Researching Changing Language Learning Identities for Ethnic Minority Education Policy Formulation: A Case Study of Macau S.A.R., China

Pesquisando a Mudança das Identidades na Aprendizagem de Línguas para a formulação de Políticas na Educação de Minorias Étnicas o Caso da R.A.E. Macau, China

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ABSTRACT: In this paper the authors discuss preliminary findings from research on language learning identities of ethnic minority groups for education policy formulation. The research aims to identify and interpret changing language identities, preferences, modes of learning, and discourse affected by the transformation of the economic, social, and cultural environment of Macau since the territory was designated as a Special Administrative Region (S.A.R.) following the return of sovereignty from Portugal to China in 1999. The research is particularly concerned with identifying the perceptions held by ethnic minorities of the determinants for achievement and success in an education system polarized by language preference and priority. The case of the cross-cultural identity of the 'Macanese' is presented as a preliminary study to inform education policy and advocate further research on ethnic minorities in Macau.

Keywords: *ethnic minority groups; changing identities; education policy; Macau*

RESUMO: Neste artigo os autores discutem os resultados preliminares da pesquisa sobre identidades na aprendizagem de línguas de grupos étnicos minoritários na formulação de políticas de educação. A pesquisa visa identificar e interpretar a língua como fator que afetar identidades, preferências, modos de aprendizagem e discurso pela transformação do ambiente econômico, social e cultural de Macau já que o território foi designado como uma Região Administrativa Especial (SAR) após o retorno da soberania de Portugal para a China em 1999. A pesquisa está

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particularmente voltada para a identificação da percepção de minorias étnicas dos determinantes para a realização e sucesso em um sistema de educação polarizada por preferência de idioma e prioridade. O caso da identidade transcultural do "macaense" é apresentado como um estudo preliminar para informar a política de educação e pesquisa defensora de minorias étnicas em Macau.

Palavras-chave: grupos minoritariamente étnicos; identidades em mudança; política educacional; Macau.

Introduction

This paper reflects personal and professional interests in the variables that shape language identities, preferences, modes of learning, and discourse for achievement in academic, professional, vocational, and cross-cultural communication through the Macau S.A.R. education system. As a Macanese parent, teacher, and sociolinguistics researcher involved in the system, the first author is concerned with the achievement potential of his children and his students to be realized through language learning. How do their perceptions of language identity affect their learning capacity in the differing education and cultural environments? Do these environments complement each other, or are they seen in opposition? What provisions are made within the education system for managing congruence in language learning so that the child's cognitive development is accelerated rather than repressed? Why do children of some ethnic minority language groups excel within the system while others fall behind? For the second author, a British national resident in Macau since 1982, the last question is of significance because of his longstanding research interest in comparative studies of the education of the Chinese as an ethnic minority in the British cultural environment with ethnic minorities in China.

The main aim of the research on which this paper is based is to elucidate for educational policy, the language learning variables within the Macau education system that affect the 'learning career' (Bloomer and Hodkinson, 2000:585) and employment prospects of ethnic minority young people whose parents have made their home in Macau. Owing to the absence of previous research applied to this context, the authors' preliminary studies have focused on establishing the parameters from which to approach the various institutions, agencies, associations and individuals representing ethnic minority community

interests in Macau for data. Information was sought from academic literature as well as government reports to identify the profile of each ethnic minority community and to formulate a research approach to revealing personal constructs of identity. From this data it is hoped specific language identities, language preferences, modes of learning, proficiency, and experience of discourse in the changing academic, professional, and vocational environment of Macau can be interpreted to inform education policy. The purpose of the research is to reflect the concerns of ethnic minority communities in Macau for the formulation of an inclusive education policy that will maximize the potential of the next generations to further contribute to economic and cultural development and progress.

The provision of language learning for cognitive development in the education system in Macau has been, and continues to be, polarized by preferences, priorities, and politicization. Under the former colonial administration, achievement and success was gained through Portuguese language and cultural identity. The only alternative for parents of children of Macau's ethnic minority communities, as well as parents of many Macau Chinese children, was to pursue opportunities and prospects for achievement in English language learning environments within and outside the territory's education system. Since the return of sovereignty over Macau by Portugal to China, preferences and priorities have changed with the emphasis on Chinese as the medium of learning in schools, professional and vocational education institutions. However the issue of language choice is compounded by the priority given to the use of Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) as the national language over Cantonese as the language of the majority ethnic group in Macau. The issue is further complicated by the exclusivity of Chinese and Portuguese as the official languages for careers in the Macau S.A.R. Government. For ethnic minorities, proficiency in English as a second language offers more inclusive prospects for achievement and success through academic and vocational avenues. Education policy in Macau lacks coherence and commitment compared to neighbouring Hong Kong S.A.R. which has clear goals summarized as:

> The government of Hong Kong intends its citizens to be bi-literate (Chinese and English) and tri-lingual (Guongdonghua, Putonghua and English) within the next generation. To this end, it has evaluated the

language strengths of its people, developed a strategy for improvement, provided legislation to effect systematic change and allocated funds to ensure change takes place. It has set goals, created benchmarks, developed implementation strategies, a mechanism for continuous monitoring and passed a   legislative framework to ensure success. Although the issue is one of education, the   business and labour sectors are working alongside communities in Hong Kong to effect change (Industry Canada, 2007:3).

In a recent study revealing the cross-cultural experiences of immigrant students from Mainland China in Hong Kong secondary schools, Ming-Tak Hue (2008) of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, points out the implications for education policy-making of these students searching and re-learning cross-cultural identity as no longer being peripheral to mainstream schooling: "They become a central discourse in the support of all students, bringing together concerns about cultural identity, ethnicity, purpose of schooling, and the meaning of inclusion in an increasingly diversified world" (Ming-Tak Hue, 2008:229-242). Ming-Tak Hue also argues that the emphasis in pedagogy and curriculum should not only be on the cognitive elements of education, but that the affective and social elements should also be dealt with. Another study by Chong, S. (2004) of the University of Toronto, focused on a critical perspective of culturally diverse children in the changing Hong Kong school population. From the U.K., Chinese children's language choice was the subject of an interesting study by Li We (1995) in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

In the context of Macau, policy change has occurred in the use of language for educational, professional, and vocational purposes; affecting young people's perceptions of their learning identities and learning careers as they strive for recognition, acceptance, and inclusion from their peers, their teachers, and their prospective employers. The research literature within the fields language and culture informing the study presented here, has revealed the ways in which young people construct racialised identities (Alexander, 2000, 2000; Back, 1996; Brah and Minhas, 1986; Dwyer, 2000; Hopkins, 2004; Nayak, 2001; Parker, 1998; Song, 1997, 1999). The educational literature has given considerable attention to the notion of 'learner identities' to show how learning is a cultural, not merely a cognitive, process that is intricately tied up

with issues of identity and social context (Avis, 1996; Lave and Wenger, 1992). As mentioned earlier, Bloomer and Hodkinson (2000:585) have conceptualized the notion of 'learning careers' to point out that people's approaches to learning and their learning identities and experiences change over time and across context. In the context of this study the authors of this paper, from a long term engaged perspective, argue that educational policy for Macau should guide the choice of 'learning careers' and provide an inclusive system that nurtures multicultural identities, affirms diversity (Nieto, 2000), enacts multiliteracy pedagogy (Mills, 2007) and supports the aspirations of immigrants through access to higher education (Stevenson and Willott, 2007).

Research Approach and Methodology

The case study presented in this paper focuses on the cross-cultural identity of the Macanese community; interpreting data on historical origins from the literature and data obtained from surveys, participant observation, and interviews with respondents representing the older and new generations. Chain sampling was used to obtain information from respondents with whom the researchers have no direct contact. An emic perspective is adopted through ostensive covert research to reveal the way the members of this community perceive their identity in the changing educational and cultural environment, and which language they perceive as an instrument for achieving academic, professional or vocational goals. It is intended that an etic perspective through overt research be also adopted to understand how non-members of this community, especially those responsible for education policy, perceive and interpret behaviours and phenomena associated with this community. Of particular concern are learning processes whereby the ethnic minority culture, as well as the agents of formal educational culture, transmit what is perceived to be important across generations. It is anticipated foreshadowed problems (Walsh, 2001:223), relevant theoretical concepts and appropriate methodologies will emerge from this research that will inform and elucidate the process of educational reform incorporating both macro-ethnographic and micro-ethnographic approaches. It is hoped this research will help to make a difference to both the school and home environment (Bhatti, 2000) and help teachers devise strate-

gies for successful achievement in multi-ethnic learning environments (Blair and Bourne, 1998).

The methodologies used for the case study were applied by the first researcher who, although born in Hong Kong, is a member of the community through his family origins in Macau. He speaks Cantonese, Portuguese, and English fluently which facilitated the process of data collection through interviews with a wide sample of respondents. The second researcher, as an 'outsider' used methods derived from Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Fetterman (1998), Hammersely and Atkinson (1995), Cummins (1986) and is concerned with cross-cultural comparisons from the literature especially studies of ethnic minority aspiration and achievement conducted by Archer and Francis (2007).

Data on ethnic minority groups in Macau

One of the most comprehensive sources of information on the ethnic composition of the Macau population is the two-year intensive study conducted by Joachim Groder (2008) of migration in twentieth century Macau, under the auspices of the Austrian Ministry of Science. The Tables in the Appendix for this paper are adapted from Groder's analysis of selected data on Macau's resident population (Groder, 2008:318-333): Table 1 shows the ethnic composition of the resident population aged 14 years and above by economic activity and place of birth; Table 2 shows the employed resident population by industry; Table 3 the employed resident population by occupation, and Table 4 the resident population aged 3 years and above according to educational attainment. For the classification 'Born outside Macau' this information does not reveal race or nationality e.g. how many were born in Mainland China, nor unfortunately is information available on the use of language for the various occupations listed and the level of proficiency of the various ethnic groups born outside Macau employed in different sectors.

Since Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages of Macau it is to be expected that ethnic groups from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan born outside Macau will prefer to use Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese while those from Portugal and former colonies will opt for Portuguese in the home, in the education system, and in the workplace. However, in terms of

facilitating intercultural communication between these groups, English may be the preferred language. It is known that English is widely used by those in the service sector especially for hospitality, tourism, and banking, but there is evidence that English is also used for intercultural communication in the public sector – even in government departments. As Tables 1-4 show (See Appendix), there is a significant number of ethnic minorities employed in professional as well as skilled occupations.

As Groder points out, just like in Hong Kong, the largest group of non-Chinese foreigners in Macau is constituted by Filipinos, and that of all the Asian migrants in Macau Filipinos have the highest proportion of college educated and the lowest proportion of illiterate. In 2001, 38% of them had tertiary education; double the number of Portuguese (19%) and only exceeded by US Americans and Canadians (43%). According to Groder:

> The disparity between their [Filipino] educational level and their occupational status results from the push of employment in the Philippines and the pull of much higher wages that can be earned in Macau, even in a job with rather low prestige. Many immigrants from the Philippines are therefore ready to give up a job that would be more consistent with their educational status. Many domestic workers in Macau are college graduates (Groder, 2008:333).

As in Hong Kong, Filipinas not only make up a significant proportion of the labor force in Macau but are the preferred group in terms of language and intercultural communication by Chinese and Portuguese families with children. A recent report on language training in Hong Kong and Macau by Industry Canada (2007) cites the reasons for choosing to employ Filipina domestic workers and nannies:

> As a group, Filipina nannies are important English language providers in Hong Kong. Many parents employ nannies as caregivers for their children and typically the decision to hire is based on the English proficiency of the nanny. Over 300,000 nannies are recruited from the Philippines each year largely because of that country's high English language standards and the willingness of Filipinas to work abroad. (Industry Canada, 2007:8)

While it is evident that proficiency in Chinese and English is perceived as an important asset for education and employment prospects of in Hong Kong, this is not demonstrated in the provision of vocational education in Macau. There is no equivalent of the coordinated Hong Kong S.A.R. Government's Workplace English Campaign (WEC) launched in 2000 as part of a series of recommendations by the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR) on ways to enhance Hong Kong's competitiveness as an international centre for business, finance and tourism. Since the expansion of the casino industry, with its predominantly Mainland Chinese market, the key workplace environment in Macau is more attuned to proficiency in Chinese over English. In a recent survey of the casino industry, 88.8% of the job postings required Putonghua fluency while only 54.5% required English (Industry Canada, 2007:43). In this respect, it is important to know how many 'Others' or those 'Born outside Macau' would prefer to learn and use Chinese over English or Portuguese, Mandarin Chinese rather than Cantonese, to improve their employment prospects.

For those parents who do not envisage their children pursuing a job or career in the casino industry, it is important to know how far English and other languages like Portuguese are preferred over Chinese to improve prospects for employment in other industries and professions in Macau or abroad – especially in the parents' country of origin. For those choosing the latter option, language identity and language preference is by no means clear-cut. Chinese parents for example who have returned with their children after securing citizenship in the U.S., Canada, Australia, Britain etc., encounter problems of cultural and linguistic orientation while those who send their children back to their adopted countries for education encounter similar adjustment problems especially confusion over language, cultural, and ethnic identity.

The case of the Macanese in the following section represents the dilemma faced by this and other ethnic minority communities and cross-cultural families in the Macau Special Administrative Region. It would seem that the Macanese have better prospects for achievement owing to their proficiency in Chinese and Portuguese, the official languages of the territory, but evidence from this ethnographic study reveals the complex issues affecting this, and other groups.

Changing language and cultural identities: The case of the Macanese

Researchers on language identities and cultural environments from outside the territory might assume that the term 'Macanese' refers to the people of Macau as a whole, which is not the case. The key to interpreting this cultural phenomenon is dependent on understanding the patois or the creole language of the 'Macanese' minority. Over time, Portuguese and Macanese researchers specializing in the fields of sociolinguistics and cultural anthropology have offered confusing interpretations of the origins of the cross-cultural cultural phenomenon of the 'Macanese', 'Macaense', 'Macaísta'.

In 1897, the Portuguese official Bento da França (Braga, 1998) identified the origins of the 'Macaense' from their Portuguese, Malay, and Indian features. However, it was rare for the 'Macanese' to be of Indian descent. Lessa (1994) has suggested that the 'Macanese' were the offspring of marriages with women from Malacca as well as Japan and China; claiming that the offspring characteristically show more evidence of Malay ancestry than Chinese. Carlos Estorinho (1952) negated any ideas of miscegenation with the Chinese. Manuel Teixeira (1965) however, citing parish archives and records, refuted Estorinho's argument. Teixeira's definition states that the 'Macaense' were the offspring (born in Macau) of Portuguese men and their interracial marriages with local Chinese. He then makes a distinction between the 'Macanese' and the Chinese in these marriages: the former was born already with a Portuguese name and baptized - the latter converted to Christianity and was taught Portuguese. According to Morbey (1998), the first generation-born 'Macanese Eurasian' may have been Luso-Chinese Christians of either Euro-Indian and, or, of Euro-Malay origin. Cabral and Nelson (1990:39-40) have defined the criteria for the 'Macanese Eurasian': firstly, individuals born in Macau of a biological miscegenation with Portuguese roots; secondly, the conversion to the catholic faith; and finally, the possession of linguistic knowledge of Portuguese or the Portuguese-based Creole evolved from an earlier Malaccan model. According to Cabral and Nelson, individuals who fit this criteria can be defined as 'Macanese'.

At the turn of the twentieth century, educating the citizens of the territory governed by the Portuguese administration, and improving the qualifications of public officials in Macau, became an imperative for the Government. The key to progress was identified as learning the Portuguese

language (Diez, 1981). The number of Portuguese language schools began to increase and the knowledge of standard Portuguese was promoted. As a result, 'Lingu Maquista', which was predominately spoken in the domestic domain, had started becoming increasingly decreolized. This led to a diglossic model in which standard Portuguese was the 'High' variant with an amplified social prestige: spoken in the appropriate contexts of the workplace, school and also with the Portuguese. Maquista, on the other hand, was the 'Low' variant spoken among family members and friends during informal social interactions. The decreolization of Maquista was slowly 'remodelled' to bring it parallel to standard Portuguese. Children were punished if they were caught using the creole in the educational domain Tomás (1990:62).

Concern over the loss of language identity and change in language preference among the Macanese was encapsulated in the term 'desnacionalisação'. In 1913, the ex-Governor of Macau, Alvaro de Mello Machado, lamented the process of denationalization:

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

According to the ex-governor, rarely would Macanese outside Macau register in the consulates as Portuguese. All would speak exclusively English and adopt English habits, even among the family. All Macanese that had the means to educate their children sent them to English colleges in Shanghai or Hong Kong or to English Schools in Macau (Groder, 2008:69). The 'desnacionalisação' of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong was also often discussed – on the one hand the authentic Portuguese (those with Portuguese nationality, on the other the 'desnacionalizados' (those with British nationality). Many had given up their Portuguese nationality and acquired British citizenship which was obligatory for exercising certain professions, including architects, lawyers and any job in the public administration (Groder, 2008:84).

Ironically this situation changed in the middle of the century when Portuguese refugees fled Hong Kong under Japanese occupation and came to Macau with their children. It was found that no refugee child had enough knowledge of Portuguese (or Chinese) to follow lessons in Macau's schools. The Portuguese government in Macau established a separate elementary school for the refugees, the Escola Primário does Refugiados. Older pupils who were on the brink of starting their tertiary education and lacked knowledge of Portuguese were taught in an advanced school, the Colégio de São Luis Gonzaga, set up by Irish Jesuits, refugees themselves, who had before taught in Hong Kong. Since many did not speak Portuguese and others only very insufficiently, there were night lessons of Portuguese. In these ways, some 700 Portuguese refugees were schooled in Macau during the war (Groeder, 2008:89). In the last part of the twentieth century, language identity and language preference for the Portuguese and Macanese again became an issue.

It is not easy to research the Macanese identity in Macau today. The Department of Census and Statistics have not even made the information on their numbers available to the public. The census recorded in 2001 estimated the number of Eurasians living in Macau to be in the region of approximately four thousand three hundred (DSEC, 2001:133).

A Case Study Based on the Macanese Community

A case study was subsequently undertaken by the authors with the primary objective to critically view the changes in language usage and preferences within the Macanese community, especially since the return of political sovereignty to the Chinese Mainland in December 1999.

In order to exhibit a more realistic representation, it was decided that the informants who were invited to participate in the study were screened so they would satisfy the selection criteria set by the authors. Firstly, all of the informants had to be native-born Macau residents and secondly, the informants selected have not at any given point in their lives, have left Macau either for further studies, or for enhancing career and employment perspectives. The sampling procedures would finally be separated according to two more decisive factors: gender and age.

The study was conducted from the beginning of March 2007 until June of the same year. In that time frame, two hundred questionnaires were collected and the information was then processed for further and descriptive statistical purposes.

The findings of the study will be discussed below and an in depth analysis will also be presented with possible suggestions for further expansion as well as some limitations of the study.

Study Findings

In Figure 1 (See Appendix) it can be seen that the ratio of the respondents was represented by a 64% male-domination and 36% female make-up.

There were six different age groups, of which 33% in the youngest age group was once again male-dominated. Respondents belonging to this age-group were either students enrolled in the local tertiary educational institutions, or part of the local work force. However, in the third age group, 40% of the respondents were females. Most of these respondents were public servants employed by the Chinese Administration at the upper managerial levels. Respondents placed in the final three age-groups are made up of retirees and pensioners. They were also public servants (mainly from the security forces), who had worked under the former Portuguese Government Administration.

It is important at this point to emphasize that the language preference, especially within the domestic domain, is crucially influenced either by the spouse, or by one of the parents. Figure 2 (See Appendix) clearly illustrates that both the mother and (or) the wife speaks another language (typically Cantonese in this case) other than Portuguese.

This in turn will be a decisive factor as to which medium of instruction their children should be educated in school. It is also worth noting that even the children, especially among the siblings also converse with each other as well as with their parents in another language other than Portuguese.

Statistics highlight the fact that the younger generations were educated in schools that taught mostly in the Chinese medium, or even in a bilingual (Anglo-Chinese) medium. Clearly, the preferred choice of language for this age-group is not Portuguese. The respondents indicated that they habitually

used Chinese for reading Newspapers, magazines, and other types of literature and for communication among their friends and peers, as well as through the electronic media; particularly e-mail. The use of the English language was often associated with work-related purposes, or interacting with the non-Chinese speaking community.

Portuguese, on the other hand, enjoyed the elevated status of the Official Language before the handover, and naturally, the respondents belonging to the latter three groups in the hierarchy had opted for education that was streamlined to the Portuguese system. The respondents in the same group possess only the rudimentary comprehension and oral skills. It was also observed that some of the respondents have a distinctive accent, somewhat to the Shi-qi dialect of the Zhong Shan Region. However, this accent may be considered as a variant of lower prestige from the standard phonological variant.

Figure 4 (See Appendix) presents a clear indication that Cantonese is the most preferred language spoken at home.

This outcome could be a result of the direct exposure and exponential importance of Cantonese within their family and social surroundings. The spouses and children are more exposed to Cantonese through various channels as television programs broadcasted via Hong Kong and Mainland China provide entertainment for all age-groups.

In relation to the use of spoken English within the home, the hiring of domestic helpers, especially of nationals of the Philippines, could be an underlying factor. These helpers only converse with their employers in English and since a part of their job description may also require them to act as caretakers for young children, it is only natural that English is the only means of communication.

The final part of the study concludes that the overall confidence in the use of the Portuguese language, especially among the Macanese community, is still particularly positive, but only with certain age-groups. This phenomenon is in fact quite worrying because if the trend continues as displayed in Figure 5 (See Appendix) it is predicted that the future generations of Macanese will probably not choose Portuguese as their choice for communication, but rather

Chinese or English as their levels of literacy and fluency are gaining considerable foothold.

Findings from Interviews

The Portuguese spoken by the Macanese in an informal and relaxed context also constitutes the objective of this paper. The corpus was obtained from interviews with the first author that was recorded in various social locations in Macau. Primarily, the purpose of the interviews was aimed at finding the variants of Macau Portuguese: remnants of the Patois among the older generation of speakers; the influence attributed by Cantonese and, or English; and a possible linguistic shift to either Cantonese or English.

Example 1

In this example, the interlocuter (who is a female in her upper thirties) clearly demonstrates a linguistic preference by code-switching short phrases in Cantonese. The usage of the suffix loh (-囉) is a common feature in spoken Cantonese.

hai-loh..playstation, game boy..*daan ngo* sobrinha *waan* mais de bonecas-*loh*.
是- 囉   但 我   玩   囉
poís é..playstation, game boy..só que a minha sobrinha brinca mais com as bonecas
that's right, playstation, gameboy, but my niece plays with dolls more often

In the first example, the informant clearly displays a broad range of code-switching and it is clearly evident that Cantonese seems to be the preferred code for social discourse and interaction, which is also typically encountered among the female informants. This linguistic behavior could be attributed to the fact that the younger female informants, especially those in the 40-49 year age-group, exhibit a higher frequency of social interaction with the local Cantonese-speaking interlocutors on a daily basis from shopping in the markets, different working environments, to a wider exposure via different multimedia channels.

The Cantonese language has become increasingly more important, especially a decade after the 'handover' (1999-2009). New lexical items and phrases are constantly being assimilated into the speech community. However, not every individual lexical item would have an equivalent in Standard Portuguese; hence, the practice of switching codes would undoubtedly facilitate such communicative dilemmas or substitute new lexical items and, or situations not previously encountered or assimilated via Standard Portuguese (for lack of exposure).

In short, the practice of code switching allows the informant to express an idea or an opinion with maximum ease and also ensures the complete transfer of communication without the complexities and consistency of Standard Portuguese. In Linguistics and Sociolinguistics, this behavior may also be defined as the "Principle of Economy" or the Principle of Least Effort" put forth by speakers. In other words, speakers try to exert less "cognitive energy" while they are communicating with others[3].

Example 2

The interlocutor, (a female in her early fifties, demonstrates a linguistic preference for English. This might have been influenced by her teenage son who was studying in the UK and also the presence of a nanny (of Filipino origin) taking care of her younger son. There is also a lexical item that appears to be of patois influenced. The example "tudo coisa" shows a disagreement with gender.

"Meu filho agora tudo coisa[4] é **microwave**. *É diferente tudo* **microwave**. *Antigamente não*
My son   now everything is microwave. It's different, all microwave.   Before we did

tinhamos **microwave**, *agora tudo* **put in the microwave…"ding"…everything instant**
not have microwave, now everything

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[3]   For further information, please see: André Martinet. Economie des changements phonétiques. Traité de phonologie diachronique. Bern, Francke, 1955.

[4]   Patois influenced

foot <**food**>"

food

There were many short phrases and, or expressions, that were used by the informants (in all age groups) during the interviews. Some of those phrases were the result of directly translations, or 'borrowings' from one language to another. These features are linguistically designated as calques, a French word conveying the idea of "copying". It is not uncommon to find that the female members within the age-groups of (21-29); (31-39) and (41-49) have a higher tendency to incorporate calques into to their linguistic repertoire. In most of cases the claques derive straight from Cantonese.

In this example, the informant displays the use of a common linguistic calque. It also shows visible indications of a fragmented structural sentence formation typically from Cantonese. The structural use of "*agora tudo coisa é* " simplifies the task of reconstructing the sentence with the appropriate transitive verb - *put* + the pronoun - *everything [tudo coisa]* + the prepositional phrase - *into* the microwave. It is interesting to know that the informant used the English word "microwave" instead of its Portuguese equivalent. The situation is such that English is readily available in Macau, via many channels. This is not the case, however with the Portuguese language. Since the informant had not been exposed to the word 'microondas', it would be a better alternative to assimilate new lexical items from another linguistic source closer to Macau, in this case, either English or Cantonese will serve the purpose.

The switch for [***put in the microwave…"ding"…everything instant foot*** <**food**>"] was, for the informant (a female speaker in her early fifties), easily expressed in English rather than in Portuguese for several reasons. Firstly, it was the presence of the foreign domestic helper plays an influential role. The speaker is already used to speaking English on a daily basis, especially in the context and use of culinary lexical features; secondly, it was far more complex to learn or, for lack of exposure, to find, learn, and eventually master the equivalent in Standard Portuguese. Moreover, it facilitated communication.

Example 3

In this final example, the interlocutor (a male in his mid-sixties) has both traces of Patois as well as Cantonese in his speech form. The overall impression is that the speaker is fairly confident with the Portuguese language but employs s Macanese social markers to clearly state his social identity. The use of the Cantonese is an obvious choice as it was related to a specific type of food commonly eaten in Macau.

"yo[5]...yo... comprava o...o como chama aquele...aquele...aquele...siu mai [6]<pá[7]> era

I,   I...   used to buy   the how do you call it.. that   that   燒 賣   it was

assim<pá>, nem p'ra aula ia <pá>yo...passã[8]..um ano, chumbava um ano até nem cheguei

like that   i didn't go to classes   I   passed one school year, failed another, didn't get

tirar quinto (5) ano e fui p'ra tropa".

To the fifth (5th) year and I went to the army

There are several interesting points that need further interpretation from this final example.

Firstly, *"yo[9]...yo... comprava o...o **como chama** aquele...aquele...aquele...siu mai"*… reflects a the absence of the reflective pronoun - (Ø Reflex. Pron).

Secondly, there is a syntactical feature of subject – verb (dis)concordance, especially found in the example: *"yo...passá[10]..um ano…."* Historically, just like

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[5]   Patois influenced – the pronoun for the first person singular in standard Portuguese is [Eu].

[6]   A traditional Chinese dumpling.

[7]   Interjection used.

[8]   Patois influenced – the elimination of the infinitive suffix [*pass(á)r*]to show simplification.

[9]   Patois influenced – the pronoun for the first person singular in standard Portuguese is [Eu].

[10]   Patois influenced – the elimination of the infinitive suffix [*pass(á)r*]to show simplification.

like in Vulgar Latin, all verbs in Portuguese show various degrees of inflection in order to agree with the subject's grammatical person and number. Moreover, verbs also express various attributes of Time, Mood and Aspect (TMA). Hence, as in all Romance languages and dialects, it is not unusual for a regular Portuguese verb stem be able to take over 50 distinct suffixes.

This is a typical feature found in the Maquista, the Macanese Creole. When speakers of Maquista wanted to convey a particular action that occurred in the present tense, the verb conjugation for the third person singular is designated for all the various subject pronouns employed.

The final part of the example highlights a feature of hypercorrection[11]. The confusion of trying towhereby the alveolar trill (/r/) becomes realized as the uvular trill (/R/):

*"…. nem cheguei ti**r**ar quinto (5) ano e fui p'ra tropa".*

 […didn't get to the fifth (5th) year and I went to the army]

Therefore, /ti[r]ar/ was realized as /tiRar/.

However, in another conflicting example, there are also situations where by the uvular trill (/R/) becomes realized as the voiced, uvular fricative approximant phoneme (/ʁ/):

*"há um coléga que mo**r**eu <morreu> por causa de um cancro ..(inaudible).. e taming ..as pessoas que ficaram triste os padres rez..faziam orações.."*

---

[11]   William Labov came across this phenomenon in his studies of speech patterns for the use of particular variables encountered in New York City. Labov further pointed out that with the regular class pattern, it is expected that a while speakers of a socioeconomic group that enjoys an elevated social status would tend to apply more *regular* speech norms than a group which is inferior in socioeconomic status. Labov found a deviation from the regular class pattern: i.e. prestige, variant. The lower middle-class exhibited more frequent signs of 'hypercorrection'. According to the regular class pattern, the lower middle-class should always score lower on the scale than the upper middle-class.

Hypercorrection is often found and can be described as an over-correct speech behavioral pattern of speakers within the lower middle-class (typically in the USA) and the lower strata of the working-class (especially in the UK) in the direction of more standard variants, the socio-linguistics norms which enjoy a higher social prestige.

In Standard Portuguese there are have rhotic phonemes, which seem to differ apparently between vowels. In other archaic forms of Portuguese, these were often rendered as the alveolar flap /ɾ/ (which were found at the final positions of the syllables) and the alveolar trill /r/ (which usually occurred in the initial positions). However, in the 19th century the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] was starting to become a new social linguistic norm, especially with the upper classes throughout the region of Lisbon, and by the late 20th century the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] had ultimately replaced the alveolar trill.

Conclusion

The ongoing research presented here is concerned with how language learning identity and education policy affect and effect ethnicity community aspirations and prospects for achievement within the culture of the education system. From a comparative perspective, in the U.K., this was manifested in the Government's 2005 strategy paper titled 'Aiming High' which focused on stretching the aspirations and achievement of Black and ethnic minority groups. The 'Aiming High' consultation document states:

Where parents have high levels of education and/or high aspirations for their children, this can be a strong factor in promoting high levels of achievement among pupils, both from minority ethnic backgrounds and across the wider population. The involvement of parents [footnote in original: All references to parents in this section also equally apply to   other carers and guardians.] and the wider community is vital to establishing firm foundations in the early years and to raising aspirations and expectations through the child's education (2003, para. 2.32) (Archer and Francis, 2007: 118).

The research literature on the Chinese community in Britain (Archer and Francis, 2005; Benton and Gomez, 2008; Chau and Yu, 2001; Cheng, 1996;

Owen, 1994; Pang, 1999; Parker, 1998; Song, 1997; Tam, 1998; Woodrow and Sham, 2001) confirms the significance of high aspirations to achievement in school through to university and the role of education policy in enabling ethnic minority groups to overcome barriers to avail of opportunities for employment in a multicultural society.

The authors of this paper are not advocating the holding up of the overseas Chinese communities' success in Britain and North America as a 'model minority' for emulation. As Benton and Gomez point out, in the United States criticism of the 'model minority' theory focuses on its indiscriminateness and reactionary implications: "The theory portrays Asian communities as monolithic and ignores the different strategies pursued by subgroups, which are rendered invisible if they fail to come up to scratch; and pits the 'model minority' against 'problem' minorities, notably blacks" (Benton and Gomes, 2008:317). It is important however to examine the different strategies pursued by cultural subgroups in order to confront prejudice and dispel the assumption that ethnic minority communities are monolithic and share the same cultural characteristics. To conclude from observation, the authors of this paper do advocate an approach to language and culture research, from an informed Chinese perspective, to provide evidence of ethnic minority achievement and success through the education system in other culturally diverse regions.

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Appendix

Table 1: Resident population aged 14 years and above by economic activity status and place of birth

Place of birth	Total	Economic activity status	
		Active %	Inactive %
Total Population	349,745	66	34
Macau	116,164	61	39
Mainland China	199,220	68	32
Hong Kong	12,521	65	35
Taiwan	537	71	29
Portugal	1,476	70	30
Philippines	5,059	88	12
Thailand	937	46	54
Others	13,831	70	30

Source: Macau Census 2001

Table 2: Employed resident population by industry

Industry	Total employed	Macau born	Born Outside Macau
Fishing, agriculture stockbreeding, hunting, forestry, mining and quarrying	215,059	65,842	149,217
Manufacturing	42,639	6,572	36,067
Electricity, gas and water supply	1,229	638	591
Construction	15,491	2,800	12,611

Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and personal and household goods	32,489	10,146	22,343
Hotels, restaurants and similar activities	24,559	5,922	18,637
Transport, storage and communications	11,932	5,586	10,388
Financial intermediation	6,575	3,710	2,875
Real estate, renting and business activities	11,932	2,821	9,111
Public administration, defense and compulsory social security	17,826	11,206	6,620
Education	8,283	3,582	4,701
Health and social welfare	5,863	2,210	3,653
Other community, social and personal services	24,966	9,403	15,563
Private households with employed persons	4,759	205	4,554
Extra-territorial organizations and bodies	103	29	74

Source: Macau Census 2001

Table 3:Employed resident population by occupation

Occupation	Total	Macau born	Born outside Macau
Legislators, senior officials of governmentandassociations, directors and managers of companies	13,948	5,414	8,534
Professionals	7,177	2,575	8,534
Technicians and associate professionals	20,545	9,761	10,784
Clerks	39,824	19,454	20,370
Service and sales workers	42,677	13,151	29,526
Skilled workers or agriculture and fishery	2,482	693	1,789
Craft and similar workers	26,114	5,416	20,698
Plant and machine operators, drivers and assemblers	26,842	4,160	22,682
Unskilled workers	35,450	5,218	30,232

Source: Macau Census 2001

Table 4: Resident population aged 3 years and above according to educational attainment.

Educational attainment	Total	Chinese	Portuguese	Filipino	Thai	American	Others
Total	424, 203	403,886	8,453	5,129	730	1,164	4,841
No schooling Pre-primary	41,831	40,647	525	291	34	160	174
Primary Complete	109,561	107,029	1,362	268	194	88	620
Incomplete	80,285	78,417	1,005	232	101	176	354
Secondary Junior Sec.	94,491	90,886	2,056	536	194	100	719
Senior Sec.	66,250	60,629	1,892	1,834	155	143	1,597
Tertiary Non-degree	7,481	6,122	265	725	--	71	298
Degree	23.944	19,801	1,343	1,242	52	426	1,079
Special Education	360	355	5	--	--	--	

Born Outside Macau

Total	243,322						
Pre-primary No schooling	19,168						

Primary	
Complete	62,591
Incomplete	36,364

Secondary	
Junior Sec.	60,326
Senior Sec.	44,880

Tertiary	
Non-degree	4,959
Degree	14,995

Special	
Education	39

Source: Macau Census 2001

Figure 1.

Informant Distribution by Age & Gender
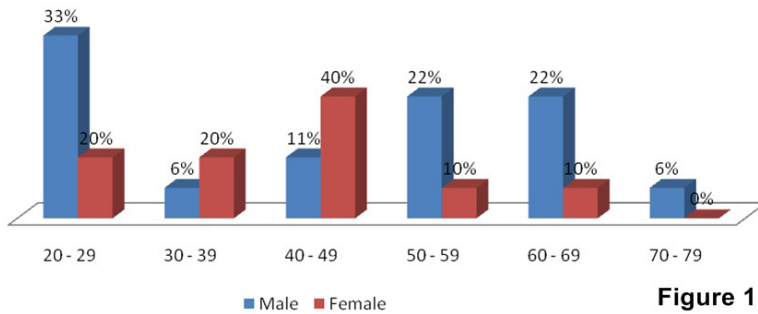

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Family members that speak other languages then Portuguese

Figure 2.

Figure 3.

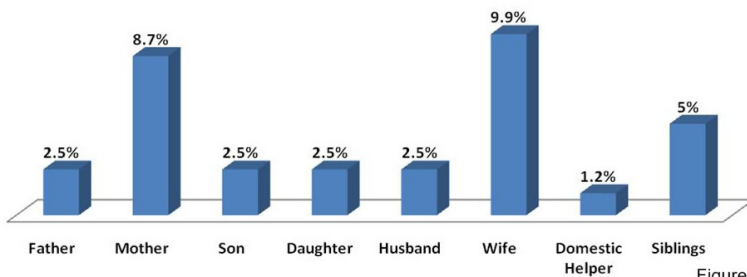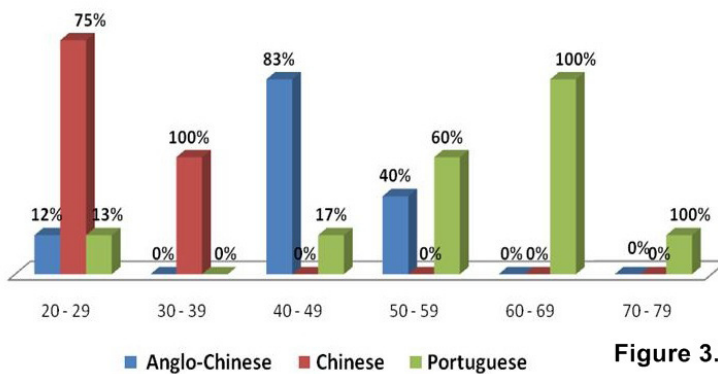## Medium of Instruction

Figure 3.
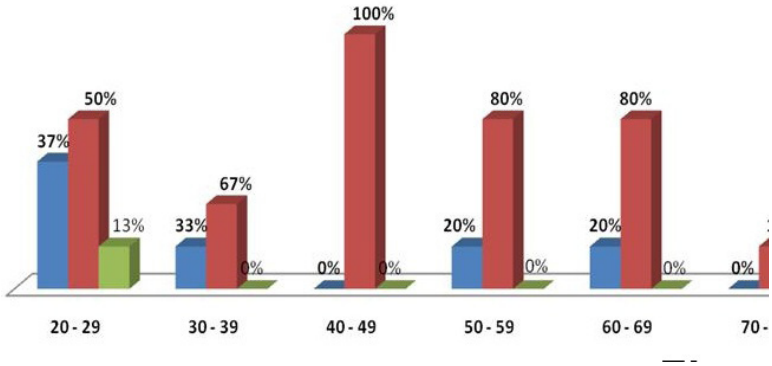
Figure 4.

Languages spoken at home other than Portuguese
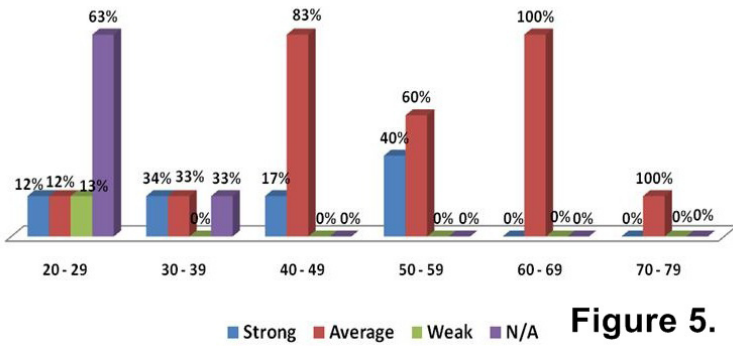
Figure 5

Overall confidence in Portuguese

Figure 5.

Figure 6

Language Questionnaire for Members of the Portuguese-Eurasian Community of Macau

Part 1 - Informant's Profile:

Name:	Age:
Occupation:	Sex:

Part 2 - Linguistic Profile:

1. Do you speak another language other than Portuguese in your home?

Yes	No

2. If your answer is 'Yes', please specify which language(s):_____

3. Who in your family also speaks a language other than Portuguese? _____

4. Rank your oral fluency in this language:

Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Proficient

5. Can you read in the language specified?

6. If 'No', please proceed to question 9.
   If 'Yes', please specify which kind(s) of material do you read regularly

Academic	Comics	Fiction	Internet	Magazines	Newspapers	Religious	SMS

7. Can you write in the language specified?

8. If 'No', please proceed to question 9.
   If 'Yes', specify what format(s):

Academic	Email	ICQ/MSN	Letters	Office Work	SMS

9. Have you received lessons in school using this language specified?		
YES, as a 1st language	**YES, as a foreign language**	**NO, not at all.**

10. Do you speak in this language with your friends?

Yes	**No**

11. Do you speak in this language with other acquaintances?

Yes	**No**

12. Apart from Portuguese, do you think other languages may be important to your ethnic or cultural background?

Yes	**No**

13. If 'No', please proceed to question 14.

If 'Yes', please indicate which language(s) is/are important to your ethnic and or cultural identity?

_____

14. What languages did you study in school?

_____

15. Which indicate which high school did you attend?

_____

16. Please rank your linguistic capacity for written Portuguese skills.

Poor	**Fair**	**Average**	**Good**	**Proficient**

Thank you very much for your valuable participation and input.