LANGUAGE SHIFT AND REVITALIZATION IN THE KRISTANG COMMUNMITY, PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT, MALACCA

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ABSTRACT

Working within a critical ethnographic framework and drawing from the disciplines of sociology, social psychology, and bilingualism, the study investigates the causes for the shift of Papia Kristang (PK) in the Kristang community at the Portuguese Settlement (PS) and the community's response to its language situation. The main research questions are 'What is the actual linguistic behaviour of the Creoles at the PS?' and 'How is the community responding to the language shift (LS) taking place?'

Through methodological triangulation, a variety of data was obtained: self-reported data from a questionnaire, audio-recordings of six pairs of parent-children and three pairs of grandparent-grandchildren interactions in the home domain, recordings of naturally-occurring conversations in the neighbourhood domain and responses from fourteen interviews. Participant-observation of local culture, village life and celebration of festivals provided further ethnographic, qualitative data.

The study argues strongly that the shift of PK and the community's response to its language situation is an ongoing negotiation of the people's needs and priorities. The needs and priorities of the community are shaped by the socio-historical background of the community and further circumscribed by the socio-political dynamics of majority-minority relations in Malaysia. This being the case, both the etic/outsider (the researcher) and the emic/insider (the researched)

perspectives need to be taken into consideration to comprehend the shift taking place and the people's response.

In addition, a corpus of actual language use data provided empirical evidence of bilingual language mixing behaviour, namely codeswitching (CS), borrowing, and the use of a mixed code for communication. Instances of polyglossic language use provide insights into the long term language contacts and the type of bilingualism that exist in Malaysia, particularly Malacca.

Beginning in the mid- eighties there has been an increase in the number of studies on endangered languages but according to Mühlhäusler (2003), one of the dangers associated with work on endangered languages is that there may be a tendency to focus on the languages of tribal people and ignore the loss of contact languages such as pidgins and creoles. In its own way, this study of PK, a Portuguese-based creole, adds to the list of much needed research on endangered contact languages.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This descriptive, sociolinguistic study of the language shift (LS) phenomenon of Papia Kristang (PK), a Portuguese-based creole spoken by the Kristang community at the the Portuguese Settlement (PS), Malacca, Malaysia, is motivated by the threat of its extinction. Personally, I also hold an interest in the maintenance of creole languages in my hometown as I am myself a speaker of another creole language in Malacca. There is no denying that having friends from the Kristang community added further interest and provided easy access to the community without which none of the present work would have materialized. The study argues strongly that in order to gain a better understanding of the process of LS in the community and the community's response to the phenomenon, an account of the surrounding, interacting factors which make up and contribute to the context of the LS taking place must be given due consideration for the LS and revitalization of PK is not only context-shaped but also a context-shaping phenomenon. From the point of view of research, this present study should be seen as an attempt to provide both an emic (insider) and etic (outsider) perspective (see Chapter 4 'Research Design and Methodology') to the situation to help the community focus on the saving of their language. In the area of research on the LS of PK, so far this is the first study that has drawn upon data of actual language use in naturally occurring conversations between three generations in the home and the use of spontaneous talk among the villagers in the neighbourhood domain of the PS; in the field of language endangerment the thesis makes

a small but nonetheless vital contribution to the study of LS and revitalization of an endangered language in a developing nation in South East Asia (SEA).

The introductory chapter is largely descriptive as its main aim is to provide the reader with essential and sufficient background knowledge about the language of the community, the population under study (its historical beginnings, its geographical location, the socio-political context of the minority group, the issues affecting the community), the language use situation in Malaysia, particularly Malacca and, an overview of the thesis. Thus, the chapter centres on five main sections: Papia Kristang (PK) or Malacca Creole Portuguese (MCP), The Present Study, The Kristang speech community, Multiculturalism and Bilingualism in Malaysia and, the structure of the thesis. PK or MCP provides background information on how creole Portuguese in Asia came about including the origin of PK, a brief description of the creole and past research on PK; The Present Study explains the aim and focus of this study; the section on the Kristang speech community describes the sociohistorical origin of the community and the Portuguese Settlement as well as political and ethnic issues that surface in the community's life and how these issues have contributed to an increased feeling of being Kristang and the anxiety of maintaining its heritage. The section on multiculturalism and bilingualism provides a glimpse of the type of multiculturalism and bilingualism found in Malaysia, particularly Malacca; the last section, Structure of the thesis, outlines the structure and contents of the thesis according to the chapters presented in the dissertation.

1.1 Papia Kristang (PK) or Malacca Creole Portuguese (MCP)

Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese attempted to control the Asian maritime trade networks[1]. In Asia, the Portuguese established trading outposts along the coast in India (Goa), Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Macao and in South East Asia (SEA), in Malacca and the Moluccas islands (Indonesia). Despite the focus on trade, the Portuguese colonization policy included the recruitment of manpower to man their fortified outposts as well as to spread Christianity. In order to do this effectively, the Crown of Portugal encouraged intermarriages with the locals which resulted in a mingling of heritage at the Portuguese colonies: a people of European and Asian (Eurasian) ancestry, bonded by a Catholic faith and speaking a restructured variety of the Portuguese language which eventually emerged as a Portuguese lexified creole. Until the late nineteenth century Creole Portuguese had been widely spoken in various parts of South East Asia (SEA) including Sri Lanka. By the twentieth century the dialects in Shanghai and the Indonesian islands were almost extinct; today they survive only in Malacca, Singapore, Hong Kong and Macao (Macau).

Creole Portuguese of SEA, that is, those from the Indonesian islands and Malacca, are referred to as the Malayo-Portuguese variety of Portuguese-derived creoles. The Indonesian varieties which were spoken on the islands of Sumatra, Java, Flores, Timor, Celebes, Ambon and Ternate in the Moluccas[2] are related to the Malacca dialect. In Malacca, Papia Kristang (PK) or Malacca Creole Portuguese (MCP) is the name of the Portuguese creole spoken by the Kristang speech community at the Portuguese Settlement. The creole carries a variety of different names: Papia Kristang or Kristang to

[1] For a discussion on Portuguese expansion in Asia, refer Subrahmanyam, 1993.
[2] For a detailed discussion of Creole Portuguese in Indonesia, refer Holm (1989); Baxter (1984, 1990).

the community, Bahasa Grago (Shrimp Language) in Malay, Malaqueiro, Malaquense, Malaques or Malaquenho in Portuguese. In this study Papia Kristang (PK) or Kristang will be used interchangeably. (Some members of the Kristang community spell Kristang as Cristao in accordance with Portuguese orthography. Due to this discrepancy the community is hoping that the production of a Kristang-English dictionary (Baxter & de Silva, forthcoming) will help standardize the written form and spelling system for PK).

As early as the 1800s creolists have shown interest in the Portuguese-based creoles of the Malayo-Portuguese group. Coelho (1882) studied Java Creole Portuguese while Schuchardt (1891) looked into Singapore Creole Portuguese. Both these South-East Asian creoles are closely related to PK as they share a common Bazaar Malay[3] substrate (Bazaar Malay has been the lingua franca in the Malay archipelago since the fifteenth century). Also, some of the Java creole population were from Malacca, having fled to the Indonesian islands during the Dutch rule of Malacca; Singapore Creole Portuguese is an offshoot of MCP as the speakers were originally from Malacca, having migrated to Singapore economic reasons.

1.1.1 The Origin and Influence of PK

The Kristang speakers believe that their 'language' belongs to sixteenth century Portuguese which makes it unintelligible to speakers of modern Portuguese. Hancock (1975:217) claims that Papia Kristang, 'along with Portuguese-derived creoles elsewhere in the world, may be descended from a common fifteenth century contact variety of continental Portuguese origin.' In discussing the genesis of PK Hancock (1969) traces its

[3] Bazaar Malay is non-standard Malay; it is also known as Pasar (Market) Malay or 'Pasar Melayu'.

origin to 'Low Portuguese', the Portuguese trade contact language spoken on the west coast which itself developed from the earlier Mediterranean *Sabir*[4] Actually the origins of PK are not known but according to Hancock (1973) PK has more features common with *Sabir* than Portuguese-based creoles closer to Portuguese from the northwest African coast. Hancock hypothesizes that the same pidgin could have reached India and Malaya (now Malaysia) but became creolized separately in the different countries. As Indo-Portuguese and PK differ in several aspects and the Portuguese arrived in India first before coming to Malaya, the speculation here bears some ground. In contrast, the Creole Portuguese of Macau and Java bear great similarities with PK. Hancock rationalizes that in all likelihood PK was already creolized when it spread to these areas. Further to this, Hancock (1970) verifies that thirty-five items which constitute less than two percent of the lexicon of PK are traceable to the Dutch language. However, Hancock points out that the lexical items from Dutch are restricted to similar semantic areas confirming that Dutch influence in PK is principally in the home domain as at least 19 out of the 35 items are connected with cooking, clothing, furniture and the house.

According to Baxter (1995:51), although its pronunciation and the bulk of its rule of grammar is very close to local colloquial Malacca Malay (that is, the non-standard Bazaar Malay), 'the vocabulary of Kristang is 95% Portuguese-derived and generally quite recognizable to speakers of European Portuguese.' As with creoles from a region, Papia Kristang has been subjected to substratum influences, particularly from Bazaar Malay.

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[4] *Sabir* is the lingua franca used by the travelers at the Mediterranean ports from the 14th century or earlier; it is believed that this Lingua Franca began as an ad hoc jargon and is the proto-pidgin from which all new world European pidgins or creoles are derived from.

Similarly, about four hundred Portuguese words have been incorporated into the Malay language. The following are a few examples of Portuguese influence on the Malay language :

Portuguese	Malay	English
igreja	gereja	church
queijo	keju	cheese
carreta	kereta	cart
camisa	kemeja	shirt
sapatu	sepatu	shoes

There is also evidence that Makista creole, the Macau-Portuguese creole spoken in Macau, bears great similarity to Malacca Creole Portuguese. During the Dutch rule of Malacca and Dutch persecution of the Catholic faith and the use of the Portuguese language, many Malacca Portuguese left Malacca to live in other Portuguese colonies such as Macau and Flores. Such migration could have transported the Malacca-Portuguese patois to its new environment. A social factor that could have brought the Malacca creole to Macau is that Portuguese men in Macau were forced to look to Malacca and India for wives because no Chinese women would marry Portuguese men who were regarded as foreign 'devils' (Tomas, 1988). Thus Malacca, being nearer to Macao than India, supplied the Macao Portuguese with wives, servants and an early form of Papia Kristang. To illustrate her point, Tomas cites examples of words related to the home and feminine activities (e.g. cooking utensils, women's clothing etc) that originated from the Malay language. The theory of an imported Malacca creole to Macau is further

enhanced by the term `malaqueiro' which means `from Malacca' found in a dialogue produced in Makista Creole; however, Tomas (ibid) also pointed out that the early form of Papia Kristang in Macau would have been subjected to borrowings from the Chinese language too, taking into consideration contact with the local people in Macau.

1.1.2 A Brief Description of PK

According to Baxter and de Silva (forthcoming), although PK is derived from older varieties of Portuguese, it is not Portuguese or a variety of Portuguese; in other words, it is a language in its own right – a Creole language. According to Hancock (1969), the vocabulary of PK is derived from six main sources: Portuguese, Dutch, Malay, English, Chinese and Indian. The largest proportion of lexical items is traceable to Portuguese and while some of the words are identifiable with modern Metropolitan Portuguese, many PK words are archaic or originate from dialects e.g. arafing 'conceit' (< archaic Portuguese 'arafim'), etika 'tuberculosis' (< a dialect variant 'hetica') (Hancock, ibid: 39). About thirty words in PK comes from Dutch e.g. atapal 'potato' (< Dutch 'aardappel'); doi 'money' (< Dutch 'duit'). Malay words adopted into the Creole are sometimes altered to fit the syllabic structure of PK, e.g. kalu 'if' (< Malay 'kalau'); champura 'mix' (< Malay 'campur'). English words incorporated into PK too become altered phonologically, e.g. ropianu 'European' (< English 'European'), stretu 'straight' (< English 'straight'). The Chinese contribution comes from a few Chinese dialects the community is exposed to, namely Hokkien which is the main Chinese dialect spoken in Malacca. Examples of PK words of Chinese origin are: e.g. tong 'box' (< Hokkien 'kong'); chang 'pigtail' (< Hokkein 'tau chang') and cha 'tea' (< Cantonese and Mandarin 'cha'). PK words of Indian origin include 'chadu' (clever) (< Konkani 'chiadhu') and 'pattaya' (container) (<

Malayalam dialect 'pattayam'); (for more examples of PK vocabulary refer Hancock, 1969; 1970; 1973).

PK has seventeen consonants and eight vowels:

Table 1.1 Kristang consonant phonemes

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveo-dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	velar
stop	p b		t d			k g
affricate					c j	
fricative		f (v)	s z			
nasal	m		n		ñ	ng
tap/trill				r		
lateral			l			

(Baxter, 1988: 20)

Table 1.2 Kristang vowel phonemes

	Unrounded		Rounded
	Front	Central	Back
High	i e		u o
Mid	ẹ (ae)	ĕ	ọ
Low		a	

(Baxter, 1988: 23)

Tense and aspect are marked by the particles 'ja' for the past, 'logu'/'lo' for the future and 'ta' for the non-completive aspect, e.g. 'eli ja bai geraja' (He went/has gone to church); 'yo lo kumih isti kokis' (I will eat this cake); 'bos ta drumi kiora yo bai' (You were sleeping when I went (off)). There is no copula verb in PK, e.g. 'eli omi' (He (is) (a) man). The passives in PK can be formed by using the verb 'toka' (which functions like the Malay verb 'kena'), e.g. 'eli sa bicycle ja toka futah' (His bicycle got/was stolen). 'Ja' comes from a Portuguese adverb 'já' meaning 'already'; 'lo' (or 'logu') comes from a Portuguese adverb 'logo' meaning 'presently'; 'ta' comes from the Portuguese verb 'está' or from one of the conjugated forms of the verb (está, estás, estã0, estamos) meaning 'to be'. Adjectives in PK may occur as postnominal modifiers in a noun phrase, e.g. 'ngua omi bomong godru' (one man very fat = one very fat man), or they may function as a predicate, e.g. 'eli duenti' (She (is) ill). Some adjectives contain gender distinctions, e.g. bela/belu 'old woman/old man'. Negation in PK is expressed by the particle 'ngka' for both past and present tenses and the particle 'nadi' for the future tense, e.g. eli ngka nalih 'He wasn't there'; yo ngka gosta kambrang 'I don't like prawns'; bos nadi beng naki torna 'You won't come here again'. 'Nteh' is a special negative form meaning 'not to have/be' (< Portuguese 'nao') while 'ngeh' means 'not to want' and 'nang' is a negative imperative, e.g. 'nang skiseh' meaning 'Don't forget'. PK demonstrative articles 'isti' (this) and 'akeli' (that) often serve as a definite article. Plurality is signaled by reduplication; reduplication in verbs are used to indicate repetitive action but with adjectives it is for emphasis. Possession is usually indicated by the genitival link 'sa', e.g. yo sa kaza 'my house'. Kristang pronouns are 'yo' (I/me), 'nus/nu' (we/us), 'bos/bo' (you), 'eli' (s/he/her/him/it) and 'olotu' (they/them).

Like Malay, PK is a syllable timed language and displays a tendency for the main stress to occur on the penultimate syllable in words ending in open syllables (e.g. kaza 'house', rayu 'wicked/cruel') and on the final syllable of words ending in closed syllables, e.g. natal 'Christmas', kumih 'eat'. A few words may have main stress on a syllable prior to the penultimate syllable, e.g. familia 'family' (Baxter, 1988). Since the phonological system of Malay and PK are broadly identical, earlier researchers such as Hancock recommend that in the event of developing a written form for PK, a Malay-based spelling system would be most useful to help develop literacy in PK in the community; in view of this, the forthcoming Kristang-English dictionary is written in a Malay-based orthography.

1.1.3 Past Research on PK

The first book published on the creole Portuguese of Malacca was written by Silva Rêgo (1942). According to Baxter who wrote the preface to a re-edition of the book in 1998, Silva Rêgo's interest was on the linguistic reflexes of Portuguese presence in Malaya (now Malaysia) thus he concentrated on the oral literature, lexicon and phraseology of the language. The book contains a grammatical sketch, a phrase list, a lexicon, a section on cantigas crioulas (creole songs) and a selection of secular and religious texts. Following this extensive volume nothing was written on PK until the sixties. From the sixties to the early nineties a number of researches were carried out on PK (Knowlton, 1964; Hancock, 1968; 1969; 1970; 1973; 1975; Baxter, 1983; 1988; 1990; 1996; Thurgood and Thurgood, 1996) but the focus of these studies was on the analysis of the linguistic system of PK although there has been some observation on the use of the language. In the mid sixties Knowlton reported the vigorous use of PK in the community (although he did not

mention any specific domains) amidst the demands to be multilingual in interethnic communication with the other races living near the community. This means that in the early and mid 1960s PK was still thriving. However, by 1969 Hancock reported that the language survives only in two areas in Malacca – at Trankera and the Portuguese Settlement (PS) – and voiced his concern that without a written form the dialect may lapse into unrecorded extinction. By 1973 Hancock emphasized that in spite of its survival into the 70s, there are many odds against the future of PK. Firstly, it is an unwritten, minority language. Secondly, it is decreasingly being used especially by members of the community outside Malacca. Thirdly, it is the language of a small Christian group in a predominantly Muslim country. In view of this, he anticipates social and religious pressures against the community. While there may be reasons for such fears, so far due to the relative amount of freedom of worship in Malaysia in accordance to the Constitution drawn up when the British gave Malaya her Independence, to date, there has been no religious pressure against the group or any minority group in the country. However, with increasing intermarriage with non-Kristang communities such as the Chinese and the Indians, the community may not be as resilient or cohesive as an ethnic group. In fact, exogamy has had some effect on the maintenance of the language especially in the Kristang home (see discussion in Chapter 5, section 5.2.4.2).

Hancock's explicit listing of the threats against the future of PK as early as the seventies suggests that the language shift (LS) of PK (to English) has already been taking place but may not have been noticed much by the community then. By the time Baxter completed his research on the grammar of PK in 1984, he confirmed the status of PK as endangered and listed it on the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages. According to Baxter,

not all Creoles know PK or Kristang and he observed that various domains of Kristang use have already disappeared or are in the process of disappearing. In addition, he highlights that socio-economic pressures such as the government's interest to reclaim the shores of the PS for commercial and tourist purposes which threaten the existence of the PS may hasten the demise of the language. According to Baxter's (1996) map (see Appendix A) of Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Asia Pacific region, PK is dying and it is due to the receding use of the language in the community. The Creoles are most familiar with English as they regard it as a language of social prestige. Kristang families with higher socioeconomic status normally communicate in English even with members of the family and most of these families regard Kristang as a low prestige language (Baxter, 1988). It appears that English is replacing Kristang as the language of the community while Bahasa Malaysia (B.M.) which is the national language of the country, language of public administration and education, is becoming more accessible and useful to the younger generation Kristangs – fluency in Bahasa Malaysia contributes to success in national examinations and provide access to higher education in the local universities.

Past researches on PK can be divided into two main strands of focus: the linguistic system of the language and maintenance and/or shift of PK. From 1964 to 1988, research on PK focused mainly on describing the language although there were side observations about the use of the creole: : Knowlton (1964) described the basic structures of PK – its phonology, grammar and vocabulary but he also observed that that PK was vigorously used in the community; Hancock (1964; 1969) described the structures of PK as well as the sources of PK vocabulary, Hancock (1970; 1973) discussed Dutch influence on PK while Hancock (1975) hypothesized on the origin of PK (cf. section 1.1.1). In addition,

Hancock (1973) also raised awareness that without a written form and with decreasing use, PK may one day face extinction. The first major and complete documentation of PK as a written language was carried out by Baxter (1988) in his *Grammar of Kristang.* Despite his linguistic focus, Baxter also made observations of PK language use in the community and established the status of PK as endangered in the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages. However, it was not until the later half of the nineties and the millennium that researchers began to show a more focused interest in the language shift and /or maintenance of PK in the Kristang community. Accordingly, a series of small studies in the form of surveys were carried out on the LS and/or the LM of PK but unfortunately, the studies were mostly based on self-reports and the sampling were small. Nunes (1996) conducted a self-report survey on 216 residents; Khemlani-David and Faridah Noor (1999) conducted a self-report survey on 62 residents; Sa'adiah Ma'alip (2000) conducted a self-report survey on 30 residents; Sudesh (2000) conducted a self-report survey of language use in seven domains. Nevertheless, all the studies that attempted to look at the maintenance of PK concluded that the use of the language is receding and LS is taking place due to the popular use of English in the community but how it takes place (by what process) and what is the community's response to its language shift situation have not been investigated. In view of this, the present study builds on and expands past researches carried out to investigate the LS phenomenon of PK.

1.2 The Present Study

The aim of the research is to study the language shift situation of Papia Kristang (PK) at the Portuguese Settlement (PS), Malacca, which is the centre for Kristang culture and

identity and has the highest concentration of Kristang speakers in Malaysia. The focus of the study is to establish the cause(s) for the diminishing use of the creole and explore and investigate why and how the Kristang community attempts to revitalize the use of PK in the community.

The research design for the study is ethnographic (that is, not experimental) in nature and employs both data and methodological triangulation (see Chapter Four, section 4.1 for a detailed discussion of the research design and methodology of the research and Table 4.3 for an overview of the research method and design of the study). The two complementary queries the study hopes to answer is, what is the actual linguistic behaviour in the homes and neighbourhood of the PS and, what is the community's response to the language shift situation of PK? (cf. Chapter 4, Table 4.1 and Table 4.2).

The significance of the study is three-fold: firstly, the study provides a rich, descriptive account of the process of the LS of PK including the bilingual language use (codeswitching, language mixing, fusing and borrowing) behavior of the speakers (see Chapter 6); secondly, the study provides insights into the realities and the prospect of trying to revitalize and maintain the use of a small population, minority language in a multiracial and economically-competitive setting (for instance how the needs and priorities of the community constantly compete with reversing language shift (RLS) and the revitalization of PK); thirdly, the study provides evidence on how the socio-historical background, socio-cultural values and socio-political dynamics of minority-majority group relations affect the ethnolinguistic vitality, identity and ultimately the language behavior of minority groups.

1.3 The Kristang Speech Community

1.3.1 Sociohistorical Background

Map 1 (see Appendix B) shows how the spice trade routes of South-East Asia were brought about by the end and beginning of the North-East & South-West monsoons blowing across the seas surrounding Malacca. As a result of its strategic location, a great variety of merchandise were traded at the port of Malacca during the rule of the Malacca Sultanate (1400–1511). Attracted by its supreme economic and social reputation, the Portuguese set sail in search of Malacca. Unfortunately, the Portuguese were not received on peaceful terms by the ruler of the Malacca Sultanate, Sultan Mahmud Shah and as a result, Alfonso de Albuquerque took the city by force on 24 August 1511. The conquest of Malacca sowed Portuguese hopes of stalling the dominance of Venice especially in the trading of the rare spices – cloves, nutmeg, mace, sandalwood – from the Moluccas and the Banda Islands (Villiers, 1988:17). Immediately after the acquisition of Malacca, the Portuguese wasted no time in strengthening their empire by spreading their religion and encouraging a policy of intermarriage with the local people in order to provide manpower to man the fortress the conquerors built and, to ensure a lineage that is faithful to the Crown of Portugal.

In addition to the six hundred white Portuguese men left behind after the conquest of Malacca, Albuquerque brought some Portuguese women known as `Orphans of the Queen' to be given in marriage to the men of Malacca. A precondition of the nuptial union is that the local bride or groom convert to the Catholic religion and take on Portuguese names. In return they were given protection and privileges in commerce and

politics from the King of Portugal. The fusion produced an ethnic group known then as 'Mesticos' – a term used to describe all Portuguese descendants in places where Iberian Portuguese had fathered or mothered children with local inhabitants (Sta Maria, 1982:23). As the Portuguese were also zealous about spreading the Gospel, converts to the Catholic faith were awarded Portuguese names and employment. This generosity attracted many homogenous inhabitants, namely the Malays and the Javanese who, having embraced the Christian faith and carried Portuguese names, subsequently married the offsprings or 'mesticos' of the Portuguese mixed marriages.

In 1641 the Dutch captured Malacca. At that time there were twenty-one thousand *mesticos* and Portuguese in Malacca (Sta Maria, 1979:8). The Dutch had no policy of intermarriage with the locals but preferring a fairer complexion in their wives, married the wives of the Portuguese rulers who had been killed or some of the local Portuguese or *mesticos*. Although the Dutch were of the Reformed Church 'many Dutch men married to local Portuguese women gave up their own religion to embrace that of the wives' (Boxer, 1973:167) resulting in assimilation into the larger Catholic 'Portuguese' community. Bonded by a common faith in the Catholic religion, the three groups – the Mesticos, the 'Portuguese' converts, the Dutch-Portuguese – evolved into a distinct speech community who today call themselves 'the Malacca-Portuguese' or Jenti Kristang (Kristang people) speech community. Their evolution is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

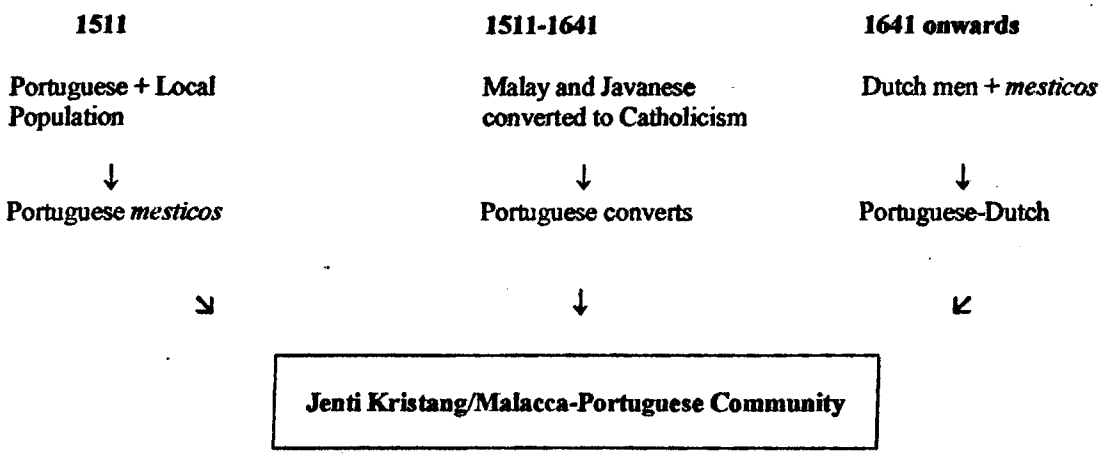


Figure 1.1 The Multiethnic Roots of the Kristang Speech Community

'+' means 'married'

1.3.2 The Portuguese Settlement of Malacca

The Portuguese descendants who remained in Malacca after the Dutch capture of the city lived in various parts of Malacca. It was only during British rule that these people were brought together and united as a community. In 1926, in response to the request of two Catholic missionaries, Reverend Father Pierre Francois and Reverend Father Alvaro Corado, the British Resident Commissioner of Malacca, Mr Reginald Crichton, set aside a twenty-eight acre plot of land for the creation of a settlement for the poorer descendants of the Malacca-Portuguese community so that their cultural heritage be preserved (Sta Maria, 1994). In honor of the two priests, the residents among themselves sometimes refer to the settlement as 'Padre Sa Chao' (The Priests' Land). Officially, the settlement became known as The Portuguese Settlement. In Malay it is known as Kampung Portugis or Kampung Serani meaning Eurasian Village. The Portuguese Settlement is about two kilometres from the city centre and faces the Straits of Malacca (see Appendix C). In honor of their seafaring Portuguese ancestors, the streets in the Portuguese Settlement

were mostly given Portuguese names. Besides a well-planned residential area the British government appointed a *Regedor* (Headman) to be in charge of the welfare of the residents and to speak and act on their behalf. The present R*egedor* is Mr Peter Gomes. In 1992, a panel known as The Portuguese Settlement Regedor's Panel was formed to help the *Regedor* initiate and carry out various programs for the betterment of the residents.

Comprising a hundred and twenty houses, the Portuguese Settlement holds the highest concentration of the Kristang community (Sarkissian, 1997). More than three thousand Kristangs live in Malacca and of these, at least one thousand two hundred live in the Portuguese Settlement[5], the core of Kristang culture and activities (Far Eastern Economic Review, 10 August 1995). The Portuguese Eurasians who do not live in the Settlement live in different parts of Malacca, some at Praya Lane, some at Trankera/Tranquerah (see Appendix C – Map of Malacca) while others are scattered in different parts of Malacca. Due to such dispersion and loose social networks, PK is not spoken as much elsewhere as at the PS. The Settlement is highly prized by the Kristang community for its identification with their ancestral roots and is of great value to researchers researching on Kristang matters. The Settlement contains some of the oldest and fluent speakers of the Kristang creole and it is at this very location that the present study is carried out. Located off the main road, a bus service (Town Bus Service No. 17) by the local omnibus company provides access to and from the city centre of Malacca and other parts of town. The Settlement is also accessible by other modes of road transport such as cars, lorries,

[5] The present population is estimated to be smaller, about 700-750 (cf. Chapter 5, RLCLU survey).

bicycles, scooters, motorcycles and rickshaws and, one can also walk into the Settlement from the main road outside the village.

1.3.2.1 Land Issues

From the 50s until the 90s three major issues emerged: land encroachment problems, land status problems, and land reclamation problems. The significance of these 'events' cannot be underestimated for they contributed to an increased awareness of the community's minority status and a greater sense of Kristang identity, consciousness and solidarity throughout the community.

Land Encroachment Problems

For almost three decades, starting from 1949 to 1979, a series of 'land encroachment issues' threatened the security of the PS as reserve land set aside for the Portuguese-Eurasian community (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.3 Land Encroachment Issues at the Portuguese Settlement (PS)

Dates	Land Issues
1949	• PS land declared as Crown or government land • 99-year lease granted to the RC Bishop of Malacca for the construction of the Cannosian Convent in the PS
1953	• Construction of the Customs Dept. Quarters
1964	• 4424 sq. ft of land allocated to the Fisheries Dept. for its crew quarters
1976	• The state government issued 99-year lease titles to the residents of the PS
1979	• The Malaysian Customs Dept. proposed to build multi-storey flats at the PS

The British government's objective in setting up the PS in 1926 was to give the community a land they can call their very own. However, with the change of land status from freehold to Crown land in 1949, the Settlement literally does not belong to its residents anymore and as such, the residents are not entitled to ownership of the land on which their houses are built. Of deeper significance is, Crown land implies that the government has rights to use any part of the land for whatever purposes the government deem necessary. Subsequent plans to allow the construction of a convent, a Customs Dept. staff quarters, a Fisheries Dept. crew quarters, the issue of 99-year lease titles for the land and, the proposal to build multi-storey flats at the PS left many of the residents anxious about the permanence of their dwelling places in the Settlement; at the very heart of the matter was the fear that the Portuguese Settlement would one day be taken away from them.

Feeling the insecurity and threat of the land being taken away from the residents whenever the Malay government needed it, a five-member committee including the Regedor, initiated a meeting with the government to voice their dissatisfaction with the proposed changes which the community views as an encroachment into their territory. On a more important note, the committee seek assurances that the land will remain in the possession of the community and that the government will not repossess or acquire the land. At the same time, sensing the need for unity and one voice, the residents formed the 'Save the Portuguese Community Committee' (SPCC) on 2nd August 1979 to initiate a nationwide call on all Portuguese descendants in Malaysia to join the SPCC to save the Portuguese Settlement and their cultural heritage from extinction. The response from other Eurasian associations was tremendous and plans for the proposed building of the

flats were immediately suspended by the government. The SPCC created an awareness of the needs of the community and instilled a communal belief that the cultural heritage of the Portuguese descendants needs to be protected and prevented from disintegration (Sta Maria, 1994).

To sum up, the land encroachment problem created greater bondage amongst the members of the community throughout the country. It also made the community realize that the Portuguese Settlement needs to be preserved for the future generation of the community. Thus, efforts were focused on the prevention of any taking away of their land or territory. It was also the beginning of constant haggling with the government over their rights.

Land Status Problems

Despite earlier calls from the community to resolve the land title issue, the government did not provide any concrete response to the issue hence the land title problem remained dormant. In the 80s the land title issue resurfaced when on 27 July 1987, the government issued a 60 year land title lease to the residents with a land premium of RM1000-2000 to be paid annually. In reaction, a Land Action Committee (LAC) was formed to champion the community's sole rights to the land and to revert the land's status to its original freehold status. As with the SPCC, the LAC received the nationwide support it needed, namely from the Selangor, Penang, and Perak Eurasian Associations and met government representatives to resolve the land issue. The government refused to grant freehold status to the Settlement but the then Chief Minister of Malacca, Tan Sri Rahim b. Tamby Chik, made a promise to include the Portuguese Settlement as a Preservation and Conservation

area in the forthcoming enactment called the Preservation and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Enactment. However, when the Enactment was finally tabled and passed in the Malacca State Legislative Assembly on 6 September 1988 the Portuguese Settlement had still not been singled out for preservation and conservation (refer Appendix D). Finally, on 22nd August 1990 the Malacca Government officially gazetted the Portuguese Settlement, along with other prominent historical sites, as the historical zone to be protected in the Malacca Preservation and Conservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage Enactment of 1988 (New Straits Times, 23 August 1990).

In 1995, the community urged the Customs to return the 0.8 hectares of land that they had encroached upon for the building of their staff quarters. Despite valid reasons for wanting to use the said piece of land to solve the problem of overcrowding in available housing in the Settlement, the request was ignored. Thus, the community felt that even though the Settlement is 'protected' (in the Enactment) for its future generations, land that they have 'lost' have not been 'returned' to them.

Land Reclamation Problems

After wrestling with the government over two land issues, the Malacca Portuguese community had to face a different land issue in the 90s: land reclamation in the coastal area fronting the Portuguese Settlement. Land reclamation projects are quite common to the Malacca state and as early as 1974 the Banda Hilir seabed which includes Praya Lane (see Appendix C) has been earmarked for reclamation. Unfortunately, as a result of the reclamation project, the fishermen community at Praya Lane became landlocked and therefore, had to abandon fishing as a livelihood. Thus, on 29 October 1994, when the

State Government announced its proposal to allow reclamation of 1000 hectares of land from the sea including the coast fronting the Portuguese Settlement, the Kristang community set up the Reclamation Action Committee (RAC) to oppose the project. The main objection is the reclamation project threatens the very livelihood of the Kristang fishermen from the Settlement and also the possible loss of the community's link to the sea and its past. The loss of the seafront would bring about a domino effect on the cultural heritage of the community – without the sea, the water-related cultural and religious celebration of Kristang festivals such as Festa San Pedro would be meaningless, with no access to the sea, there would be no Kristang seafood for the tourists who visit the Settlement and its restaurants, without the sea, the Portuguese Settlement would have no identity (O Independe, 25 August 1995). Financially, all these would have an impact on the income of the Kristang community (The Malay Mail, 6 March 1995). The State Government's suggestion that a canal or lagoon be constructed to provide access to the sea was rejected based on the experience of the silting taking place in the canal and lagoon constructed in another part of the city – the Melaka Raya reclamation project. The issue dragged on for more than a year.

Finally, in late 1996, the residents reluctantly agreed to the seafront reclamation on condition that they be compensated for the loss of their seafront and income. However, the matter could not be resolved because the Regedor's Panel's reduced claim of RM2.19 million was met with a meagre RM500,000 from the developer. In 1997, due to the economic recession in SEA, the reclamation project was stalled. Then in 2000, the State government proposed a multimillion reclamation project which included a 'coastal' highway from Melaka Raya, passing through the shores of the PS but the project has yet

to be fully completed (see Appendix E). In the meantime during my recent visit to the Settlement in April 2003, there is talk of an Urban Renewal Project by the Economic Planning Unit from the federal government to provide for economic development in the PS (see Chapter 8, section 8.3). A serious implication of this proposal is that the community is faced with the difficult decision to choose between preserving what is important to the community (which includes the seafront and its cultural significance) and economic betterment. Echoes of such a predicament can be seen later in the thesis when the community is faced with the difficult decision to choose between saving their language and economic development.

1.3.2.2 Voting For One's Own *Regedor*

Since the creation of the PS, the British appointed a *regedor* (headman) to head the community. Following that the Settlement has been headed by a *regedor* of the residents' own choice and election. However, when *Regedor* Michael Young retired in 1997 after twenty-three years as headman, the Malacca Government decided on an appointed candidature for the position despite popular calls for an election. To alleviate the disagreement, the residents submitted three candidates for the position. Finally on 13 July 1998, Peter Gomes was appointed by the State Government to be the Settlement's *regedor.* No doubt there are political reasons behind the State Government's insistence to appoint the *regedor* – a *regedor* elected solely by the community and not appointed by the government is not obliged to 'toe' government policies on issues affecting the community. In its own way, the appointment (instead of election) of the *regedor* counteracted the unity of the community which the (earlier) land issues had built up. The loss of the right to elect their own *regedor* created divisions between the ruling (pro-

government) leadership of the community and certain factions of the community who belong to the opposition party in the country. As a result, the present *Regedor* sometimes has a difficult time trying to implement communal projects that require full cooperation from all sections of the community because factions in the community are based on family and political party loyalty. On the communal front though, the appointment of the *regedor* bears deep political implications for the community: it is a clear statement that the minority group lacks political leverage and influence, and even though the Settlement is protected in the Preservation and Conservation Enactment, the state and federal government hold ultimate power over the community.

The 'land' issues and the dissatisfaction with not having the right to vote for its own leader for the Settlement discussed in the preceding sections reinforce the imbalance of power existing between the majority ruling government and the minority Kristang group. The experience heightened the fear that the community can be marginalized. To overcome this insecurity, the community realized that it has to find ways to be recognized as an integral part of mainstream Malaysian society. One of the means to do this is to prove to the ruling government that other than the economic returns that the community brings in through tourism, the community is also truly 'indigenous', that is, 'bumiputra' or native in its ancestry. The only viable means to prove this is to turn to its ethnicity. Unfortunately, as the following section (and the concluding chapter) will show, in the case of the Kristang community, race and identity is highly complex and not always as easily discernable as one wishes.

1.3.3 The Question of Kristang Ethnicity and Identity

Throughout its history, Malacca has always been a cultural melting pot. The strongest testimony to this claim can be found in the existence of three creole communities (the Babas, the Kristangs and the Chitties) in the state, their languages, and their cuisine. However, despite its multiculturalism, ethnic distinctions are politically important in predominantly Muslim Malaysia because political parties in the country are based on racial lines. Unlike the Babas who are politically affiliated to the Chinese political party due to their Chinese ancestry and the Chitties who are still regarded as Indians due to their Hindu religion, the Kristang creole community has no political race party to relate (or belong) to, politically. Aptly, as Sta Maria (1982), a Kristang political activist pointed out, ' ... when race is a decisive indicator of voting trends, a Eurasian candidate is always at a disadvantage.' In short, without a specific race to allude to in Malaysia, every time the question of ethnicity surfaces, the community is in a politically disadvantaged position. The following discussions on two vital issues, namely, the definition of the term *Eurasian* and the community's ongoing quest for *bumiputra* ('sons-of-the-soil') status from the Malaysian government since 1995, illustrate that even within the Eurasian community itself, the question of ethnicity is not as straightforward.

1.3.3.1 On Being 'Eurasian'

The definition of 'Eurasian' as referring to a category of people born from the parentage of a European and an Asiatic is chiefly used by British Europeans for the inhabitants of Malaya who have a mixture of European and Asian ancestry (Leijssus, 1946). The Indian, Ceylon, Burma and Hong Kong Eurasians are assumed under other nomenclatures such as Anglo-Indians, Burgher etc. Thus, whilst an essential ingredient

of being Eurasian is that one parent must be a European, foreigners still segregate Eurasians according to the country they come from. Likewise, there were marked class divisions within the Eurasian community especially during British rule in Malaya. The better-educated Eurasians ('the Upper Tens') who usually work for the British administration firmly distanced themselves from the less-educated and poor Portuguese descended Eurasians. This social strata created a stratum of pedigree issues: first generation Eurasians/true Eurasians versus second generation Eurasians, third generation Eurasians and so forth. In addition, intermarriages between Eurasians and other ethnic groups such as Chinese or Indians aggravate the complexities and descriptions of being Eurasian.

The 1940s in Malaya was the era of nationalism and ethnicity became an increasingly pronounced issue. In spite of a unified Malayan Union front working towards independence from the British, each of the three main races in Malaya – the Malays, the Chinese, the Indians – was engaged in the formation of a political party based on ethnicity, to champion their individual races' rights and concerns. As pointed out earlier, inevitably, the Eurasians were caught in the dilemma of being without one identifiable race. Reference to Article 160 of the Federal Constitution (of Malaya) did not provide much help. The Article classifies race as :

(i) Professing one Common religion

(ii) Speaking and conversing one Common language

(iii) Having a Common practice of customs and traditions

The only bond the groups of Eurasians had in common was their Catholic faith. Divided by social class markers brought about by English education and British rule as well as personal snobbery, the better educated Eurasians spoke English and avoided speaking or learning Kristang, the 'language' of the less educated Malacca Portuguese. Hence, the Eurasians did not speak a common tongue. In addition, the upper classes of Eurasians, the 'Upper Tens' do not share nor practise the customs and traditions of the Kristang speech community. Thus, the Eurasians could not qualify themselves as an ethnic group under the provision of the Federal Constitution. Consequently, the state and existence of the Eurasian became very much at stake because as observed by a Kristang political activist, in the struggle for recognition in the Malaysian political arena, '... the absence of a racial base in a multi-racial society was not the ideal situation' (Sta Maria, 1982:22).

The Eurasian race problem was left unsolved until the seventies, by this time the Kristang community began to approach the Eurasian race problem with a practical solution. Proud of his Malacca-Portuguese (or Kristang) roots, de Silva (1979:14) argues that 'it is incorrect to merely dump us as 'Eurasians' for unlike other Eurasians, we have our culture, language, tradition and an identity.' Thus, to help solve the problem of a Eurasian race, de Silva invited the Eurasian community of non-Portuguese descent to adopt the language and cultural traditions of the Kristang community so as to pave the way for a united Malaysian Eurasian community. Another supporter, also a Malacca-Portuguese, Fernandis (1995) pointed out that this is the most practical solution since the 'Portuguese' community is the most well known Eurasian community to tourists and locals alike, and a growing number of other Eurasians has already assimilated into this distinctly identified community. Further, Fernandis suggested that 'if ever any unified effort be made to form

a national body of Eurasians, it should show the word 'Portuguese' and, the term 'Portuguese-Eurasians' should be used to connote the assimilation of the other Eurasians who have intermarried and assimilated into the Portuguese community.' The suggestion bears social and political implications. Socially, there is effort working towards a breaking down of social barriers (formed during British rule) between the Eurasian groups; politically, the Kristang speech community is gradually but firmly gathering support from all Eurasians that their ancestry since 1511 be recognised and that the Malacca-Portuguese/Kristang community be entitled to *bumiputra or* sons-of-the-soil' treatment (see next section). Whether this last claim will be entertained by the ruling government is another matter altogether.

1.3.3.2 On the term 'bumiputra'

The term 'bumiputra' means 'sons-of-the-soil' or indigenous people of the country of Malaysia. Holding a 'bumiputra' status provides access to myriad economic and political privileges and indirectly, to political power in Malaysia. Some of the important privileges include reservations for positions (meaning jobs) in public services, scholarships and grants or other educational facilities, and permits, licenses, loans for business and trade operations. *Bumiputras* are also entitled to a 5% - 15% discount on the purchase of property in the country and, at least 65% of entries into local universities are reserved for *bumiputra* quota.

In a predominantly Muslim country where about 60% of the population are Malays, all Malays in Malaysia are classified as *bumiputra. Bumiputra* status is also extended to the aboriginal groups in Malaysia (e.g. the Orang Asli), to minority groups (e.g. the Thais in

Kedah, the most northern state of Malaysia on the Thai border) who are insignificantly small in numbers (and hence pose no political threat) and to the indigenous groups of people in East Malaysia (e.g. the Ibans and the Melanaus) who form the majority of the population in Sabah and Sarawak and whose votes the ruling party obviously needs to prevent a decentralized government and also to squash the hopes of the Philippine government to claim the two East Malaysian states with its high number of indigenous Christian population.

Generally, 'bumiputra' is used synonymously with the term 'Malay'. However, as pointed out by Kessler (1992), this usage does not always fit because the definition of 'Malay' is 'one who is a *bumiputra* and a Muslim'. The examples given earlier of peoples classified as *bumiputra* show that one may be a *bumiputra* but not necessarily be a Malay or a Muslim. This being the case, how can the terms '*bumiputra*' and 'Malay' be used interchangeably as is constantly the case in Malaysia ? The reasons are definitely political: to instill the notion that the Malays are THE main group of *bumiputras* or indigenous people and hence, they have an unquestionable right to certain privileges ; also it implies that political power should rest in their hands. The term and concept of 'bumiputra' is being introduced and discussed here in so far as necessary to aid the reader comprehend how the policy has come to affect majority-minority group relations in Malaysia, especially the socio-economic and socio-political relations between the different races and why the Kristang speech community is bent on acquiring *bumiputra* status (for further discussion of the term and concept and race relations in Malaysia, refer Kahn & Loh, 1992; Lee, 1986).

One of the benefits of being a *bumiputra* is the opportunity to buy or invest in Amanah Saham National (ASN), a national unit trust scheme designed to encourage *bumiputras* to save and also to help promote *bumiputra* participation in the share equity of the nation's corporate sector. Some time in August 1984 the Malaysian government, concerned about the poverty of minority groups such as the Kristang people, allowed the members of the Kristang community to invest in ASN. To accommodate the entry of the Kristang community into the scheme, the following conditions were exclusively formulated to extend the scheme to the Portuguese-Eurasians. To qualify they must be: (i) Malaysian citizens; (ii) Able to converse in Kristang; (iii) Of the Catholic faith. Other *bumiputra* minorities such as the Thais in Kedah and the Aborigines (Orang Asli) are also eligible to save in the scheme. However, unlike these groups of people, the Kristang community does not qualify for other *bumiputra* privileges (see beginning of this section) and neither can they join the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the most formidable political body in Malaysia whose membership is preconditioned, selective and highly unattainable to non-bumiputras. With only participation or the right to invest in the ASN scheme, the status of the Malacca-Portuguese community is equivalent to semi/quasi 'bumiputra' status.

In March 1993, the Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohammed disclosed that the Portuguese descendants can join UMNO if they were classified as '*bumiputra*' (Sunday Times, 7 March 1993). Whether the invitation is sincere is highly debatable but the Kristang community took the matter seriously. Kristang community leaders came forward to highlight their ancestors' strong links to the Malay heritage and suggested how ethnically they should be known as 'Luso-Malay', a term derived from the word

'Lusitanos' meaning the original settlers of Portugal (Lusitania) and a term that was extensively used by the Portuguese in their writings (e.g by Reverend Father Pintado, a Jesuit Portuguese priest who was serving Malacca during colonial times). UMNO reacted strongly to the proposition and to the Kristang community's attempt to gain full *bumiputra* status and membership. To solve the disagreement, a panel of historians, comprising academics and Malacca state officials, was formed to study and determine whether the Malacca-Portuguese/Kristang community could be accorded *bumiputra* status. The main argument was to be 'whether the said community is from Malay stock.' Despite the dialogue, the Kristang community never gained 'bumiputra' status or entry into UMNO; until today the quest for *bumiputra* status continues (for recent discussions on the issue, refer Fernandis, 2000). To date, no conclusive reasons were provided for the rejection. Is it religion, race, or politics that obstructed the community's acquisition and entry into full *bumiputra* status? If religion is the factor, how do we account for bumiputra status accorded to the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak who are not Muslims and are predominantly Christians? If ethnicity is the deciding factor, doesn't the earlier discussion of the meaning of 'Malay' and 'bumiputra' show that the synonymous use of the terms is inadequate and inaccurate? Also, doesn't the ancestral roots of one parent being a local (Malay) make the Kristang people half-Malay? Last but not least, doesn't an ancestry as old as 1511 make the Kristang people 'sons-of-the-soil' and in every sense, *bumiputra*? The best explanation to the issue is provided by Professor Khoo Kay Kim, a University Of Malaya history academic and a member of the Peranakan people, the Baba creole community. According to Khoo, "the question is not a matter of historical verification but a political one." In relation to this study, the significance of the

race and identity issue is that the complex is not confined to the political area, the issue marks fears of the community being marginalized politically and economically. Consequently, this insecurity is closely bound up with the needs and priorities of the Kristang people and is manifested in the ethnolinguistic vitality of the community (see Chapter 7, section 7.4) and the language behavior of the creoles (cf. Chapter 8, sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3).

1.4 Multiculturalism and Bilingualism in Malaysia

There are three main ethnic groups in Malaysia: the Malays, the Chinese (originally migrants from mainland China), and the Indians (originally migrants from the Indian sub-continent). From a total population of 23.27 million people, the Bumiputras form 65.1% of the total population; the Chinese, 26% and the Indians, 7.7% (Population Census, 2000). The remaining 1.2% consists of minority, ethnolinguistic groups such as the Kristang community. These groups of people are classified as 'Others' in the population census. With the freedom of worship guaranteed in the Federal Constitution drawn up for the Independence of Malaysia from Britain in 1957, the various races kept their individual traditions. Thus, the multiculturalism of Malaysia is reflected in her recognition and celebration of the different cultural festivals and beliefs. Further to this, for political stability and development, the three major races in the country had to compromise on ethnic concerns such as the education of their young. With the implementation of the National Language Policy in 1970 (following the racial riots in 1969), Bahasa Malaysia or B.M. became the official language of the country and the medium of instruction in all government and government-aided schools. However, in the vernacular primary schools (that is, the Chinese and Tamil schools that have existed since

British rule) Mandarin and Tamil continue to be taught to the Chinese and Indian pupils respectively. At the secondary/high school level all education is in B.M. but the 1962 Education Act maintains that if there are fifteen or more Chinese or Indian pupils who want to learn their mother tongue (Chinese or Tamil), the school head can request for a Pupils Own Language (POL) teacher to teach these languages in addition to the school curriculum. Further to this, English is a compulsory second language taught in all the schools. Thus, besides the linguistic background of the pupils, both the education system and sociolinguistic interaction between the different races in the country contribute to a fair amount of bilingualism in the lives of Malaysian citizens.

1.4.1 Ethnic and Language Blending in Malacca

In the case of Malacca, multiculturalism and bilingualism existed much earlier than other parts of Malaya (now Malaysia). As early as the 14th century there was much multiculturalism and bilingualism at the port of Malacca as it was actively engaged in the spice trade between the East and the West (see section 1.3.1 and Appendix B). Long before the Portuguese came to Malacca, there was already intense language contact among an international community of traders of Arab, Indian and Chinese origin trading at the port during the Malacca Sultanate. Coming from different parts of the world and having no common language, the traders communicated in Bazaar Malay, the lingua franca of the Malay archipelago. Despite its non-standard status, Bazaar Malay continued to thrive over the centuries and up to this day it is the most common 'language' of communication between the different races in Malacca (cf. Chapter 6, section 6.1). Another distinctive language that is the product of cultural assimilation is Baba Malay which is an interface of the Malay language and the Hokkien (a south China dialect)

dialect and closely resembles Bazaar Malay; one of the salient features which the two languages share is the use of the Hokkien pronouns 'gua' (I) and 'lu' (you). Even now, it is common knowledge that Malacca Chinese speak more Malay, especially Bazaar Malay, than the Chinese in the other parts of Malaysia. Portuguese arrival in the 16th century and their policy of intermarriage with the local community expanded the people's linguistic repertoire. Even early foreign visitors to Malacca are aware of the inhabitants' bilinguality: 'In Hilir the people are almost all polyglots: they speak Christian (i.e. Portuguese), they make fun in English, and they market in Malay...' (Silva Rêgo, 1936 cited in Knowlton, 1964: 212). Today, the existence of three creole communities in the second smallest state of the country clearly reflect the long term mingling of different cultures and languages. Another tangible evidence of the ethnic blending in Malacca is the delectable cuisine of the creole communities and the unique dressing of the creole communities (for further reading refer Kernial Singh Sandhu & Paul Wheatley, 1983. 'Melaka. The Transformation of a Malay capital. c. 1400-1980' Vol. 1 & II. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press).

To conclude, in this chapter I have attempted to provide as much essential background knowledge as necessary about the population under study as well as discuss the surrounding social, political and linguistic contexts of Malaysia, Malacca and, the Kristang community. As the language shift of PK does not place in a vacuum, throughout the study, these background information and context need to be taken into consideration as they provide the backdrop against which the shift and revitalization of PK takes place.

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One is the introductory chapter to the thesis. The chapter briefly traces the genesis of Creole Portuguese in Asia, the origin of PK or MCP and the origin of the Kristang people. The chapter also discusses past research on PK and the aim and focus of the present study. Issues inciting Kristang ethnicity and identity are also discussed to provide the reader with essential background information on the socio-historical, socio-economic and socio-political context of the minority group and how these issues affect majority-minority group relations in Malaysia. To provide an outline of the thesis, the chapter ends with a summary of each chapter in the thesis.

Chapter Two discusses and reviews the key terms of language shift (LS) and language maintenance (LM) and the concepts of language endangerment as a measure of the vitality of a language. The literature review also looks into three approaches to the study of language shift in linguistic minority communities, namely, 'Investigating LS through Domains', 'Investigating LS through Behaviour' and 'Investigating LS through Bilingualism'. By drawing upon these different approaches, the chapter foreshadows and highlights the need for an interdisciplinary approach to investigate the language shift of PK.

Chapter Three discusses 'reversing language shift' (RLS) theory as put forward by Fishman (1991) and the use of the Graded Intergenerational Disruptional Scale (GIDS) as a description of and prescription for language endangerment. The chapter ends with a review of the role of corpus and status planning in the revitalization of endangered languages.

Chapter Four presents the research design and methodology of the study. The chapter provides information on the type and variety of research instruments used and how the data were collected during the fieldwork at the Portuguese Settlement (PS), Malacca, Malaysia. Further to this, the chapter reasons why a critical ethnographic approach is more suitable for the study and what the researcher hopes to achieve working within such a conceptual paradigm. At the end of the chapter, the researcher reviews what she has achieved conceptually and methodologically.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of reported language use collected through a reported language choice and language use (RLCLU) survey administered on 85 heads of households out of 118 houses in the Settlement. The chapter discusses how the patterns of language use across the generations in the home and neighbourhood domains as reported by the respondents suggest that the community is conscious that LS (in the direction of English) is taking place in the community.

Chapter Six is the longest chapter in the thesis as it presents the analysis of actual language use in the home and the neighbourhood domains of the PS. Data of language use based on tape recordings of natural occurring conversations in the Kristang homes and around the neighbourhood of the PS reveal that less and less PK is used across the generations as reported in Chapter Five. The patterns of language choice and language use confirm that PK is shifting across generations and that the LS is in the direction of English. In the discussions on the language behaviour of the speakers, the chapter provides extensive examples of mixed speech behaviour in the linguistic interaction of the speakers and draws attention to the phenomenon of language mixing, namely

codeswitching (CS) and borrowing, as a product of intense language contact and bilingual language use. The chapter also discusses when and how the different languages of PK, English, Malay, Hokkien, Tamil, and Punjabi are used alongside each other in the community's repertoire and their significance to the LS phenomenon of PK.

Chapter Seven traces the community's awareness of the LS phenomenon of PK and its attitude towards the LS and revitalization of PK. The chapter highlights how language maintenance competes fiercely with economic development and how in most cases, economic concerns override language matters. Based on the analysis of the responses to a short subjective EV survey administered on fifty respondents, the chapter highlights the need to consider how the belief systems of communities affect the attitudes and priorities of minority groups. Finally the chapter provides suggestions on how to start concrete actions to 'save' the language.

Chapter Eight summarizes the findings of the study. It describes the LS phenomenon of PK as a negotiating process driven by the needs and priorities of the community and shaped by the socio-historical, socio-economic and socio-political context of the community. The chapter also highlights how the question of identity has been an ongoing issue in the community's life and how the 'triple' identity crisis is manifested in the speakers' language choice and language use. The chapter ends with a discussion on how endangered PK is and provides suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND ENDANGERMENT

2.0 Introduction

According to Clyne (1997: 303), within the study of multilingualism, particularly the study of language systems in contact, four distinct paradigms have emerged in the field, namely:

(i) the language contact paradigm which focuses on 'language as a system' and takes into account both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors related to the processes of language contact

(ii) the language shift paradigm which is concerned with language use, the domains of language use, and explanations of shifts

(iii) the language death paradigm whose objective of study is on the languages at the last stage of existence

(iv) the language attrition paradigm which is concerned with the loss of language skills in the individual's first language

The fact that three out of four of the above-mentioned paradigms, that is, (ii), (iii) and (iv), deal in one way or another, with the endangerment of languages speaks for the increasing attention devoted to the study of language endangerment. A principal reason why the study of language shift (LS) and endangerment is gaining interest as an area of research in sociolinguistics is the increased awareness and recognition of small languages and small language communities' contribution to the world's linguistic diversity. Accordingly, linguists are equally concerned about the loss of these endangered languages as well as about finding ways to reverse the language shift and endangerment. However, due to the plethora of terms used in language endangerment

studies - e.g. language loss, language attrition, language obsolescence- it is necessary at the outset of the study to discuss the key terms and concepts of language endangerment in order to put a perimeter to its definition particularly for the purpose of this study. In addition, due to the universal features and the specificity of endangered language situations across the globe, a variety of approaches has been employed for the study of LS and endangerment therefore, the aim of the literature review here is to single out the theoretical orientation (s) that will guide the investigation and subsequently the analysis and interpretation of the LS phenomenon taking place in the Kristang community at the Portuguese Settlement.

2.1 Key Terms and Concepts: Language Endangerment, Language Shift and Language Maintenance

2.1.1 Language Endangerment

According to the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages (see Appendix E), the present state of Papia Kristang (PK) or Malacca Portuguese Creole (MCP) is endangered. What does 'endangered' here mean or imply? How do we classify language endangerment?

A number of classifications and a variety of terms have been used by scholars and researchers of language endangerment to describe the various stages and the kind of endangerment a language can be susceptible to. Literature discussing language endangerment show that language endangerment is often described on a three-point or five-point scale categorisation. Table 2.1 shows a three-point scale categorisation of languages by Crystal (2000), Kibrik (1991) and Krauss (1998).

Table 2.1 Three-point Categorisation of Languages

Crystal (2000)	Kibrik (1991)	Krauss (1998)
- Safe	- Healthy	- Safe
- Endangered	- Ailing	- Endangered
- Extinct	- Dead	- Moribund

Crystal (2000) gives a simple classification of languages on three levels: 'safe, endangered or extinct' but he does not give the criteria for their distinction. Kibrik (1991) classifies living languages as 'healthy' or 'ailing' and illustrates the concept of an endangered language on a scale in which 'healthy' languages are at one end, 'dead' languages are at the other end, and 'ailing' languages are found in-between the two polars:

HEALTHY language — AILING language — DEAD language

ENDANGERED language

(Kibrik, 1991: 257)

For Kibrik, the concept of an endangered language is relative, the closer a language is on the scale to the 'dead languages' side, the more endangered the state of the language. Krauss (1998) too categorises languages into three broad categories and according to him, 'safe languages' are those languages which are likely to continue being spoken by children as a mother tongue into the indefinite future; moribund languages are languages that are no longer spoken by children. Krauss further explains that a language that is still being spoken by children implies that it is still viable, that is, the language is still being transmitted in the traditional way – from parents to infants.

Table 2.2 presents a more detailed classification of languages into five categories by Kincade (1991) and Wurm (1998).

Table 2.2 Five-point Categorisation of Languages

Kincade (1991)	Wurm (1998)
- Viable languages	- Potentially endangered languages
- Viable but small languages	- Endangered languages
- Endangered languges	- Seriously endangered languages
- Nearly extinct languages	- Moribund languages
- Extinct languages	- Extinct languages

Kincade's (1991) five-point categorisation of languages takes into consideration the extent of endangerment in terms of the population of the language group and the number of available speakers:

- viable languages: have population bases that are sufficiently large and thriving to mean that no threat to long-term survival is likely;
- viable but small languages: have more than c. 1000 speakers, and are spoken in communities that are isolated or with a strong internal organization, and aware of the way their language is a marker of identity;
- endangered languages: are spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, but only in favourable circumstances and with a growth in community support;
- nearly extinct languages: are thought to be beyond the possibility of survival, usually because they are spoken by just a few elderly people;
- extinct languages: are those where the last fluent speaker has died, and there is no sign of any revival.

(Kincade, ibid: 160-163)

Wurm's (1998:192) categories of language endangerment is the most well-known as it is often cited; his five-level differentiation of languages focuses on the number of child or young speakers:

- potentially endangered languages : are socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language, and beginning to lose child speakers;
- endangered languages : have few or no children learning the language, and the youngest good speakers are young adults;
- seriously endangered languages : have the youngest good speakers age 50 or older;
- moribund languages : have only a handful of good speakers left, mostly very old;
- extinct languages : have no speakers left

Put together, these categorisations of endangered languages help to define what constitutes the concept of language endangerment. Firstly, it is beyond doubt that language endangerment takes place along a continuum. This being the case, physically there is no tangible boundary that clearly demarcates the state of endangerment from one to another. But in order to diagnose language endangerment we need a concrete yardstick to measure, differentiate and identify the extent of endangerment. The above categorisations of languages show that variables such as the number of speakers are often used as a major, tangible starting point of differentiation. Numerical strength is first used to identify how large the speech community is; following this, the ratio of fluent speakers is counted, then the number of child speakers present in the community is taken into consideration – this last factor is significant as it can provide us with an informed insight into the extent of language use across the generations. After looking at

the population of speakers, other factors that make up the social, economic and psychological context of the group are also taken into consideration because these variables influence the organization and dynamics of group behaviour and language use which can consequently contribute to language endangerment. (These factors are further discussed in section 2.2.2.1 when we discuss the relationship between the viability of languages and ethnolinguistic vitality).

A prominent, recurring feature of language endangerment is that the phenomenon often takes place in minority-language situations. In relation to this, Edwards (1992) formulated a typological framework of variables for minority-language situations in an attempt to illuminate the context of maintenance and shift in minority situations (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 A Typological Framework for Minority-Language-situation variables

Categorisation A	Categorisation B		
	Speaker	Language	Setting
Demography	1	2	3
Sociology	4	5	6
Linguistics	7	8	9
Psychology	10	11	12
History	13	14	15
Politics/Law/Government	16	17	18
Geography	19	20	21
Education	22	23	24
Religion	25	26	27
Economics	28	29	30
The Media	31	32	33

(Edwards, 1992: 49)

Edward's framework consists of thirty-three cells which correspond to a set of (thirty-three) specific questions (see Appendix F) aimed at assessing the language vitality of an endangered language in a minority language setting. The two categories, Category A and Category B, combine to provide the interactions between language and environment and by compiling the answers to each of the (numbered) questions, a prognosis for the

continued use of the endangered language can be arrived at. For instance, question 1 refers to 'the numbers and concentrations of the speakers', question 2 refers to 'the extent of the language/the geography', question 3 refers to ' the rural-urban nature of the setting' thus an answer that shows a small number of speakers concentrated in a small area in the outskirts of the city will provide a forecast that the endangered language, despite its small numbers, in such a setting is more likely to survive than one in an urban setting, all things being equal. A compilation of the answers to all the questions in the cells will provide a profile of the language and help forecast the language endangerment situation. Grenoble and Whaley (1998) lists three strengths of Edward's model: i) it makes an explicit distinction between what Grenoble and Whaley term as 'macro' variables (the Setting column) and 'micro' variables (the Speaker and Language column) - while macro variables generally indicate the potential threat that exists to the minority language, the actual threat to the language is a function of micro variables, that is, it is the exact, specific circumstances the individual community is in, for instance, the attitude, the commitment and/or the economic self-sufficiency of the community that play a vital role in the maintenance or loss of the language in the community; ii) the model highlights the direct interaction between macro and micro variables, for instance, how the small population of a minority community exert pressure on the economic organisation of the group which has a bearing on the language shift taking place in the group; iii) the model distinguishes between the notions of ethnicity (the Speaker column) and language use (the Language column). The underlying implication here is that a shared language does not necessarily guarantee a shared sense of identity.

Despite its strengths, Grenoble and Whaley (ibid) maintain that Edward's model is not comprehensive enough to generate a full typology of language endangerment situations,

therefore, they propose three extensions: the role of literacy be considered, the need for the variables to be ranked hierarchically and the settings be broadened to distinguish between different levels of settings – local, regional, national, and extra-national. According to the authors, it is necessary to (i) examine the intricate association between literacy (e.g. standardisation of the native language) and the maintenance or loss of an endangered language, (ii) recognise and rank the dominance of economically-based variables over other variables in determining the viability of the language, (iii) identify the different influences the different levels of setting (local, regional, national or extra-national) have on the shift or maintenance of the indigenous language. To sum up, the discussion here indicates that a matrix of macro and micro variables interacts to affect threatened languages in minority-language situations thus a framework for a typology language endangerment in minority-language situations need to capture not only the fundamental common issues found in them but also the heterogeneity of each language endangerment situation.

The state of endangerment of a language signals the need for appropriate measures to be taken accordingly to reinstate it to its original state in its linguistic ecology. When we rate a language as 'endangered' or 'nearly extinct', what we are trying to do is to make a close approximation of its viability. What does 'viable' mean? According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 'viable' means 'capable of developing and surviving independently.' Thus when assessing the state of endangerment of a language we are basically trying to gauge the ability, the potential, and the chances of the language to develop and not meet its end in the face of the odds against its survival. Still working within the continuum paradigm, I would like to point out that the status of an endangered language is not static; in other words, its position can be enhanced, that is, it can become less endangered when the language is being maintained (for example, with

bilingual education or other language revitalisation programs) or revived (for instance, with the revival of Hebrew) or it can, with increasing shift, become worse and move towards extinction (such as the case of East Sutherland Gaelic/ESG) or it can remain more or less at the same point on the continuum for a period of time if there is both language shift and maintenance operating simultaneously across generations and in most domains. Since the status of an endangered language is not final, attempts can be made to enhance its position or viability to help reverse the language shift that is contributing to its endangerment. In order to do this we first need to be aware of the factors that affect the viability of a language. There is much literature on the factors that affect the viability of a language but the following factors identified by Kibrik (ibid: 258-261) in his discussion of the problem of endangered languages in the USSR deserve mention here as they can be applied to the viability of PK:

(i) *Size of the ethnic group and number of speakers of the language in that group*

Although a larger sized ethnic group faces less threat of its language becoming extinct, of greater importance is the number of proficient speakers in the population of the group.

(ii) *Speakers of the language grouped by age*

For a language to be highly viable there must be speakers from all age groups: the older generation (> 50 years), the middle generation (30-50 years), young adults (20-30years), adolescents (10-20 years) and children (up to 10 years). With the presence of speakers from these age groups it is highly unlikely that the language will die in another 40-50 years.

(iii) *The ethnic character of marriages*

Mixed marriages or the tendency to marry outside the linguistic group pose a constant threat to the language continuity of the group.

(iv) *Upbringing of pre-school aged children*

Where and by whom the children are raised play a decisive role in the maintenance of the ethnic language. Children raised in families by family members who speak the mother tongue as a home language stand a better chance of perpetuating the ethnic language.

(v) *Location of the ethnic group*

A group with a dense population living together at a particular location has a better chance of preserving its language than one of the same size spread over different areas and without regular language contact.

(vi) *Language contacts of the ethnic group*

More contact with other cultures especially with speakers of a more prestigious language is unfavourable to the viability of a language.

(vii) *Way of life*

Ethnic groups that adhere to their traditional way of life often preserve their language better.

(viii) *National self-consciousness*

National self-consciousness (e.g. strong support for Maori consciousness) can contribute favourably to the maintenance of (Maori) identity and culture and the revival of the language.

(ix) *Instruction in the language at school*

The availability of instruction in the ethnic language helps the promotion and preservation of the language due to the recognition given to the language. However, if the proficiency of the learners is low, the teaching of the language at school can be the case of teaching a foreign language. In other words, the

availability of instruction in the ethnic language at school cannot take the place of mother tongue transmission in the home.

(x) *State language policy*

Language policies of governments play a significant role in determining the fate of ethnic languages. Most state language policies promote the official language of the state as the compulsory national language of the country/state followed by some degree of tolerance for the use of minority languages in unofficial interactions. In some cases, however, for example in the Soviet Union, lesser languages are considered unimportant and are sometimes eliminated; only with the resurgence of nationalistic movements do these languages stand a chance of revival.

To conclude, despite many similarities among endangered language situations, due to the interaction between macro and micro factors as discussed earlier, each context of language endangerment is unique as the factors work in varying degrees. In view of this, each phenomenon of language shift and endangerment must be studied in its own context to assess the level and kind of endangerment the language faces and the type of 'rescue' programs needed for each case.

2.1.2 Language Shift (LS)

Language shift (LS) has often been defined from Weinreich's (1964:68) point of view as 'the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another.' However, with increasing studies on LS the definition of LS has been widened to include the context of the process – for instance, whether the LS is taking place in migrant or non-migrant communities and whether the shift is occurring at interethnic or intraethnic levels.

Jaspaert and Kroon (1988, cited in Clyne, 1991) differentiate between two types of LS:

(i) where the speakers' social environment changes so drastically that the only interlocutors available use the second language (L2), e.g. migrants to a foreign country find themselves with no choice but to speak the language of the host country

(ii) where members of a 'minority' group use L2 among themselves as part of their integration process

In (i) LS is largely due to migration and the shift is brought about by the need to communicate between groups while in (ii) the shift is motivated by the choice to communicate in a certain way (Fase et al., 1992). In most migrant language contact situations, it is often the norm for interethnic communication between the majority and the minority groups to be established in the dominant language of the wider society. If the functional distribution between the languages is kept intact, that is, if the minority group shifts towards the use of the dominant language only for interethnic communication but retains its own language for communication within its own group members, stable bilingualism is said to be taking place. In this case, there exists a kind of diglossic situation in which one language (the dominant language) is used for inter-group communication and another language (the ethnic language) is retained for intra-group communication. Interethnic shift (that is, the use of another language to communicate with people from outside the group) does not destabilise the communication system within the minority group hence such a shift is very unlikely to present much threat to the maintenance of the minority language. In contrast, when communication within the minority group is increasingly being carried out not in the minority language but in the language of the dominant group, intraethnic shift is said to be taking place. This form of LS poses a threat when more and more members of the

group choose to use less and less of the ethnic language in domains that were formerly reserved for the mother tongue (MT). In this case, LS can also mean 'a change in the language of one or more domains...' (Clyne, 1991: 54). In Appel and Muskyen's (1987:41) view, LS here would be 'the redistribution of varieties of language over certain domains...' In his discussion of LS in India, Pandharipande (1992: 253) defines LS as 'a process by which a language A is replaced (partially or completely) by language B to the extent that the former becomes dysfunctional in one or more domains of its use.' Holding similar views, Tandefelt (1992) contends that in order to visualize LS as an ongoing process, a distinction must be made between a partial shift (shift in progress) and a total shift (a point of no return). Pandharipande (ibid) further points out that it is useful to separate the macro level (LS studied as a societal phenomenon) from the micro level (the shift that takes place in the life of a person, demonstrated as a development from one generation to another. With reference to Figure 2.1, 1.1.2 and 2.1.2 show 'partial shifts' with more functions in B than in A; the decrease in functions in the minority language indicates that fewer domains are being used by the minority language. 1.2.2 (where speakers are more competent in B than in A) and 2.2.2 (where speakers mostly have passive competence in A) indicate an overall decreasing competence in the minority language; a decreasing competence means language loss. At 1.2.1, with no native speakers in A, language death occurs. Thus, LS here relates to partial shifts at the macro and micro levels revealed in the decreasing functions and competence in the minority language.

For Holmes (1992: 64), LS not only refers to 'the process by which one language displaces another in the linguistic repertoire of a community. It also refers to the result of this process.' Of course the end result spoken here refers to language death. In the ongoing process of LS, as the domains in which the language is used shrink, the use of

the language is restricted to personal activities such as praying or counting. urpose. Due to the diminishing functions, speakers become less proficient leading to a 'gradual reduction in the complexity and diversity of structural features of the language' (p.63): sound rules and grammatical patterns become simplified and the vocabulary too diminishes.

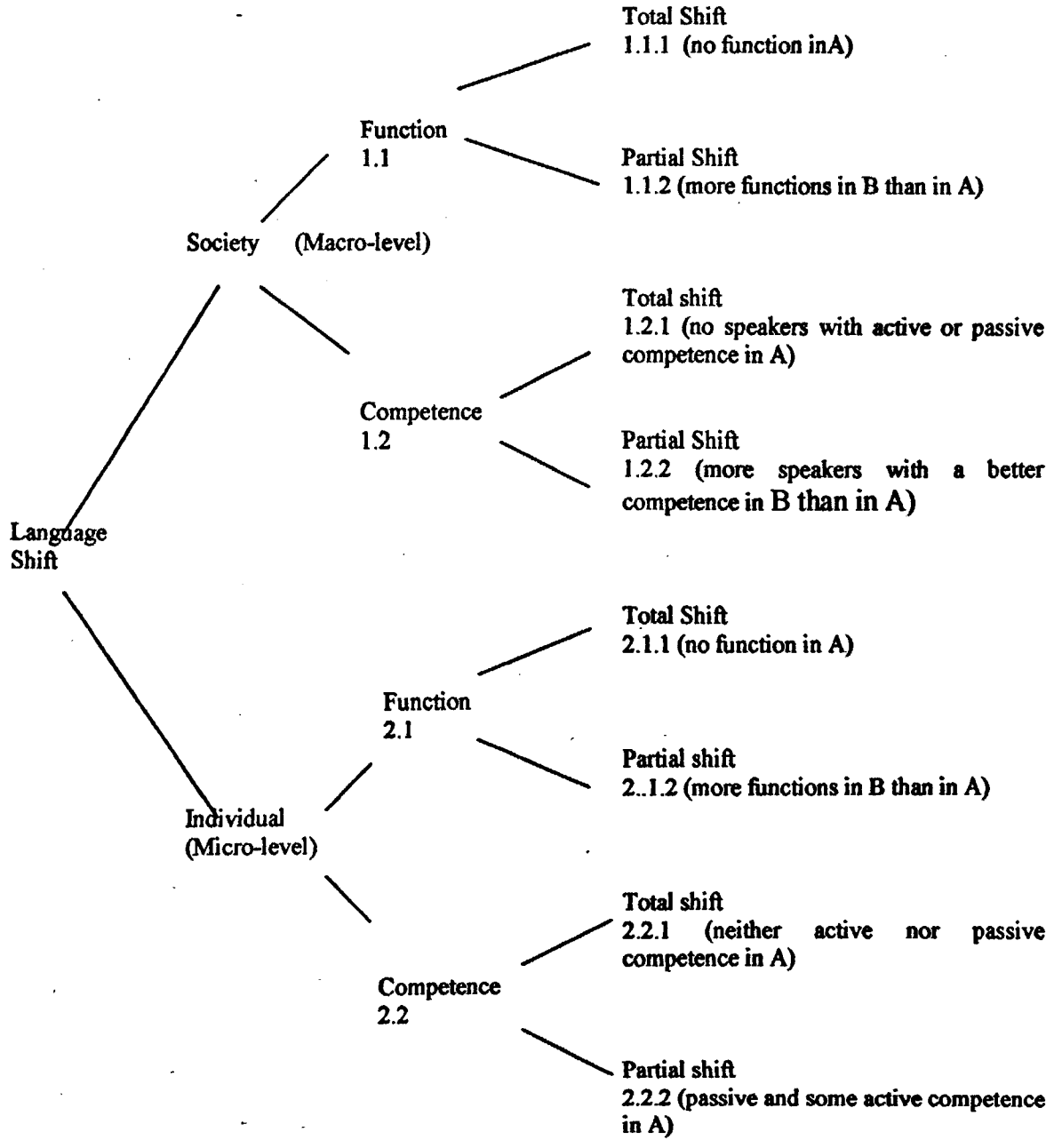


Figure 2.1 Language shift related to function and competence on macro and micro level

(Tandefelt, 1992: 150)

McMahon (1994) too draws attention to the linguistic consequences of LS (which she terms as 'linguistic obsolescence'): she detects unidirectional lexical borrowing from German into Hungarian in Gal's 1979 LS study at Oberwart, many loanwords from English and a passive competence in translation tasks among Dorian's semi-speakers, and semantic and lexical decay in Schmidt's 1985 study of Young People's Dyirbal. In her description of LS, Sommer (1997: 56) clearly shows a reduction in functional and structural features is a common denominator of the LS process (Figure 2.2).

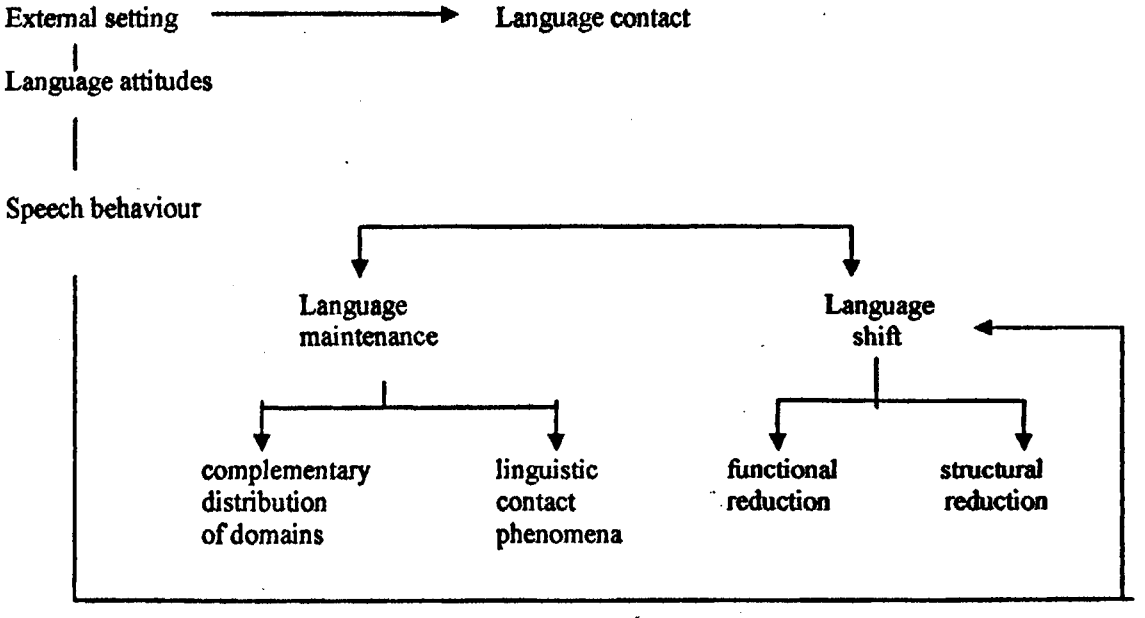


Figure 2.2 Two possible outcomes of language contact situations: language shift and language maintenance

At this point, suffice it to say that the variety of ways in which LS has been defined show that the phenomenon can be and has been studied from different perspectives; in Fase et al., (1992) studies of LS of minority languages have been grouped according to the various approaches: linguistic, sociological, and descriptive.

2.1.3 Language Maintenance (LM)

Language shift (LS) and language maintenance (LM) have often been considered as the two sides of a coin; these two processes are inter-linked and can occur simultaneously

in a language contact situation as in most stable bilingual diglossic societies (for further discussion cf. section 2.2.3.1 Societal and Individual Bilingualiam and section 2.2.3.3 Codeswitching). According to Milroy and Milroy (1997: 52), language maintenance can signify 'the process of consciously maintaining – if necessary by government intervention - a particular form of a language in a population where there is linguistic diversity...' or it can refer to non-institutional practice in small-scale communities to ensure the survival of the community language. Thieberger (1992:334) views LM as either (i) a description of the state of shift that a language has undergone (that is, how much of a language is actually *maintained*) or (ii) those activities engaged in with an aim of maintaining languages. For Fase et al. (1992) LM refers to keeping the language in use as well as maintaining the users' proficiency in the language. For the purpose of this study, LM can be viewed as the continuing use of PK in the community as well as language reversal activities that are concerned with keeping a language in use to prevent its loss or death; language loss will refer to the decline of language skills in individuals and groups; LS refers to decline in language use between and within generations (de Bot, 2001: 66).

2.2 Approaches to the Study of LS in Linguistic Minority Communities

As a variety of inter-linking variables account for the LS in minority-language situations, the study of LS in linguistic minority communities often draws upon the theoretical background of a number of disciplines to explain LS behaviour from different grounds. For the purpose of this study, this section reviews three main approaches to the study of LS drawn from the disciplines of sociology, social psychology, and bilingualism respectively as I believe a combination of perspectives from these disciplines will complement each other to provide insights into the language behaviour and LS taking place in the Kristang community at the Portuguese Settlement.

2.2.1 Investigating LS through Domains

Many studies of LS have found domain analysis a useful concept for investigating LS. The notion of *domain* originates from Fishman (1972:19) who maintains that one of the languages or varieties available to the interlocutors will be chosen 'on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.' These 'particular kinds of occasions' or domains of language behaviour has at least three components:

(i) the participants in a conversation

(ii) the place where it occurs

(iii) the subject under discussion

(Hoffman, 1991:178)

Interlocutors who are familiar with each other and are on more intimate terms will tend to use a more informal language or variety to converse with each other; similarly, there are certain areas or places where a particular language or variety is more suitable, for instance, the use of the official or standard language in the domain of public administration. Likewise, the topic or subject of the conversation also influences the choice of language used, for instance, the use of Arabic between Muslims when referring to or discussing the Koran. Having said this, there are exceptions to the rule: in bilingual communities, it is becoming common to use more than one language in a particular domain. When this happens, de Vries (1992) recommends that to investigate LS, we need to enquire which language is used most often and measure the relative frequency with which a given language is used in the particular domain. This should help us gauge the habitual language use in the particular domain and accordingly, provide some information on the rate and direction of the shift in the particular community.

The home is one domain where the minority language should have, though not necessarily the case all the time, resisted shift longest. Why should the home domain resist shift longest? Unlike the other domains e.g. the school, church or work domains which are associated with 'status' values, family and friends domains are related to values of intimacy and solidarity with the vernacular or the mother tongue (Landry & Allard, 1994); also, it is in the family that a peculiar bond with language and language activities (e.g. stories, conversations, verbal play) is fostered, shared and fashioned into personal and social identity (Fishman, 1990).

In most ethnic communities, the ethnic language is used in family interactions, thus to detect shift in the community, studies focus on observing language use behaviour in the family domain especially across *generations* of family members. In his study of the use of London Jamaican creole in the Jamaican community, Sebba (1993) observed that second generation speakers display differential language behaviour dependant on the generation of their interlocutors: on the whole, his speakers use creole with peers but 'ordinary' English with parents and their generation. 'Generation' studies also yield information on the rate of shift. David's (1992) observation of inter-generation communication in the Malaysian Sindhi community showed that the shift from Sindhi to Malay and English is gradual hence there are two generations using the ancestral language alongside the use of Malay and English; in Gupta and Siew's (1995) study of LS in a Singapore family, they found that the rate of LS in most Chinese Singapore families is fast with the result that only one multilingual generation, usually the second or middle generation, has access to the ancestral language, and by the third generation the native language is almost incomprehensible. When LS takes place at such a rate

there is often no common (ancestral)[7] language between the first generation (the grandparents) and the third generation (the grandchildren) family members. If communication between family members across generations cannot be successfully carried out in the ancestral language in the home domain, the chances of the ethnic language surviving in other domains is much less. Generally, the fewer domains the community language is used in, the less likely the language will be maintained and consequently, the greater the LS.

The concept of domain is central to the diglossic view of bilingualism in that the languages of bilingual communities are functionally differentiated according to distinct domains of use. Having said this, in the case whereby the second and later generation of bilinguals do not use the expected language in the home domain as mentioned above, the case where there is the use of more than one language in a particular domain, and the juxtaposition of more than one language within the same conversation by the same speaker in bilingual speech indicate that languages may not always be as functionally distributed and congruent as the construct of diglossia and the domains assume. Therefore, when using a domain analysis approach to investigate LS, instead of just the simple case of finding one language replacing another, LS may be indicated by the use of two or more languages replacing the use of the mother tongue, as is the case of PK (see discussions in section 8.1, Figure 8.3, and section 8.1.3). Further to this, the investigator needs be aware of the strategies used by interlocutors to achieve communication. One such strategy that is commonly employed is *accommodation* by the older generation to the younger generation. This strategy involves the use of the dominant instead of the ancestral language by the older generation to communicate with

[7] Ethnic language/ancestral language/native language/community language all refers to the mother tongue.

the younger generation; the result is a lack of or no intergenerational transmission of the MT in the home domain which in turn accelerates the LS in the community. Nonetheless, despite the limitations in its construct, 'domain analysis remains the only coherent analytic model that focuses on the habitual language use of individual speakers' for the study of LM and shift (Li Wei et al., 1997).

2.2.2 Investigating LS through Behaviour towards Language

Earlier in the preceding section 2.1.1 we came across *accommodation* as a strategy the older generation in the families undergoing LS use to communicate with the younger generation. When a speaker 'accommodates', the choice of language is to suit the needs of the addressee thus *accommodation* is an adaptation behaviour that explains individual behaviour in the course of interpersonal communication. To investigate LS in the community, we also need to look at the behaviour of the language group towards languages, towards themselves, and towards other groups since the general values and language attitudes of a minority group will have a major influence on the maintenance or displacement of its ethnic tongue. One of the ways to gain an insight into the collective behaviour of an ethnolinguistic group is by examining the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) of the group.

2.2.2.1 Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV)

EV, proposed by Giles et al. (1977: 308) refers to 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the inter-group setting.' Vitality or the propensity to turn to each other rather than act individually sets the basis for the group's ability to survive as an active and distinctive group. Naturally the more vitality an ethnolinguistic group possesses, the more likely its chances of surviving and maintaining its language and culture as an exclusive group in a multilingual setting;

conversely, a group low in vitality will eventually assimilate and cease to exist on its own as a collective group. The construct of EV lists three categories of sociostructural factors that determines a group's EV: demography, institutional support, and status (see Fig. 2.3). The sum total of these three factors would provide an ethnolinguistic group with a low, medium or high vitality.

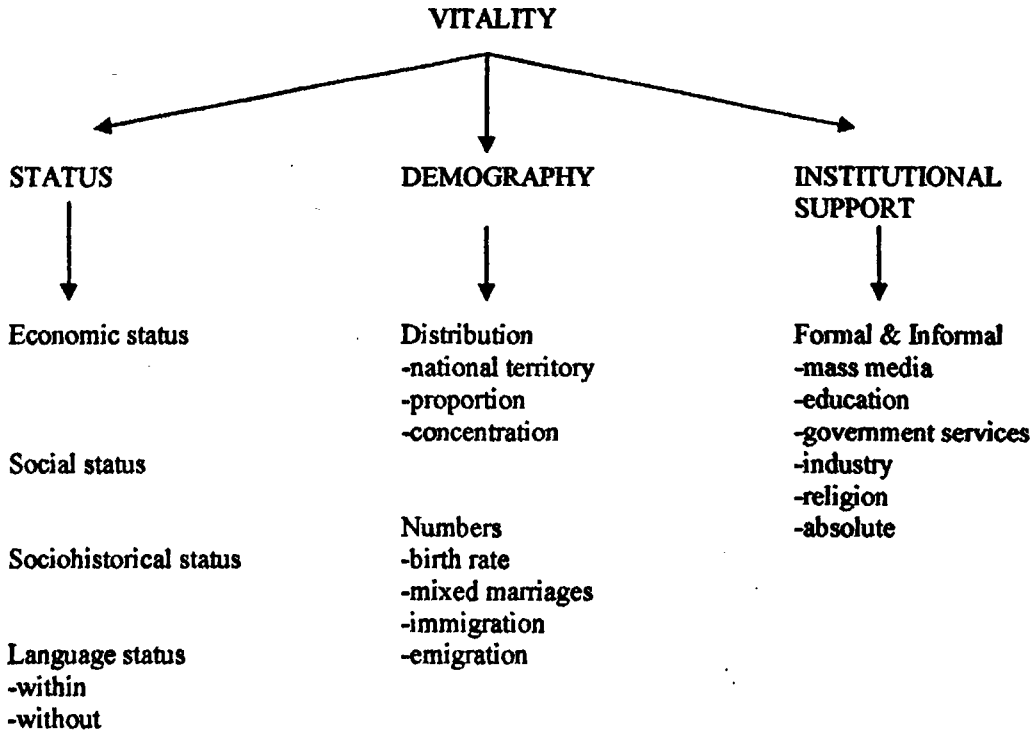


Figure 2.3 Sociostructural factors affecting ethnolinguistic vitality

Demographic variables relate to distribution and number factors. Distribution factors refer to the numeric composition of the ethnolinguistic group, the degree of concentration of members of the group in a territory, the geographical distribution of the community, and whether the community still occupies its 'traditional' territory. Number factors take into account the community's relative birth rate, the degree of exogamy/endogamy, and the patterns of emigration and immigration. In multilingual settings, these demographic trends are closely watched as they are perceived to have a significant impact on the political strength of the minority group (Harwood et al., 1994).

Institutional support refers to the extent of representativeness the group has in the various institutions of society: media, government services, industry, religion, culture. Formal support is the amount of control of decision-making at governmental level while informal support is the degree to which the group is able to protect its own interest at state and private institutions. In order to survive and exist as a distinctive group, the group needs to maintain a fair amount of institutional control factors which can be achieved by the presence of activists promoting their cause (Fishman, 1972) and dedicated quality leaders (Wardhaugh, 1987). The third sociostructural factor, status variables, refer to the group's prestige, its sociohistorical status as well as the prestige of its language and culture. Social psychological evidence from research suggests that a group with high status often contributes to a more positive social identity for its community members (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

In addition to these 'objective' accounts of EV, Bourhis et al. (1981) subsequently developed the subjective vitality questionnaire to take into consideration the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) of the group, which is the individuals' perceptions of vitality or how group members perceive their own group and outgroups on important vitality items. It appears that in some cases subjective vitality perceptions could be better predictors of ethnolinguistic behaviour (Bourhis et al., 1981; Giles et al., 1990); in others, a combination of both 'objective' and 'subjective' vitality is a more sensitive method of predicting ethnolinguistic behaviour (Giles & Johnson, 1981). In spite of critiques on the concept (see Harwood & Giles, 1991; Williams, 1992; Husband & Khan, 1982), EV construct has been used in different ways to discuss ethnicity and language-related issues, for instance, on cross-cultural communication (e.g. Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990a, 1990b) and language attitudes (e.g. Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Ryan et al., 1982).

For the past decade, Allard and Landry (1992) and Landry and Allard (1994) have been incorporating the EV construct within a macroscopic model of the determinants of additive and subtractive bilingualism in their attempt to integrate the macrosocial aspects of language and the micro-level analysis of language behaviour (Figure 2.4). The two major contributions to the EV construct are the individual networks of linguistic contacts (INLC) and the vitality belief systems. The INLC refers to the network of opportunities provided to the individual for contacts with a language. The significance of the INLC is that it provides the link between the 'objective' EV factors (at the sociological level) and the subjective SEV (at the psychological level). Compared to the original EV framework, this model proposes that the SEV is developed through one's INLC, which is, the social contexts of family, school, and other community institutions. These contacts influence the group members' linguistic competencies (which is the ability to learn and use the language) and beliefs (which is the cognitive-affective disposition towards one's willingness to learn and use the language).

Language behaviour refers to the actual use of the language within the network and although language choice may be influenced by contextual cues, overall language use is largely determined by one's INLC. The interactive patterns of the variables in the models will determine whether additive or subtractive bilingualism occurs. In additive bilingualism the learning of a second language (L2) takes place without loss to the development and maintenance of the mother tongue (MT or L1); in subtractive bilingualism the learning of a L2 is detrimental to the development of L1.

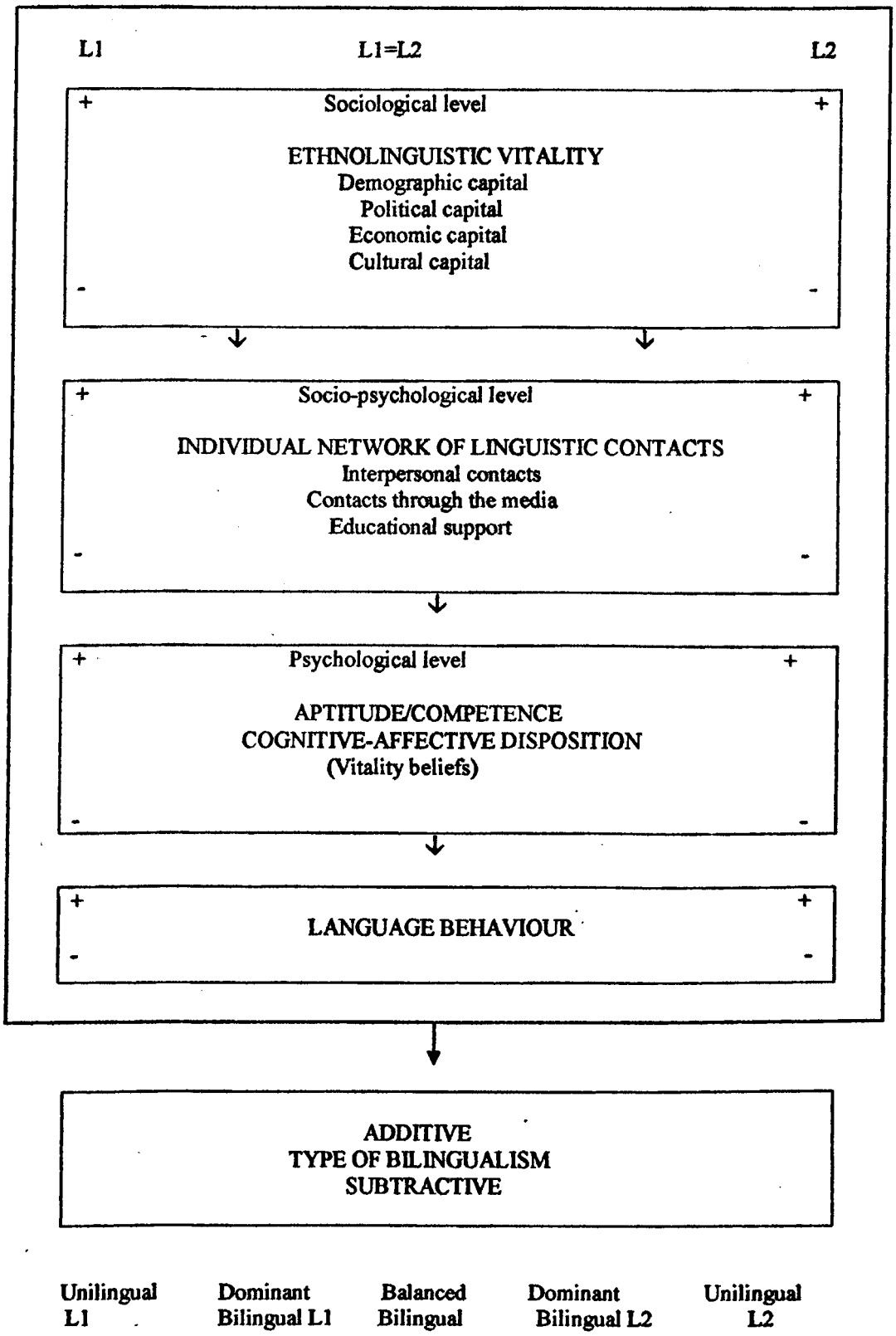


Figure 2.4 Macroscopic model of the determinants of additive and substractive bilingualism

(Landry & Allard, 1994: 23)

Within the macroscopic model, the concept of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) is formulated as a set of beliefs which : (i) can better explain the attitudes of minority group members towards the use of their mother tongue as well as their motivations to learn and maintain it (ii) is a very good predictor of language behaviour. The belief system here is based on cognitive orientation theory of behaviour which identifies four types of beliefs that contribute to the prediction of behaviour. The four beliefs that form vitality beliefs are: general beliefs, normative beliefs, personal beliefs, goal beliefs (Figure 2.5).

		OBJECT	
		FACTUAL	DESIRED
SUBJECT	NON-SELF	*General Beliefs* Present vitality Future vitality Social models	*Normative Beliefs* Legitimate vitality
	SELF	*Personal Beliefs* Valorization Belongingness Personal efficacy	*Goal Beliefs* Goals or deisres

Figure 2.5 The four types of beliefs reflecting EV defined in terms of their subjects and objects of reference

(Allard & Landry, 1992: 176)

Briefly, general beliefs provide information concerning persons, objects, events, or situations; normative beliefs expresses rules and standards or moral and social nature; personal beliefs provide information about a person's self, habits and aptitudes past, present, and future; goal beliefs provide information concerning one's desires and goals. In their study, Allard and Landry (ibid) found that personal beliefs and goal beliefs, which can be subsumed under 'egocentric' beliefs are better predictors of language behaviour than the 'exocentric' beliefs of the general and normative nature and self

beliefs are more strongly related to language use therefore only self beliefs are discussed here (for a more detailed explanation of all the sub-beliefs, see Allard & Landry, 1992).

With reference to Figure 2.5, personal beliefs can be divided into three: valorization, belongingness and personal efficacy. Valorization are beliefs that reflect the degree to which the group member believes it is important that s/he has access to the resources identified in the objective/sociostructural factors of EV (which are found in Fig. 2.3), for e.g. members of the minority community may consider it important that the community has access to the economic resources provided by the government in order that the community is not marginalized. Belongingness refers to beliefs that provide information concerning the individual's feelings of belonging to an ethnolinguistic group, for instance, one feels very much a Kristang when issues concerning the Portuguese Settlement are raised. Personal efficacy are beliefs that reflect the group member's degree of confidence concerning his/her ability to achieve personal goals, e.g. despite being small in numbers, a Kristang thinks that s/he is capable of obtaining a fair representation in the economic policies of the country. Goal beliefs are beliefs that provide information about a group member's desire to have access to and to utilise resources identified by the EV factors in Figure 2.3, for instance, a Kristang may desire to have access to bumiputra membership and its benefits. According to the authors, in both within and between groups there appears to be a strong relationship between the objective EV and the SEV of members of the community; this observation supports discussions in section 2.1.1 which emphasise that to investigate the LS behaviour of the minority group, one needs to look into the interaction between macro and micro variables.

According to Landry & Allard, (ibid: 126), complete additive bilingualism would encompass:

a) a high level of proficiency in both communicative and cognitive-academic aspects of L1 and L2
b) maintenance of a strong ethnolinguistic identity and positive beliefs toward one's own language and culture while holding positive attitudes toward the second language and that group's culture
c) the generalised use of one's first language without diglossia, that is, without one's language being used exclusively for less valued social roles or domains of activity

Clearly additive bilingualism will favour LM of the ethnic language; for this to take place in multilingual settings we need L2 contacts that foster L2 acquisition and use without undermining L1 language and culture. According to the study, when the EV of the community is low, even in the family domain language behaviour is influenced and threatened by the status values of the dominant group; high vitality groups, on the other hand, are expected to predominantly use their language uniformly across all domains.

In their study of language attrition and EV of the Turkish community in Australia, Yagmur et al. (1999) suggest that low vitality perceptions combined with low status and negative attitude towards the L1 impede Turkish maintenance. The researchers conclude that sociolinguistic processes affect attitudes and language choice and use which in turn are reflected in the maintenance or shift of the language. This finding highlights the crucial interaction between macro and micro variables and its impact on the long term viability of the minority language (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998).

2.2.2.2 Core Values and Attitudes

Another area where the distinctiveness of a group can be observed is in the core values of the group. The cultural values of a group include its ethno-specific language, national dances, music, items of food, religion, family structure, arts and crafts, political organisation, just to name a few. According to the theory of core values which was developed by Smolicz (1981a, 1981b), some of these diverse items can be shed without affecting the stability of the group, but some are of prime importance to the group's viability and integrity that they are regarded as the 'pivots' supporting the social and identification system of the group. These 'pivots' or core values act as identifying values that symbolise the group and its membership; through the core values social groups are identified as distinctive cultural communities. When a group loses its core values it ceases to exist as a community in its own authentic and creative right. The core values of a group becomes more significant and more clearly discerned when the group faces threat to defend its culture and identity against external pressures.

Cultural groups differ in their emphasis on the mother tongue (MT) as a core value: in some groups the ethnic language is a vital symbol of ethnic identity; in others, language is just a vehicle for communication. In language-centred cultures where the MT is a core value of their culture, the survival and existence of the group is dependent upon the preservation and maintenance of the MT (e.g the Keres language in Cochiti culture, Benjamin et al, 1997). In such groups, language is both a symbol of ethnic identity and a condition for group membership. A group's resilience in maintaining its language and culture in a multilingual setting is dependent on how successfully the culture of the group interacts with new cultural inputs from the other groups; from these 'interactions', members of a group formulate their own system of cultural values. Personal systems of values exist at two levels: as attitudes and as tendencies.

Tendencies refer to the situation where a personal cultural system has been constructed in a language other than the dominant language (in use), and is put to use; attitudes indicates the situation where a personal linguistic system has been constructed but not activated into action. This ideological attitude towards a language can be positive, negative or neutral. Positive attitude respondents consider the ethnic language as vital for their group's survival, negative sentiments prefer the language to be forgotten, indifferent subjects consider the language as irrelevant to the current situation. Individuals who express a positive ideological attitude to their language may not necessarily be able to speak it although they may be aware of the language being of core significance to the group and may express a desire to know or learn it (e.g the Chinese in Smolicz's study as discussed below).

To investigate whether language is a core value in three ethnic groups in Australia, Smolicz (1992) asked his Polish, Welsh and Chinese participants to write memoirs or personal statements about their cultural experience at home and at school. Despite their differing migrant background, due to their minority situation in Australia, the groups tended to be more conscious of their core values. The findings of the study showed that the Polish sense of historical continuity, appreciation for literacy and pride in their culture provided a significant inducement towards Polish language maintenance. However, two factors work against them: a greater tendency for exogamy and the Australian government's lack of support for their language. For the Welsh group, even though there was some appreciation of Welsh as a core value of their culture, the easy assimilation of the group into the dominant group and an indifferent attitude to the language deprives the group of language as the core-marker of identity and hence accelerates the shift to English. For the Chinese group, the importance of Mandarin as a unifying value for all Chinese is undoubted despite the Chinese community's own

linguistic pluralism of dialect use among members of each regional group. Even those who cannot speak Chinese recognise the language in general terms as a core value of Chinese culture. Further, a positive attitude towards language as a central element of Chinese culture is strongly supported by other factors such as the Chinese family structure, family continuity and Chinese descent.

According to Clyne (1985), the most influential factors determining the rates of LM and shift are cultural core values, the degree of similarity to the dominant group (including rules of communication) and the extent of intermarriage. Holm (1993) emphasises that language values have their origins in the sociohistorical developments and conditions of a community – factors we discussed in the section on EV. Thus although the core values of a group play a significant role in the maintenance and loss of language and culture in minority groups in plural societies, the maintenance and survival of the ethnic language is not solely dependent on the group's linguistic tenacity, other factors such as the dominant group's view, attitude and support towards linguistic pluralism in the society play contributing roles.

2.2.3 Investigating LS through Bilingualism

Bilingualism has often been viewed as a necessary precursor of LS. However, depending on the type of bilingualism functioning in a particular society, not all bilingual communities result in LS. To determine whether bilingualism leads to LS, we need to look at the different types of bilingualism operating in multilingual societies and the type of bilingual behaviour that contributes to LS.

2.2.3.1 Societal and Individual Bilingualism

Bilingualism or multilingualism have been used interchangeably to refer to 'the knowledge or use of more than one language by an individual or community' (Sridhar,

1996: 47). Multilingualism can also refer to '...the language situation in an entire nation or society' (Clyne, 1997: 301). For the discussions here and throughout the study, bilingualism and multilingualism will be used interchangeably to refer to the use of more than one language by an individual or community and as well as describing the language situation of the society or community. Basically, bilingualism is differentiated on two levels: societal bilingualism and individual bilingualism. *Societal bilingualism* refers to a given society where two or more languages are spoken. Further to this, societal bilingualism can take three different forms (I, II, III):

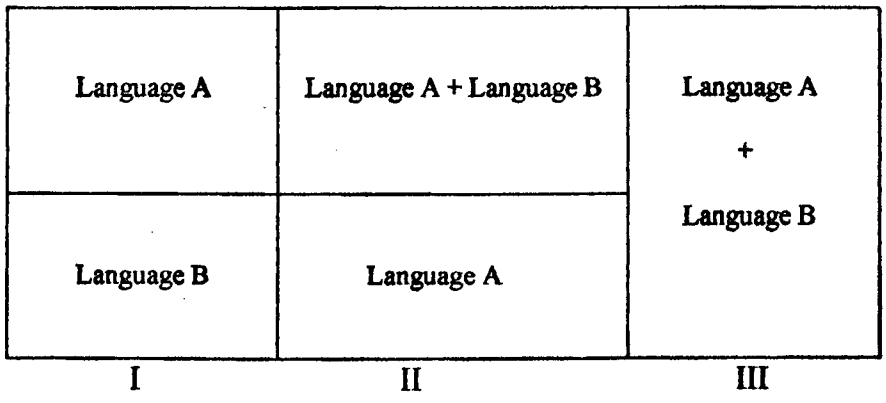


Figure 2.6 Schematic representations of societal bilingualism

(Based on Appel & Muysken, 1987: 2)

In I (e.g. Switzerland), there are two languages spoken by two different groups of people hence there is not much intergroup communication here; in II (e.g. Britain, France), one section of the society is monolingual, the other is bilingual; in III (e.g. India, Africa), all or at least a vast majority of the speakers are bilingual. Societal bilingualism such as Type III is commonly found in multiethnic countries of south-east Asia where speakers from the different ethnic groups interact regularly on a daily basis. Due to the multiracial composition of Malaysia – Malays, 57%, Chinese, 32%, Indians, 9%, Others (small language groups) 2% (Population Census, 2000) – societal bilingualism of Type III is a prominent feature of daily language use in Malaysian

society. This linguistic situation is again reflected in the Kristang community at the Portuguese Settlement (PS) for, despite being concentrated in a particular area, the community is still in constant contact and frequently interacts with the other races – Malays, Chinese, Indians – who live on the fringes of the Settlement.

For bilingualism to take place regularly in a particular society, the individual speakers must possess a degree of proficiency, ability and willingness to use the different languages that they have acquired. *Individual bilingualism* is defined as 'the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual' (Mackay, 1970: 555). The alternate use of two or more languages in an interaction involves making choices between codes. In most bilingual communities, the choice of using which language or variety of language to communicate in is not randomly selected: bilinguals choose their codes according to the function and the demands of the communicative act. This functional specialization often involves the appropriacy of using a particular language or variety: the choice of a superposed variety, the High (H) variety or a less prestigious variety, the Low (L) variety. Usually the H variety is chosen as it is associated with upward mobility and the L variety is used in the more intimate domains such as the home. Nevertheless, in many multilingual societies, the presence and use of intermediate varieties of languages reveal that the dichotomy between the H and L varieties may not exist as rigidly as in the classic diglossic situation just described above. In view of this, Platt (1977) extends the term diglossia to polyglossia to refer to the linguistic situation in Singapore and Malaysia where several codes exist in a particular arrangement according to domains. In the same vein, Fasold (1984) taking examples from Tanzania and Africa, emphasise that in multilingual language situations different forms of diglossia may exist, that is, there may be a H variety and several L varieties existing alongside each other or different levels of H and L forms overlapping.

Similarly, Sridhar (1996) observes that in many bilingual or multilingual situations one encounters not only a complementarity of language but also a type of language use best described as *overlapping or intermeshing.* Thus, in contrast to the diglossic situation, in a multilingual situation, the codes used are not all the time sharply differentiated into the high or low varieties in terms of prestige.

Diglossic language behaviour becomes a factor of LS when more and more of one language or variety (usually but not always, the H variety, for instance, the domain spread of English among the Kristangs) is increasingly being selected and used in domains that are reserved for a particular language, often the home language. Fishman (1972, 1980) asserts that diglossia or stable societal bilingualism is a necessary condition for LM by minority linguistic communities because clear functional separation of the language used and the institutionalisation of these differences contribute to stable social compartmentalisation which in turn creates a stable type of societal bilingualism. To explain the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia, Fishman (1967) provides four types of bilingual situations (Figure 2.7).

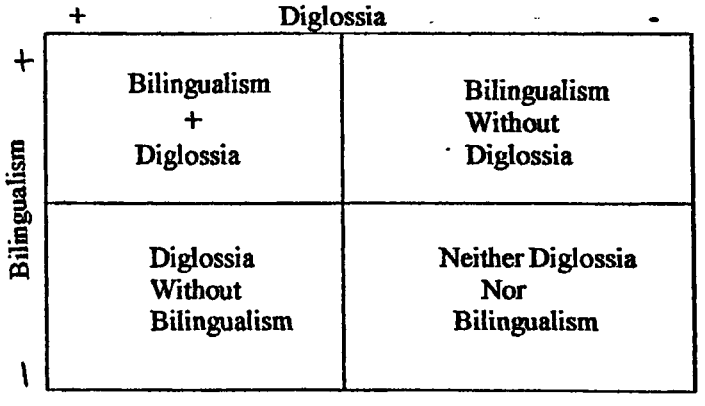


Figure 2.7 The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia

(Fishman, 1967)

In the first case of 'Bilingualism and Diglossia', most individuals are bilingual and there exists clear institutional support for the differentiated use of the H and L varieties. In the

second case of 'Diglossia without Bilingualism', languages are distributed according to the principle of territoriality which is usually the case of political or governmental diglossia in which two or more differently monolingual entities share one political roof, as in the case of Switzerland and Belgium. A society with 'Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism' hardly exists as it would have to be a linguistically homogenous society with no immigration into the country or region. In 'Bilingualism without Diglossia' the social compartmentalisation of languages is unstable; the bilingual speakers use any language they know, without H or L preference (e.g. Canadian minority francophones). In such a linguistic situation, bilingualism is transitional and temporary (Landry & Allard, 1994) and when two languages compete for use in the same domains and speakers are unable to establish the compartmentalisation necessary for the survival of the L variety, the direction of change moves towards the stronger functional system, initiating LS. Fishman's schema as presented in Figure 2.7 is conceptual rather than empirical: in highly vibrant bilingual societies such as those found in Africa, India, Malaysia and Singapore it is quite impossible to segregate language use behaviour into such neat divisions – the cases of 'polyglossia' and 'overlapping languages' explained in the earlier paragraphs illustrate this point and data of actual language use in both the home and neighbourhood domains in Chapter 6 provide further evidence.

Pandharipande (1992) illustrates the relationship between the type of bilingualism and the amount of shift taking place through the paradigms of *assimilation, co-existence* and *isolation* (Figure 2.8). In assimilating with the dominant language and group, the minority language stands hardly any chance of surviving and complete shifts take place in all domains. By co-existing with the dominant group or culture, it is very likely that stable bilingualism will emerge and even if shift takes place in all the other domains, the minority language may still be retained in the home domain. In isolation the minority

language has the best chance of being preserved and maintained. Thus, the greater the degree of transitional bilingualism, the higher the degree of shift to the dominant/majority language.

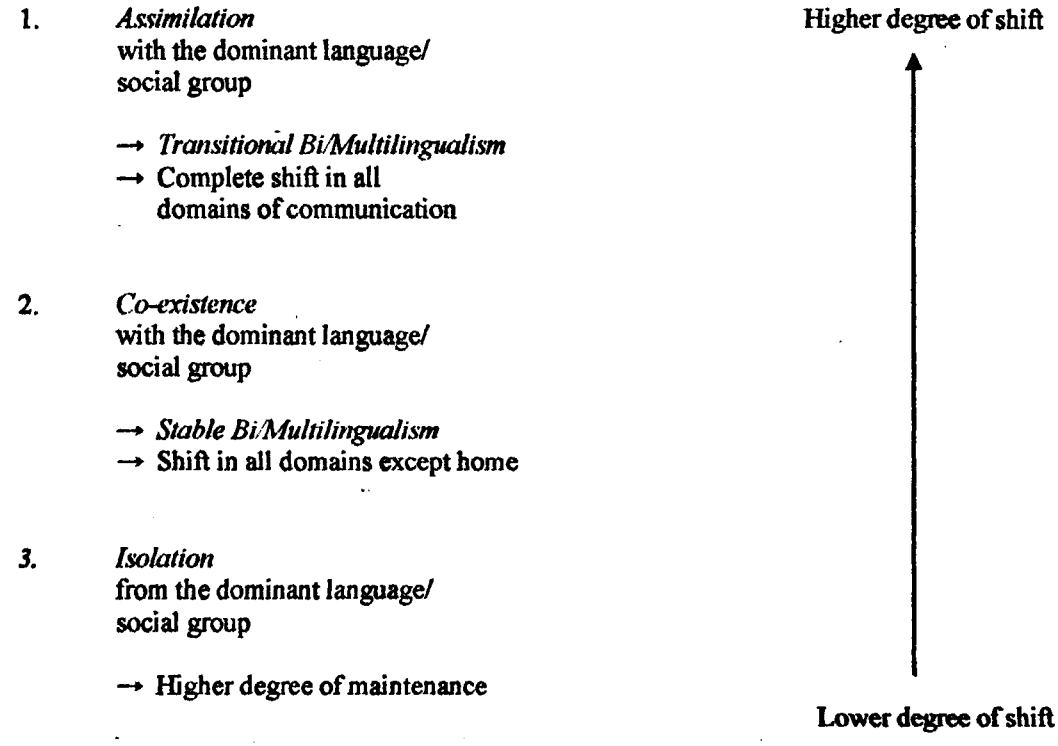


Figure 2.8 Cline of shift from minority to dominant/majority languages in India

(Based on Pandharipande, 1992: 259)

2.2.3.2 Language choice (LC) in bilingual interactions

A bilingual interacting with a monolingual is simple and straightforward as the language choice (LC) involves only the choice of what base language to use and the communication will continue in the chosen code until it ends (although switching between styles may occur). It is when both interlocutors are bilingual that the LC patterns becomes more complex because there is a second level of decision making, that is, to code switch or not to code switch into another language. Of greater significance is that the LC made by the bilingual is not at random, in other words, there are variables guiding the decision of which base language to use when speakers meet and there is a

pattern in the codeswitching behaviour of bilinguals. Extralinguistic variables which are salient in influencing LC include participants, setting and content of discourse. Physical and personal attributes of the participant also influence LC behaviour: in Rubin's study of Spanish-Guarani bilingualism, it was found that Spanish (the H variety) is always chosen for communication with well-dressed strangers; in Gal's (1979) study of German-Hungarian bilingualism, age plays a pivotal role – the younger generation uses more German than the older people.

The degree of intimacy is another factor that influences bilinguals' choice of language. The less formal language or variety of language is often the medium of communication between spouses, friends and family. Likewise, the more formal the setting or location, the greater the likelihood of choosing and maintaining the official language for communication. For instance, English and Bahasa Malaysia/B.M. (Standard Malay) is always used in all government departments in Singapore and Malaysia respectively. The topic or content of discourse also dictates the language to be used; PK is frequently used to discuss Kristang food and culture or to gossip about other races while the speakers choose English and Malay to talk about the general topics (see Chapter 5 & 6). In addition to these, other variables such as the 'reciprocity rule' and 'accommodation' strategies apply to determine LC. The reciprocity rule demands that the addressee answers in the language used to address him to avoid negative reactions; accommodation strategies are adaptive behaviours to achieve maximum communication between interlocutors (as discussed in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). The discussion so far has shown that there is no one single factor that determines the LC of speakers, all the variables interact to influence the choice of language to be used in an interaction.

2.2.3.3 Codeswitching (CS)

As highlighted in the preceding section, a most prominent feature of bilingual language behaviour is the ability and frequency to code switch. CS is 'the alternate use of two or more linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation' (Hoffman, 1997: 110). Poplack (cited in Romaine, 1995) differentiates between three types of CS: tag switching, inter -sentential switching and intra-sentential switching. *Tag switching* involves a very brief switch to another language, it is an insertion of a tag into an utterance. Two common examples of switching into English using tags are 'You know' and 'I mean' hence sometimes they are referred to as 'tag switches'. Tag switches can usually be placed anywhere in the sentence without violating any grammatical constraints. Most tag switches function as emphasis or confirmation. *Inter-sentential switching* refers to switching within a speaking turn and occurs at either a clause or sentence boundary. This form of switching requires greater skill than tag switching since major portions of the utterances must conform to the rules of both languages used. CS at sentence boundaries can follow this pattern:

Speaker 1: Language X.

Speaker 2: Language X.

Speaker 1: Language X. Language Y.

Speaker 2: Language Y.

Intra-sentential switching is switching between constituents in a sentence and occurs within the clause or sentence boundary. This type of switching demands great skill and is generally used by fluent speakers. According to Li Wei (1994), intra-sentential switching is frequently found in stable bilingual communities with a period of language contact. Intra-sentential switching can take the following pattern although in real talk it may not fall into such a regular, schematic pattern:

Speaker 1: Language X plus language Y.

Speaker 2: Language Y plus language X plus language Y.

Speaker 1: Language Y plus language X plus language Y plus language X.

In addition to the above types of switching, there are also switching between conversational turns, that is, one speaker uses one language, the other uses another language in consecutive turns thus CS is at turn boundaries:

Speaker 1: Language X

Speaker 2: Language Y

Speaker 1: Language X

However, from the speakers' point of view though, the above may not constitute CS for the speakers themselves are each using a different language and are not 'switching' languages.

CS can also be in the form of the 'insertional' and 'alternational' types. An insertional switch refers to the insertion of a lexical item or phrase from the embedded language(EL) into a matrix language (ML) frame while alternational switching may involve a change of language and speaker. Another type of switching worth mentioning here is metaphorical (non-situational) versus transactional (situational) switching; metaphorical switching concerns the different communicative effects the speaker intends to convey while transactional switching is often governed by the components of the speech events e.g. topic and participants (Romaine, 2000). As switching serves an expressive function and has meaning, a speaker may switch for a variety of reasons such as, to redefine the interaction or to take a neutral stance. It will be seen in Chapters 6 and 7 (Analysis of language use in the home and neighbourhood domains) that due to the bilinguality of the Kristang speakers and the prolonged language contacts among the

different ethnic groups in Malaysia, different kinds of switches are employed in the multilingual exchanges.

The objective of studying CS in LS studies is to determine whether CS behaviour signals LS and loss. In studies that work in this direction, a number of approaches have been used to detect whether CS indicate LS. One way to do this is to compare CS behaviour across generations, that is, to compare CS patterns between the grandparent, parent, and the grandchildren generations and see whether a decline or increase in CS in a particular generation can be attributed to LS and/or loss of language skills. Secondly, one can analyse whether the type of switching, for instance, insertional or alternational, indicate rapid or gradual shift. A third use of CS data in LS studies is to help determine whether a 'mixed code' such as commonly found in the form of verb compounding, noun duplication and plural affixation are just products of language contact or are strong evidence of language replacement. From David's (1996) study of LS and maintenance in the Sindhi community in Malaysia, she discusses several criteria to determine whether LS will take place as a result of CS. Among the factors listed, the following are useful to help investigate the relationship between CS and LS: (i) CS can be seen as a symptom of LS when the use of CS is triggered by an imperfect knowledge of the ethnic language (ii) to ascertain the extent of LS, the degree of use of the ethnic language in CS should be determined; if the switches are made up of minimal linguistic items from the non ethnic language while the dominant language in the discourse remains the ethnic language, then the ethnic language is not threatened (iii) when a community comprises more young people and the minority old generation is constantly accommodating and CS to the preferred non ethnic language of the younger ethnic group, LS for the community is taking place (iv) if code-mixing and CS are not much used by the majority of the younger generation of the ethnic group, it could be because

these members have lost their linguistic resources and competence to use the dominant and ethnic language simultaneously as fluent bilinguals often can and this can contribute to LS.

Due to the increasing use of more than one language and the tendency to CS in most multilingual communities which often leads to less distinct boundaries between languages, it is tempting to assume that such language behaviour will lead to LS. However, multilingualism and CS does not always imply LS as McLellan (2002) and Kuang (2002) maintain. According to McLellan (ibid), code-mixed texts that contain frequent occurrences of conjunctions and discourse markers from the embedded language (EL) may indicate an ongoing tendency toward LS but when alternation takes place within noun and noun phrases and the indigenous language still function as the Matrix language (ML), the language use scenario can be viewed as 'polyglossia' (cf. section 2.2.3.1 'Societal and Individual Bilingualism') reflecting maintenance of the ethnic language. In the view of Grenoble and Whaley (1996), language endangerment takes place in bilingual communities when the second language replaces the indigenous language thereby becoming the matrix language supplying the grammar to its speakers while the indigenous language declines in use, supplying primarily lexical items. Over time, when the children stop using the ethnic language as the matrix language, LS takes place. In Kuang's (ibid) study of CS patterns in a Malaysian Chinese family, she found that the switches made by the bilingual speakers served a number of functions such as to clarify, to emphasise or to act as a neutral language hence the CS activity does not present a threat to the ethnic language(s). In view of this, Kuang concludes that CS itself is not a definitive measure of LS (in the Malaysian family).

2.2.3.3 The National Language Policy and Bilingual Language Choice in Malaysia

With the implementation of the National Language Policy in Malaysia in 1970, Bahasa Malaysia (B.M.) or standard Malay became the official national language of the country and the medium of instruction in all government and government-aided schools. The aim of the policy is to unite all citizens of Malaysia through a common language of education and communication. Nevertheless, in order to maintain the political stability of the country and to cater to the interests of the three main ethnic groups in the population, vernacular primary schools that have existed since British rule are still allowed to continue their education in their mother tongue, namely Mandarin for the Chinese and Tamil for the Indians. At the secondary/high school level, however, all education is in B.M. but pupils from the different ethnic groups have the right to request for a Pupils' Own Language (POL) teacher to teach their MT as an optional subject if there are at least fifteen of them in a class (Education Act, 1962). But it remains clear and without debate that all major examinations are in B.M. Also, to obtain an overall pass in the local GCSE examination, pupils must obtain a minimal grade of a credit in B.M.

The National Language Policy has far reaching effects on the language maintenance and shift of community languages. Firstly, B.M. becomes associated with academic mobility into local government institutions of higher learning in Malaysia. As a result, some parents from the non-Malay ethnic groups embark on a 'family language' policy to help their children speak and acquire B.M. fluently. Thus, they choose to include the use of Malay in the home. Secondly, as the language of socialisation in the school is Malay, the younger generation across all ethnic groups become 'Malay educated' and become more proficient in Malay than in any other language. As a result, it is not uncommon to

find siblings of the same family communicating not in their home ethnic language but in Malay in their homes. Thirdly, the onslaught of Malay and English languages in the mass media and entertainment world reinforce the use of these languages outside school. As a result of all these, the community language is pushed to the position of a third language to be acquired only when one has the time to learn it.; its status being almost equivalent to that of a foreign language. Taking into consideration the overwhelming competition the community language faces from the two principal languages, English and Malay, the danger of LS in small language communities like the Kristang community, can only be mitigated and the ethnic language be saved if the community language is viewed as a core value for the existence of the community and efforts are made to revitalise the use of the MT in the community and the home.

2.3 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with defining the key terms used in the study and discussing the theoretical perspectives that form the theoretical framework of the study. In the first section, the discussion on the concept of language endangerment focussed on the various stages of language endangerment (e.g. viable versus seriously endangered versus moribund languages) and how to measure the viability of a language. The discussion of Edwards (1992) and Grenoble and Whaley's (1998) typology of minority-language situations emphasised the need for researchers to consider both the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the communities and the interplay of macro and micro factors in the study of LS in small language communities. From the different definitions of LS there is mutual agreement that LS is a process in which one language displaces another and the result of the process is language loss which is manifested in a reduction in function, competence, and linguistic structures.

The second section consisted of three subsections that dealt with three different approaches to the study of LS in linguistic minority communities: A Domain Analysis, EV and Core Values, Bilingualism and Language Choice. The discussions indicated that each subsection is vital to the study for they each provided insights into the type of context we will be dealing with in the study of the shift of PK. Within the approach of domain analysis the aim is to use the construct to gauge intergenerational shift in the Kristang home. The theoretical perspectives of EV and core values will be used to analyse how the objective EV (macro) and SEV (micro) of the community interact to affect language attitudes and language use. The section on Societal and Individual Bilingualism, particularly the discussion on diglossia viz polyglossia, foreshadows the context of bilingual language behaviour in Malaysia while the discussions on CS highlighted the need to assess to what extent CS behaviour, which is rampant among Malaysian speakers, is a measure for LS; data drawn from three different researchers (David, 1996; Kuang, 2002, McLellan, 2002) in Malaysia suggest that CS activity is not a threat to the maintenance of the ethnic language unless the switches are the result of an incompetent/imperfect knowledge of the ethnic language and the indigenous language no longer functions as the matrix language in the conversation. In the final subsection, the literature review on the National Language Policy indicated that this macro variable has had far reaching effects on the 'family language' policy in Malaysian homes as most parents in Malaysia do try to include some usage of B.M. (Standard Malay) in the home.

To conclude, this chapter has not only provided a discussion of the theoretical assumptions in which the study is sited but also provided the reader with a comprehensive overview of the context of bilingualism in Malaysia.

CHAPTER THREE

REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT (RLS) AND REVITALIZATION

3.0 Introduction

Alongside the study of LS and endangerment much interest has also developed in the issues surrounding and the methods involved in restoring the threatened languages to their healthy states. The most well-known, influential and consistent theory devoted to language restoration issues is the theory of reversing language shift (RLS) pioneered and championed by Fishman (1991; 2001). However, despite its popularity and usefulness, due to the unique situation of each endangered language, there are constraints on the applicability of Fishman's theory of RLS as shall be discussed in this chapter.

Further to this, within the field of reversing language shift and language restoration, a variety of terms (e.g. language revival, reclamation, renewal, revitalization) are being used to describe the different facets, emphases and objectives of different language restoration work carried out in different parts of the world. The different terms not only highlight the different type of language restoration work needed for a particular threatened language situation but also reiterate the scope of endangerment the particular language is facing.

3.1 Reversing Language Shift (RLS) Theory

RLS, conceptualised by Fishman (1990; 1991), refers to the study or practice of reversing language shift. The term covers both the diagnosis and assessment of the status of an endangered language as well as the ameliorative priorities that should be taken to alleviate the threat of extinction a language may face in the process of language shift (LS).

Table 3.1 GIDS description for threatened languages

Stages	Description
Stage 8	Social isolation of few remaining speakers of minority language
Stage7	Minority language used by older but not younger generation
Stage 6	Minority language is passed from generation to generation and used in the community
Stage 5	Literacy in the minority language
Stage 4	Formal., compulsory education available in the minority language
Stage 3	Use of the minority language in less specialised work areas involving interaction with majority speakers
Stage 2	Lower government services & mass media available in the minority language
Stage 1	Some use of the minority language available in higher education, central government & national media

(Based on Fishman, 1991; 2001)

RLS for the Stages of Disruption

RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)
Stage 8: Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL
Stage 7: Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation
Stage 6: The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of MT transmission
Stage 5: Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education

RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment

Stage 4a: Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control
Stage 4b: Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control
Stage 3: The local/regional (i.e non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen & among Ymen
Stage 2: Local/regional mass media & government services
Stage 1: Education, work sphere, mass media & governmental operations at higher & nation-wide levels

Figure 3.1 GIDS-scale-based RLS Theory

(Based on Fishman, 2001: 466)

* 'X' refers to the endangered language; 'Y' refers to the dominant language.

The basis of RLS theory proposed by Fishman (1991) is manifested in the Graded Intergenerational Disruptional Scale (GIDS) framework. The GIDS is an eight-stage

description of (Table 3.1) and prescription for (Figure 3.1) the varying degrees of language endangerment. With reference to Figure 3.1, I shall now review each of the RLS stages of GIDS in greater depth to discuss what each stage entails and what is recommended for each of the stages. Following that, I shall discuss the main features of the GIDS in RLS theory. Generally the GIDS are divided into RLS on the 'weak side' (stages 8-5) and RLS on the 'strong side' (stages 4-1).

Stages 8 – 5: RLS on the 'weak side'

Stage 8

Description: Most vestigial users of the language are socially isolated old folks and the language needs to be reassembled from their mouths & memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.

Priority: Reassembling the language and learning it as a second language (SL).

Obviously a language at this stage has all the signs of being in an advanced stage of endangerment: demographically the speakers are not only not concentrated in a particular area, they are also very few in numbers and are aged. Due to these factors, the major goal at this stage is, as quickly as possible, before the demise of the speakers, to assemble the language as a linguistic system. The process of reconstructing the language from remaining users include the collection and putting together of formulaic expressions, proverbs, folktales, and songs which subsequently can be used to reassemble the phonology, lexicon, and grammar of the language. With the reconstruction of the linguistic system of the language, the next hope is to produce a core of second language (SL) adult learners who will have some knowledge of the language that has been painstakingly reassembled. In order to re-establish the grammar,

phonology, intonation and prosody of the endangered language, the linguist will play a significant role at this stage.

Stage 7

Description: Most users of the language are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population, but they are beyond child-bearing age.

Priority: Enrich the ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic experiences of the community by promoting cultural interaction in the language, drawing upon the community-based older generation who are already speaking the language.

The major goal of stage 7 is to develop a young cohort of speakers of the language through a variety of cultural activities such as festivals, dances, music, theatre which will involve the active socialisation of the youth with the older generation who speak the language. Intervention at this stage places high priority on the active participation of the older generation to lead the younger generation to appreciate the culture and language of the community; in relation to this, planning at this stage is a social, community-based activity involving the young and the old. Fishman (1991: 91) stresses that the language will not be saved if the activities carried out at this stage, are not 'linked into the ongoing, normal, daily family-socialisation pattern.' Ideally, the establishment of youth organizations at this stage, should lead to the next important step: the development of young parent groups, residential communities or neighbours who will use the language (Fishman, 1991: 91).

Stage 6

Description: Intergenerational oralcy and demographic concentration in the home-family-neighbourhood-community sphere.

Priority: Create intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood oralcy as the basis of mother tongue transmission.

Stage 6 is the most crucial stage as this stage needs to be consolidated and secured if the later stages are to be attainable and sustainable. This stage focuses first on the family as the locus of oral intergenerational transmission; following this, the use of the ethnic language is to be extended (in a rippling effect) over to the neighbourhood and community circles with institutional reinforcements coming from various sections such as the local shops or pre-schools found in the community. A further accompanying goal of this stage is that speakers who are of child-bearing age will create younger families that will use the language.

Stage 5

Description: Minority language literacy in the home but without extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy in the school and the community.

Priority: The extension of oral communication and literacy acquisition both for the young and adults via community agencies and community schools that are not part of compulsory education.

Stage 5 entails formal linguistic socialisation, a kind of schooling, and is concerned with extending educational efforts in the mother tongue 'beyond those acquired in the largely oral and familiar interaction within most family, neighbourhood and community-intergenerational situations' (Fishman, 1990: 21). With the availability of additional varieties of the language, the goal of this stage is to encourage as many members of the community as possible to attain guided literacy in the mother tongue. The agencies of this literary acquisition can come from community itself such as the local religious unit (if there is one) e.g. a parish community project or a local literacy program initiated and

run by the community leaders. According to Fishman (1991: 98), this stage is '...socialization-related and entirely under intra-communal control' meaning the efforts more often than not are expected to come from the community itself. Moreover, as the efforts at this stage do not receive government funding or satisfy compulsory education requirements, the community needs to be very committed to the cause if it wants to succeed at this level. Clearly the biggest challenge here would be to convince people to see the functional value or utility of becoming literate in the community language. For Benton and Benton (in Fishman, 2001: 422), stage 5 is 'not simply literacy development for children but a Freirean critical literacy for the empowerment of the entire community' because they believe that if and when this stage is achieved, the speakers will acquire independence from the print media of the dominant language which in turn will enhance 'the psychological bonds and cultural integration of the revitalizing community' (p. 432).

Stages 4 – 1: RLS on the 'strong side'

Stage 4

Description: Formal, compulsory education in the minority language under minority community control.

Priority: Incorporate the use of the minority language at the lower levels of the education system either as a major medium of instruction under the minority community's control (Type 4a schools) or in a partial way under the state's control (Type 4b schools).

Stage 4 of the GIDS focuses on two types of schooling in which the minority language can be included in the formal educational context. The first type, Type 4a schools (supplementary or community schools), is substantially under the community's control

in terms of curriculum and staffing. In this type of schooling, the minority language is the main medium of instruction and the community's children are educated 'in the manner which the community, not the state, deems appropriate' (Fishman, 1991: 100). In contrast, type 4b schools (mainstream public/state schools) offer some (not all) instruction in the minority language as a subject in school-based bilingual programs hence it is more under state control and organization.

Type 4a schools compared to Type 4b, will involve major costs for the community unless the ruling government has budgets set aside for the teaching of the ancestral language of the community. With lack of funds, there is the danger of such RLS becoming compensatory and inferior in educational quality (Fishman, 1990; 1991). Having said that, we cannot take for granted that schooling will provide the solution to language maintenance as the case of Irish in schools was not as successful as it was hoped to be (Ó Laoire, 1995).

Stage 3

Description: The minority language in the work sphere, both within the ethnolinguistic community and outside it.

Priority: Promoting the use of the minority language in the local/regional work sphere involving interaction between the minority language community and the majority language community.

Stage 3 on the GIDS emphasizes the use of the minority language in the work spheres involving indigenous and non-indigenous population outside the neighbourhood of the minority community. For such linguistic interaction to take place, the non-indigenous population need to be able to speak the threatened language. If both communities are

bilingual, there may be opportunities to use the minority language in informal interactions but in formal contexts it is very unlikely that the less dominant language will be used. Stage 3 is a difficult area for RLS to penetrate and conquer due to the overwhelming presence and establishment of the dominant society. Further to this, often there are other 'lower order' or fundamental concerns such as individual or group economic circumstances which take precedence over the priority of using the minority group language in the worksphere.

Stage 2

Description: The minority language in the lower government services and the local mass media.

Priority: Promoting the use of the minority language in local/regional mass media and lower government services.

Stage 2 looks into the amount and type of minority language use in the local mass media and lower government services. This stage (and also the following stage, Stage 1) involves 'taking on the most powerful and most central institutions and the processes of the polity' (Fishman, 1991: 106). Ideally, it should involve the community in decision-making and having authority over the distribution of available public resources for the enhancement and participation of the community at institutional level but whether this is achieved is largely dependent on the political dynamics of the ruling government.

Stage 1

Description: The minority language in higher education, central government and occupational and national media.

Priority: To include some use of the minority language in higher education, governmental, occupational and national media.

Stage 1 looks into the possibility of using the minority language in higher education, central government and national media circles. This final stage of the GIDS model represents the highest level of cultural autonomy but not political independence for the community. Whether this level can be achieved by the minority community in the country depends on the language planning policies, attitudes of the ruling institution towards small languages as well as the degree of autonomy afforded by the dominant government.

The higher the GIDS rating (8 being higher than 1), the lower the intergenerational continuity and accordingly, the maintenance prospects of a language network or community. According to Fishman (1991), the GIDS is a quasi-implicational scale: 'higher (more disrupted) scores imply all or nearly all of the lesser degrees of disruption as well...' (p.87) and for Fishman, implicationality here does not mean that some stages are more important than the others but that it is vital and necessary that sub-goals be pursued and attained in a particular order as they form the very foundations for higher goals (and stages) to be achieved. Stages 8 to 5 have been identified as 'RLS on the weak side' as the RLS efforts in these stages do not entail much political power and rely more on the self-help of the community; also, stages 8 to 5 constitute 'the program minimum of RLS' because the efforts at these stages do not involve major costs and do not depend crucially on the dominant government; the 'do-it-yourself' nature of the RLS efforts here can be carried out in most political and economic climates. In contrast, stages 4 to 1 are identified as 'RLS on the strong side' because RLS efforts at these stages are geared towards recognition and implementation of minority social power and mobility. Due to the superiority of resources and control the majority group has, these stages are not easily attainable but once attained, the minority group has a very high

chance of maintaining its cultural autonomy in terms of control of education, the worksphere, media and governmental services.

Although other stages may be considered the fulcrum for particular languages, the fulcrum of the GIDS is Stage 6 if transmissibility across the intergenerational link is to be attained. According to Fishman (2001), there is a second purpose of the GIDS: 'to cause the viewer to consider the linkage factor and its potential for strengthening the selected fulcrum' (p.467). In other words, the GIDS should be used not only to locate the functional dislocation of the endangered language but to help us establish both the focus and the priorities for RLS. The fact is, the further away from the fulcrum stage the less direct and certain is the possibility of linkage to that fulcrum. The Scale should induce us to assess how substantial and reliable is the linkage between the crux stage (the functional dislocation) and the auxiliary stages (the RLS efforts) so that the RLS efforts can be enhanced to strengthen the fulcrum stage. The question of linkages between the goals and the efforts cannot be disregarded if RLS efforts are to be effective.

In addition to the particular stages and dual purpose of the GIDS, there are two central features of the GIDS that deserve discussion, namely :

(i) the primacy of intergenerational transmission in RLS

(ii) the diglossic nature of the Scale

3.1.1 Intergenerational Transmission of the Mother Tongue

Throughout his discussion of the GIDS, Fishman (1990; 1991; 2001) emphasized intergenerational transmission of the ancestral language as the key to RLS for ' ...if this stage is not satisfied, all else can amount to little more than biding time, at best generation by generation...' (Fishman, 1990: 21). Accordingly, all stages of RLS in the

GIDS should feed into and connect to Stage 6. Why is intergenerational transmission vital for the maintenance of a language? It is because ' the bulk of language socialisation, identity socialisation and commitment socialisation generally takes place through intergenerationally proximate, face-to-face interaction...' (Fishman, 1990: 20).

Other researchers in the field of language shift and maintenance have also stressed the importance of intergenerational transmission and child language socialisation. In her review of the historical perspective of the revival of Irish, Ò Laoire (1995) highlighted that the leaders of the Gaelic League warned against dependence on the agency of the school for successful revival of Irish and called for the language to be kept alive within the family. For Kulick (1997:12), 'the issue of transmission is at the very heart of language shift' for Kulick maintains that when there is no transmission of the language in the home language shift is taking place. In her article on sharing expertise and experience in support of small languages, Dorian (1995) identified two issues that can make language support efforts less successful: ignorance of childhood plasticity towards the mastery of linguistic structures and a change in family language patterns. According to Dorian, a community that is unaware of the optimal linguistic plasticity of the young may very well be in danger of introducing the use of the ancestral language in schools at a later age instead of exposing the language to the young at a younger age at home. Similarly, a change in the family language pattern such as the presence of relatives who do not speak the ethnic language at home will disrupt the intergenerational transmission of the ancestral language in the home. These two contexts illustrate the principle that 'children who do not hear the language will also not speak' the language (Dorian, 1995: 131).

From a related perspective, Grenoble and Whaley (1996) speak of the importance of implanting in children the desire to learn their native language as part of any language maintenance program. They are of the view that without intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue in the home-neighbourhood-community domains, revitalisation programs will be less effective in providing children with the interest to acquire the heritage language. Holding similar views, Linn et al. (1998) contends that a language does not have much chance of surviving or of being maintained unless children are socialised in it and are being made to see the language as a useful communicative tool within and between generations. Sims (1998) asserts that the drastic disruption of language transmission mechanisms among extended families and traditional village settings of the Karuk tribe affected the survival of the language to this day. To help save the language, maintenance projects in the 90s designed by the Karuk people 'targeted language revitalisation at various generational levels and within contexts where community language fluency could be taught' (Sims, 1998: 111).

3.1.2 Diglossia in the GIDS

The broad but neat division of the GIDS into two tiers, that is RLS to attain diglossia/RLS on the weak side and RLS to transcend diglossia/RLS on the strong side, illustrates a diglossic theme in RLS theory. The diglossic norm proposed in the GIDS is reflected in

(i) the stages of the RLS efforts

(ii) the micro versus the macro social aspects of RLS support in society

(iii) the quest for status between the minority versus the majority/dominant language in RLS efforts

Diglossia in the stages of RLS efforts: Stages 8-5 versus Stages 4-1

The compartmentalisation of 'weak' versus 'strong' RLS stages in the GIDS parallels the distribution of language maintenance prospects for the minority language. Clearly the higher order stages hold a better chance of maintaining the language than the lower order stages of the GIDS. Despite the division, Fishman stresses the importance of the implicational nature of the scheme: in order to advance RLS the higher numbered stages must be achieved first before attempting the lower numbered stages otherwise the RLS efforts will not be fruitful.

Diglossia in the support for RLS: Non-institutional interests and efforts versus institutional interests and efforts

Support for RLS efforts from the minority and majority sectors are also diglossic in nature. Often microsocial efforts at the community level is insufficient for RLS, institutional interest and support from the majority/dominant group offers a stronger base to RLS efforts as they occupy a higher order of support which explains why Fishman's GIDS work towards transcendence of the lower order stages.

Diglossia in the status of the minority language in RLS efforts: 'low' versus 'high' status

The notion of 'transcending' after 'attaining' diglossia in RLS indicates that the status of the minority language in RLS efforts is not static – as the RLS efforts move towards the higher order stages the status of the minority language may enjoy a better (from low to high) position.

Clearly the attainment of diglossia, which in equivalent terms means the use of different languages in different domains, is the primary goal of RLS theory and activity. The

basis for this aim is to encourage stable bilingualism to take place for it is believed that such a societal form of bilingualism acts as a shield for the minority language against LS. However, observations of language choice and language behaviour (in Chapter 6 & 7) and discussions on the construct of domain (cf section 2.2.1 – Investigating LS through Domains) and diglossia (cf section 2.2.3.1 – Societal and Individual Bilingualism) highlight that in highly bilingual societies (such as India, Africa, Malaysia, Singapore and I believe soon Australia too as it is becoming more multilingual due to its immigration and language policies) where often more than one language are used in most linguistic interactions and CS is common place, such strict compartmentalisation of language use do not occur. Instead, in these multilingual societies there exists polyglossia (see section 2.2.3.1) : language situations in which a number of languages (including the minority and majority languages) are used alongside each other in a range of domains (including the home and the neighbourhood) but which does not necessarily bring about unstable bilingualism or LS taking place. Instances of such dynamic language use in these multilingual societies question whether the notion of domain segregation and diglossia as proposed in the GIDS as a prerequisite for successful RLS is fully applicable to the maintenance of minority languages in highly multilingual societies.

So far the discussions here have focused on how the theme of diglossia in the GIDS is mirrored in the various aspects of RLS theory and activity. By recognising the diglossic norms proposed in the GIDS and RLS efforts, we hope to understand in greater depth how RLS works, the direction it takes, the stages it goes through and most important of all, its applicability to an endangered language situation.

3.1.3 Application and Critique of the GIDS

The GIDS framework has been applied to a number of threatened languages including Navajo, Maori, French in Quebec, Irish, the Otomí language, to name a few. Some of the scholars analysed the endangered languages according to each stage of the GIDS while others used the GIDS for the analysis of specific stages, often at Stage 6. (For a detailed and complete description of all the languages analysed, refer Fishman, 1991; 2001). At this point it would be useful to review some of the insights and opinions gained from the use of the GIDS on different languages.

According to Hornberger and King (2001), due to the dramatic diversity in Quechua language revitalisation and maintenance efforts in various regions, it is not feasible to detail and analyse all of the efforts and their impact on the language. Secondly, the researchers found that in using the GIDS they were alerted to some unanswered questions implicit in the framework which they listed as the 'who, what, when, and where' of RLS. The 'who' of the RLS focuses on the activists who will be spearheading the RLS efforts. The GIDS framework assumes that pro-RLSers in most cases, are older members of the language community but in the Quechua case, non-Quechua entities such as international linguists, non-government organisations and missionary churches are most actively involved in initiating RLS efforts. In other words, RLS efforts lack and need local, indigenous language projects headed by the younger generation. The 'what' of RLS refers to the stages of RLS. Even though the GIDS is meant to be quasi-implicational meaning 'the higher (more disrupted) scores imply all of the lesser degrees of disruption as well' (Fishman, 1991: 87), the discreteness and sequencing of the stages in actual RLS is not as clear cut; in the case of Quechua, school administration issues of Stage 4 are too complex to be easily divided into the Type '4a' and Type '4b' as indicated in the GIDS; also, Stage 8 and Stage 1 overlap as adult

acquisition of Quechua often takes place in institutions of higher education. Thus the scholars conclude that the stages in the GIDS are best to be seen as 'a useful heuristic rather than a step-by-step prescription' (p.185). In their discussion of the 'when' of the RLS, Hornberger and King focused on Stage 6 and recommend that Stage 6 which is the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy, 'stands outside the other stages, as a central focus before, during, and after other RLS efforts' (p.186) for despite the fact that it is the central feature of language maintenance, Stage 6 is not easy to accomplish. The 'where' of RLS refers to where RLS efforts are to be carried out. To minimise wastage of resources and maximise the effectiveness of RLS efforts, attention must be given to the social, cultural, linguistic and economic processes that affect language shift in small language communities; it appears that the influence of these forces have not been considered much in the GIDS. In a similar vein, Ó Riagáin (2001) claims that there is nothing in the GIDS to indicate how variables of economic, social or spatial nature are to be incorporated for analytical or prescriptive purposes. According to him, in the case of the Irish language these issues have a profound bearing on the language shift of Irish because state policies often focus on economic development and are not language oriented hence they affect the objectives and operation of language policies.

Azurmendi et al. (2001) reports that the process of recovery for the use of Euskara has not been linear but spiral and overlapping which shows that the goals corresponding to the different stages of the GIDS can be pursued simultaneously instead of in a linear way as suggested in RLS theory. Interestingly, in his critique of the GIDS, Bourhis (2001) suggests that the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) framework be used to complement the GIDS framework to enhance planning and implementation of RLS intervention. The basis for this recommendation is that there may be a possibility that the minority community ('Xmen' in Fishman's terms) may not perceive the GIDS in the same way

as the language planners do. In view of this, a subjective GIDS scale can be constructed to assess how the minority group perceive the severity of intergenerational dislocation affecting its own group. Bourhis contends that 'group members' subjective assessments of both their group vitality (see section 2.2.2 – Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV)) and the GIDS may be as important in predicting language behaviour and the success of RLS as the group's objectively assessed vitality and GIDS'. A combination of objective and subjective vitality and GIDS information is thought to be a more sensitive and effective method of planning successful RLS interventions.

The GIDS has been designed to provide a means of assessing the endangered status of a language, the prospects of intergenerational transmission and also the level of success of RLS efforts to maintain and revitalise the threatened language (Fishman, 1991). The question is, how effective has the GIDS been for the purpose for which it has been constructed? So far as a heuristic tool the Scale has been successful in providing information on how to assess the language endangerment status of a language. Following that the GIDS has managed to increase awareness of the urgency of intergenerational transmission and the need to scrutinise whether RLS priorities and efforts match the functional dislocation of the language shift situation. However, as the discussions above show, since all sociolinguistic situations vary, it is necessary to adapt the GIDS model to local conditions to fit the case of each endangered language. In its essence, the GIDS provides a realistic diagnosis of the LS situation of the language under threat and a systematic approach to correct the imbalance. In chapter 9, section 9.3, the GIDS framework is applied to the PK situation and its applicability is discussed. In the meantime, in the next section we shall turn our attention to the key terms used to describe the different types of RLS efforts in the field of language endangerment so as to arrive at the most appropriate term to describe the RLS of PK.

3.2 Key Terms in RLS: Language Revival, Language Reversal, Reclamation, Renewal and Revitalization

'Revival', 'reclamation', 'renewal' and 'revitalization' are among the range of terminology used to refer to the different types of RLS efforts taken to address the different cases of language endangerment faced by various threatened languages. Whilst Paulston (1994) and Fishman (2001) have attempted to define these terms with the intent of establishing a clear and common terminology for the concepts, there is still a lack of general agreement over the definition of these terms due to the different perspectives given to each one. Having said this, there are threads of commonality between them and for the purpose of this study it is useful to review the definitions of these terms to arrive at the term which would best describe the RLS efforts of Papia Kristang (PK).

3.2.1 Language Revival, Language Reversal, Reclamation and Renewal

Paulston et al. (1994) argue that language revival, language revitalization and language renewal constitute three separate phenomena and therefore should be subsumed under the concept of 'language regenesis' (Table 3.2a). For Lo Bianco and Rhydwen (2001), 'revival' includes reclamation, renewal and revitalization (Table 3.2b). With reference to Table 3.2a, language revival and language reversal do not fit the context of PK. For language revival to take place, the language to be revived needs to be dead; obviously this is not the case of PK. On the other hand, PK does not meet the criteria for language reversal as the aim to turn around the current trends in the usage of the creole is highly unlikely to be brought about by a shift of (political) power or as the adopted language of the state. Thus the terms 'language revival' and 'language reversal' as defined by Paulston et al. (1994) cannot be applied to the RLS context of PK at the Portuguese Settlement, Malacca.

Table 3.2a Language Regenesis

Term Used	Definition/Context
Language Revival	The giving of new life to a dead language or the act of reviving a language after discontinuance and making it the normal means of communication in a speech community
Language Revitalization	The imparting of new vigor to a language still in limited use or restricted use, most commonly by increased use through the expansion of domains
Language Reversal	Aims at the turning around of current trends in the usage of the language
(i) Legal reversal	The legal acceptance of a language such as when a shift of power takes place
(ii) Reversal of shift	A situation where a disappearing language is saved from extinction after a renascence and increased use
(iv) Rebound of an Exoglossic language	Occurs when a language that is not indigenous to the state is given prominence and excels as the adopted language of the state

(Based on Paulston et al, 1994: 92)

Table 3.2b: Language Revival

Reclamation	Where there are no speakers of a language but only historical records
Renewal	Where there are a few older speakers who have some, usually incomplete, knowledge of the language
Revitalization	When there are some older speakers but younger people do not use the language

(Based on Lo Bianco & Rhydwen, 2001: 401)

Similarly, from Table 3.2b, both 'reclamation' and 'renewal' cannot be used to describe the situation of PK due to the following reasons: firstly, at the moment PK is alive and is being spoken by the Kristang speech community although there are signs that the use of the language is decreasing due to the language shift taking place especially among the younger generation (refer Chapter 7, section 7.1.1 – 7.1.4); secondly, though small in numbers the older generation of speakers are fluent and proficient in the language;

thirdly, there exist fluent speakers of PK in the second/parent generation of the community. In view of this, 'reclamation' and 'renewal' are not appropriate to the situation of PK. To conclude, with reference to both tables, the term 'revitalization' can be said to be the most appropriate term for RLS for PK at the moment.

3.2.2 Revitalization

With reference to Table 3.2b, revitalization is the type of language revival needed in situations where there are some older speakers of the language but the younger generations do not use the language. Data from the language use survey (Chapter 5) and from recorded data in the home and neighbourhood domains (Chapter 6) show that this is precisely the LS situation of PK. In the view of Paulston et al. (Table 3.2a), the aim of revitalization is to give new vigor or strength to the threatened language, which is in restricted use, through expansion of domains. Holding an almost similar view is Spolsky (1995: 178) who defines revitalization as 'the restoration of vitality to a language that had lost or was losing this attribute.' To restore this 'energy' to the endangered language Spolsky particularly recommends (what Dorian terms as) 'multiplicative restoration' via renewed transmission of the language within the home for he believes that this spreading of the language to the babies and the younger generation will add a new set of speakers and new functions to the language. Spolsky is not the only one who recognises that intergenerational transmission is the crucial element in language vitality; throughout his GIDS, Fishman (1990; 1991; 2001) has repeatedly maintained that intergenerational transmission is the key process in any LM or revitalization process hence all RLS efforts should be linked to Stage 6 which is the transmission of the MT across generations within the home-family-neighbourhood domains.

Hinton (2001a) uses the term 'revitalization' in a broad sense to encompass different stages and types of language restoration – from the development of programs to re-establish a language that is no longer in use to efforts aimed at turning around the decline of a language that is losing ground among its speakers. For the purpose of this study, language revitalization refers to any kind of language restoration work aimed at increasing the vitality of PK so as to reduce the chances of the creole becoming extinct.

3.2.2.1 A Review of Hebrew and Maori Language Revitalization

Language restoration work has been carried out with a number of native American languages in the USA as well as in other parts of the world. Among the most well known successful cases are the revitalization of Hebrew and Maori although between these two cases, the case of Hebrew is considered more successful. A review of the revitalization of these threatened languages is vital to this study as they can provide a guide to what and why some conditions favor revitalization and following this, hopefully lessons can be learnt and advice heeded for the revitalization of PK.

Hebrew Language Revitalization

The success of Hebrew language revitalization can be attributed to the existing conditions and the sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors at work prior to and during the process of the revival of Hebrew (Nahir, 1988). The two existing conditions were (i) the need for a common speech for communication, (ii) the availability of a revivable language to resort to and revive. (Nahir, ibid: 276). In addition to these condition, three factors further contributed to the success of the revitalization of Hebrew: (i) the communicative factor, (ii) the national-political factor, (iii) the religio-educational factor (Nahir, ibid: 277). As a result of widespread persecution and a series of pogroms especially in Eastern Europe in the late 1800s, there was mass emigration of Jews to

Palestine. However, despite a shared past and culture, the immigration brought about a severe state of societal multilingualism due to the different linguistic repertoire of the immigrants. There was thus a communicative vacuum between the different groups of Jewish immigrants in Palestine and it was most acute in the urban areas. The communicative need had to be filled by a common language known to all the different Jewish communities that had come home to the ancient land and the choice of a common language for communication was between Hebrew and Yiddish. Influence from European nationalist movements and the desire to develop a modern Jewish national identity gave rise to the Zionist movement which was led by the young educated Jewish immigrants whose aim was to regain modern Jewish nationalism with a land and language of its own. This national-political factor was responsible for the rejection of any reminders of Jewish life that was associated with the Diaspora including the code selection of Hebrew over Yiddish, a language that had been associated with the exile experience. Within the Zionist movement itself, through their writings and personal actions, a number of prominent individuals such as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and Ahad Ha'am contributed further to the conviction and adoption of Hebrew as a national language and a symbol of Jewish national aspirations. Finally, the third factor, the religio-educational factor laid the foundation for Hebrew to be vernacularised: due to the religious study and written use of Hebrew among Jewish males, Hebrew never passed out of knowledge in the Jewish communities thus when the Zionist movement called for the use of Hebrew in daily life, the Jewish males were linguistically prepared for the vernacularisation of Hebrew. The transition from Yiddish to Hebrew begun by and large in the (rural) settlements where the national-political fervour was highest. Nahir (ibid:281) further explains that the actual transition or the Great Leap to Hebrew from 'a status of written language to that of a native and only or

major vernacular' involved a process that consisted of four steps or components, namely:

(i) The community's children are instilled with desired linguistic attitudes,

(ii) The children are presented with and acquire the linguistic model, Hebrew,

(iii) The children speak and transfer Hebrew as a second language out of the school hours,

(iv) The newly born receive and speak Hebrew as a first language.

(Nahir, 1988: 283)

In the first component, the strength of the linguistic attitudes toward Hebrew and Yiddish cannot be underestimated – as a result, the young in the Hebrew schools were instilled with an intensely favourable attitude towards Hebrew and an unfavourable attitude towards Yiddish. Following this, the teachers in the schools exposed the children to a 'Hebrew in Hebrew' approach in which all subjects were taught in Hebrew. To prepare students for concept learning in Hebrew, 'preparatories' or kindergartens were established for children to learn Hebrew one or two years prior to entry into (Hebrew) elementary schools. In this way, the children were presented with and acquired a model of Hebrew language use as early as pre-school. The third step, the children spoke and transferred Hebrew as a second language after school hours, was the most critical step of the transition. Despite the tangible reward of using Yiddish for effective communication, the children continued to use Hebrew as they were constantly reminded of the prestige of Hebrew over Yiddish. The children's choice of using Hebrew outside school directed the acquisition of Hebrew in reverse order, that is, from children to adults. The use of Hebrew as a second language outside schools culminated in the formation of Hebrew-speaking islands in which Hebrew as a second language

was generally spoken by the young (Haramati, 1979, cited in Nahir 1988). In the fourth component, the transition process became almost complete. Having spoken Hebrew as a second language during and after school hours, the children from the Hebrew schools grew up, married and had children of their own. These second language Hebrew speakers/parents spoke Hebrew with their new born hence Hebrew came to be passed on as a native language, completing the successful revitalization of Hebrew within a generation. To conclude, a combination of conditions and factors - sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioreligious, ideological – contributed to the success of Hebrew language revitalization.

Maori Language Revitalization

By the 1970s the main domains of Maori language use were the *marae* (tribal community meeting place) and the church. An added worry is, only 18-20% of the Maori population were fluent speakers of the language and they all aged 50 years and over (King, 2001). Nevertheless, as a result of ongoing campaigns by groups of young Maoris, the first bilingual school (at Ruatoki) was opened. Following this, in 1975 the tribal confederation launched *Whakatipuranga Rua Mano,* a tribal development program which emphasised Maori language revitalization. In 1981 the Maori leaders launched the *kohanga reo* ('language nests') in pre-school centres with the objective of transmitting the Maori language from the older generation (which is the bulk of Maori speakers) to the children and the grandchildren (who have not been receiving Maori as their MT). *Te kohanga reo* is an early-childhood language immersion program aimed to provide an environment where children hears only the Maori language and grow up speaking Maori. The movement focuses on facilitating language revitalization within a *whanau* (the Maori concept of family and kinship) environment. Parents who send their children to the *kohanga reo* are aware that Maori is the only language spoken in the

Kohanga and are expected provide a Maori-speaking environment at home. Besides Maori language immersion, aspects of Maori culture such as the *whakapapa* (Maori formalised greetings), the *whanaungatanga* (the importance of group relationships and support in Maori life) and the *tuakana* (the role of the older to the young) are also inculcated in the Kohanga. The *kohanga reo* provides about 20% of all early-childhood services and became an effective Maori language childhood education. To continue the *kohanga reo* experience, the Maori *kaupapa* (philosophy schools) were developed to provide total immersion in Maori within a Maori philosophical orientation and curricular framework. Another schooling option which is popular with Maori parents concerned that their children may not be competent in English, is the bilingual programs in mainstream schools. In addition to these, there is the *te atarangi (*intensive training of adult speakers in immersion programs*)* programs which include night classes, polytechnics and universities developed for adult acquisition of Maori, (King, 2001).

Like Hebrew, Maori language revitalization began as an initiative of minority ethnic-based ideologies working to establish a strong communal ethnic identity. However, there were differences and similarities between these two cases. In the case of Maori language revitalization, a communicative need was not the driving force but rather the realization that the Maori language was loosing speakers. But like Hebrew language revival, it was the young people of the Maori community who successfully campaigned for the language to be taught in primary schools (Jackson, 1993, cited in King, 2001:121). The Maori language revitalization was also boosted by political and legal pressure: in 1986 the Waitangi Tribunal recommended that Maori be made an official language in New Zealand; further parental pressure made the Department of Education recognise Maori as a language of instruction in some New Zealand schools. In his

discussion of the ethnic and ideological basis for Maori language revitalization efforts, Spolsky (1996) contends that the language revitalization movement was not only community-based but from its inception Maori control was asserted indicating a proclamation of opting out not only linguistically and ethnically but ideologically from the mainstream. In every facet of the revitalization movement equal emphasis is given to Maori language and cultural revitalization with ethnic control over the matters.

Despite all the provisions for Maori language revitalization, there were problems. Over time there were concerns about the draining resources to teaching Maori language and culture to non-Maoris (Benton, 1991, cited in Spolsky, 1995). King's (2001) report that by 1998 25% of the bilingual classes were non-Maori supports this observation. Added to this problem is the continuing demand for qualified teachers with a high level of proficiency in Maori to serve in the revitalization program. Also, even though there was support from the New Zealand government, Maori language revitalization has not been as successful as the case of Hebrew due to several factors: firstly, most of the children in the *kohanga reo* are bilingual and as a result, often do not use Maori in their replies to adults or in their interaction with their peers; secondly, in spite of an increasing desire to maintain the use of Maori, unfortunately, very little Maori is spoken to the child in the home; thirdly, a substantial number of Maori parents are not proficient in Maori, most of them are bilingual and a number of them are SL learners of Maori. Thus until and unless there is a breakthrough into vernacular language use and ordinary intergenerational transmission of the MT taking place in the home, the efforts so far are not likely to lead to significant changes in language use and an increase in the number of native speakers of Maori which would count as successful language revitalization.

In his discussion of models of revitalization, Spolsky (1996) contends that successful language revitalization depended fundamentally on the decision of parents and significant caretakers to speak the moribund language to the young children in their charge; however, the most difficult problem in LM is to make the decision to do so because, as Spolsky points out, the decision involves making an ideological over a pragmatic language choice and in the face of economic considerations, it takes particularly strong ideological force to overcome instrumental values. Nevertheless, once the decision to speak the MT to the young is made, Spolsky is confident that successful language revitalization is possible if the following factors are met: (i) the adult sources interacting linguistically with the younger generation possess a level of knowledge of the language (ii) there exist strong ideological/integrative attitudes towards the choice of using the moribund language (even when the language has low economic value) (iii) the learners are provided with sufficient exposure to the language through formal language teaching and informal language use. In Spolsky's (1991) view, revitalization can be explored within a general model of second language learning (SLL) for there are parallels between them: in both cases, previous knowledge, motivation and attitudes, and learning of the language are essential for successful language learning or revitalization.

The experiences of Hebrew and Maori language revitalization discussed here have shown that certain factors promote revitalization better than others. For successful language revitalization to take effect, both the community and the state must work hand in hand; language policies implemented in schools can only produce a level of language use and knowledge, to acquire improved proficiency these efforts need to be complemented by regular use at grassroot levels such as in the home domain, supported

by integrative attitudes towards the use of the language in the community. The school as agent of language restoration is insufficient, the school-home link and intergenerational transmission must be promoted if the quest for LM is to be successful. Aptly, as Wright (1995:174) puts it, 'language revitalization is primarily an organic process that demands majority commitment to certain language behaviours rather than primarily the business of state policy'. Of a similar view, Spolsky (1996:198) in his assessment of Maori language revitalization, states that 'top-down efforts initiated and sponsored by governments are less likely to succeed than the activity of minority ethnic-based ideologies working to establish new identities.'

3.3 Language Planning

According to Hinton (2001: 51c), language planning is essential for a good revitalization program because:

(i) the process and research involved help a community to establish reasonable goals and effective strategies to achieve the realistic goals

(ii) language planning helps a community to focus on the long term goals of the (various) projects

(iii) community-based language planning enables the community to take charge of its own language policy; outside agencies may be an important component in language revitalization but they should not be the ones determining the future of the language

(iv) language planning can help coordinate conflicting efforts by different groups in the community

(v) good language planning can help prevent factionalism and rivalry which might otherwise reduce the effectiveness of revitalization efforts

'Language planning and language policy can refer both to plans and policies external to a local group such as national language policies, and plans and policies internal to the group such as community or even family language policies' (Hinton, 2001d: 39). For the purpose of this study, we will focus on community-based language planning as this would apply to the RLS efforts of the Kristang community although we must bear in mind that the national language policy of the country, that is, the National Language Policy of the Malaysian government, indirectly has an impact on the language choice and language use of the Kristang community (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.4).

What does language planning at the community level involve? For community-based language planning or language planning from 'the bottom-up', the task often begins with the formation of a committee of knowledgeable people interested, dedicated and responsible towards language revitalization; language planning committee members need to be aware that due to the amount of language restoration work to be carried out and the usual shortage of people for the various tasks, members of the committee are often also involved in both the planning as well as the implementation of the projects.

Modifying Brandt and Ayoungman's 1988 (cited in Hinton 2001) steps in language planning, Hinton (2001c: 53-57) provides 8 stages/phases in language planning:

Stage 1 The Introductory Stage

Committees are formed, members recruited and meetings held.

Stage 2 Goal Setting

Discussion of what is to be accomplished, for instance: the maintenance of the community's lifestyle with language as a means to that end or the goal of developing new proficient speakers or to make the young appreciate their language and culture or to document the language through videotaping the older speakers or to develop a

dictionary or the overall goal of making the language the main language of communication (this may take some time or over several generations to achieve). Hinton stresses resources and goals are intertwined and feed on each other thus goals have to be reset depending on the resources available at particular times.

Stage 3 Preplanning and Research

At this stage planners survey their communities discovering their resources and constraints. This can be done through a language survey which can elicit information on the attitudes, willingness and interest of the community members towards language maintenance and restoration, the degree of language knowledge and usage in the community, the resources available e.g. how many fluent speakers and the age group they are in.

Stage 4 Needs Assessment

Based on the resources available in the community, these needs need to be addressed:

- how much funding is needed?
- what equipment and expertise have to be procured (e.g. tapes or materials for teaching of the language)?
- how many speaker-teachers are going to be trained?

Stage 5 Policy Formation

A language policy statement can be formulated to include all or some of the following:

(a) a statement about the philosophy and value of the local language

(b) a statement declaring the official language(s) of the community

(c) information on the role and authority of the policy setting bodies

(d) a list of prioritised goals

(e) a statement on policies about the orthography to be used and the copyrights of work related to the language

(f) in some traditional societies, a statement about the social, cultural, situational or political constraints on the use of the language (e.g. in what context can the sacred songs of a tribe be sung)

Stage 6 Goal Reassessment and Developing Strategies and Methods to Reach the Goals

At this stage, planners design the nature of specific programs and projects based on the community's goals, resources, needs and policies.

Stage 7 Implementation

When all the materials required for the revitalization program have been developed, the language planning committee and the community can begin to implement the revitalization program.

Stage 8 Evaluation

The committee and the people involved in the revitalization projects must evaluate the progress of the program regularly to assess what works and what does not so as to replan the succeeding action to be taken.

Stage 9 Replanning

Evaluation should lead back to replanning what is to be carried out in the future.

The stages involved in language planning as discussed above show that language planning is open-ended and on-going (Figure 3.2).

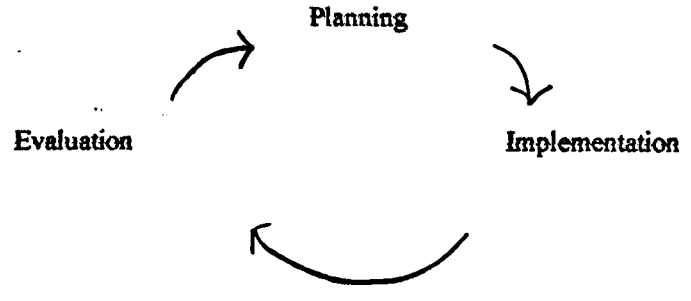


Figure 3.2 Language planning as an open-ended process

(Hinton: 2001c: 52)

3.3.1 Status and Corpus Planning

Basically there are three types of language planning: status planning, language acquisition planning and corpus planning. When language activists attempt to make changes in the societal functions or reputation of the language, it is called 'status planning' (Fishman, 1991). RLS status planning involves the allocation of scarce resources such as funds, time, efforts to reduce the shrinking number of speakers a language has as well as to increase the uses of the language in terms of functions and domains. Fostering the use of the language in the home-family-neighbourhood or school functions are instances of RLS status planning. In contrast, when language activists work on the vocabulary, spelling or any other aspect of the language per se, it is called 'corpus planning' (Fishman, 1991). As corpus planning normally involve lexical modernisation and expansion as well as the standardisation of the language, specialists such as linguists are consulted. A good example of corpus planning in the revitalization of PK is the Kristang-English dictionary project which has just been completed and is in the process of being published (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.2.1).

Table 3.3 Language planning and approaches

	Approaches	
Planning	Cultivation (on function)	Policy (on form)
Status (about the uses of the language)	To have the language as the main means of daily means of communication.	To decide whether the local language should be the official language used at official gatherings.
Acquisition (about users of the language)	Maintenance of the language by the community.	Whether the language is to be taught in schools as part of state policies.
Corpus (about language)	Develop new vocabulary.	Formation of a lexical or vocabulary committee to authorise new vocabulary to used.
Writing (Graphization)	The design and reform of writing systems.	Formation of a language policy conceming the language

(Based on Hornberger, 1997)

With reference to Table 3.3, Hornberger (1997: 7) lists 4 types of language planning in which she includes two approaches, that is, cultivation (planning) and policy (planning):

(i) Status planning, which is about the use of the language. A cultivation goal of status planning here can include setting up the goal of having the language as the main means of daily communication; a policy approach here would be deciding whether the local language should be the official language used at all official gatherings.

(ii) Acquisition planning, which is about users of the language. The cultivation goal here would be the maintenance of the language by the community. Thus decisions have to be made about who and how to teach the language to the young as well as the adults of the community; for the policy approach, the community has to decide whether it is going to push for the language to be taught in schools as part of state policies.

(iii) Corpus planning, which is about the language itself. Cultivation planning here would involve developing new vocabulary; policy planning here would be the formation of a 'lexicon' or 'vocabulary' committee to authorise the new vocabulary to be used.

(iv) Writing, which refers to the writing system. Cultivation planning here refers to the design and the reform of writing systems; policy planning here may refer to the formulation of a language policy concerning the language.

To conclude, there is no hard and fast rule that status or corpus planning must be carried out in a particular order; in fact both status and corpus planning projects can be carried out simultaneously along its individual objectives. For instance, documentation of the language can be carried out as a corpus planning project while home language

transmission is pursued to increase the use of the language as the main means of communication in the community. However, some status planning projects may first require a documentation of the language (which is a corpus planning project) as a resource for other projects such as the production of teaching materials for the teaching of the language.

3.3.2 Prior Ideological Clarification

The discussions above concerning the amount of time and thought that needs to be devoted to language planning prior to carrying out the revitalization program parallel what Fishman (1991; 2001) terms as 'prior ideological clarification'. Prior ideological clarification calls for an open and honest assessment of the state of the language as well as clarifying how the community feels about using and preserving the language for its future generation. To clarify what the community wants to achieve with its language, Fishman recommends a range of questions from the basic 'Are we really serious about saving our language?' to the more complex 'What can we do to help perpetuate the language?' be asked of the community. A language survey as discussed in Stage 3 of the language planning framework is one way to clarify community opinions and response and lay the foundation for a community-based initiative to language restoration.

Obviously the goals of a language revitalization program depend on the situation of the language. However, not all well-intended language restoration recommended by the scholarly community or the governing bodies or the leaders of the community receive the kind of support and outcome for LM. The Irish experience has shown us that a mismatch between what the government and the language movement assumed and how the people felt and responded produced adverse effects on the objective of the language

restoration program. Similarly, Dorian (1987) points out that in the context of low interdialect tolerance in populations without a tradition of literacy, the promotion of a more standard form of Scottish Gaelic in East Sutherland would be alienating rather than reinforcing language restoration. The implication of such experiences in language revitalization confirms that (i) decisions about the maintenance of language and how best to go about it must stem from within the community itself (ii) maintenance programs need to be tailored according to the needs of the community. In other words, since 'it is the needs and resources of the community that will drive the implementation of maintenance programs and determine their eventual success' (Grenoble & Whaley, 1996: 213), the necessity for prior ideological clarification cannot be underestimated. In view of this, it is vital that language revitalization programs begin from and end with the community.

3.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has been mainly concerned with the theoretical assumptions of the GIDS framework as well as attempting to find the appropriate term to describe the type of RLS needed for the situation of PK. In the first section, while a large section of the discussions dwelled on the stages of the GIDS, a substantial amount of time and discussion were also devoted to the two central features of the GIDS, that is the importance of intergenerational transmission of the ethnic language as a basis for RLS and the role of diglossia in creating stable bilingualism to resist LS. The discussions that followed highlighted that while intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue is acknowledged as vital for its maintenance, the notion that domain separation and diglossia as prerequisites for stable bilingualism and language maintenance is questioned against the background of polyglossia and CS in highly bilingual societies such as India, Africa and Malaysia/Singapore (cf. section 2.2.3.1).

The second section provided an overview of the various revitalization programs carried out on the revitalization of a number of classic endangered languages (Hebrew, Maori, Irish, Welsh) and a review of the conditions that work for and against RLS. The review of the revitalization programs also highlighted the constraints and applicability of the GIDS framework.

The third and final section focussed on the type of language planning (status, corpus, acquisition, writing) and the type of approaches (cultivation or policy) that can be combined for a good revitalization program; the section stressed the importance of community-based plans and involvement of the community as the basis for the success for language revitalization work.

To conclude, this chapter has provided both theoretical and pragmatic insights into how to measure the endangerment of a language according to the GIDS and how to draw the community to engage in the language planning and revitalization of its endangered language. In the next chapter we shall look into the research design and methodology of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

Research into the context of language shift in communities is usually carried out within an ethnographic framework due to a number of practical reasons: the very nature of the situation under study, the suitability of the methodology and the underlying assumptions of the approach. The context of language shift is not confined to just the use or disuse of a particular language but involves a variety of interlinking variables such as speakers' attitude, social networks, setting and ethnicity which ultimately affect a community's choice of language use. Also, highly related are the socio-political dynamics of minority groups in multicultural and bilingual societies. Given that these variables constantly overlap and are determined to a large extent by the context of human interaction and communication at that moment of time, it is inappropriate and besides logic to approach such situations or communities experimentally with presupposed conditions to be tested. In view of this, what is needed is a flexible data-gathering and data-interpreting strategy and time that the researcher can use to explore local knowledge and integrate it with academic, theory-informed reasonings so as to arrive at an informed analysis of what seems to be taking place in the community.

Ethnography deals with the investigation of patterns of social interaction and the comprehension of cultural knowledge through a detailed, holistic description of the population under study. This provides the researcher with an 'exploratory-descriptive' form of research that can accommodate a qualitative measure of variables that may not be quantifiable by numerical standards and lends support to why a large part of the

ethnographic research design (and analysis) is often highly interpretive. Further to this, naturalism, understanding, discovery, the three basic assumptions underlying ethnography (Hammersley, 1990) provides the researcher with the theoretical principles and methodological grounds to investigate, analyze and comprehend each situation in its own terms, that is, from the subjects' own perspectives. As human behavior is infused by social meanings, naturalism proposes that the social world be studied in its 'natural' state so as to capture naturally occurring human behavior. To understand this behavior one must access the meanings that guide that behavior and to do that one needs to observe human actions and communications in natural settings. Hence ethnography entails a research process that is inductive or discovery-based which is not limited to the testing of hypotheses although hypotheses may be formed to guide the researcher in the research. With such a research process, data needs to be gathered from a range of sources and it is obvious that the instruments selected for the gathering of the data need to offer the kind and degree of flexibility employed throughout the research design and process.

Most ethnographic methods of field research make extensive use of the unstructured or semi-structured interviews and participant-observation to enable the researcher to negotiate between outsider and insider roles with relative degree of formality demanded of the interaction whilst at the same time provide the opportunity of a slice of life experience of the population under study. Having said all this, the ethnographic approach is not without limitations. As the approach to data gathering is relatively unstructured and the analysis of data involves interpretation of meanings, the presentation of data tends to be highly subjective and interpretive. There is no guarantee that the ethnographic researcher can

prevent this but awareness of this flaw and steps taken to minimize this effect helps balance the research findings.

4.1 A Critical Ethnographic Approach

No matter how distinctive a research methodology may be for a type of research there are areas in the methodology that need to be adapted and refined to suit the particular scope of a study. Research questions dictate the choice of research tools, similarly, the scope of a study helps define the specific types of relationship, processes and direction the research methodology will take. Taking into consideration the scope of the present study, it is insufficient to just adopt an ethnographic approach and aim at an emic (insider) and etic (outsider) account of what seems to be taking place in the community and the multicultural setting. To be specific, I am in favor of a more interactive methodology that

(i) draws from both the researcher and the researched

(ii) brings the researcher and the researched closer to each other's perspective and in doing so, directs both parties to act independently for their individual goals

To achieve the above, we need a paradigm shift in the methodology, from conventional to critical ethnography which according to Nwenmely (1996: 47) is 'a more socially responsive ethnography that has the potential of effecting change.' Thomas (1993: 4) defines critical ethnography as 'conventional ethnography with a political purpose.' Both these definitions imply active roles for the researcher as well as for the subjects. In my view, critical ethnography is a variant of conventional ethnography; it retains some of the features of conventional ethnography while the expectation of the researcher as well as the participants to take active roles in the research adds a new dimension to conventional ethnographic research. This methodology encourages a two-way (interactive), reflective

and collaborative research process which empowers both the researcher and the researched. What then is the methodological framework to bring about this interactive, empowering research process? Empowering research, in the view of Cameron et al. (1992), is 'research on, for and with (the community)' and which can be made possible based on three principles: (i) the use of interactive methods (ii) making room for subjects' own agenda (iii) the use of feedback and sharing of knowledge. The first issue calls for an open and honest relationship between the researcher and the researched – in brief, the expectations and possible limitations from both sides. If and where necessary, the researcher is obliged to disclose her goals, assumptions and procedures of the research while at the same time to expect active cooperation from the participants. I consider this principle vital especially when the researcher is not a member of the community under study. For the context of the present study, the community must understand that whilst the researcher will, to the best of her knowledge provide access to information about language shift, maintenance and revival in other communities in the world, she will not give her opinion, influence or take part in any decision-making on how to maintain and/or revive the use of Papia Kristang in the community. This parallels attempts to reduce researchers' bias and increase objectivity of the study. This stance is also closely related to the second issue, that is, the importance of subjects' own agenda. It is crucial for the researcher to provide space and opportunity to encourage the researched to reflect on their situations and aims so as to empower them to act independently for their best interests. The third issue, feedback and sharing of knowledge, builds on the first two principles and is the most empowering because it supports the whole idea of adopting a more critical approach in ethnography. It is significant based on this premise: as a large part of the data to be gathered is generated from the people in the community it is only fitting that the researcher shares with the

participants her views and interpretations of what she observes to firstly, gauge any discrepancy between the researcher and the researched's point of view but more importantly, for both parties to use the alternative interpretation of 'things' to clarify as well as to widen each other's perspectives. It is also hoped that the increased knowledge gained at this stage will help the researched speak with authority to their cause. Feedback is not intervention; it is the ratification of personal view; it is the coming together of ideas and world views from both the community and the researcher. Feedback here parallels Mehan's (1979) convergence between the researcher's and participants' perspectives of events. Drawing from the experience of an interactive relationship between the researcher and themselves, from the sum knowledge gained, from critical reflection of their language shift situation, the community can work towards language maintenance and revitalization with greater strength. From the researcher's point of view, feedback and sharing of knowledge liberates the research from being one-sided in approach and viewpoints. After solitary analysis this stage of interactional level of analysis helps feed 'balance' to the whole research since the final analysis and write-up of the research will ultimately be largely from the researcher's point of view.

To elaborate how 'balance' is a recurring consideration throughout the research methodology and process I would like to draw upon Lather's (1986) concepts of triangulation, reflexive subjectivity, face validity and catalytic validity. In this study, triangulation is not a choice but a necessity as an attempt to access into the community in order to obtain as accurate as possible a picture of what is taking place in the community or situation under study. Data and methodological triangulation complement each other and work towards obtaining various perspectives of the issues under study.

For the present study, data triangulation involves sampling from a variety of community members from different age groups (for instance, generation 1, 2, 3) and social strata (e.g. community leaders, professionals, fishermen) and in different language use contexts (e.g. in the home, at the stalls, during celebration of Kristang festivals). Methodological triangulation entails the use of four types of research instruments, each selected to seek specific information: a preliminary survey, of 85 (out of 110) households in the Portuguese Settlement, to gauge the language shift situation of Papia Kristang in the community; tape-recordings of conversations of people from different age-groups (for instance, between parents (G2) and children (G3), between grandparents (G1) and grandchildren (G3)) and from different social strata (the villagers who live in the Portuguese Settlement) to gain information of patterns of language use in intra-group interaction; participant-observation of the celebration of Kristang festivals (e.g. Festa San Juang, Feast of St Peter) to observe to what extent the celebration of these events strengthen ethnic bonding and the use of Papia Kristang; semi-structured 'interviews'/informal conversations with (i) various members of the community (e.g. the community leaders) to obtain information on the organization and plans for the revitalization of PK (ii) community members who have written on Kristang issues to obtain their views on the language shift of Kristang. In addition, villagers or 'ordinary' members of the community are also asked for their opinions of the LS situation to obtain a picture of the community's response to its language situation. To summarize, it is clear that the range of information-seeking techniques utilized in the research methodology aims at representativeness of data from the Kristang speech community.

The concept of reflexive subjectivity is equivalent to the notion of respondent validation. It is interesting to see that in the choice of a critical ethnographic approach for the study, this concept is provided for in the 'feedback and sharing of knowledge' stage. A person's point of view is always colored by one's theoretical and experiential background. Respondents' verification can provide the researcher with additional knowledge that may have escaped the researcher's attention or awareness. On a more important note, research subjects' knowledge, views and experience should not be underestimated (or otherwise) because subjects are part of information networks that may not be accessible to the researcher for a variety of reasons. Further to this, checking out other plausible interpretations of issues and data facilitates face validity in the research. The notion of catalytic validity is best captured by Simon and Dippo (1986) as referring to increased awareness in the participants as a resource for the transformation of the researched's daily lives. This view circulates back to the idea of empowering research: research for, on and with the community.

So far the methodological framework outlined above for a critical ethnographic approach to the study of language shift and revitalization efforts in the Kristang community has explicitly explained the objective and principles guiding the approach while at the same time it has shown that despite working within the 'softer', interpretive ethnographic tradition, issues of validity and 'balance' have also been considered. Having selected critical ethnography as the theoretical methodological foundation for the study, I shall now turn our attention to the questions we are seeking in the study and how we are going to go about getting the data, that is, the research questions and methods of data collection.

4.2 Data Collection Strategies and Procedures

According to the UNESCO Red Book of Endangered Languages there are only about one thousand speakers of Papia Kristang and only one third of those under twenty years of age speak it. What is the actual language situation of this Portuguese-lexified creole at the Portuguese Settlement (PS) and what factors come into play in the community's interest and struggles to revitalize the use of its creole?

As mentioned in the section on methodological triangulation, the main data collection techniques in the study involves the use of four research instruments: 'survey' questionnaire, tape-recordings, interview/informal conversations and participant-observation. Each of these tools have been selected based on the belief that they are the most appropriate ways of addressing the research questions identified in the study. I shall now briefly discuss how each of the research tools were used and their individual utility for collecting data for the study.

4.2.1 Reported Language Choice and Language Use (RLCLU) Survey

The 'survey' questionnaire was the first of the four research tools employed to collect data on the language shift situation in the Kristang community at the PS, Malacca. The survey was administered between 15 December 1999 to 23 January 2000 on 85 (out of 110) households in the Settlement. The main aim of the survey is to obtain information on the general language choice and usage in the Kirstang households according to age groups and generations. The RLCLU survey is a short, structured questionnaire consisting of twenty-three questions (see Appendix H) put forward to the head of the household[8] of each of the

[8] The head of the household refers to the breadwinner of the family or to whom the house belongs to.

85 households that the researcher visited on a door-to-door basis. Instead of giving out the questionnaires and collecting them later, I chose a one-to-one meeting between myself or my research assistant (EF) and the head of the household to ensure that the respondents understood the questions asked and the data needed. Data collected through the survey questionnaire are analyzed and discussed in Chapter 5.

Robson (1993) considers the survey more a research strategy rather than a method or technique which can collect a small amount of data in standardized form from a relatively large number of individuals. The survey is used here to elicit a quantitative picture of the community and to obtain a representative overview of the general relationship between language use, attitude, ethnic identity and language shift. As the first data collection 'tool' in the research the survey was extremely useful for the researcher to get herself introduced to the families and the community.

4.2.2 Tape-recordings (in the Home and Neighbourhood Domains)

Following the survey which provided information on the general language choice and language use at the community level, tape-recordings of spontaneous interactions were carried out to obtain data of actual (as opposed to reported) language choice and language use in the home and neighbourhood domains. The aim of the recordings are two-fold: firstly, they are used to verify whether there is any discrepancy between what people report they do (in the questionnaire) and what the speakers actually do when using the languages; secondly, tape-recordings of actual language use provided information about micro-level language interaction (for instance, actual language choice and codeswitching (CS) patterns) and hence complement data obtained at the macro-level from the survey.

From the home domain, altogether nine families were tape-recorded between November 1999 and April 2000. The nine families consisted of six pairs of parent-children (G2-G3) interactions and three pairs of grandparent-grandchildren (G1-G3) interactions. The sampling criteria is that all the adults, that is, the parents and grandparents, in the nine families are fluent speakers of PK and secondly, they are the principal caretakers of the young in the home (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.1 & 6.2.2 for details of the participants in the tape-recording sessions). The six mother-children interactions yielded thirty hours of recorded data while the three grandparent-grandchildren interactions provided fifteen hours of recorded talk.

During the initial weeks of recording I was often present as I visited the homes regularly to familiarize myself with the participants' background as well as to be available if any help was needed with the technical aspects of recording. During these visits, to blend myself into the home environment and help minimize my presence, I usually got involved in some of the household chores such as peeling potatoes, onions or vegetables in preparation for the family's meals. At the end of these initial recording try-outs, the tapes were collected and transcribed with the help of my principal informant, EF. I then gave feedback to the participants concerning the quality of the recorded talk – whether the conversations were audible, the problem of too many people talking and the problem of interfering background noise. In the pursuit of natural talk and behaviour these problems were not entirely eliminated in the succeeding recordings but at least they were made aware. By the third week the parents and grandparents were able to operate the recorder with confidence so I left with each participant, a recorder and five to six Sony double-sided audio tapes to carry out the tape-recordings in the home domain. I sent out five recorders at a time and every

three days I called on different participants to collect any completed tapes. I worked on transcribing the tape immediately when I had access to them. Each one hour tape needed at least six hours of transcribing effort and sometimes more to check and recheck the spelling and translation of Kristang speech into English. Throughout all the transcribing work I enlisted the help of my principal informant, EF, to ensure that the word-order and meanings of the Kristang words are in context.

To record language use in the neighbourhood domain, tape-recordings of various social interactions were made at various sites and on different occasions, for instance, at the food stalls, during Christmas 1999, during Intrudu 2000 (see Chapter 6, Table 6.5 for the full list of situations/settings recorded in the neighbourhood domain). Tape-recording of talk in the neighbourhood domain were carried out between December 1999 and May 2000 and yielded approximately twenty hours of data. For most of the recordings such as the 'gossip between friends', the celebration of an elder's 76th birthday' and 'Xmas 1999', my informants recorded the talk as I felt that my presence may affect the intimacy and natural interaction between the interlocutors. For the recording at the food stalls, I was present for some (not all) of the time the recording was carried out but I made every effort to be inconspicuous. I was either a customer at one of the stalls or helped the housewives/sellers at the stalls. As the recordings were made after almost three months of my living at the PS, I was a familiar face to the residents hence my presence was not questioned. Also, the voluntary tuition classes I gave to the poorer children in the community extended my friendship networks with the mothers/housewives in the community. By helping out at the stalls and the celebration of San Pedro, I was able to participate further as a participant-observer (my fourth research tool). This experience was of tremendous value to my data

because despite some culture-specific references or jokes, in my transcribed data I was able to 'connect' immediately to the events in the tapes.

Another point is, there were no attempts at all to conceal the recorder while the recordings were made. For recording conversations at the food stalls, the recorder and tapes were given to the 'seller'/owner of the stall prior to the recording session and it is normally left unhidden on the table and the equipment was handled entirely by the 'seller'/owner of the stall throughout the recording session. No attention was purposely drawn to the recorder hence some villagers who were observant were aware of its presence while others were not. The objective was to allow the recorder to 'blend' into the environment. Even in the recording at the other settings (e.g. friends gossiping or at the Ceki card game), one of the participants would carry out the recording. When I was present at some of the stalls I avoided handling the recorder to avoid drawing unnecessary attention to it. It was only at the bus stop that the conversation was recorded entirely by me.

The amount of talk recorded in the home domain varied depending on how much verbal interaction took place between the interlocutors while in the neighbourhood domain the recorded interactions varied in length depending on the 'situations/occasions': some interactions were lengthy (e.g. the gossip between friends) while others, for instance, the conversation at the bus stop and especially the Ceki card game were extremely short. All the transcriptions were carried out with the help of my principal informant, EF, who is a fluent G2 speaker of PK. Recorded data of language use in the home and neighbourhood domains, including patterns of communication in the community are analyzed in Chapter 6.

4.2.3 Ethnographic Interviews

In order to investigate the community's response to its language shift situation, semi – structured interviews or informal discussions were conducted with various sections of the community: community leaders as well members of the community. The interviews were conducted towards the end of my fieldwork, in May and June 2000 and altogether fourteen people provided their responses to the language situation at the PS. Of the fourteen, three are community leaders: the Regedor, the vice-president of the Regedor's Panel, the secretary of the Regedor's Panel; two language activists – one who has been writing about PK from the 60s and has co-worked with Baxter, a linguist, to produce the forthcoming PK-English dictionary, another language activist, GF, who has been contributing articles discussing community and PK language issues over the internet; the president of the Malacca-Portuguese Eurasian Association (MPEA) who is actively involved in trying to uplift the community economically through government policies. Also interviewed were a Canossian nun who has lived in the convent in the PS for over thirty years and who has been involved in educating the womenfolk and the children of the PS, seven 'ordinary' members of the community – 3 fishermen, a restaurant owner, a Kristang shopkeeper, a teacher in the village kindergarten and two retired pensioners. For the selection of the interviewees, the sampling criteria was to choose members of the community from different sections of the community in order to obtain a representative view from the community.

The idea of having discussions or 'interviews as conversations', a term used by Burgess (1984), was based on two pragmatic reasons: firstly, a discussion is less intimidating than an interview and secondly, these 'discussions' could be 'continued', as and when the opportunity arose and in fact, a number of times, they were 'continued' to help clarify

issues raised at the first 'interview' or meeting. An agenda of 'topics' guided these discussion-cum-interviews and the 'chats' were taped-recorded, transcribed and used as citations to support evidence of the community's response to their language situation in Chapter 7.

Due to widespread report of low proficiency in PK among the younger Kristangs, a PK proficiency test in the form of two translation tasks were given to thirteen young Kristangs between the ages of 9 to 25 years to 'confirm' the observations of the older generation (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.1.4). To find out why the community has such a laid-back attitude towards the 'rescue' of its language and why it is focusing its interest and energy on economic development instead of language revitalization, a short language attitude and subjective EV test was administered by my principal informant on fifty respondents between February and April 2002 (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.4).

4.2.4 Participant-Observation

The Kristang community celebrates eighteen festivals in a year (see Appendix I), some on a grand scale, others at the family level only. Although some of the festivities arose out of local beliefs and miracles and hence are unique to the Malacca-Portuguese cultural heritage, most Kristang festivals are religion-based. During my nine-month fieldwork I had the opportunity to observe as well as participate in three Kristang festivals, namely the celebration of Intrudu 2000, Festa San Juang and Festa San Pedro. In the celebration of Intrudu 2000 I accompanied the group of 'kueh' (cake) sellers door-to-door selling cakes for the occasion. The conversations throughout the session were recorded and analyzed in Chapter 6, section 6.9.2.3. No recording was made for Festa San Juang and Festa San Pedro as the festivals attracted a large number of outsiders hence talk was not confined to within

the Kristang community. It was observed that very little Kristang was spoken during these festivities which provided evidence that celebration of Kristang festivals with a high attendance of outsiders/tourists tend to be conducted in English. Participant-observations provided vital information and background knowledge about the relationship between cultural maintenance, ethnicity and language use which is discussed in my concluding chapter. To summarize, Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide a summary of the data collection strategies in relation to the tools used to obtain the data for the study while Figure 4.1 presents an overview of the research methods and design of the study.

4.3 The Research Site and Research Subjects

The study is carried out at the Portuguese Settlement (PS) in the vicinity of Ujong Pasir (see map of Malacca in Appendix C), Malacca. With the highest concentration of Kristang population in Malacca, the PS is the core of Kristang culture and identity and contains some of the oldest and most fluent speakers of PK in the country. The study is carried out at the PS because it is the only place in Malaysia where PK is still spoken although the number of speakers is diminishing rapidly as the analyses (Chapters 5 – 7) in this study confirm. The number of research subjects used in the study varies according to the research instruments used to elicit the information needed. For the 'survey' questionnaire, 85 heads of houscholds were 'interviewed' for responses to the questions posed in the short questionnaire. However, in the analysis of the population according to age groups (see Fig. 5.1) the total sampling taken from the 85 households is 470 in which 130 are 'children' (0-12 years), 132 are 'youth' (13-30 years), 121 are 'middle-aged' (31-50 years) and 87 are of 'retiring age' (of these, G1=87, G2=124, G3=159).

Table 4.1: To investigate the language shift taking place in the Kristang community

Focus: What is the actual linguistic behaviour in the homes and neighbourhood of the Portuguese Settlement?	Research Tools
• What are the patterns of language use in the home and neighbourhood domains?	• Survey; tape-recordings
• In which domain(s) is Kristang frequently used?	• Survey; tape-recordings;
• For what purpose(s) is Kristang usually used?	• Tape-recordings; observation
• Why and how is Kristang shifting?	• Tape-recordings; observation
• What is the rate at which PK is shifting?	• Survey; tape-recordings
• In which direction is PK shifting?	• Survey; tape-recordings

Table 4.2: To look into the community 's attempts to revitalize the use of PK

Focus: What is the community's response to the language shift situation of PK?	Research Tools
• Is the community aware that a LS is taking place?	• Survey; interviews
• Are there attempts to revitalize the use of PK in the community?	• Interviews; observation
• Is the interest to revitalize the use of PK equally and eagerly shared by a majority of the speech community?	• Survey; interviews; observation
• What are the aims of the revitalization of PK?	• Interviews
• What resources and strategies are available for the revitalization of PK?	• Interviews; observation
• Are the resources fully utilized?	• Interviews; observation
• Are the attempts/strategies to revitalize the use of PK suitable or better than those advised by Fishman in the GIDS?	• Observation
• Other than the community leaders, who else are trying to perpetuate PK and why and how are they contributing?	• Interviews
• What are the problems faced in the revitalization of PK?	• Interviews; observation

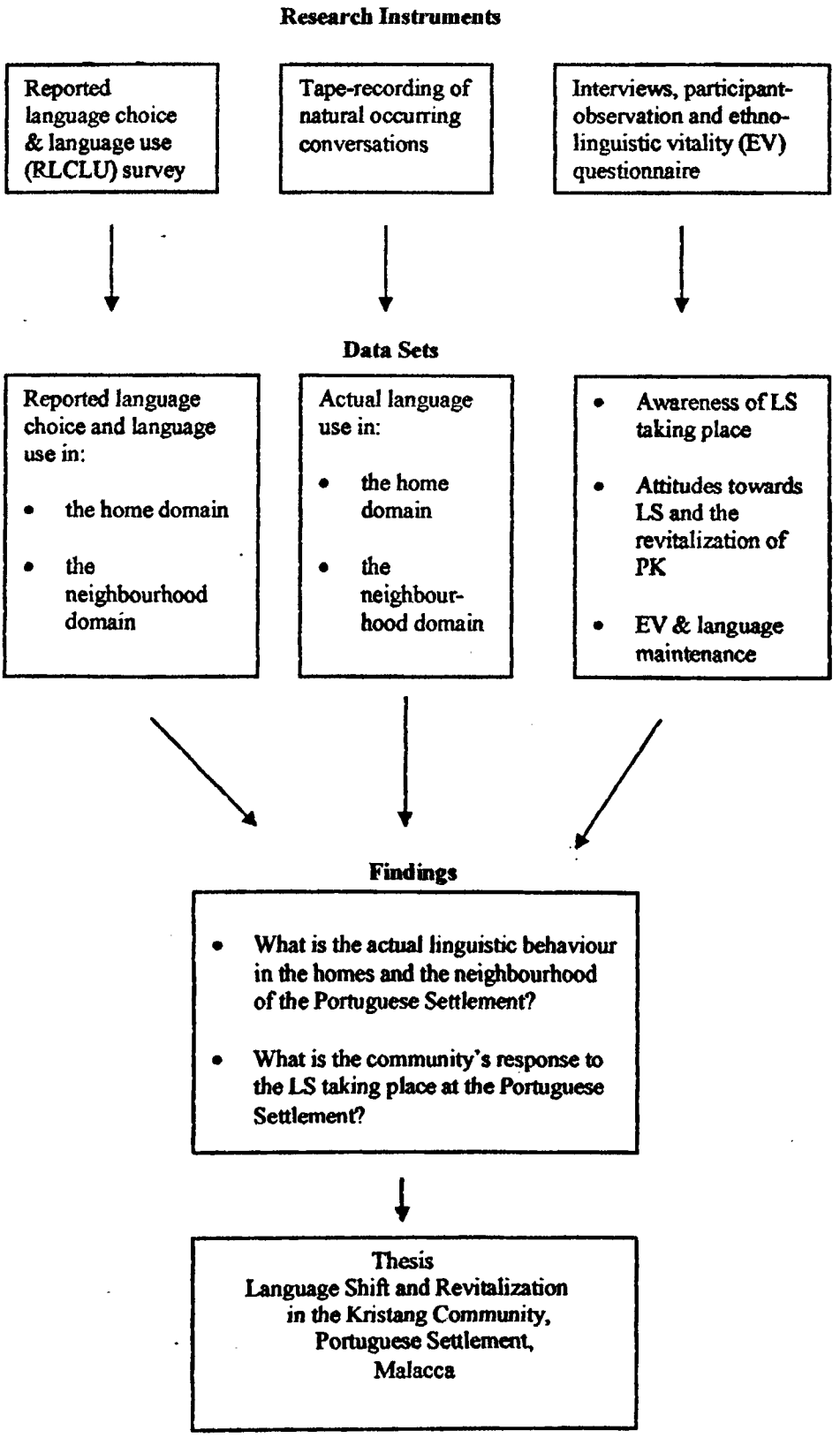


Figure 4.1 Research Method and Design: An Overview

For analysis of reported language use across the generations (G1, G2, G3), the sampling for G1 is 87 (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.3), for G2 the sampling is 124 (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.5), for G3 the sampling is 159 (see Chapter 5, Fig. 5.8). 100 young children, including babies below the age of six are not included since their comprehension of questions pertaining to reported language use is questionable and parents' reporting on their behalf may be unreliable since they may report what they believe instead of the 'real' language use situation of the child.

For tape-recording in the home domain, nine families were tape-recorded: 6 pairs of mother-children (G2-G3) interactions and 3 pairs of grandparent-grandchildren (G1-G3); altogether 27 children were involved in the tape-recorded sessions. Although of differing proficiency, all the parents can speak PK and are between the ages of 23years old and 36 years old; all the grandparents too can speak PK and are between the ages of 54 years old and 66 years old (see Chapter 6, Tables 6.1 & 6.2). For the interviews, 14 members of the community were interviewed including leaders of the community as well as 'ordinary' members of the community for their opinions on the language situation at the PS. The interviews yielded about 16 hours of information on a variety of opinions on language, ethnicity, social and economic concerns of the community at the PS.

4.4 Summary and Conclusion

Having conducted the research as described in this chapter, at this point it is time to ask, "What have I achieved conceptually and methodologically?" Perhaps a good starting point would be the discussion on the language extinction catastrophe initiated by Hale (1992a, 1992b) and Krauss (1992, 1993), debated by Ladefoged (1992) and further enhanced by Dorian's (1992) observations. Both Hale and Krauss have each succinctly put forward a

strong case for the need to preserve human languages for the future generation and namely for linguists to take a responsible and active role in the task. Hale contends that it is vital to both the linguist and the human race to safeguard linguistic diversity since the loss of languages can be equated to an irretrievable loss of cultural and intellectual diversity. Krauss (1993) echoes the same view, pointing out that 'the loss of any one language diminishes us all aesthetically, spiritually, culturally, intellectually, historically' (p. 45). To focus our attention on the language endangerment dilemma, Krauss draws our attention to the extremely high mortality rate of languages in the world – according to Krauss (1992, 1993), by the turn of the century, at least 50% of the world's 6000 languages will cease to be spoken because these *moribund languages* are no longer learned by children as a mother tongue. Krauss compares language endangerment to the endangerment of biological species but he emphasizes that compared to the latter, language endangerment is not receiving as much notice, help or support as it should. The gist of the matter is, it is a moral responsibility of the linguist to take a serious interest in the loss and rescue of endangered languages. In contrast, Ladefoged (1992) points out that the attitudes and values of the speakers of endangered languages are not as universal as portrayed by Hale and his colleagues. Ladefoged notes that there are communities who, despite a high regard for their language, are willing to sacrifice their language for (usually economic) advancement and the key question is, are we (or have we the) right as linguists or sociolinguists to advise them to do otherwise and preserve their languages? Based on her long term fieldwork experiences with East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG), Dorian (1992) is convinced that in the long term, the tragedy and regrets of language loss will far outweigh the first generation of speakers' choice to put social betterment over maintenance of the ethnic language.

According to Krauss (1992: 5), of the 6000 languages in the world, 15% (or 900) of the languages are from the Americas, 4% (or 275) are from Europe and the Middle-East, the balance of 81% are in Africa (1900), Asia and the Pacific (3000). Although there are also numerous endangered languages in the West, the problem is, Africa, Asia and the Pacific are the very continents and areas which are most susceptible to language endangerment both from world dominant languages such as English and Chinese as well as from the politically dominant local language(s). Clearly a main factor for this state of affairs is that in the majority of the countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific region (except perhaps New Zealand and Australia), often the governing regimes are not of the Western democracy types that take serious heed of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948 concerning parents' prior right to choose the kind of education or language instruction for their children. However, having said that, to be fair to the ruling governments, for the sake of political stability and peace, the nation states often have to focus on more urgent agendas such as nation-building and a common language has a vital role in maintaining national unity. As pointed out by Dorian (ibid), in most cases it would be more beneficial to respect these priorities than to encourage tribalism based on separate language use and identity. This being the case, those of us who are concerned with preserving linguistic and cultural identity need to find a way round the problem. At the beginning of this section, it was pointed out that biological endangerment seems to receive much more support from various sectors (governmental and non-governmental) than language endangerment. I would attribute this support to knowledge and awareness of the problem. In order to gain support for our mission to alleviate the language endangerment predicament, we need first to provide the ruling governments with as much knowledge as possible about the endangered language situation:

the status of the language, the usefulness of the language to the community and the country and of course to mankind. It is insufficient that the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity be known and valued by the academic community; if we want the kind of support for an endangered language as such given to the extinction of biological species, we need to work in the direction of 'liberating' the governments of the endangered language communities of ignorance of the language situation. Increased support for endangered languages in many parts of the world especially in the areas where the threat of language extinction is most acute can only come about when the governments of these areas or communities are empowered with the knowledge of what the human race stands to lose when languages are lost. 'It's unlikely that linguists can ever persuade a group either to give up or not to give up the use of its language' (Ladefoged, ibid: 810) but when macrosocial forces such as the government are convinced that the preservation of languages is as important as the conservation of the environment and earth's biological species, the local response, attitudes and values of the speakers will be more positive. Within such a strategy it is very unlikely that the linguist will find himself divided between the state's "language for national unity" versus the community's "language for ethnic separatism".

An equally related issue with work in endangered language communities is about fieldwork being inevitably political. According to Dorian (1992), 'the linguist cannot enter the threatened-language equation without becoming a factor in it' (p. 578). My own experience with the researched community has taught me that besides issues with the ruling government, other types of political dimensions exist which can prove to be just as significant and, often in the eyes of the community, the fieldworker cannot avoid being part of it. Whyte (1994), in his recollection of the research process and his experiences, pointed

out that the first steps of getting to know a community are the hardest and he verifies that ultimately his acceptance depended on the personal relationships he developed. Often the researcher seeks entry into the community through the contacts of the 'ruling' leadership of the community which in the case of the Kristang community, is the Regedor and his panel. As with most ethnic communities, there exist differences in opinion within the Kristang community but when the differences are not only based on family allegiance but are also politically aligned, it is difficult for the researcher to acquire an objective view or agreement over even language matters because the differences between groups in the community overshadow commonalties. Whether the researcher desires it or not, you are pitched in one camp (that is, the people you make contact with and work with) against the other who do not agree with the ruling leadership of the community. In its simplest terms, I agree with Dorian's (ibid: 576) observation that 'one's fieldwork, however antiseptic it may try to be, inevitably has political overtones'. It becomes critical when one party is promoting the language issue and the other is opposing it not because they disagree with the (language) issue but do so to accentuate their differences. Can the researcher avoid being part of the differences? No, either way you are caught in the 'hostility' because by supporting the language issue, you are endorsing yourself as coming from one camp. What is the implication of this experience to the study of endangered languages? It shows that the study of endangered languages can involve some political dimension even in its broadest sense for the political overtones can come not only from the ruling body of the country but within the community itself. During my fieldwork when I was identified as coming from the 'other' camp and was caught in the tension of factionalism I found that being involved in community work (such as helping out with tutoring the poorer young children from both camps) helped to empower the community. Firstly, through community work, you can

convince both groups that you are 'objective' about their differences and are not involved in their internal politics, whatever it may be. Secondly, through service, you show to the community that outsiders/researchers are not always in the community to 'take' but also to 'give'. Thirdly, as you listen to the views of both sides and work towards finding a common ground for the common good of the whole community, you can use the opportunity to work with young members of the community and thus train them to be community not group oriented. These strategies do not eliminate the political dimension of the situation but they help to downplay the political overtones in fieldwork and ease the tension between yourself and the community 'right wing' members.

Two significant problems in the study of social reality is, the existence of differing conceptual frameworks (between the researcher and the researched) and the extent to which the researcher is able to situate him/herself within that framework in order to give an account of it. The ideal of the critical ethnographic approach, like all good science, is its underlying concern for finding out the "What is it?" versus the "What could this be?" in the research. The 'what is it?' is equivalent to the etic (outsider/researcher's) point of view and the 'what could this be?' refers to the emic (insider/community's) point of view. This notion of "otherness" (Cameron et al., 1992) or the alternative view (of the researched) needs to be accommodated and accounted for not only to help the researcher present as accurately as possible this 'other' view but it is also necessary to stimulate and effect change in the community. When both sides, that is the researcher and the researched, have access to each other's (the insider and outsider) view of the language situation of PK and work towards effecting change to improve the language endangerment predicament of PK then the research process can be said to be empowering the research subjects. Nevertheless,

the desire to effect change must come from the community's' own initiative for the researcher is bound by the ethical question of neutrality as far as what should be done with the language situation although s/he may not be viewed as apolitical in her associations in the fieldwork.

McLellan (2002) is of the opinion that the outsider/insider approach may become less relevant if more indigenous people are given the training to conduct studies within their own speech communities. In view of this, McLellan suggests that 'insiders be empowered to adopt roles that are more than just that of the informant or the depersonalized data source in traditional anthropological research' (p. 85). This is a practical suggestion for when members of the community are actively involved in the research process, in the long term they can form a pool of manpower often urgently needed for work in revitalization projects. The present problem faced by the Kristang leadership of not being able to find people from the community to form a language committee to attend to language matters -hence the formation of the committee is stalled for the moment – confirms the need to train and involve indigenous people in the research of their own languages. According to some researchers like Craig (1992), the revitalization of languages itself contains elements of empowerment as the revitalization of threatened languages itself is not so much about creating a community of native speakers but more about 'issues of self respect and empowerment, and about reclaiming one's ethnic identity – issues of human value which cannot necessarily be measured in terms of words or phrases learned' (p. 23). From these different perspectives, the notion of empowerment can be broadened to include work directed at enhancing the knowledge and capabilities of members of the community as well as giving dignity and esteem to ethnic languages and identity that have been stigmatized.

Throughout this chapter, empowering research has been referred to as 'research on, for and with' the community. In my opinion the part of a research that is most empowering for the community is 'research with' the community because it is at this level that the researcher acknowledges the equality in the relationship between the researcher and the researched, respect the hospitality and especially the input given to the researcher. In return, the researcher should expect to give continuing support to the community (after the research) so that the researcher can help the researched achieve their 'agenda'. In the case of the Kristang community, it is vital that the research fieldwork is not a one-off experience, the research can be deemed as empowering only if it has motivated the community to start working towards the revitalization of PK. So far, interest to revitalize PK has been generated by contact made with researchers from outside the community and the community leaders are very keen for researchers who have worked on PK to help with the production of teaching materials for the young but as the discussions in Chapter 7 will show, before such plans can take off, teething problems such as the funding of the projects and finding manpower for the implementation of the projects have to be attended to (cf. Chapter 7, sections 7.2.2 & 7.2.3).

To conclude, from my experience with this research I am convinced that there will always be a moral and political discourse in the issue of LS and loss. In ecolinguistics language endangerment can be viewed not only as the struggle between strong (dominant) languages and weak (dominated) languages but the need for balance between the support systems that sustain linguistic diversity in our world. Interestingly, in research on language endangerment one must also strike a balance between the moral and political discourse: between encouraging communities to preserve their language and respecting their right to

choose to save or abandon their language; between what the community needs and what the ruling government wants, and between what is observed by the researcher and what is reality according to the researched. Only through such a balance will research be empowering for all parties concerned with endangered languages.

CHAPTER 5

REPORTED LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE USE (RLCLU) AT THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT (PS)

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of self-reported data collected in the reported language choice and language use (RLCLU) survey questionnaire (see Appendix H). The questionnaire was administered on 85 (out of 110) households, giving a 77% sample of the total number of houses. The chapter begins with an analysis of the occupations of the 85 heads of households which provides an economic profile of the respondents responding to the survey. Following this, we take a brief look at the educational and language background of the heads of the household to provide us with the sociolinguistic background of the respondents.

The chapter then proceeds to the analysis of the main data, which is the analysis of reported language choice and language use across generations (Generation 1/grandparent generation, Generation 2/parent generation and Generation 3/children generation) and across age groups (children, youth, middle-age, retiring age) in the home domain and with friends/neighbours in the Settlement. The data are analyzed for patterns of reported language use within generations, that is, reported language use between G1 themselves, between G2 themselves, between G3 themselves as well as across intergenerational lines, that is, between G1 and G2 and vice-versa, between G1 and G3 and vice-versa, between G2 and G3 and vice-versa.

The analysis of the data are presented in simple descriptive statistics in the form of counts and percentages for quick 'across the board' comparisons. Based on these statistics, predictions of likely language behavior are made. At the end of the chapter, the Summary and Conclusion section summarizes the analyzed data and results.

5.1 Economic and Sociolinguistic Background of the Respondents

A survey of the occupations of the sample population of the 85 heads of households reveal that members of the Kristang community are engaged in a range of occupations that is quite diverse. Table 5.1 summarizes the range of jobs the members of the community are engaged in.

Table 5.1 Occupations of the heads of the households

Occupation	Count	Percentage
Retired government servants	15	17.7
Fishermen	20	23.5
Own business	12	14.1
Administrative work	12	14.1
Skilled workers	16	18.8
Others	10	11.8
N	85	100

Fishing, the occupation of their forefathers, is still the most common means of living (23.5%) for the sample community at the PS while being employed at the factories (18.8%) is the second most common way of earning a living. It is also a known fact that most of the skilled workers who work shifts at the industrial sites, supplement their income by going out to sea after their shifts. This latter group of fishers form the 'part-time fishermen' group. Following closely are the retired government servants which make up 17.7% of the

group. These pensioners are above fifty years of age as fifty-five is the retirement age in Malaysia; optional retirement being at fifty. 14.1% of the heads of the households manage their own business: a machine trader, a retail shop owner, several sea front restaurateurs and a handful of stall businesses selling breakfast and local cakes for part of the day. Among the 85 heads of households who are literate, 14.1% are employed as clerks and administrative assistants. In addition, as the Kristang people are musically inclined, a small number of them (11.8%) are singers and musicians which are categorized under the 'Other' occupations.

Due to the range of jobs taken by the community, a fair proportion of them work in non-Kristang speaking environments. This being the case, the Kristang workers are exposed to a variety of languages that are used in Malaysia, that is, English, Malay and Chinese (Mandarin) and/or some local Chinese dialects such as Hokkien. Bilinguality thus often becomes an integral part of the daily working life of these Kristangs. The significance of these language exposure and daily language use is, if the practice of using different languages continues after working hours and is brought into the home domain, family members become more exposed to the use of a variety of languages and may themselves adopt LS behaviour in the home. Among the languages that the Kristang workers are exposed to in their working environments, the most common languages that find their way into the Kristang homes are English and Malay, having had exposure to them in school and the mass media.

Table 5.2 presents the educational and language background of the heads of the households according to their occupational groups:

Table 5.2 Educational and Language background of the heads of the households

Occupational groups of the heads of the households	Educational Level				Language of Instruction at school				Language first acquired/spoken at home			
	0	1	2	3	E	M	O	NA	K	E	M	O
Retired government servants (N=15)	-	11 or 73.3 %	4 or 26.7 %	-	15 or 100 %	-	-	-	9 or 60%	6 or 40%	-	-
Fishermen (N=20)	13 or 65%	7 or 35%	-	-	5 or 25%	2 or 10%	-	13 or 65 %	18 or 90%	2 or 10%	-	-
Own business (N=12)	3 or 25%	7 or 58.3 %	2 or 16.7 %	-	6 or 50%	3 or 25%	-	3 or 25 %	9 or 75%	3 or 25%	-	-
Administrative work (N=12)	-	-	12 or 100%	-	8 or 66.7 %	4 or 33.3 %	-	-	5 or 41.7 %	7 or 58.3 %	-	-
Skilled workers (N=16)	-	5 or 31.25 %	10 or 62.5 %	1 or 6.25 %	2 or 12.5 %	14 or 87.5 %	-	-	7 or 43.7 %	9 or 56.3 %	-	-
Other occupations (N=10)	-	4 or 40%	6 or 60%	-	7 or 70%	3 or 30%	-	-	4 or 40%	6 or 60%		
Total	16	34	34	1	43	26	-	16	52	33	-	-

KEY:

Educational Level
0 – Didn't attend school
1 – Attended primary school
2 – Attended secondary school
3 – Attended college/university

K - Kristang
E - English
M - Malay
O – Other languages e.g. Chinese or Tamil
NA – Not Applicable

The analysis in table 5.2 is divided into three main columns: Educational level, Language of Instruction at school, Language first acquired/spoken at home. In each of these columns, the number and percentage of people adds up horizontally to the total (N) in the occupational group (the left-most column). Thus in the Educational Level column, 11 (73.3%) and 4 (26.7%) of the retired government servants were educated up to primary and secondary school level respectively. In the analysis of the type of language instruction they

had at school, all 15 (100%) of this group of pensioners were instructed in English. In the Language first acquired/spoken at home column, 9 (60%) report Kristang as their first language while 6 (40%) report English as their first language. The calculations for all the other occupational groups are similar, that is, they are to be added horizontally for each column. The total at the bottom in each of the three columns adds up to 85 which is the number of heads of households participating in the survey.

On the whole, most of the community is not highly educated. From the 85 heads of households, only 1 person (1.2%) received a college education graduating with a Diploma in Engineering and is working as a technician. The majority (34 or 40% each) of the heads of households have either attended primary or secondary school while 18.8% of the respondents did not attend school at all. The 40% primary-school educated and 40% secondary-school educated experienced either an English or Malay medium of instruction at school thus one can say that these groups were exposed to a basic level of literacy in a language other than PK. The 'retired government servants' group were all educated in English at school having undergone British educational system under British colonial rule; some of the older members of the other occupational groups would also have experienced English medium education. The younger members, having been to school during the transition period (between 1957 and 1970 – the period between Independence and Malaynised[9] government) would have had their education in English and Malay. Thus, overall most of the community from all the occupational groups have received a fair

[9] Referring to the post 1970 education system whereby Bahasa Malaysia/Malay became the medium of instruction in Malaysian schools.

amount of education in English although the 'skilled workers' groups recorded a higher percentage (14 or 87.5%) of Malay as the language of instruction in school.

Turning our attention now to the language first acquired/spoken in the home, we find that among the retired government servants 60% report PK as their mother tongue (MT) while 40% of them record English as their first language. This means that this group perceives itself as speaking either PK or English exclusively when they were young. Taking into consideration also the amount of English language input at school then, one can expect a fair level of proficiency in PK and/or English from this older generation group. On the other hand, the 'fishermen' group records the highest number (18 or 90%) of PK as a MT. Given that 13 or 65% of this occupational group did not attend school and hence were not exposed to another language input, this group may be at a better advantage of maintaining the use of PK among themselves and in the community. Equally hopeful for PK language maintenance is the 'self-employed' group of restaurant and stall owners in the PS for a substantial number (9 or 75%) of this group report having acquired PK as the first language spoken at home. Having said this, this occupational group may still need to use other languages such as English or Malay or a mixed code to communicate with local and foreign tourists in the course of operating their business in the PS.

Most of the last three occupational groups – the administrative workers, the skilled workers, and the musicians/singers – have all reported English as the first language acquired at home. There may be ground for this for generally, in most communities, the socially and educationally better-off tend not to speak their ethnic language as a MT in their homes. In fact, as early as the 60s, Hancock (1969) has warned of the threat of an imminent

LS if steps are not taken to maintain the use of PK against the use of English (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.2).

5.2 Reported language choice and language use in the households across generations and age groups

Table 5.3 Number of generations living together in the same household

Number of generations	Count	Percentage
One generation only (G1* or G2 only)	1	1.2
Two generations (G1 & G2 or G2 & G3)	56	65.9
Three generations (G1, G2, G3)	27	31.7
Four generations (GG1, G1, G2, G3)	1	1.2
N	85	100

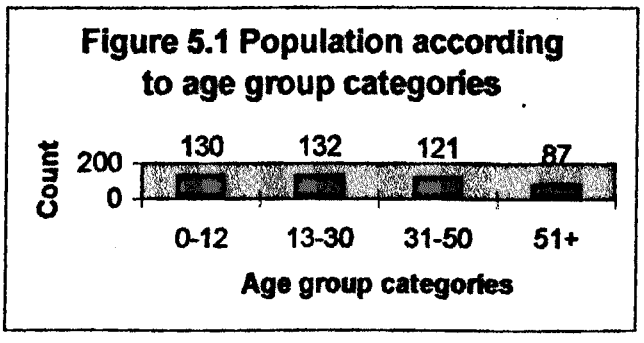
* GG1: Great grand parents G1 : Grandparents G2 : Parents G3 : Grandchildren

Table 5.3 presents the number of generations living in the 85 households. The majority (56 or 65.9%) of the 85 households surveyed consists of two generations living together and the two generations living together are mostly G2 (the second generation) and G3 (the third generation), that is, young married couples and their children. A few rare cases of childless couples living with their parents also make up the two-generation family system; in this case, they would be the G1 (the first generation) and the G2 (the second generation) living together. 27 or 31.7% of the sample households consist of the three-generation extended family system. This typical type of Asian extended family unit is often made up of the grandparents (G1), the parents (G2), and the grandchildren (G3) living together under one roof. In language maintenance, it is often assumed that the grandparent generation is more likely to use the community language for communication with the family thus the three-generation family type living together makes interesting observation for language

maintenance as the role of the grandparents in transmitting (or not transmitting) the MT can be verified (Li Wei 1994); in Chapter 6 data of actual language use in the home domain will testify to this assumption.

At the Portuguese Settlement, there are very few (1 or 1.2%) one-generation families living by themselves as it is common for young couples (G2) to live with their parents until they have children or can afford to acquire their own house; on the other hand, the first generation/grandparents (G1) are seldom left to live by themselves in their old age as filial piety in the form of caring for the elder is predominantly practised in Eastern culture. This particular example in the sample is a childless couple (husband, seventy years old, wife, sixty-two years) who used to live with their elders until their demise. It is also not common to find four generations – great grandparents (GG1), grandparents (G1), parents/children (G2), grandchildren/great grandchildren (G3) living together as most of the great grandparent generation is no longer alive.

Figure 5.1 presents the population of the 85 households according to age group categories.



Age group categories (years):
0 -12 Children
13 -30 Youth
31 -50 Middle-aged
51+ Retiring age

n =470
n(G3) = 159*
n(G2) = 124
n(G1) = 87

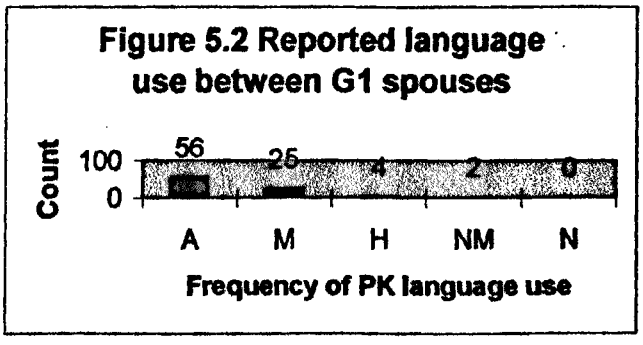
* young people 6-20 years
(cf. section 5.2.3)

Figure 5.1 shows how young the community is. More than half (262 or 55.7%) of the sample population are made up of children and youth while only 87 or 18.5% are at retiring age and above. Does a young community bode well for language maintenance? Fishman (1990) postulates that a community with women of childbearing age can help reverse language shift if they act as agents for language transmission. In other words, there must be active transmission of the MT in the home domain otherwise a young community would still be subjected to the threat of LS.

5.2.1 Reported language use (RLU) by the grandparent (G1) group

In this section we will look at the patterns of reported language use by G1 in their communication with their peers (G1), with their children (G2), and with their grandchildren (G3).

5.2.1.1 Reported language use (RLU) between G1 (first generation) spouses



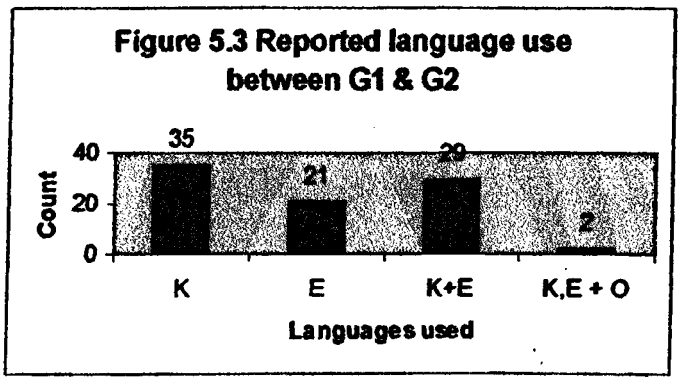
Key:
A: All (100%) of the time
M : Most (75%) of the time
H: Half (50%) of the time
NM: Not much (25%) of the time
N: Never (0%)
n(G1) = 87

According to Figure 5.2, there appears to be a substantial amount of PK being spoken between the G1 (grandparent) spouses. The majority (56 or 64.4%) of the grandparents group use PK 'all the time' to communicate with each other. 25 or 28.7% of G1 use PK

'most of the time' with their spouses while a further 4 or 4.6% use the creole 'half of the time' to communicate with their partners. Thus a total of 85 or 97.7% of G1 use 'Kristang' or 'Portuguese' to communicate with their spouses in the PS. Reported data here indicates that PK is being actively maintained among the G1 age group as the main language of communication between the spouses.

5.2.1.2 Reported language use (RLU) between G1 and G2

In their communication with their children, G1 still maintains a substantial amount of PK language use (Figure 5.3).



Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages

(cf. Table 5.12)

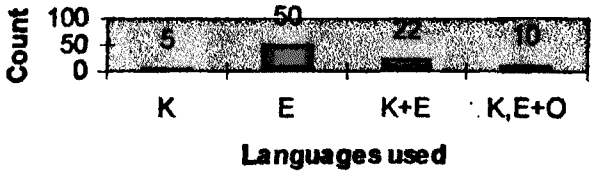
When speaking to their children (G2), 40.2% (35) of G1 report using PK. Mixing Kristang with English is also a popular means of communicating with G2 as reported by 33.3% (29) of the group. Not far behind is the use of English as recorded by 24.1 % (21) of G1. Only 2.4% include a third language (K, E + O) when speaking to G2. At this stage, with 40.2% reporting the use of PK across the generation from G1 to G2, one can say that PK is quite fairly maintained although the use of 'Kristang with English' by 33.3% of the group may

overtake the maintenance of PK if increasing amount of English is incorporated in their conversations.

5.2.1.3 Reported language use (RLU) between G1 and G3

In their communication with their grandchildren (G3), there is a marked increase in the use of English. According to Figure 5.4, more than half (50 or 57.5%) of G1 report using English to communicate with their grandchildren (G3). Following this, a quarter (22 or 25.3%) of their communication with G3 is conducted in a mixed code of Kristang and English. Only 5 or 5.7% of the grandparents use PK with their grandchildren. Such data signals a worrying trend: the use of PK is decreasing more and more over the generations.

Figure 5.4 Reported language use between G1 & G3



Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages

(cf. Table 5.13)

What can we infer from such reported language choice and language use behavior? Firstly, to be able to communicate predominantly in English, G1 must be equally bilingual in the languages which means that most of G1 is not monolingual in PK. Secondly, the high incidence of English language use from G1 to G3 reveals a strong tendency on the part of G1 to accommodate to G3's choice of language use, a type of behaviour that is common in most LS situations (as further evidenced in the data of actual language use in Chapter 6).

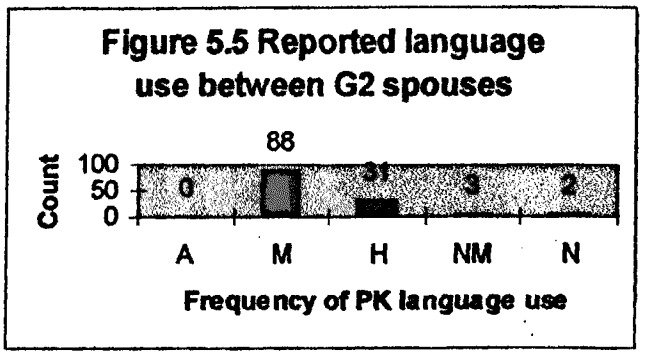
Thirdly, as English appears to be the main language of communication between G1 and G3, it is highly likely that G3 have been brought up by G2 with English as a MT.

5.2.2 Reported language use (RLU) by the parents (G2) group

This section reports the analysis of data of reported language use data by G2 to their own spouses (G2 to G2), to their parents (G2 to G1) and to their children (G2 to G3).

5.2.2.1 Reported language use (RLU) between G2 spouses

It seems that the amount of PK language use between G2 spouses is still high although none of the G2 group report using PK 'all the time':

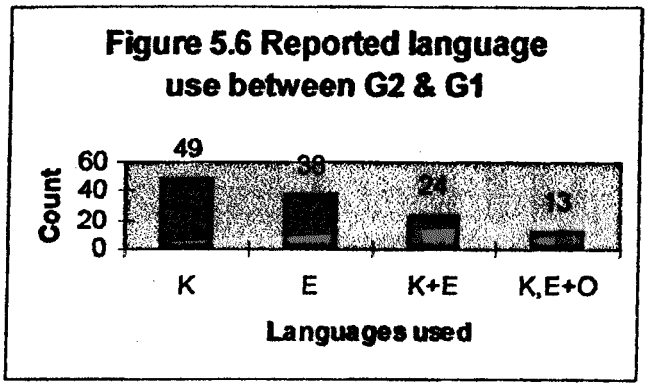


Key:
A: All (100%) of the time
M : Most (75%) of the time
H: Half (50%) of the time
NM: Not much (25%) of the time
N: Never (0%)
n(G2) = 124

Also, 88 or 71% of the parent group claim to use PK 'most of the time' while 31 or 25% report using PK with their spouses 'half of the time'. In total this gives us an impressive figure of 119 or 96% of G2 using PK 'half to most of the time'. The high incidence of PK reportedly being used between G2 spouses signifies that a substantial number of G2 must be proficient in PK. In terms of language revitalization (cf. Chapter 7), we may be able to tap into this group of fluent PK speakers as a resource for language transmission in the home domain.

5.2.2.2 Reported language use (RLU) between G2 and G1

Earlier in section 5.2.1.2 we looked at the patterns of reported language use when G1 communicates with G2. In this section, we shall look at the patterns of reported language use when G2 answers or communicates with their parents (G1).



Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages

(cf. Table 5.12)

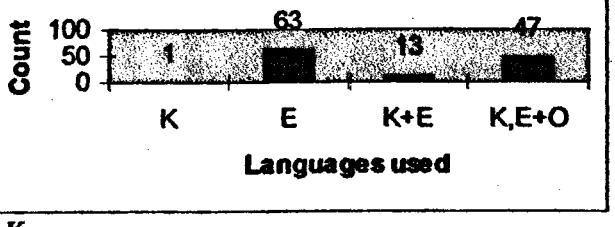
Figure 5.6 shows that a fairly good number (49 or 39.5%) of the sons and daughters of G1 use PK to communicate with their parents. The use of English comes as the second most popular means of communication as 38 or 30.6% of G2 claim using this language in their interaction with G1. In addition, there is a bilingual mixed code of Kristang and English (K + E) which is used by 24 or almost 20% of G2 to speak to G1 while 13 or 10.5% who use a mixed code of Kristang, English and another language (K, E +O). So far the outlook for PK is positive although the use of English is not only increasing but is increasingly being incorporated in a mixed code language behavior (as evidenced in Chapter 6, section 6.10).

5.2.2.3 Reported language use (RLU) between G2 and G3

According to Figure 5.7, the most prominent feature of G2 to G3 communication is the extensive use of English which is reported by 63 or 50.8% of the parents. Interestingly,

there is a greater number of G2 (47 or 37.9%) who report using three languages (K, E & O) instead of two languages (K & E). Also, there is a unidirectional use of languages in which G2 uses language A (PK, English or PK and English) and G3 uses language B (English or PK, English and Malay), cf. Table 5.14).

Figure 5.7 Reported language use between G2 & G3



Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages (cf. Table 5.14)

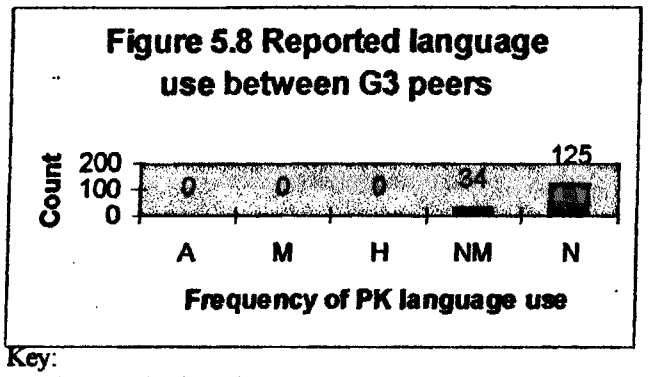
What do the data in Figure 5.7 signify? With a majority of G2 using English to communicate with G3, it indicates that PK is not being transmitted to G3 as a MT. Secondly, since more parents claim the use of three than two languages with the younger generation, it may indicate a growing proficiency in a third language in the verbal repertoire of the second and third generation Kristangs. This third language is mostly likely to be Malay as the medium of instruction in Malaysian government schools is Bahasa Malaysia or Standard Malay; also, a large part of the mass media broadcast (television and radio) is in Malay.

5.2.3 Reported language use (RLU) by the (children & youth) G3 group

This section analyzes the patterns of reported language use when G3 are speaking to their peers, that is G3 to G3, to their parents (G3 to G2) and to their grandparents (G3 to G1). The sample for G3 here are the children aged 6-12 years old and the youth aged 13-20 years (which gives a total of 159) (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.3).

5.2.3.1 Reported language use (RLU) between G3 peers

Figure 5.8 presents responses from G3 (the younger/third generation) responding to the question on how frequent PK is used in their interaction with their peers.



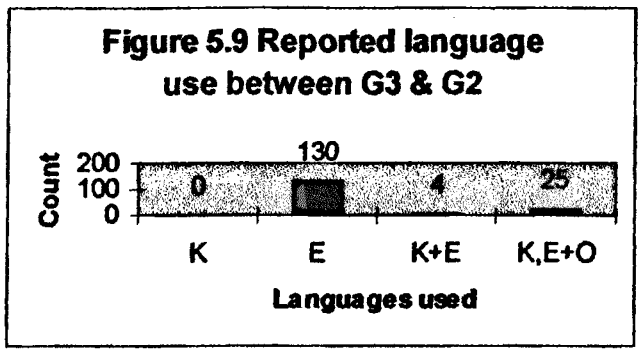
Key:
A: All (100%) of the time
M : Most (75%) of the time
H: Half (50%) of the time
NM: Not much (25%) of the time
N: Never (0%)
n(G3) = 159

Talk among the third generation is reportedly not carried out in PK for 'all, most or half of the time'. Only 34 or 21.4% of the children and youth report 'not much' conversation using PK; on the other hand, an overwhelming 125 or 78.6% of the G3 group claim that they 'never' use PK among themselves. Given such a picture of reported language use among G3, the future for maintaining PK among the younger members of the Kristang community is bleak.

5.2.3.2 Reported language (RLU) between G3 and G2

This section reports the languages G3 uses when answering or speaking to their parents (G3). As shown in Figure 5.9, the most common language of communication between G3 and their parents (G2) is still English, as reported by 81.8% (130) of the group. Following this, the next most popular means of communicating is through the use of a mixed code of three languages, namely, Kristang, English + another language (K,E + O) as claimed by 15.7% (25) of G3. A very small number, 2.5% (4) use Kristang and English (K + E) when

speaking to their parents while none (0 or 0%) of them use PK 'all of the time' to speak to their parents.



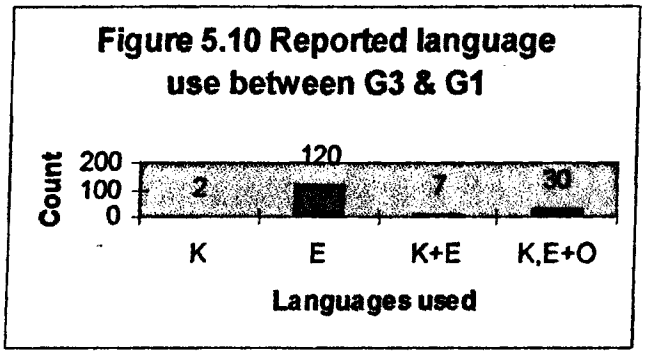
Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages

(cf. Table 5.14)

It is very clear that English is the most popular language for communication for the younger generation. Also, due to the presence of a variety of languages in Malacca/Malaysia, there is a high incidence of code mixing – using three languages or more to communicate is fast becoming a trend of talk as the generation gets younger. The problem is, as the use and proficiency in the other languages increase, the use and proficiency in PK tend to decrease due to the lack of use and insufficient active transmission of the MT from one generation to another.

5.2.3.3 Reported language use (RLU) between G3 and G1

What are the patterns of language use when G3 speaks to G1, their grandparents? Would they use PK and accommodate to the older folks? Data from Figure 5.10 indicate that English is again the most popular language used, even when G3 speaks to G1. 75.5% (120) of the school-going children and youth in their teens report using English with their grandparents. Next, 18.9% (30) record using Kristang, English and another language when they speak to their grandparents while 4.4% (7) of the group use both Kristang and English together. Only 2 youngsters claim to use Kristang with their grandparents.



Key:
K: Kristang E: English K+E: Kristang & English
K, E + O: Kristang, English & other languages

(cf. Table 5.13)

5.2.4 Language(s) most often used in the home

Table 5.4 presents responses to question 14 'What language(s) is most often used in the family?'

Table 5.4 Language(s) most often used in the family domain

Language(s) used	Count (Percentages)
Kristang (K)	1 (1.2%)
English (E)	59 (69.4%)
Kristang & English (K&E)	25 (29.4)
Kristang, English & Other (K,E & O)	0 (0%)
N	85

The responses reveal that the use of English occupies a high position even in the home domain. As shown in the table, English emerges again as the language most commonly used in the home domain (59 or 69.4%). The data strongly suggests that: (i) there is LS taking place in the Kristang households; (ii) the LS is in the direction of English; (iii) there is very little transmission of PK as a MT in the family domain. The influence of English is pervasive; even when Kristang is used by the three generations in the home, English

continues to have a place in the family members' verbal repertoire as shown by 29.4% (25) of the responses. Interestingly though, despite the reported use of a third language by all the generations in the earlier sections of this chapter, a third language is not considered at all as one of the languages most often used in the home. This means that English and/or English and Kristang are the languages most often used in the home.

5.2.4.1 The most fluent Kristang speakers in the home

From the 85 households surveyed, the parents group (G2) is regarded as the most fluent speakers of PK by a majority (55 or 64.7%) of the houses (see Table 5.5). This does not mean that G2 speaks better Kristang than G1, it means that there are more speakers of Kristang in this generation living now, confirming that there are not many elders left in the community.

Table 5.5 The best speakers of Kristang in the households

Categories	Count	Percentage
Grandparents (G1)	27	31.7
Parents (G2)	55	64.7
Children (G3)	2	2.4
N	84*	98.8*

Table 5.6 supports what Table 5.5 indicate: the middle-aged (between 31-50 years old) form the majority (56.4%) of the most fluent speakers of Kristang in the households compared to the '51 years and above' group (40%). The fact that more parents than grandparents are denominated as 'Best Kristang Speakers' indicates that despite the constant use of English between the first and second generations (G1 and G2) and vice-versa as summarized in Table 5.12, G2 are perceived to have managed to acquire a

substantial competence in using PK; in other words, there has been some degree of successful transmission of PK as a MT to the second generation. Accordingly, this generational group of fluent PK speakers may prove to be a vital and useful resource for future language maintenance and revitalization plans.

Table 5.6 The number of fluent Kristang speakers according to age groups

Age groups (years)	Count	Percentage
7 – 12	1	1.2
13 – 20	1	1.2
21 – 30	0	0
31 – 40	16	18.8
41 – 50	32	37.6
51 and above	34	40.0
N	84*	98.8*

* One household (Household No. 43) is not included, the head of the household claims that there are no best/fluent speaker of Kristang in his household.

Table 5.7 Proficiency of the fluent Kristang speakers

Proficiency	Count
Can only understand Kristang	0
Can speak Kristang	83
Can 'read and write' Kristang	1
N	84*

* 1 household (Household No. 43 is not included). The head of the household claims that they cannot even count in Kristang!

Over the generations, PK has been transmitted orally hence most of the fluent speakers of PK can only 'speak' and not 'read or write' PK (Table 5.7). Those who claim to be able to

'read and write' PK are the handful in the whole community who do so by applying the English spelling system to 'write' the language e.g. 'drink' in Kristang is written as 'bay bay'. Another contributing factor to the lack of speakers 'reading and writing' in PK is that a fair proportion of the community who speak the creole are not highly literate, being fishermen and working class.

5.2.4.2 Reported Language use (RLU) by non-Kristang family members

With exogamous marriages taking place in the community there are a number of non-Kristang spouses living in the Kristang households. From the 85 homes surveyed, it was found that there are 22 non-Kristang spouses thus giving a 25.9% 'out-marriage' statistics. In order to determine whether these 'out-marriages' affect the maintenance of PK, questions pertaining to Kristang language proficiency as well as the amount/frequency with which the non-Kristang parent uses PK with the children were posed to the 22 respondents. Table 5.8 and Table 5.9 tabulate the responses to these questions respectively.

Table 5.8 Non-Kristang parents' proficiency in PK

Proficiency in PK	Count (%)
Can understand & can speak PK	5 (22.7%)
Can read & write PK	0 (0%)
Can understand but cannot speak PK	11 (50%)
Cannot understand nor speak PK	6 (27.3%)
N	22

Table 5.9 Amount of PK used by the non-Kristang parent

Frequency of PK LU	Count
All (100%) of the time	0 (0%)
Most (75%) of the time	0 (0%)
Half (50%) of the time	0 (0%)
Not much (25%) of the time	3 (13.6%)
Never (0%)	19 (86.4%)
N	22

Table 5.8 indicates that hardly a quarter (22.7%) of the non-Kristang spouses are able to understand and speak PK. Half (50%) of the non-Kristang spouses record that they can understand but cannot speak PK. A further 27.3% cannot understand nor speak PK at all. According to Table 5.9, none of the non-Kristang speak PK to the children 'all, most or half of the time'. The majority (86.4%) of the non-Kristang parents 'never' used PK with the children and only 3.6% record using PK with the children 'not much of the time'. In terms of language maintenance, what do these data signify? They strongly imply that marrying out of the community often brings about an inevitable change in language behaviour which is likely to lead to language loss in PK.

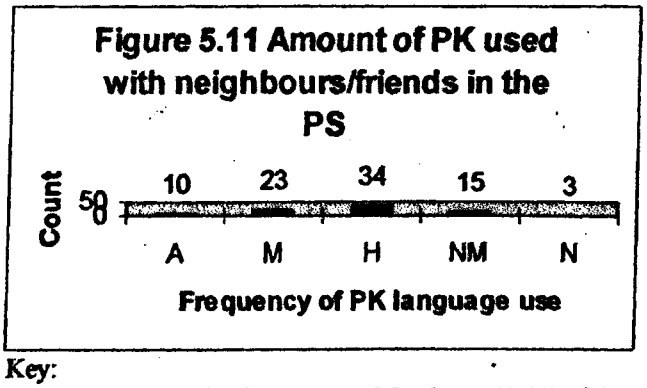
Table 5.10 Ethnic groupings of the non-Kristang spouses

Ethnic groupings	Count (%)
Chinese (C)	7 (31.8%)
Indian (I)	10 (45.6%)
Malay (M)	1 (4.5%)
Filipino (F)	1 (4.5%)
White/Caucasian (O)	3 (13.6%)

Of the 22 non-Kristang spouses, there are 45.6% Indians, 31.8% Chinese, 13.6% white Europeans and 4.5% Malays or Filipinos (Table 5.10). What is the significance of the ethnicity of these non-Kristang spouses to the use and maintenance of PK? It means that the children in the Kristang households of mixed marriages may be exposed not only to the variety of local languages spoken in Malaysia but also the MT of the non-Kristang parent. As a result, it is very unlikely that PK monolingualism ever exists in the bicultural Kristang household.

5.3 Reported language choice and language use (RLCLU) with friends/neighbours in the PS

The last question in the section on reported language use inquired about the amount of PK used with friends or neighbours in the PS.



Key:
A: All (100%) of the time
M : Most (75%) of the time
H: Half (50%) of the time
NM: Not much (25%) of the time
N: Never (0%)

From the responses in Figure 5.11, the future of PK looks fairly bright: 40% (34) of the families report using PK with their friends/neighbours for 'half of the time' while 27.7% (23) claim using the language 'most of the time'. A further 11.8% (10) use PK 'all of the time'. Altogether this would give a record of 78.8% of the households report using PK with

friends/neighbours between 'half' to 'all of the time'. If such an impressive amount of PK language use is maintained, the creole stands a good chance of surviving for a few more generations to come. In the next chapter, the analysis of tape-recorded data will verify whether the patterns of reported language use presented in this chapter are actually realized.

5.4 Summary and Conclusion

The main aim of the survey questionnaire was to obtain information on the language choice and language use patterns in the Kristang households across age groups and generations. This in turn would provide a profile of the reported linguistic behavior of the Kristang community at the Portuguese Settlement. The analysis of reported language choice and language use in this chapter reveal patterns of language use both within and across the generations.

Patterns of PK language use within and across the three generations

The patterns of language use within and across the three generations are summarized in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11 Patterns of PK language use within and across G1, G2, G3

Amount of PK LU	Generation groups		
	G1	G2	G3
All (100%) of the time	64.4%	0%	0%
Most (75%) of the time	28.7%	71%	0%
Half (50%) of the time	4.6%	25%	0%
Not much (25%) of the time	2.3%	2.4%	21.4%
Never (0%)	0%	1.6%	78.6%

The results show that within each generation the use of PK is different: within G1 PK language use is the higher for 'all and most of the time', that is, G1 uses PK for 75% and above amount of time. Within G2 PK is not used 'all the time', PK language use centres around 'most and half of the time'. Within G3 the amount of PK language use is confined to 'not much of the time' and 'never'. Thus across the three generations, the overall amount of PK language use has decreased tremendously that one can almost say that the amount of PK is inversely proportionate to the generations.

Patterns of reported language use between G1 & G2 and vice-versa

The patterns of reported language use between the first and second generations are summarized in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12 Reported language use between G1 & G2 and vice versa

Languages used	G1 → G2	G1 ← G2
Kristang	40.2%	39.5%
English	24.1%	30.6%
Kristang & English	33.3%	19.4%
Kristang, English & Other languages	2.4%	10.5%

Overall there is still a substantial use of PK by both G1 and G2. However, there is a decrease in the use of PK and an increase in the use of English when G2 communicates with G1. Also, the use of a third language is increasingly popular.

Patterns of reported language use between G1 & G3 and vice-versa

The patterns of reported language use between the first and third generations are summarized in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13 Reported LU between G1 & G3 and vice-versa

Languages used	G1 → G3	G1 ← G3
Kristang	5.7%	1.2%
English	57.5%	75.5%
Kristang & English	25.3%	4.4%
Kristang, English & Other languages	11.5%	18.9%

Overall the use of PK and the use of English has decreased and increased sharply respectively. Also, in their replies to G1, G3 speaks less PK and more English; similarly, a third language is increasingly being incorporated in their interactions.

Patterns of reported language use between G2 & G3 and vice-versa

The patterns of reported LU between the second and third generations are summarized in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Reported LU between G2 & G3 and vice-versa

Languages used	G2 → G3	G2 ← G3
Kristang	0.8%	0%
English	50.8%	81.8%
Kristang & English	10.5%	2.5%
Kristang, English & Other languages	37.9%	15.7%

Compared to communication between G1 and G2 (see Tables 5.12 & 5.13), the overall use of PK between G2 and G3 has dropped to less than 1 % while the use of English has increased to more than 50%. The use of PK has further decreased to 0% when G3 speaks to their parents while the use of English has increased up to over 80%. Also, although a small

number of G3 uses more than two languages in their replies, it is not as much as the parents group (G2) speaking to their children (G3).

In sum, the results presented in Tables 5.12 to 5.14 confirm the overwhelming use of English in the home domain especially among the younger generation and supports the data presented in Table 5.4 in which 69.4% named English as 'the language most often used in the home domain'. These patterns of reported language use across the generations and age groups strongly suggest that LS is taking place in the Kristang households and the shift is in the direction of English. Further, they show that intergenerational transmission of PK is very much wanting in the Kristang households despite the opportunity of having a three generation extended family unit living together under the same roof (cf. Table 5.3) and a fair proportion of the parents group who are fluent speakers of PK (Tables 5.5 & 5.6). The widespread use of English may be attributed to a number of interrelated factors: G1 and G2 being educated in English at school during British colonial rule, the need to work in non-Kristang speaking environment, the need to communicate in English to visitors/tourists who visit the PS, the need for the older generations to accommodate to the younger generation's main language of communication. The increasing use of a third language as reported in the home domain indicates the third generation's growing fluency in Bahasa Malaysia as a result of the Malaynised system of education (that is, after 1970 where Bahasa Malaysia/Malay is the medium of instruction in all government schools) in present day Malaysia. Also, it signifies the influence of the National Language Policy (see chapter section 2.2.3.4) and the mass media.

Another contributing factor to LS that cannot be ignored is the effect of intermarriages in the community. The fairly high out-marriage rate (25.8%) in the community alerts us to the

possible impact of exogamy on the future of PK. In mixed marriages, the constant exposure to and use of a variety of languages in the home highlights the difficulty of maintaining PK monolingualism as a MT in the home. In fact, Khemlani-David (1996) in her research on the language shift situation of a minority community, the Sindhi community in Malaysia, contends that a 20% out-marriage rate in a community could affect language maintenance and shift. Hence in the study of LS, the effect of exogamous marriages need to be taken into account.

Overall, data of reported language use in the home domain do not present a positive future for the maintenance of PK. However, there is report of a good amount of PK being used between friends/neighbours in the PS. In the next chapter, the analysis of data of actual language use will confirm the extent of the threat to PK language maintenance.

To conclude, the strength of this survey is that it has enabled the researcher to collect a 77% (85 out of 110 households) sample to provide a representative overview of the reported language choice and language use situation in the community, having taken into consideration the almost equal gender balance (233 males, 237 females), the differing occupations/socioeconomic backgrounds, all the age groups and the various generations. Nevertheless, data collected through this survey is largely reported data, that is, respondents' claims and hence, cannot be taken as the only or final account of the linguistic interaction in the homes and the surroundings of the Portuguese Settlement. Also, most of the responses to the RLCLU questions in the survey provide a quantitative picture of what is taking place in the LS situation in the Kristang households. What is the actual linguistic behaviour of the Kristang community at the PS and how are the language behaviours manifested? In the next chapter, the analysis of data of actual language use will verify the

reliability of the reported data collected in the survey whilst at the same time provide insight into the qualitative nature of the LS phenomenon of PK.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE HOME AND NEIGHBOURHOOD DOMAINS OF THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT (PS)

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of actual language choice (LC) and language use (LU) between parents (G2) and children (G3) and between grandparents (G1) and grandchildren (G3) in the family domain of the Kristang homes and, the analysis of talk in a variety of settings in the neighbourhood domain of the Portuguese Settlement (PS). Talk in this chapter is analysed in the following order and for the three main findings:

(i) how much PK is spoken in the home and in the neighbourhood domains?

(ii) by whom and for what purposes is PK usually used by the speakers?

(iii) what are the distinctive patterns of communication at the PS?

Analyses from (i), (ii) and (iii) will provide information on the actual linguistic situation of the community at the PS (cf. Chapter 4, Table 4.3) and its significance to the shift and/or maintenance of PK at the PS.

Data of talk in this chapter reveal that between the two domains more PK is used in the neighbourhood domain than in the home domain but where and when PK is used in both domains there are specific contexts, situations and/or participants factors that influence the speakers' choice of using the mother tongue (MT). The analysis of talk in the chapter further confirms that more than one language is used for communication in the community and the most distinctive feature of the community's pattern of communication is the 'mixed' speech (Romaine, 2000) behaviour of the Kristang speakers. A discussion of the language mixing behaviour of the speakers, namely the

codeswitching (CS) and borrowing taking place in the Kristang speech provides concrete evidence of the type of bilingualism that exists at the PS and raises questions on its implication towards the maintenance and/or shift of PK.

This chapter can thus be divided into four broad areas:

(i) section 6.1 provides an overview of the languages used by the community, their relationship with each other and the repertoires of the speakers;

(ii) section 6.2 – section 6.5 discusses the purpose for tape-recording language use in the home domain, the amount of PK used in the home domain and the functions of PK language use in the home domain;

(iii) section 6.6 – section 6.8 discusses the purpose for tape-recording language use in the neighbourhood domain, the amount of PK spoken in the neighbourhood domain and the context of talk in each different settings (Talk at the food stalls, Talk at celebrations, Talk between friends/villagers) and how language use illustrated by extracts of conversations, at these settings is influenced by situational and participant factors;

(iii) section 6.10 discusses the patterns of communication at the PS, namely, the use of a mixed code for communication in the community and how mixed speech is manifested in the codeswitching (CS) and lexical borrowing activities of the speakers.

The chapter ends with a summary of the main results of the analyses and the conclusion discusses the implication of the patterns of language use of the speakers on the survival of PK.

6.1 An Overview of the Languages used by the Kristang Community

Discussions of multiculturalism and bilingualism in Malaysia (Chapter1, section 1.4) and Malacca (Chapter 1, section 1.4.1) and reported language choice and language use at the Portuguese Settlement (Chapter 5) indicate that a number of languages are used by the community: English, PK, Malay, Hokkien, Tamil, Punjabi and Mandarin. Nevertheless, as the analysis of actual language use in this chapter will show, the amount and type of languages used vary according to the socio-historical and socio-political development, the type of interaction: formal or informal, the proficiency of the speakers in the languages, the amount of language contact between the ethnic groups and the norm for communication within and between the groups.

The Use of English

English has been and still is by far the most popular means of communication in the community therefore the use of English in the community presents the greatest threat to the maintenance of PK at the PS. A number of interacting factors account for the dominant use of English in the community. Firstly, British colonial rule provided the first and second generation Kristangs with an English-medium education up to Independence (1957). Following that English continues to be a language of prestige despite the transition to a Malay-medium education. Even when English is taught as a second language in schools in present day Malaysia, English never lost its status with the community as a language of power. As the main language of communication, English is used both as an intra-group language within the community and for inter-group communication.

What variety of English is spoken by the interlocutors at the Settlement? The type of English used by the interlocutors at the PS is often of the New Englishes variety with its own particular influences from the local languages it comes in contact with. According to Platt and Weber (1980), there are two types of Malaysian English: Malaysian English Type 1 (ME Type 1) and Malaysian English Type 11 (ME Type 11). According to these authors, the former variety is the type spoken by those who were English-medium educated while the latter variety is spoken by those who were Malay-medium educated. Thus ME Type 1 speakers are often those who underwent an 'all-English medium-of-instruction' education system during British colonial rule and/or post-independence English-medium schooling (in missionary schools) up to 1971 whereas ME Type 1 speakers are those who attended government schools with all medium of instruction in Malay. Having received almost all of their education in the English language, ME Type 1 speakers speak a variety of Malaysian English that is closer both grammatically and phonologically, to the Standard (British) English while ME Type 11 speakers tend to display much influence from their mother tongue in their spoken and written English. As the Kristang people are staunch Catholics, Catholic schooling is the most popular option of education hence hardly any of their young were sent to Malay medium schools before 1971. After 1971, with the introduction of the National Language Policy, all government and government-aided schools such as the missionary schools, used Malay as the medium of instruction for all subjects thus rendering all schoolchildren 'Malay-educated'. As a result, in the Kristang community, there exist now two types of Malaysian English speakers: those who underwent an all-English medium of instruction in school (this group of speakers are usually the older generation – G1 and G2) and

those who learnt English as a second language in school under the post 1971 education system (this group of speakers are usually the younger generation (G3)).

The Use of PK

PK is widely used among the first and second generation Kristangs but seldom as a means of communication with the younger generation. When communicating with the young, the Kristang speakers prefer to use English hence the threat of LS in the community. Due to their proficiency in PK, the first and second generation Kristangs are able to converse entirely in PK when they want to although most times a mixed code of PK and English is becoming increasingly popular. On the whole, the use of PK at the PS is confined to intra-group communication especially between adult Kristangs but due to their bilinguality, the first and second generation speakers of PK are able to codeswitch fluently between PK and English better than the younger Kristangs who use English or English and Malay.

By the time the study is carried out, there are no monolingual speakers of PK; also, there are not many speakers of PK left from the first generation of Kristangs (cf. Chapter 5). It is often believed that more PK is spoken among the fishermen families than any other families at the Settlement but so far there is no such evidence from this study. Although PK is spoken by some Kristang families outside the Settlement, these families live in scattered parts of Malacca thus the Portuguese Settlement remains to be the only residential area with the highest number of Kristang families and speakers living in close proximity and in daily contact with each other.

The Use of Malay

Bahasa Malaysia (B.M.) or standard Malay is the official language of Malaysia. All the ethnic groups in Malaysia are able to speak Malay although the type of Malay spoken may differ. Among the older generation and/or the lesser educated, Bazaar Malay serves as the lingua franca especially in interethnic communication while the younger and/or better educated generation uses (standard) Malay or Bahasa Malaysia (BM). While the knowledge of Malay had already been established by centuries old contact between the ethnic groups that came to trade in the Malay archipelago region (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.1), increasing proficiency in Malay among the different races in the later generations can be attributed to the National Language Policy of Malaysia which made B. M. the official language of the country and medium of instruction in schools. With such a foundation and reinforcements it is no surprise that Malaysians from all races are competent in Malay (both standard and non-standard). Due to their proficiency in Malay, codeswitching from English to Malay and vice versa is prolific among Malaysian speakers of all ethnic groups.

There is regional variation in the Malay spoken in Malaysia (Asmah, 1993). In Malacca itself, it is quite common to find two types of Malay: standard Malay/Bahasa Malaysia/B.M. (the variety taught in schools and used in the mass media as a result of the standardisation policies of the government) and the local, non-standard Malay which is often called Bazaar Malay. There are great similarities between Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay creole but the latter contain many (Chinese) Hokkien words in its vocabulary (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.1; see also section 6.9.3.2 & #22).

The Use of Hokkien (H), Mandarin (Man), Tamil (T), Punjabi (P)

Different ethnic languages and dialects are spoken in different parts of Malaysia. Hokkien is a southern Chinese dialect spoken by the Fukien Chinese, Mandarin is the standard Chinese language taught in schools, Tamil is a south Indian language spoken by the south Indian community and taught as an optional ethnic language in schools, Punjabi is spoken by the Sikh community. Multiethnic encounters with each other provided all communities living in Malaysia a range of exposure to the different languages spoken by the different communities. The Kristang community uses a number of Hokkien words in their speech due to specific reasons: Hokkien is widely spoken in Malacca by the local Chinese; secondly, Baba Malay Creole is a mixture of Malay and Hokkien (Malacca is the home of the Babas); thirdly, the Kristang community is closely connected to the Baba community through their cuisine (especially Baba 'kueh') and pastimes (for instance, the Ceki game). Use of Mandarin, Tamil and Punjabi is very much less although the community does have contact with the other language groups; in a few cases of intermarriages between the Kristangs and the other language groups (cf. Chapter 5) the children of the mixed marriages are more inclined to acquiring these languages.

To summarise, although a variety of languages are used by the community, English is still the main means of communication due to its prestige as a European language. In spite of its national language status, standard Malay/Bahasa Malaysia is valued only for its functional value of gaining access to official institutions and events; for communication purposes, (non-standard) Bazaar Malay is more often used for intergroup communication. The use of Hokkien, Tamil, Punjabi, Mandarin is peripheral and their uses are often confined to single-word lexical

borrowings of culture-specific terms such as names of food and kinship terms or short phrases. The relationship between the languages are polyglossic: most of the adult Kristang speakers are proficient in both English and PK hence they have a tendency to use these two languages as the main languages of communication in the community and in juxtaposition with each other; in contrast, the younger Kristangs are more proficient in Malay and English thus they use these languages more than PK. As the outer fringe of the PS is populated by Chinese, Malays, Indians and Sikhs too, contact with the other ethnic groups is frequent but since interethnic communication is carried out either in English and/or Bazaar Malay, the Kristangs are not highly proficient in the other ethnic languages of Hokkien, Tamil, Mandarin, Punjabi. As a result of this, the Kristangs are not able to actually converse in these languages and the use of these languages in Kristang speech is limited to mainly lexical borrowings or short phrases.

6.2 The Purpose of Tape-Recording Language Use in the Home Domain

The focus on parent-children interaction and grandparent-grandchildren interaction is based on the premise that in the context of nuclear and extended families found in the community, the language of socialization chosen by the parents and grandparents to communicate with the young in their daily upbringing of the child would have a highly significant bearing on the future maintenance or shift of the creole. As Kulick (1992:12) pointed out, 'this issue of transmission is at the very heart of language shift, since languages cannot be said to be shifting until it can be established that children are no longer learning them'. Thus, the main objective of recording language use in the Kristang home is to obtain both quantitative and qualitative evidence of the language(s) used for communication between the adults and the children in the Kristang homes.

6.2.1 The Parents (G2) and Children (G3) group

Fishman (1991: 90) maintains that in the maintenance of the mother tongue, women of child-bearing age can play a significant role in increasing the number of speakers demographically. In the selection of the mothers to be recorded in this study, all the six mothers selected can speak Kristang and are of child-bearing age. The youngest mother (PC Interaction 2) is twenty–three years old and the oldest mother (PC Interaction 5) is thirty-six years old; the children's ages range from eighteen years to six months; altogether twenty-one children form part of the recorded interactions (Table 6.1).

6.2.2 The Grandparents (G1) and Grandchildren (G3) group

Three grandmothers and two grandfathers were recorded in their daily interaction with their grandchildren. Grandparent-grandchildren Interaction 1 consists of only the grandmother taking care of her two grandchildren while in Grandparent-grandchildren Interaction 2 & 3 both the grandfathers and the grandmothers were involved in the daily care of their grandchildren. Although there are a number of grandparents in the community only these grandparents could be tape-recorded because most of the old folks are of frail health and hence are not involved in the taking care of their grandchildren though they may live together. The grandparents tape-recorded in this study all live together with their children (G2) as part of the extended family system commonly found in Asian family networks (cf. Chapter 5, Table 5.3). As the children (G2) are all working parents they do not take care of their children (G3) therefore the grandchildren are left in the care of the grandparents daily. One of the grandparents (Gp-gc Interaction 2) still has two teenage sons living with them so they form part of the daily interactions with the young. The grandparents (G1) are all above fifty years of age and the grandchildren (G3) are between nine years to approximately one year old; altogether eight grandchildren were involved in the recorded talk (Table 6.2).

Table 6.1 The parents (G2) and children (G3) group

Parent–Child(ren) Group	Mothers (Age In Years)	Children (Age in Years)
PC Interaction 1	RDC (32)	Aa (8), An (7), Av (4), Ai (2)
PC Interaction 2	DT (23)	D (4)
PC Interaction 3	JDS (29)	Jo (9), Jel (7), Jy(4)
PC Interaction 4	ADC (27)	Cye (9), Jer (6), Rse (6 months)
PC Interaction 5	JMG (36)	Mel (18), Le (17), Pat (12), Ad (10), Abi (5)
PC Interaction 6	MH (28)	Sam (12), Drl (9), Jere (8), Gw (6), Isa (6 months)

Table 6.2 The grandparents (G1) and grandchildren (G3) group

Grandparent-grandchildren Group	Grandparents (Age In Years)	Grandchildren (Age In Years)
Gp-gc Interaction 1	Gm GNK (54)	Gwn (6), T (10 mths)
Gp-gc Interaction 2	Gm FF (57) Gp JJ (62)	Joa (9), Jl (7)
Gp-gc Interaction 3	Gm JF (63) Gp JCT (66)	Mic (6), Tris (3), Dion (2)

6.2.3 Transcription Conventions

In this study, the following conventions are used for the presentation and transcription of the conversations from the recorded data:

1. Bold text indicates words in Papia Kristang (PK)

2. Underlined text indicates use of particle 'lah'
3. M: Malay H: Hokkien Man: Mandarin
   P: Punjabi T: Tamil.
4. A question mark in brackets (?) indicates inaudible/unclear speech
5. ... indicates pause
6. ..(..)..omission in text
7. { } brackets indicate translation into English
8. [ ] brackets enclose extra linguistic information such as to whom the conversation is addressed to or channel cues such as laughter, irritation etc. Due to the situational context and presence of non-verbal actions in the conversation it is necessary to include this procedure.
9. All spellings of PK in the transcriptions are based on Baxter and de Silva's (to appear) Kristang-English dictionary; however, to convey the actual word choice and spontaneity of the interlocutors, the exact words including variants used by the speakers are retained e.g. kereh or keh {want}.
10. All transcribed texts are numbered in order of their appearance in the thesis; all turns cited are numbered and referenced according to interaction it is taken from; for instance, PC1 means the data is taken from Parent-Child(ren) Interaction 1.

6.3 Language Choice and Language Use in the Home Domain

Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 provide an overview of the languages used for communication in the Kristang homes and how they are used alongside each other. As the main objective here is to find out how much of PK is actually used by the interlocutors in the parent-children and grandparent-grandchildren groups, the amount of language use is first calculated in terms of the total number of turns found in each interaction. From the total number of turns, the turns are further calculated according to the language found in

the interaction, that is, total number of turns containing PK, total number of turns containing Malay, total number of turns containing Hokkien, Tamil, Mandarin or Punjabi and the total number of turns in English. In order to provide information on the micro-level speech patterns of the speakers, the total number of turns containing PK and the total number of turns containing Malay are further categorised into (i) Turns Purely in PK (ii) Turns Purely in Malay (iii) Turns containing mixed speech/a mixed code; these subdivisions (i, ii, iii) at a glance, provide us with information on the general patterns of communication in the community. Turns containing Hokkien, Mandarin, Tamil or Punjabi are very few and found to contain only single lexical or phrase level insertions hence they are not subdivided further. As the amount of talk between the interlocutors are not equal, the turns of talk are presented in the form of percentages for comparison across the groups. Much thought and discussion have been given to try to find the best means to quantify the amount of PK being used. The first unit of analysis considered was the sentence but it was not possible to quantify the sentences as most of them were mixed and there were many unfinished sentences; the second alternative was word count but since conversations are not carried out in words, the number of words would not represent conversational interaction; finally, the conversational turn is chosen as the main unit of analysis because it not only portrays language interaction but the turn can be quantified for statistical purposes.

Key (Tables 6.3 & 6.4):

M: Malay
T : Tamil
P: Punjabi
H: Hokkien (A Southern Chinese dialect)
Man: Mandarin (Standard Chinese language)

Purely PK or Purely M: Turns purely in PK or purely in Malay

Mixed: Turns containing mixed speech/a mixed code

Table 6.3 Parent-Children (G2-G3 Language Use in the Kristang Home

Parent-Children Group	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%) 90		No. of Turns containing Malay (%) 146		No. of Turns containing H, T, Man or P (%)	No. of Turns In English (%)
P-C 1	888	7 (0.79%)		72 (8.11%)		1 H (0.11)	808 (90.99)
		Purely PK 4	**Mixed** 3	**Purely M** 8	**Mixed** 64		
P-C 2	1132	20 (1.77%)		13 (1.15%)		Nil	1099 (97.08)
		Purely PK 6	**Mixed** 14	**Purely M** Nil	**Mixed** 13		
P-C 3	138	2 (1.45%)		3 (2.17%)		1 H (0.73)	132 (95.65)
		Purely PK 2	**Mixed** Nil	**Purely M** Nil	**Mixed** 3		
P-C 4	141	31 (21.98%)		2 (1.42%)		Nil	108 (76.60)
		Purely PK 8	**Mixed** 23	**Purely M** Nil	**Mixed** 2		
P-C 5	330	8 (2.42%)		29 (8.79%)		3H, 1P, 2T (1.82)	287 (86.97)
		Purely PK 1	**Mixed** 7	**Purely M** 3	**Mixed** 26		
P-C 6	303	22 (7.26%)		27 (8.91%)		Nil	254 (83.83)
		Purely PK 11	**Mixed** 11	**Purely M** 4	**Mixed** 23		
Total	2932	90 (3.07)		146 (4.98)		8 (0.27)	2688 (91.68)

Table 6.4 Grandparent-Grandchildren Language Use in the Kristang Home

Grand-parent-Grandchild-ren Group	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%) 90		No. of Turns containing Malay (%) 146		No. of Turns containing H, T, Man. or P (%)	No. of Turns In English (%)
Gp-gc 1	157	17 (10.83%)		2 (1.27%)		Nil	138 (87.90)
		Purely PK 3	Mixed 14	Purely M Nil	Mixed 2		
Gp-gc 2	699	98 (14.02%)		28 (4.01%)		1 H (0.14%)	572 (81.83)
		Purely PK 8	Mixed 90	Purely M 1	Mixed 27		
Gp-gc 3	455	63 (13.85%)		14 (3.08%)		4 H, 3 Man (1.54%)	371 (81.53)
		Purely PK 15	Mixed 48	Purely M 2	Mixed 12		
Total	1311	178 (13.58)		44 (3.36)		5 (0.38)	1084 (82.68)

With reference to both tables, a number of observations can be made:

(i) Firstly, it is clear that in the Kristang home, more than one language is used for communication between the family members. English, Papia Kristang (PK), Malay (M), Hokkien (a southern Chinese dialect), Mandarin (standard Chinese) and other Indian language groups such as Tamil and Punjabi all form part of the Kristang family's verbal repertoire;

(ii) The amount of each language used in the home is not equal: PK, Malay and the other languages are used in smaller quantities while the rest of the conversations are in English. Thus, if we are to rank in order of quantity, English emerges way above the other languages as the main language of communication between family members in the Kristang homes;

(iii) Comparing the use of PK versus the use of Malay within Table 6.3, we can see that three of the parent-children groups, that is, PC1, PC 5 and PC 6 record a

higher number of turns with Malay than with PK; also, the overall use of Malay is higher than PK (146: 90). However, there is not much difference between the amount of Malay and the amount of PK used in PC 2 and PC 3 while interactions in PC 4 show a substantial amount of PK language use over Malay language use. This means there is variation between the households where the use of Malay is concerned;

(iv) In contrast, in Table 6.4, in all three grandparent-grandchildren interactions the number of turns containing PK is much more than the number of turns containing Malay which means that more PK than Malay is found in the conversations between G1 and G3 than between G2 and G3 (Table 6.3);

(v) Both the tables also reveal that due to the variety and different amount of languages spoken in the Kristang home, the speakers, like the majority of bilingual speakers in other parts of the world, display a tendency to mix codes in their speeches. With reference to Table 6.3, in the use of PK, PC 2, PC 4 and PC 5 record a substantial number of 'mixed' turns over turns 'purely in PK' while in the use of Malay, all parent-child(ren) interactions show more 'mixed' turns in Malay than 'turns purely in Malay'. Referring to Table 6.4, despite a higher record of PK language use between G1 and G3, the talk records more 'mixed' turns than 'turns purely in PK' or 'turns purely in Malay'.

In the next section the discussion focuses on the use of PK in the home domain: the amount of PK used in the home and, the purposes for which PK is used. Following this the discussion looks at recording language use in the neighbourhood domain and the analysis of data of language use from the neighbourhood domain.

6.4 The Amount of PK Used in the Home

As indicated in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, the overall use of PK in the Kristang home domain is not high. Between G2 and G£, the highest use of PK is recorded at 21.98% in PC 4 followed by 7.26% in PC 6. The remaining sets of mother and children record a lower usage of the creole: less than 1% for PC 1, less than 2% for PC 2 and PC 3 and less than 3% for PC 5. The range of PK language use between the parent-children group is also wide: the highest amount of PK recorded is at about 22% then there is a substantial drop to less than 10% followed by a greater drop to less than 3%. Except for the mother in PC 4 who is a second generation speaker of PK (before her marriage, she was a member of one of the Portuguese dance groups in the PS), all mothers can be said to speak very little PK to their young hence we can say that the amount of PK between G2 and G3 is 'skewed' towards the least end of the PK language use continuum.

For PK language use between G1 and G3, Table 6.4 shows that the amount of PK used is between 10% to 14% which is also very little generally but if we are to compare Tables 6.3 and 6.4, one can say that across the generations, more PK is used between G1 and G3 than between G2 and G3. Having said that, we must bear in mind that since the overall use of PK in the home domain does not exceed 22%, the maintenance of PK as a mother tongue in the Kristang home is still very much under threat. The question now is, who are the speakers of PK in the home domain, when and how is PK used in family interactions?

6.5 The Functions of PK Language Use in the Home

Data from transcripts of PK language use reveal that it is the adults who are the main contributors to the small amount of PK spoken in the home domain. Accordingly. PK language use in the home domain can be traced to two main 'trends': the use of PK

between adults and the use of PK with the younger generation. Within these two major trends of PK language use in the home, it is observed that PK is not used at random. In other words, there are specific times when the speakers display a preference for using the creole. In the case of the use of PK between adults, there exists a general pattern of mixed speech activities which are discussed in section 6.9 'A Discussion on the Patterns of Communications at the PS'.

In the use of PK with the younger generation it appears that despite the preference to use English with the younger members in the family, there are certain contexts when the adult speakers use PK in their interaction with the young. The contexts in which PK is employed show that it is used to mark certain speech events and fulfil specific language functions. In this study, two main contexts have been identified in which the adult speakers tend to use PK with the young:

(i) In Anger and for Disciplinary Purposes

(ii) Teasing, Name-calling, Joking

6.5.1 PK for the expression of anger and to discipline

Strong emotions such as anger tend to induce the use of PK. In the data it is found that when the parents or grandparents are dissatisfied with the youngsters' behaviour, it is common for G2 and G1 to express their disapproval and anger in their mother tongue.

In #1Gp questions A why he is teasing J1 when A's own behaviour (at church) is no better: A has been dressing up for church but instead of going in for mass, confession and communion, he 'lingers' outside the church with the other teenagers. The adults are infuriated by A___.s 'idiotic' behaviour at church and the whole telling off is delivered in PK.

#1. Gm: grandma Gp: grandpa

A: 17 years old son Jl: 7 year old grandson

664A: [Teases Jl] You monkey, you monkey, you monkey!
665Jl: You, you, you...
666Gm: Ahlah, stoplah! [To Gp] J_____ **olah, bos olahlah!**
{Ah, stop! J_____ see, you see!}
{Ah, stop ! J_____ watch, take notice!}
667Gp: Hey, why you telling that, A____? [Referring to A's behaviour at church] **Isti mas fuzilade lambek. Sai, intra intra chuma siur. Bai beng doi. Bos bai** church **impe tortu tortu fikah chuma kabalu[10]. Sibrih ropa nubu, ki faze?**
{..(..).. This is a worse bastard. Come out, enter enter as if master. Go, come, money. You go church, stand, blind, blind, become like horse. Wear new clothes, what for?}
{..(..)..This is a worse bastard! Your behaviour (in church) is worse. You come in and out as if a VIP. You go around spending money. You go to church, stand and look around like an idiot. What are you dressing up for?}
668Gm: Go to church, go inside. **Basta! Komsah, Munggah ngka bai...**
{Enough! Confession, communion NEG go...}
{That's enough! You didn't go for confession and communion...}

Gp-gc 2

In #2, the grandparents are trying to get their youngest grandchild, T, to sit quietly during lunch.

#2. Lunchtime. Gm and Gp are feeding their grandchildren.

Gm: grandma Gp: grandpa
T: 3 year old grandson Mc: 6 year old granddaughter

43Gm: Sit down, sit down... Soup, soup, soup. [Referring to T] Ah, **Mudreh, mudreh,** throw! **Ngka sabeh ki?** [To Gp] Hey, **botah mpangkada ku eli!** [To Mic] Wait, wait, I will take...na, take, take...
{Ah, bite, bite, throw! Don't know what? Hey, smack one shot to him!}
{Ah, after each bite, he spits it out! I don't know what kind of behaviour is this? Hey, give him one smack!}
44Mc: I don't want..
45Gp: She want the sausagelah.
46Gm: [Referring to T] Ah yo! **Nang da kumih ku eli!** [To T] Don't do that, sit down, eat ricelah....
{Ah yo! NEG give eat him!}
{Ah yo! Don't feed him!}

Gp-gc 3

In turn 43, after a few words in English, Gm immediately switches to PK to complain about T's behaviour. Gm also uses PK to ask Gp to spank T; in turn 46 she threatens (in PK) not to give him any food at all.

In #3, Ai___'s request for a biscuit sets M into a tirade on the children's behaviour.

3. Dinnertime.

M: mother Ai: 2 year old son Av: 4 year old son

872Ai: Biscuit...
873M: Who took (out) the biscuit? Surely must be Av____lah. Av____ every time like that. Time to eat rice you will eat nonsense! **Yo mbes dali ku bos, Av____, nubu bos sabeh!** [To Ai] You don't follow me, Ai____ .....every where biscuit...
{I once hit you, Av____, just you know!}
{If I give you a slap, Av_____, then you know!}

PC 1

Av___'s habit of not eating a proper meal at dinner time makes M so angry that she wants to hit Av___; M's angry intention is expressed exclusively in PK.

At times, angry scoldings may involve harsh name-calling in PK; however, such name-calling is different from the affectionate types discussed in the succeeding section 6.4.2.

In #4 Gm is supervising Joel with his Maths homework.

#4. Gm: Grandma Joel: 7 years old grandson

189Joel: [Counts in English] 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
190Gm: Write 18. **Kabalu! Bestalah!** Your father got here, **bos ta toka!**
{Horse! Stupidlah! Your father got here, you getting!}
{'Idiot'! Stupid! If your father is here, you're getting it!}

Gp-gc 2

[10] 'Kabalu' here is a contracted form of 'kabalu di pau' which means 'a stupid person'.

'Kabalu' literally means 'horse' in PK but the term is often used as a contraction from the phrase 'kabalu di pau' which means 'a stupid person'. Name-calling using this term is common especially when the speaker intends to emphasize how stupid a person is or in the case of #4, how fed-up Gm is with her grandson's stupidity.

In addition to anger being expressed in PK, PK is also consistently used to chastise the children and grandchildren's behaviour. In the following examples, # 5 - # 7, scolding, warnings and commands are all given out in creole.

In #5 M is angry with her son, Av, for climbing up and down and not sitting quietly. The only time he will sit still is when the cartoons come on TV hence her allusion to him 'watching cartoons' as 'seeing God!'

#5. M: mother Ai: 2 year old toddler An: 7 year old son
Aa: 8 year old son Av: 4 year old son

48M: ...(..)... [To Ai] Don't touch (the tape-recorder)...Open your mouth, open your mouth, baby, bite (chew)... Cannot touch....
49Ai: [Repeats softly] Don't touch...
50M: An_____, faster eat your rice. Daddy come home, can go play kite...
[Ai slips and falls] Ah yo! Don't cry, don't cry...
[Smacks Av] From just now climbing! Av_____, **mbes ta kai kebrah kabesa! Yo chubeh yo kuh** then you know! **Kantu olah** cartoon **chuma ja olah Deus!** Come here, Ai_____, sit down there. Don't touch, don't want press...
{Av_____, once falling break head!
I pinch your buttocks then you know! If watch cartoon as if PAST see God!}
{Av_____ , once you fall you will break your head! I pinch your bottom then you know! When you watch cartoons it's as if you've seen God!}
51Aa: Come out current!
52An: Come out fire, will die!
53M: Ya, come out fire, will die!

PC 1

M speaks to all her children in English but in anger (turn 50) she tends to switch to PK to discipline them. Of further interest is, in turns 51 and turn 52, even the siblings use

English to discourage their younger brother from meddling with the tape-recorder; in turn 53, M repeats the discouragement in English too.

In #6 D is trying his mother's patience.

#6. M: mother D: 3 year old son F: father

13D: I want milk.
14M: [Irritated] Just drank milk, you want milk? [Referring to the tape-recorder] Don't touch.
15D: Mummy, why can't make loud? Because why? Daddy, I will press (the tape-recorder)...
16M: Don't...**Ta achah eli...ta achah eli!**
{Getting he...getting he!}
{He's going to get (spanked)...he's going to get (spanked)!}
17D: [Whines] I want...

PC 2

Like most mothers, M's communication with her son is in English. When she cannot contain her irritation any more, M issues a warning that if D carries on with his behaviour, she will spank him. The warning is issued in PK in turn 16 and repeated for emphasis.

F is supervising his son, Aa, with his homework:

#7. F: Father Aa: 8 years old son

130 F: This one?
131Aa: This one I do...
132 F: Then where got some more? A, B, C know? **Pilah**, shit come out. Re-do...this one, re-do...

{Thrash, will defecate..(..)..}
{(I'll) hit you and you'll defecate..(..)..}

In #7, just the use of a single Kristang word **'pilah'** (which means 'hit/thrash') combines well with the English word 'shit' to convey the impact of the punishment if meted out.

The examples in this section have clearly shown that PK is used by the adults to express anger and to discipline the young. The examples also reveal that the use of PK in these situations is spontaneous, immediate and deliberate hence it is a marked behaviour (cf. section 6.9.1 'Codeswitching (CS) in the Kristang community').

6.5.2 Teasing, Name-calling, Joking in PK

In the Kristang community, as in most oral communities, teasing, name-calling and joking form a natural part of the language socialisation of the young. Both the adults and the siblings in the family engage in this type of speech acts although it is the young who are usually teased most in the home domain. Alongside the humour injected, the children learn the subtle meanings of the language as well as acquire improved tolerance to being teased.

In #8 M and J are babysitting baby R.

#8. M: mother J: 6 year old son R: 6 months old daughter

39M: ..(..)..**Baba,** come play with me<u>lah</u>...**baba,** sing song...
{..(..)..Big brother,} {...big brother, sing song...}
{..(..)..Elder brother} (...elder brother, sing me a song...}

40J: [Sings] Flowers in the garden....[R starts to cry, so J changes to another song] Jingle bells, jingle bells...

41M: [To baby] Don't want? Wait<u>lah</u>, **bela!**
{Wait, old lady!}

42J: [Teases R] **Bela!**
{Old lady!}

43M: **Baba,** come here<u>lah</u>...[R continues to cry] **Eli rayu, say?** You see, naughty or not?
{Big brother..(..)..} {She naughty, know?..(..)..}
{Elder brother..(..)..} {She is naughty, know?..(..)..}

44J: She look just like **rayu!**
{She looks naughty!}

PC 4

J, as befits his status and role as the **baba** or elder brother, tries to entertain his baby sister, R, with a song or two. Unfortunately, baby R is not impressed and starts to cry.

M calls R **'bela'** as her behaviour can be likened to a fussy old lady who is difficult to please. J picks up the name-calling and starts to call the baby **'bela'** teasingly in turn 42. M then comments on how naughty R looks and J does the same to tease R. In this example, the name-calling/teasing is more for good fun and affection among family members than for anything else as R is too young to understand anything.

In # 9 M attempts a serious conversation with D but when D refuses to be serious, M teases him by calling him **'fedeh'** (smelly).

#9. M: mother D: 3 year old son

446M: How old are you?
447D: Four...seven years old.
448M: [Corrects him] 'I am three years old'.
449D: [Fools around] Seven years old!
450M: [Teases D] D____, **fedeh...fedeh** boy,eh?
{D_____, smelly...smelly boy, eh?}
451D: [Sings]The old man is snoring...

PC 2

The name-calling in turn 450 has had no effect on D as he very smartly ignores the teasing and breaks into a song. This shows that Kristang children are used to such name-calling and are able to tell the difference between teasing and actual insults in the discourse.

In #10, the teasing is intense between the siblings, C and J, although M did contribute one line in turn 12:

10. M: mother C: 9 year old daughter J: 6 year old son

8M: ...(..)...[Referring to J] he bathed alreadylah...
9C: Why he bathed, ah?
10M: **Mizah.**
{Urine}
{He urinated/wet his bed}
11C: Ha, ha! This morning ***ancing*** boy!
{This morning 'smell of urine' boy!}
12M: *Ancing* boy!

{'Smell of urine' boy!}
13J: You *ancing* girl!
{You 'smeall of urine' girl!}
14C: I never **mizah...**
{I never urinated...}
{I never urinated/wet my bed...}
15J: You ***ancing*** girl...*ancing* girl...got once you **mizah!**
{You 'smell of urine' girl, smell of urine..got once you urinated!}
{You smell of urine, smell of urine...once you urinated/wet your bed!}
16C: *Ancing* boy!
{'Smell of urine' boy!}
17J: You *ancing* girl, you...you...
{You 'smell of urine' girl. You...you...}
18M: J_____, get out from here...

PC 4

'*Ancing*' is not exactly a Kristang word, it is babytalk that may have evolved from 'kencing' which is a Malay word for 'urine'.

This section has provided a variety of examples to illustrate that PK language use in the home domain does not take place at random but that there are particular contexts that tend to trigger the use of PK over other languages. Evidence of the use of PK from these examples are vital for despite the last three studies on the maintenance and shift of PK carried out in the late nineties by Sudesh (2000), Malip (2000) and David (1999) (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.1.3), there has been no data of actual language use to illustrate the context in which PK is commonly used by its speakers.

6.6 Recording Language Use in the Neighbourhood Domain

Having had access to what took place in the Kristang households, it was necessary to compare whether the language choices and the language use in the home domain are replicated in the surrounding neighbourhood. In terms of the research questions, I wanted to know whether there is a simultaneous language shift taking place at the communal level; in other words, is PK used as little in the community as in the homes?

To capture the linguistic interactions of the community, I made tape recordings of various social interactions in the daily life of the residents in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese Settlement. Accordingly, recordings were made of:

(i) talk between sellers and customers/villagers at four food stalls

(ii) talk at a family get-together for a Christmas celebration and the celebration of an elder's 76th birthday

(iii) talk among card players playing Black Jack, Gin Rummy and 'Ceki' (a well-known, traditional card game made popular by the older, female folks of Creole communities such as the Babas)

(iv) naturally occurring conversations among a group of participants reviving a Kristang festival called 'Intrudu'

(v) talk and gossip between a couple of visiting friends/women chatting

(vi) talk among a few fishermen

(vii) a conversation at the bus stop in the Portuguese Settlement

The recordings of the above interactions were carried out between December 1999 and May 2000 and yielded approximately twenty hours of data. Unlike the recordings in the home domain, the recording of the interactions in the neighbourhood domain were more varied in length depending on the 'situations/occasions': some interactions yielded as much as 236 turns (gossip between two friends) while the conversations at the three card games did not yield much talk (altogether only 80 turns were spoken) as the card players were concentrating on their moves and only spoke when necessary. (For a detailed description of how the data were collected in the neighbourhood domain refer Chapter 4, section 4.2.2).

6.7 Analysing Language Use in the Neighbourhood Domain

The different settings/situations of talk recorded in the neighbourhood domain are categorised into three main areas of talk in the village: Talk at the food stalls, Talk at celebrations and Talk between friends/villagers. Table 6.5 provides an overview of the total amount of talk that takes place in each of the settings recorded, that is, generally how much PK, how much Malay, how much of the other languages (Hokkien, Tamil, Punjabi) and how much English are used in each of the various settings in the neighbourhood domain of the PS. As the main interest in this section is to investigate how much PK is used in the neighbourhood domain, I shall now turn our attention to the amount of PK used in the neighbourhood domain, the context(s) contributing to its use and the purposes for which the mother tongue is used in the neighbourhood domain

6.8 The Amount of PK Used in the Neighbourhood Domain

Overall there is a substantial amount of PK language use in the neighbourhood domain (Table 6.5). The lowest record of PK language use is at 42.50% (recorded at the gambling sessions) while the highest record of PK being used is at 84% (at the birthday celebration of an elder). From the 11 settings recorded, other than the celebration of the elder's birthday, four settings – Hazel's and Helen's stalls, the celebration of Intrudu and Women Chatting – recorded above 70% of PK being used. So far these figures suggest that overall the dialect may be quite viable in the neighbourhood domain of the Portuguese Settlement.

6.9 Language Use in the Neighbour Domain

In section 6.4 'The Functions of PK Language Use in the Home' I have discussed and provided examples of talk that show how PK is not used at random in the home, that is,

the use of PK with the young in the home fulfils specific functions (cf. sections 6.4.1 & 6.4.2).

Table 6.5 Language Use in the Neighbourhood Domain: An Overview

Setting or Situation Recorded	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%)	No. of Turns containing M (%)	No. of Turns containing H, T, P (5)	No. of Turns in English (%)
1. The Food Stalls					
• Hazel's	162	118 (73.00)	20 (12.00)	8H, 1P, 3T	12 (7.50)
• Helen's	64	47 (73.50)	15 (23.50)	Nil	2 (3.00)
• Tina's	62	33 (53.23)	22 (35.48)	2 H	5 (8.06)
• Anita's	49	32 (65.31)	8 (16.33)	2 H	7 (14.28)
	337	230 (68.25)	65 (19.29)	16 (4.75)	26 (7.71)
2. Celebrations					
• An elder's 76th birthday	100	84 (84.00)	13 (13.00)	Nil	3 (3.00)
• X'mas '99	101	48 (47.53)	20 (19.80)	3 H	30 (29.70)
• Intrudu 2000	97	70 (72.71)	23 (23.71)	1H	3 (3.09)
	298	202 (67.78)	56 (18.79)	4 (1.35)	36 (12.08)
3. Village Life					
• Women Chatting	315	236 (74.92)	75 (23.81)	Nil	4 (1.27)
• Community past times					
-Playing Black Jack	25	14 (56.00)	9 (36.00)	Nil	2 (8.00)
-Playing Gin Rummy	28	10 (35.72)	9 (32.14)	Nil	9 (32.14)
-Playing Ceki	27	10 (37.04)	5 (18.52)	10 H	2 (7.41)
		34 (42.50)*	23 (28.75)*	10 (12.50)*	13 (16.25)*
• Conversation at the bus stop	31	20 (64.52)	9 (29.03)	Nil	2 (6.45)
• Fishermen chatting	60	39 (65.00)	10 (16.67)	Nil	11 (18.33)
	486	329 (67.70)	117 (24.07)	10 (2.06)	30 (6.17)

*Total for card games session

Key to Table 6.5:
PK: Papia Kristang M: Malay
H: Hokkien P: Punjabi T:Tamil

In the neighbourhood domain, data of talk reveals that language use is strongly influenced by the setting in which the conversations takes place, the interlocutors

present and the relationship between the speakers. Therefore, before any talk is analysed, in the following subsections, information about the settings is first given to provide background knowledge about the 'situations/occasions' in which the conversations take place; following that are examples of talk to illustrate the language choice(s) and language use of the interlocutors and a discussion of the context of talk taking place. These ethnographic and descriptive details are equally vital as they provide the qualitative aspects to complement the quantitative analysis of the study.

6.9.1 Talk at the Food Stalls

As indicated by Table 6.5, the overall use of PK at the food stalls is encouraging: two of the four of the stalls record at least 73% of PK language use: at Helen's Supper Stall PK language use is at 73.50% while at Hazel's Breakfast stall, 73% of the turns contained PK. The other two stalls (Anita's Breakfast stall and Tina's 'Kueh' stall) too record a fairly good amount of PK language use at 65.31% and 53.23% respectively. Further observation shows that between the four stalls, Hazel's and Helen's stalls record a higher usage of PK than the other two stalls, Tina's and Anita's stalls. What factors contribute to this difference in PK language use between the stalls? The type of stall has a bearing on the type of customers who frequent the stalls and consequently, what is talked about and, the amount of PK used.

6.9.1.1 Conversations at the 'tables and chairs' stalls

Hazel's Breakfast Stall and Helen's Supper Stall are 'tables and chairs' stalls, that is, they provide tables and chairs for customers to order food and eat/drink on site. Hazel's Breakfast Stall consists of two long formica tables with four long benches and a few single chairs. The stall is situated under a big ketapang tree on the left of Day Road (see Appendix A) and is open from half past seven until noon (unless the food is sold out

earlier). It is a popular stall frequented by housewives and pensioners in the early morning and in the late morning, say at about half past eleven, a number of fishermen returning from their morning catch stop to eat 'roti canai' (Malay pancake) or chappati (Sikh pancake) served with curry gravy. Besides these customers from the PS itself, a number of passers-by on motorcycles on the way to 'hamlet', the neighbouring residential estate with a high population of Chinese, stop by to eat or takeaway from the stall. Due to this variety of customer types, recorded conversation shows different languages are used with specific aims: PK is used for private' topics such as gossiping (#11) and/or to mark in-group communication such as talking in a 'secret' language in the presence of a non-Kristang (#12). Malay, on the other hand, particularly Bazaar Malay (non-standard Malay), is used as a vehicle of communication between the different races, for instance in #12, between the Chinese and the Kristang interlocutors.

PK for gossiping

Due to the dense social network in the village where most of the villagers are related to each other and everyone knows everybody in the Settlement, gossip is a frequent and ongoing activity among the villagers that contributes to the active use of PK among the adults in the neighbourhood domain. In #11 S and C1f are talking about someone they know who is trying to borrow some money from C1f.

#11 S: seller/owner of the stall C1f: customer 1, female (Kristang)

8C1f: ..(?)...**Eli keh mpustah di yo doi. Nenang achah pagah, nenang achah pagah, bai mpinyah.**
{..(?).. She want borrow from me money. NEG get pay, NEG get pay, go pawn}
(..(..)..She wants to borrow (money) from me. She hasn't got her pay yet, she hasn't got her pay so she goes to pawn (her jewellery)(instead of borrowing from me)}

9S: **Mpustah tokah ganyu. Teng fatu,** pajaklah (M)!
{Borrow 'got' interest. Got jewels, pawnlah}
{(If one borrows) there's interest charged. (If one) has jewels, (one should) pawn them!}

10C1f: **Eli teng fatu, dah mustah ki fazeh? Yo nadi mpustah, yo lo** pajak **(M). Niora eli falah teng doi, niora nté.**
{She has jewels, give show what for? I NEG borrow, I will pawn}
{She has jewels, what's the use of keeping them for show? I wouldn't borrow (money), I'd rather pawn (my valuables)}

11S: **Onti teng nadi...setu ta juga...**
{Yesterday got there...surely gambling...}
{Yesterday (he) was there, surely (he) has been gambling}

HBS

In this example, there is an almost exclusive use of PK between the interlocutors, the only 'switch' is for a single word insertion of the Malay word 'pajak' in turns 9 and 10 to reiterate the notion of pawning first introduced in PK in turn 9 (**mpinyah**) and to emphasise what the person who needs money should do instead of borrowing from friends. This example illustrates that the mother tongue is used for gossiping about people's bad habits in the community.

Malay for inter-ethnic communication; PK for in-group communication

Inter-ethnic communication between Kristangs and non-Kristangs is usually in Malay, often the non-standard variety known as Bazaar Malay as illustrated in #12:

12. S: Seller/owner of the stall C10f: customer 10, female (Chinese)
C8f: customer 8, female

22C10f: Kasi satu (M).
{Give one}
{Give me one (packet of rice)}

23S: Satu cukup (M)?
{One enough?}
{Is one enough?}

23C8f: Hua, lu punya kereta nombor keluar (M) second prize, ah?
{Hua, your car number came out second prize, ah?}
{Hua, your car number 'won' second prize, ah?}

24C10f: [Laughs] Ah...

25C8f: Sudah kenalah ini M)! Besok gua boleh pigi bikin rambut lu punya kedai, kasi (M) freelah!
{Already 'got' ! Tomorrow I can go make hair at your shop, give freelah!}
{You've won! Tomorrow I can go to your salon, give me a free perm!}

26S: [Teasing C8f] Tua tua mau bikin rambut (M)!
{Old old want make hair!}

{(You're already) so old yet you want a perm!}

27C8f: O...kalau tua jangan pakai baju? Telanjang sudahlah? [Laughter]
{O.....if old don't need wear clothes? Naked enough?}
{O....if one is old, does it mean one shouldn't wear clothes? Being naked is enough?}

28S: [Referring to C10f] **Isti ngua mas pabisera!**
{This one more vulgar woman!}
{This one is a more vulgar woman!}

29C8f: **Bo bai eli sa butika, fazeh kabelu, bos olah eli papia mas pabisa...** Lu beli ini kasi siapa (M)?
{You go she-POSSESSIVE shop, make hair, you see she talk more vulgar...You buy this give who?}
{When you go to her salon to perm your hair, she can be very vulgar... Who are you buying this for?}

30C10f: Anak (M).
{Child}
{(My) child}

HBS

The conversation in #12 is almost exclusively in Bazaar Malay except for the switch to PK at turn 28 initiated by S, this intersentential switch is engendered by S's intention to use PK as a 'secret language' to talk about C10f in her presence. The talk about how vulgar C10f can be maintained in PK between C8f and S but mid turn 29 C8f quickly switches back to Malay to address C10f. The use of PK in turn 28 and part turn 29 is definitely for in-group communication for S's intention is to 'tell' C8f how vulgar C10f can be without C10f hearing it unlike in turn 26 where she uses Malay instead of PK to tease her friends who is asking for a free perm from the Chinese lady. In this case she uses Malay because she wants the joke to be shared and understood by all present, including C10f.

Besides the use of two different languages for different purposes, a point worth mention is that the type of Malay used in the neighbourhood domain differs from the type of Malay used in the home domain. The Malay used in the neighbourhood domain is often the non-standard, basilectal variety, referred to as Bazaar Malay whereas the Malay used by the parents and grandparents in the home domain is of the 'baku' or standard

Malay type taught in schools. (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4; also section 6.9.4.3 'The Use of Malay'). 'Lu' (you) in turns 24, 26, 30 and 'gua' (I) in turn 26 are actually Hokkien pronouns but due to prolonged language contact between Hokkien and Malay in Baba Malay Creole community, these two pronouns are now part of Baba Malay Creole and Bazaar Malay speech; 'lu' and 'gua' in standard Malay would be 'anda/awak' (you) and 'saya' (I). Other examples of Bazaar Malay usage in #12 are 'kasi' (give), 'besok', 'mau' and 'bikin' which would be 'beri', 'esok', 'mahu' and buat' respectively in standard Malay.

PK to describe/show intense feelings

Helen's Supper Stall (also a 'tables and chairs' stall) can be located next to the police hut, opposite the car park and the stage (see Appendix J). The stall consists of 3 foldable tables with four chairs to each table and is open from about six to half past eight or nine in the evening. As it serves supper or late dinner, the menu consists of local main dishes served with rice or fried noodles. Customers who frequent this stall are usually ready for a main meal eaten at leisure hence have the time to sit and chat over their meals. There is a substantial use of PK but less of Malay being used at this stall as indicated by Table 6.5. However, compared to the range of topics in the conversations at Hazel's stall, the conversations here are of a more personal nature such as confidences shared between friends. #13 is an extract of a conversation between two close friends about a lecherous old man:

13. C9f: customer 9, female C11f: customer 11, female S: seller

20C11f: **Keng? SK? Rostu di malisiozu! Dali ku basora lo sabeh! Kada** miang (M)! [Laughter]
{Who? SK? Face so lecherous! Hit with broom just will know! Very lustful!}
{Who? SK? He looks so lecherous! (I'll) hit him with the broom (to teach him a lesson)! He's very lustful!}

21C19f: **Teng ngua dia yo keh dali ku chinela ku eli.** Damn cheeky old man!
{Have one day I want hit with slippers to him}
{One of these days I'll hit him with my slippers}

22C20f: Miang (M) **ngua belu!**
{Lustful one old man!}
{A lustful old man!}

HSS

In #13, the PK term 'malishiozu' which means 'a lecherous male' (Baxter & de Silva, forthcoming) is reiterated with the use of the Malay word 'miang' at the end of turn 20 and again in turn 22 and in English with the phrase 'Damn cheeky old man' in turn 21. It is common for interlocutors to use a PK word and then reiterate the meaning of the word in another language and vice versa.

6.9.1.2 Conversations at the 'takeaway' stalls

Anita's Breakfast Stall and Tina's 'Kueh' Stall are 'takeaway' stalls so customers can only buy food and takeaway. The 'takeaway' stalls are open for an average of two hours only: Anita's Breakfast Stall sells packed breakfast from half past seven to half past nine in the morning and the same stall is being used by Tina in the afternoon, from half past one to half past three in the afternoon, to sell 'kueh' or local cakes thus the stall is parked at the same location (see Appendix J). Customers who buy food at Anita's 'takeaway' Breakfast Stall are usually parents, grandparents or office workers who live in the surrounding areas on the fringe of the PS; these customers buy packed food for school or office lunch. Customers who buy 'kueh' (cakes) at Tina's Teatime Stall include school children after school hours as well as the adults from the PS; 'kueh' or local cakes are popular for the afternoon tea.

The majority of the customers who buy breakfast from Anita's stall want the food packed to be eaten at home, school or office breaks. As such, the customers who come to the stall to buy food are usually in a hurry or have no leisure to chat for long periods

of time. As a result of this customer type, the conversations recorded at this particular stall are brief: the sentences are short and the topics are general and less intimate compared to those found at the other 'table and chairs' stalls discussed earlier. Nevertheless, a point worth mentioning is, distinctive patterns of PK and English language use can be detected in the conversations – while PK is often used between adults, observations show that there appears to be mutual expectation between the adults and the younger members of the community to use English between their generations:

In #14, S and her (non-Kristang speaking) daughter are manning their breakfast stall.

14. S: seller SD: seller's teenage daughter
C6f: customer 6, female, Kristang, G2

22S: Hi, long time never see you?
23C6f: Busy...Lent some more. **Ngua oras misa sabrozu!**
{One time mass, lovely!}
{The one o'clock mass was lovely!}
24S: St. Francis church, **bong!**
{St. Francis church, good!}
{St Francis church is good!}
25C6f: **Seng. Nadi**lah.
{Yes. There**lah**}
{Yes, (one should go) there}
26S: **Teng** feeling **bai nalih. Bai nakih ku si krensa krensa bira kabesa!**
{Got feeling go there. Go here with children, dizzy head!}
{You get the feeling (of praying) when you go there. The chapel here, too many children, you get a headache}
27SD: Mi (shortened form for 'mummy;) I thought I want to go, one o'clock mass...
28S: You all got time you all cannot go? [To C6f] **Yo tokah kuzinyah, ngka kuzinyah yo lo bai. Kantu** stations[11] **teng?**
{..(..).. I have cook, NEG cook I will go. How many stations exist?}
{..(..)..I have to cook, otherwise I will go. How many stations are there)?
29C6f: **Katorzi** station. **Nomi Kristang! Ki Kristang?**
{Fourteen station. Name Christian! What Christian?}
{Fourteen stations. You're a chirstian, what (kind of) Christian (are you)?}
30SD: **'Katorzi'** is what, auntie?
{'Kartozi' is what, auntie?}
{What is 'kartozi', auntie?}
31C6f: Fourteen. **[To S] Iste mas ngua, ja beng di** Indonesia! [Laughter] **Kristang ngka sabeh, ri saja chadu!**

[11] Stations of the Cross

{This one more, PAST come from Indonesia! Kristang NEG know, laugh only clever!}
(This is another one, came from Indonesia! (Papia) Kristang (she) doesn't know, only good at laughing!}
ABS

In #14, immediately after responding to the greeting and enquiry in English, C6f switches to PK to describe how satisfied she was with the one o'clock mass she attended (the week before) at St. Francis church. The conversation then carries on in PK until turn 27 when SD 'interrupts' in English to inform her mother of her intention to go for the one o'clock mass on that day; this turn (turn 27) and S's reply in turn 28 is another example of the recurring pattern of the use of English for communication between the younger generation (G3) and the older generation (G2). When the conversation between the adults (G2) resumes, PK is again being used.

The younger generation's ignorance of PK is exemplified in turn 30 when SD asks for the meaning of **'katorzi'.** C6f answers her in English but makes a sarcastic joke in PK about the young people's inability to speak PK and their attitude towards their inability to speak the creole. In C6f's opinion, not being able to speak PK can be likened to not coming from the PS but from the neighbouring country of Indonesia (the most populous Muslim country in the world) where everyone speaks Malay. In addition to not making any effort to learn their mother tongue the younger Kristangs often laugh shamelessly at their own ignorance of PK. As a result, there are clear divisions for the use of these languages: PK is for chatting and joking between (G1 and G2) adults; English is for intergenerational communication.

6.9.2 Talk At Celebrations

Three events are grouped under this category: celebrating an elder's brithday, celebrating Christmas 1999 and celebrating Intrudu (see Table 6.5). The Kristang

community celebrates a number of festivities (see Appendix I) for a list of Kristang religious events and festivals), some of the festivities such as Festa San Pedro are open to the public and hence there is much use of other languages, especially English, during the celebrations. All the three events recorded here are celebrated within the community at the PS: the first two, that is, celebrating an elder's birthday and celebrating Christmas '99 take place in the private homes of the families concerned; the third event, Intrudu, is celebrated intracommunally - a group of Kristangs interested in reviving and preserving this festivity, goes around the village, from house to house, to sell local cakes and celebrate the festival. The purpose for tape-recording these events is to observe how much PK is used when members of the community gather to celebrate such occasions.

According to Table 6.5, the celebration of an elder's birthday yielded the highest amount of PK language use (at 84%) while the celebration of Intrudu recorded 72.17% of PK being used. The Xmas '99 celebration recorded only 47.53% of PK words. Why does the celebration of an elder's birthday report such a high incidence of PK being used while the celebration of Xmas '99, also a family celebration, record much less PK language use? The answer lies in the type of interlocutors present at these events.

6.9.2.1 Celebrating Papa's 76th birthday

The elder, SF, who was celebrating his seventy-sixth birthday is the father of my principal informant and he, including all his children are fluent speakers of PK. For the birthday celebration, a luncheon was given to all members of his family: all his children, sons-in-laws, daughters-in-law and grandchildren were present for the feast at his house; also present were his close friends, retired pensioners from the Settlement; altogether over 80 people, including children attended the celebration. After lunch the children

played in the big garden of his house while the adult members of the family gathered in groups in various parts of the house; one group was watching TV in the lounge while another group of family members lazed and chatted with each other at the veranda. Recordings of this event were made at different points of the celebration: at the dining table where both the family and non-family guests gathered to eat (#15) and at the veranda where the immediate and extended family members rested (16). In the conversations of both groups, a substantial amount of PK is used between the interlocutors to talk about a variety of topics. In 15, PK is used to talk about Kristang cuisine[12] such as 'curry pimente' in turn 2

#15.

2G: Curry Pimente **ku** sambal (M)...**sabrozu sa** sambal goreng (M). **Yo sa** sambal goreng (M) **chili fresku...misti fazeh** garing (M). **Botah sal ku mpoko** Ajinomoto[13].
{Curry Pimente with spicy chillie paste...delicious fried chillie paste. I-POSSESSIVE fried chillie paste fresh...must make crispy. Add salt with a little Ajinomoto}
{Curry Pimente with spicy chillie paste... delicious fried chille paste. My fried chillie paste is made from fresh chillies and you must fry it till it is crispy. Add some salt, a little Ajinomoto...}

and personal subjects such as J's white hair (!) in turns 7-8

7C: **Ne carpe di olu...**
{On eye lashes}
{On her eyelashes (too)...}
8G: **Yo sabeh...mas tantuk di yo. Yo mas bela di eli, eli teng mas tantuk,** eh?
{I know...more plenty than me. I more old than her, she has more plenty, eh?}

PK is also used to comment on the perceived differences between the Chinese and the Malays (turns 10-14):

[12] Kristang cuisine is itself typically creole – a mixture of Malay, Portuguese, and Chinese cooking.
[13] 'Ajinomoto' is a Japanese flavour enhancer containing monosodium glutamate (MSG).

10A: **Cina gosta** crab. **Dos pesua pun kumi** crab. **Dos pesua kumi kai tantu! Olotu kumi aros laoh** last **mbes.**
{Chinese like crab. Two persons also eat crab. Two persons eat how plenty! They eat rice, dishes last at once}
{(The) Chinese like crab. Even when there's only two people, they still order crab. Two of them yet they can eat a lot! They eat rice, dishes last.

11C: **Cina tantu doi!**
{Chinese plenty money!}
{Chinese are rich!}

12X: Work hard not like **Malayu...**
{Work hard not like Malays...}
{(They work hard unlike the Malays...}

13A: **Malayu papia tantu...**
{Malays talk plenty...}
{Malays talk a lot...}

14C: **Cina kumi tantu!** [Laughter]
{Chinese eat plenty!}
{Chinese eat a lot!}

EB

A number of interrelated factors could have contributed to the active use of PK in the conversation at the dining table. Firstly, the setting itself creates a strong sense of 'Kristangness': the people present are almost all from the PS, there is hardly any outsider present (except me and one or two friends from outside the Settlement). A second factor is, a number of the people invited to the celebration are from G1 and G2 who are fluent and active speakers of PK. Thirdly, due to the proximity of living in a village the social network of the interlocutors is dense – everyone knows everybody in the PS and are related to each other hence the bond between the people is strong and close. Within such friendship circles and in-group bond, the use of PK tends to be higher than in other surroundings.

The Kristangs like to tease their young as well as their old, especially when the latter are of the talkative type. In 16, Mama is of the opinion that there is too much talk about living a short life. Both her children and her nephew (who are all G2 Kristangs) tease Mama by punning on her ideas of 'short life' and 'plenty of talk':

16. At the veranda.

M: mama, 75 year old wife of the elder, likes to wander around and talks a lot.

50M: **Yo falah mpodi krensa krensa ta bai – papiah tantuk keh kauzu!**
{I believe cannot young young going – talk plenty that's why!}
{I feel young people shouldn't talk about dying young – there's too much talk about this!}

51L: [Teasing the old lady] **Kai podi? Bo ja papiah tantuk ja bibeh mas tantu!**
{How can? I talked plenty, PAST live more plenty!}
{How can that be? The more I talk the longer I live!}

52C: [Teasing the old lady] **Nus kantu papiah tantu nus bibeh oitenta fora!**
{We if talk plenty we live eighty over!}
{If we talk a lot we can live over eighty years!}

53M: **Trabalu krensa!**
{Naughty children!}
{Mischievous/cheeky children!}

EB

Mama is aware of the teasing as she refers to her teasers as 'Trabalu krensa!' (Mischievous/cheeky child(ren)) at the end of the conversation (turn 53). A good amount of PK language use is provided by the act of teasing; teasing in the mother tongue is common practice in the community as highlighted in section 6.4.2 'Teasing, Name-calling, Joking in PK'.

6.9.2.2 X'mas '99

The Kristang community, belonging to the Catholic faith, celebrates Christmas on a grand scale. Every year, opposite the stage facing the Portuguese Square (see Appendix A for map of the PS) a huge Christmas tree is set up and the whole village is decorated with lights. Individually, each Kristang home puts up its own Christmas tree and decorations. Each year beginning in October the PS is bustling with activities: fences, gates, walls are painted, families go shopping to stock up for Xmas and orders are sent out for cakes and cookies. Most important of all, other than Festa San Pedro, this is the

time of the year when relatives who have left the village to live elsewhere especially overseas, come 'home'.

A recording was made at one of the Kristang homes to observe how the family celebrates Christmas. As the focus is on the language use within the family during the celebration, this particular recording was made on the 26th and not the 25th of December because there were too many non-Kristang guests visiting the house on Christmas Day itself and to entertain their guests the family members would have spoken English to them; on the 26th onwards it is usually just the family members relaxing by themselves and a recording during this time captures the true nature of their get-togethers. Although the elder's birthday and Xmas '99 were recorded in the homes of the families and one may argue that they belong in a special way to the home domain, these 'situations' are different from the 'normal' home domain as these are celebrated events and do not form part of everyday life hence they are subsumed under the 'Talk at Celebrations' category. #17 below is a sample of the language use situation on this particular occasion.

17. 26 December. A group of adult family members resting in the garden.

29E: **Isi yo akeh kareta...Ah yo! Kada tantu!**
{This year the cars...Ah yo! So many!}
{This year there are so many cars!}
30L: **Kora?**
{When?}
31E: This year **Natal.**
{This year Christmas}
{Christmas this year}
32L: **Yo ja obi** last year worse.
{I PAST hear last year, worse}
{I heard it was worse last year}
33M & E: Not so. This year worse.
35E: Last year **isote** but not until like this.
{Last year bad but not like this}
{Last year it was bad but like this}

X99

As listed in Table 6.5, the amount of PK found in the interactions for Xmas '99 is only 47.53% which means that there is not much use of PK at the setting. One of the main reasons for the decrease in PK language use during Christmas is that at Yuletide the PS receives an influx of relatives who have moved to live away from the Settlement, these relatives come 'home' for Christmas but they are used to speaking English in their everyday life outside the Settlement and as a result, tend to speak English even though they are in the PS during Christmas.

Unlike the chunks of PK language use found in the talk at the stalls or at the elder's 76th birthday, recorded data of language use during Christmas '99 shows that when and where PK is used, they are mostly of the one-word insertion types such as **'Natal'** (turn 31) and **'isote'** (turn 35) or are very short, single phrases such as **'Yo ja obi'** (turn 32) or a single word question **'Kora?'** in turn 30. Such single word or short phrase usage does not necessarily mean that the speakers are fluent in the language.

6.9.2.3 Intrudu 2000

Intrudu has been a traditional festival celebrated by the Kristang community since 1511 and its counterpart, *Domingo Gordo* (Fat Sunday) is still celebrated in Portugal. *Intrudu* is the prelude to the Lenten season and falls on the Sunday preceding Ash Wednesday. On the Sunday after the morning mass, villagers splash each other with water; water signifies life and cleanliness. The highlight of the *Intrudu* celebration is the appearance and merrymaking of the *Branyo Luida*, a gaily-dressed dance troupe. In recent years, the *Branyo Luida* goes on a procession in the PS to finally converge at the Portuguese Square for merry making until the early hours of the day. Over the years, as the Portuguese Settlement becomes more well-known to tourists, unsuspecting visitors to the Kristang village are not spared from the drenching.

For almost a decade from 1985 the *Intrudu* was not celebrated. Then in 1995, due to increased awareness to preserve Kristang culture and heritage, the festival was revived and was celebrated on a grand scale (The Star, 27 February 1995). During my fieldwork *Intrudu* was celebrated on 4 and 5 March 2000. On 4 March (Saturday) there was singing and music played on the stage to 'warm up' for the next day's celebration. On 5 March (Sunday) in the morning there was the usual water-splashing event; in the afternoon a group of Kristang people, keen on keeping the tradition, dressed up in fancy dress and went around the Settlement, selling cakes to every household. To record the talk within the group, I accompanied the group as they visited as many houses as they could throughout the whole session. In the early evening a football match was organised between the youth and the adults/parent generation for merrymaking; in the late evening there was the usual *Branyo Luida* where most of the residents in the Settlement went to dance to the traditional tunes of the *Jingkli Nona*[14] (a traditional love song) in front of the Portuguese Square but these programs were not recorded as there was too much loud music for any conversation to be heard. Recorded conversations of the Intrudu group show that when the group is talking among themselves they use a fair amount of PK:

#19. Going round the PS selling cakes with the 'Intrudu' group.

26B: **Botaka yo sibri, mas kalor!**
{If I wear, more hot!}
{If I wear that costume, warmer!}

27C: **Keh kauzu yo ngka sibri Murut...**
{That's why I don't dress Indian...}
{That's why I don't dreww up as an Indian...}

28B: **Ngua kaza ngua, bastah, ngka nadi chegah. Isti...ake kaza ja beng dos bes kompra** kueh dadah (M). Kueh dadah (M) **ngteh mas. Ja kabah, andah kantu ngka sinku ora nadi kabah.**

[14] For further reading on Kristang songs and music, refer Sarkissian, M. (1993) 'Music, Identity & the Impact of Tourism in the Portuguese Settlement, Melaka. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Urbana-Campaign.

{One house one, enough, not there won't be enough. This...that house came twice buy pancakes. Pancakes no more. PAST finish, walk otherwise five o'clock won't finish}
{Every house, one visit, otherwise there won't be enough (cakes to go round). This...that house we came by twice they bought pancakes. There's no more pancakes. Finished, otherwise by five o'clock we won't finish}

However, when the Intrudu group is calling out to people to buy the cakes they use Malay ('Kueh! Kueh!) and when they are addressing children, they tend to use English (Where Mummy?; Children stay outside...):

20C: Where Mummy?
21R: Inside.
22C: Call (her). Today we celebrating Intrudu.

25N: Kueh! Kueh! (M) [On reaching another house] Children stay outside...
{Cakes! Cakes! Children stay outside (the house)...

In-group advice (signifying solidarity) on how to impress 'customers' is clearly given in PK:

23M: **Papia bong bong, nang panyah ku mang, sibri** kapik-kapik (M)...

{Speak good good, don't take with hands, use tongs...}
{Speak politely, don't use your hands, use tongs...}
INT

As different languages are used here for different purposes, we can say that on the whole, the revival of a traditional festival such as Intrudu does not necessarily lead to an increase or exclusive use of the mother tongue; from the above examples it appears that language use is still largely determined by who the addresses is (cf. section 6.10 'Summary and Conclusion').

6.9.3 Village Life

This category of talk includes four situations/settings: women chatting, three short gambling sessions (Playing Black Jack, Playing Gin Rummy, Playing Ceki),

conversation at the bus stop and a few fishermen chatting. These situations are recorded and grouped together as they each offer a different aspect of interaction and communication in the daily village life of the PS. 'Women talking' is a conversation between three female friends at the home of one of the interlocutors; the gambling sessions are a recording of a group of G1 and G2 Kristangs playing three different types of card games (Black Jack, Gin Rummy, Ceki); conversation at the Bus Stop is recorded conversation at the one and only bus stop in the PS while the researcher was waiting for the bus to town; 'Fishermen Chatting' is the recorded conversation of a few fishermen who were not out to sea on that day. We shall now take a closer look at the conversation of each of the situations.

6.9.3.1 Women Chatting

'Women Chatting' is a recording of three friends, J, L, V during two visits to J's house. L usually comes to J's house on her bicycle in the later part of the morning when the marketing is already done. The women seldom just sit to chat, they are usually engaged in some household chores such as peeling potatoes, onions or vegetables while they chat. Sometimes the friends buy breakfast from the stalls and go to J's house to have their breakfast and catch up on the latest gossip. On other days when they are not free to meet in the late mornings, they meet around tea time. The conversations provide a glimpse into the womenfolk's talk and daily life at the village. In #20, the interlocutors are all adult women, two of them (J & V) are G2 while L is a G1 Kristang. Due to their fluency in PK, these (women) speakers provide one of the finest examples of PK language use in the community.

#20. At J's house; October (shrimp season).

119J: **Ngka cua isti ta beng. Ja** redup (M), **keh beng cua ke grago. Kalteng jenti falah teng grago. E____ sefilu js bai kompra** galah

(M). **Onti lotu falah teng grago. Tomah mbes ja subi grago ...inhci sampeh L____ mpodi drumi.** Ah yo (H)!
{NEG rain this coming. PAST cloudy, want come rain or shrimps. Some people say, got shrimps. E____ 's son PAST go buy long poles. Yesterday they told, got shrimps. Take at once, PAST come up...full boat until L____ cannot sleep. Ah yo!}
{There's no rain. It's already cloudy, it's either the rain or the shrimps. Some people predict there's shrimps. E____'s son went to buy long poles. Yesterday they caught some shrimps. They took all the shrimps, a full boat until L____ couldn't sleep. Ah yo!}

120L: First day **yo ku L____ ja toka pila na pilang 'tag tag'...dos ore sampeh res ore.**
{First day I and L___ PAST pound in pestle 'tag tag' ...two oclock until three o'clock}
{On the first day of the catch I and L____ had to pound (the shrimps) in the pestle - 'tag' 'tag' - until two to three o'clock (in the morning)}

121J: **Chuma keh mureh!**
{Like want die!}
{Could have died doing that!}

122L: **Yosa ja botah na papel ja agri na** fridge. **Grago kehbra kebrah bong...fasel seku. Agora nus nag fazeh mas.**
{Mine PAST put in paper, PAST keep in fridge. Shrimp break break good...easy dry. Now we don't make more}
{I wrapped mine in paper and kept them in the fridge. If the shrimps are broken into fine pieces it dries better. Now we're not making any more (shrimp paste)}

WT

As the above transcripts show, there is a smooth flow of PK in the conversation and the linguistic interactions are carried out almost exclusively in PK except for the occasional borrowings of Malay words such as 'redup' & 'galah' (in turn 119) and the English word 'fridge' (turn 122) or English phrase 'First day' (turn 120). The good amount of PK used in the turns and the very minimal codeswitching and borrowing in most of the conversations in this setting indicate that there is still a pool of very good Kristang speakers at the PS, especially women Kristang speakers.

6.9.3.2 Gambling Sessions (Playing Gin Rummy and Playing Ceki)

The gambling sessions recorded during the fieldwork consist of three short sessions of different members of the community playing the card games of Black Jack, Gin Rummy

and the traditional Ceki. Compared to the other conversations recorded, the sessions recorded not many turns of conversation between the interlocutors for the players were concentrating on their moves and did not speak much. Nevertheless, of the three sessions, two (Playing Gin Rummy and Playing Ceki) are produced here for the analysis of the patterns of language use among the players. Overall there is not much PK used: all the three sessions recorded only a total of 42.50% of turns containing PK (cf. Table 6.5). What is particularly interesting in the transcripts is the difference in the norm of counting in the two games: in Gin Rummy the players count in English while in the Ceki game the counting is carried out mostly in Chinese, namely Hokkien. The origin of the games, Gin Rummy from England and Ceki from China, could have contributed to this norm in counting.

Playing Gin Rummy

Gin Rummy used to be a favourite past time acquired by the wealthier upper class Eurasians (the Upper Tens) in their social interactions with the British administrators during British colonial rule of Malaya (now Malaysia). However, due to the avid interest of the community in gambling, the card game was quickly learnt by a majority of the Kristang community and is a favourite past time among both sexes. Housewives play this card games during the late afternoon when the housework is done and their spouses are not home yet from work while the menfolk will usually play Gin Rummy during festivities when there is a public holiday and they do not have to go to work. Gin Rummy is popular with the middle-age group who are usually in their forties while the traditional Ceki game is more popular with the older, first generation Kristangs.

In the game of Gin Rummy the amount of PK, Malay and English used does not differ much (see Table 6.5) although transcripts of the game show that basically most of the matrix language is PK.

#21. Under the mango tree, a group of adult family members are playing Gin Rummy.

17F: Hey, **teng 'femi', ta botah 'femi' mas. Botah** 'King' **bastalah!**
{Hey, have 'Queen', putting 'Queen' better. Put 'King' enoughlah!}
{Hey, I have a 'Queen' so it's better to use my 'Queen'. Use my 'King' should be a good enough move!}

18V: 'Flower' **ngka abri undi podi abri?** Plus **yo ja kebrah** 'Queen', **kana ngka tudu** all.
'Clover' NEG open, where can open? Plus I PAST break 'Queen', if EG 'all all'}
{'Clover' didn't appear, where can I 'open'? Plus I borke my 'Queen', otherwise all would be gone}

19Os: **Yo kuartu** ace **ja kebrah. Tudu bandeh ja botah** ace.
{I four aces broken. All every where I put 'ace'}
{All my aces are split up. I put an ace everywhere}

20V: **Yo pagah** four. V____, you got 'bulu' (M) **yo pagah dos.**
{I pay four. V____, you have 'ace', i pay two}
{I pay four (dollars). V_____, you have 'ace', I pay two (dollars)}

EB

In terms of vocabulary use, there is some (individual) variation, for instance, 'Ace' is sometimes unchanged (turn 19) and sometimes nativised to the local description 'bulu' (M) (meaning 'feathers' or 'hair') in turn 20. On the other hand, 'clover' which is already in English is changed to 'flowers' while 'Queen' is some times kept in the original language, English (turn 18) and sometimes the Kristang term **femi** (meaning female/women) is used instead of 'Queen' (turn 17).

The different substitutes used for the various types of cards show that the speakers are proficient in all the three languages (Malay, English and Kristang) to be able to switch between the different terms. They also confirm that the use of a mixed speech for communication is a norm in the community (cf. section 6.10.2 'Codeswitching (CS) as the language for communication in the community).

Playing Ceki

Ceki is a traditional card game popular among the Creole communities in Malacca, especially among the older generation Baba Creole and Portuguese Creole (Kristang) communities. There are sixty-two cards altogether, with twenty of the cards containing Chinese characters on it (see Appendix M for a photocopy sample of the ceki cards). The ceki game can last for hours or less than an hour depending on when any of the players manages to 'game' or reaches 'The End'. When a session reaches 'game' or 'The End', usually the cards are reshuffled and another new session begins. It is not the norm for the players to disperse after a short session because when a ceki game is planned at one of the houses, cakes are ordered beforehand and drinks are provided by the host of the game. The host need not necessarily be one of the players, anyone can agree to host a ceki game session; a collection is usually made to pay for the cost of 'hosting' the ceki session. The ceki playing session recorded in #22 involves six players and was a very quick session as one of the players managed to 'game' (reach The End) early.

Data of talk in the Ceki card game consisted of only seventeen turns but it is very difficult to really comprehend the conversation unless one knows how to play ceki as the conversation contains much jargon pertaining to the context of the game. In terms of language use, the data shows numerous use of counting in Chinese Hokkien. In fact, all the numbers are counted in Hokkien (e.g. puek, yeoh and lak in turn 11); a mix of numbers is also described by the Hokkien word 'chapcheng' (mix) in turn 11. The verbs and adjectives used tend to be in Malay (e.g. 'korek' ('pick') in turn 11 and 'buta' (blind) in turn 12:

#22. Playing ceki at one of the houses in Crighton Road.

11N: **Yo teng dos** puek (H), **ku dos** yeoh (H) **kana ngka yo ja sampeh. Isti dos yosa** waiting card...**yo keh** yeoh (H) **eli ja** korek (M) yeoh (H) chapcheng (H)...lak (H) **teng lawang**...
{I have two eight, with two one if not I'd have 'game'. These two my waiting cards...I want 'one', she already dig 'one' mixture, 'six' got same patterns...}
{I have two eights with two ones otherwise I'd have fnished. These two are my waiting cards...I want a 'one', she's already pulled out a mixture of 'one' and 'six' and there have the same patterns...}

12H: **Yo lembrah ja bai! Bong yo** 'ayam' (M) **kantu ngkah** buta (M).
{I think PAST go! Good I 'chicken' if not I 'blind'}
{I think it's gone! Luckily I 'stalled' otherwise I'd have no points}

CK

Strangely, while it is clear that the card game originated from the Chinese since they have Chinese characters on the cards to denote its value (see Appendix B), Ceki is not popular with the Chinese community in Malacca or anywhere in Malaysia. Ceki is often played by the Creole communities in Malacca, especially by the Baba Creole community and the Portuguese Creole/Kristang community. As illustrated in #22, in the game of Ceki, the players use both Malay and Chinese Hokkien vocabulary simultaneously which exemplifies the cultural assimilation between the two cultures (especially in food and language). In terms of vocabulary, words such as **'sampeh'**, (turn 11) which is commonly used by both the Baba and Kristang communities, is derived from standard Malay 'sampai' (reach/arrive). This shows that even the vocabulary of the Ceki game is 'creole'.

6.9.3.3 Conversation at the Bus Stop in the Portuguese Settlement (PS)

The one and only bus stop at the PS is situated at the junction of Crighton Road, D'Albuquerque Road and Day Road (see map in Appendix J). Anyone who wishes to go to Malacca city centre or return to the village by bus must board or alight from the bus at this bus stop in the Portuguese Settlement. In addition, all pedestrians, cyclists

and motorists to and from the Settlement pass the bus stop. The bus stop is thus a strategic meeting point for commuters and passers-by and situated right in the midst of the Settlement and frequented mostly by the villagers themselves, it is only natural to find PK being used at this bus stop than at any other bus stop outside the Settlement.

At the time of the recording there were four Kristangs (excluding myself) waiting for the bus, the four Kristangs are all adults, women and middle-aged (in their forties). The bus is late and the waiting triggers off stories of various experiences and dissatisfaction with the bus service and the repercussions of the complaints made by the PS Regedor's (Headman's) Panel to the bus company. As the speakers relate their bad experiences with the Malay bus driver, the conversation provides a fine example of the type of languages used by the interlocutors in their confrontation with each other.

Basically two languages are used to narrate the argument: PK by the Kristang commuter(s) and (non-standard) Bazaar Malay by the different communities in Malacca and by the lower uneducated Malays such as the rickshaw pullers, peddlers, hawkers, bus conductors and drivers of public transport (cf. section 6.9.4.3 'The Use of Malay'); both the languages are used for different functions.

<u>The use of PK in the conversation</u>

PK is used to express the residents' frustration with the bus conductor/driver accepting fares but not driving into the PS (turn 6) and to relate their anxiety that the more they complain, the more likely the bus driver and his conductor will not turn into the village to send or pick passengers from the bus stop (turn 7):

#23. At the bus stop, PS.

6C: **Pagah doi sampeh naki rentu ki radu? ..(..)..}**
{Pay money, until here enter, what's wrong? ..(..)..}

{When we pay for the fare the bus has to enter into our village, what's wrong with that? ..(..)..}

7V: **Nus** complain **olotu lo subi tolu mas nadi rinta...**
{We complain they will get angry, worse, won't enter}
{If we complain, they will get worse and won't enter (our village)}
BS

The use of Malay in the conversation

The many races in Malaysia communicate with each other in different languages; the language choice depends on who the interlocutor is, including personal characteristics – if a person is educated, English is normally used; for the uneducated, Bazaar Malay has always been the lingua franca between the different ethnic communities for centuries (Asmah, 1985). In this conversation Bazaar Malay is used to refer to the direct speech of the commuters as they argue vehemently with the bus conductor:

3L: 'Apa? Tak masuk? Gua bayar duit gua mau masuk!' ..(..)..
{'What? NEG enter? I pay money I want enter!' ..(..)..}
{'What? Not entering? I have paid my fare so I want (you/the bus) to enter!' ..(..)..}

Bazaar Malay is also used to report how V told off the bus conductor:

4V: Lu bikin lu bodoh, itu Panel siapa itu? Kampung punya komplain lu mau gaduh sama orang...kita duduk bas, free lu ingat (M)?
{You do you stupid, that Panel who is it? The village complain you want fight with people...we sit bus, free you think?}
{'(What) you do you (are being) stupid, that Panel, who is it? You quarrel with the people when it is the village (head) who made the complaint...we are not taking the bus free, (you know)?'}
BS

The significance of PK and Malay in the conversation

On the surface, the conversation in #23 appears to be just a narrative of the dissatisfaction voiced by the group of passengers about the bus service to the PS. However, beneath the discourse is a 'the bus drivers (who are Malays) versus the villagers (who are Kristangs)' situation, that is, a 'they against us' situation. The use of the mother tongue to express this dissatisfaction holds certain social meanings; the use

of PK here signifies solidarity among the speakers (villagers) who are united in their dissatisfaction with the bus drivers who are Malays. By expressing their dissatisfaction in PK, the speakers are not only speaking in a secret language because outsiders (e.g. the researcher) standing around will not understand what is being said but the interlocutors are also strengthening the bond between them through the use of their language. The use of the mother tongue as a 'secret language' in public domain by ethnic groups is a common phenomenon in most multiethnic societies; the use of Kristang as a secret language was reported in Sudesh's (2000) self-reported study.

6.9.3.4 Fishermen Chatting

The fishermen at the PS go out to sea at different times of the day for some are full time fishermen while others are part-time fishermen therefore it is not easy to record a group of fishermen talking. The fishermen have a Fishermen's Panel which holds meetings regularly to discuss matters of importance to them but as these meetings often have a set of agendas to be discussed they do not offer natural occurring conversations of language use hence I did not these meetings. Nevertheless, almost towards the end of my fieldwork, on two separate occasions I chanced upon two groups of fishermen talking. One group consisted of four fishermen, including the Regedor who is himself a fisherman too, sitting at a table at the coffee-shop; the group consisted of only two fishermen resting by their boats waiting for a friend. With permission, I managed to record the fisherfolks' talking but the conversations were rather short.

#24 is a typical fisherman's conversation topic – the fishers are discussing how to catch a type of fish, 'selar kuning; (yellow threafins).

#24.

12R: **Bo mpodi** fishing **na bodru. Bo lo tokah prega eli teng boyah,** triangle **sa boyah bai podi pinchah** jaring (M), guarantee **lo tokah. Bos mpodi falah ngka ke bos ngka sabeh.** You go and buy the small small fish...gantung (M)... ah, all the selar kuning (M), big big one, know? Not small...**chuma pesi** chincaru sedang (M). **Bo lagah ku eli...**you must let go the fella fast, you let go...**tudu kumi. Lo incheh ku** selar kuning (M)..no bait!

{You cannot fishing at edge. You will get fastener, it has float, triangle float, can throw net...guarantee will get. You cannot say 'no or don't know. Yo go and buy the very small fish, hang...ah, all the yellow threadfin, big big ones, know? Not small...like medium mackerels. You let go of it...you must let go the fella fast...you let go, all eat. Will fill with yellow threadfins... no bait!}

{You cannot go fishing at the edge of the water. You need to get a fastener with a float, the triangle float that can help the net when you throw it...guarantee it will work. Don't say 'no' or 'don't know'... You go and buy the very small fishes, hang it... ah, all the yellow threadfins, very big ones (will be attracted), know? Not small ones like medium mackerels. You let go...you must let go fast then they will take the bait. Your boat will be filled with yellow threadfins....don't need much bait!}

FC

In terms of language use, three languages are used. Except for a few brief switches to English ('You go and buy the small fish...', 'big, big one, know?'), PK is the matrix language throughout most of the turns while content type lexical items are borrowed from Malay (e.g. 'jaring' (net), 'chincaru' (mackerel), 'selar' (threadfins)) and English (e.g. 'fishing', 'bait').

6.10 A Discussion of the Patterns of Communication at the PS

In his discussion of the linguistic situation at the PS in the 80s, Baxter (1988:14) described the linguistic behaviour of the Creole as 'a complex of multilingualism and diglossia' in which existed 'diglossia and bilingualism between Kristang and local Bazaar Malay (MP), and diglossia alone between local Malaysian English (LME) and Standard Malaysian English (SME)' and among the Malay-educated Kristangs, 'diglossia' between Bazaar Malay and Bahasa Malaysia.' Baxter thus summarised the linguistic situation such as:

Bilingualism	Diglossia	Bilingualism with diglossia
MP - K	LME - SME MP - BM	K – LME

(Baxter, 1988: 14)

With reference to the above diagram, clearly Baxter was trying to describe the language use situation at the PS based on the template offered by Fishman (1967) to explain the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia (cf. Chapter 2, Fig. 2.7). The linguistic situation at the PS is indeed complex; however, data of language use in both the home and neighbourhood domains collected in this study reveal that the patterns of language use at the PS are not as rigidly compartmentalised as in the classic diglossic situation just described above. Instead of two languages being used, one as the High (H) variety and another as the Low (L) variety, what is actually taking place is a continuum of language use in which at one end one code (e.g. PK) may be more dominant than one (e.g. English) or a few other languages (e.g. Malay, Hokkien) while at the other end, another language(s) (e.g. English or English and PK) may dominate and in between the two ends, several varieties of languages or codes (e.g. English, PK and Malay) are used alongside each other. In other words, within such a linguistic situation, one may observe 'polyglossia' (Platt, 1977; Fasold, 1984) or an intermeshing/overlapping of language use (Sridhar, 1996)(cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.1) whereby due to the variety of languages being used sometimes there is no sharp distinction on which is the high or low variety or even which is the matrix language.

Evidence of polyglossic language behaviour in the Kristang community can also be traced to the amount of mixed speech found in the data of language use in both the home and neighbourhood domains. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 have shown that in addition to

the use of three languages, English, PK and Malay, the use of mixed speech is a common means of communication among the Kristangs; similarly, a breakdown of data of language use in the neighbourhood domain in Tables 6.5a, 6.5b, and 6.5c in the following sections show that there is a substantial amount of mixed speech being used by the interlocutors at the various settings in the neighbourhood domain.

Table 6.5a Language Use at the Food Stalls

Setting or Situation Recorded	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%)	No. of Turns containing M (%)	No. of Turns containing H, T, P (5)	No. of Turns in English (%)
1. The Food Stalls					
• Hazel's	162	118 (73.00) **44 PK** **74 Mixed**	20 (12.00) **8 M** **12 Mixed**	8H, 1P, 3T	12 (7.50)
• Helen's	64	47 (73.50) **7 PK** **40 Mixed**	15 (23.50) **0 M** **15 Mixed**	Nil	2 (3.00)
• Tina's	62	33 (53.23) **4 PK** **29 Mixed**	22 (35.48) **2 M** **20 Mixed**	2 H	5 (8.06)
• Anita's	49	32 (65.31) **6 PK** **26 Mixed**	8 (16.33) **0 M** **8 Mixed**	2 H	7 (14.28)
Total	337	230 (68.25) **61 PK** (26.52) **169 Mixed** (73.48)	65 (19.29) **10 M** (15.38) **55 Mixed** (84.62)	16 (4.75)	26 (7.71)

(cf. Table 6.5)

With reference to Table 6.5a, all the four stalls record more mixed speech being used than 'turn purely in one language', that is, 'Turns purely in PK or Turns purely in Malay'. In the 'Turns containing PK' a total of 73.48% of the turns consist of mixed speech while in the 'Turns containing Malay' there is a total of 84.62% of mixed speech being used alongside the use of Malay in the talk at the food stalls. The figures indicate that in the use of both PK and Malay, the use of mixed speech is more common than the use of a single language for communication at the stalls.

Table 6.5b Language Use at Celebrations

Setting or Situation Recorded	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%)	No. of Turns containing M (%)	No. of Turns containing H, T, P (5)	No. of Turns in English (%)
2. Celebrations					
• An elder's 76th birthday	100	84 (84.00) 43 PK 41 Mixed	13 (13.00) 0 M 12 Mixed	Nil	3 (3.00)
• X'mas '99	101	48 (47.53) 12 PK 31 Mixed	20 (19.80) 0 M 20 Mixed	3 H	30 (29.70)
• Intrudu 2000	97	70 (72.71) 40 PK 30 Mixed	23 (23.71) 1 M 22 Mixed	1H	3 (3.09)
Total	298	202 (67.78) 100 PK (49.50) 102 Mixed (50.50)	56 (18.79) 1 M (1.79) 55 Mixed (98.21)	4 (1.35)	36 (12.08)

(cf. Table 6.5)

On the other hand, Table 6.5b shows that at celebrations, when PK is used, there is not much difference in the total amount of 'Turns Purely in PK' (49.50%) and total amount containing 'Mixed' codes (50.50%). The table also shows that the most of the turns containing PK comes from the talk at the elder's birthday and celebration of Intrudu where there are more G1 and older G2 PK speakers present than at the Christmas celebration. This being the case, it points to the possibility that the G1 and older G2 speakers codeswitch and codemix less hence the small difference in the total amount of 'purely PK' and 'mixed' turns (hopefully a future study specifically on codeswitching across generations in the Kristang community can confirm this hypothesis). In the use of Malay though, the speakers during celebrations show the same pattern of communication as in Table 6.5a, that is, use of 'mixed' speech exceeds the use of purely Malay turns (98.21% as compared to 1.79%). This means that Malay is seldom used on its own as a means of communication; in fact, extracts of data containing

Malay in #37 to #40 show that Malay is more often used as an embedded, not as a matrix, language in conversations.

Table 6.5c Language Use in the Daily Village Life

Setting or Situation Recorded	Total No. of Turns	No. of Turns containing PK (%)	No. of Turns containing M (%)	No. of Turns containing H, T, P (5)	No. of Turns in English (%)
3. Village Life					
• Women Chatting	315	236 (74.92) 104 PK 132 Mixed	75 (23.81) 2 M 73 Mixed	Nil	4 (1.27)
• Community past times -Playing Black Jack	25	14 (56.00) 3 PK 11 Mixed	9 (36.00) 0 M 8 Mixed	Nil	2 (8.00)
-Playing Gin Rummy	28	10 (35.72) 1 PK 9 Mixed	9 (32.14) 0 M 9 Mixed	Nil	9 (32.14)
-Playing Ceki	27	10 (37.04) 2 PK 8 Mixed	5 (18.52) 0 M 5 Mixed	10 H	2 (7.41)
• Conversation at the bus stop	31	20 (64.52) 4 PK 16 Mixed	9 (29.03) 0 M 9 Mixed	Nil	2 (6.45)
• Fishermen chatting	60	39 (65.00) 1 PK 38 Mixed	10 (16.67) 0 M 10 Mixed	Nil	11 (18.33)
	486	329 (67.70) 115 PK (34.95) 214 Mixed (65.05)	117 (24.07) 2 M (1.71) 115 Mixed (98.29)	10 (2.06)	30 (6.17)

*Total for card games session

(cf. Table 6.5)

In Table 6.5c, the total amount of mixed speech used (65.05%) in the turns containing PK is almost double the total amount of turns purely in PK (34.95%). Individually, in each of the 6 settings, more mixed speech is used than turns totally in PK. Similarly, in the turns containing Malay, the use of mixed speech (98.29%) far exceeds the non-mixed use of Malay (1.71%). Also, only one of the six settings (that is 'Women Chatting') records 2 turns purely in Malay; in the other 5 settings there is no use of

Malay on its own. This indicates that Malay is seldom used as the main language of communication among the Kristang speakers although it is used for inter-ethnic communication in the neighbourhood domain (e.g. Talk at the bus stop (#23) and for specific functions (cf. section 6.10.4.3 'The Use of Malay').

In sum, Tables 6.5a, b and c have shown that at the PS, instead of using one language at a time, it is more common to find a mixing mode as part of the community's norm for communication. This finding confirms the reports of the RLCLU survey in Chapter 5 in which respondents report the use of a mixture of Kristang and English (cf. Chapter 5, Tables 5.12 & 5.13) and Kristang, English and other languages (cf. Chapter 5, Table 5.14) for communication in the home. This mixing mode behaviour is what Grosjean (1995: 262) refers to as functioning in a bilingual language mode in which bilinguals often engage in language mixing.

6.10.1 Language mixing in the Kristang Community

Language mixing is defined by Grosjean (1995:263) as a general operation 'often made up of two different processes: codeswitching and borrowing' thus in this study, language mixing will used as a cover term to refer to the codeswitching (CS) and borrowing activities of the Kristang speakers; the product of the language mixing will be referred to as mixed speech or a (bilingual) mixed code. When the mixed code has stabilized into a distinct language of its own, it is what Winford (2003) terms as bilingual mixed languages or intertwined languages.

CS is the alternate use of two or more languages or varieties of a language in a conversation. In this study CS refers mainly to the speakers' use of the different language (for instance, PK, English, Malay, Hokkien) or different varieties of a language (e.g. (standard) Malay or (non-standard) Bazaar Malay) in their conversations.

As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.3, CS can either be insertional or alternational. Although both types of CS are found in the speech of the Kristang community most of the CS in the speech of Kristang speakers are of the insertional type, usually the insertion of one-word lexical items from the languages in PK repertoire. Since most of these one-word items found inserted into the base languages of the speakers are content morphemes of nouns and verbs, these single-word switches shall be referred to as (lexical) borrowings, as classified by Poplack and Meechan (1995, cited in Winford, 2003).

6.10.1.1 Single-word switches or borrowings in Kristang speech

Insertional switching in the form of single-word switches in Kristang speech are borrowed items incorporated into the morphosyntactic frame of the recipient language hence the switching does not involve a change of (base) language and, in the case of the Kristang community, PK and English are often the base languages into which the lexical insertions are made. Since the Kristang speakers use two to three languages in their speech, insertional switching can occur in any of these forms:

(i) Insertions of PK terms

(ii) Insertions of English terms

(iii) Insertions of Malay terms

Depending on the intention of the speakers, insertional switches serve a variety of functions as illustrated in the examples below.

(i) Insertions of PK

PK terms inserted into turns with English as the matrix language are usually one-word insertions of nouns such as kinship terms or verbs referring to personal acts as described in the examples below. Two PK terms that I would like to discuss here are

'baba/ba' ('lad' or 'respectful term of address for elder brother') and 'kagah' ('to defecate'). These two terms are very culture specific and therefore cannot be replaced by an English term as it will not carry the same cultural meaning intended in the utterance.

Kinship term: **baba or ba**

'Baba/ba' refers to 'lad' or 'elder brother'. Data of talk in the homes record the use of this pronoun as the highest number of PK one word insertion with at least 60 entries for this word. In most of the examples involving the use of **'baba/ba'**, the function of its insertion is to inculcate as well as reiterate the respect that should be accorded to the other brother or sibling in the family. The use of **'baba/ba'** is distinctly Kristang as its use cannot be replaced by the English term 'lad' or 'elder brother' because this Kristang term embodies the cultural value of status and respect for the 'young master' in the family. The six examples (#25 - #30) below illustrate the different ways **'baba/ba'** are used to convey the cultural meaning of the term.

25. M reminds the younger child not to disturb his elder brother.
M: mother Ai: 2 year old son

479 M: Aidan child, **baba** doing homework.

PC 1

26. It's Aaron's, the eldest brother's birthday.
M: mother Ai: 2 year old son An: 7 year old son

622 M: Aidan, Anton...you didn't wish your **baba** 'Happy Birthday'.

PC1

27. Gm is trying to coax D to emulate his elder brother's behaviour and finish his dinner quickly.
Gm: grandma D: 2 year old grandson

192 Gm: [Asking D to look at T] See **baba...baba** open big mouth...
193 D: **Baba!**

194 T: [Encouraging D] Open big mouth. **Baba** finish already, know?
195 Gm: Faster. B__i____g mouth... Hey, papa will buy sweet, know?

Gp-gc 3

In #25 - #27, the action to be taken is not explicitly cited but the respect for **baba** or elder brother is implicitly understood hence the addressees know what must be done: in #25, the little child, Aidan, must not disturb his elder brother; in #26, the two younger brothers must go and wish their **baba** 'Happy Birthday'; in #27, D must learn to eat his meal quickly like his role model elder brother.

'Baba/ba' is also a term of address sometimes used by an adult speaker to address a young Kristang son affectionately:

#28. M: mother D: 3 year old son

235 M: Eh, mummy still sick, eh, **ba**? How many days you sick, eh? Why you sick?... Today your birthday, know, **ba**?
236 D: Hmm.

PC 2

'Baba/ba' is sometimes used by the young male speaker himself to refer to himself when talking to his younger sibling. In #29, **'baba'** gives generously to his younger sister as he fulfils his big brother role of looking after his younger sibling:

#29. Ad: 10 years old brother Ab: 5 year old sister

262 Ad: Abigail, come ...**Baba** give you free burger...

PC 5

In contrast to **baba/ba** which refers to elder brother or young man or young master, the gender opposite, **chichit** which refers to elder sister, did not command as many entries as the 'brother' counterpart in the language use data. A possible reason may be that the word **chichit** may have evolved from the Chinese Hokkien kinship term 'ah *chi*' (elder

sister) and hence is not considered Kristang. Baxter and de Silva (forthcoming) have no listing of this word in their dictionary although, as shown in the example below, the term is used by some speakers in my data (but not as frequently as **baba**):

#30. J: 6 year old Kristang boy

94J: [Phone rings] Hello. Ask **chichit** put down the extension. Ah? Hold on, ah?
{Ask big sister to put down the extension...(..)..}

PC 4

Lexical items referring to personal acts

Some lexical items such as **'kagah'** are found to be used quite frequently in the data of language use. **'Kagah'** literally means 'defecate'; however, the term can also be used to refer to the act of 'going to the toilet' or just to refer to 'the toilet'.

#31. Breakfast time.
M: mother Ai: 2 year old toddler Av: 4 year old son

165Ai: [Cries and asks for something] (?)
166M: Sit down and eat. Av___, go and drink your Milo...You stop playing with the curtain, eh, Av__? Ai_____, finish **kagah?** Finish?
{Ai____, finish defecate?}
{Ai ____, finish 'going to the toilet'?}
167Ai: [Softly] Finish.

PC 1

#32. Saturday morning; M is off work.
M: mother Gm: grandma
Gw: 6 year old girl T: 10 month old girl

150Gm: You must sit with her otherwise she won't finish her homework.
151M: Gw___, sit here and do. Ah, must write like the teacher writing, hmm?
[To Gm] Mi (shortened form of Mummy), T____ **kagah** this morning?
{T_____ defecate this morning?}
{T_____ went to the toilet this morning?}
152Gm: No, not yet. Yesterday she didn't go, you know?

Gp-gc 1

Although 'going to the toilet' is a natural bodily function and is part of the regular toilet training for the young, it is a private subject hence the mother tongue term is used to enquire about this bodily function in #31 and #32. The softness of Ai's reply in turn 167 in #31 and the indirect 'she didn't go' instead of direct reference to the toilet in turn 152 in #32 characterise such matters as personal and private. The speakers tend to use terms from their mother tongue when referring to personal matters although they may reiterate the meaning of the word in another language (see also #13).

Since **'kagah'** is associated with the toilet, the term is sometimes used for comic effect. In the next two examples **'kagah'** is used for teasing: in #33 the joke is at D's expense while in #34 D uses the word to tease her mother.

#33. M: mother F: father D: 3 year old son

143D: [Singing to himself] Teletubbies...teletubbies...
[Sees F leaving the house] I want to follow...
144F: Go where? Go **kagah** you want to go!?
{Go to the toilet you want to go!?}
{You want to go to the toilet!?}
145M: [Laughter]

PC 2

#34. M: mother D: 3 year old son

522M: Ok, sing... 'Three blind mice, see how they run... They run after the farmer's wife, who cut their tails with...?
523D: What?
524M: A carving knife...
525D: A carving knife...[laughs]....I want **kagah!**
{..(..)..defecate}
{..(..).. to go to the toilet}
526M: Really?
527D: [Laughs]
528M: Go to sleeplah.

PC 2

The use of **'kagah'** as a joke is very culture-specific and not all outsiders can understand the humour associated with its use. The fact that D, a three year old boy is

able to use the term to tease his mother in #34 shows that he has acquired the (social) knowledge of the comic use of this Kristang word.

(ii) English terms inserted into PK ML frames

English words inserted into turns with PK as the matrix language are often single words or phrases that seldom have an equivalent in PK.

#35.

68V: **Bos pun teng isti** cream, **yose** sister-in-law **pun teng isti** cream. **Keh drumih nubu bota. Kantu ngua** tube **isote?**
{You too have this cream, I-POSSESSIVE sister-in-law too have this cream. Want sleep just put. How much one tube cost?}
{You too have this cream, my sister-in-law too has this cream. Apply only at bedtime. How much does a tube cost?}

69M: Eleven dollars, **ngua.** [Referring to the baby] **Eli ta olah ku bos.**
{Eleven dollars, one} {She looking at you}
{Eleven dollars, each} {She's looking at you}

70V: **Eli lembrah yo robat!** [Laughter]
{She think I robot!}
{She thinks I'm a robot!}

71M: [Responds to baby babbling] What? Want to talk? Where got time? Got work...a little while more want to cut chillies ..(..)..

PC 4

In #35, the English terms used are 'cream', 'sister-in-law', 'tube' and 'eleven dollars' - mostly nouns referring to 'technical' things and hence have no equivalent in PK (see also section 6.10.4.1 'The Use of English'). Interestingly, in turn 71, when M speaks to her baby, she switches totally to English (which confirms that English is the preferred language for speaking to the young).

(iii) Insertions of Malay Terms

Borrowings of Malay words inserted into English ML frames are usually single lexical items referring to specific activities or contexts. In #36, M inserts two Malay words, 'siang' and 'chillie padi', to convey the specific actions she will take if her son does stop answering back and start doing his homework:

#36. M: mother Aa: 8 year old son

374M: I will siang (M) you, you not yet start (on your homework)...
{I will scale you..(..)..}
{ I will scale you (like a fish) ..(..)..}
375Aa: I don't know...
376M: Don't know, go through the thing first. Where is your pencil? Rubber?
377Aa: I just came, ok?
378M: I'm going to put chillie padi (M) on your mouth one of these days!
{I'm going to put small red hot chillies on your mouth one of these days!}

PC 1

'Siang' is a verb used to describe the act of cleaning fish, that is, scaling the fish and taking out the gills and inner guts of the fish; this word is used by M in turn 374 to convey to Aa how she will thrash him if he doesn't start on his homework soon. 'Chillie padi' is a variety of small chillies which is extremely hot. In turn 378 M threatens to put *chillie padi* on Aa's mouth for being rude in answering back. The use of these terms here are necessary for they are imbued with Malay cultural overtones and are not translatable into English or PK. Malay adjectives are also another popular group of words that are used by the Kristangs to describe and convey the specific context of emotions felt. In #37, D is making his grandmother very angry and she is on the verge of smacking him.

#37. Gm: grandma D: 2 years old grandson

16Gm: ..(..)..Hey, see! [To Gp] **Kifoi ngka dali? Yo keh tubing se ubida! Nang dali yo** geram (M) **ku eli. Ja kantu dai yo keh dali ku eli ngka acha!**
{..(..)..Why NEG hit? I want twist his ears!
NEG hit I fed up with him. PAST many day I want hit to him, NEG get!}
{Why didn't you hit him? I want to twist his ears! If I don't hit him I get so fed up and frustrated. For the past days I wanted to hit him but didn't get (the chance)!

Gp-Gc 3

'Geram' actually means more than 'fed up''. 'Geram' is a feeling of deep, intense frustration, of helplessness and also intense anger. The use of this Malay adjective is

necessary as there is no equivalent English or PK word to convey the intensity of feeling in #37.

In the data of parent-children and grandparent-grandchildren interactions, there were a number of occasions when Malay terms referring to school subjects were found in the conversations between the interlocutors. In #38 Malay words inserted are all Mathematical terms in the Malay language. Their uses here are necessary since they are discussing Matematik (Mathematics) and Malay is the medium of instruction for the subject in school.

38. M is supervising her children doing their homework.
M: mother D: 9 years old son

185M: [To D] Baca (M). Don't ask tambah (M) or tolak (M)...want answer only! How come you got zero? Cannot bahagi (M) properly?
{Read. Don't ask 'add' or 'minus'..(..)..Cannot divide properly?}
{Read. Don't ask me whether to add or minus. ..(..).. Can't you divide correctly?}

P-C 6

Names of local food items are common loan words in bilingual speech. 'Sambal' (in #39) is now eaten by all the races in Malaysia that this dish is now considered more Malaysian than exclusively Malay cuisine.

#39. Gm: grandma Gp: grandpa

402Gm: [To Gp] **Basta, kada rehdada** sambal (M) **ja botah nali. Kinasang keh kumih? Jenti botah** sambal (M) **mbanda...**
{Enough, so much chillie paste PAST put there. How then want eat? People put chillie paste at one side...}
{Enough, you've put too much spicy chillie paste (on the rice). How are they going to eat it? People usually put the spicy chillie paste on one side of the plate (not on the rice)}

Gp-Gc 2

In #39, 'sambal' cannot be replaced by any other word for it refers to a Malay recipe of spicy fried chillie paste made from a variety of ingredients of chillies and spices.

To summarize, the examples illustrating insertional CS in the speech of the Kristang speakers reveal that most of the insertions used by the speakers in this community are of the one-word type and they are often words that have no equivalent in the matrix language hence the need for these 'cultural loans' (Myers-Scotton, 1992) to be used. PK terms that are found inserted in English ML frames are usually kinship terms (e.g. 'baba/ba') or lexicon referring to personal acts (e.g. 'kagah') while English words found inserted in PK ML frames are usually 'technical' terms (such as cream, tube). Insertions of Malay words are usually context and culture specific (e.g. 'siang', 'sambal'). Most of these terms are regularly borrowed into Kristang speech therefore they can be considered established loans in the Kristang repertoire (cf. section 6.1 & section 6.10.4).

6.10.1.2 Alternational codeswitching in Kristang speech

Alternational codeswitching refers to the use of different languages within a turn (intra-turn) or between speaker turns (inter-turn) (Musyken, 2000). Switching of this type can take place in different degrees: in its simplest form switching is just from one language to another, that is, an utterance begins in one code, switches mid-turn to another code and continues in that code to the end of the sentence; however in highly bilingual societies such as India, Singapore and Malaysia, where the use of three or more languages is a daily occurrence (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.4.1.), alternational switching can take the form of multiple switching involving a switch of ML between three to four languages with or without a change of turns and speakers.

Despite the variety of languages found in the community's repertoire and the speakers' polyglossic use of languages, transcripts of data of language use at the PS show that

English and PK are the main languages used as the matrix languages in the conversations and alternational CS tend to be between these languages, that is:

(i) alternational CS English to PK

(ii) alternational CS PK to English

(i) Alternational CS: English to PK

Examples of alternational CS from English to PK presented here show that the switch to PK usually takes place when the speaker is experiencing intense feelings of either danger, disapproval, solidarity, anger or dissatisfaction.

To alert danger at hand

In #40 and #41, both adults break into creole to alert danger at hand:

40. Dinnertime.
Gm: grandma Gw: 6 year old granddaughter
T: 10 month old granddaughter

50Gw: I want to eat alone...
51Gm: No, mama feed you. So many days you didn't eat properly, ok?
52Gw: Hmm.
53Gm: Come, T___ ... here. T____, T_____ ... Oh my! **Lo bai pusa! Lo toka!** Hot!
{Oh my! Will go pull! Will get! Hot!
{Oh my! She will go and pull (the pot)! She will get scalded!}
Gp-gc 1

#41. M is playing 'train' with Ai___ when she spots how careless Av___ is.
M: mother Ai: 2 year old toddler Av: 4 year old son

214M: [To Ai] This one train...eee...ooow.... [Shouts out] **Ja kai aros, ja kai** Av__! This Av___ from morning! **Eli ta fika diabu!** Sit down there, sit quiet before you break your head!
{..(..).. PAST fall rice, PAST fall Av____! ..(..)..He becoming devil!..(..)}

{..(..)..Your rice has fallen off, it's fallen Av___!..(..).. He's becoming a devil!..(..)..}

PC 1

Besides alerting danger in both examples, in #41, M also switches to PK to express her frustration that Av___ is becoming (a) **'diabu'** (a devil)!

In #42, M voices her opinion on how unfairly her cousin N is treated by N's mother and the other adults.

To show disapproval and signal solidarity

42. G: mother M: daughter N: G's niece S: N's sister

7G: What to do?
8M: [To G] You are all one-sided, you know? You all pick on her. She (N) already finish Form Five; that one (S)? Talking to which man all, you know?
9G: **Kaladu bo sa boka! Nang bai falah nadalah.**
{Quiet your mouth! NEG go say anything}
{You keep quiet! Don't you go around and say anything!}
10M: Auntie J give S a lot of face.
11G: I know...Oh my! **Yo sabeh!**
{I know...Oh my! I know!}

Gp-gc 1

In #42 the discussion on the unfair double standard treatment of N are all in English. However, G immediately makes an inter-turn switch to PK at turn 9 and mid-turn at turn 11. The motivation for the switch to PK in turn 9 is to convey disapproval (that is, G strongly feels that M should not speak out about how she feels about the matter) while the reiteration in PK (turn 11) signals solidarity (that is, G agrees with M's opinion). According to Gumperz (1982), code contrast is one of the means that participants use for communicative effect to convey what they are saying. Thus, the first switch can be analysed as a *personalization versus objectivization* strategy used to

relate the degree of speaker involvement (in this case, how strongly G personally feels what M should and should not do) while the function of the reiteration in PK (**'Yo sabeh!**) mid-turn at turn 11 is to amplify or emphasize G's awareness of the unfair situation.

In the examples below, in the grandparent-grandchildren interactions, two of the grandmothers display the peculiar habit of grumbling or talking to herself; interestingly these monologues or 'asides' are frequently expressed in PK. In his discussion of a conversation-analytical approach to CS, Auer (1988; 1995; 1998) analyses such momentary lapses into the other language as participant-related switching indicating the participant's preference for one language over another. However, unlike the switches in #40-42, the switches in these side-remarks are not contextualization cues to the other speakers, they are internal dialogues within the speakers themselves.

'Asides' in PK

43. Gm is helping Jl with his Maths homework.
Gm: grandma Jl: 7 year old grandson
Jo: 9 year old granddaughter

289Jl: There, this one (sum).
290Gm: Ok. So easy you don't know to do. [To Jo] After rest a little while, you go and sleep. You don't take out your homework, your mother come, can. Don't make headache here. Your father when ..(?)...say you become naughty, eh? [Aside] **Agore eli ta konta ku** pencil, rubber, ruler...[To Jl] Hey, what you doing? Hey, last one, last one...[Aside] **Ki faze ngka sabe....** [To Jo] Take this last one and go and sleep. [To Jl] Ah yo, my! Count already?
{..(..)..[Aside] Now he counting with pencil, rubber, ruler...(..)..
[Aside] What do NEG know...}
{..(..).. [Aside] Now he's counting with the pencil, rubber, ruler...(..)..
[Aside] I don't know what he's doing...}
291Jl: Ten?

Gp-gc 2

As she observes how Jl____ counts, Gm 'talks to herself' about his behaviour. The communication between Gm and her grandchildren are all in English but when Gm 'talks to herself' about J1's behaviour she switches to PK. An alternation between PK and English follows as Gm alternates between her 'asides' and her direct speech to her grandchildren in turn 290.

Grumbling in PK

44. Afternoon nap time but D wouldn't take a nap.

Gm: grandma D: 2 year old grandson

1Gm: Hey, sleeplah! [Grumbling to herself] **Subi riba di kama, subi riba nali... Ah yo! Yo ja bira rostu, ja subi ne kama, lo kai...**
{Climb up from bed, climb up there...Ah yo! I PAST turn face, PAST climb on bed, will fall...}
{Climbing up the bed, climbing up there...Ah yo! I turned my face and he's already on the bed, he's going to fall (soon)...}
2D: Don't know.
3Gm: What don't know? Hey, don't shout! You want to sleep or not?
4D: Don't want...
5Gm: Don't want? [Grumbling] **Bebeh leti agora nadi drumi...**
{Drink milk now NEG sleep...}
{He's drunk his milk but won't sleep...}

Gp-gc 3

Similarly, in #44, the grandmother uses English with the grandchildren but when she grumbles about D's behaviour she switches to PK. The switch to PK in #43 and #44 in the 'asides' show that these G1 speakers tend to express their innermost thoughts in their mother tongue.

(ii) Alternational CS: PK to English

Compared to the switches made from English to PK, the switches made from PK to English are not emotively motivated: in #45 the switches to English are for

communication with the younger generation while in #46 the switch to English is to mark reported speech:

English for communication with the young

#45. JL doesn't want to go to school but Gm disapproves of letting JL stay home.
Gm: Grandmother Gp; Grandpa
JL: 7 years old grandson

490JL: No...no, no, no.
491Gm: [To Gp] **Isti bos da ngka bai skola, kada dia ngka bai...** [To JL] Your mother come only I report. I want tell your mother, never go school, **ta kachoh** ...everywhere cutting paper, double-decker climbing there. [To Gp] **Kai eli podi subi disé.**
{This, you give NEG go school, everyday NEG go..(..).. bothering... (..).. How he can climb up down}
{This person, if you allow him to be absent, everyday he won't go...(..).. He's such a bother...(..).. How he can climb up and down}
Gp-gc 2

In #45 the switching pattern is such: Gm uses PK to explain to Gp about the danger of letting JL stay at home but she switches intra-turn to English to address JL (telling him that she will tell his mother about his absence from school). Mid-turn she inserts a verb in PK **'ta kachoh'** (bothering/giving trouble) to describe him then she switches back to English to describe to him his bothersome behaviour. At the end of the turn, she uses PK again with Gp to reiterate how hyperactive JL is. Language use in #45 is one of the numerous examples which indicates that switches to English are often to mark communication with the younger generation. JL's protesting in English (turn 490) also shows that the third generation are used to speaking in English to communicate with G1.

Reported Speech

In #46 J, V and L are talking about what happened when the volunteer group went to help clean Z____'s filthy house.

#46.

199J: **Ke ja bareh, kai tantu** kerak (M) **ja sai!**
{Then PAST sweep, how much dirt came out!}
{After sweeping (the house), so much dirt came off!}

200V: **Ake kaminyu pasah rentu kama, keh krensa falah,** 'Auntie, **bant, pincha tras...**these few days my father saw one snake...snake.' Ke **M____ falah,** 'What snake? Snake **lo puza obu!' Ropa ngka labah...'**
{The corrider pass the bedroom, the child say, 'Auntie, sweep, throw back .(..)..Then M____ say, 'What snake? Snake will lay eggs!' Clothes NEG wash...}
{At the corrider past the bedroom, the child said, "Auntie, sweep, throw (the rubbish) in the backyard..(..).. Then M said, "What snake? Snake will lay eggs (in this filth)! Clothes unwashed...}

WT

The interlocutors here are all adult women, two of them (J & V) are G2 while L is a G1 Kristang and they are fluent speakers of PK; conversations between these women speakers are mostly in PK (cf. section 6.8.3.1 'Women Chatting'). In #46 English is used to report direct speech, in this case, what the child said. The use of English by the child here provides further confirmation that English is the common means of communication for the young and with the young.

6.10.2 CS as the language for communication in the community

According to Auer (1999), when there is frequent intrasentential juxtaposition of two languages, it is often difficult, if not impossible to identify which is the language of interaction or the base language. Due to the frequency and ease with which the Kristang speakers juxtapose the languages in their repertoire, there are cases where as many as three to four languages are found in a turn resulting in a 'mixed code' as the 'language' or mode of interaction. #47 illustrates the case in point.

#47. Dinnertime. D is having his favourite 'flat noodles' in soup.
Gm: grandma/mama D: 3 year old son/grandson M: mother

88D: Mama, hot...
89Gm: No.
90D: Hot!

91Gm: **Chadu kumih** kuay teow (H), eh? Some more? Nice or not? **Sabrozu,** eh?
{Clever eat flat noodles, eh?} {Delicious, eh?}
92D: Where got some more?
93M: Sedap (M) or not?
{Delicious or not?}
94D: Mummy, afterward take...

PC 2

In #47, turn 91 is a clear example of the polyglossic use of the languages in the Kristang speakers' repertoire. Gm begins her turn by commenting on D's love for flat noodles in soup in PK (**'chadu kumih'**) followed by the borrowing of the Hokkien term 'kuay teow' ('flat noodles') while two very brief switches to English were made to enquire whether D wants a second serving ('Some more?') and about the taste of the food ('Nice or not?'). The enquiry is then repeated in PK (**'Sabrozu,** eh?'). Of the nine words used (excluding the tags, 'eh'), three words are in PK, one in Hokkien and two phrases are in English thus the base language in this turn is ambiguous. The same phenomenon takes place in turn 93: 'Sedap or not' (Delicious or not) – is the matrix language here Malay or English?

#48. Three fishermen are talking about how intact they found the body of a Portuguese priest after opening his coffin
C, X, P: fishermen from the PS; the speakers are G2 Kristangs

20P: Local, **mpodi<u>lah</u>**...local embalm **tan tempu. Eli karsang ngka kebrah, ngka tokah agu...ja** seal, **ki?**
{Local, cannot<u>lah</u>...local embalm plenty time. His coffin not broken, didn't get water... PAST seal, what?}
{Local embalming will take a long time. His coffin is still intact, didn't touch any water...already sealed, you know?}
21C: I tell you ah...Chinese **karsang** also can last forty years, know?
{I tell you ah...Chinese coffin also can last forty years, know?}
{I tell you, ah...Chinese coffins can last forty years, know?}
22P: **Isti mpodi falah...kantu tokah cua, akeh chang** wet only...got a lot of water down there...**noira lo** rapuk (M)...
{This cannot say...if get rain, the ground wet only...got a lot of water down there...a little while will rot...}
{We can't be sure...if it rains a lot, the ground becomes wet with a lot of water, after a while it will rot...}

FC

In #48, unlike turns 20 and 21 (where the language alternation can clearly be recognised as insertional CS: English in a PK ML and PK in an English ML respectively), in turn 22 again (i) we cannot be exactly sure which is the matrix language (ii) a mixed code is the 'language' of interaction here for the speaker, P. The fact that the other participants can understand his view in this 'language' indicates that the use of code-switched speech is unmarked and shared by the participants. 'Unmarked' here means CS is the norm for communication/the default way of speaking (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998) in the Kristang community.

#49. Ad: 10 years old boy

253Ad: This bag tak boleh pakai (M)!
{This bag NEG can use!}
{This bag cannot (be) use(d)!}

PC 5

In #49 the matrix language is Malay since the sentence employs a Malay morphosyntactic frame (NP subject + NEG + MODAL VERB + VERBTRANSITIVE) while the syntax of the English sentence would be NP subject + MODAL VERB + NEG + BE auxiliary + VERB transitive. However, from the speakers point of view, it may not be as easy to discern whether it is English or Malay as speakers do not analyse their speech in the way linguists do. For the speakers, what is more important is that the code-switched speech is the 'language' for communication, in short, the mixed code is a code in its own right.

The fact that turn 253 above is spoken by a third generation (G3) Kristang shows that the use of a mixed code is not confined to any particular generation although judging from the transcripts of data on language use in the community and examples given throughout this chapter, the older generation (G1 and G2) tend to switch and codemix between PK, English and (Bazaar) Malay while the younger Kristangs tend to

codeswitch and codemix between English and (standard) Malay which strongly suggests that the older generations are proficient in three languages (PK, English, and (Bazaar) Malay) while G3 Kristangs are proficient in two languages, English and (standard) Malay. Since only fluent bilinguals can codemix to such an extent, this language use pattern across generations implies that the younger generation is not as proficient in PK and hence a shift in language use is taking place across generations.

#50.

161Gp: Follow like your grand mother – tak (M) kam guan (H) hati (M).
(..(..).. NEG satisfied heart}
{(You are like your grandmother – dissatisfied}

Gp-gc 3

In #50, three languages are used: English, Malay, Hokkien. The sentence begins in English but it is followed by a phrase '*tak kam guan hati*' to explain the sentence in English. The phrase 'tak kam guan hati' which is made up of two words borrowed from Malay 'tak' and *'hati'* and a Hokkien phrase *'kam guan'* is often used by both the Baba and Kristang communities especially to describe people who are difficult to please. The way the three languages are used alongside each other is another example of the intermeshing or overlapping of languages as a feature of polyglossic language use as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2) and highlighted again at the beginning of section 6.10.

6.10.3 Toward bilingual mixed codes in Kristang speech

The use of a mixed code for communication is not a recent phenomenon in the patterns of language use in the region. As reported in Chapter 1, section 1.4.1, the existence of creole communities in Malacca and the bilinguality of the speakers in the region are living testimonies to such patterns of language use. Long term contact between the different communities and the different languages brought about what Gupta (1992)

terms as 'contact features' in the speech of the participants in which some features of the grammatical systems of the languages in contact are transferred across the language groups. Interestingly, in the transcripts of language use in the Kristang community, the ways in which the 'Malaysian' particle 'lah', the Kristang particle 'ja' and reduplication are being used with the other languages by the Kristang speakers show that when 'lah', 'ja' and reduplication are applied across the other languages spoken by the speakers, these contact features develop their own specialized functions. Thus, in the following subsections I would like to discuss (i) The use of the particle 'lah' with PK and the other languages (ii) The use of the Kristang particle 'ja' with other languages (iii) The transfer of reduplication rules to other languages such as English.

6.10.3.1 The use of the particle 'lah' (or 'la')

The use of the particle 'lah' in Malaysian and Singaporean English is so widespread that 'lah' has become a distinctive feature of the non-native varieties of English spoken in the region. However, speakers in the region are aware that the use of 'lah' is not confined to local English alone; in short, 'lah' is used with other languages too. In her discussion of the contact features of Singapore Colloquial English (SCE), Gupta (1992: 331) lists 'la' as the commonest assertive particle which 'commits the speaker to an utterance' and as such, 'la' is one of the particles that can be used in commands. The main function of 'lah' is often to 'emphasize' although according to some researchers such as Kwan-Terry (1978), the intonation given to the particle may convey different intentions and hence different shades of meaning.

In the analysis of the use 'la' in PK, Baxter (1988; 68) contends that the use of the particle is 'to mark the item after which it is postposed as the focus of emphasis' (#51) but 'la' can also serve to mark a contrast of consequence (#52):

#51. *E means emphasis; 1s means first person singular; G means genitive.

80d. *sai la!*
Go out E*
'Get out!'

#52.

81a. *yo sa papa, isi ńgua, ja pidi tuká nomi; nala sa*
1s* G* father this 1 PF ask change name there G*
papa nggé da, ká ja fiká isotá la
father NEG-wan give finish PF stay this_kind E*
'My father, this one (the adoptive father), asked if my name could be changed. The father there (the real father) wouldn't allow it so **it stayed like that**'.

(Baxter, 1988: 195)

Although the use of 'lah' (or *la*) can be traced to Malay and Mandarin, the exact origin of 'lah' is unknown but it is highly speculated to originate from Hokkien (Richards and Tay, 1997; Lim, 1981). The fact that 'lah/la' is found in almost all the language systems of the languages spoken in the region – in local English, Tamil, Cantonese, Hainanese, PK – indicates that the use of the particle is easily transferable to any (local) language it comes into contact with. As a result of its transferability among 'Malaysian' languages, the particle 'lah' exhibits strong functional specialization with the language it is used with as the examples #53 - #57 will show.

Data of language use in this study shows that 'lah' is used with a variety of word classes including Kristang affirmatives, negative imperatives, verbs, and adverbs. However, in each particular case, the function of 'lah' varies, depending on the intention of the speaker.

In # 53, 'lah' is used with the affirmative 'Seng' (Yes) not just to emphasize but it acts as a qualifier to confirm the whole explanation that follows.

#53.

78C2m: **Ki? Ngua oras beng kaza?**
{What? One time come home?}
(What? Come home at one (past midnight)?)

79C3f: **Senglah. Yo beng kaza, sigih ku yo. Nus pichah sedu nus beng kaza.** Wednesday **yo off, eli pun** off.
{Yes. I come home, follow with I. We close early, we come home. Wednesday I off, she also off}
{Yes. When I come home, she follows me. We close early, we come home (early). On Wednesday when I'm off (work), she off too}

In #54 'lah' is tagged with the negative imperative '**Nang**' (Don't!) to convey the speaker's plea (please don't rain) to the skies:

#54.
67C6f: **Nangorra** redup (M), **yo lembrah lo kai cua. Nanglah kai cua...koitadu tudu ta suga grago.**
{Just now cloudy, I think will fall rain. Don'tlah fall rain... pity all drying shrimps}
{Just now it was cloudy, I thought it will rain soon. Please don't rain... I feel sorry for everybody who put out their shrimps out to dry}

TKS

In #55 when the particle 'lah' is postposed with the PK (transitive) verb, '**sabeh**' (know), the effect is to convey the resigned attitude of the speaker:

#55.

74V: **Ngkah sabehlah kolotu, yo teng yo sa** tricycle.
{Don't knowlah they all, I got my tricycle}
{(I) don't know about them, I have my tricycle}

PC 4

When 'lah' is used with the PK adverb '**presta**' (faster) as in #56 it functions as an assertive particle as described by Gupta (ibid). The use of 'lah' here is not so much to emphasize but to command the grandchild. Although 'lah' is found in the second clause, the 'lah' command includes the preceding clause, thus the function of 'lah' here confirms Baxter's (1988: 194) observation that 'constituents may be focused by means of the particle 'la' which marks them as the focus of emphasis in discourse':

#56.

86Gm: ....Finish all that, Gwendoline. **Prestalah kumi!**

{....Finish all that, Gwedoline. Fasterlah eat!}
{....Finish all that, Gwendoline. Eat faster!}

Gp-gc 1

In #57 'lah' is used by the speaker with both English and PK in one turn but 'lah' performs different functions even though it is used in the same turn by the same speaker:

#57.

666Gm: Ahlah, stoplah! Joseph, **ola, olahlah**!
{Ah lah, stop lah! Joseph, see, seelah!}
{Ah, stop! Joseph, see, see (how naughty they are/what they are doing)!}

Gp-gc 2

The function of 'lah' in 'ahlah' (an exclamation) and 'stoplah' is 'to plead to the children to stop their boisterous behaviour' but in '**olah**lah' the grandmother is emphasizing the need for Joseph, her spouse, to see for himself how irritating the grandchildren are and that they need to be disciplined.

In sum, due to the regularity with which the particle 'lah' is being used with different languages in the region, the insertion of this particle forms an obligatory part of the grammar and lexicon of the 'mixed' language, giving each case of language mixture its particular function. To conclude, 'lah' + Malay, 'lah' + English, 'lah' + PK may be evidence of a stabilized mixed variety.

6.10.3.2 The use of the Kristang particle 'ja'

Besides the 'Malaysian' particle 'lah', there is evidence that the Kristang particle **'ja'** is also being used with the other languages in the speakers' repertoire. Earlier studies of PK by Hancock (1973) and Baxter (1983) identified the preverbal Kristang particle **'ja'** as a past tense marker; however, later analyses of **'ja'** by Baxter (1988) and

Thurgood and Thurgood (1996) confirm that it is a marker of aspect rather than marking past tense alone. The change for the definition for **'ja'** is due to the fact that the particle is being functionally influenced by the use of English as the English language becomes more dominant in the community. Usually 'ja' is a perfective aspect marker when it attributes a perfective aspect value to the (action) verbs it occurs with but when it occurs with (stative) verbs, the verbs are largely interpreted as having an inchoative aspectual value, that is, expressing the commencement of a state.

In the data from this study, **'ja'** has been found to be used with three languages: with English, with PK and with Malay, each with its own function.

#58.

557Gm: **....Kumi, ja** relax, **niora ja bai fora....**
{...Eat, PAST relax, a while, PAST go out...}
{....Eat, after relaxing, after a while, went out...}

Gp-gc 2

'Ja' is used twice in #58; in the first instance, in 'ja + relax' it is preposed with an English verb 'relax' to mark perfect tense while in its second usage, in 'ja+ bai' it is used with a Kristang verb 'bai' (go) and here it functions as a past tense marker. Thus, we witness two different specialized functions of 'ja' here in this example.

#59.

545Gm: Sleep, faster sleep. [To herself] Ja three o'clock...
{PAST three o'clock}
{Already three o'clock...}

Gp-gc 2

In #59 'ja' in 'ja + three o'clock' functions as a marker of perfective verbal aspect.

#60.

538Gm: You know, enough! **Eli pun repatidu. Ja ola? Ja toka jenti sa olu,** ja puas (M).

{..(..).. He also mischievous. PAST see? PF touch people-POSSESIVE eye(s) PF content}
{..(..).. He also mischievous. Saw? After he's touched (other) people's eyes, then he's contented}

Gp-gc 2

In #60 there are three entries of 'ja': **'ja olah', 'ja tokah,' 'ja** puas'. **'Ja olah'** and **'ja tokah'** are 'ja + Kristang verb' combinations while 'ja paus' is a 'ja + Malay adjective' combination. Although 'olah' and 'tokah' are both verbs, in the former, 'ja' marks past tense but in the latter 'ja' marks perfect tense; the reason for this difference may be as Thurgood and Thurgood (ibid) claim, 'ja' in the latter combination is functioning as part of the aktionsart system: marking a change of state, like at the end of the sentence when 'ja' is combined with the Malay adjective 'puas'. 'Ja + puas' parallels 'sudah + puas' in the Malay language system, 'sudah puas' means '(is) already satisfied', that is, there is a change of state from 'dissatisfaction' to 'contentment' (already satisfied). Generally, 'ja' can be viewed as a highlighter of aspect as it expresses perfective aspect, expressing an inchoative - giving the verbal event a start and a finish.

6.10.3.3 Reduplication in Kristang speech

Of course reduplication is not a specifically Kristang phenomenon; many other languages in the world exhibit reduplication in their language systems. In Malaysia, reduplication is found in a number of languages spoken locally, in Malay, PK and Chinese (both standard Mandarin and non-standard Chinese dialects such as Hokkien or Cantonese) but like the origin of 'lah' it is not certain from which of these languages it originates. The function of reduplication is usually to indicate plurality (in terms of frequency and/or quality) or increase in quality. #61 to #64 are examples of reduplication in Malay, PK, and Chinese respectively:

#61. 'Mari duduk bual bual...'
{'Come sit chat chat...'}

{'Come, (let's) sit and have a long, good chat...} (Malay)

#62. 43k: **..(..).. Perah perah dos ora miu nubu ja lagah ...**
{..(..)..Wait wait two time half just PAST leave ...}
{..(..)..(We) waited and waited untilhalf past two then only we left...}
(PK)

#63. 'Mán mán zóu...'
'Slow slow walk...'
'Walk slowly...' (Mandarin)

#64. 'Lu bān bān kiá, hah?'
'You slow slow walk, hah?'
'You walk slowly, hah?' (Hokkien)

Data of language use in the community shows that there are three ways in which reduplication is used in the mixed codes of Kristang speech: (i) a reduplicated Kristang word is inserted in an English ML frame (#65), (ii) a reduplicated Malay word is inserted in an English ML (#66), (iii) English words are reduplicated, that is, reduplication rules applied to English items (#67 & #68).

(i) Reduplicated Kristang word in English ML frame

#65.

884M: ..(..)..Don't eat too much curry, after **kagah kagah**, some more get pain...
{..(..)..Don't eat too much curry, after defecate defecate, some more get pain...}
{..(..)..Don't eat too much curry, later you will keep going to the toilet and your tummy will ache}
PC 1

In #65, a reduplicated PK word 'kagah kagah' is found inserted in an English sentence; the lexical insertion of 'kagah kagah' is used here to convey the frequency of going to the toilet (if one eats too much curry).

(ii) Reduplicated Malay word in an English ML frame

#66.

683Gm: ..(..).. Balik balik (M) stand at the door...
{..(..)..Again again stand at the door...}
{ ..(..).. Again and again stand(ing) at the door...}

Gp-Gc 3

The Malay word 'balik' literally means 'go back' but in 66, its reduplicated form 'balik balik' is an adverb which means 'repeatedly'. The insertion of this reduplicated form here is termed a 'non-cultural or core' loan for despite equivalent alternatives in the matrix (English) language, the Malay reduplicated term is preferred.

(iii) Reduplication on English

#67.

325M: Go, give her, her slippers. Hold her hand...ok, bye. Give her the slippers...
326Ad: Her slippers, two two at the longkang (M)...
{Her slippers, both (are) at the drain...}

PC 5

#68.

8X: ..(..)..Richard, I start start the motor, cannot start...
{..(..).. Richard, I keep starting the motor, cannot start...}

FC

In #67 the English word 'two' is reduplicated to show quantity while in #68 the English verb 'start' is reduplicated to indicate repeated action. As the English language system does not use reduplication to indicate frequency, quantity or repeated actions as found in the languages used by the Kristangs, namely PK and Malay, the reduplication of English lexical items in the above examples clearly indicates the transfer of PK and Malay reduplication rules onto English. In doing so, the speakers are actually developing their own grammar in the 'language' of interaction.

Of particular interest is #69:

#69.

649Gm: ....[Referring to Joel] Tomorrow ask to bring you to school.
Ngka falah andah, ta jump jump....
{NEG say walk, PROGRESSIVE jump jump...}
{Don't say (you can't) 'walk', (you were) jumping jumping (up and down)...}

Gp-gc 2

In this example, there are two (grammatical) processes at work simultaneously: progressive action is marked both by the reduplication of the English verb 'jump' and by the use of the Kristang particle 'ta' which marks continuous/progressive action. Such double marking of grammatical functions is an example of the language mixing strategies by which bilinguals develop their own specialised grammar in their mixed codes.

6.10.4 A Summary of the Languages Used at the Portuguese Settlement

To complete and consolidate the discussion of the patterns of language use and the type of bilingualism taking place at the PS, this section provides further descriptions of each of the languages used, drawing from observations and examples of data from this study.

6.10.4.1 The Use of English

In Chapter 5, respondents in the RLCLU survey have consistently reported the predominant use of English in their homes. Analysis of data of actual language use in the home domain in this chapter confirms that there is a substantial use of English in the home: between G2 and G3 at least 90% of the total communication is in English while between G1 and G3 at least 80% of the total communications is in English (cf. Table 6.3 & Table 6.4). Even at individual pairings the lowest amount of English turns

between parent and children (G2-G3) are found to be at 76.60% in PC4 while between the grandparent-grandchildren (G1-G3), the lowest number of turns in English rests at 81.53% in Gp-Gc 3.Such an extensive use of English confirms that English is the predominant household language for communication between family members in the Kristang home domain. Further, between the two domains investigated in this study, more English is used in the homes than in the neighbourhood of the PS because data recorded in the neighbourhood domain is mostly data of adults communicating with adults. Nevertheless, in terms of patterns of English language use, the following trends can be identified: (i) English is usually used for communication between the adults and the young in the community, (ii) English is more often identified as the matrix rather than the embedded language in Kristang discourse, (iii) the English used is of the local types: ME Type 1 and ME Type 11.

(i) English for communication between adults and children

Data of talk in both the home and neighbourhood domains at the PS show that most of the PK spoken is used for communication between adults; when interacting with the younger generation or children, the preferred code selected is still English. This pattern of communication, that is, the adults' preference for English with the G3 group confirms the self-reported data if the RLCLU survey in Chapter 5 in which the respondents report using English as the main language of communication in the home. Even in the neighbourhood domain, where the amount of English spoken is lower than the amount of PK used, when communicating with the young English predominates, as illustrated by #70:

#70. S: seller C: 9 year old daughter
C1m: customer 1, male C2f: customer 2, female

113S: **Denti due ker dodu? Denti due bo sa kabese, bo sa olu tudu due!**

{Tooth pain want play the fool? Tooth pain, your head, your eyes all pain!}
{Toothache must be taken seriously. When your tooth aches, you head, your eyes all aches!}

114C: [Shouting] Mummy! Two syrup, two nasi lemak (M)!
{..(..)..coconut rice!}

115S: Haven't got, haven't got! Tell haven't got nasi lemak(M) anymore.
{..(..).. coconut rice ..(..)..}

116C2f: **Denti dianti pusa baratu. Dosi patake saja. Denti tras kinzi patake. Isti** doctor **bong...bos prenya pun pusa denti...**
{Teeth front pull cheap. Twelve dollars only. Teeth back fifteen dollars. This doctor good...you pregnant also pull teeth...}
{It's cheap to extract front teeth. It costs twelve dollars only. The back teeth (molars) cost fifteen dollars (to extract). This doctor/dentist is good...even if you're pregnant you can get your teeth extracted...}

117S: **Podi?**
{Can?}
{Can (a pregnant woman get her teeth extracted)?}

118Csf: Dr Ee can. **Yo kada bes bai.**
{I every time go}
{I always go (to him/Dr Ee)}

119C1m: Baby **pun lo tokah due denti!** [Laughter]
{Baby also FUT get pain tooth!}
{(The) Baby in the womb too will be able to feel the toothache!}

HBS

In #70 all conversations between the adults are practically in PK except for the communication between C (the seller's daughter) and her mother. #70 is one of the many examples showing English as the chosen medium for communicating with the young (see also #45 & #43).

(ii) English as an embedded language

English is often the main language for communication in the home. However, in the conversations of the G1 and G2 speakers, besides borrowings of English single word items, English is sometimes found embedded in the form of short phrases such as 'one o'clock in the morning' or 'one night stand' as illustrated in this example:

#71.

23C19f: **Keng ngua dia eli ja bai M____ sa kaza** one o'clock in the morning.
Eli lembra eli podi ku M____ one night stand! ..(..)..

{Have one day he PAST go M____'s house one o'clock in the morning. He think he can with M_____ one night stand!..(..)..}
{Once he went to M_____'s house at one in the morning. He thought that he could have a one night stand with M!..(..)..}

HSS

(iii) The Type of English Used

Baxter (1988) observed that the Creoles speak a local variety of English which is situated on a continuum between ME Type 1 and ME Type 11 (cf. section 6.1). Transcripts of English language use in the home show precisely this mixture of ME Type 1 and ME Type 11 being spoken; in the examples below the data displays both standard English usage (such as 'You better learn how to write') as well as the use of basilectal forms form vocabulary such as 'wallop', 'fella' and 'whack/whacking':

#72. F: Father An: 7 years old son Aa: 8 years old son (eldest)

75F: [To An] You better learn to write, not I'm going to kick you. Kindergarten all don't know. [Instructing his eldest son] Next time go tuition, ask teacher to *wallop* that *fella* if don't know.
76Aa: I told already.
77F: Slap, never mind. *Wallop* some more. Don't know to write, *wallop* the hand, never mind.

PC 1

//73. M: mother A: youngest daughter Ml: eldest daughter
63M: Where A____?
64Ml: Daddy went to find...don't know where. When I'm going to work then she coming back...where she got in this house?
65M: Get *whacking* also she not frighten.

PC 5

A point worth mentioning here is sentences such as *'Kindergarten all don't know. Next time go tuition, ask teacher to wallop that fella if don't know'* and *...where she got in this house?'* are exact translations of Malay word order. The close similarities between the (local) English sentences and Malay word order indicate convergence between the local varieties of English and the Malay language.

6.10.4.2 The Use of PK

So far the discussions on PK language use have focused on the amount of PK spoken in the home and neighbourhood domains as the amount of PK used in the PS is of significant interest to the study because it can help us gauge how viable PK is in the daily lives of the community at the Portuguese Settlement. Analysis of PK language use in both the home and neighbourhood domains in Tables 6.3, 6.4 and Tables 6.5a, b and c shows that there are not many turns purely in PK compared to a mixed code of PK being used. Turns purely in PK refer to turns that do not contain any insertional or alternational switches to other languages. Turns purely in PK include both long stretches of PK as well as one-word replies or comments in PK. What are the occasions when turns purely in PK are used? Data in this study show that blocks of exclusive creole speech are usually exchanged between adults, that is, marking conversation between the spouses of the first (#74) or second generation (#/75):

#74. Gm: Grandma Gp: Grandpa

503Gm: J_____! **Bos falah ngka kumih kandri, yo ja frizih pesi padi bos. Kifoi tomah mpedassinu?**
{J____! You say NEG eat meat, I PAST fry fish for you. Why take little bit?}
{J____! You say you don't want to eat meat so i fried fish for you. Why are you taking so little (fish)?}

504Gp: **Tantu spinyu.**
{Plenty bones}
{The fish has plenty of bones}

505Gm: **Bai lapoku, da lapoku ku olotu.**
{Go bathe, give bath to them}
{(When you) Go and bathe, give them (the grandchildren) a bath too}

Gp-Gc 2

#75. F: Father M: Mother

519F: **Fazeh ngua, botah ne mareza. Ke eli tomah.**
{Make one, put on table. Afterwards he take}
{Make one bottle (of milk) and leave it on the table. Later he may take (a drink)}

520M: **Kantu eli lo bebeh ngka dibeh.**

{If he will drink, never mind}
{If he will drink, it's not wasted}
521F: **Fazeh maretadik, basta.**
{Make half, enough}
{Make half (a bottle), that would be enough (so no wastage)}

PC 1

It is observed that while stretches of turns purely in PK are usually exchanged between adults (which demonstrate fluent PK language use between spouses as reported in the RLCLU survey in Chapter 5, Table 5.2), turns purely in PK in the form of one-word replies or comments in PK such as those in the examples below are more commonly exchanged between an adult and a child(ren). These one-word replies or comments in PK do not necessarily mean that the speakers are proficient speakers of PK as these responses may be formulaic or ritualistic in nature:

#76. M: mother Jl: 7 year old son

40M: ..(..).. Jl_____, finish your work!
41Jl: **Ja kabah!**
{ PAST finish}
{(I have) finished!}

PC 3

#77. M: mother D: 4 year old son

254M: **Kantu?**
{How many?}
255D: I want milk...

PC 2

6.10.4.3 The Use of Malay

Earlier in Chapter 5, in the analysis of reported language choice and language use between G2 and G3 (cf. Chapter 5, Table 5.14) and between G1 and G3 (cf. Chapter 5, Table 5.13) there were suggestions that due to its national language status and its importance in the school curriculum, presumably Malay is increasingly being employed as a means of communication with the youngest generation. However,

despite its reputation for being the lingua franca of the region and the national language of the country, overall the actual use of Malay in the Kristang home is relatively low: with reference to Tables 6.3 and 6.4, between G2 and G3 the highest usage of Malay is recorded at 8.9% in PC 6 while between the first and second generations, the use of Malay is less impressive, in all three grandparent-grandchildren groups, the highest usage if Malay is at 4.1%. Past researchers such as Hancock (1969; 1973) contends that the use of the Malay language is not popular with the Kristangs as it is associated with being Malay (and Muslim). While there may be some truth to this observation, a principal reason why Malay is so little used in the Kristang home may be due to the type of Malay the adults and the younger generation are proficient in. The adult generations (G1 & G2) use non-standard (Bazaar) Malay while the younger generation (G3) are educated in standard Malay or Bahasa Malaysia; also, it would be very stilted and unnatural for the speakers to use the standard variety in the (informal) home domain.

In the Kristang community, when Malay is used, it is used in certain syntactic and certain sociolinguistic environments: (i) As borrowings; (ii) For reported speech; (iii) For interethnic communication; (iv) During 'latah'.

(i) As borrowings

Most of the turns containing the use of Malay are borrowings of lexical items such as the names of food items, culture-specific references or vocabulary referring to school matters since Bahasa Malaysia is the medium of instruction in school (cf. #38). With such a limited usage of Malay, Malay is thus seldom the matrix language in Kristang discourse; in fact, as indicated in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 and Tables 6.5a, b, c, there are

very few turns purely in Malay and where they do exist they usually consist of single words (such as in #78) or short phrases (#79):

#78. Aa (6 year old boy) is asking his mother for the answer to a Maths problem

746Aa: Mummy! Mi (short form for mummy)! Berapa (M)?
{How many?}
PC 1

#79. Gm tries to persuade her grandson to go to school but his reply is negative.
JL: 7 years old grandson

491Gm: ..(..)..I want tell your mother, (you) never go to school..(..)..
492JL: Tak boleh, tak boleh (M)!
{NEG can, NEG can!}
{Cannot, cannot!}
Gp-Gc 2

ii) Malay for reported speech

Conversations at the bus stop and food stalls show Malay is also being used to imitate or report the speech of the speakers; incidentally, the variety used is non-standard Bazaar Malay (cf. #23)

(iii) Malay for interethnic communication

Bahasa Malaysia is used for official events and at government institutions but non-standard Bazaar Malay is a more common means of communication for the local people at informal gatherings and especially for interethnic communication. In //80, both standard Malay and Bazaar Malay are used:

#80. S: seller at a food stall

S: ...(..).. Rezeki jangan ditolak(M). [Laughter] I bikin (M), eh?
{..(..)..Good fortune don't be pushed. I make, eh?}
{..(..)..Good fortune shouldn't be pushed away. I make (a pancake), eh?}

In #80 the first sentence *'Rezeki jangan ditolak'* is in standard Malay but in the next sentence, *'bikin'* is non-standard Malay, in its standard form the verb is *'buat'*. #80 is thus a clear example of style shifting (which can be considered a form of CS in its broadest sense) between standard and Bazaar Malay. As most of the first and second generation Chinese and Indians in Malaysia are not literate in standard Malay, Bazaar Malay is a more common language used by the speakers when they meet.

(iv) Malay during 'latah'

'Latah' is common among the Malay and Creole communities in the Malay Archipelago thus often the language of the person who 'latah' is (non-standard) Malay. 'Latah' is considered a psychological condition because during 'latah' the person appears to be in another realm where s/he assumes the persona of the personalities s/he encounters with in the 'latah' state. The individual in the 'latah' state usually clowns around in a sort of trance, giving out a rapid succession of words and sounds, some intelligible, some nonsensical. In 'latah' the sentences uttered usually contain a high degree of obscenities and nonsensical references as the speaker has no control over his speech and utters whatever comes to mind. During my fieldwork I encountered a few 'latah' episodes while I was going around with the 'Intrudu' group (cf. section 6.8.2.3 'Intrudu 2000'). #81 below is an example of a 'latah' event:

#81.

76B: **Ngteh bo sa gape gape?**
{NEG have your tongs?}
{Don't you have tongs?}

77N: **Yo sa gape teng na basu!** ['Latah': jumps and dances] Ini tak boleh makan, ada itu kaki panjang...kaki pendek boleh makan, kaki panjang tak boleh (M)...Hey, this one G_____'s one...O....O....G_____'s one! Hey, ku chi ku chi!
{I-POSESSIVE tongs got down there! This NEG eat, has that leg long...leg short can eat leg long NEG eat..(..)...Hey, ku chi ku chi!}
{My tongs are down there! This can't be eaten, (it) has long legs...short legs can be eaten...(..).. Hey, ku chi ku chi!}

In #81 the 'latah' in turn 77 is triggered by B's query whether N has no tongs to pick the 'kueh' (cakes) in his basket. N responses first in PK by making an obscene joke (that his tongs are down there in his trousers) and then he breaks out into 'latah': uttering a few phrases of Malay accompanied by actions of jumping about and dancing followed by incomprehensible, nonsensical sounds like 'ku chi ku chi'. 'Latah' is always in Malay and interspersed with incomprehensible and illogical sounds. The fact that 'latah' takes place only within Malay and Creole communities (who speak Malay) indicates that 'latah' is a specifically Malay-culture syndrome, that is, 'latah' tends to be found in communities with influences from Malay culture more than any other cultures found in Malaysia (for more information on 'latah', refer Sri Delima, 1976; Swettenham, 1984; Wazir, 1990).

6.10.4.4 The Use of Hokkien

Most Hokkien words found in Kristang speech are either (i) culture specific loans with no equivalent Kristang term to convey their specific meanings or (ii) names of local food item or (iii) kinship terms.

(i) Culture-specific loans from Hokkien

#82.

43O: [Teasing M] **Mama misti alegri, teng neta nitu, jeru bong ku tudu. Teng** taukeh (H) **bendi..(..)..**
{Mama must happy, have granddaughter grandson, son-in-law good and all. Got boss screw...}
{Mama must be happy, all your grandchildren, sons-in-law are good. There is a 'spare parts' manufacturer...}

EB

In Hokkien, *'taukeh'* has the connotation of having made it in business and prospering. No PK or English word can convey the success admired in a *'taukeh'* hence its usage here.

#83.
646M: Keep here first, afterward I will take for you to your bed...why you so kehpo (H)?

'Kehpo' is a nickname in Hokkien for people who interfere with the affairs of others. Locally the term means 'a busybody' and it is usually used to discourage nosy behaviour among young children (//83); when used on an adult, its aim is to insult.

(ii) Names of local food items

Names of local Chinese food have no equivalent terms in the other languages used by the Kristang speakers therefore when referring to these food, their Hokkien terms are used:

#84.
86Ml: 'Curry Devil' put tau kwah (H), this...that...mummy never try...can put... {..(..).. put fried soya bean pieces ..(..)..}

PC 5

#85. Gp: Grandpa D: 2 years old grandson

81Gp: What you eat?
82D: Egg.
83Gp: And what...?
84D: Beehoon (H).
{Vermicelli}

Gp-gc 3

#86. C1m: customer 1, male (Kristang) C2m: customer 2, male (Kristang)
771C1m: Hazel, **fazeh ngua** teh (H).
{Hazel, make one tea}
{Hazel, make me a cup of tea}
78C1m: **Fadi yo, ngua** kopi-o (H).
{For me, one coffee black}
{For me, one black coffee}

HBS

(iii) Hokkien kinship terms

Due to mixed (Chinese-Kristang) marriages in the Kristang community, children of these exogamous marriages often use Hokkien kinship terms to refer to grandparents from the non-Kristang family:

#87. Gp: Grandpa T: 3 years old grandson
Mic: 6 years old granddaughter

183Gp: ...Jaya Jusco? You went Ah Poa's (H) house?
{..(..)..Grandma's house?}
184T: Birthday...
185Gp: Birthday, buy bicycle...
186Mic: My Kor-kor (H) Standard One my Kong-kong (H) will buy for him bicycle...
{My elder brother Standard One my grandfather ..(..)..}
{When my elder brother is in Primary One my grandfather will buy him a bicycle...)

Gp-gc 3

In #87 the interlocutors use *'Ah Poa'* and *'Kong Kong'* to refer to the (Chinese) grandparents from the paternal side of the family while six years old Mic uses the term *'Kor kor'* to refer to her elder brother.

Other than the above examples, the use of Hokkien is common for numbering and counting purposes as exemplified in the speech of the Ceki card players in the Ceki game (cf. section 6.9.3.2 & #22).

6.10.4.5 The Use of Tamil (T), Punjabi (P), Mandarin (Man)

There is very little use of Tamil, Punjabi and Mandarin in the corpus but where they do appear, they are of the occasional one-word borrowings and their uses are restricted to the names of local food items (#88) or counting in Mandarin (#89):

#88.
206Ml: O...this curry, eat with chappati (P), roti canai (M) or tosei (T) also can...
{O...this curry, eat with Sikh pancake, Malay pancake or Indian pancake also can...}
[O...this curry can also be eaten with Sikh pancake, Malay pancake or Indian pancake...}

PC 5

#89. Gp: grandpa Mic: 6 years old granddaughter

196Gp: [Referring to the soup] Wait, hot! Hot!
197Mic: I can't waitlah...

[Gets ready to somersault, counts in Mandarin] Yī, Èr, sān..
{One, two, three...}

Gp-gc 3

6.11 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has focused mainly on the analyses of language choice and language use in the home and neighbourhood domains of the PS to provide a picture of the actual linguistic behaviour of the Kristang community. The first concern of the analysis of language use in both domains is to find out the amount of PK used in the community. Analyses of talk revealed that there exists a great difference in the amount of PK used between the two domains; in the home domain PK language use accounts for only 3% to 14% of the total number of turns while in the neighbourhood domain, an average of about 68% of the total number of turns contain PK. Thus, it is clear that overall more PK is spoken in the neighbourhood than in the home domain.

Within the home domain there also exists a great difference in the amount of PK used in the communication between the generational groups, the parent-children (G2-G3) group and the grandparent-grandchildren (G1-G3) group. Between the two groups, interaction between G1 and G3 has more PK language use than between G2 and G3. Within the parent-children group, there also exists a wide range in the amount of PK used: the highest amount of PK use is 21.98% while the lowest record of PK used is 0.79% which means the use of PK between G2 and G3 is more dispersed, that is, while a few parents try to include some PK in their interactions, with most parents there is hardly any PK used. In contrast, PK language use between the grandparents and grandchildren is more consistent: all the three groups recorded between 11% to 14% PK language use. Nevertheless, since the highest record of turns containing PK in the home domain is only about 14%, the use of PK in the Kristang home can still be

considered small and hence PK is vulnerable to being replaced by another language for communication in the home.

Compared to the home domain, PK language use in the neighbourhood domain is more promising. Overall PK language use in the settings (The Food Stalls, The Celebrations, Village Life) record over 67% of PK being used. This amount of PK language use in the neighbourhood domain confirms the observation of the respondents in the RLCLU survey in Chapter 5 in which 78.8% of the 84 households surveyed reported using PK with friends and neighbour between 'half to all of the time'. This finding indicates that the use of PK in the neighbourhood domain has not been overestimated or over-reported by the residents in the RLCLU survey. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that in both domains, the main contributors to the use of PK are the adult, not children, speakers. A most prominent pattern of PK language use is that the creole is used mainly for communication between adults or spouses. When PK is used with the younger generation, there are specific contexts that favour PK language use, for instance, when in anger the adults tend to break out into PK to discipline their young; also PK is used for teasing and joking and, in monologues where the adults 'talk' or grumble to themselves about the behaviour of the grandchildren.

Analyses of talk in both the home and neighbourhood domains confirm that more than one language is used for communication – English, PK, Malay - but of these three languages, English is identified as the language most used in the home between family members, especially with and between the younger generation. (cf. Tables 6.3 & 6.4). The amount of English used is much higher than its reported usage of 75.5% (in Chapter 5) which means that the actual amount of English used in the Kristang home is much higher than the speakers are aware of. In the discussion on the patterns of

communication in the neighbourhood domain, it was highlighted that despite the increased use of PK in this domain, PK language use is still largely confined to communications between adults while English is still the selected code for communication with the younger generation. In addition, even within PK sentences, there are still uses of English especially for technical terms which have no equivalent terms in PK. Taking into consideration the huge amount of English being used by the community, clearly the threat to PK language maintenance is the use of English at the PS, especially in the Kristang homes.

In spite of the predominant use of Malay on television and the radio and as the medium of instruction in schools, the use of Malay in the home domain is insignificantly small. The total usage of Malay in the Kristang home in both groups (the parent-children group and the grandparent-grandchildren group) does not exceed 5%. This finding supports the responses of Table 5.4 in Chapter 5 in which other than English and PK, a third language such as Malay is not named by the respondents in the RLCLU survey, as one of the language(s) most often used in the family domain. Close analysis of Malay language use in the data reveal that the use of Malay in the home is usually confined to borrowings of one-word types or phrases to enhance the local contextual meanings of the communication. Malay vocabulary referring to school subjects is one of the instances where standard Malay is used in the home domain while in the neighbourhood domain, the selected code for interethnic communications is Bazaar (non-standard) Malay due to two contributing factors: Bazaar Malay has been the lingua franca for the inter-ethnic communication in Malacca for centuries; secondly, Bazaar Malay is often the type of language used by the lesser educated or working class in informal settings.

Despite their existence, the use of other languages such as Hokkien, Tamil, Punjabi, and Mandarin is minimal and peripheral. Overall, the use of Hokkien, Tamil, Punjabi, and Mandarin is confined to cultural loans of words or phrases which has no equivalent terms or reference in other languages. Due to their minimal use, these languages are not the main languages for communication in the community.

The variety and variant of languages used and the existence of creole communities in Malacca exemplify the cultural melting pot and linguistic mosaic of the Malacca population (Sidhu, 1983). Over a period of time, the coming together of the different communities and the different languages brings about innovative uses of the languages in contact resulting in not only the speakers codeswitching between the languages and borrowing from each other's languages but also the application of some grammatical features of one language to the other languages in the speakers' repertoire. The discussions of the patterns of communication in the Kristang community bear evidence of the development of and the increasing use of a mixed code/mixed speech for communication in the Kristang community. The central question is, what is the impact of the use of such a mixed code on the maintenance or shift of PK? In other words, do/will the mixed speech activities of the Kristang speakers contribute to the maintenance or shift of the ethnic language?

Of course an ideal method to determine whether CS behaviours in the Kristang community indicate LS would be to carry out a study specifically on CS between generations and make comparisons across the generations and see whether a decline or increase in CS in a particular generation can be attributed to the shift and/or loss of language skills. Having said that, based on the data of language use and patterns or communication in this study, one can still speculate whether LS will take place as a

result of the multilingualism and CS in the Kristang community. In order to assess the relationship between CS and LS at the PS, one has to consider:

(i) the type of CS the speakers engage in

(ii) the factors that trigger the switching

(iii) the age makeup of the community and who are the codeswitchers.

(i) The type of CS the speakers are engage in

CS activities discussed in section 6.10.1 show that the Kristang speakers engage in both insertional and alternational CS. However, between the two, most of the CS in Kristang speech are of the insertional type, as is generally the case in CS. Insertional CS in Kristang speech involves either the insertions of PK, English or Malay terms. These insertions are usually of the single-word lexical borrowings of nouns, verbs or adjectives that do not have equivalent terms of reference in the matrix language hence the need for their use. Insertions of such types do not present a threat to the maintenance of the ethnic language because their usage are not competing with the vocabulary of the mother tongue.

Alternational switching, on the other hand, may or may not contribute to the shift of the mother tongue. Alternational CS in Kristang speech is bi-directional: English to PK and PK to English. Data of CS from English to PK indicate that they are usually emotively motivated, for instance, to alert danger, to show disapproval or to vent frustrations (as in the 'asides' and grumbling). Although this type of CS provides some input of PK language use to the listeners around (the children), the input may not contribute significantly to the maintenance of the mother tongue taking into consideration that it is not the main language of communication between the generations. The opposite, CS from PK to English, can be indicative of LS taking place

especially when alternational switching from PK to English is frequent and forms a regular part of communication with the young. One of the main uses of English is that the language is used for communication with the young and throughout the chapter there have been instances of alternational switching from PK to English taking place to realise this purpose.

(iii) The factors that trigger the switching

A useful and pragmatic way to assess whether the CS activity in the Kristang community is a symptom of LS is to consider the factor(s) that trigger the switching. We know that to engage in CS requires a degree of fluency in the languages used. Instances of CS data in this study show that the participants who engage in the (alternational) switching are highly fluent in all the languages in use (PK, English, Malay) which means that the switching between the speakers is not triggered by imperfect knowledge of the mother tongue. This being the case, the CS is not evidence of LS taking place in the community.

(iv) The age make-up of the community and who are the codeswitchers

As only about 20% of the population are of retiring age (55 years and above), the Kristang community is a young community (cf. RLCLU survey in Chapter 5). Participant observation and data of language use in the community show that it is the minority group of adults (both G1 and G2) not the younger generation who are the main codeswitchers in the conversations. The fact that it is the older population group that is codeswitching and accommodating to the use of the non-ethnic language of the (majority) youngsters signifies that LS is taking place across the generational groups. In the later part of section 6.9.2 I pointed out that the older generations (G1 & G2) could codeswitch between three languages (PK, English, (Bazaar) Malay) while the G3

Kristangs tend to switch between two languages only – English and (standard) Malay. The most logical explanation for this language behaviour among the third generation Kristangs is that the younger generation does not possess the linguistic resources and competence to use the ethnic language alongside the non-ethnic language in a CS context like the older, fluent multilingual Kristangs are able to. If this is the case, then the inability to codeswitch in and out of PK can be evidence for both shift and loss of the ethnic language. Thus to sum, when CS activity is carried out by the older generation to accommodate to the use of the non-ethnic language of the younger generation it is evidence of LS; when CS is not carried out by the majority of the younger generation due to their lack of competence in using the mother tongue fluently it indicates LS as a result of (individual) language loss.

The above discussions show that the relationship between CS and LS is not a straightforward case of whether CS does or does not lead to LS – it depends on what type of switching is involved, who are the codeswitchers and, why they are switching or not codeswitching. To further assess the case of the Kristang community, it would also be useful to draw upon the observations of Grenoble and Whaley (1996) and McLellan (2002) regarding the relationship between CS and language endangerment. According to Grenoble and Whaley, it is a case of language endangerment if the second language replaces the indigenous language by becoming the matrix language of the interaction, supplying the grammar to its speakers while the indigenous language declines in use and supplies primarily the lexical items in the discourse. For McLellan, when CS takes place within noun and noun phrases and the indigenous language still functions as the matrix language, the language use situation can be viewed as *polyglossia* reflecting maintenance of the ethnic language. In section 6.10, in the discussions of CS trends I highlighted that English and PK are the two languages that

are the matrix languages in Kristang discourse thus if we are to apply the criteria proposed by Grenoble and Whaley, and McLellan, again we will arrive at a 'shift and maintenance' balance: the use of PK is shifting when in both domains the adults are accommodating by CS to English and using English as the main language in their communication with the young; on the other hand, PK is still being maintained when between the adults PK is still actively used as the language for communication and still functions as the matrix language. In my opinion though, between this 'shift and maintenance' fulcrum, in the long term the future of PK is more likely to weigh towards the loss and shift of PK and the principal reason I offer for this forecast is the crucial issue of ethnic language transmission. Therefore, in terms of language choice and (lack of) intergenerational transmission, there is already LS taking place in the home domain and the shift is in the direction of English. In addition, communication with the young in the neighbourhood domain also favours English as the language of communication. This shows that PK has lost its function as the language for communication between the older and younger generations. Added to this is the language mixing strategies of the bilingual speakers and the choice of a mixed code for communication in the community. Due to the number of languages found in the community and the types of language mixture displayed in the data, over time (i) there would be very little exposure (of the young) to speech purely in PK; (ii) given this rich input of 'intermingling' of (several) languages or mixed code, the young in the community are not given the chance to acquire PK as a language on its own and become fluent enough in the particular language to codeswitch as their elders are able to do so. The PK that had been acquired by the adults (G1 & G2) and the present type that is being acquired by the younger generation (G3) at the Settlement is and will be different: in the former the language was acquired as a language in its own entirety, in

the latter the PK acquired is of the mixed type. In view of this, it would not be practical to look for a monolingual use of the PK as evidence of language maintenance of the mother tongue in the Kristang community. Indeed, bearing in mind that in many parts of the world, in bilingual communities the use of a single language is becoming increasingly rare, an alternative approach would be to view the maintenance of PK at the Settlement along a continuum with one end of the continuum marking 'more PK being used' and the other end of the continuum signalling 'more other languages being used'. As one travels towards the end of the continuum with 'more other languages being used' the shift of PK becomes more evident and takes more ground as the (younger) speakers display less proficiency and less competence in using the language. This is the continuum of language use that will reflect the shift of PK across generations at the Settlement, reinforced by the lax attitude of the community towards revitalization amidst evidence of decreasing proficiency of the younger speakers (cf. Chapter 7). This continuum of language use is further discussed in the LS process of PK in the concluding chapter, Chapter 8.