English as Anomaly: The 'Unofficial' Language of Macao S.A.R., China.

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ABSTRACT: With the return of Macau to Chinese sovereignty after four hundred years as a Portuguese administered entity, the territory was designated a Special Administrative Region of China with a high degree of autonomy enshrined in the Basic Law. With regard to culture and social affairs, the Macau SAR is authorized in Article 121 to formulate policies on education including policies regarding the educational system and its administration, the language of instruction, the allocation of funds, the examination system, the recognition of educational qualifications and the system of academic awards so as to promote educational development. Article 122 states that: "educational institutions of all kinds in Macao may continue to operate. All educational institutions in the Macao Special Administrative Region shall enjoy their autonomy and teaching and academic freedom in accordance with law. Educational institutions of all kinds may continue to recruit staff and use teaching materials from outside the Macao Special Administrative Region. Students shall enjoy freedom of choice of educational institutions and freedom to pursue their education outside the Macao Special Administrative Region." The authors of this paper will highlight the presence of the English language in Macau by its anomalous intrusion into the economic, cultural, and social affairs of the 'special' status of the territory. This will be further extrapolated on here with reference to the status of Portuguese in Macau and the case of the Macanese creole.

KEY WORDS: Basic Law, Bilingualism, Macao Special Administrative Region, Multiculturalism.

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This work is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Robert Ian Chaplin: a mentor, a dear friend and a former colleague.

Introduction

In the Preface to his book *Language Death,* David Crystal, an authority on the English Language and its impact on endangered languages, speculated that if English continues to grow and dominate, it may one day be the only language to learn, and if that happens "it will be the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known" (Crystal, 2004). In order to prevent language extinction, Crystal described the conditions which must prevail if a language is to continue to survive; including legislation by which speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community. As Nettle and Romaine point out however, even official support is no guarantee of vitality; citing the case of Irish Gaelic, the national language of Ireland, which "has the dubious distinction of being one of the few endangered languages with a state ostensibly dedicated to its preservation" (Nettle & Romaine, 2002:39). It is still dying out because it is not being passed on to the next generation which prefers to communicate in English despite the historic national feeling against subservience to British oppression. Shohamy contends, "the mere act of declaring certain languages as official does not carry with it much meaning in terms of actual practice in all domains and it does not guarantee that officiality will be practiced" (Shohamy, 2005:61). She alludes to the variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices, often in covert and implicit ways, arguing that it is only through observations of the effects of these devices that the real language policy of an entity can be understood and interpreted. The notion of English as a World Language is perhaps one such device which perpetuates the belief that nations can declare ownership of the language with, as a consequence, the redundancy of authority over its adoption: "Those who feel a sense of ownership towards the language do not require authorization from professional linguists, whose seals of approval are of little consequence" (Saraceni, 2010:15).

Language planning and policy making is a key area for research to determine what factors lead to the ubiquitous presence of English in the functions of various institutions; especially those mandating education. Concerns about the adoption of English as a global language have elicited the notion of linguistic imperialism as an explanation for its pervasive dominance. However, as Crystal warns, "anachronistic views of linguistic imperialism, which see as important only the power asymmetry between the former colonial nations and the nations of the 'third world', are hopelessly inadequate as an explanation of linguistic realities" (Crystal, 2012:23). For Phillipson, the role of English in language planning in today's Europe is a reality based on arbitrary concessions made in favour of the growing number of speakers: "In many international contexts, a laissez faire language policy is akin to a game of linguistic poker in which speakers of English, whether as a first or second/foreign language, increasingly hold all the good cards" (Phillipson, 2003:137). Spolsky argues that "English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state" (Spolsky, 2004: 91). Ferguson poses key questions for language planners: "Is English a threat to other languages? Does English diminish the vitality of other languages by for example, occupying prestigious functions that might be discharged by some other language?" (Ferguson, 2006:203). Even where the nation strives to safeguard the functions and authenticity of its first or second language, attempting to preserve purity, distinctiveness, originality' through 'academies' and other agencies, English is identified as "the most common source of unwelcome interferences/influences" (Fishburn, 1992:21).

In countries, nation states, and quasi nation states, where English has exerted a powerful influence over second language choice and preference, there has been a discernible shift away from languages that were once embedded in national culture or distinct social entities. In most cases, as Jenkins has observed, this shift has not as yet led to infiltration into local institutional functions:

> The most extensive spread of English in recent years, in terms of numbers of speakers, has undoubtedly occurred in the countries of the expanding circle, such as China, Japan, Thailand, Brazil and Continental Europe. Although English is increasingly being used as a medium of instruction in tertiary and even secondary and primary education in some of these regions, it otherwise serves few, if any local institutional functions in such places (Jenkins, 2009:40).

However, language shift will inevitably precipitate conflict which Chew (2009) distinguishes as centrifugal and centripetal forces:

> Language change takes place everywhere but especially at crossroads where interactions are varied and complex. Crossroads are not only geographical but also metaphorical representations of liminal or sub-liminal periods experienced in each changing world order. At such intervals, there can be discerned conflict between centrifugal forces pushing the population inwards toward local needs and centripetal forces pulling the population outward toward international intelligibility and acceptability. (Chew, 2009:208).

The problem can be further analyzed as the distinction between the globalization of English and the 'glocalization' in a specific context. In research on the increasing role of English in the era of the internationalization of education and the attitudes of educators towards this phenomenon, Oanh (2012) points out the dichotomy between global and glocal English:

> In terms of language and the role of English in the era of the internationalization of education, 'glocalization' has not been clearly defined. In the present study, 'glocal' English is understood as the interaction between English and local languages and societies in non-English speaking countries, and the resulting evolution of the English language in that locality as the use of English becomes more widespread (Oanh, 2012:108).

How to reverse language shift is becoming an imperative for scholars of sociolinguistics and those concerned with the deleterious cultural and social effects of increasingly dominant languages caused by language attrition (Austin & Sallabank, 2011; Harrison, 2008; Fishman, 1991; Weltens, B., Debot, K., Vanels, T., 1987). With its ubiquitous presence in the rapidly emerging global culture, English is regarded as the chief culprit and the subject of resistance even among European countries especially France; known for the efforts of its 'language police' to counteract the defiling of the French language by English vocabulary and idioms. Despite such measures, English words are used even when there is an equivalent in the first language and observed to be seemingly transforming its syntax and linguistic forms.

It is widely known, and statistics confirm, that in Asia nearly 60 per cent of primary school children now learn English in China. Moreover, the total numbers of English speakers in China and India now exceed the number of speakers elsewhere in the world. Although governments of both countries are taking steps to preserve endangered languages within their borders, English could be a major factor in displacing minority languages equally as Mandarin or Hindi. This has been the case in Singapore where the languages of the Malays from Malaysia, the Javanese, Boyanese, Bataks, and Buginese from Indonesia, the Tamils, Malayees, Punjabis, Sikhs, and other ethnic groups from the Indian subcontinent, the Hokkiens, Teochews, Hakkas, Hainanese and other ethnic groups from China, have been supplanted by English and Mandarin. In other postcolonial societies in Asia, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, languages which were once sowed on foreign soil, have been supplanted by the encroachment of English, transforming education systems and channels of communication. With the exception of China's version, English on the Internet is widely used for professional, academic, and social interaction generating yet more followers of the language. The call center phenomenon in India and the Philippines is but one example of the reach of English for business communication across countries and continents.

Following the relinquishment of disputed British colonial authority over Chinese sovereignty of Hong Kong, Kowloon, and the New Territories, the English language's commandeering presence has been exculpated under the Basic Law promulgated in 1997. The unequal treaties that led to the misappropriation of Chinese territory, drawn up and imposed through the language of the purloiner, have been exonerated to allow the language of subjugation to be legally perpetuated. The justification arguably promoted by the business sector is that English is crucial for the maintenance of Hong Kong's position in international commerce which, according to Choi (2003), is a delusion. In fact, today the major language of business in the Pearl River Region is Cantonese with Mandarin rapidly taking the reins for expanding commerce to China's markets. However, as Chen, Bunce, and Rapatahana (2012) have noted, the Hong Kong SAR Government's proposal to make Cantonese the Medium of Instruction (MOI) in the territory's schools and efforts to promote Mandarin have been frustrated by the public's insistence that English be retained

as the preferred language for the post-1997 generation. Preference for English extends to the widely held belief that 'native speakers' should be valued over local exponents for whom it is their second language. Regardless of inferior qualifications, 'native speakers' are recruited so that the Government can be "seen to be providing the best for their people" (Kirkpatrick, 2007:185). This is in contrast to the British Council's prediction that "the centre of authority regarding the language will shift from native speakers as they become minority stakeholders in the global resource" (Graddol, 2000:3).

English as Anomaly: The 'Unofficial' Status of English in Macao

The approach to the study of language change adopted for this research is concerned with the indications of a shift in or abandonment of the use of a second language, in some cases as a mother tongue, in postcolonial societies in Asia. The study presented in this paper focuses on the use of Portuguese in the Macao Special Administrative Region of China, which while not technically a former colony of Portugal, but historically designated as a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration, continues to officially recognize the function of the language for communication in government, education, and cultural discourse. The study aims to examine the preponderance of other languages; namely Standard Mandarin or Putonghua and English, as the preferred mediums of discourse affected by educational and employment opportunities as well as cultural orientations in the 'postcolonial' society. The key dependent variable measured in the study is the rate of assimilation; the percentage of individuals using Portuguese as a mother tongue or second language who now speak another language more often in society or at home. The extraneous variables include factors such as assertion of national identity, perceptions of ethnic identity and increasing cultural diversity within the community, the impact of globalization, migration and immigration, and notions of loyalty and allegiance to the perpetuation of culture through language. It is argued that from a sociolinguistic research perspective, investigating a switch in language allegiance will help to illuminate the changing relationship between language and society in emerging nations and its

transmuting effect on the maintenance of cultural identity through language. As Jones and Singh (2005) point out:

> It has been said that language is often intrinsically linked to the identity of a community. However, this link with the identity of a community makes a language vulnerable when members of the said community no longer wish to be identified with it or rather, wish to be associated with a different social group and begin to abandon their own customs and beliefs for those of the new group. Language loyalty is therefore an important element of language maintenance (Jones and Singh, 2005:84).

With the advent of the twenty-first century, English as a second or foreign language has become the preferred study choice for Asian countries, nation and quasi-nation states especially those which have a colonial history inherited from Britain: India; Pakistan; Bangladesh; Hong Kong; Singapore; Malaysia; Myanmar. The study and practice of the English language has made inroads into other former colonies; ousting French in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, Dutch in Indonesia, Spanish in The Philippines. While Japanese and Russian are still favoured in China, the number of people learning English has far out-passed these and other languages. Macao seems to be the exception where the official status of Portuguese as a second language is rooted in 'The Basic Law'.

With the return of Macao to Chinese sovereignty after four hundred years as a Portuguese administered entity, the territory was designated a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China with a high degree of autonomy enshrined in the Basic Law. This law was adopted at the First Session of the Eighth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on 31 March 1993 and put into effect as of 20 December 1999. Article 2 of the Basic Law authorizes the Macao Special Administrative Region to exercise a high degree of autonomy and enjoy executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including that of final adjudication, in accordance with the provisions of this Law. Article 9 stipulates that in addition to the Chinese language, Portuguese may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Macao Special Administrative Region. With regard to culture and social affairs, the Macao SAR is authorized in Article 121 to formulate policies on education including those regarding the educational system and its administration, the language of instruction, the allocation of

funds, the examination system, the recognition of educational qualifications and the system of academic awards so as to promote educational development. Article 122 states that:

> "…educational institutions of all kinds in Macao may continue to operate. All educational institutions in the Macao Special Administrative Region shall enjoy their autonomy and teaching and academic freedom in accordance with law. Educational institutions of all kinds may continue to recruit staff and use teaching materials from outside the Macao Special Administrative Region. Students shall enjoy freedom of choice of educational institutions and freedom to pursue their education outside the Macao Special Administrative Region.:

This provision under the Basic Law, however, allows for the perpetuation of the anomaly whereby the majority of schools, colleges, and universities have adopted English as the medium of instruction and vehicle for academic research – even marginalizing education through the official languages, Chinese and Portuguese. Higher Education institutions such as the University of Macau and S. Joseph's University affiliated with the Catholic University of Portugal not only use English for academic curricula at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, but base admission requirements on qualifications attesting to proficiency in English such as IELTS and TOEFL. Moreover, faculty must meet the stringent requirements of scholarly endeavor by demonstrating that they have earned qualifications and made contributions to international journals and books ostensibly in English. Scholars from outside Macao who wish to conduct research on issues affecting the Macau SAR rely on translations but which, as is the case here with the Basic Law (See References), may be titled 'Unofficial Translation: For Reference Only'. This illustrates the dilemma faced by those who, while being aware of the anomaly of the pervasive status of English and its "symbiotic relationships with societies, businesses, governments and education systems" (Rapatahana, 2012:2), need to assert the linguistic integrity and authority of the two official languages: Chinese and Portuguese.

Cantonese is the dominant first language of the population of the Macau SAR (83.3 per cent), although preliminary results of the 2011 Census released by the Macau SAR Statistics and Census Bureau (DSEC) reveals that nearly a quarter of Macau's population now uses English as their first or second language. This is in contrast to the 0.7 percent of the population who use Portuguese, and a total of 41.4 percent of the population who speak Putonghua (Mandarin).

While Portuguese continues to be used for official documents pertaining to administration and public services, there has been increasing recognition of the demand for English language services in Public Administration. Translation and interpreting services have become increasingly the norm especially for press conferences that are concerned with regulations affecting law, investment, and the operation of businesses especially in the expanding tourism and gaming industries – the key components of the Macau SAR economy. Having to rely on the English language media, going to a lawyer, or seeking out private translation services it is argued is an inconvenience when everything related to property and finance departments is only in the official languages.

According to Piller (2013), visiting Macao as a Professor of Applied Linguistics at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia: "Analysts of multilingualism in Macao have described multilingualism in Macao as "an illusion" because official societal Chinese-Portuguese bilingualism is rarely undergirded by individual bilingualism." Outside the inner echelons of government, it is rare to encounter a native of Macao who is bilingual in Chinese and Portuguese. This is despite the efforts of the outgoing Portuguese administration to belatedly, and with determined opposition from key bodies and associations, to persuade local schools to teach Portuguese with the incentives of government subsidies and investment in facilities. Although no research data is available on the incidence of Chinese-English bilingualism in Macao, the standard of English used in education and various business enterprises, particularly those involved in tourism, supports the contention that proficiency in English far exceeds Portuguese, and in some cases Mandarin Chinese.

In Macao the English language learning environment has been transformed since the 1980s with the widespread use of computers and the Internet enabling access to information and entertainment. Although there is a local television and radio station broadcasting programmes in Portuguese, the favoured channels have long been those from Hong Kong and more recently cable television with its multiplicity of options. The dearth of libraries and bookshops stocking English language publications has been superseded by the availability of web-based material from ever more reliable and reputable sources. Schools and universities have become purveyors of a wealth of English language texts and

references enriching the education of increasing numbers of students who previously had limited opportunities for study. What is surprising about the increasingly rooted English language environment is that there is no official recognition of its hold over the education system, there is no office operated by the British Council, and no Consular presence in the territory.

The expansion of the gaming industry, Macao's economic mainstay, has resulted in an influx of companies that operate in English – particularly American English (Sands and Wynn). Many employees are recruited on the strength of their English language proficiency and avenues for promotion depend on qualifications obtained through universities offering programs in Tourism and Hospitality Management using the medium of English. Attempting to diversify its tourism product, the Macao government promotes the Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibition (MICE) sector catering to international markets – for which English is an essential requirement for a competitive edge – Hong Kong and Singapore being the key rivals with a distinct advantage.

Meanwhile the unofficial status of English continues to prevail despite the powerful vested interests in its adoption as a lingua franca. The presence of the English language in Macao is characterized by its anomalous intrusion into the economic, cultural, and social affairs of the 'special' status of the territory. The effect of this linguistic and cultural intrusion is not dissimilar to that described by Anne-Marie de Mejía (2012) in her account of the effects of English Language Education in Columbia and South America; particularly with regard to what she describes as 'Extractive English' involving replacing native and minoritized languages as well as Spanish. This will be further extrapolated on here with reference to the status of Portuguese in Macau and the case of the Macanese creole.

Language identity and language shift: The Macanese dilemma

Research on the language identities prevalent in Macao is difficult to find. Historically it is known that among the crews on the Portuguese ships bound for Goa, Malacca, and Macao were sailors from other European countries and some of Arabian origin. Some joined the colonizers forming their own communities or assimilating with the

descendants. Missionaries and their entourages represented different races as well as religions. Others engaged in trade in Asia converged on Macao for the economic opportunities offered by the enclave; transients from the British, Dutch, Spanish, and French expeditions seeking to establish their own settlements in the region. The port cities of Asia, as well as those along the trading routes via the Indian Ocean – Zanzibar, Madagascar, Mauritius, Ceylon, could be characterized as the epitome of mixing, mingling, and blending. While a variety of languages could be heard in these ports, Portuguese, and later English, grew to be the main channel for intercultural communication.

Under the former colonial administration, when its official status was at its most influential, achievement and success was affiliated with Portuguese language and cultural identity. However, this excluded the majority of the populace since there was initially no provision for education especially using Portuguese as the medium of instruction. According to Bray and Koo (2004:223-224):

> Until the late 1980s, the Macao government took very little interest in education. It operated a small number of Portuguese-medium schools which catered mainly for families with close ties to Portugal including many civil servants. These schools served less than 10% of the population, and other children either went to private schools or did not go to school at all. The private schools were not supported, controlled or even monitored by the government. Many schools were operated by religious bodies, but others were run by social service organizations and commercial enterprises. As the 1990s progressed, the government adopted a more interventionist approach to education. Awareness of the impending political transition was a direct stimulus to this change, for the authorities felt that Macao's identity needed strengthening in order to promote self-confidence within the new framework (Tang, 2003). Because the Macao government played a less interventionist role until the end of the colonial period, the mixture of ingredients evolved in a more *laissez faire* way than in Hong Kong.

The only alternative for parents of Macao Chinese children and ethnic minorities was to pursue opportunities and prospects in English language learning offered by the Catholic Church and in Chinese under the auspices of private associations. There was one exception to this predicament in the case of the 'Macanese' (Macaense) who played a significant and privileged role as cultural intermediaries between the official Portuguese administration and Chinese merchants.

In 1897, the Portuguese official Bento da Franca (Braga, 1998) identified the origins of the 'Macanese' from their Portuguese, Malay, and Indian features. Lessa (1994) has

suggested that the ‘Macanese’ were the offspring of marriages with women from the Portuguese appropriated territory of Malacca as well as Japan and China; claiming that the offspring characteristically showed more evidence of Malay ancestry than Chinese. Estorinho (1952) negated any ideas of miscegenation with the Chinese; citing the reluctance to engage in, even prohibited, alliances outside racial parameters. Teixeira (1965) however, citing parish archives and records, refuted Estorinho’s argument. Teixeira’s definition states that the ‘Macanese’ were the offspring, born in Macao, of Portuguese men and their interracial marriages with local Chinese. He then makes a distinction between the ‘Macanese’ and the Chinese in these marriages: the former being born already with a Portuguese name and baptized – the latter having converted to Christianity and having learned Portuguese. According to Moreby (1998), the first generation-born ‘Macanese Eurasian’ may have been Luso-Chinese Christians of either Euro-Indian and, or, of Euro-Malay origin. Cabral and Nelson (1990) have defined the criteria for the ‘Macanese Eurasian’ as firstly individuals born in Macao of a biological miscegenation with Portuguese roots; secondly the conversion to the Catholic faith, and finally the possession of linguistic knowledge of Portuguese or the Portuguese-based creole which evolved from an earlier Malaccan model into the Macanese or Macau Creole known colloquially as *Patuá.* Symptomatic of its mixing is the number of names that Macanese are recognized by: *Macaense* (Macanese known as ‘Filhos de Terra’); *Maquista* (Macanese Creole); *Papia Cristam di Macau* (‘Christian speech of Macau’); *Dóci Língu di Macau* (‘Sweet Language of Macau’); *Doci Papiaçam* (‘Sweet Speech’), and *Macaista Chapado* (‘Pure Macanese’). With regard to the evolution of the patuá, in the Asian language strain, Macanese lacks definite articles and does not inflect verbs. It also lacks weak pronouns (i.e. "io" means "I," "me," and "mine"). Plural nouns are achieved by reduplication ("casa-casa" means "houses"), as well as plural adjectives and emphatic verbs ("cedo-cedo" means "very early"). This pattern of reduplication stems from Malay. Further building on the mix, many English terms entered the Macanese vocabulary with the British occupation of neighboring Hong Kong. Other European and Asian languages also contributed to the language's development. The language thus incorporates both European and Asian elements.

The evolution of the Macao-based variant of a Portuguese creole used by the Macanese led to a diglossic model in which the creole or patuá, 'Lingua Maquista', was the localized variant used for informal social interactions – particularly in the domestic domain, while standard Portuguese was identified as the 'High' variant used for formal official communication. Nevertheless, Lingua Maquista was the source of much of the cultural manifestation which characterizes Macao through literature, music, and recipes for the distinctive Macanese cuisine. At the turn of the twentieth century, educating citizens governed by the Portuguese administration especially those employed as public officials became an imperative, with the key to securing coveted positions a command of high level Portuguese. As a result, Lingua Maquista was disparaged and decreolized. Children were admonished if they were caught using the creole in the educational domain (Tomás, 1990:62). Spurned to some extent by the Metropolitan Portuguese recruited to official positions, the Macanese felt affronted and many sought opportunities outside the territory despite their strong feelings of linguistic and cultural identity. Concern over the loss of identity contributed to a process known as 'desnacionalisação', which was described in 1913 by the ex-Governor of Macau, Alvaro de Mello Machado:

> Completely abandoned by the Portuguese government, in contact with a more lively and assimilatory nationality [the British in Hong Kong], the Macaenses, beginning to forget the language of their homeland, lost all the characteristics of nationality and sadly anglicize themselves. The Macanese today do not have the least love, the least consideration for Portugal. They love their land, Macau, which they consider their homeland (Jorge, 1999:66).

According to the ex-Governor, rarely would Macanese outside Macao register in the consulates as Portuguese. All would speak exclusively English and adopt English habits, even among the family. All Macanese that had the means to educate their children sent them to English colleges in Shanghai or Hong Kong or to English schools in Macao (Groder, 2008:69). The 'desnacionalisação' of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong was also often discussed – one the one hand distinguishing between the authentic Portuguese (those with Portuguese nationality) and on the other hand the 'desnacionalizados' (those having taken British nationality). Many had given up their Portuguese nationality and acquired British citizenship which was obligatory for exercising

certain professions, including architects, lawyers and any job in the public administration (Groder, 2008:84).

Ironically in the middle of the century when Portuguese refugees fled Hong Kong under Japanese occupation and came to Macao with their children, it was found that no refugee child had enough knowledge of Portuguese (or Chinese) to follow lessons in Macao's schools. The Portuguese administration established a separate elementary school for the refugees, the Escola Primário dos Refugiados. Older pupils who were on the brink of starting their tertiary education and lacked knowledge of Portuguese were taught in an advanced school, the Colégio de São Luis Gonsaga, set up by Irish Jesuits, refugees themselves, who had before taught in Hong Kong. Since many did not speak Portuguese and others only very insufficiently, there were night classes of Portuguese. In these ways, some 700 Portuguese refugees were schooled in Macao during the war (Groder, 2008:89).

Evidence of Language Shift

From research conducted by Blanca Aurora Diez (1981) on *Language change in progress in the Portuguese of Macau,* the direction of change in Macao speech points towards eliminating those traits that separate Maquista from Metropolitan Portuguese for the same sociolinguistic reasons that may lead to the disappearance of the patuá. Diez believed that Chinese, English, and Portuguese will continue to maintain their sphere of influence as long as the status quo is maintained.

> As for the Macaenses, they consider themselves Portuguese, but are strongly influenced by the Chinese. They participate in Chinese festivities, follow Chinese customs, eat Chinese food. Men marry Chinese girls, and three or four years ago a new trend started: Macaense girls, holding good jobs, are marrying Chinese nowadays (Diez, 1981:19).

The fact that the Portuguese language used in Macao has not been absorbed by Chinese seems to be the result of a combination of political, economic, educational, and social factors (Diez, 1981:20). The tourism boom, plus trade and business, have created a need for the English language. This affects both the Chinese and the Portuguese communities. The use of a third language in the territory, now that patuá is no longer

spoken, would serve to offset the use of Chinese (Diez,1981:20). The prestige group, made up of Metropolitans, is on the increase. For that reason, socially oriented Macanese will try to approximate their language to that of the prestige group. This, in turn, would account for the disappearance of the Macanese Creole (Diez, 1981:21).

For her research, interviews with thirty Macanese were transcribed in Portuguese and selected features analyzed. Findings were related to the sociocultural situation, in order to group linguistic features according to social considerations and to find symptoms of stratification that could signal change. The Portuguese spoken by the Chinese was compared to that of the Macanese. In addition, Diez aimed at "finding the variants of Macau speech as compared with the features shared by the Portuguese spoken in Brazil and Portugal, or with features peculiar to each country. Also, to see what is left of the patuá and what features could be attributable to Chinese influence" (Diez, 1981:37-38). Although features of the patuá and others still persist, above all in the syntax, and although the speech is in a state of transition as mentioned before, that transition seems to point toward Metropolitan Portuguese, for the sociolinguistic reasons already discussed. Batalha (1959) and others predicted that same direction (1981:135).

With reference to Chinese, Diez observed that although its use is widely prevalent, still no language shift from Portuguese toward Cantonese is foreseen for the socioeconomic, cultural and political reasons discussed. As long as those conditions prevail, so will Macao's trilingualism (135).

In studying the attitudes of Macanese and Metropolitans toward each other on the basis of their speech, she detected an attitude during her stay with reference to Metropolitans who argued that the Portuguese spoken by Macanese was wrong. She commented that the Macanese are aware of that opinion and resent it. She explains how some attitudes emerged during her interviews:

> Toward my own speech, the Macaenses' attitude was very interesting. At the coffee shop of the hotel, at the ticket counter, in a bookstore etc. when I asked for someone who spoke Portuguese, nobody seemed interested in establishing a dialog in that language. But as I kept on talking, they detected the Brazilian accent and there was a change in attitude from then on. They were willing to communicate. This positive attitude, different from what Thompson (1960:290) reports [that] "the Portuguese of Hong Kong, should be taken into account when preparing for future research" (Diez, 1981:136).

The citing of Batalha refers to her comprehensive study on the dialect *Estado actual do dialecto Macaense* (1959) in which she gives an overall picture of the linguistic situation in Macao, describes the stage of the dialect, and talks about the prospects for the future. Her study covers phonology, morphology, and syntax.

The citing of Thompson (1960) refers to his observation that the Portuguese dialect of Hong Kong is a continuation of the Portuguese spoken in Macao in the nineteenth century and its only living variation. Some 2,000 people speak it. In his study, Thompson analyzes the causes for survival, mentions old texts, and presents the general phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of the dialect. Thompson examined the causes for survival of the dialect in Hong Kong, which he attributed to the relative isolation of the speakers "cut off from the written Portuguese word and from the official spoken language" (Thompson, 1959:34).

In the conclusion to her thesis, Diez recommended the following steps for further research:

- an update of the sociolinguistic context, for some important events have taken place, namely the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Portugal on February 8, 1979, and the creation of a private University of Macau, where classes are scheduled to start in September 1981;
- a follow-up study of students interviewed to verify direction of change;
- a new research design based on the 1976 experience, allowing a broader sociolinguistic analysis;
- a study of the intonation of Macau speech;
- a study of attitudes.

Up until the return of Macau's sovereignty to China, the Macanese had a close affinity with the Portuguese but today, given the shifting political and cultural climate, many Macanese are coming to recognize and identify closer with the local Chinese heritage. It is also becoming evident also that the younger Macanese generation are

eschewing the learning of Portuguese in favour of other European languages most notably English and Spanish.

Following the preliminary study and observations made by Diez, further research was conducted by Noronha and Chaplin (2011) with the primary objective to critically examine the changes in language usage and preferences within the Macanese community, especially since the return of sovereignty to China in December 1999. The methodology consisted of surveys and interviews conducted with members of the Macanese community residing in Macao as well as Macanese who have migrated to other countries and as a diaspora still retain their cultural identity.

For the Macao survey, the respondents constituted six different age groups coming from the local tertiary institutions and from the local workforce; most being public servants employed by the Chinese administration at the upper managerial levels. Respondents placed in the final three age groups were made up of retirees and pensioners – the majority public servants who had worked under the former Portuguese administration (mainly as personnel in the security forces). Data from the Macanese diaspora was collected in electronic format via a closed-structured questionnaire using a multiple-choice format. The questions were designed to provide a measure of respondents' opinions, attitudes, feelings, and perceptions concerning the authors' exploration of emerging issues related to linguistic preferences and trends.

Questions asked in the surveys and interviews focused on: whether the respondent was educated in the Portuguese language; what level was attained in the language; which other languages the respondent has learned; which language is used for further study in the case of tertiary level students; which language is used by respondents in the workplace; which other languages are spoken in the home; which language is used for social communication; which language is the preferred medium for communication, and whether respondents have knowledge and proficiency in the Portuguese language variant.

Data was limited by the relatively small number of respondents who participated in the surveys and interviews. It was not considered appropriate to use a sophisticated approach such as SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) to the analysis of the data gathered.

Findings reveal that language preference, especially within the domestic domain, is crucially influenced by one of the parents. Typically, it is the mother who communicates in Cantonese rather than Portuguese, which has a decisive influence on language choice. This also is a determinant of which medium is preferred for schooling. It was found that the younger generation are being educated mostly in the Chinese medium, or even in a bilingual (Anglo-Chinese) medium which means that the preferred choice of language for this age-group is not Portuguese. The respondents in the younger age group indicated that they use Chinese for reading newspapers, magazines, as well as through the electronic media. In the latter case, English is also preferred over Portuguese. The use of English was also associated with work-related functions and for interaction with the non-Chinese speaking community.

The study concludes that the overall confidence in the use of the Portuguese language among the Macanese community is still positive, but only with certain age groups. This phenomenon is a cause for concern because if the trend continues to be evident, it is predicted that the future generations of Macanese will probably not choose Portuguese as their levels of literacy and fluency and their choice of communication will be determined by their preference for Chinese and English.

When the respondents were asked about their interests in learning the Portuguese language or improving on their proficiency in the Portuguese language, 56% of the total distribution (in all age groups) had expressed a stronger desire to do so. In comparison, however, only 34% of the total distribution, especially for those belonging to the age groups from 40 to 59, had shown an interest in learning Maquista.

The linguistic preference in this scenario confirms that Maquista, which had been declared on the 20th of February, 2009, in the new edition of UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, as a "critically endangered" language. The Atlas had also categorized the number of speakers of Maquista at 50 since the year 2000.

Conclusions

The status of Portuguese as the fifth most spoken language in the world, and the third most spoken in the Western world, attests to the importance of knowledge and proficiency in the language for the Macao community. China's recognition of the pivotal role of the Macao SAR in nurturing contact with the Portuguese-speaking world is a commendable position to take.

Although the function of Portuguese in government continues to play a significant role in the territory's political structure, its function in terms of economic and social structures continues to be a goal. In a recent session on China's 12th Five-Year plan, the vice-chairman of China's National Development and Reform Commission, Peng Sen, identified the Portuguese language as one of the competitive advantages of the MSAR and urged the further promotion of education in Portuguese. The role of Portuguese language education in Macao as the only Chinese city to enjoy privileged relations with Portuguese-speaking countries is seen as important for maintaining close ties with the more than 200 million people for whom the Portuguese language is their common link. The MSAR Government's triple trade and services platform concept includes a trade services platform for the Western region and Guangdong province, trade and economic services platform between China and Portuguese speaking countries and a trade services platform for Chinese people worldwide. This strategy was emphasized by Rita Santos, the Deputy General Secretary of the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries, "Since 2003, the People's Republic of China has given an important role to Macao, to stimulate and strengthen economic and trade relations between China and Portuguese-speaking countries and the only means of communication recognized by the People's Republic of China is the Portuguese language." A key factor for the Macau Forum's 'leap forward' has been the appointment of Chang Hexi who has worked in several Chinese embassies in Portuguese-speaking countries, including emerging regional power Angola, as Secretary General.

The future of the Portuguese language in Macao appears therefore to depend on its pivotal role in the development of contacts with communities where Portuguese is a lingua franca or second language. However, its use as a lingua franca does not apply to the dominant Cantonese speaking community of Macau where increasing efforts are being

made to inculcate the use of Putonghua as a 'mother tongue' despite the distinct linguistic and cultural differences which continue to differentiate the MSAR from other regions of China.

In the case of Portuguese, it should be noted therefore that, as with the Chinese language, there are many variants. Portuguese is defined as a pluricentric language with two main groups of dialects: those of Brazil and those of the Old World. For historical reasons, the dialects of Africa and Asia are generally closer to those of Portugal than the Brazilian dialects, although in some aspects of their phonetics, especially the pronunciation of unstressed vowels, they resemble Brazilian Portuguese more than European Portuguese. They are not studied as widely as European and Brazilian Portuguese, but as Blanca Aurora Diez (1981) referred to earlier, has noted, the latter may be preferred; especially in terms of trade and investment opportunities.

The role of Portuguese as a second language and its variant in use in the Macao SAR has been and continues to be contentious. It can be argued as the Luso-descendants who comprise the Macanese community are shifting away from adopting Portuguese as a lingua franca, and the local community is being urged to adopt Putongua instead of Cantonese as the lingua franca, the education of those needed to fulfill the objectives for the interaction between local and Luso-descendants has been compromised. Rita Santos the aforementioned Deputy General Secretary of the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries has appealed to the young Macanese to exploit their unique position: "In this particular case, being the sons and daughters of Portuguese, I think they have an important responsibility to maintain this link with Macao and an intimate and strong connection with their ancestors, so that Macao can continue retaining an important position at an international level." Interestingly she adds that, "The Macanese youth enjoy a solid background in terms of education mainly *based on the English language* [author's italics], however in order to facilitate cooperation and economical trade and cultural relations, learning Portuguese is a goal we would like to see happen one day."

The Macanese associations in the diaspora are perceived to be important outposts for continual links and cultural support for the Portuguese and Macanese heritage. The

Macanese associations, also known as *"Casas de Macau"* (literally known as *Houses of Macau*) have been set up and preserve and enhance the traditions, as well as the historical and cultural heritage of the Macanese living in the community. Essentially, these associations act as a bridge to promote fraternity and to form a strong bond with similar groups of the Macanese diaspora.

This study has illustrated how, while Portuguese continues to retain its position as an official language in the territory, its variant is not likely to survive. This has implications for the maintenance of Portuguese as a second language not only in Macao, but in other countries where it is a lingua franca. Although in key Luso-African countries like Angola, and Mozambique, it is used for official communication within the confines of their borders, English is recognized as being vital to pursuing economic development through contacts with other nations through the medium of English as an international language. As other African states draw closer to achieving a Pan-African identity, the language of communication will become an even more important issue. Since Angola and Mozambique are in the minority in comparison with the legacy of English in the rest of Africa, it is unlikely that Portuguese will figure prominently and may even experience decline. The same situation applies to South America, where Spanish is the main instrument for cohesion despite the global recognition of the status of Brazil. In Asia, East Timor is the only other country where Portuguese is a lingua franca but this may change as China's sphere of influence extends throughout the continent. Although its nearest neighbor is Indonesia, and Bahasa is likely to become prominent, contact with the English-speaking Pacific including Australia and New Zealand will also threaten the status of Portuguese.

Like the Macanese, Luso-descendants in former colonies are being forced to re-assess their allegiance to Portuguese in the wake of not only the overwhelming surge of English, but the inequities affecting their sense of identity. Even in Europe, Koven (2007) in her study of bilinguals' verbal enactment of identity in French and Portuguese, points out the negative factors that may affect Luso-descendants; especially those who have been exposed to a Portuguese variant:

> Although many LDs look up to and want to emulate the speech of urban young people in Portugal, most know that they may not be as easily recognized as "young" in Portuguese. It is

> thus often very hard for Luso-descendants to distinguish themselves from the "old" image associated with their parents (Koven, 2007:47).

Koven adds that Luso-descendants are exposed to a range of different socially marked ways of speaking Portuguese, from urban standard to rural, colloquial, and archaic. However, their productive control of the kinds of Portuguese spoken outside their homes is often variable. Although many may try to speak more like their non-émigré peers in Portugal or like their urban Portuguese teachers, most continue to speak a Portuguese that reveals their families' rural, lower-class, émigré origins, from a historical era considered bygone (Koven, 2007:47).

It could be argued that the Macanese shift to English will create similar problems of insecurity about language identity as their roots wither in their 'homeland'. One possible consequence of this is that the language thought of as obsolescent may be the subject of disparagement or ridicule:

> In the modern world, with its constantly increasing need for more styles and registers for discussion of an abundance of new concepts and ideas, an inability to communicate satisfactorily though a lack of linguistic resources will inevitably lead to speakers resorting to another language. The obsolescent language may become ridiculed – used as a language suitable for joke telling or being funny or merely as a way of communicating with older people – and often comes to be used as a 'secret' language used for exclusionary speaking (Jones and Singh, 2005:85).

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