

**LANGUAGE SHIFT AND REVITALIZATION
IN THE KRISTANG COMMUNITY,
PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT,
MALACCA**

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CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND COMPETING PRIORITIES

AT THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT (PS)

7.0 Introduction

The thread of discussion on language choice and language use at the Portuguese Settlement (PS) continues through Chapter 5 to Chapter 7; whilst Chapter 5 initiated the inquiry into the LS situation of PK at the PS by looking into the reported language choice and reported language use of the Kristang community, Chapter 6 followed up the discussion by providing concrete evidence of actual language choice and language use in the home and neighbourhood domains. This chapter develops the discussion further by focussing on the community's responses towards the language choice and language use behaviour at the Settlement. The attempt to gain an insider's views and responses to its language situation is pursued for two main reasons. Firstly, as the shift of PK does not take place in a vacuum, the phenomenon would be better understood in the light of the people's feelings and attitudes towards its linguistic situation; secondly, an emic (insider) account of what is taking place and how the people respond to it is an integral part of the interactive methodology advocated in the critical ethnographic approach adopted in the research design of the study (cf. Chapter 4 for a discussion of its principles and rationale). Thus, this chapter analyses and discusses data gathered mainly from fourteen interviews with various sections of the community carried out towards the end of my fieldwork, in May and June 2000, and from a short subjective ethnolinguistic (SEV) questionnaire survey conducted between February and April 2002 (for a description of how the interviews were conducted and the number of people interviewed as well as the background of the interviewees, see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3 'Ethnographic Interviews').

The interviews were conducted to (i) find out about the community's awareness of and reaction to the language shift taking place at the Settlement; (ii) investigate what is being planned to reverse the language shift situation and the problems faced in the language preservation efforts. Preliminary analysis of the responses in the interviews revealed that while data from the interview provided information on the community's awareness of and reaction to its language situation, they were insufficient to explain other inter-linking factors such as the community's view of its minority status and its interactions with the other language groups that one way or another affected the attitudes and the language behaviour of the creoles. As a result, a subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) questionnaire survey (see Appendix D) was conducted in 2003 as a 'second round of data collection' in the hope that it would help provide data on the subjective EV of the community which are factors that could account for the language choice and language use at the PS. Data from both the interviews and the EV survey are analysed and presented in this chapter across three sections, that is, in sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion of its analysis.

7.1 Language Shift (LS) at the PS: Community's Point of View

The interviews showed that by and large, there is a substantial level of observation and awareness that PK language use at the Settlement is changing which indicate to the speakers that a language shift may be taking place. Older, more fluent speakers are concerned about how the usage of some words has changed among the present generation. Respondents cite two major signs that their language may be confronted with imminent language loss, that is, a generational loss of lexicon and, a decreasing proficiency in PK.

7.1.1 Generational Loss of Vocabulary

So far there has been no studies (yet) specifically on the lexical loss of PK but although they are not linguists, the speakers themselves are aware of the lexical loss taking place with their language. Through the interviews, opinions on the language change taking place at the PS reveal that the community is not only aware that PK is shifting but holds a critical attitude towards the language change taking place. These observations confirm that there is much awareness (at both the community and individual) level that LS is taking place.

According to the interviewees, there is a difference in the PK spoken then (in the 60s and before) and the PK spoken today and, one of the main differences noticed is the loss of vocabulary across generations:

There are many words even which we have spoken in my childhood, in my adolescent years, are not known by the new generation. They'd use 'Yo pun...' instead of the Kristang word 'Yo taming...' Also the word 'sama' instead of 'equal'. Except for the people in my generation, I think the younger generation have lost it.

(PDS q 13)

7.1.2 Semantic Shift

Semantic shifts or (PK) words that have changed or lost their meanings is further evidence to the speakers that their language is undergoing shift. Fluent speakers of PK believe that the present day PK speakers are either not able to discern the difference in meaning of like-sounding words or that despite knowing the difference they are not bothered to use the correct form in their speech:

I give you a very good example, a word which you've heard yourself. 'Portre' – 'door'. 'potra', 'porta' means a person having hernia, 'portre' of course is 'door'. But now 'porta' and 'portre' is the same, although the meaning is entirely different, it's still used as the same meaning because everybody uses it incorrectly! Nobody cares to check them.

(PDS q 43)

Members of the community are not the only ones who notice a shrinkage in vocabulary; language loss has also been confirmed by linguists working with the community. Baxter, a linguist who analysed the grammar of Kristang in the 80s and who has recently help produced a Kristang-English dictionary made a similar observation:

...I have felt the presence of language loss constantly while preparing the dictionary. One of the most obvious aspects of this loss is the multiplicity of words which seem to have very similar or identical meanings (probably having lost their finer differences)...There are also numerous words with very vague definitions...

(Baxter, personal communication)

Added to this, Baxter (2003) observes that from the 835 lexical entries listed by Rêgo (1942; 1998) in his fieldwork in the 1930s, 78 items from Rêgo's list have been lost meaning that these (78) words are longer used by the speakers now. From the examples given in this section one can say that the loss of lexicon in the PK of today must have been fairly regular and widespread for it to be noticed by both members of the community as well as outsiders.

7.1.3 Intolerance towards Borrowing and Codeswitching

An interesting factor is, although the older generations (G1 and G2) of the community are also bilingual and the speakers themselves codeswitch in their speech (as evidenced in the data of language use in Chapter 6), the mixing and borrowing of words from other languages into Kristang-based sentences are not tolerated, in fact, the use of words from other languages to replace PK vocabulary is viewed as a loss of the ability to use the right word. The following two views from two G2 Kristangs demonstrate such intolerance:

The older generation spoke perfect Kristang...when I say 'perfect' I mean there were more 'Portuguese' words...there was a word for everything. The younger generation have replaced some words with Malay, Chinese, and English. There's a lot of code switching, code mixing or whatever you term it... Malay is

often used in our conversation to replace 'Portuguese' words which we have forgotten...

(GF q 35)

...Yes, they use the word 'campur', Malay word. But 'Portuguese' we'd say 'misturadu'... There is a language but they don't want to use it, they change it!

(PF q3)

Even though healthy languages undergo processes of variation and change the speakers do not seem to take this into consideration and as a result, often regard all forms of language change as signs of language degeneration. Accordingly, there is a tendency for fluent speakers to adopt a puristic attitude towards the LS situation.

7.1.4 Decreasing Proficiency in PK

A decreased proficiency in PK among the young is another aspect of language loss that adult members of the community are concerned about. One parent relates her exasperation that because her children did not (and will not?) learn PK, they are not even able to comprehend what is being said when spoken to in simple PK:

32S: *Yo papiah Kristang ku yo sa krensa krensa, olotu nadi papiah...rayu olotu! Kantu teng jenti, yo lo falah, "Bazah agu, da." Krensa krensa lo falah, "Mummy, what telling?!" (Laughter)*

{I talk Kristang to I-POSSESSIVE children, they won't talk... naughty they! If got people, I will say, "Pour water, give". Children will say, "Mummy what telling?"}

{I speak Kristang to my children, they wouldn't speak...naughty them! When there are people (visitors) around, I will say to them, "Pour water (drinks), give (to the visitors)." The children will say, "Mummy, what (is she) saying?!"}

ABS

Most members of the community associate the lack of proficiency in PK as premonitory signs of a shorter life span for PK:

I'd give it maybe two generations...Yes, two generations...because I know, my children know and the next one, some...Of course my children know less and their children will know less than them..

(PDS q 15)

So far examples of lexical erosion given by the respondents in the interview show that according to the community, PK is not spoken as it used to be, both in quality and in quantity. At this point of the study, it became necessary to find proof to justify the observations given by the respondents in the interviews. One way to do this is to engage in a Labovian kind of data collection, compiling a wordlist of PK used by the first, second and third generations and make a comparison between them for lexical attrition across the generations. However, as the interviews were carried out towards the end of my fieldwork this task was not possible due to time constraint. As a second alternative, a descriptive task was given to a group of thirteen young Kristangs between the ages of 9 to 25 years of age. Each of the respondents was to describe himself/herself in PK (e.g. where s/he lives, which school s/he goes to, what kind of music/books/movies s/he is interested in and any other general information about themselves that they would like to share). The objective of the task was to get the young people to speak PK so that their proficiency in PK can be observed. Unfortunately, the attempt to give a conversational criterion to the proficiency of the younger generation failed because the respondents did not respond to the activity. Most of them shied away from the task; as a result, my principal informant suggested that I provide some kind of language input to stimulate the young people to respond in PK. Between us, we decided that a short translation test (from English to PK and PK to English) is the third best alternative. The researcher is aware that translations may not exactly test proficiency in PK (see concluding paragraph in section 7.1.4.4 'Significance of the responses in the PK oral translation tasks') and according to Baxter (personal communication) the Kristangs are quite poor in translations especially from English to PK, but given the time frame to work in and the circumstances that the respondents will not (could not?) respond in PK unless a designed task provided some language input for them to 'act on', the translation task

was considered sufficient for a preliminary estimate of the younger generation's proficiency in PK.

Oral Translation Tasks for PK

In the translation test there are two tasks, Task a and Task b. In Task a the respondents are to produce five sentences in Kristang from their English equivalents, in Task b they are to produce five English sentences given the Kristang sentences:

Task a : How do you say these in PK?

1. Tomorrow I may not go to school.
2. My word is final.
3. The Portuguese Square is beautiful.
4. She is pretty.

Task b : What do these sentences mean in English?

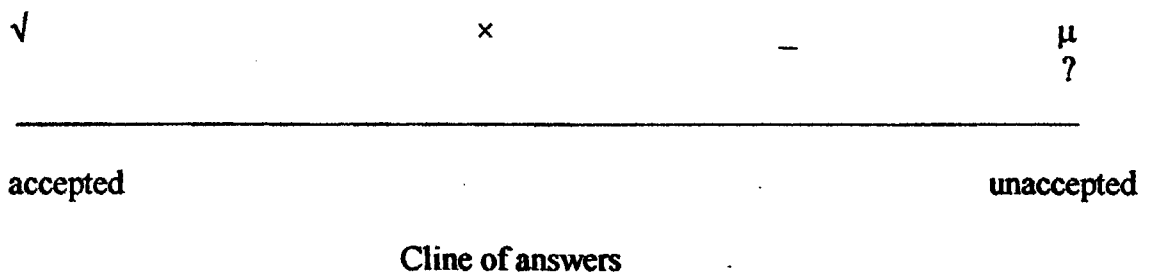
1. Ozndia bo sa mai ki ja kuzeh?
2. Kantu anu bo sa pai ja fazeh na gomintu?
3. Bos ja beng naki, bos ja pidi bo sa mai atrudadi?
4. Ozndia yo logu bai KL mas menus kuantu oras atadi.

The questions and answers to the test were provided by two native speakers of PK; the answers were later 'vetted' by Baxter (personal communication). The aim of Task a was to obtain evidence of how well or how poorly the youngsters can express themselves in PK while the aim of Task b was to test how well the youngsters understood PK. In other words, in performing Task a the respondents would be tested for their productive skills in PK while with Task b we would be able to observe the

youngsters' comprehension of 'spoken' PK therefore the whole test is an oral-aural test of proficiency in PK.

7.1.4.1 Cline of Answers (for the oral translation tasks)

As the focus of the test was to find out whether the younger generation could speak and/or understand PK, a number of answers were accepted as long as the response(s) provided the intended meaning of the sentence. Due to the range of answers given by the respondents, a key had to be constructed to include the types of answers given and to account for the acceptability and unacceptability of the answers. This key of answers consists of five types of entries which can be placed on a cline as follows:



The five types of entries are:

(i) √ 'correct' entry

This means that the answer is correct and accepted as it provides the exact and intended meaning of the sentence; however, it may not be a direct translation of the original sentence.

(ii) × 'not all correct' entry

This means that while the answer contains the general meaning of the sentence, it could have been better expressed if:

a) an important or key word is used

e.g. Tomorrow I may not go to school.

{Amiang anumbes yo nadi bai skola}

b) an unnecessary word is omitted

e.g. The Portuguese Square is beautiful.
{Akeli Portuguese Square bonito}

c) a direct translation is avoided

e.g. My word is final.
Yo sa papia ja kabah.

(iii) — ‘incomplete’ entry

This refers to incomplete answers given by the speakers because the speakers do not know the word(s):

e.g. Yo sa ?_ja kabah.

The missing word here is ‘palabra’ (word); this case is different from (i) in which the sentence is complete and the speaker is not aware that s/he needs to use the word ‘anumbes’.

(iv) μ ‘not accepted’ entry

This means that the answer is not accepted at all because the meaning of the answer is wrong:

e.g. Amiang yo nadi bai sibri.
‘Sibri’ means ‘work’ not ‘school’.

(v) ? ‘blank or no’ entry

This refers to cases where the speaker(s) could not and did not produce any response at all to the task.

In order to provide a clarifying criteria towards the acceptability of the answers, the answers were vetted by Baxter (personal communication).

7.1.4.2 Analysis of Answers to Task a

Table 7.1 Analysis of Responses to Task a

Respondents (Age in years)	Question			
	1	2	3	4
Jo (25)	x	?	x	x
Jess (22)	μ	?	—	√
J (19)	x	—	x	μ
K (18)	μ	√	x	√
P (17)	x	—	x	μ
S (16)	x	x	x	μ
A (16)	x	x	x	μ
Pat (12)	μ	?	?	μ
Mag (11)	μ	?	—	μ
C (10)	x	?	—	μ
Z (9)	x	?	—	μ
M (9)	?	?	?	?
D (9)	?	?	?	?

Key:

√ 'correct' entry

x 'not all correct' entry

— 'incomplete' entry

μ 'not accepted' entry

? 'blank or no' entry

Table 7.1 presents a summary of the evaluation of the answers given by the 13 young respondents to task a, that is, producing Kristang sentences from English (see Appendix K for a full transcript of the answers). The responses are analysed based on the acceptability and unacceptability cline as mentioned and discussed earlier.

Task a, question 1

There are no 'correct' entries at all for this question; there are four 'not accepted' entries and two of the youngest respondents could not produce any response at all.

Question 1 : Tomorrow I may not go to school.

Responses:	Amiang yo nadi bai skola.	(1)
	Amiang yo nadi bai sibrisu.	(2)
	Amiang yo nadi sibri.	(3)
	Amiang yo ngka bai skola.	(4)

Use of 'anumbes' and 'nadi'

According to Baxter (personal communication), none of the responses above convey unambiguously the meaning of 'may' while a conservative old speaker of PK would use 'anumbes' to produce either of these 'correct' versions: 'Anumbes amiang yo nadi bai skola' or 'Amiang anumbes yo nadi bai skola'. In view of this, there are no correct entries for this question. However, it was also pointed out that 'nadi' (will not or would not), aside from expressing future, is valid for probabilistic assertions too hence response (1) is classified as 'not all correct' entry.

Use of 'sibrisu/sibri'

Responses (2) and (3) are not accepted at all because 'sibrisu/sibri' which means 'work' are entirely different in meaning from 'skola' (school).

Use of 'ngka'

'Ngka' is a negative particle meaning 'not'; the response in (4) is not accepted because it would translate as 'Tomorrow I am not going to school' which is definite, not probable.

From the answers given to question 1, the respondents show: a) no knowledge of the word 'anumbes'; b) wrong usage of 'sibrisu/sibri'; c) difficulty in differentiating between the usage of 'ngka' and 'nadi'.

Task a, question 2.

There is only one correct entry for this question; two respondents could not find a word to complete the sentence while the two eldest respondents and all the younger children could not produce any response at all.

Question 2: My word is final.

Responses:	Yo sa papia ja kabah.	(1)
	Yo sa ? ja kabah.	(2)
	Yo sa palabra kabah naki.	(3)

Although not a direct translation, response (3) expresses the meaning well and hence is accepted as the 'correct' entry; in response (1) the use of 'papia' (talk) is not as good as 'palabra' hence it is considered 'not all correct'. Response (2) is incomplete as the speaker could not produce a PK word for 'word'. Answers to this question show that: a) very few, in fact, only one of the thirteen respondents know the PK word 'palabra' (word); the nearest word respondents can think of is 'papia' (talk); b) all the respondents '12 years and below' did not (could not) give a response at all.

Task a, question 3

There are no 'correct' entries for this question; six attempts to produce a PK sentence for this question are classified as 'not all correct' entries; four entries are incomplete while the last two youngest respondents could not produce any response at all.

Question 3: The Portuguese Square is beautiful.

Responses:	Akeli Portuguese Square kada neches.	(1)
	Portuguese Square mutu neches.	(2)
	? neches.	(3)
	Akeli Portuguese Square ?	(4)
	Nus sa Portuguese Square bonitu.	(5)
	Portuguese Square kada bonitu.	(6)

Use of 'akeli' and 'nus sa'

In responses (1) and (4) some respondents chose the PK demonstrative 'akeli' (that) to replace the English article 'the' while in (5), the PK pronoun 'nus sa' (our) is used. There is no need for these demonstratives as there is no contrastive requirement in the sentence - 'Portuguese Square bonitu' is sufficient translation of its English equivalent.

Use of 'kada' and 'mutu'

In responses (1) and (6) the speakers add in the adverb 'kada' (extremely) while in (2) 'mutu' (very) is used to describe the Portuguese Settlement. While these responses are not entirely wrong they are not right either as the task sentence does not contain these intensifiers. In view of this, these responses are classified as 'not all correct' entries.

Answers to question 4 show that: a) the respondents who used 'neches' (pretty) either do not know the word 'bonitu' (beautiful) or are extending the meaning of 'neches' or as pointed out in section 8.1.2, the speakers here cannot tell the different shades of meaning between these two words, 'neches' and 'bonitu'; b) in the addition of demonstratives such as 'akeli', the speakers are attempting a direct translation from English.

Task a, question 4

There are two correct entries for this question; one 'not all correct' answer, eight 'not accepted' entries and two 'no' response at all.

Question 4: She is pretty

Responses:	Akeli femi neches.	(1)
	Eli bemfetu.	(2)
	Eli bemfeta.	(3)
	Eli kada bemfeta.	(4)
	Eli kada lawa.	(5)
	Eli lawa.	(6)

Response 1 is not accepted because it means 'That girl is pretty'. According to Baxter (personal communication), 'bemfetu' (handsome) and 'bemfeta' (pretty) is one set of adjectives that still has gender reference hence respondents need to show this distinction in their sentences; in view of this, response (2) is not accepted as it is incorrect while response (3) is the correct entry. Response (4) is 'not all correct' as the speaker added 'kada' (extremely) which is not in the task sentence. Responses (4) and (5) show evidence of language mixing – the respondents use the Malay adjective 'lawa' (pretty/beautiful/good looking) instead of the PK adjective 'bemfeta', these two responses are examples of how PK vocabulary are increasingly being replaced by the Malay language as reported and feared by the older generation in section 8.1.1 (Generational Loss of Vocabulary).

Responses to question 4 show that: a) some respondents are not aware of the gender distinction between 'bemfetu' and 'bemfeta' hence they could not use the adjectives correctly; b) it is quite common for the younger Kristangs to borrow or mix codes in their PK sentences e.g. 'Eli lawa' ('lawa' is pretty in Malay)

7.1.4.3 Analysis of Answers to Task b

Table 7.2 (page 287) presents the evaluation of answers to task b, that is, producing English sentences from PK (based on the acceptability and unacceptability cline discussed in section 7.1.4.1).

Key to Table 7.2:

√ 'correct' entry	× 'not all correct' entry
— 'incomplete' entry	μ 'not accepted' entry
? 'blank or no' entry	

Table 7.2 Analysis of responses to task b

Respondents (Age in years)	Question			
	1	2	3	4
Jo (25)	√	√	—	—
Jess (22)	√	μ	√	—
J (19)	√	μ	—	—
K (18)	√	√	—	—
P (17)	√	μ	—	—
S (16)	√	x	—	—
A (16)	√	x	—	—
Pat (12)	μ	?	—	—
Mag (11)	μ	—	—	—
C (10)	μ	—	?	—
Z (9)	μ	—	?	—
M (9)	?	?	?	?
D (9)	?	?	?	?

Task b, question 1

This question has the highest number of 'correct' entries in this task and across both tasks in the whole test. In addition, there are four 'not accepted' entries and two 'blank' entries.

Question 1: Ozndia bos sa mai ki ja kuzeh ?

Responses: Today what your mother cooked?

(1)

What your mother cooked today?	(2)
Today my mother what is cooking?	(3)
Today what has your mother cooked?	(4)
What my mother has cooked today?	(5)
What did your mother cook today?	(6)

The best answer for question 1 is response (6); however, responses (1), (2) and (4) are accepted as they contain the same meaning as (6) although their word order is not the same; responses (3) and (5) are 'not accepted' as these sentences used 'my' (yo sa) mother instead of 'your' (bos sa). Answers to this question show that: a) although all the respondents could understand the PK vocabulary in the task sentence, some of the respondents did not recognise that the past in PK is signalled by 'ja'; b) some of the respondents could not differentiate between the possessive pronouns 'bos sa' (your) and 'yo sa' (my).

Task b, question 2

There are two 'correct' entries here; two entries are 'not all correct', three entries are 'not accepted', three entries are 'incomplete' and three 'blank' entries.

Question 2: Kantu anu bo sa pai ja kuzeh sibrisu na gormintu?

Responses:	How long does your father work in the government?	(1)
	How long did your father work in the company?	(2)
	In what year your father work for the government?	(3)
	How many years your father worked for the government?	(4)
	How many years my father has done work.....?.....	(5)
	When your father was working for ...?.....	(6)
	How many years did your father work for the government?	(7)

Response (7) is the correct and best answer but response (4) is also accepted as grammatically it provided the intended meaning and use of the correct tense. Response (1) is 'not all correct' as it refers to the present time, 'ja' marks PAST and therefore should be marked in the English response. Responses (2) and (3) are 'not accepted' because in the former, 'company' is not 'gormintu' (government) while in the latter the

English sentence refers to the year instead of the length of time (how long). Responses (5) and (6) are incomplete as the respondents do not know the PK word 'gormintu'.

Responses to this question show that: a) some of the respondents do not know the PK word 'gormintu'; b) some of the respondents have problems in differentiating the tense of the sentence as they are not able to recognise the tense signalled by 'ja'; c) some respondents do not know the PK word 'anu'; d) some respondents could not recognise that 'bos sa' means 'your'.

Task b, question 3

There is only one correct entry for the question; eight respondents could not complete their answers while the four youngest respondents could not produce any response at all.

Question 3: Bos ja beng naki, bos ja pidi bo sa mai atrudadi?

Responses: You came here, you asked your mother?.... (1)
 You came here, you asked your mother (or not), permission? (2)

The correct response to this question is, 'You came here, did you ask your mother's permission?' From the responses given, response (2) is accepted as it expresses the intended meaning of the task sentence. Response (1) is incomplete because the speaker could not produce the English equivalent for 'atrudadi' which is, 'permission'.

Answers to this question show that other than the four children (M, D, Z, C) who could not produce any response at all and Jess who had it right, the main problem here is, 8 of the respondents do not know the PK word 'atrudadi'.

Task b, question 4

There are no correct entries at all for this question; also, except for the last two youngest respondents who could not produce any response at all, all the attempts to answer this question are incomplete.

Question 4: Ozndia yo logu bai KL mas menus kuantu oras atadi.

- Responses:
- | | |
|--|-----|
| Today I will go KL?....evening | (1) |
| Today I'll be going to KL?..... | (2) |
| Today I'm going to KL.....what time? | (3) |
| Today I'm going to KL....what time....tonight | (4) |
| I'll be going to KL ...?.....four in the afternoon | (5) |

The correct answer is, 'Today I will go to KL, more or less at four o'clock in the afternoon'. All responses to this question are 'incomplete' entries as all of the respondents had some difficulty with some of the words in the second half of the sentence '...mas menus kuantu oras atadi' (more or less four o'clock in the afternoon).

Responses to this question show that: a) all the respondents do not know the PK phrase 'mas menus' (more or less); b) most of the respondents do not know the PK word 'atadi' (afternoon); c) some of the respondent know that the PK word 'oras' is 'time' but do not know the PK word 'kuantu' (four).

7.1.4.4 Significance of the Responses in the Oral Translation Tasks

The responses given to the oral test confirm that there is a noticeable drop in vernacular ability among the young people in the community. Results of the test proved interesting and insightful. Firstly, there is evidence that the younger generation possesses a limited knowledge of PK vocabulary and grammar. Secondly, attempts at direct translations from English, lexical borrowing from Malay and the fact that the respondents find Task b easier than Task a (overall there were more correct entries for Task b – see Tables 7.1 and 7.2) strongly suggest that the younger generation is more proficient in English and

Malay than PK. Thirdly, throughout the test there is evidence that the children in the '12 years and below' age group exhibited the lowest knowledge and proficiency in PK.

In both tasks, a number of the respondents revealed limited knowledge of PK vocabulary and grammar. None of the respondents know the PK word 'anumbes' (perhaps) while a number of the respondents do not know PK words such as 'palabra' (word), 'bonitu' (beautiful), 'gormintu' (government), 'anu' (year) and 'atrudadi' (permission). Also, some respondents do not even possess a working knowledge of everyday vocabulary such as 'atadi' (afternoon), 'oras' (time) and 'kuatu' (four) which means that there may be young people in the community who may not be able to say a greeting or tell the time or count in PK! Another factor is, some respondents displayed wrong usage of PK words, mistaking 'sibrisu' (work) for 'skola' (school) and 'bos sa' (your) for 'yo sa' (my). The fact that these are high frequency words which are often used in the homes and around the neighbourhood of the Portuguese Settlement indicate that the young people of the community have not acquired the use of PK fluently in their repertoire. In terms of PK grammar, a number of the young respondents do not know that 'ja' in PK signals past and hence are not able to recognise the function of 'ja' in the PK sentences when they appear in the task questions. The responses also show that a number of the respondents do not make the gender distinction between 'bemfetu' (handsome) and 'bemfeta' (beautiful).

Between the two tasks, the respondents found it easier to 'translate' from PK to English than to produce PK sentences which means that the respondents are more productive in expressing themselves in English than in PK. Also, in the production of PK sentences, there were traces of attempts to translate directly from English while in the search for a Kristang word for 'pretty' respondents resorted to borrowing from the Malay language.

The use of 'akeli' (that) to replace the English article 'the' in the task sentence and the lexical borrowing of Malay adjectives such as 'lawá' (beautiful/pretty/good looking) in task a not only highlight the extent of influence from English and Malay but more importantly it can indicate how the extensive use of these languages have led to a decreased use of PK among the younger generation resulting in decreased proficiency in Kristang and increased borrowing in the PK of the younger generation (as reported by the older speakers in sections 7.1.1 to 7.1.4.4).

The high frequency of 'blank' responses from the children's age group seem to suggest that the younger the respondents the less proficient they are in their mother tongue. With reference to Tables 7.1 and 7.2, two respondents, M and D, both aged 9 years, have not been able to produce any response at all in both tasks. While it is too early at this point from just one test to claim that these youngsters are representative of their age group's ability in PK, judging from the trend of decreasing PK language use with the young in the home domain and the lack of transmission of PK as the mother tongue (as shown in Chapter 6), it does not rule out the possibility that there may be very few speakers of PK among children twelve years and below, in the community.

To conclude, although the sample is small, the test brief and translation exercises may not be the ideal device to test PK proficiency among the young members of the community, despite its limitations, the exploratory test here has managed to provide some evidence of the loss of vocabulary and decreased proficiency in PK among the younger generation as reported by the older respondents in the interviews. Now that the community is fairly aware of its language shift and language loss situation, what vital steps (if any) are taken to revitalize the language?

7.2 Revitalization of PK: Community's Responses

The geographic concentration of a community in a particular place can play a significant role in sustaining the language if we link mother tongue maintenance to the vitality of the group concerned as proposed by Giles et al. (1977). In spite of its awareness and concern with the generational loss of vocabulary and decreasing proficiency in PK as signs of LS taking place at the Portuguese Settlement, the community does not think that PK is in immediate danger of becoming extinct. An underlying reason for such optimism is that the Kristang people are convinced that the very existence of the Portuguese Settlement itself and the opportunity to live together as a community can help sustain the language over some period of time:

...if this Settlement is still here another five hundred years, I think the language will not die...But if we are broken up into smaller cells, yes...the language will go, the tradition will go, the customs will go. If we have our Portuguese Settlement people living close knit together like this, is where the culture, the tradition and the language will exist...

(Regedor q 39)

We have survived for the past five hundred years, I think we should last another hundred years! I mean the language will still be there somehow...for the next thirty years I don't think it's going to be lost...

(MB q 22/23)

As early as the 70s, Hancock (1973) has highlighted the fate of PK if no effort is made to maintain the language (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.2) yet a complacent attitude has prevailed for almost three decades! Fortunately though, for the past decade, visits and increasing contacts with researchers from foreign and local universities have helped to kindle interest in the revitalization of PK:

Today, at least there is a lot of talk of preserving the language. Actually outsiders...researchers like you [laughter] are more keen on the issue than we are! In a way, they create more awareness of the issue and awaken us to it... In the past three to four years there has been some interest in this...what we need now is to enhance this, make it faster, speed it up...

(MB q 23)

The interest to revitalize PK is being taken up by the leaders of the community, namely the Regedor's Panel and the Malacca Portuguese Eurasian Association (MPEA). The Regedor's Panel and the MPEA work closely with each other thus the task of revitalising PK is often shared between the two bodies. The revitalisation of PK is subsumed under the Heritage Preservation of the Portuguese Eurasian Community which is a plan to preserve and develop various aspects of Kristang culture (see Appendix M). The Plan was submitted by the Regedor's Panel to the Malacca Heritage Trust, a subsidiary of UNESCO which looks after the historical heritage of the state of Malacca, the historical city of Malaysia. This Heritage Preservation Project is to be carried out in stages. For the preservation of the Kristang language, the plan is:

- (i) to produce a Kristang dictionary to help those who wish to learn the language
- (ii) to provide a standardised written orthography for PK
- (iii) to expand the language
- (iv) to produce simple picture books for the young
- (v) to form a panel of knowledgeable people to format a standard of usage
- (vi) to produce cassettes using the Linguaphone method to teach PK

Basically the above objectives can be grouped into three main projects:

- 1) The PK dictionary project
- 2) The production of teaching materials for PK
- 3) The formation of a language committee

7.2.1 The PK dictionary project

The Kristang dictionary project is the endeavour of Patrick de Silva (a member of the community) and Alan Baxter, a linguist currently attached to the Department of Portuguese, University of Macau. The dictionary is a Kristang-English dictionary with an English-Kristang finder list and is written on a Malay-based orthography due to the

close similarities in the phonological systems of the two languages: Kristang and Malay (for a discussion of how PK should be written, see Baxter and de Silva (forthcoming: p iii). The dictionary was completed in March 2002 and is due to be published this year (2003) by Pacific Linguistics Publishers, Canberra. For the writers of the dictionary, the production of the dictionary holds specific objectives:

The aim of the dictionary is to help the community, particularly the young who find it difficult to understand Kristang words...to document the vocabulary found in PK for future generations...

(de Silva q 44)

The aim of the dictionary is to help people write their language, to remember it, and to feel that it is a legitimate language. And as Hancock said years ago, the easiest way to get the entire community literate virtually overnight is to write Kristang using a Malay-based orthography, since the phonologies of the two languages are very, very close. It is not intended as a truly linguistic dictionary..(..)We might contemplate a second edition at some stage, incorporating phonetic representations as well...

(Baxter, personal communication)

For the leaders of the community, the dictionary is a much awaited documentation of the language because the leaders of the community believe that for PK to survive extinction, the Creole must not remain an oral language:

First of all, Kristang has to be a written language otherwise how do you teach the language? That is the base so we have to create this base...

(MB q 13)

The leaders are also optimistic that with the production of the dictionary, people will have an authoritative guide and learn Kristang in a more 'focused' way:

They will learn it the right way because now they put in any words they feel is right...Once we have a document to refer to, they will tend to use the documented words instead of coining their own words. After all, how do you define a language? You have to have some base, you can't allow too much code switching, code mixing otherwise the language will lose its originality...So through the documentation we will ensure that the language is taught and

learned the right way. Right now if we allow people to teach, we will get a lot of 'rojak'(M)(mixing) inside the language...

(MB q 18)

To conclude, from the community's point of view, the production of the PK dictionary is the cornerstone of PK language revitalization as other projects are dependent on it:

Traditional stories that need to be recorded down, the songs, the customs, all these... it's better to have the dictionary done first so we can have a reference when we start documenting or translating other aspects of Kristang culture...

(MB q 37)

In my opinion, standardisation is a vital first step in the documentation of a language and in the case of PK, it would be very meaningful since the community has been nurturing hopes for providing PK, which all along has been an oral language, with a written form. However, responses in the interviews show that excessive optimism and hope is placed on the role of the dictionary to effectively 'teach' the language. Learning from dictionaries (if it can be called learning at all) is not likely to fulfil this. Firstly, learning from the dictionary is reference work and in contrast to oral transmission of the language, this kind of language learning does not occur on a regular basis. Secondly, in natural language acquisition, the need to communicate is ongoing so productive skills are constantly put into play but learning from documented sources seldom demands this skill. Thirdly, learning from printed material assumes a level of literacy but we know that not a large section of the community are literate. Thus it is not pragmatic to place too much hope on the dictionary to perpetuate the language.

7.2.2 The production of teaching materials for the teaching of PK

Most members of the community believe that natural language acquisition in the home is a vital means of language transmission but they are acutely aware that it is not taking place at all:

You see, it depends on the parents...if the parents continue to speak I don't think it (the language) will die off. I have taught my children 'Portuguese' but whether my children will teach their children or not?

(PF, 1st generation Kristang)

Sometimes I speak to them (my grandchildren) they just run away...Sometimes I say 'korente', my grandchildren ask 'What is 'korente'? 'Korente' is 'forty'...numbers, they still don't know!

(PPF, 1st generation Kristang)

In the more affluent families, you would probably get only the grandparent speaking Kristang, the children understanding but wouldn't speak, and the grandchildren understanding less and don't speak Kristang at all...

(PDS, 1st generation Kristang)

Taking into consideration the lack of intergenerational transmission of PK in the Kristang home, there is mutual agreement that the target group for the revitalization of PK should be the young in the community.

I'd focus on the children and start from basics, probably from kindergarten type of lessons...produce kindergarten type of books in Kristang – pictorial and all that – and build a foundation from there... Also, have a simple story or nursery rhyme...well, if you can sing Jack and Jill, I don't see why you can't sing 'Pucho Kaik La Mah'? It's a nursery rhyme in Kristang...

(PDS q 24)

With the focus on the young, the second stage of the language revitalization program is to produce teaching materials in the form of simple picture alphabet books to teach PK to the young; in addition there are also plans to produce audio cassettes using the Linguaphone method to teach PK to anyone who is interested in learning the language. So far, this stage is only at the planning ('paper') stage as it awaits funding to meet the cost of material production, expertise to help with the writing of teaching materials, teaching personnel who can speak, read and write PK to teach the language. At the moment the leaders of the community are still trying to form a language committee to direct and oversee the production of teaching materials for the teaching of PK.

7.2.3 The Formation of a Language Committee

Currently there are no committees or sub-committees either in the MPEA or the Regedor's Panel devoted to language related matters. A language committee needs to be formed to attend to language issues such as the decision on what spelling system to use for the writing of teaching materials, the production of teaching materials, the recruitment of teachers to teach PK as well as administrative tasks such as the application for funding and publishing of the materials. According to the leaders of the community, the committee should be 'a panel of knowledgeable people' meaning that they prefer the committee to consist of people with a linguistic background (e.g. linguists or sociolinguists from outside the community) as well as members of the community who have a speaking knowledge of PK and are interested in the language and who are keen to be actively involved in the revitalization of PK.

While Baxter and myself are willing to be part of the committee, despite circulars being sent out to the community, the search for members from the community to form the language committee has been unfruitful – so far only one member of the community has come forward but since he is not living in the PS (he is working in Kuala Lumpur and comes home to the PS regularly every alternative week) it would not be feasible for him to be present for all the meetings. It appears that if the language committee is to be formed now, the leaders of the community would have to draw upon the resources of the existing members of the Regedor's Panel. If this is done, it would put more pressure on the time and workload of the Panel members. After much deliberation, the leaders have decided to stall the formation of the language committee until a later time (MB, vice-president of the Regedor's Panel, personal communication). The significance of this decision is that the language revitalization program is being delayed. How much longer will it take for language revitalization work to begin? A more important

question is, Can the community afford to wait any longer, bearing in mind that most of the children at the PS can hardly speak a sentence in PK? Added to this are other competing priorities such as economic development that tend to overtake language concerns.

7.3 Competing Priorities at the Portuguese Settlement

Economic mobility and success is highly valued and sought after in Malaysian society. Between the three main races, the Malays, the Chinese, and the Indians, competition is fierce as each ethnic group tries to acquire a bigger slice of the economic cake. The Malays are the most fortunate for as the ruling government is Malay, there are all kinds of economic aids designed by the ruling party to help them achieve and acquire a better economic position, based on the 'bumiputra' principle (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.2). The Chinese, well known for their hardwork and business acumen, are often economically comfortable and successful while among the Indians, the divide between the professional rich and the uneducated poor is wide. Thrust against this ongoing dynamic economic competition and quest for wealth among the races (that have been blamed as the cause for racial riots in the 60s and the rise of the 'Tiger economies' in the region in the 90s) small minority groups like the Kristang community are constantly jostled into the need to better themselves financially or face being marginalised economically. The two main pathways to economic success in Malaysia are through educational success and/or business ventures. Thus it is no surprise that in the minds of the community, educational progress and economic development often take precedence over less important matters such as communal or language issues.

8.3.1 Educational and Economic Concerns

While unfortunately there are no current figures to verify the most recent socio-economic status of the community at the PS, past record from Chan (1969), observations from Baxter (1988) and from my recent fieldwork as well as interviews with members and leaders of the community confirm that the educational and economic standing of the majority of the Creoles is still very much wanting; in short, except for a few educated and a few well-off families, a large proportion of the community at the PS did not finish school and a majority of the community can still be considered 'poor' (for a breakdown of educational background and the occupations of 85 heads of households in my survey see Chapter 5, Table 5.2 and Table 5.1 respectively). Consequently, in their everyday and public life, both the community and its leaders tend to focus their time and energy trying to raise the educational achievement of the young and the economic advancement of the families. The impact of this focus is that in terms of pragmatic considerations, when language issues compete with educational or economic development, more often than not, the latter overrides language preservation plans. The following comments reflect this view:

It's true, economic development always comes first...Everybody is not giving a thought to language...

(PDS q 32)

It has to be education, academic development for the young...This take priority over language maintenance and preservation because to be economically strong we need to be academically strong. When you get the economic value (power) you can do a lot. The language...it's not dead (yet)! [Laughter]

(MB q 21)

To sum up, unless and until the community has reached a better educational and economic level, language maintenance issues are not likely to hold a top priority in the hearts and minds of the people.

7.3.2 Funds, Time and Manpower

Lack of funds, time and manpower are further impediments that prevent the revitalisation & preservation projects from being launched. As pointed out earlier in section 7.2.3 'The Formation of a Language Committee', manpower is a major problem in spite of the fact that about 40% of the population at the PS may be adults (see Chapter 5, Table 5.1). Added to this is the dilemma of not having enough funds and the lack of community members who are interested and committed to language work for long term.

Finance is one question. Secondly, I don't think the Panel members have the time to attend to it...We are all stretched out...also we didn't get serious about it especially with no dollars to start with. Right now the Panel has spent zero dollars on language maintenance or on any aspect of the heritage...

(PDS q 31)

We need funding...and we need people who have the commitment to get involved and finish the job, not halfway. At the moment it's the academic community...researchers like Baxter and you and some officials from the Portuguese consuls who can spare the time or who want to give their time (Laughter) to this language cause...The response from our own people...from the community is still not good...I would say they are not bothered yet...

(Regedor q 51)

7.4 Attitude and Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Besides educational and economic considerations, the attitude of individuals in the community is another significant factor that is undermining the urgency and the support for the implementation of language revitalisation projects:

Number one is the financing. Secondly, we still have people in the community and the committee itself who don't consider it (language preservation) an important thing...they say it's not relevant!

(Regedor q 47)

Yes, I do agree that there is an urgent need now to maintain the language, to have projects working in that direction...but how far we can achieve is questionable. Academically...theoretically, with professionals, we can do a lot but on the ground the situation is different. In fact, I can bet, if I say, 'On Sunday there will be Kristang tuition class, I think you won't get five people!

(PDS q 16)

The above views show that a negative attitude is not the only situation that delays language revitalization work, a laid-back attitude is equally damaging. Such an attitude can contribute to a lack of commitment towards the problem of manpower discussed in the preceding subsection:

Maybe with education we will get more people in the future who are concerned about preserving the language...people who are more willing to sacrifice their time just to sit down and keep on instructing the language...

(MB q 14/15)

The question that arises out of this dilemma is, what makes this community which is critically aware of its LS situation, behave in such a manner? What can be the underlying factors contributing to this lack of 'language loyalty', a term used by Crystal (2000:17) to refer to 'the concern to preserve a language when a threat is perceived'? Other than looking at the attitude of the community towards its own language and economic situation perhaps we need to widen our perspective to look at the attitude of the Kristang group towards the other ethnic groups in Malaysia since the language behaviour and attitude of a minority group can be affected by the dynamics of the socio-political context of inter-group relations.

Two theoretical assumptions that I have drawn upon in Chapter Two to try to explain intergroup relations and attitudes are Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) (cf. section 2.2.2.1) and Core Values and Attitude (cf. section 2.2.2.1). Briefly, EV refers to 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within intergroup setting' (Giles et al., 1977: 308). The EV of a group is made up of objective and subjective variables and the group's responses to questions on these variables will reveal how the group views itself against the other ethnic groups and can account for the attitude, survival and maintenance of its language and culture. In order to examine the EV of the community, a short Language attitude and subjective ethnolinguistic (SEV)

survey was administered on fifty respondents between February and April 2002¹⁶ (see Appendix L). I shall now discuss the responses to the ten questions on the Language Attitude and EV questionnaire; For simplicity and clarity of interpretation I shall discuss the responses according to each question in the questionnaire.

7.4.1 Analysis of the Responses to the Language Attitude and Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality (SEV) Survey

Question 1: How important is it for your children to know and learn the following languages?

Table 7.3 Important language(s) for children to know and learn

Language (s)	Order of Importance					Mean Score
	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	-	29	21	-	3.42
Malay	20	30	-	-	-	1.6
English	38	12	-	-	-	1.24
Chinese (Mandarin)	-	-	33	17	-	3.34
Tamil	-	-	5	20	25	4.4

Order of Importance: 1 most important 5 least important

'Mean score' refers to the 'average score' in a particular group of variables. Throughout all the tables in this section (except Table 7.4 which does not require a mean score), the mean score is used to calculate the 'average' or 'mean' in the ordered variables. Thus, for example, in Table 7.3 since the ordinal variables are ordered or arranged in order of importance with '1' as the most important and '5' as the least important, the higher the

¹⁶ The oral test and the EV survey can be considered as an extension of the interviews as they are tools used to verify and substantiate the responses given in the interviews (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.2.3).

mean score the more unimportant the language is for the children to know and learn. Conversely, a lower mean score signifies that the language is considered to be nearer to the 'most important' part of the continuum.

With reference to Table 7.3, the Kristang community considers English as the most important language and Malay as the second most important language for their children to know and learn. Strangely though, slightly more people consider Chinese instead of Kristang as the third important language for their children to know and learn. This means that although Kristang is their mother tongue, they still recognize the (economic?) value of knowing Mandarin.

Question 2: Would it affect the survival of the community if PK becomes extinct?

Table 7.4 PK and the survival of the community

Responses	Number (%)
Yes	18 (36%)
No	22 (44%)
Not sure	10 (20%)

Responses to question 2 show that only 36% of the respondents think that the extinction of their language will affect the survival of the community; 44% do not think so while 20% are not certain.

Question 3 – 5: How important is it that Kristang/Malay/English be spoken in the home?

With reference to Table 7.5, PK emerged as the most important language that should be spoken in the home followed by English and then Malay. The responses here speaks well for PK although the data here does not complement the actual data of PK language use in the home domain as reported in Chapter 6.

Table 7.5 Language(s) that should be spoken in the home

Languages	Order of Importance						Mean Score
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	-	2	8	40	-	3.13
Malay	-	7	35	8	-	-	1.68
English	-	-	6	37	7	-	2.51

Order of Importance: 0 Not important at all 5 Extremely Important

Question 6: How proud are the following racial groups of their cultural history and achievement in Malaysia?

Table 7.6 Pride in their cultural history and achievement

Ethnic groups	Level of pride						Mean Score
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	-	-	-	10	40	4.0
Chinese	-	-	-	-	5	45	4.08
Malay	-	-	-	-	-	50	4.16
Indians	-	-	-	-	20	30	3.91

Level of pride: 0 Not proud at all 5 Extremely proud

The Malays are viewed as the group with the highest level of pride for their cultural history and achievement (Table 7.6). There is not much difference between the Chinese and the Kristangs, that is, both groups are viewed as almost as equally proud of their cultural history and achievement; following close are the Indians. These views show that from the Kristang point of view, overall there is a strong sense of ethnic pride in each of the ethnic group.

Question 7: How well represented are the following groups (the Kristang, Chinese, Malays, Indians) in the cultural life of Malaysia (e.g. festivals, concerts, art exhibition)?

Table 7.7 Representation in cultural life

Ethnic groups	Level of Representation						Mean Score
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	-	-	-	8	42	4.03
Chinese	-	-	-	7	38	5	3.30
Malays	-	-	-	-	-	50	4.16
Indians	-	-	-	9	35	6	3.28

Level of representation: 0 Not at all well represented

5 Very well represented

Table 7.7 shows that the Malays, the ruling race group, are considered very well represented in the cultural life of Malaysia; after that, the Kristangs consider their group to be well represented too in their cultural life; the Chinese and the Indians share almost the same level of cultural representation.

Question 8: How much political power do the following groups have in Malaysia?

Table 7.8 Political power among the races in Malaysia

Ethnic groups	Level of political power						Mean Score
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	22	18	10	-	-	1.46
Chinese	-	10	15	15	10	-	2.08
Malay	-	-	-	-	38	12	3.53
Indians	-	10	15	20	5	-	2.0

Level of representation: 0 No political power at all 5 Complete political power

The Malays are seen to have a lot of political power since they are the ruling race; on the other hand, the Kristangs view themselves as having very little political power; compared to the other races. Both the Chinese and Indian groups are considered to possess average political power in the country.

Question 9: How wealthy do you feel the following groups are in Malaysia?

Table 7.9 Wealth between the racial groups

Ethnic groups	Level of wealth						Mean Score
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Kristang	-	35	10	5	-	-	1.16
Chinese	-	-	-	5	15	30	3.75
Malays	-	-	-	12	20	18	3.43
Indians	-	5	10	13	12	10	2.70

Level of wealth: 0 Not wealthy at all 5 Extremely wealthy

According to Table 7.9, the Chinese are considered the wealthiest ethnic group in Malaysia followed by the Malays. The majority of the respondents view their race as nearer the poverty end, even the Indians are considered better off than their group.

Question 10: How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Malaysia?

According to Table 7.10 the Chinese are considered to have major control of economic and business matters followed by the Malays and then the Indians; the Kristangs view themselves as not having much control over economic and business matters.

Malay is considered 'the most privileged language in the measure of education privilege in Malaysia (Gupta, 1997) yet despite this privileging, English continues to be held in higher regard to the national language, Malay. Interestingly though, PK did not even take second place for the language that children need to know and learn. PK is third choice while Malay comes second place with the community. When one's own mother tongue is considered third choice, it certainly does not speak much for the significance and positive attitude the community claims regarding the importance of its language. The following subsection further supports this observation.

7.4.2.2 The mother tongue as a core value

In Table 7.4, 44% of the respondents do not think that the survival of the community will be affected by the extinction of PK while 36% feels that it will. The balance 20% are not even sure whether there is any relationship between the survival of the community and their language. The fact is, these figures imply that there is a lack of conviction on PK as a core value for the continuity of the community. According to the theory of core values (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.2.2), in language-centred communities the survival and existence of the group is dependant upon the preservation and maintenance of its language. In view of this, such communities possess positive attitudes towards the community language and consider the language vital for their group's survival. Conversely, those who do not think the survival of the community is dependant on the preservation and maintenance of its language often possess negative attitudes towards the maintenance of the language. For the Kristang community, Sudesh (2000) reports a positive attitude among the creoles to 'save' their language but based on this study I would label the community's attitude towards the preservation of its language as not one of positive or negative but 'laid-back' – something they will attend to when they have the time and money to do so.

7.4.2.3 Belief systems and its impact on language maintenance (LM)

Both Tables 7.6 and 7.7 show that there is a high level of pride in the history and cultural achievement of the Kristang community and the community is equally satisfied with the amount of representation the group has in the cultural life of Malaysia. In contrast, in Tables 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10, the respondents rate the community lowest in political power, in wealth and in economic control and business matters. Whether the other communities hold the same view about themselves as the Kristangs is not of significance because views form the belief system of the community and according to the concept of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (EV)(cf. Chapter 2, Figures 2.4 and 2.5), the belief systems of the minority group affect the group members' attitudes towards the use of its language. The responses indicated in Tables 7.8 to 7.10 reflect the community's dissatisfaction with the distribution of wealth, economic control and political power (part of the sociostructural factors of 'objective' EV) to the community and the group's innate desire and goal to achieve and have access to these resources. Unlike the Malay community who is the ruling ethnic group of the country and whose unequal distribution of wealth and economic control has been rectified in their favour by the government's bumiputra policy (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.2), the Kristang community is still fighting for full bumiputra status which would grant them access to all the benefits of the policy (refer Fernandis, 2000; Baxter, 2003). Given this belief system, the quest for wealth and economic betterment overshadows the urgency for language issues such as the maintenance of the mother tongue.

In sum, analyses of the responses in this section indicate that the Kristang community has high vitality in their cultural significance and representation but low vitality perceptions of their economic and political status among the different ethnic groups in the country. This helps to explain the low priority for language issues and their constant

pursuit for economic advancement as well as the laid-back attitude concerning the urgency for language restoration work.

7.5 Summary and Conclusion

Interviews with the leaders as well as 'ordinary' members of the community have shown that the older fluent speakers of PK are critically aware of the changes that are taking place in the speech of the younger Kristangs. Generational loss of vocabulary, semantic shifts of Kristang words, decreasing proficiency in PK and the tendency to code mix among the young are signs the older generation Kristangs cite as indicative of LS taking place at the PS. The translation test taken by 13 young Kristangs between the ages of 9 and 25 years of age confirm the older speakers' observation and claim that PK is not only receding in use but also the level of PK proficiency among the young is low.

Reversing language shift (RLS) means 'to alter the current trend towards loss by taking decisive and appropriate action' (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998: 61). There has been some effort on the part of the leaders of the community to design some strategies for the revitalization of the language although the plans have not been fully put into action. The plan has been broadly discussed in sections 7.2.1 – 7.2.3. At the moment there are a few simple word-picture booklets of PK (compiled by a member of the community) being circulated among the Portuguese Eurasian associations for those who are interested to learn the language but strangely, none of these booklets are available to the youngsters at the PS. According to a member of the community these books are considered 'too easy' for the people in the PS. However, analysis of responses to the short translation test in sections 7.1.4.2 – 7.1.4.4 reveal that the children aged '12 years and below' could hardly produce any response in PK! In my opinion, these booklets are underused. There is a kindergarten in the Portuguese Settlement itself which is staffed by a Kristang

teacher who can speak the language fluently therefore these 'instructional materials' could have been put to better use in her hands for the teaching of Kristang until better materials are developed. These are possibilities that both the Panel and the MPEA can look into.

In the discussion on 'Competing Priorities at the PS' the focus on economic development and the lack of manpower to attend to the revitalization of PK have been highlighted as the main obstacles undermining the launch of the revitalization program for PK. Added to this, the 'language attitude and subjective EV survey' have provided a psychological explanation for the minority's group focus on economic development over the rescue of its language. One of the ways to overcome this impediment is to create greater awareness of the language endangerment of PK by involving more people from the community itself in language maintenance, at the personal level. One way to do this is for the Regedor's Panel to launch a 'Speak PK at Home' campaign in the homes of the PS. Such a project will certainly bring benefits: firstly, it will awaken the community to the need to start 'saving' the language in the home itself; secondly, by doing so the community will be drawing upon the resources of the pool of fluent adult G2 and G1 speakers of PK; thirdly, such a strategy does not require much money, planning or manpower to launch or sustain the project; finally, such a project is likely to produce effective language maintenance as intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue in the home is undisputedly the most effective means for the young to acquire PK.

The discussions in this chapter have shown that besides the need for financial and labour resources, there is a laid-back attitude which contributes to insufficient urgency within the community to reverse the language shift taking place. Sometimes

communities do not act much because they are not aware that language preservation is both a communal effort and an individual responsibility. In the case of the Kristang community, before any revitalization work is carried out, it would be prudent for the community leaders and the community to come together in a meeting and consider what Fishman (1991) terms as 'prior ideological clarification.' This would call for an open and honest assessment of the state of PK at the Settlement and how the community sincerely feels about using and preserving the ethnic language for its future generation. In such an approach, a range of questions from the basic 'Do we need to 'save' PK?' and 'Are we really serious about saving our language?' to the more complex 'What can we (the people in the community) in addition to the specialists (e.g. linguists) do to help perpetuate the language?' needs to be considered before the actual plan of revitalising the language is put into action. Prior ideological clarification will not only clear the ground for a better understanding of the LS situation at the Settlement, it will also provide the community with a systematic, realistic and feasible start to revitalisation as well as involve more of the community than it does at the present moment.

By the time this study is carried out, PK has survived for almost 500 years but now it is (seriously) endangered (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.3). What are the socio-political and cultural contexts that could have contributed to this change in its fortunes? A constellation of factors interact to bring about this misfortune, among them that deserve discussion here are: (i) the power relations between the ruling group and the minority group and, between the Kristang community and the other communities; (ii) the degree of bilingualism among the individuals and groups in contact; (iii) the length of contact and sense of history.

The power relations

During Dutch rule of Malacca (1641-1789) the Portuguese Eurasians experienced widespread persecution. However, under the following British rule (1789-1957), the community was not only given a place (The Portuguese Settlement) to call their own (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.2) but the British education system also opened avenues for a number of the G1 and G2 Kristangs to better themselves with an English education system and accordingly acquire jobs in the British administration. Thus, even though the British were in power, the relationship between the ruling party and the minority group was cordial and satisfactory; this non-threatening relationship encouraged the learning of English as a prestigious language for interaction with the ruling power. With Malayan Independence in 1957, the power relations changed. First, fluency in Malay not English became the criterion for access into government service and institutions of higher learning (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3.3). Secondly, the *bumiputra* policy (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.2) reserved positions in government service and economic privileges for the Malay people in the country. Like all non-Malay ethnic groups, the Kristang community felt the brunt of this imbalance of power and opportunities. The relationship between the ruling group and the minority group was no longer a relaxed, reciprocal one, in short, the minority community now has to be not only proficient in the Malay language but will also never have the (equal) opportunity to acquire positions in the government service (like they used to during British colonial rule). The 'land issues' (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 1.3.2.1) further aggravated the relationship between the ruling group and the community as parts of the Portuguese Settlement (which the British had set aside specifically for the minority community) were 'taken away' for (Malay) government use. In addition to this, the economic success of the other ethnic groups, namely the Chinese and some of the Indian community, further contributed to

the Kristang community's fear of being marginalised economically and politically (cf. section 7.4.2). Within such a socio-political context, English then Malay became a more important language to learn and be proficient in than the community's mother tongue, PK.

The degree of bilingualism

Linguistic diversity in Malaysian society is reflected in the extent of endemic multilingualism found among all ethnic groups. The usual linguistic repertoire of a Malaysian consists of three speech varieties: Malay (both standard and non-standard), English (both ME Type 1 and ME Type 11) and an ethnic language. However, the degree of proficiency in each of the languages is varied, depending upon the type of schooling one has and the educational background of the parents. In addition to this, most Malaysians also hold a basic communicative command of the regional language one lives in, for instance, Cantonese in Kuala Lumpur, Hokkien in Penang and Malacca, and Mandarin in Johor Bahru (the Malaysian city next to Singapore). In view of this, while there may be a stable form bilingualism existing for the languages Malaysians need to use regularly (e.g. Malay, English and a regional language), PK does not constitute as one of the languages to be maintained as a main means of communication. The socio-political context is such that a constant flow of interaction between the different ethnic groups in Malaysia and the pressure to be competent in a few languages including official languages such as Malay (and to some extent, English too) leaves not much room or interest for the learning of PK.

Length of contact and sense of history

In most speech communities language is often closely bonded with the identity of the community. For the older Kristangs speaking PK is part of the identity of being a

Kristang and the sense of being 'Portuguese' or creole is very strong among the G1 and G2 Kristangs which they acquired from their forefathers, some of whom were themselves Portuguese. Also, the older Kristangs have lived through at least one colonial power (the British rule) and now they are under the Malay government - the experience of different cultural contexts can contribute to a heightened sense of pride for one's ancestral roots (including one's ethnic language). In contrast, the younger Kristangs were born and bred in a Malaysian society, they had hardly any direct contact with their Portuguese ancestral past and neither were they immersed in a totally 'Portuguese' language socialization input (by the time of British rule, most Kristang homes were already bilingual). Thus culturally, other than their Portuguese surnames, the younger Kristangs do not share a sense of 'Portuguese' history and identity with their ancestral past and the language but rather can identify better with being Malaysian Eurasians than creole Portuguese. As a result of these socio-political and cultural contexts, the use of PK became more and more meaningless and hence (seriously) endangered now.

A community's response to its language shift and endangered language situation is a fundamental factor that will determine the future of its language. As this chapter has shown, the response of the Kristang community to the shift and revitalization of PK is brought about by a number of interacting factors, some of which are beyond the community's control (e.g. the socio-political factors) while some are within the community's control (e.g. their attitudes and efforts towards language maintenance in the home). The interaction between these macro and micro factors brings about certain needs and priorities in the community which in turn influence the language behaviour of the Kristang people. The next chapter discusses how the language behaviour of the

community which is initiating LS of PK can best be understood as a negotiation of need and priorities.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

The aim of the research is to investigate the language shift situation of PK at the Portuguese Settlement (PS), establish the cause(s) for the decreasing use of the creole and describe the community's attempts to revitalize the language. As the research project developed, it became evident that although socio-economic development and the quest for economic mobility can be seen as the overt cause for the shift of PK, a number of factors operate in the context of the LS process itself to contribute to the LS phenomenon. In other words, underneath the macrosociological changes are factors which are initiating the shift, salient factors such as the actual linguistic behaviour of the Kristang speakers, the attitude and response of the community to the shift and revitalization of PK and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the people which is in turn shaped by the socio-historical background, the socio-cultural values and the socio-political dynamics of minority-majority group relations in the country. The chapter thus can be broadly divided into two: the first section discusses the LS process of PK across the generations in the homes and neighbourhood of the PS; the second section explains how the shift and revitalization of PK reflects the negotiation of needs and priorities of the community. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how endangered PK is, the prospects of 'saving' PK if necessary steps are taken and, suggestions for future research on PK.

8.1 The LS Process of PK

The process of LS has often been depicted on a continuum of language behaviours with one end of the continuum (before the shift takes place) showing monolingualism in the

mother tongue (MT) and at the other end of the continuum (after the shift has taken place) monolingualism in the dominant language. Between the two ends of monolingualism (in L_x and L_y) (see Figure 8.1), there exists different levels of bilinguality in which some languages are more dominant than the others and the bilingualism is accompanied by specific language behaviours such as code-mixing, code-switching, borrowing, convergence and a reduction in forms and skills in L_x .

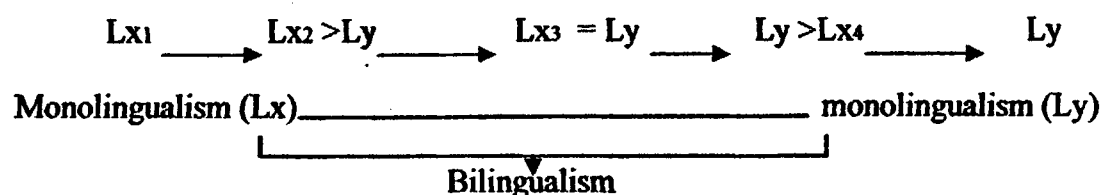


Figure 8.1 Unidimensional model of language shift

(Source: Hamers & Blanc, 2000: 297; Fig. 10.1)

Although there is much truth in their description of the stages of bilingualism and bilingual behaviour in the model, Hamers and Blanc's model is more suitable for describing LS in migrant communities. A main defining factor is, in most bilingual societies, LS in non-migrant minority communities seldom begin and/or end with monolingualism; in fact, in most cases, as in the case of the Kristang minority community in bilingual Malaysia, LS begins and ends with different levels of bilinguality and bilingualism in different languages. Thus, a model of LS taking place in minority communities in bilingual societies is very likely to be such:

$L_x > L_y, L_z$

$L_x + L_y > L_z$

$L_y + L_z > L_x$

First generation

Bilingualism

Second generation Bilingualism

Third generation

Bilingualism

Figure 8.2 Model of language shift in minority communities in bilingual societies

In Figure 8.2, L_x is the mother tongue of the minority community, L_y is the second language and L_z is the third language learned. Therefore, first generation bilingualism consists of the use of the mother tongue more than the other two languages, second generation bilingualism consists of the use of both the mother tongue and a second language (which is most likely the dominant language in the larger society) more than a third language while third generation bilingualism consists of the use of the second and third languages more than the mother tongue. Within such a model, the process of LS across generations can be clearly seen as L_x (the mother tongue) moves from being the dominant language in first generation bilingualism to increasingly being used as a mixed language in second generation bilingualism to a language that is less used in third generation bilingualism.

When Figure 8.2 is applied to the Kristang minority community, L_x is the mother tongue (PK); L_y is English, L_z is Malay/other languages; accordingly, first generation bilingual Kristang speakers use PK more than English or Malay/other languages, second generation bilingual Kristangs use both PK and English more than Malay/other languages and the third generation bilingual Kristangs use more English and Malay/other languages more than PK, that is:

Use PK > other languages	Use PK + English > more than other languages	Use English and other languages > PK
(G1)	(G2)	(G3)
Older generation	Middle generation	Younger generation

Figure 8.3 The LS process of PK across generations

From its dominant position with the older generation, how did PK arrive at its subservient position with the third generation Kristangs? A number of concomitant factors and actions interact to bring about this language shift of PK across generations at the PS. The most vital among them are (i) the actual linguistic behaviour of the speakers and (ii) the community's response to the LS phenomenon of PK.

8.1.1 The Actual Linguistic Behaviour of the Speakers

The actual linguistic behaviour of the speakers form the core of the LS process of PK. This actual linguistic behaviour of the Kristang speakers is manifested in (i) the predominant use of English in the community, especially in the Kristang home, (ii) the use and disuse of PK in the home and neighbourhood of the PS, (iii) the use of 'local' languages such as Malay, Hokkien and Tamil.

Analysis of data from both reported and actual language use in the home and neighbourhood domains reveals very consistent patterns of speech both involving the use of English and the use and disuse of PK. From the survey reports, English emerged as the language most commonly used in the home domain and data of actual language use not only confirm the predominant use of English with the young but also show that the actual amount of English used is more than what is reported which means more than what the speakers are aware of.

Where the use of the mother tongue is concerned, two major trends of PK language use exist: firstly, PK is usually used among the second(G2)/parent generation and among the first(G1)/grandparent generation but hardly used among the third (G3)/younger generation; secondly, PK is not used as the main language of communication between the adults and the children or grandchildren but at specific times or occasions such as

when in anger, when disciplining or when teasing, joking or name-calling, a spontaneous use of PK surfaces.

Data of language use in the neighbourhood domain show that more PK is used in the interaction around the neighbourhood of the Portuguese Settlement than in the home. However, situational factors in the setting where the interaction takes place have a bearing on the amount of PK used. For instance, more PK is used at the celebration of an elder's birthday than at a family Christmas celebration, the reason being that, in the former, there are more G1 and G2 members of the community, who are fluent speakers of PK, at the gathering whilst in the latter, there are more visiting relatives from outside the Settlement and these 'guests' seldom speak PK. Talk at the food stalls is influenced by the type of stalls and the type of customers: 'table and chairs' stalls which attract more fellow Kristangs record a higher usage of PK than 'takeaway' stalls which serve customers from a more diverse ethnic group, namely the Chinese, Indians, Malays who live in the housing estates on the fringe of the Settlement.

Besides English and PK, the language behaviour of the speakers include the use of local languages such as Malay (both standard and non-standard), Hokkien and some Tamil. However, as pointed out in Chapter 6, the use of Hokkien and Tamil are peripheral; unlike English and PK which have been used both as matrix and embedded languages interchangeably, Hokkien and Tamil are normally found as borrowings in either a PK matrix sentence or an English matrix sentence as their usage is often confined to one-word lexical insertions. Malay is used slightly more than Hokkien and Tamil but there is a difference in the type of Malay used in the home and neighbourhood domains. Bahasa Malaysia or the standard variety is used more in the home while more Bazaar Malay (the non-standard variety) is found in the interactions in the neighbourhood domain.

From the above descriptions, it is clear that the Kristang people use a range of languages in differing amounts and at different times. However, the speakers' bilinguality, which I define as 'the ability, the need and, the willingness to use more than one language' in an interaction, is not the threat to the maintenance of PK, in fact, the ethnic and language blending as discussed in section 1.4.1 shows that such bilinguality has provided a stable form of bilingualism in which PK has managed to survive for more than five centuries at the PS. What is undermining the maintenance of PK at the PS is the decision of the first and second generation Kristangs to use English as the main language of communication in the home and hence not provide the young the opportunity to acquire Kristang directly as a mother tongue. It is this very core language behaviour of not using PK as the bulk of direct speech to the children which is the main contributing factor to the LS of PK. In what way(s) does such a language behaviour affect the transmission of PK as a mother tongue? Firstly, such language behaviour deprives the young of a rich input of PK to respond to and to learn; secondly, it reinforces the notion that it is not necessary nor important to learn the vernacular as a mother tongue. One may argue that due to the use of PK among the G1 and G2, there is still an input of PK for the children to acquire from but this kind of input is different from language socialization input where the young are talked to and need to respond in the mother tongue (Kulick, 1992) and in doing so, acquire the norms and cultural mores associated with the mother tongue (Schieffelin et al., 1998; Ochs, 1988). Of the few contexts where PK is used with the younger generation, that is, when expressing anger, disciplining, teasing or the use of kinship terms, it is very unlikely that such limited language input will make much impact in the amount of PK acquired for the type of input provided by these few contexts can be termed as 'incidental transmission of the mother tongue', the term 'incidental' often used in the field of English As A Second

Language (ESL) to refer to 'language use that does not form part of the actual planned lessons' (e.g. the greeting of the teacher in English) or to refer to 'indirect vocabulary acquisition' (e.g. undirected/incidental vocabulary learning in ESL reading, Hill & Laufer, 2003).

8.1.2 The Community's Response to the LS situation

The community's response to the LS situation constitutes part of the LS phenomenon because 'the process of language attrition may be either offset or accelerated by the community's own attitude towards preservation of its language, culture and traditions' (Grenoble & Whaley, 1996: 212). In order to respond to the LS situation, the community must first of all, be aware of the LS taking place. In the case of the shift of PK, responses given by interviewees and the revitalization plans put forward by the community leaders (cf. Chapter 7) indicate that there is substantial awareness of and concern for the shift of PK at the Settlement. Unfortunately though, despite its objective, plans for the revitalization of PK are mismatched with the actual problem of the endangerment of PK. While it is important for the language to be codified and standardised in the form of a dictionary of Kristang, too much emphasis and hope is placed on this 'macro' dictionary project to help 'teach' and rescue PK from becoming extinct. To reverse the LS situation of PK, what is needed are projects that not only involve a larger section of the community but effect a change in the language behaviour of the community whereby the use of PK is inculcated in the daily life of the people.

Another dimension of the community's response that may contribute further to the LS situation is the lack of urgency to put language maintenance issues above economic concerns. Due to the minority status of the community and the quest for economic mobility and strength, most of the community members are more interested in economic

betterment than in language preservation matters. Obviously such an attitude will not help improve the LS situation of PK. Thus we see that the very attitude and responses of the community forms part of the context of the LS of PK.

8.1.3 The Direction of the Shift

How the Kristang speakers behave linguistically and their responses to the LS situation of PK determine the direction of the shift. However, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the community's language behaviour and its responses to its language situation are couched within and shaped by the larger macrosociological changes in the country. To comprehend the direction of the shift of PK we need to look into why and how PK is shifting.

The status and use of English

British colonial rule from the late 1700s up to the Independence of Malaya (now Malaysia) in 1957 provided the first generation and a substantial number of the second generation Kristangs with an English medium education. After Independence, despite official pressure to be fluent in Bahasa Malaysia (standard Malay) and the fact that English is now a second language (except for the Eurasians), English never disappeared entirely from the linguistic scene but lingered on (Jacobson 2001). For the Kristang community, English not only remained a main language of communication but it is reported in the language use survey (Chapter 5) and confirmed in data of actual language use (Chapters 6) as becoming the mother tongue or language of socialization in the Kristang home. As a result of this language choice, the shift of PK is in the direction of English.

Predominance of CS in the community

Besides the predominant use of English which is initiating and maintaining the LS of PK, microanalysis of speech at the individual level reveals a substantial amount of mixed speech activities. Among the most common features of mixed speech used by the Kristang speakers are (insertional and alternational) codeswitching and borrowing (cf. Chapter 6, sections 6.10.1 - 6.10.3). The predominance of CS implies that PK is seldom used as a language on its own even among the older generation. In fact, as illustrated by Figure 8.3, bilingualism among all generations of Kristangs involve the use of PK, a dominant language (English) and other languages alongside each other. This being the case, there is no question that the speakers tend to codeswitch between the languages. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that such a polyglossic use of the languages is a direct cause of the shift of PK even though 'English + PK' is used more frequently than 'purely PK' by the second generation and, by the third generation the shift of PK (to English) is almost complete when the switching involves using 'English' and 'English + Malay' and pushing the use of PK more and more out of the picture of language use (cf. Figures 8.2 & 8.3).

Bilingualism, LS and A Mixed Code

Another point worth mentioning is, although the shift of PK is in the direction of English, the English used may not be 'all English', in short, although the matrix language may be English, there may be present features of language mixing such as the intermeshing or overlapping of three languages in an English sentence (e.g. #48) or the use of particle 'lah' with an English word (e.g. #58) or the application of reduplication rules to signal plurality or repetitive actions on English words (e.g. #68 & #69). Such innovative language use is a distinctive feature of the language shift of PK at the PS and a large part of it is due to the long term language contact between the different ethnic

communities in Malacca and the bilingual speakers' habit of polyglossic language use. Within the field of language shift, this case of the shift of PK shows that LS need not necessarily mean 'one language replacing another language' (from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another language) but that LS can also mean 'across the generations, bilingualism in the mother tongue and a dominant language (e.g. PK and English) being replaced by bilingualism in other languages' (e.g. English and Malay/other languages) characterised by a mixed code as a result of the CS and borrowing behaviours.

8.1.4 The Endangerment of PK

A discussion of the LS of PK is incomplete without considering the warning signs provided throughout the study of the endangerment of PK. The most important indication of PK being endangered are the shrinkage of the vocabulary, the lack of intergenerational transmission of PK as a mother tongue, the decreasing proficiency of the younger speakers and the status of PK as an endangered language as measured on Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale/GIDS.

Generational loss of vocabulary

The loss of vocabulary across the generations is a major concern to the older, fluent speakers of the language as well as to outside linguists (e.g. Baxter) who have been working with the community since the 80s. Part of the fears of the older speakers of PK is the increasing replacement of PK words with Malay words by the younger generation. Besides a puristic attitude towards their language, the older speakers are afraid that PK will no longer be recognisable as their ethnic language due to too much borrowing and code mixing with other languages.

Lack of intergenerational transmission of PK

The choice of not making PK the main language of communication between the adults and the young results in PK not being transmitted as the mother tongue (MT) in the community. The effect of such language behaviour is a generational loss of the mother tongue which results in a marked decrease of proficiency in PK among the younger Kristangs. Analysis of data in Chapter 7 confirms the lack of proficiency in PK among the younger generation, especially children from the 'twelve years and below' age group. Most of the respondents in this age group are not able to produce a complete sentence in PK let alone conduct a conversation in PK. If this trend is not reversed, with the death of the first and second generations, PK will increasingly become a third language and the learning of it in Kristang classes (as part of the future plans for the revitalization of PK) will be equivalent to foreign language instruction.

PK at stage 7 on the GIDS

Measured on Fishman's (1991) GIDS for threatened languages, the endangerment of PK would be at stage 7, that is, 'the minority language is used by the older but not by the younger generation' (cf. Chapter 3, Table 3.1). Accordingly, the recommended solution for threatened languages at this stage is, to develop a young cohort of speakers of the language through a variety of cultural activities such as festivals, dances and music (cf. Chapter 3, Figure 3.1). The aim of such activities is to foster contact between the young (who do not speak the language) and the older generation (who speak the language) so that the latter can lead the young to appreciate the culture and the language of the community. In the case of the Kristang community, such an intervention may not be the best solution - participant-observation and experience during my fieldwork show that celebration of festivals (such as Festa San Pedro) have not had the desired effect of promoting the use of PK because most of these festivals were put up mainly to raise

funds and to promote tourism to the Settlement and the State. Also, the use of the older folks may not always be feasible as frail health may prevent most of them from taking an active part in such projects.

A more practical intervention for the case of PK would be to promote the attainment of intergenerational oralcy which is actually listed as the prescription for threatened languages at stage 6. There are valid reasons why such an intervention offers a better chance to alleviate the endangerment of PK. Firstly, the root cause of the LS of PK is the lack of intergenerational transmission of PK as the mother tongue in the Kristang home hence it would be sensible to tackle the problem at its source. Secondly, as Fishman (*ibid*) himself pointed out, stage 6 is the most crucial stage as this stage needs to be consolidated and secured if subsequent stages are to be attained. Thirdly, in the particular case of PK, fortunately, there exists a substantial number of adult speakers in the parent (G2) generation who can speak PK fluently (cf. Chapters 5 & 6) hence this resource can be tapped into. Finally, promoting a 'Speak PK at Home' or 'Speak PK to your children/grandchildren' campaign is economically low cost and is therefore within the reach of this community which often sacrifices language issues for economic concerns.

8.2 The LS and Revitalization of PK: A Negotiation of Needs and Priorities

A description of the LS phenomenon of PK in the preceding sections reiterates the fact that Kristang speakers constantly use a range of languages to communicate in the homes and the neighbourhood of the PS. Since speakers' choice of codes is not at random, there must be an underlying mechanism directing the language behaviour of the speakers. My thesis is, the language behaviour of the Kristang speakers, which brings about the LS phenomenon of PK, is motivated by a negotiation of needs and priorities.

To be precise, I view the shift of PK at the PS as an ongoing negotiation of priorities to fulfil socio-psychological needs, pragmatic/survival needs and solidarity or group allegiance. In order to explicate these points I shall return to a discussion of the language(s) used by the speakers in their particular contexts and illustrate that the language choices reflect an underlying negotiation of needs and priorities.

8.2.1 Theoretical Orientation

In Chapter 2, three main approaches to the study of LS in minority communities, namely investigating LS through domains, through behaviour and through bilingualism were discussed. The theoretical constructs underlying the approaches were drawn from sociology, social psychology and bilingualism respectively. The review of these approaches foregrounds that the LS of PK at the PS needs to be studied, analysed and understood through an eclectic approach drawing from an interdisciplinary perspective as the language behaviour of the speakers which is directing the LS of PK, is brought about not by one but an interdependence of these factors.

Maslow (1970) developed a hierarchy of needs in which he listed five categories of needs that motivate human behaviour: 1) physiological needs 2) safety 3) belongingness 4) esteem 5) self actualization. According to him, these needs are arranged hierarchically as they need to be satisfied consecutively. The concept of linking language choice with needs is not new; Walker (1993) has applied this hierarchy of needs to explain why two communities in different parts of the world, one in Europe and another in Irian Jaya, Indonesia, both experiencing LS due to a similar constellation of social factors responded differently because of the community's differing felt needs. As a result of his observation, Walker (ibid) developed a hierarchy of needs in relation

to language choice and is convinced that the hierarchy of needs can help language planners predict language choice.

In the case of the Kristang community, the felt needs of the community are not always in such strict hierarchical order and water-tight compartmentalization (as shown in section 8.2.2.1). Due to its socio-historical background (a distinct community that has resisted, endured and survived complete integration into mainstream society), its socio-cultural and religious values (a creole community claiming Portuguese ancestry, culture and allegiance to the Catholic faith) and its socio-political situation (a very small ethnic minority group trying to gain recognition from the government in a bid to improve itself economically and politically), the needs and priorities of the community are constantly in negotiation and most times language choice is not only a reflection of the felt needs of the community but also the shifting identities and vested interests of the community.

Most studies of negotiation apply to the field of corporate conflict resolution and the term describes a problem-solving encounter between parties who each have their own agenda and goals. According to Firth (1995:10), in many cases, 'negotiation is used metaphorically to stress that the essential nature of a phenomenon is not stasis or fixity but its contingent mutability, its situated emergence, and its intersubjective interpretation...' As human interactions are not predetermined or fixed entities, the concept of negotiation has been applied to the interactional and pragmatic use of language such as in the studies on context (e.g. Kendon, 1999), turn-taking (e.g. Fairclough, 1992) and topics (e.g. Gumperz, 1982), to name a few. In most of these studies the concept of negotiation applies to how the parties concerned make an ongoing assessment of the situation to make the appropriate 'move'. In the case of the LS and revitalization of PK, I would like to extend the use of the concept of negotiation to refer

to the Kristang speakers' ongoing assessment of what is most important to their situation and how these priorities are manifested in their language choice, language use, attitude and response to the shift and revitalization of PK.

8.2.2 Language behaviour: A Negotiation of Needs and Priorities

Throughout the study there is evidence that the Kristang people, like most Malaysians, are highly bilingual and thus use a range of languages – English, PK, Malay and some Hokkien and Tamil – for communication between themselves and with other ethnic groups. Of particular interest in this study are the communication patterns of the community: within the community itself, that is, in intra-group communication, there are varied patterns of language use across generations and different varieties of language used across domains. Across the generations, language behaviour is dependent on the generation of the interlocutors. Adult speakers tend to use English with the younger generation and creole with their peers and grandparent generation while in certain domains, for instance, in the home domain, when Malay is used, B.M. (standard Malay) is preferred over Bazaar Malay (the non-standard variety) which is found to be used more frequently in the neighbourhood domain between adults. What is directing these varied language behaviours?

8.2.2.1 The Use of English: The Priority to Fulfil a Socio-psychological Need

It is a known fact that with the exclusion of the Eurasians, English for most Malaysians is a second language. In present day Malaysia (unlike during British colonial rule) Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) is the most privileged language followed by English (Gupta, 1997) hence for upward mobility, most minority groups would do well to be fluent in Malay. Why is English then often the selected code for communication among the Eurasians and why is English increasingly becoming the mother tongue for the creole

community at the PS yet PK is claimed to be the ancestral language of the Kristangs? These language preferences can best be understood in the light of the community's struggle with its triple identity complex. For the Eurasian, speaking English is not just for communicative purposes or for economic or social mobility. To the Kristang community, speaking English holds a much deeper meaning at the personal level. English is the language of a European power that the first and a majority of the second generation have had contact with (during British colonial rule of Malaysia (then Malaya)) and with whom a section of the educated Kristangs who are now retired government servants, have enjoyed a respectable position in society. Speaking English well and emulating European characteristics also reminds the community of its half European ancestry; therefore, while using PK is associated with a glorious ancestral European Portuguese past, using English is reminiscent of a successful relationship with a European power on the doorsteps of home itself. Both languages are significant to the community as they serve the socio-psychological needs of being affiliated to a European power and European ancestry. Although the relationship between language and identity is already complex, it is further complicated by the Kristang community's quest for full 'bumiputra' (sons-of-the-soil) status (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.2). Since 1995 the community has been trying to acquire full 'bumiputra' status to enable it not only to enjoy a number of economic privileges but also to have political leverage if the community can be part of UMNO (cf. Figure 1.1) which is the backbone of the ruling political party in Malaysia. In order to be considered a full fledged 'bumiputra' the community has to prove that it is truly 'indigenous'. Since the Kristang community is the product of mixed marriages between Portuguese soldiers and local women (see Chapter 1), genetically Malay blood would run in their lineage. However, despite having this indigenous lineage, except for a few individuals (who are proud to

acknowledge this bloodline and hence be known as Luso-Malays), the majority of the community prefers to be known as Kristangs or 'Portuguese'. To be so overtly affiliated with being Malay is unacceptable because 'being Malay is often associated with being Muslim'. As the Kristangs are devout Catholics the very thought of being associated with Islam is unthinkable. Thus the community is caught in a triple identity web: genetically they are half Portuguese and half Malay and to gain full 'bumiputra' status for economic gains the community has to accentuate this connection. However, their preferred language choice of English and their preference for being affiliated with being more European signifies a socio-psychological rejection of being Malay which is often synonymous with being Muslim. This socio-psychological 'crisis' of shifting language preferences and shifting identities contributes to the low ethnolinguistic vitality of the community in economic and political areas in the country (see section 8.2.2.3) which in turn are circumscribed by the politics and dynamics of majority-minority group relations in multiethnic Malaysia.

8.2.2.2 The Use of Malay and other 'local' languages: The Priority to Fulfil Survival or Pragmatic (Practical?) Needs

It has been pointed out in Chapter 6 that there is variation in the type of Malay used in the home and neighbourhood domain; that is, there is evidence that the speakers tend to use standard Malay, Bahasa Malaysia, in the home and non-standard Malay, Bazaar Malay, in the neighbourhood domain (see Chapter 6). There are a few credible reasons for this variation. Firstly, in the data collected of parent-children and grandparent-grandchildren interactions, the use of B.M. and not Bazaar Malay is typical when the recording captured adult-children interactions discussing school subjects since the medium of instruction in Malaysian schools is B.M. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, fluency in B.M. and not in Bazaar Malay is the desired target if one wants to gain an

excellent grade in the language to gain access to higher education in Malaysia as well as to access employment in the public service. Therefore, the aim of using B.M. with the young can be viewed as a part of family language policy to help the young practise and improve their competence in standard Malay. In contrast, conversations between adults in the neighbourhood domain seem to record a higher usage of non-standard Bazaar Malay. There are good reasons too for such a usage. Firstly, the conversations are related to informal topics and informal settings whereby it would be awkward and stilted for the conversationalists to use formal standard Malay to chat about such topics (see Chapter 6, #23, the conversation at the bus stop). A second reason non-standard Malay is found to be used more in the neighbourhood domain is that there are more opportunities for interethnic interactions in the neighbourhood domain than in the home domain. Bazaar Malay has for centuries been the trading language for different ethnic groups since the time of the Malacca Sultanate (see Chapter 1) and this variety of Malay has continued to be the main language of communication between the different races in Malacca, the most historically rich and ethnically-diverse city in Malaysia (Clammer, 1986). For Kristang speakers, the choice of using Bazaar Malay comes naturally as the priority is to communicate effectively with the other races. Among the adults themselves who were not exposed to a Malay medium education in schools, Bazaar Malay is the only form of Malay they know and its use serves the pragmatic/practical need of communication.

Although the use of 'local' languages such as Hokkien and Tamil is peripheral, its use deserves mention too. According to the analysis of data of language use in Chapter 6, most of the words used are either one word borrowings of names of food items or idiomatic expressions. These vocabulary items are used as the priority of the speaker is

the effective communication of a specific meaning hence their uses are to fulfil a practical need.

8.2.2.3 The use and disuse of PK: The Priority for Group Allegiance versus the Priority to Fulfil Survival Needs

Bull (1998) concurs that the LS of a community can only be understood and interpreted in relation to the political, economic, social and socio-psychological condition of the group of people in question. In the case of the Kristang community, analysis of responses to a short subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) questionnaire from sample respondents of 50 heads of households (Chapter 7) proved insightful. Most of the community view their ethnic group as in fourth/last position in political power, wealth and control over economic and business matters in Malaysia; only in assessments of pride in cultural history and cultural representations in the country do the respondents rate the community higher than the other minority groups, the Chinese and the Indians. In simple terms, the Kristang community considers itself to be in a disadvantaged condition politically and economically.

According to EV theory, a group low in vitality is more likely to assimilate into the majority group than a high vitality group. What is the relationship between the ratings of these SEV variables with the language use of the speakers? If we are to interpret the ratings just mentioned, this would mean that the Kristang community has a high vitality in cultural representation in the country but low vitality in political and economic areas. The implication then would be that in their quest for political and economic power some form of assimilation may be necessary and this can take place in the form of language choice. On the other hand, culturally it is not likely that the creole community will assimilate into the mainstream group because there is no need to. In fact, to date, the

Kristangs have proven that culturally they have not assimilated into the mainstream culture but still stand as a distinctive group since for the past five centuries they have kept their tradition and existence as a distinct creole community. Now with increasing recognition and support from both the state and federal government for the role the Kristangs play in state and to some extent, national tourism, it is all the more likely that the community will continue to preserve its distinctive 'Portuguese' culture though unfortunately this maintenance of a distinctive culture does not seem to include the maintenance of its ancestral language otherwise we would not be worrying about the LS and endangerment of PK! According to the theory of core values (cf. Chapter 2), for a successful maintenance of the ancestral language, the mother tongue needs to be considered a core or 'pivot' to the group's viability and integrity to support the social and identification system of the community. The case of PK is contradictory: while the maintenance of Kristang culture does not seem to include PK as a core value, the ability to speak Kristang is one of the conditions set out to confirm whether one is a Kristang and therefore able to qualify for the 'bumiputra' (sons-of-the-soil/indigenous) privilege of participating in the national shareholders' scheme (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.2). This criterion was suggested by PDS, one of the co-writers of the Kristang-English dictionary, as an attempt to help revive and maintain the language. Unfortunately, in spite of these good intentions, this condition was not (could not be?) fully observed by the earlier leadership. Thus by the time the present Regedor took over, he was caught in a dilemma between strictly implementing a language condition (which may indirectly 'save' PK in the long run) and helping a fellow Kristang economically - in his own words, he could not betray his own people of their 'identity' based on the language:

On the government side, they only look at the birth cert and see whether the word 'Eurasian' appear. Now it is up to me to say whether they are Portuguese Eurasian or not. So it is up to me to reject... to me, how can I reject my own people? I follow the birth cert... if the word 'Eurasian' is there I go ahead and sign...'

(Regedor q 54)

Though one can sympathise with the difficult position of the Regedor, in terms of language maintenance, Baxter (2003) rightly points out that with the loose application of the Kristang language requirement, 'the Kristang community may have missed an excellent opportunity to make use of an official mechanism to strengthen its language'. Thus the case of PK is such: officially, PK is considered a core value for overall Kristang ethnic identity and the resultant access to 'bumiputra' rights to invest in the national unit trust scheme but at the grassroots, individual level, Kristang culture does not necessarily include the ability to speak PK.

Why is there a discrepancy between the maintenance of a distinctively Kristang culture and what it means to be a Kristang? The SEV which is a subset of EV theory, is a set of beliefs that are strongly related to language use (Landry & Allard, 1997). Obviously if the group views itself as very disadvantaged in comparison to the other ethnic groups over political and economic power, it will try in every way, to transcend its position to move into a more favourable position politically and economically. Maintaining a distinctive 'Portuguese' culture (that focuses on ethno-specific items such as 'Portuguese' dances, music and items of food but not necessarily the language) is vital for tourism purposes where the priority is to gain economic wealth. Indirectly it is also a wise political move to be of economic value to the state and federal government. Likewise, gaining recognition as a minority group with access to 'bumiputra' privileges is also an economic strategy with priority on economic advancement. However, when the question 'What/who is a Kristang?' arises, the community leaders' priority for group allegiance surfaces hence the condition that 'One should be able to speak PK to be considered a Kristang' is included in the criteria. To sum up, when the priority is to negotiate for group allegiance/solidarity, the use of PK is considered necessary but when the priority is to fulfil survival needs such as economic mobility and recognition,

the use of PK is not considered important. Thus the needs and priorities of the situation dictate the language choice and language use of the Kristang speakers.

8.2.3 The Revitalization of PK: A Negotiation of Competing Priorities

As pointed out in Chapter 7, despite the substantial awareness and concern for the LS taking place at the PS, there is a lack of urgency to implement concrete plans such as the teaching of PK to the young which is a more effective way to revitalize the use of PK and reverse the LS phenomenon at the PS. So far, the only tangible project related to the LS issue is the production of the Kristang-English dictionary by a linguist and a member of the community (Baxter & de Silva, forthcoming). In the wake of constant inquiries from us (Baxter & myself) as to why there is currently no representative or sub-committee in the MPEA (Malacca Portuguese Eurasian Association) dedicated to language issues, sometime in January 2002 there was an effort by one of the leaders to form a Language Committee to focus on language restoration work for PK. In order to involve as much of the community as possible and not to add to the workload of the existing Panel members, a circular was sent out to invite individuals from the community to serve as members of the Language Committee. Despite the initiative, only one person volunteered to be part of the Language Committee hence the Committee could not be formed. The situation confirms and reiterates my earlier observation that there is a lack of urgency and interest among the community to 'save' the language. Once again the situation reveals that the problems of manpower and commitment stand in the way of language preservation. At the end of the day, it is the will of the speakers and the community that will ultimately preserve the language. Unfortunately, in the case of the Kristang community, language preservation work is not yet part of the will or priority of the community. Until and unless the community renegotiates its priorities, the revitalization of PK will not materialise. If and when this

takes place, the language behaviour and language situation of the creoles will also change.

8.3 Conclusion

How endangered is PK? The total population of the community is estimated to be 1200 but in reality the community may be much smaller. A sampling of 85 households which is 72% of the total number of houses taken from this study yielded only 470 residents hence it is very likely that the total population of the community does not reach 1000 but is, at the most about 700 to 750 people only. Of these, the oldest people are the smallest group while the youth group (in the 10-30 years age group range) forms the bulk of the population. Data from Chapter 7 show that children aged 'twelve years and below' revealed very little proficiency in PK while few teenagers could produce a complete sentence in PK. The very small population of the community, the marked diminishing proficiency of PK among the young, the lack of intergenerational transmission of PK as a MT in the Kristang home, and the competing priority for economic development over the revitalization of PK puts PK in a potentially endangered state.

Set against Wurm's (1998:192) template of endangered languages, PK can be categorised as near 'seriously endangered' which Wurm describes as 'having the youngest good speakers age 50 or older'. This means that PK is one step away to being 'moribund' (with only a handful of good speakers left, mostly very old) in the next generation and two steps away from becoming 'extinct' (with no speakers left) before the end of the century (cf. Chapter 2, Table 2.2). According to Krauss' (1998:102) description of language endangerment, PK is already 'moribund', that is, 'a language that is no longer spoken by children'. Theoretically, the future is bleak but there are

signs that the community may keep their language 'alive' for economic reasons. Visitors to the PS can buy cassettes or CDs of Kristang songs (see Appendix N) from the shops in the Portuguese Square while in the evenings, there are 'Portuguese' dances (e.g. Joe's dance troupe) to entertain tourists while they dine on 'Portuguese' (creole) cuisine in the Kristang restaurants. As the community is keen to uplift itself financially, the people may develop a vested interest in keeping the language 'alive' in the form of these memorabilia. Thus, in future, PK may continue to 'exist', not as a mother tongue but rather as a token language in the form of songs, dances and in tourist phrase books. In her observation of the community's survival strategies through key historical crises in the country, Sarkissian (1997) describes the people as 'cultural chameleons' with attributes to adapt and shift identities in order to see themselves through difficult (political and social) times. Likewise, this propensity to 'to adapt and reinvent themselves' may be applied to PK when the need arises. Although as pointed out earlier, instead of total extinction, the fate of PK may be confined to a showcase for the tourist trade. In the meantime, in terms of actual language use, among the third or younger generation there will be increasing use of English or Malay-based sentences containing pockets of Kristang words or expressions, these being products of limited input of PK and the 'incidental' transmission of the language which I mentioned in section 8.1.1.

What are the hopes and prospects for the revitalization of PK? If by any chance there is financial help from outside the community, say financing from Portuguese Cultural Foundations or some subsidy from the state or federal government, it would be viable to start language restoration work on PK. Given the financial support for such a project, the community will be able to renegotiate their priorities and thus have more time to focus on acquiring expertise from both local and foreign universities to help design and

produce teaching materials and train teachers to teach PK. Nevertheless, such projects cannot take the place of the actual transmission of the MT in the home. Therefore the practice of speaking Kristang in the home must be pursued for it is this very micro language behaviour that will most help to save the language.

As discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.2, the revitalization of PK was planned to be carried out in three areas: the PK dictionary project, the production of teaching materials for PK and, the formation of a language committee. To date, the only language revitalization work that has been carried out successfully and completed is the production of a Kristang-English dictionary by Baxter and de Silva (forthcoming). The dictionary took over five years to complete and the manuscript is in the process of being published by Pacific Linguistics Publishers (Canberra). Although the dictionary is considered part of the revitalization of PK from the community leaders' point of view (cf. Chapter 7, section 7.2), the project was carried out very much on its own and is the product of the authors' personal interests in the language and its maintenance. Another point is, even though the leaders of the community are eagerly awaiting the publishing of the dictionary, from my observation, unfortunately some individuals in the community do not value the dictionary as a (good) documentation of PK mainly because these individuals do not agree to the spelling system used and also they are of the opinion that it would be better to use a European Portuguese dictionary for work with PK. Such opinions are not only divisive but bear deep implications for future language maintenance projects at the PS. In my view, for successful language revitalization work, the community needs to come together albeit put aside their individual differences regarding the language and focus on 'saving' the language; in short, given the present situation of PK, the community needs to spend the little time they have on working together instead of sparing differences of opinions on the

language. In Chapter 7, it was highlighted that much of the inaction and delay to the revitalization of PK is due to competing priorities such as the quest for economic development as well as lack of urgency/laid-back attitude of the community (see section 7.3). The community must realise that if PK is to be revitalized as planned, there is much groundwork that needs to be laid for the plans to be given a fair chance to succeed. Among the most important are communal interest, taking account for the future of the language, and a sustained commitment in language restoration work for PK. Bearing in mind that PK is at stage 7 on the GIDS and as warned by Fishman (1991) that RLS work at stages 8 and 7 is 'RLS on the weak side', that is, RLS efforts at these stages come mostly from the community (not the government), the revitalization work needs to be strongly community-driven before it can expect or depend on increased help from outside the community. Besides this, much can be heeded from the revitalization work of other endangered languages.

A review of the revitalization of Hebrew and Maori in Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.1 showed that between the two, Maori language revitalization was not as successful because (i) the learning of the language in school was not followed up in the home and neighbourhood of the community; (ii) a substantial number of the adults were not proficient in the ethnic language and as a result, could not provide the language input in the home; (iii) most of the bilingual children do not use Maori in their interaction with their bilingual peers and adults hence there was no communicative need to use Maori. In contrast, with Hebrew there were: (i) an urgent communicative need for a common language; (ii) very strong support from the parents in their attitudes and actions towards the revival of Hebrew both in school and at home (ii) strong ideological identification with Hebrew as the national language and a symbol of Jewish nationalism.. What do

these revitalization experiences inform us? For threatened languages, successful revitalization needs to: (i) be driven by strong integrative attitudes and actions in the homes of the community; (ii) involve the whole community instead of just an elite section of the community.

So far, cases of revitalization cited are from different parts of the world. Nearer home, the Kadazandusun language in Sabah (East Malaysia) is an example of successful language revitalization supported by the state government of Sabah with subsidies approved by the federal government of Malaysia. The ethnic language is now taught in primary schools in Sabah following its recognition as a 'Pupil's Own Language' (POL) in the new Education Bill in 1995 (for more information on the Kadazandusun language see Lasimbang et al., 1992; also, www.klf.com.my). Can or will the revitalization of PK be able to reach such heights? Obviously, the political, social and economic situations of Kadazandusun and PK are very different. Firstly, the Kadazandusun language community is the biggest indigenous language group in Sabah with more than 600,000 speakers thus it would be politically unwise of the ruling government to ignore this number of speakers and interest in their mother tongue being taught as a subject in the school curriculum. Secondly, the quest for the standardisation of the Kadazandusun language and its recognition as a written form is the product of years of planning and continuous lobbying by members of the community. There were ongoing strong commitment and ethnic identification with the indigenous language with hardly any questioning of the economic value of the language. Thirdly, the cost of revitalization and language maintenance of Kadazandusun is not borne fully by the community – the state provides an annual grant of RM100 000 for language promotion projects. Compared to the Kadazandusun community, obviously the critical mass of (Kristang) speakers is already a main factor working against PK. However, in my view, what the

Kristang community lacks in numerical strength to be considered politically important to the ruling party can be compensated by the important recognition given to the community for its role in state and to some extent, national tourism. In view of this, the community, through careful and sensible planning, may be able to use this 'privileged' position to appeal for state financial help for the promotion of its language. However, before this is feasible, the community itself must show sufficient support for and commitment towards its language before the state will take the cause seriously and invest in it. During my recent visit to the Settlement in April 2003, interestingly there were talks of an 'Urban Renewal Project' by the Economic Planning Unit, Kuala Lumpur in which there are plans to give the Portuguese Settlement a makeover to better cater to tourists' needs when they visit the village. Among the major plans are: (i) a 48 room budget hotel to be built near the Settlement; (ii) landscaping in the stalls area for a better view of the sea; (iii) a huge car park near the stalls for easy access to the Kristang restaurants. The project will cost RM28.5 million and is funded by the state and federal government but unfortunately, amidst all the excitement for better economic development, there is still no mention of the language. How much longer must PK wait? Will it still be there when the community is ready to reinvent itself and attend to it?

8.4 Further Research

The main focus of this study has been to establish why and how PK is shifting at the PS and what is being done by the community to address the LS situation. The study has shown that intergenerational loss of PK is the main cause of the LS taking place at the PS and that this particular language behaviour is bonded with the people's needs and priorities. Although this is the first study of the LS of PK based on data of actual (not reported) language use, unfortunately, due to time constraints and the focus of the study, it was not possible to carry out in-depth linguistic analyses of the corpus of data to

account for the linguistic processes involved in the LS phenomenon. In view of this, there is much scope for future research in this area – for instance, an inquiry into how and why some word types are lost faster than the others, what are the syntactic constraints on the language mixing and fusion of PK and the other languages used by the speakers, to what extent is there a convergence taking place between PK and the Malay language in the LS process. Also, due to the amount of variation present in the speakers' use of the language, a comparative study of PK and other Portuguese creoles is another area of research that may be worth pursuing to account for whether the variation is systematic of healthy creoles or creoles undergoing change and LS.

Throughout the history of the Kristang community, the question of identity has been an ongoing issue. In this study it has been argued that the popular use of English among the community members is not just a vehicle for economic or social mobility but a reflection of the community's socio-psychological needs and priority to ease its triple identity problem through language choice and language use. Future research into the relationship between language, identity and needs drawing from the disciplines of sociology, social psychology, bilingualism and anthropology will help clarify in what ways issues of language, identity, and needs can be linked and to what extent these issues are manifested in LS behaviours.

Finally, further work is needed to follow up and report on the future formation of the Language Committee (which is long overdue) to attend to language issues and the directions the community is taking after the publishing of the PK-English dictionary.

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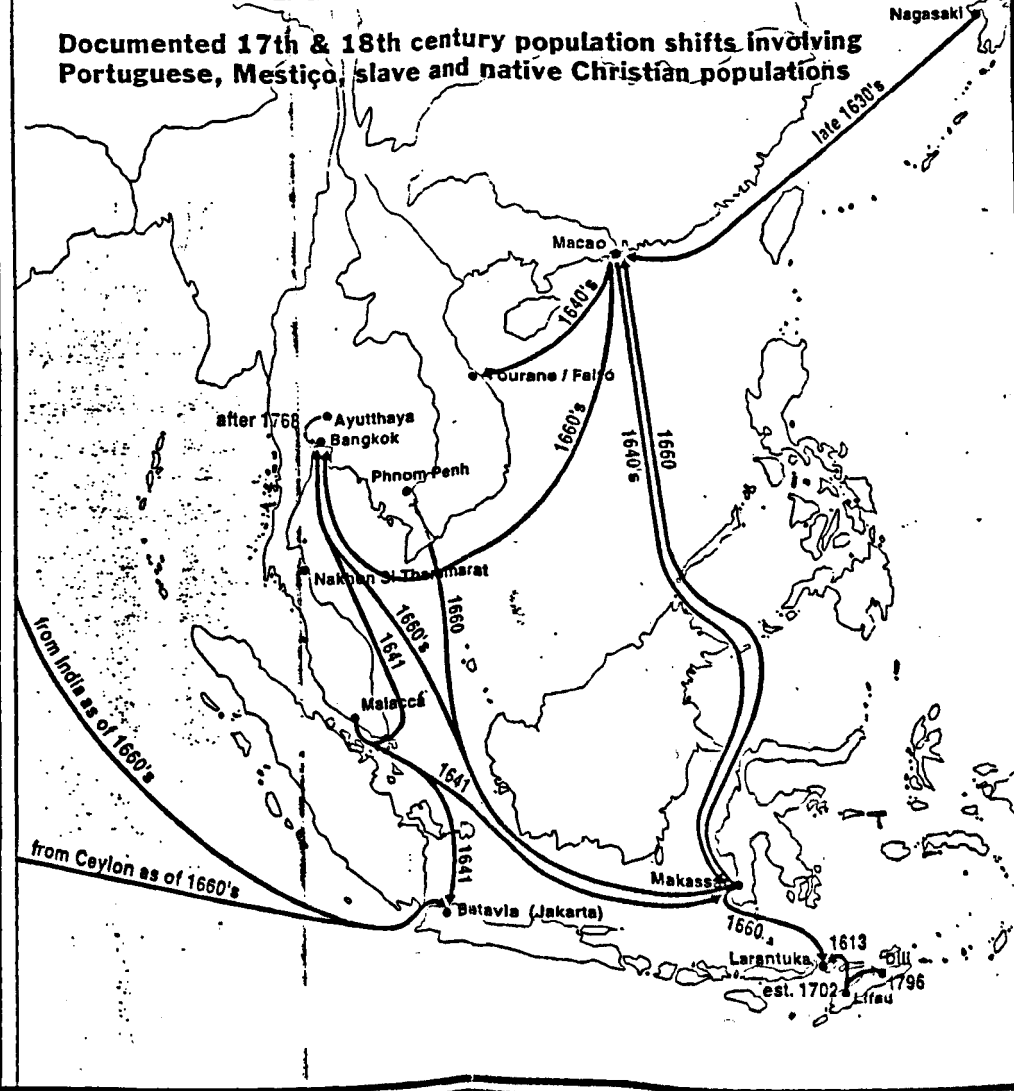
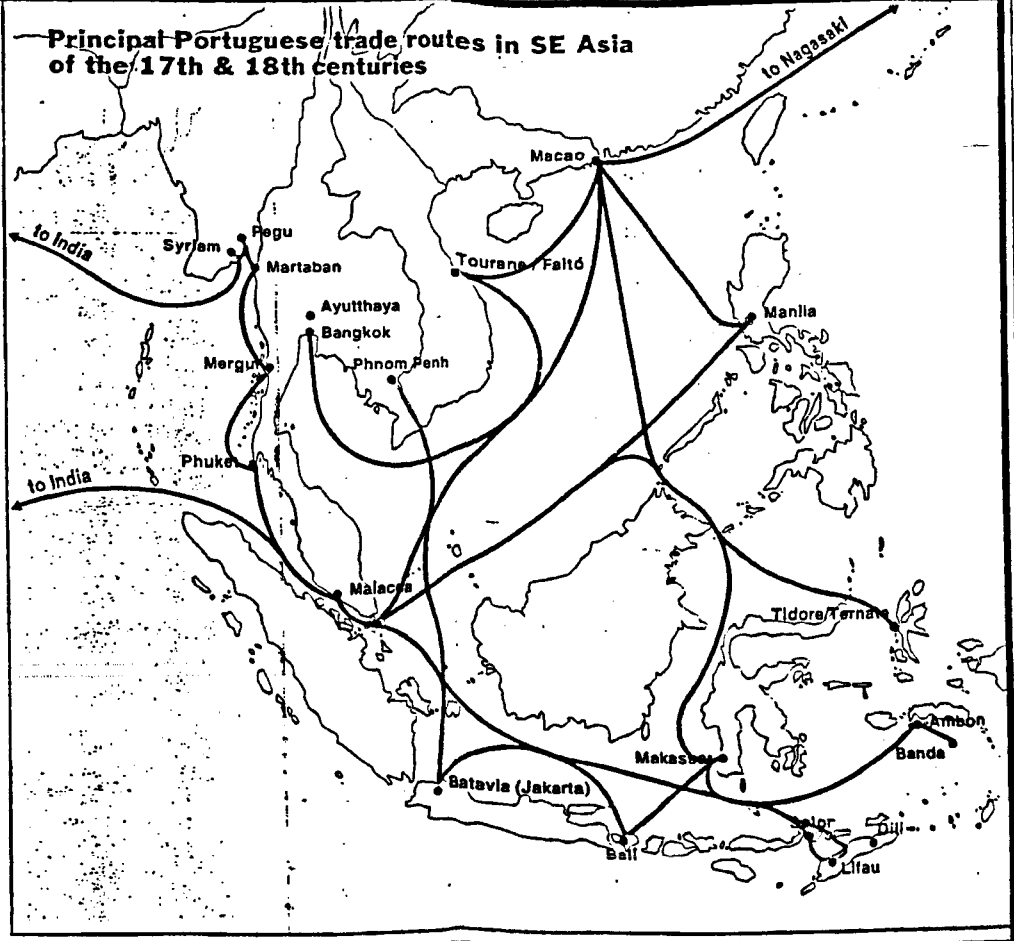
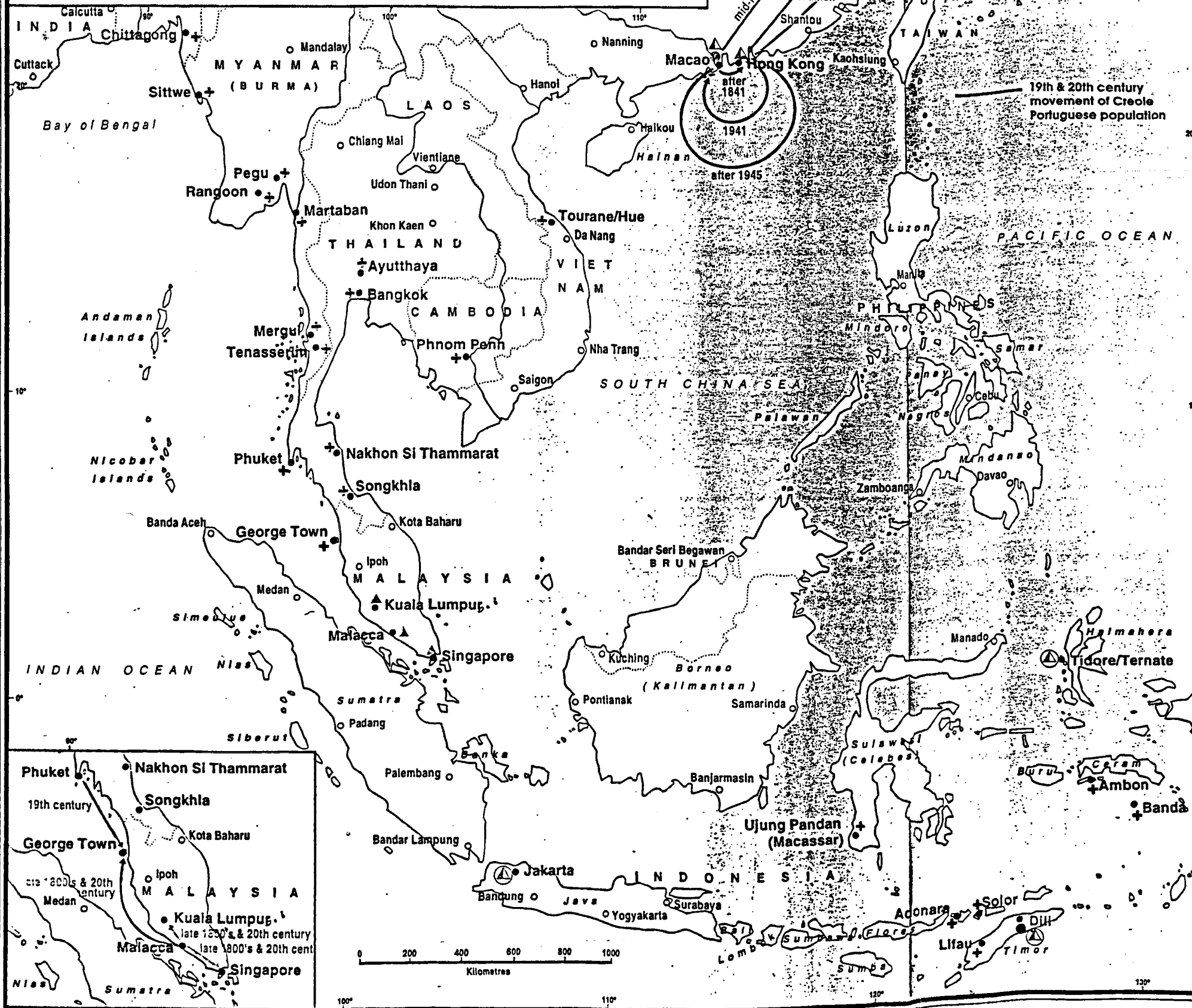
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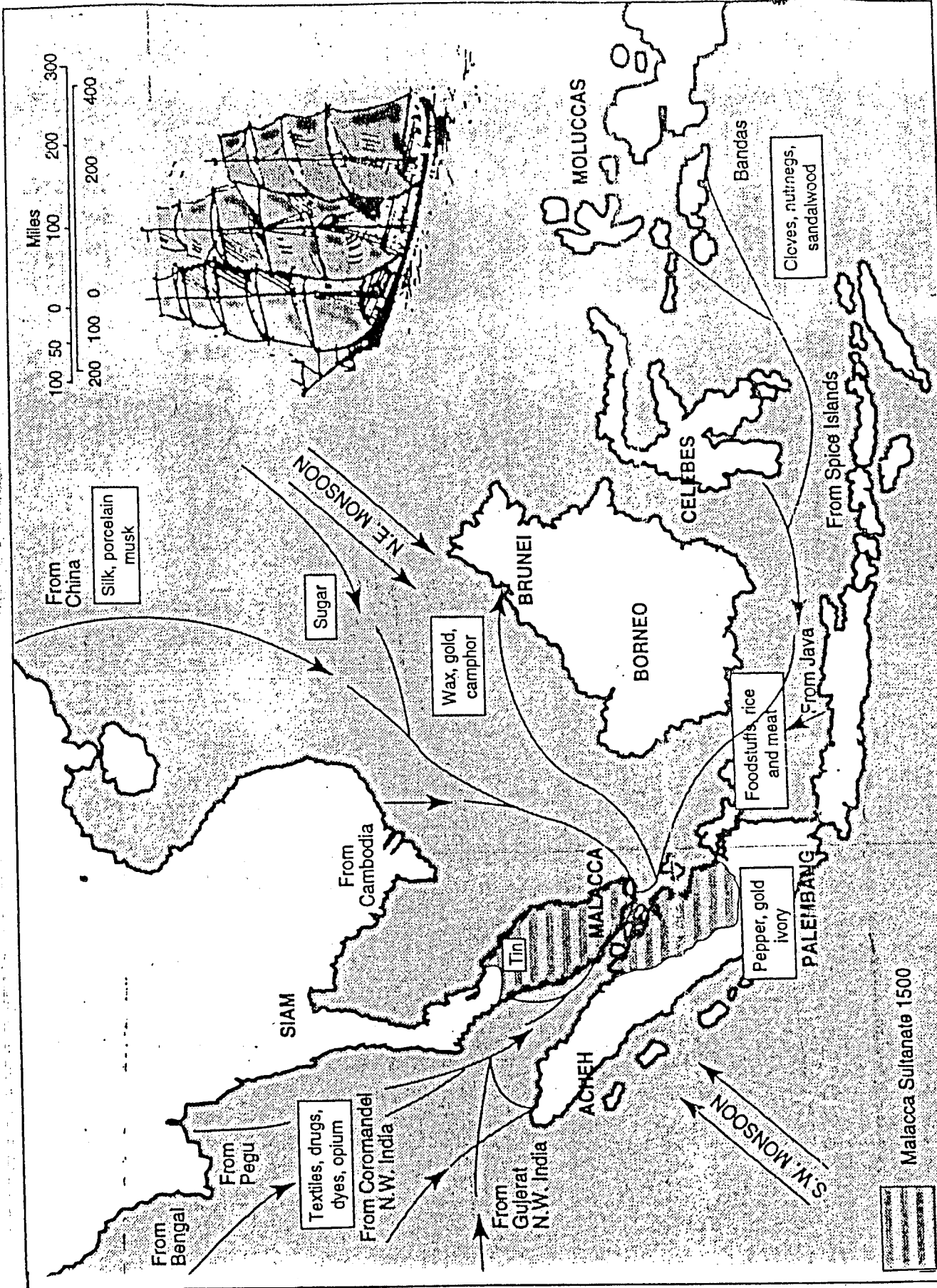
Portuguese and Creole portuguese in the Asia Pacific region

spoken dying dead dead
 Portuguese ● (linguistically attested) (not linguistically attested but assumed to have existed **)
 Creole Portuguese * ▲ △ ⊕

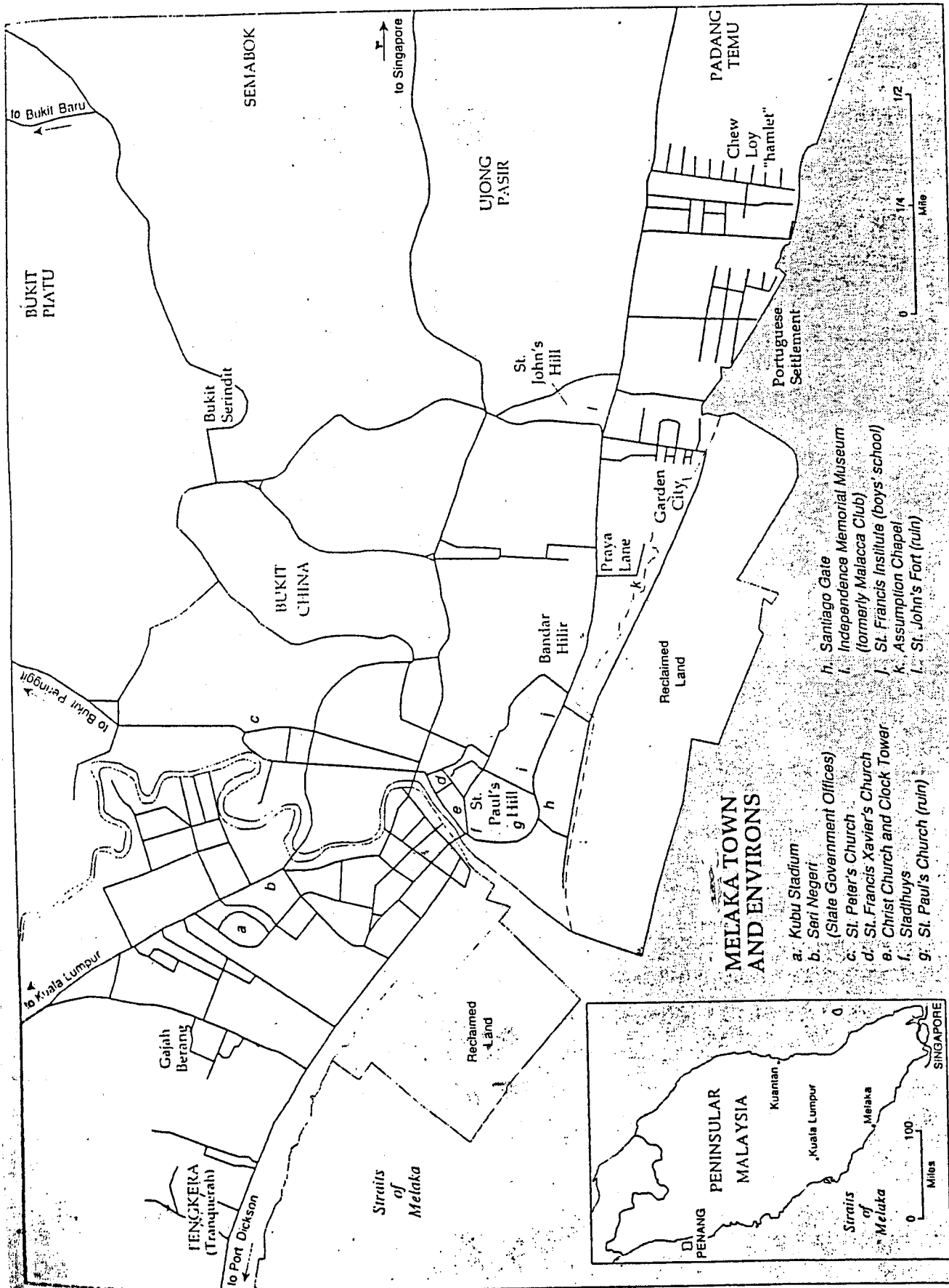
*In every case where CP is charted, P and P spoken as a second language are assumed to have existed
 **On the basis of indirect evidence: references with linguistic implications, linguistic traces in local languages, emigrations of populations of Portuguese cultural influence, trade links.



Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Asia Pacific region



Malacca Sultanate 1500



KERAJAAN NEGERI MELAKA



ENAKMEN PEMULIHARAAN
DAN PEMUGARAN
WARISAN BUDAYA
1988

PRESERVATION
AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL
HERITAGE ENACTMENT
1988

MALACCA
ENACTMENT No. 6 OF 1988

I ASSENT,

TUN DATUK SERI UTAMA
SYED AHMAD AL-HAJ BIN SYED
MAHMUD SHAHABUDIN,



*Yang di-Pertua Negeri,
Negeri Melaka.*

5th. October, 1988.

An Enactment to make provisions for the preservation, conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage and matters incidental thereto.

(15.4.89-MPU 22/89)

IT IS HEREBY ENACTED by the Legislature of the State of Malacca as follows:

1. This Enactment may be cited as the Preservation and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Enactment 1988 and shall come into force on such date as may be appointed by the State Authority by notification in the Gazette. Short title and commencement.

2. (1) In this Enactment, unless the context otherwise requires:- Definition.

“adaptation” means the process of modifying a cultural heritage, or a conservation area to suit a proposed compatible use;

“antiquity” has the same meaning assigned thereto under the Antiquities Act, 1976; Act 168.

“Committee” means the Preservation and Conservation Committee established under section 4;

“conservation” means the process of looking after a cultural heritage or a conservation area so as to retain its significance, and includes maintenance, preservation,

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

restoration, reconstruction, adaptation or a combination of two or more of these;

"cultural heritage" includes antiquity, historical object, historical site, site, fabric, building, structure, ethnographic matter, works of art, manuscript, coins, currency notes, medals, badges, scientific crest, flag, armour, vehicle, ship and trees which has a significant and special architectural, aesthetic, historical, cultural, scientific, economic and any other interest or value;

Act 168. "historical object" has the same meaning assigned thereto under the Antiquities Act, 1976;

Act 168. "historical site" has the same meaning assigned thereto under the Antiquities Act, 1976;

"Local Authority" means Alor Gajah District Council, Jasin District Council or Malacca Municipal Council;

"maintenance" means the continuous protection and care of a cultural heritage or a conservation area as distinguished from repair which involves restoration or construction;

"occupier" means any person in actual possession, management or control of any movable or immovable property;

"owner", in relation to any land, means the registered owner;

Act 172. "planning permission" means permission granted under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1976 to carry out development;

"preservation", is the process of maintaining a cultural heritage or a conservation area in its existing state or form and retarding deterioration;

"reconstruction" means the process of returning a cultural heritage or a conservation area as nearly as possible to an earlier known state or form by the introduction of new or old materials thereto;

"restoration" means the process of returning the existing cultural heritage or a conservation area to an earlier known state or form by removing accretion or by reassembling

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ENACTMENT

the existing repairs without the introduction of new materials.

(2) Nothing in this Enactment contained shall derogate from or affect the rights and powers of the Director General of Museums, Malaysia as provided and set forth in the Antiquities Act, 1976.

Act 168.

3. (1) For the purpose of this Enactment, there shall be established by the State Authority a committee to be known as the Preservation and Conservation Committee whose responsibility shall be to advise the State Authority on matters of policy, administration and management of cultural heritage and conservation areas.

Establishment of Committee.

(2) The Committee shall consist of:-

- (a) a Chairman, who shall be the person for the time being holding the office of the Chief Minister, Malacca;
- (b) a Deputy Chairman;
- (c) the State Secretary;
- (d) the State Legal Adviser;
- (e) the State Financial Officer;
- (f) a representative of the Director-General of Museums, Malaysia;
- (g) a representative of the Director of State Public Works Department;
- (h) not more than five other persons who in the opinion of the State Authority have wide experience and expertise in the field of preservation and conservation of cultural heritage.

(3) A member of the Committee appointed under paragraph (h) of subsection (2) shall, unless he sooner resigns his office or his appointment is sooner revoked, hold office for such period as may be specified in his instrument of appointment and shall be eligible for reappointment.

(4) A member of the Committee who is not a member of the public service may be paid such allowances as the State Authority may approve.

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

Power to declare.

4. (1) The State Authority may on the recommendation of the Local Authority and advice of the Committee, declare by notification in the *Gazette* any cultural heritage the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or conserve and enhance to be subject to preservation or conservation and may designate the area within which such heritage is located as conservation area.

(2) Any person who has in his possession any cultural heritage which for the time being has not been declared to be subject to preservation or conservation may apply in the prescribed form to the Local Authority within which the heritage is located for such declaration. The Local Authority shall process the application and make recommendation to the State Authority.

(3) The State Authority may from time to time on the recommendation of the Local Authority and advice of the Committee, revoke or amend such declaration.

(4) The Local Authority in which the heritage or the area is located, shall serve a notice in the prescribed form on the owner thereof as soon as may be after such declaration, notifying that his heritage or area is subject to preservation or conservation.

Jurisdiction of Local Authority.

5. The jurisdiction for the control, enforcement, development, preservation and conservation of every cultural, heritage and conservation area shall be vested in the Local Authority.

Register.

6. (1) There shall be a register maintained by every Local Authority in which all cultural heritage or conservation area which has been declared to be subject to preservation or conservation within its locality, shall be registered.

(2) The Local Authority shall keep a register open for inspection during the official working hours free of charge. Copies of the entries made therein may be supplied to any interested person upon request and payment of a prescribed fee.

Proposals and programmes for preservation and conservation.

7. (1) It shall be the duty of the Local Authority from time to time to formulate and publish as directed by the State Authority, proposals and programmes for the preservation or conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage or conservation area within its locality.

~~361~~
371

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ENACTMENT

(2) The Local Authority shall publish or cause published such proposal or programme in any whatsoever so as to render every information pertain thereto readily accessible to any interested party.

(3) The owner of the cultural heritage or the conservation area which has been declared to be subject to preservation or conservation under this Enactment shall within a time to be prescribed by the Local Authority implement the proposal or the programme.

(4) Notwithstanding the provision of subsection (1), the Local Authority may require the owner of a cultural heritage or conservation area to submit proposals within a prescribed time for the preservation or conservation and enhancement of his cultural heritage or conservation area. The Local Authority may with or without modification approve the proposal and there after the owner shall within a prescribed time implement the proposals as approved.

8. (1) Any officer of the Local Authority authorised in writing in that behalf may:-

Power of authorised officer.

- (a) at all reasonable times inspect any cultural heritage or conservation area which has been declared to be subject to preservation or conservation in the possession of any person;
- (b) either orally or in writing require any person to supply him any information relating to anything he believes or has reasonable ground to believe to be a cultural heritage or conservation area.

(2) It shall be the duty of every person who is in possession of a cultural heritage or conservation area to permit such inspection and to give reasonable facility and assistance for such officer in the performance of his duties.

(3) The owner of a cultural heritage or conservation area shall at all reasonable times permit such officer to enter upon a site for inspection and to carry out any study or work necessary for restoration, repair, alteration, maintenance, preservation or conservation there of which appears to him to be expedient or necessary, provided that the

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

liability imposed by this section shall arise only if such owner has been notified within fourteen days in writing of the proposed entry.

Provided further that if any person objects to such entry or execution of such work on religious grounds such entry or work shall not be effected or executed except with the permission in writing of the State Authority.

Restriction of planning permission.

9. (1) No person shall in the case of any cultural heritage without the consent in writing of the Local Authority and except in the manner and in accordance with such conditions as it may impose therein -

- (a) demolish, disturb, modify, mark, pull down or remove the heritage or any part thereof; or
- (b) make alteration, addition, repair, renovation, restoration, construction, reconstruction, remodelling and adaptation to the heritage; or
- (c) erect buildings or walls abutting upon the heritage; or
- (d) make any change including painting to the exterior of the heritage.

(2) No person shall in the case of any conservation area without the consent in writing of the Local Authority and except in the manner and in accordance with such conditions as it may impose therein -

- (a) erect any building or structure in such area fell or otherwise destroy any trees standing in such area; or
- (b) otherwise encroach in such area; or
- (c) clear to break up for cultivation or cultivate any part of such area; or
- (d) dig, excavate, quarry, irrigate, deposit earth or refuse or disturb the landscaping thereof.

(3) In granting the consent under this section, the Local Authority may impose conditions with respect to -

- (a) preserving or conserving particular features of the cultural heritage or the conservation area or part of it or severance therefrom;

THE MALACCA STATE PLANNING DEPARTMENT

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ENACTMENT

- (b) making good, after the works are completed, of any damage caused to the cultural heritage by the works;
- (c) in the case of building, the reconstruction of it or any part of it following the execution of works, with the use of original material so far as practicable and that such alteration to the interior of the building may be specified in the permission.

(4) An application for consent for the demolition of a cultural heritage or development of any conservation area may be made as a separate application or as part of an application for planning permission to develop the site of the heritage or the area, but consent to demolition shall not be taken to have been given as part of planning permission states that it includes the consent to demolish the cultural heritage.

10. (1) In the case of a cultural heritage in the nature of a building, or a conservation area, whenever by reason of the refusal to grant consent under section 9(1) and (2), the building or the area is incapable of reasonable beneficial use by the owner or the occupier, the owner may, serve on the Local Authority a purchase notice in the prescribed form, requiring his building or area to be purchased in accordance with this section.

Responsibility to acquire.

(2) There shall be served with the purchase notice a statement of the facts and the reasons to justify the claim in the notice, together with the copies of any available documents, including affidavit which may provide proof of the facts and the reasons.

(3) The Local Authority shall investigate the claim made in the purchase notice and if satisfied that the building or the area is incapable of reasonable beneficial use by reason of the said refusal, the Local Authority shall initiate steps towards the acquisition of the area or the building in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1960.

Act 34/60.

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

Act 34/60. (4) For the purpose of the Land Acquisition Act, 1960 any area or building intended to be acquired pursuant to this section shall be deemed to be acquired for public purpose.

Inquiry by owner. 11. Any person who proposes to carry out any work in respect of a cultural heritage or conservation area, or to make any change in the use of the area may apply to the Local Authority to have it determined whether the work or the change of use requires consent in respect thereof under section 9.

Repair of cultural heritage. 12. (1) Whenever a building, declared to be subject to preservation or conservation is in need of urgent work or repair to be carried out necessary for the purpose thereof, whether occupied or otherwise, the Local Authority may make arrangements with the owner or the occupier as the case may be, for the work or the repair to be executed, and for such purposes may contribute towards the cost thereof.

(2) Where the building has not been declared to be subject to preservation or conservation but is located in a conservation area and in need of urgent work or repair to be carried out necessary for the purpose of preservation or conservation so as to maintain the harmonious character or appearance of the conservation area, the Local Authority may make arrangement with the owner or the occupier for the work or the repair to be carried out and may for such purpose make contribution towards the cost thereof.

(3) Where the Local Authority has made contribution-towards the cost of carrying out the work or the repair under this section, such work or repair shall be carried out in accordance with such direction as the Local Authority may give.

(4) Where it appears to the Local Authority that owner or the occupier of the building as the case may be has refused to enter into such arrangement, the Local Authority may execute the work or the repair after giving the owner or the occupier of the building not less than fourteen days notice in writing of its intention to do so.

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ENACTMENT

(5) The Local Authority may give notice to the owner of the building requiring him to pay for the expenses of the work or repair executed under subsection (4), and if such notice to subsection (6) be recoverable from the owner.

(6) Within fourteen days of the date of the notice the owner may make an objection in the prescribed form to the Local Authority :-

- (a) that the amount specified in the notice is unreasonable; or
- (b) that some or all of the works are unnecessary for the preservation or conservation of the heritage or the area.

(7) The Local Authority shall decide on the objection, and thereafter serve on the owner, notice of such decision including the amount, if any, which is recoverable from him.

(8) In the event the owner is dissatisfied with the determination of the Local Authority, he shall within fourteen days from the date of service of such notice make an appeal in a prescribed form to the State Authority for its decision and the decision of the State Authority on this appeal shall be final.

13. In the case of any cultural heritage or conservation area, which in the opinion of the State Authority is of exceptional importance to the State is situated on a private property, the State Authority may direct the Local Authority :-

Power to make private arrangement and removal.

- (a) to make arrangement to purchase or lease by agreement, or acquire the same in accordance with the provision of any written law in relation to the acquisition of land for the time being in force;
- (b) remove the whole or any part thereof, making good any damage done to the heritage or to the area pursuant to such removal and paying compensation therefor, provided that the amount of such compensation shall be settled by agreement or in the case of dispute shall be submitted to the State Authority whose decision shall be final.

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

Establishment of the Fund.

14. (1) For the purpose of this Enactment, there shall be established by the State Authority a fund known as Preservation and Conservation Fund.

(2) The Fund shall consist of -

- (a) such sums as may be provided annually by the State Government;
- (b) grants from the Federal Government;
- (c) donation and contribution paid into the Fund by any Statutory Body, Body Corporate, association or individual person; and
- (d) collection from the public.

Act 61. (3) The Fund shall be operated in accordance with the Financial Procedure Act, 1957 and all subsidiary legislations made thereunder.

(4) The Fund shall be expended for the purpose of-

- (a) maintenance, preservation, conservation and enhancement of any cultural heritage or conservation area;
- (b) acquiring any cultural heritage or conservation area of exceptional importance to the State;
- (c) carrying out any other projects or activities sponsored by the State Authority or the Local Authority such as the publication and exhibition of any cultural heritage or conservation area;
- (d) carrying out and organising campaign for the protection of cultural heritage or conservation area; and
- (e) paying any cost or expenses lawfully incurred by the State Authority or the Local Authority for the enforcement or carrying out into effect the provisions of this Enactment.

337

PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ENACTMENT

15. Any person who has in his ownership or possession a cultural heritage or conservation area, declared to be subject to preservation or conservation, may apply to the State Authority for financial assistance which includes grant, aid, loan, reduction of rates and rents and any other financial assistance which is necessary for the maintenance, preservation, conservation and enhancement of the heritage or the area.

Financial incentives.

16. Any person who has in his ownership or possession a cultural heritage or conservation area may with the approval of the Local Authority levy entrance charges into the cultural heritage or the conservation area, or any other charges and may apply to the State Authority for tax relief in respect of the revenue earned therefrom.

Tax relief.

17. Any person who contravenes any provision of this Enactment shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding \$10,000.00 or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding 5 years or to both.

Penalty.

18. (1) No action shall be brought against the State Authority, the Local Authority or any officer authorised in writing by the Local Authority in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him in good faith in the execution of his functions under this Enactment.

Public Authorities Protection Act, 1948. Act 198.

(2) No action shall lie against the State Authority, the Local Authority or any officer authorised in writing by the Local Authority for any damage caused to any movable or immovable property pursuant to the enforcement of any of the provisions of this Enactment.

19. Every Local Authority may in writing generally or specifically authorise the exercise, performance or discharge of its power or duties under this Enactment or any regulations made thereunder by any other public officer.

Power to delegate.

20. The State Authority may by order in writing, for the purpose of public interest, exempt any cultural heritage or conservation area from the provisions of this Enactment.

Power to exempt.

MALACCA NO. 6 OF 1988

Power to
make Sub-
sidiary
Legislation.

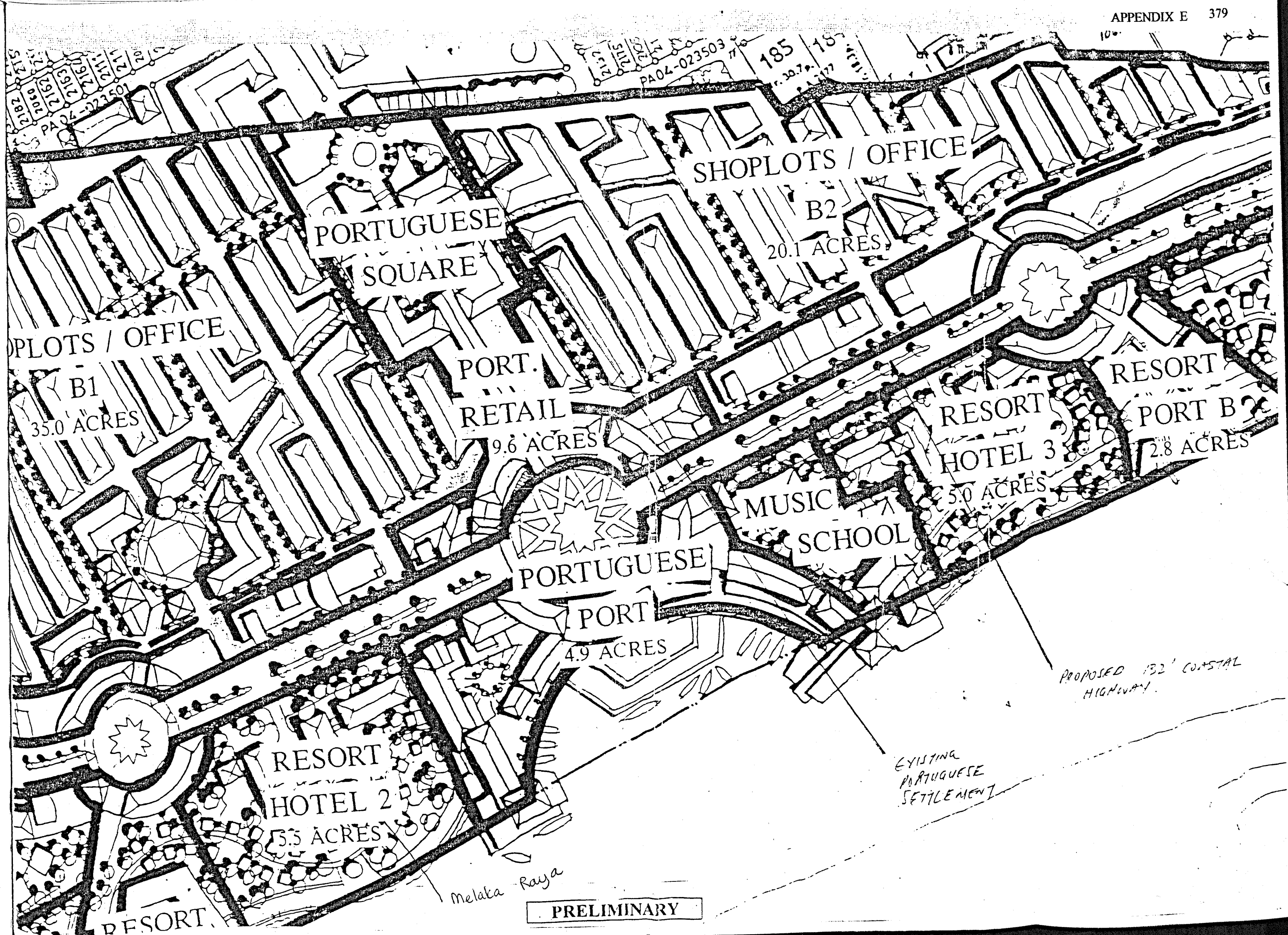
21. The State Authority may make regulations specifically or generally for the purpose of maintenance, preservation or conservation and enhancement of any cultural heritage or conservation area and for the implementation of the provisions of this Enactment, but no restriction to regulations on any of the following purposes-

- (a) to prescribe criteria for any cultural heritage to be declared subject to preservation or conservation;
- (b) to prescribe conditions to be observed by the Local Authority in granting planning permission;
- (c) to regulate or prohibit the activities in any conservation area;
- (d) to prescribe conditions and procedure of application for any work or repair in respect of any cultural heritage or conservation area;
- (e) to prescribe offences and penalties for offences not exceeding \$10,000.00 or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding 5 years or to both;
- (f) to provide for such other measures as are necessary or of expedient nature to ensure the maintenance, preservation or conservation and enhancement of any cultural heritage or conservation area;
- (g) to promote, regulate and carry out exhibition or publication in respect of any cultural heritage or conservation area;
- (h) to prescribe conditions and restrictions including the amount of fees chargeable to members of the public for access to any of the cultural heritage or conservation area; and
- (i) to prescribe or regulate any other matter required to be prescribed under this Enactment.

Passed in the State Legislative Assembly on the 6th September, 1988.

LATIPAH BINTI SELAMAT
*Clerk of Legislative Assembly,
Malacca*

(JKMM.S. 137/6/1/Klt. 4;PUN(M) 353/46/8)



PRELIMINARY

Malaysia

Papua-kristang[Back to Asia and Pacific index]

1. **Variant(s):** Malaccan Creole Portuguese, Bahasa Serani, Kristang
2. **Geographical Location:** Malacca area on Peninsular Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore
3. **Relationships** (isolate, distantly related to known language(s), closely related to known languages, dialect etc.): Portuguese-based Creole
4. **Present State of the Language:** ENDANGERED
 - a. children speakers: one-third of those under 20 speak it, including some children
 - b. mean age of youngest speakers: 10
 - c. distribution by sex: even
 - d. total number of speakers, members of the ethnic group: 1,000
 - e. degree of speakers' competence: good to poor
 - f. sources:
 - i. information about the language:
 - ii. published and unpublished material (of the language): Baxter, Alan N. 1988, A Grammar of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese), Pacific Linguistics Series B-95
 - iii. competent scholar(s) and institution(s): Dr. Alan N. Baxter, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083, Australia
5. **Other Relevant Remarks:**

A Web page created on November 28, 2002 by a Perl script written by J & B

*General issues***Table 2.2** Edwards' (1992) sample questions

- 1 Numbers and concentration of speakers?
- 2 Extent of the language (see also geography)?
- 3 Rural-urban nature of the setting?
- 4 Socioeconomic status of speakers?
- 5 Degree and type of language transmission?
- 6 Nature of previous/current maintenance and revival efforts?
- 7 Linguistic capabilities of speakers?
- 8 Degree of language standardization?
- 9 Nature of in- and out-migration?
- 10 Language attitudes of speakers?
- 11 Aspects of the language-identity relationship?
- 12 Attitudes of the majority group towards minority?
- 13 History and background of the group?
- 14 History of the language?
- 15 History of the area in which the group now lives?
- 16 Rights and recognition of speakers?
- 17 Degree and extent of official recognition of the language?
- 18 Degree of autonomy or "special status" of the area?
- 19-21 Basic facts about geography?
- 22 Speaker's attitudes and involvement regarding education?
- 23 Type of school support for language?
- 24 State of education in the area?
- 25 Religion of speakers?
- 26 Type and strength of association between language and religion?
- 27 Importance of religion in the area?
- 28 Economic health of the speaker group?
- 29 Association between language(s) and economic success/mobility?
- 30 Economic health of the region?
- 31 Group representation in the media?
- 32 Language representation in the media?
- 33 General public awareness of area?

Source: Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 26)



REPORTED LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Objective: To find out about the patterns of general language choice and usage in the Kristang households and neighbourhood

Head of the family : Family Surname :

Number of family members living in the household:

Section A: Economic and Sociolinguistic Profile

1. What is the occupation of the head of the family?

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Retired government servant | <input type="checkbox"/> | Clerical/Office work | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fisherman/Fishmonger | <input type="checkbox"/> | Skilled worker | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Own business | <input type="checkbox"/> | e.g. factory worker, technician | |
| e.g. shopkeeper, restaurant/noodle stall business | | Other (Please specify): | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | |

2. Please tick (✓):

Educational level	Tick	Language of instruction at school	Tick
0 Didn't attend school		English	
1 Primary		Malay	
2 Secondary		Other e.g. Chinese or Tamil	
3 Tertiary			

Language first spoken/learned as a child	Tick
Kristang	
English	
Malay	
Other e.g Chinese or Tamil	

3. How many generations live in this household?

One generation only (grandparents or parents only)

Two generations (parents & children)

Three generations (grandparents, parents, grandchildren)

Four generations (great grandparents, grandparents, parents, grandchildren)

4. List the number of family members in this household, according to age groups:

Age groups (in years)	Number of family members
0 – 5	
6 – 12	
13 – 20	
21 – 30	
31 – 40	
41 – 50	
51 and above	

Section B: Language Choice and Language Use in the Households and Neighbourhood

Questions 5 – 7 for the grandparents group (G1)

5. How frequent do you use Kristang ('Portuguese') in the home with your spouse?

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| All (100%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Most (75%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Half (50%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Not much (25%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Never (0%) | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

6. What language(s) do you, as a parent (G1), use with your children (G2)?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Kristang | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kristang and English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kristang, English and other languages (e.g Malay or Chinese) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. What language(s) do you, as a grandparent (G1), use with your grandchildren (G3)?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Kristang | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kristang and English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kristang, English and other languages | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Questions 8 – 10 for the parents group (G2)

8. How frequent do you use Kristang ('Portuguese') in the home with your spouse?

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| All (100%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Most (75%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Half (50%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Not much (25%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Never (0%)

9. What language(s) do you, as a son or daughter (G2), use with your parents (G1)?

Kristang

English

Kristang and English

Kristang, English and other languages (e.g Malay or Chinese)

10. What language(s) do you, as a parent (G2), use with your children (G3)?

Kristang

English

Kristang and English

Kristang, English and other languages (e.g. Malay or Chinese)

Questions 11 – 13 for the children & youth group (G3)

11. How frequent do you use Kristang ('Portuguese') in the home with your sisters or brothers?

All (100%) of the time Most (75%) of the time

Half (50%) of the time Not much (25%) of the time

Never (0%)

12. What language(s) do you use with your parents (G2)?

Kristang

- English
- Kristang and English
- Kristang, English and other languages (e.g Malay or Chinese)

13. What language(s) do you use with your grandparents (G1)?

- English
- Kristang
- Kristang and English
- Kristang, English and other languages (e.g. Malay or Chinese)

14. What language(s) is most often used in the family?

- Kristang
- English
- Kristang and English
- Kristang, English and other languages

15. Who is the most fluent (best) speaker of Kristang living in this household?

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| The great grandparents | <input type="checkbox"/> | The grandparent(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| The parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | The children | <input type="checkbox"/> |

16. How old is s/he?

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Age (yrs) : 7-12 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13-20 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 21-30 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31-40 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 41-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 51 & above | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Can s/he-----?

- Understand Kristang Understand and speak Kristang
- Read and write in Kristang

18. Are there any non-Kristangs living in this household?

- Yes No If 'No', go to question 22.

Questions 19 – 21 for the non-Kristang family members

19. What is your ethnicity/race/nationality?

- Chinese Indian
- Malay/Indonesian Filipino
- Other race (Please specify):

20. Can you ---?

- Understand and speak Kristang
- Read and write Kristang
- Understand but cannot speak Kristang
- Not understand nor speak Kristang

21. Do you speak Kristang to the children ?

- All (100%) of the time Most (75%) of the time
- Half (50%) of the time Not much (25%) of the time
- Never

22. How frequent do you use Kristang ('Portuguese') with your Kristang neighbours/
friends in the Portuguese Settlement?

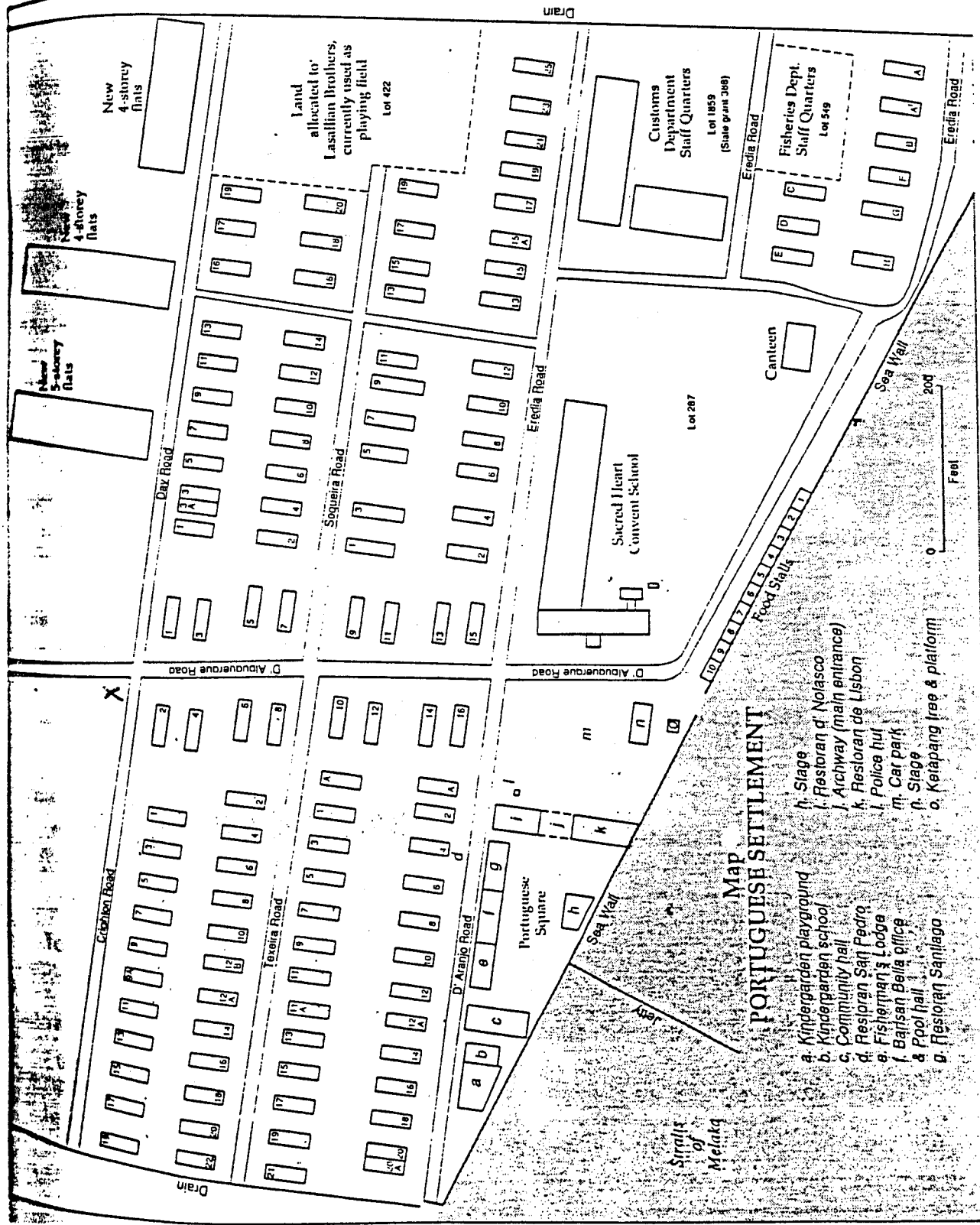
- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| All (100%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Most (75%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Half (50%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> | Not much (25%) of the time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Never (0%) | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

23. Do you have any comments/suggestions/opinions that you would like to share with
me concerning the use of Kristang in the home or community?

Kristang calendar of religious event and festivals

January 1	Anu Nobu (New Year)
March	Intrudu; Ash Wednesday; Palm Sunday
April	Good Friday; Pasco (Easter Sunday)
May	First Holy Rosary Month
June 23	Festa de San Juang
June 29	Festa de San Pedro
July 26	Festa de Santa Ana
August 15	Festa de Assunta
September 11	Festa de Santa Cruz
October	Second Holy Rosary Month
November 1	Bensen de Korbu
November 2	Festa Santu Santu
December 3	Festa de San Francisco
December 25	Natal
December 29	Festa de Innocenti

Adapted from Marbeck (1998)



X BUS STOP

- a. Kindergarten playground
- b. Kindergarten school
- c. Community hall
- d. Restoran San Pedro
- e. Fisherman's Lodge
- f. Barisan Bella office & Pool hall
- g. Restoran Santilago
- h. Stage
- i. Restoran d' Nolasco
- j. Archway (main entrance)
- k. Restoran de Lisbon
- l. Police hut
- m. Car park
- n. Stage
- o. Ketapang tree & platform

TRANSCRIPT OF ANSWERS : ORAL TEST FOR KRISTANG PROFICIENCY

? don't know

(A: 10) (name of respondent: age of respondent)

(A/B: 10,11) (name of respondents interviewed/tested in pairs: age of respective respondents)

English to Kristang

1. Tomorrow I may not go to school.

{Anumbes yo nadi bai skola amiang} or

{Amiang, anumbes yo nadi bai skola}

- Amiang yo nadi bai skola. (S/A: 16), (P/J: 17,19), (Z/C: 9, 10), (Mag: 11), (Joann: 25)
- ? {M: 9}
- Amiang yo nadi bai sibrisu. (Jess: 22)
- ? {D: 9}
- Amiang yo ngka bai skola. (Pat: 12), (Mag:11)
- Amiang yo nadi bai sibri. (K: 18)

2. My word is final.

{Yo sa palabra fing} or {Yo sa palabra kaba naki}

- Yo sa papia ja kaba. (S/A: 16)
- Yo sa ..?.. ja kaba. (P/J: 17,19)
- ? (Jess: 22)

- ? (D: 9)
- ? (M: 9)
- ? (Pat: 12)
- ? (Mag: 11)
- ? (Z/C: 9, 10)
- Yo sa palabre kaba naki. (K: 18)
- ? (Joann: 25)

3. The Portuguese Square is beautiful.

{Portuguese Square bonitu}

- Akeli Portuguese Square kada neches. (S/A: 16)
- Portuguese Square mutu neches. (P/J: 17,19)
- ? (M: 9)
- ?... neches. (Jess: 22)
- ? (D: 9)
- ? (Pat: 12)
- Akeli Portuguese Square ...?... (Mag: 11), (Z/C: 9,10)
- Nus sa Portuguese Square bonitu. (K: 18)
- Portuguese Square kada bonitu. (Joann: 25)

4. She is pretty.

{Eli bembeta}

- Akeli femi nache. (S/A: 16)

393

- Eli bemfetu. (P/J: 17,19)
- ? (M: 9)
- ? (D: 9)
- Eli bemfeta. (Jess: 22), (K: 18)
- Eli kada bemfeta. (Joann: 25) .
- Eli kada lawa. (Pat: 12), (Mag: 11)
- Eli lawa. (Z/C: 9, 10)

Kristang to English

1. **Ozndia bo sa mai ki ja kuze?**

{Today what did your mother cook?}

- Today what your mother cook? (S/A: 16), (P/J: 17, 19)
- What your mother cooked today? (Jess: 22)
- Today my mother what is cooking? (Pat: 12) 9Mag:11)
- Today what your mother cooked? (K:18)
- What my mother has cooked today? (Z/C: 9, 10)
- What did your mother cook today? (Joann: 25)
- ? (M:9) (D: 9)

2. **Kantu anu bo sa pai ja faze sibrisu na gormintu?**

{How many years did your father work with the government?}

- How long does your father work in the government? (S/A: 16)
- How long did your father work in the company? (P/J: 17, 19)

- In what year your father work for the government? (Jess: 22)
- How many years have your father been working for the government? (K: 18)
- How many years my father has done work? Na gormintu ? (Mag: 11)
- When your father was working? (Z/C: 9,10)
- How many years did your father work in the government? (Joann: 25)
- ? (M/D: 9)
- ? (Pat: 12)

3. **Bos ja beng naki, bos ja pidi bo sa mai atrudadi?**

{You came here, did you ask your mother's permission?}

- You come here you ask your mother... atrudadi ? (S/A: 16), (Pat: 12), (K: 17), (Mag: 11), (Joann: 25), (P/J: 17, 19).
- U came here, you asked your mother or not, permission? (Jess: 22)
- ? (M: 9), (D: 9), (Z/C: 9, 10)

4. **Ozndia yo logu bai KL mas menus kuantu ores atadi?**

{Today I'm going to KL more or less at four o'clock in the afternoon}

- Today I will go KL...?...evening. (S/A: 16), (K: 18), (P/J: 17, 19)
- Today I'll be going to KL....? (Jess: 22)
- Today I'm going to KL...what time? (Pat: 12), (Z/C: 9, 10)
- Today I'm going to KL...(kuantu ores) what time(atadi) tonight? (Mag: 11)
- I'll be going to KL ...?...four in the afternoon. (Joann: 25)
- ? (M/D: 9)

Language attitude and Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) Survey

1. Rate in order of importance (beginning with '1: most important' & ending with '5: least important')

the need for your children to know and learn these languages:

Kristang

Malay

English

Chinese (Mandarin)

Tamil

2. Would it affect the survival of this community if Kristang ('Portuguese') becomes extinct?

Yes

No

Not sure

3. How important is it that Kristang be spoken in the home?

Not important Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 important

4. How important is it that Malay be spoken in the home?

Not important Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 important

5. How important is it that English be spoken in the home?

Not important Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 important

6. How proud of their cultural history and achievement are the following racial groups in Malaysia?

The Kristang ('Portuguese') community

Not proud Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 proud

The Chinese community

Not proud Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 proud

The Malay community

Not proud Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 proud

The Indian community

Not proud Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 proud

7. How well represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Malaysia (e.g. festivals, concerts, art exhibition)?

The Kristang ('Portuguese') community

Not at all well Very well
represented 0 1 2 3 4 5 represented

The Chinese community

Not at all well Very well
represented 0 1 2 3 4 5 represented

The Malay community

Not at all well represented 0 1 2 3 4 5 Very well represented

The Indian community

Not at all well represented 0 1 2 3 4 5 Very well represented

8. How much political power do the following groups have in Malaysia?

The Kristang ('Portuguese') community

No power at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 Complete power

The Chinese community

No power at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 Complete power

The Malay community

No power at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 Complete power

The Indian community

No power at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 Complete power

9. How wealthy do you feel the following groups are in Malaysia?

The Kristang ('Portuguese') community

Not wealthy Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 wealthy

The Chinese community

Not wealthy Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 wealthy

The Malay community

Not wealthy Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 wealthy

The Indian community

Not wealthy Extremely
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 wealthy

10. How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Malaysia?

The Kristang ('Portuguese') community

No control Major control
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5

The Chinese community

No control Major control
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5

The Malay community

No control Major control
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5

The Indian community

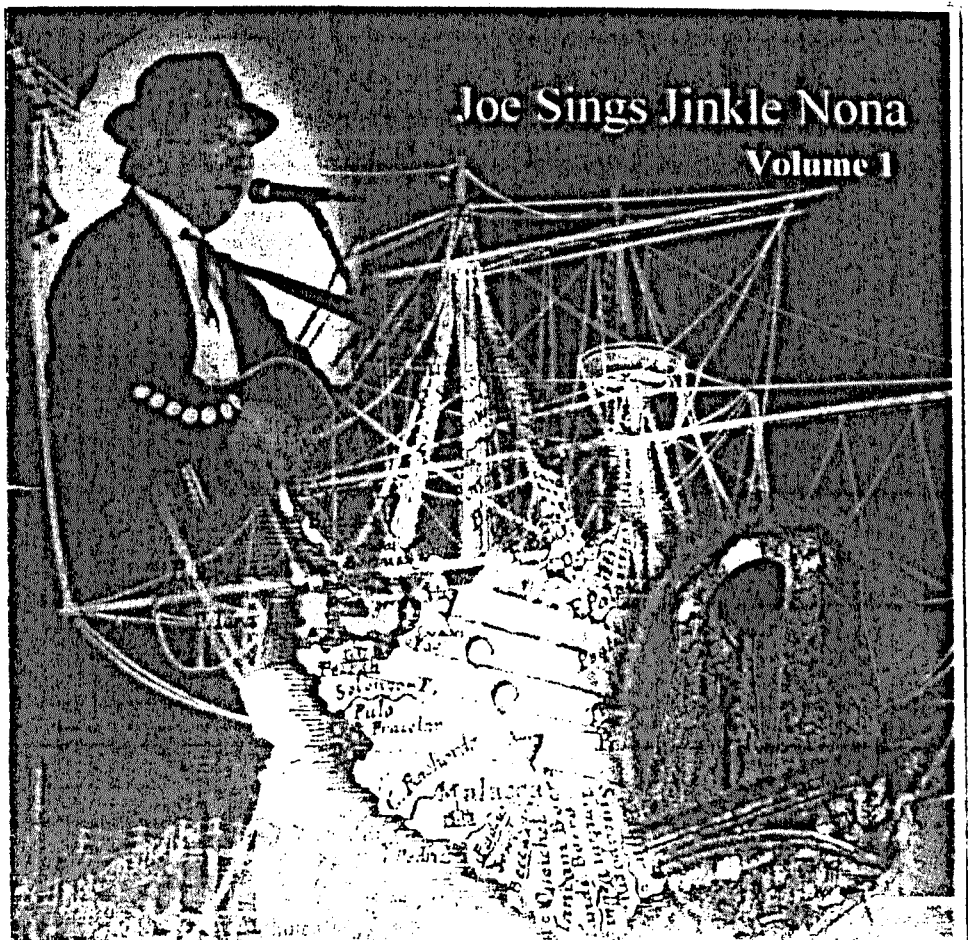
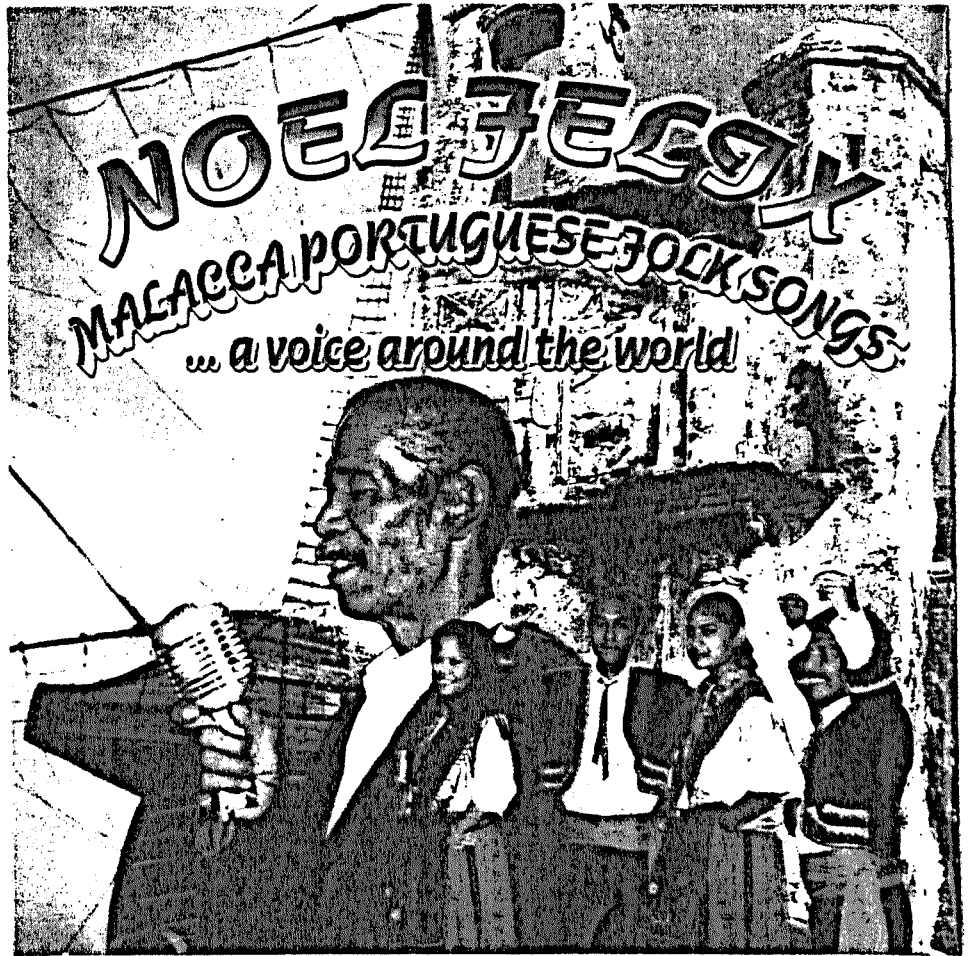
No control Major control
at all 0 1 2 3 4 5

MUTO MERSE

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MOST VALUABLE TIME

Adapted from Bourhis et al. (1981)





Heritage Preservation of the Portuguese Eurasian Community

Pertaining to the Portuguese Heritage Preservation

Dance and Music

This can be divided into two categories, namely Imported and Local. The Imported dances and songs directly from Portugal are performed by the two folklore groups.

1. The Tropa de Malaca headed by Mr Nolan Felix and
 2. The Rancho Elclorico De San Pedro headed by Manuel Bosco Lazaroo.
- I
 - a) Local Dance & Music : To identify types of musical instruments.
 - b) Teaching & Learning the local music.
 - c) Purchase of Instruments.
 - II
 - a) Portuguese Dance & Music : Identify types of musical instruments.
 - b) Instructors.
 - c) Cost for Costumes & Instruments if necessary.
 - III
 - a) Under whose jurisdiction shall the Cultural Troupe be?
 - b) Shall there be executed a legal contract?

The Kristang Language

1. An official Kristang dictionary is to be published by Patrick De Silva. The dictionary also gives the grammar of the language which should be useful for those who wish to learn. His documents are now in a computer disc.
2. A standard otography must be formulated to give a standardized form to be used by all. This will encourage more writings in Kristang.
3. The expansion of the language to add in more vocabulary so that the speakers can be more expressive and at the same time maintaining the old vocabulary.
4. Simple word-picture books for children will also encourage its usage amongst them.
5. A panel of knowledgeable people of the Kristang language to format a standard of usage.
6. The making of a cassette using the Lingua-phone method should be formulated for distribution.

- I - Revival of Lost vocabulary-sources : Silva Rego's & other early publications.
- II - Enriching the Vocabulary : Which target language?
- III - Publication of Booklets : How do we pay for printing cost?

Food, Cakes and Sweets

1. A Kristang cook-book has already been written by Celine Marbeck and more books could be written to supplement this.
2. To promote local dishes, competitions could be organized.
3. The promotion of Portuguese dishes by the restaurants must be encouraged.
4. More food stalls should open and run by the residents.

Resource Center

1. The Resource Center is a Data source of various forms of Artifacts, books, manuscripts, photographs, tapes relating to Kristang heritage. The Center also records all news reports regarding the Community.
2. The Center will also encourage and publish literature concerning the Kristang community.
3. Researchers on the heritage of the Community will find it a one-stop center to meet their needs.
4. The Center will also publish News letters, Information booklets, flyers.
5. The Census of the Community, data analysis and computation is to be undertaken by the Center.
6. The Center will have a Panel of experts, academicians to assist and advice in the projects undertaken by the Center.

7. The bibliography of all books and documents will be computerized and stored electronically.
8. A library to store all books will be organized as soon as space become available.
9. To prepare a slide presentation of the Portuguese existence in Malacca. This would be useful.

Religion

1. The Committee will have a close rapport with the Religious Fraternities and Religious Associations to assist and support their movements. Example : Irmang de Igreja/Sete Delores.
2. Two Prayer groups and Tridiums, eg. Our Lady of Annunciation will be supported and encouraged.
3. Prayer books in Kristang with hymns, should be distributed to all prayer groups. Masses in Kristang should be encouraged.

- I - How do we promote & encourage religion and morals?
- II - Should we get directly involved in the religious organizations?
- III - Mass in Papia Kristang – Already translated from the Missal (Patrick).
- IV - Prayers in Kristang – Most translated including the “Via Sacra” (Way of the Cross) based on Silva Rego’s text.
- V - Christmas Carols - Prepared by Patrick De Silva. Suggest organize candle-light Carolling by all residents.
- VI - Others - To decide what materials need to be translated into Kristang eg. Fairy Tales, nursery rhymes.

Festivals and Traditions

The Committee will promote the main festivals through grants and direct involvement through planning and financing.

The Calendar of festivals of the Portuguese Settlement :

- 1st January – New Year Day – Dance and Dinner
- Feb/March – Intrudu
- April ... - Holy week, Easter
- 23/24 June - San Juang
- 27/29 June - San Pedro
- 25th Dec - Christmas

State Laws and Enactments

1. The Committee will undertake to see that the Portuguese Settlement is protected under the Conservation and Preservation Act. A liason Committee will be formed to meet State Officials to discuss this Act.
2. The legal aspects of attaining and recovery of Portuguese Settlement land must be researched into. This is in reference to the Customs, Fisheries and the School.
3. These are only a few suggestions. Please give your suggestions if you have any.

Proposal from Patrick De Silva

Folklore

1. Stori Rainyas
2. Nursery Rhymes/Lullabyes
3. Superstitious
4. Spiritualism
5. Taboos
6. First Person Experience
7. Personalities

Traditional Medicine and Cures

Fishing

1. Traditional methods of fishing
2. Fishing equipment
3. Fishermen's superstitious
4. Reclamation and its effects

Genealogy

1. Obtain documents from churches/libraries/archive etc.
 - (a) Register of Baptism
 - (b) Register of Marriages
 - (c) Birth Certificates (old ones)
2. Obtain family tree from individuals (if possible)
3. Visit cemeteries
4. Visit similar communities eg. Tugu, Flores, Goa, Korlye Sri Lanka, Macau, etc

Literature

1. Obtain from the community old letters, songs, etc.
2. Newspaper cuttings, magazines, periodicals, published materials, etc.

Artifacts

1. Collect or make replicas wherever possible.

Apparel

1. Traditional dress (male or female)
2. Costume jewelry

Traditional Games

- 1. Kondi
- 2. Bola Buraku
- 3. Bola Genting
- 4. Piloru
- 5. Lukis
- 6. Manila
- 7. Cheki
- 8. Patui
- 9. Bangkong
- 10. Piang
- 11. Sanggola

Customs & Traditions

- 1. Traditional Engagement & Wedding
- 2. Death & Funeral
- 3. Baptism

Photos/Pictures & Drawings

- 1. Collect old photos and if possible make narration e.g. Names, when taken, occasion, ages of people etc.

NOTES :

- 1. It is imperative that we prioritize aspects of preservation.
- 2. Those entrusted with research must be able to act independently and with diligence.
- 3. Funding : Sources of Funding.
- 4. Copyright and royalty
- 5. Publishing