted a social and psychological perspective to be combined with the accurate statistical information in the data analysis. Thus the outcome of the investigation has allowed the accommodation theory to be tested and also to put forward a model of identity applicable to multilingual speakers.

11.2) Summary of the investigation

In this second section, the results of the study are summarized. It is not always easy to separate the different areas under investigation, since they are interrelated to one another, and this is why they are treated with reference to each other in the next paragraphs.

11.2.1) Language ability and language use

Results in chapter 6 show the same tendencies as the census results, but the ability in the present sample is much higher than in the census data for all language skills. The present results also reveal a disparity in the estimated ability between the various languages (see 6.1 & 6.2). Informants claim a higher ability in English and French in all four skills (understanding, speaking, reading and writing) than in Oriental languages. Oriental languages, mostly acquired through education,

tend to be dropped, since they are perceived as being less useful and less important than English and French (see 8.2, 8.3 & 9.3). Literacy skills are much lower for Bhojpuri and Creole, thus confirming their status as oral languages.

Results on language use in chapter 7 reveal that there is a regular use of three languages: Creole, French and English. Creole is the lingua franca for informal situations and it is also the first language of the home for the majority of the sample, who claim they like to speak it and have the highest fluency in Creole. High percentages scored by English and French in chapters 8 and 9 reveal that English and French are perceived as important and useful for the future. Their use and knowledge represent aspirations towards high status, success and prestige. Although English is officially the medium of instruction, informants, as well as teachers, tend to use French or Creole more frequently than English particularly for non-academic subjects such as Art and Physical Education (see 7.3 & 9.4).

Results on language use in the home appear to be in contradiction with those of the national census which show that Bhojpuri is the second language most frequently spoken in the home, with English and French following far behind (see 2.10.2). This apparent contradiction is discussed in chapter 10 and it would appear that the variety of language spoken at home is likely to be a mixture of Creole, French and English, with varying portions of each language rather than “pure” Creole or “pure” English or “pure” French.

11.2.2) Language choice and language preference

The data on language choice and language preference show that choice is not an abstract or “free phenomenon”, but is linked to values, aspirations, social and economic factors. The clear pattern of language choice and preference which

could be detected among the studied sample can be classified in terms of a hierarchy between European, Creole and Oriental languages. English and French are mostly favoured among the subjects studied in school (see 8.1) with a marked preference for French in classroom situation (see 7.3) and social interactions (see 8.3). Responses also indicate that English is deemed most useful in the academic and socio-economic contexts, more so than French. Creole is relegated to the position of second language and Oriental languages to third position (see 8.4).

The use and choice of English and French is undoubtedly associated with a “prestige status”, and would tend to reflect the prevailing opinion of parents, teachers and the state institutions that English and French are equally important if one wants to succeed in academic studies and in life. At the same time studying abroad appeals to informants because it is associated with academic and professional success in an international context, thus adding a bonus to the sociolinguistic status of the person. Long-term preferences show that the majority of informants would prefer to work and live in Mauritius for family and socio-economic reasons. Oriental languages, on the other hand, are optional subjects which are not useful in the professional and administrative environments.

However, a minimal percentage of informants claim their parents would prefer them to learn an Oriental language as a third language instead of Creole (see 8.2). For these informants' parents, it would appear that European languages are perceived as important for achieving academic success and getting a job. But equally, Oriental languages represent a way of keeping the linguistic tradition and culture of the ancestors which is more important than the Creole language.

11.2.3) Language attitudes

The great majority of informants who are trilingual claim to like speaking Creole, English and French. When it comes to learning languages however, the motivations are distinct for each type of language, and the language attitudes give an insight into how European, Creole and Oriental languages are perceived.

Attitudes towards Creole in education were rather mixed. The first point that emerges from the answers to the open question (question 20), as well as the interviews and from talking to the teachers, is that the pressure to learn English and French is very great in Mauritius, since they are associated with academic and social advancements as seen in chapters 8 & 9. The responses are striking by their logic and practicality that knowledge of several languages, particularly international ones, is clearly an asset in a modern and technological era.

The second view that emerges is that although Creole may be preferred for lesson explanations, the majority of informants do not welcome the idea of formally extending Creole to the educational system, i.e. having Creole as the language of instruction, or as another subject of study in schools. This response clearly does not encourage standardization of Creole. Although Creole does not have an official status in Mauritius (see 2.10.1), in practice, it is accepted as the national language of all Mauritians (see 9.2). In addition, the linguistic policy in favour of ancestral languages, and the unsuccessful attempt on behalf of the government to give the same weighting to standard Oriental languages and French in the C.P.E examinations would appear to provide the standardization of Creole with only a remote chance of success (see 3.4 & 10.8).

The third point is that there is a minority who stand at the extremes: a small number admit that they do not like Creole, whilst another few perceive Creole

favourably. For the first minority Creole is not considered as a language in its own right and it would be a waste of time learning it. For the other section, Creole appears to be a marker for group identity and it would seem that an educational system in Creole would make academic achievement easier.

The interviews with the teachers in chapter 9 show that knowledge of English and French is encouraged and viewed as a useful asset. Creole, on the contrary, is seen as having a harmful effect on the acquisition of other languages. The importance of English and French, as international languages, is frequently reiterated by teachers. As parents themselves, teachers also claim to speak French with their children at home in preference to Creole, in order to improve their children's chances of success at school and in later life. There are a few teachers in particular who welcome the teaching of ancestral languages in the schools and would like their children to maintain a link with their Indian and Chinese roots.

Responses in chapter 9 would tend to indicate that identity does not appear to be a dilemma for most secondary school adolescents in Mauritius. There is apparently no desire for a Mauritian "authenticity" based solely on speaking Creole. The majority of young adolescents in educational establishments view Creole as the informal national language of Mauritius, but at the same time have a positive desire to achieve academic and social success, and knowledge of European languages remains the key to obtaining desirable economic, business and educational positions. For most informants, French and English are the most important languages. Oriental languages are not considered worth learning by the majority, but they are associated with inherited cultural forms and religious beliefs. Results in chapter 5 show that identification with a religious group is stronger than the need to speak and learn ancestral languages. It would appear that linguistic competence in European languages (English and French) would enable Mauritians to achieve a "controlled" westernization of their economy and culture, rather than

having to “resist” Western influence by appealing in an ideological and politicised way, and at the same time preserve traditional culture and values on a “global” level through accommodative behaviour.

11.2.4) Analysis by social categories

Analysis by social categories does not always reveal a clear emerging pattern. However, some similarities and disparities can be noted. Gender seems to have influenced language use to a certain extent with girls claiming to use more French than boys. As a corollary, boys claim to use Creole in classroom situations more than girls. When it comes to language ability, girls claim a higher knowledge of standard Oriental languages than boys. Although these results correlate with findings in the literature that women have a tendency to use and to choose high status languages more than men do, more studies need to be carried out to explain whether women have a tendency to study languages more than men. The favourable attitudes towards English and French and less favourable attitudes towards Creole in education seem to be influenced by educational norms and values in an equal manner for both sexes.

The place of residence also appears to influence language use. Oriental languages are mostly alive in rural areas, where the majority of the population is Indo-Mauritian (see 2.4). Oriental languages are spoken very little in urban areas where the population is mixed. They are also non-existent in coastal areas where a marked preference for French is also noted (see 7.1 & 7.3). This is also the case for urban areas, although the majority of the population in these areas appears to be from the General Population (see 2.4 & table 25 in 5.4.3), the actual number of informants is relatively small (i.e 30), and more studies are needed in this area

before any conclusive remarks can be reached on the similarity between urban and coastal areas.

Both age groups seem to have similar attitudes towards languages. However, in some cases, the older group has a more favourable attitude towards French whilst the younger one seems to be equally favourable to English and French.

Family background also affects language use and language choice. Informants from a relatively well off background are most favourable to English and French than those from medium and low income brackets, who are more favourable to multilingualism.

11.2.5) Future of languages

The statistical and attitudinal data allow predictions to be made for the future development of languages in Mauritius. Results from chapter 7 seem to indicate that the shift from Indian minority languages towards Creole is complete in urban and coastal regions, since the former are non-existent in these areas. The shift from Bhojpuri /Hindi and Urdu to Creole in rural areas is continuing as less than 10% of the informants claim to use an Oriental language in the home with parents and siblings (see 7.1). Indeed, these languages are mostly spoken with grandparents. The total loss of Oriental languages seems unavoidable at this stage, unless a radical change occurs and Indo and Sino-Mauritians change their attitudes and start learning and using their ancestral languages on a wide-scale.

The high percentages of European languages scored in this section of the population show that their use is directly influenced by the level of education. Although Creole is the first language of the home, it would appear that the more the level of education increases, the more speakers have a tendency to switch to

English and French in educational and formal settings. At home, their language use is more likely to be a mixture of Creole, French and English with the proportion of each language varying according to the interlocutors and the communicative circumstances.

Although linguistic convergence on a widespread scale and on a long-term basis can bring social approval and economic rewards, as seen earlier, it can also result in a loss of personal and social identity (Turner 1987). Although this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, responses in chapter 9 seem to suggest that Mauritians do not have a conflict of identity, nor do they give the feeling that they are losing their roots. For the moment, language loss does not seem to affect cultural loss. Until now, interethnic marriages have been scarce in Mauritius and this may have helped Mauritians to preserve their cultural and religious identities. Although a language shift from Indian and Chinese languages to Creole seems irreversible in the near future, it raises the question of whether such a shift can continue without any cultural and linguistic assimilation by the dominant European languages and culture. Although this question is difficult to answer and the future of languages is not easy to predict, it would appear that whatever happens, their fate is closely bound to socio-economic, political and educational conditions.

The second section of this chapter has summarized the results of the investigation. The outcomes of the present study raise a wider range of issues than expected which, although not having been investigated, help to widen the perspective of the debate as will be seen in this last section.

11.3) Conclusions

In a project such as this, it is clearly not possible to come to a simple conclusion. The function of this last section is to pull together the different aspects and ideas highlighted by this study and suggest further areas which could be developed in the coming years.

The advantages of such a research project is that it was able to give an overview of a particular section of the population, and to provide an insight into a number of concrete social situations related to language use, language choice and language attitudes, all of which could be further investigated. If language is one of the ways in which people express their identity, then this study, with its investigation of the variety of languages used in changing circumstances, has tried to represent a multiple identity portrayed through linguistic behaviour. As Lionnet (1993: 112) points out, Mauritius is a case which stands on its own, but other case studies conducted in multilingual “post-colonial” societies similar to Mauritius could provide valuable comparative information in the study of national, cultural and linguistic identity.

The present study is necessarily of a small and limited “tranche” of the population i.e young adolescents, who by reason of their education and educational status are going to be influential in terms of academic achievement, social and economic mobility and aspirations. The high percentages obtained for the choice and preference of European languages in chapter 8, and the refusal to accept Creole in education in chapter 9, would tend to indicate that the colonial heritage is being absorbed and appropriated by the younger generations in education, who are also the future of the country. Chaudenson (1992) views the colonial legacy in creolophone societies as a threat to the standardization of Creole, since “une des plus lourdes menaces pourrait venir d’une scolarisation

réussie puisque, sauf aux Seychelles, aucun créole ne se voit reconnaître une place officielle dans les systèmes éducatifs qui partout fonctionnent en français ou en anglais” (Chaudenson, *ibid*: 1256). In the light of the present findings, it would appear that in addition to English and French, Oriental languages have also to be taken into account when considering the standardization of the Creole language in Mauritius (see 3.4 & 10.8). This could explain why despite recommendations made by linguists and educationalists in favour of introducing Creole into the educational system, successive governments have preferred not to carry them out and maintained the linguistic status quo.

English does not appear to be used as frequently as it should be in the educational environment (see 2.9.3 & 7.3). However, the present results are encouraging, since they suggest that English is considered as the highest variety in the diglossic pattern in Mauritius. The unsatisfactory pass rate of Mauritian candidates in English at the S.C and H.S.C examinations, at the beginning of the 90s, has raised concern on the part of the Ministry of Education. To this end, the Ministry of Education and the British Council have joined forces in an effort to provide better support and training, to encourage and improve the teaching of English, by fostering exchange ties with British universities, and particularly, with their education departments. This is the case, for example, with the Universities of Nottingham and Napier. British and Mauritian teacher trainers are jointly involved in the in-training and assessment of Mauritian teachers “in the field”. It is too early to notice any change in attitudes and language habits with regard to English at this stage, but one can foresee that another research project in this area in a few years time would be able to evaluate any improvement in the quality of the English language.

These are some of aspects highlighted by the results obtained in the present research project. Although such a study cannot pretend to be perfect or ideal, the information and data gathered have tried to represent the sociolinguistic reality of a specific cross-section of the Mauritian population as accurately and faithfully as possible.

Appendix



Questionnaire

1. Name of your college : _____

2. What is your sex ?

Male

Female

3. What is your age ?

4. What class are you in ?

Form I

Form II

Form III

Form IV

Form V

Form VI

5. Where do you live ? _____ Is this place a :

| | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Town | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Village | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Coastal Village | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. What are the professions of your parents ?

| | Mother | Father |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Caretaker, Labourer or Works in factory | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teacher, Nurse or Office worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Doctor, Lawyer or Dentist | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Business person or manager | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Stays at home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Do you know where your ancestors came from ?

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| India | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| China | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Africa | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Madagascar | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| France | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| United Kingdom | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. Do you follow any of these religions ?

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Hinduism (Hindu, Marathi, Gujrati or Tamil) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Islam (Muslim) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Buddhism | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Christianity (Catholic, Anglican or Protestant) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other _____ (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. Which of these languages do you speak, write, read and understand:

| | Speak | Write | Read | Understand |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonese | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| German | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. How well do you speak each of the following languages :

| | Very well | Well | Not so well | A few words |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. Which language(s) do you speak with your family and relatives:

| | Parents | Grandparents | Brothers & sisters | Cousins | Aunts & uncles |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonese | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Which of these subjects do you study at school, which are your favourite ones, which ones do you dislike ?

| | Do you study | Your favorite | 2nd favorite | 3rd favorite | You dislike |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Accounts | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Biology | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Chemistry | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| German | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Oriental language (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Social science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. Which language is most often used by your teacher in these different lessons:

| | Most Common (Tick 1 box only) | | | When giving an explanation (Tick 1 box only) | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Creole | English | French | Creole | English | French |
| Accounts & economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. If you ask a question to your teacher which language are you most likely to use in the following lessons.

| | (Tick 1 box only) | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Creole | English | French |
| Accounts & economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

15. Which language do your parents want to be your:

| | Main (Tick 1 box only) | 2nd | 3rd |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

16. Which language(s) will be useful to you in your future:

| | Very useful | Quite useful | Little use | No use |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

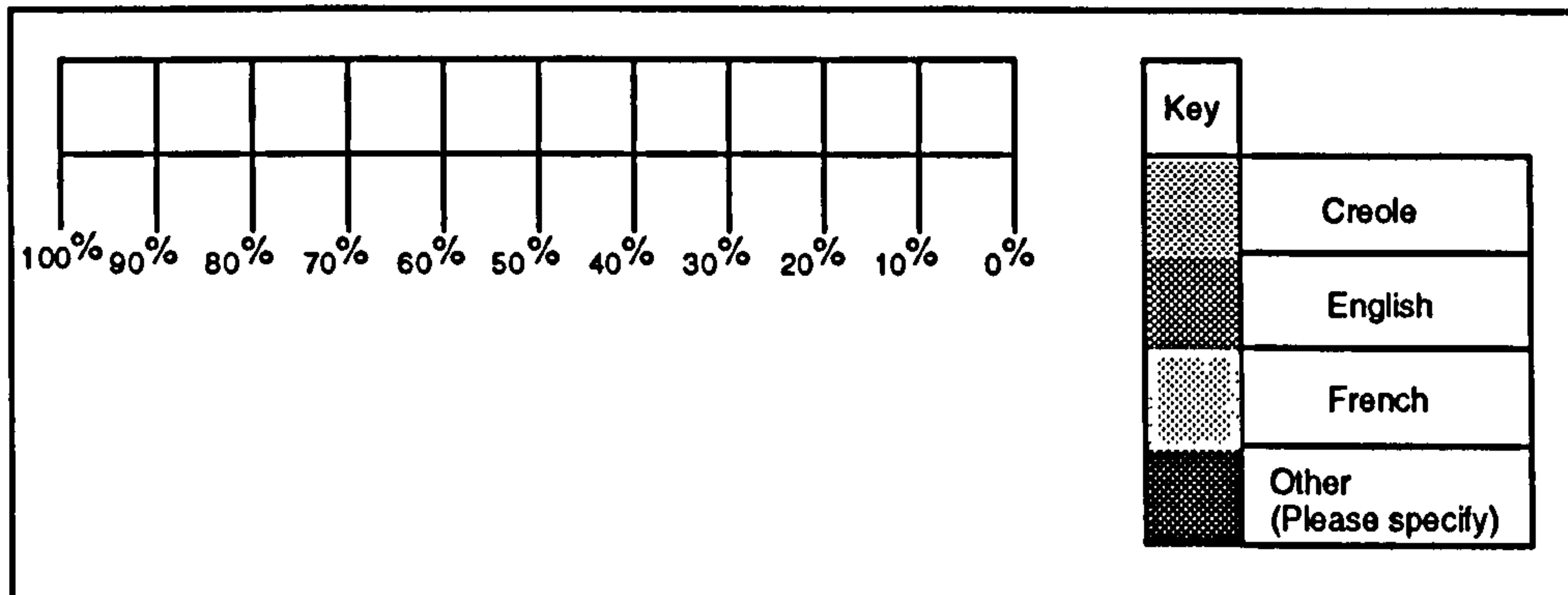
17. Where would you like to study, work and live in the future:

| | In Mauritius | Abroad |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Study | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Live | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

18. Do you like speaking these languages:

| | Yes | No |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Creole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| French | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

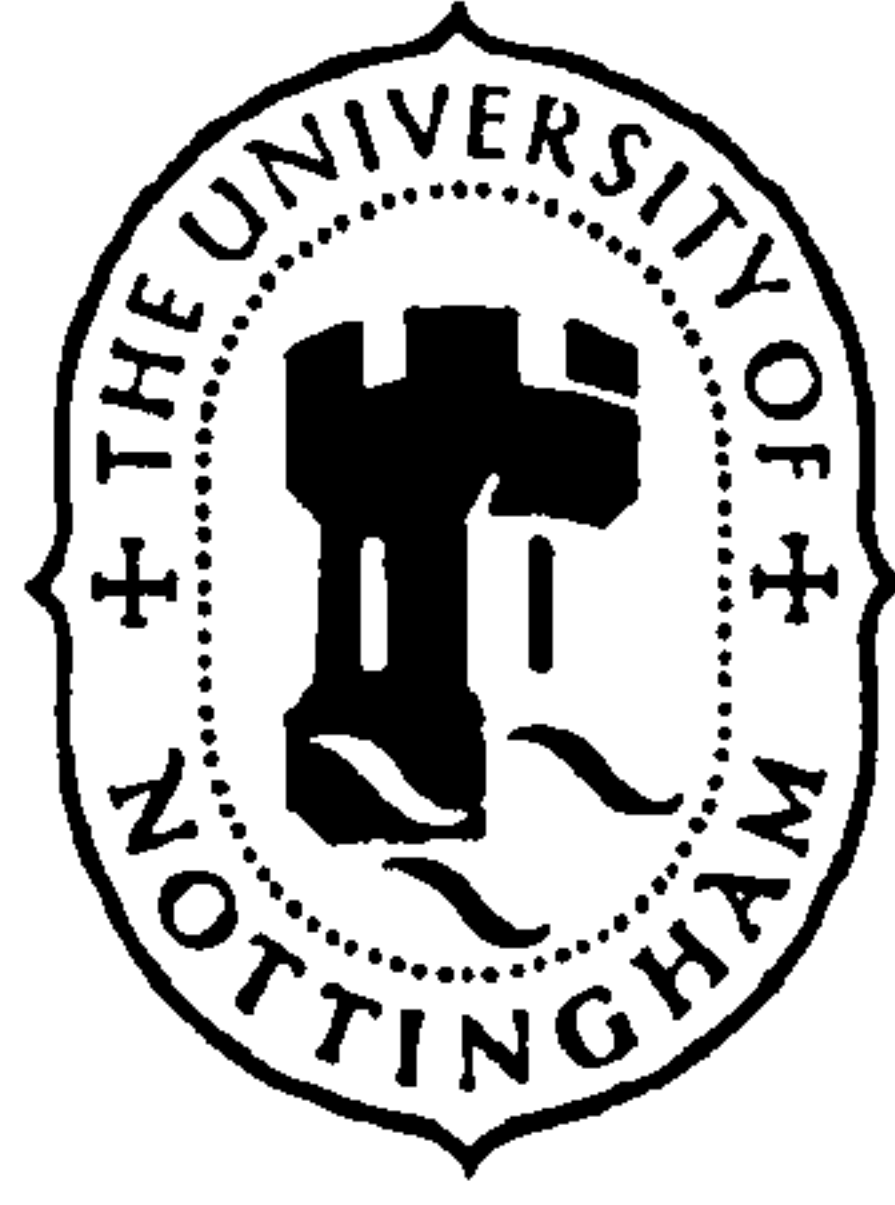
19. Can you fill the chart in so that it shows your daily use of each language you speak.



20. If you had the opportunity would you like to:

| | Yes | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Learn Creole at school ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Be taught in Creole at school ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Speak Creole only ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Have Creole as the main language in Mauritius? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Can you say why in general ? _____



Questionnaire

1. Nom de votre collège: _____

2. Quel est votre sexe ?

Masculin

Féminin

3. Quel est votre âge ?

4. Dans quelle classe êtes-vous ?

| | |
|----------|--------------------------|
| Form I | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form II | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form III | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form IV | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form V | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Form VI | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Où habitez-vous ? _____ Est-ce:

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| une ville | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| un village | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| un village sur la côte | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. Quelle est la profession de vos parents ?

| | mère | père |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Femme de ménage,laboureur, travaille à l'usine | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Professeur, infirmier (ère), travaille dans un bureau | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Medecin, avocat (e), dentiste | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Homme d'affaires, manager | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| reste à la maison | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre------(Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. Savez-vous de quelle partie du monde sont venus vos ancêtres ?

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Inde | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Chine | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Afrique | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Madagascar | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| France | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Royaume-Uni | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre------(Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ne sais pas | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. Suivez-vous une religion ?

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Hindouisme (Hindou, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamoul) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Islam | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bouddhisme | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Christianisme (Catholique, Anglican, Protestant) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre------(précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. Quelles sont les langues que vous parlez, écrivez, lisez, comprenez:

| | Parlez | Ecrivez | Lisez | Comprenez |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Allemand | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Arabe | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre (Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. Parlez-vous ces langues:

| | Très bien | Assez bien | Pas très bien | Quelques mots |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. Quelle(s) langue(s) parlez-vous avec vos parents et votre famille:

| | Parents | Grands-parents | Frères & soeurs | Cousins | Oncles & tantes |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Arabe | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bhojpuri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cantonais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gujrati | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hakka | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hindi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marathi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tamil | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Telegu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Urdu | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre (Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Quels sont les sujets que vous étudiez à l'école, quels sont ceux que vous préférez et quel est celui que vous détestez ?

| | Etudiez | Préférez en premier | Préférez en second | Préférez en troisième | Détestez |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Accounts | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Allemand | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Biology | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Chemistry | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General Paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical Education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Social science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Langue Orientale (Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. Quelle langue emploie votre professeur le plus souvent dans ces cours:

| | en classe (Cochez 1 seule case) | | | pour expliquer (Cochez une seule case) | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Anglais | Français | Créole | Anglais | Français | Créole |
| Accounts & Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General Paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. Si vous posez une question à votre professeur dans ces cours le ferez vous plutôt en:

| | (Cochez une seule case) | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Anglais | Français | Créole |
| Accounts & Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Art | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| General Paper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GMD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Home Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Physical education | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Science | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

15. Quelle langue vos parents veulent que vous ayez comme:

| | Première langue | Deuxième langue | Troisième langue |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre (Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

16. Quelles langues vous seront utiles dans l'avenir:

| | Très utile | Assez utile | Peu utile | Pas utile |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre (Précisez SVP) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Où voudriez-vous étudier, travailler et vivre ?

| | A Maurice | A l'étranger |
|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Etudier | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Travailler | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Vivre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

18. Aimez-vous parler ces langues:

| | Oui | Non |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Anglais | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Français | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Créole | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

19. Pouvez-vous indiquer le pourcentage de votre emploi des langues au quotidien:

| | <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Echelle</th> <th></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td></td> <td>Anglais</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Créole</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Français</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Autre (Précisez)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | Echelle | | | Anglais | | Créole | | Français | | Autre (Précisez) |
|---------|--|---------|--|--|---------|--|--------|--|----------|--|------------------|
| Echelle | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Anglais | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Créole | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Français | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Autre (Précisez) | | | | | | | | | | |

20. Si vous aviez la possibilité, aimeriez-vous:

| | Oui | Non |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Apprendre le Créole à l'école | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Etre enseigné en Créole à l'école | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Parler le Créole uniquement | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Avoir le Créole comme langue principale à Maurice | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Pouvez-vous dire pourquoi en général ? _____

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