

**MANAGING HERITAGE LANGUAGE RELEVANCE AND
LANGUAGE REVITALISATION: THE CASE OF MALACCA
PORTUGUESE CREOLE**

SOH WEN YI

**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

2015

**MANAGING HERITAGE LANGUAGE RELEVANCE
AND LANGUAGE REVITALISATION: THE CASE OF
MALACCA PORTUGUESE CREOLE**

SOH WEN YI

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

**FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

2015

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
ORIGINAL LITERARY WORK DECLARATION

Name of Candidate: (I.C/Passport No:)

Registration/Matric No:

Name of Degree:

Title of Project Paper/Research Report/Dissertation/Thesis ("this Work"):

Field of Study:

I do solemnly and sincerely declare that:

- (1) I am the sole author/writer of this Work;
- (2) This Work is original;
- (3) Any use of any work in which copyright exists was done by way of fair dealing and for permitted purposes and any excerpt or extract from, or reference to or reproduction of any copyright work has been disclosed expressly and sufficiently and the title of the Work and its authorship have been acknowledged in this Work;
- (4) I do not have any actual knowledge nor do I ought reasonably to know that the making of this work constitutes an infringement of any copyright work;
- (5) I hereby assign all and every rights in the copyright to this Work to the University of Malaya ("UM"), who henceforth shall be owner of the copyright in this Work and that any reproduction or use in any form or by any means whatsoever is prohibited without the written consent of UM having been first had and obtained;
- (6) I am fully aware that if in the course of making this Work I have infringed any copyright whether intentionally or otherwise, I may be subject to legal action or any other action as may be determined by UM.

Candidate's Signature

Date:

Subscribed and solemnly declared before,

Witness's Signature

Date:

Name:

Designation:

ABSTRACT

This thesis is set against the backdrop of the wider multilingual and postcolonial context and local language revitalisation efforts. The language in study, Malacca Portuguese Creole (MPC), is a Portuguese-based contact language undergoing language shift, spoken as heritage language by a concentrated population of approximately 800 people (Baxter, 2013) in the main research site, Portuguese Settlement (PS), Malacca, West Malaysia. The development of MPC and people identifying with MPC as their heritage language can be traced to the arrival of Portuguese in Malacca in 1511. The bottom-up research design of this thesis is drawn from Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). To understand and explain gaps between views and actions (initially driven by a perceived gap between language revitalisation efforts and reactions towards efforts) and as guided by questions and leads from emerging concepts and categories, the purpose and focus of research were redirected from a general investigation into MPC language revitalisation to capturing the experience, expressivity and dynamics of PS MPC-speaking group members, as illuminated by the language revitalisation process. The initial data collection employed interviewing as the main research instrument. Research participants were MPC speakers involved in revitalisation efforts and those who would be recipients of efforts. The research process was iterative as researcher moved between research procedures including data collection, coding, constant comparative method, memo-writing and theoretical sampling; analysis and conceptualisation were simultaneous. Theoretical sampling, the second phase of data collection according to theoretical relevance, proceeded by contacting research participants, analysing survey, examination of writings in and about MPC and its speakers and using literature as data. This thesis proposes a substantive model which brings the dynamics and voices of a contact-language-speaking group to the forefront. The core

category of the model, managing relevance of heritage language, can be related to the basic social process of coping mechanisms in response to social development, in the quest of a basic social process or central phenomenon as pursued in a Grounded Theory study. It refers to the process of keeping one's heritage language relevant as an aspect of one's social life while maintaining other parts of social life and self-identifications. MPC-speaking group members who have initiated language revitalisation efforts have been motivated to take things into their own hands, showing their coping mechanisms more explicitly, in comparison with non-language-revitalisation-actors whose coping strategies are less explicit. The process of managing heritage language relevance helps construct a particular sense of self: a self identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage; this forms the socio-psychological and emotional dimension of the process. To understand this self-managing dimension and because self-constructing is not an isolated process, a socio-historical or socio-cultural dimension enters the picture. This new way of looking at the dynamics of a contact-language-speaking group in managing heritage language relevance can be applied to promote, plan and integrate the relevance of heritage language in future language revitalisation efforts. The present study is the first in employing Grounded Theory to conduct a formal research on MPC and the first to explore the MPC language revitalisation process cycle.

ABSTRAK

Tesis ini meliputi konteks umum, iaitu konteks berbilang bahasa dan lepas penjajahan dan konteks tempatan, usaha mempergiatkan bahasa. Bahasa yang dikaji, Bahasa Kriol Portugis Melaka (MPC), ialah satu bahasa kontak berdasarkan Bahasa Portugis yang merupakan bahasa warisan bagi suatu populasi sebanyak 800 orang (Baxter, 2013) dan sedang mengalami pengalihan bahasa di tempat kajian, Perkampungan Portugis (PS), Melaka, Semenanjung Malaysia. Perkembangan MPC dan mereka yang mengidentifikasikan diri dengan MPC sebagai bahasa warisan boleh dikesan bekas langkahnya ke tahun 1511 apabila orang Portugis menjejaki Melaka. Perancangan penyelidikan tesis ini merujuk kepada Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). Untuk memahami kekurangan respons terhadap usaha mempergiatkan MPC yang merupakan motivasi penyelidikan ini sementara mengikuti konsep dan kategori yang timbul daripada penyelidikan, objektif dan focus tesis ini berkembang daripada suatu penyelidikan umum usaha mempergiatkan lagi MPC kepada penyelidikan yang mengenai pengalaman anggota masyarakat yang menurut MPC dalam pengurusan bahasa warisan mereka yang terancam. Pengumpulan data bermula dengan temuduga sebagai instrumen utama penyelidikan. Peserta penyelidikan terdiri daripada mereka yang terlibat dalam usaha mempergiatkan bahasa dan mereka yang merupakan penerima usaha tersebut. Proses penyelidikan adalah bersifat lelaran sementara penyelidik mengulang-ulangkan proses-proses seperti pengumpulan data, pengekodan, perbandingan kod, penulisan memo dan pengumpulan data bersifat teoretikal; penganalisan data dan pengkonsepan dijalankan serentak. Pengumpulan data bersifat teoretikal yang merupakan tahap kedua pengumpulan data mengikut kaitan teoretikal dijalankan dengan menghubungi peserta penyelidikan, menganalisis tinjauan, menganalisis kerja yang ditulis dalam MPC dan yang mengenai MPC, dan merujuk kepada sorotan kajian sebagai data. Tesis ini mengemukakan suatu model substantif bagi

memahami pengalaman, daya pengungkapan dan dinamiks masyarakat berbahasa kontak di PS. Kategori utama, pengurusan bahasa warisan terancam, yang timbul daripada proses penyelidikan boleh dikaitkan dengan strategi pengurusan proses umum terhadap perubahan masyarakat. Ia merujuk kepada proses menguruskan bahasa warisan yang merupakan suatu aspek kehidupan masyarakat sementara bersambung dengan aspek-aspek kehidupan yang lain. Terdapat anggota masyarakat berbahasa MPC yang digalakkan dengan motivasi untuk menentukan nasib sendiri dengan memulakan atau terlibat dalam usaha mempergiatkan MPC dan menunjukkan strategi pengurusan kaitan bahasa warisan terancam yang lebih jelas. Proses pengurusan kaitan bahasa warisan terancam menyumbang kepada pembinaan diri yang mengidentifikasi dengan warisan berbahasa MPC; ini merupakan suatu dimensi psikologi dan emosi. Bagi memahami dimensi psikologi dan emosi dan oleh sebab pembinaan diri bukan suatu proses independen, suatu lagi dimensi sejarah dan budaya diterokai. Perspektif tesis ini yang menerokai dinamiks masyarakat yang berbahasa kontak sebagai bahasa warisan dan bagaimana mereka mengurus kaitan bahasa tersebut boleh menyumbang kepada perancangan dan pembelajaran bahasa bagi usaha mempergiatkan bahasa yang akan datang. Tesis ini juga merupakan kajian pertama yang merujuk kepada Grounded Theory sebagai reka bentuk penyelidikan MPC dan kajian formal pertama ke atas usaha mempergiatkan bahasa warisan terancam, MPC.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the family and Portuguese Settlement community who have assisted me and made this thesis possible. To Mama Anne (De Mello), Uncle Gerard (De Costa), the late Carrieanne De Costa, and Roseanne De Costa, words cannot describe how much I appreciate your kindness, generosity and hospitality in making me feel like home and helping me in every possible way. More names could not be given credit here to protect their identity as research participants of this study.

To all participants of this study, thank you very much for your time and patience in sharing a part of your world with me. To go back to Malacca for my doctoral study holds sentimental values in my heart as I spent seven years of my childhood in Malacca. The research participants of this study, as well as the Portuguese Settlement community as a whole, have made my research journey a mind-broadening one as I reflected upon how if I had not done this research, I would only have a simple and superficial understanding of their experiences, and to do so would be a loss on my part in embracing multiculturalism and multilingualism in a fuller sense.

The present study would not have taken place without my supervisor, Associate Professor Dr. Stefanie Pillai, who has inspired, encouraged and guided me right from the beginning. Thank you very much, Dr Stef, for your constructive comments and always sending help and positive vibes my way. I really appreciate how you allowed me the time and space to think things through and reserve time to talk to me about my progress while I worked remotely. Thank you for sharing your thoughts and ideas not only about my work but also about life as I embarked on the chapters on marriage and motherhood. I always remember our first meeting back in 2011 to talk about the possibility of working on MPC. I especially remember how you referred to your doctoral supervisor as someone

you could talk to and someone with whom students would “reach for the stars”. And now, it is my turn to tell others the same.

Thank you to both reviewers and anonymous reviewers for the present study, papers co-authored and the presentations of my work as well as co-authored works. Any errors in this thesis are solely my own.

I would also like to say thank you to those of you who have shared works, advices and recommendations with me. Thank you especially to Dr. Mario Pinharada Nunes, Dr. Hugo Cardoso, Dr. Paolo Coluzzi, (Ruzaini) Fikri and James (N. Chancharu), for sharing your works or others’ work with me.

To dear Cristiana (professora Maria Cristiana Casimiro), the universe does indeed work in its mysterious ways when I recalled how when I was learning Portuguese during the undergraduate years, I did not imagine that I would be working on a Portuguese-related language one day. Thank you for the six great semesters during my undergraduate studies, supporting my graduate studies application and that lovely day in Macau. As many of your students and I have told you before, your compassion has been an inspiration to us.

To my friends who have helped in one way or another, thank you for being part of the journey of this study and of my life for some of you, especially Ling Jie (for always giving me faith, love and taking care of me in Kuala Lumpur), Christine (for being my awesome roommate who still feels like my roommate even though you are far away in the land down under now), Ee Lee (for giving me assurance and acknowledgements especially since our days in Cambridge), Austine (especially for driving me around in Kuala Lumpur when I couldn’t and being the gangho person you are), muffs (for sending positive vibes always) and the Kang siblings (Grace, Matthew and Edmond, for your work and help).

To my dear Aunt Siok Cheng, thank you for proofreading my work. My interest in languages and pursuing higher learning could not have blossomed without you starting me young. Thanks for all the books you have bought for me and hours spent with me on readings and school works. Most importantly, thanks for your love, my dear Aunt Siok Cheng and my granny or waipo, for these set me off on a life of kindness and moderation as both of you have taught me so.

I would like to thank Min Tze's parents, Mr. Hau Sia Lam and Mdm. Loi Kim Tai, and siblings, Jasmine and Min Shen, for your support all along and for being my wonderful "second home".

Thank you to my dear brother, Wen Hann, and sister-in-law, Kaishin, for all the nice treats that made me feel better during the conduct of this research even though you might not know, and for always sending love and encouragement my way.

Dear Min Tze and Jean Ann, thank you for lighting up my world and being so amazing. People always talk about how doing a doctoral study is similar to walking in a tunnel in darkness. Both of you kept me believing that I would see lights at the end of the tunnel of my doctoral study as you have been the lights all along. Just in case if I ever have more than one child and you are reading this, I want you to know that, even though I may not know you yet, but I do know that you will be part of this amazing team we are on.

Finally, to my dearest parents, Mr. Soh Chee Son and Mdm. Lim Siang Cheng, this thesis is dedicated to both of you. Both of you have always believed in me and allowed me the time and space to grow and pursue what matters to me. Thank you for your love and support and I love both of you so much.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Abstrak	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	x
List of Figures	xv
List of Tables.....	xvi
List of Symbols and Abbreviations.....	xvii
List of Appendices	xviii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Motivations of Research	1
1.2 Developing a Research Focus.....	3
1.3 Purpose Statement and Research Questions	6
1.4 Significance	6
1.5 Thesis Outline.....	8
CHAPTER 2: SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND.....	9
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 The Pre-colonial Period	17
2.3 The Colonial Period.....	18
2.4 The Post-colonial Period, Independence and Nation Building.....	24
2.5 Education and Minority Groups in the 20th Century	27
2.6 Present Trends of Language Shift.....	30
2.7 Concluding Thoughts	34

CHAPTER 3: MAJOR CONCEPTS	36
3.1 Introduction.....	36
3.2 Language and Discourses	37
3.3 Motivations, Self and Identity	39
3.4 Ideologies.....	41
3.5 Language Revitalisation	44
3.5.1 Overview	44
3.5.2 Planning and Policy	50
3.5.3 Factors and Variables	52
3.5.4 Evaluating Language Revitalisation.....	54
3.6 Contact Languages.....	55
3.7 Concluding Thoughts	59
 CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL APPROACH	 61
4.1 Introduction.....	61
4.2 Rationale for the Choice of Approach	61
4.3 How Grounded Theory Came About.....	67
4.4 The Objectivist and Constructivist Orientations.....	72
4.5 Grounded Theory Method	76
4.6 Considerations in Practice	80
4.7 Applications of Grounded Theory Method.....	82
4.8 Summary.....	84
 CHAPTER 5: METHODS	 85
5.1 Introduction.....	85
5.2 Pre-data collection	86
5.2.1 Research Participants	86

5.2.2	Core Setting	90
5.2.3	Ethics	90
5.3	Data Collection	91
5.4	Data Analysis.....	94
5.4.1	Initial Coding.....	95
5.4.2	Focused Coding and Categorising.....	100
5.4.3	Theory building	102
5.4.4	Verification.....	107
5.5	Criteria: Credibility, Originality, Resonance and Usefulness	108
5.6	Summary.....	109
 CHAPTER 6: A SUBSTANTIVE MODEL.....		110
6.1	Introduction.....	110
6.2	Building a Substantive Model	114
6.3	The MPC Language Revitalisation Process Cycle	118
6.3.1	Being Motivated to Revitalise MPC	121
6.3.1.1	Language revitalisation as channelling inner feelings and needs	
	122	
6.3.1.2	Language revitalisation as restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships.....	124
6.3.1.3	Language revitalisation as reclaiming ownership	126
6.3.1.4	Language revitalisation as work opportunities.....	128
6.3.2	Using Available and Creating Resources	130
6.3.2.1	(Re)generating interest in MPC.....	130
6.3.2.2	Making use of available resources and creating resources.....	131
6.3.2.3	The community-external factor	133
6.3.3	Mobilising Support.....	135

6.3.3.1	Reaching out to listening network(s)	135
6.3.3.2	Understanding audience and spreading fun	136
6.3.3.3	Revaluing MPC	137
6.3.4	Outcome of Efforts	138
6.3.4.1	Perceiving MPC language revitalisation efforts.....	138
6.3.4.2	Reception of MPC language revitalisation efforts and materials 141	
6.3.5	Continuing with MPC as Heritage and Identity	146
6.3.5.1	Looking for communities of practice	147
6.3.5.2	Learning MPC from fluent MPC speakers.....	149
6.3.5.3	Hoping for financial means and leadership.....	150
6.3.5.4	Representing and capturing the uniqueness of MPC	151
6.3.6	Being Motivated to Speak and Learn MPC.....	152
6.3.6.1	MPC speaking and learning as identity and self construction	152
6.3.6.2	MPC speaking and learning as restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships.....	153
6.3.6.3	Speaking and learning MPC as group and heritage survival...	154
6.3.7	Explicating Relationships between Sub-processes.....	155
6.4	The Continuum of Coping Strategies	157
6.5	Situating Findings in Wider Contexts.....	164
6.6	Close-to-heart Matters and Peoplehood.....	166
6.7	Summary.....	168
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION		171
7.1	Introduction.....	171
7.2	Meanings of MPC Language Revitalisation Efforts.....	174
7.3	Examining Discourses and Coping Strategies	183

7.3.1	Language Purism	185
7.3.2	Language Ownership	192
7.3.3	Literacy and Post-colonial Planning.....	199
7.3.4	Language Acquisition and Transmission and Contemporary Trends	209
7.4	MPC Language Revitalisation	214
7.5	Concluding Thoughts	225
CHAPTER 8: REFLECTIONS		229
8.1	Introduction.....	229
8.2	Reflections: MPC Language Revitalisation.....	230
8.3	Reflections: A Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach	234
8.4	Reflections: Situating the Present Study in Wider Contexts	242
8.5	Concluding Thoughts	246
References		249
List of Publications and Papers Presented		265
Appendices		266

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page number
Figure 3.1: Theoretical framework	37
Figure 4.1: A visual representation of a Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014: 18, originally appeared in Tweed & Charmaz, 2011: 133)	78
Figure 4.2: Illustrating the iterative Grounded Theory Method research process	79
Figure 6.1: Building a substantive model (to be read from bottom-up).....	116
Figure 6.2: The MPC language revitalisation process cycle.....	120
Figure 6.3: Explicating relationships between sub-processes of MPC language revitalisation process	156
Figure 6.4: The continuum of coping strategies.....	158
Figure 6.5: Situating the MPC language revitalisation process cycle and the continuum of coping strategies in wider contexts	165
Figure 6.6: Close-to-heart matters and peoplehood	167
Figure 6.7: A substantive model of managing heritage language relevance.....	169
Figure 8.1: An overview of how this thesis developed a focus	235

LIST OF TABLES

	Page number
Table 1.1: Previous research on MPC or MPC-speaking group	3
Table 4.1: Insights from pragmatism and sociology	68
Table 4.2: Development of conceptual terminology	71
Table 4.3: Epistemological underpinnings of Grounded Theory	74
Table 4.4: Objectivist and Constructivist Grounded Theory	75
Table 5.1: List of research participants	87
Table 5.2: Excerpts of conversation with A1	98
Table 5.3: Excerpts of conversation with A3	99
Table 5.4 : Excerpts of conversation with A5	99
Table 5.5 : Excerpts of conversation with A7	100
Table 5.6: From initial codes to a focused code	102
Table 5.7: Examples from a theory building process	103
Table 5.8: Excerpts from memos	105
Table 5.9: Criteria researchers can aim for (Charmaz, 2014: 355-357)	109

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- MPC : Malacca Portuguese Creole (Kristang)
- PS : Portuguese Settlement, Malacca

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page number
Appendix A: Information Sheet, Consent Form and Honorarium Reception/Declining Form.....	267
Appendix B: Part I Survey and Part II Guiding Questions for Conversation.....	271

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivations of Research

This thesis was initially driven by observations during fieldtrips to the Portuguese Settlement (PS), Malacca in 2011-2012. During the project fieldtrips ranging from days to a week and staying in or around the PS most of the time, it was observed that even though Malacca Portuguese Creole (MPC, also known as Kristang, Serani and Malacca Portuguese) related efforts attempted in the past decades have attracted some attention in the media and among academics, few people could tell much about or had participated much if at all in these efforts when asked. In contrast, more could be shared by group members about having seen or participated in documentary production about the life and culture of the PS community. PS is not geographically isolated as word *settlement* would suggest; it is connected to other neighbourhoods across the streets on the different sides of PS. After data collection for this thesis began in 2013, positive perceptions of their heritage language and language revitalisation efforts continued to be observed, so was a seemingly perceived gap between the positive perceptions and reaction towards language revitalisation efforts. The dynamics of the PS MPC-speaking group was observed in its natural setting.

The little representation of the experiences and expressivity among the PS MPC-speaking group members from group members' perspectives in literature also justifies the need of this study. Earlier MPC wordlists or linguistic treatments can be found in works such as Rêgo (1942) and Hancock (1975) before it was eventually documented in its fuller form, in the form of a grammar and dictionary (Baxter, 1988; Baxter & De Silva, 2004). The year I embarked on MPC research had been very timely and interesting as a major celebration was held to commemorate the arrival of the Portuguese from 1509-1511 onwards in Malacca. MPC language classes were initiated and conducted, as part of the commemoration, although the classes were eventually closed and then resumed in 2012.

This is not the first time efforts are initiated to draw attention to the endangered status of and promote the use of MPC. The first *Save Our Portuguese Heritage Conference* was held in 1995. In 1996, another conference, *A Revival of Spoken Kristang and the Development of the Malacca-Portuguese Heritage*, was held in Malacca. The year 2015 saw a second addition to the *Save Our Portuguese Conference* series after a decade. Apart from conferences and media coverage, there have been occasionally proactive voices from the core MPC-speaking group in PS about heritage-related matters (e.g. Sta Maria, 1982; Fernandis, 2003), and some language revitalisation efforts such as language classes and sporadic linguistic compilations. However, the PS MPC-speaking group members appear to remain underrepresented in mainstream publications and media until recently because of campaigns against the land reclamation along the coastline of PS. The choice of reference to the language in study as MPC will be discussed in Chapter 2. PS, the choice of research site in projects involved and in this thesis for practical reasons, makes up the core and concentrated MPC-speaking population in Malaysia.

Previous research on MPC or MPC-speaking group has focused on five areas: documentation, description of grammar or lexicon-related categories, language shift or maintenance, social and cultural studies, and narratives (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Previous research on MPC or MPC-speaking group

Nature of MPC work	Examples of work
Documentation, e.g. dictionary, books	Baxter and Silva (2004) Marbeck (1995, 1996, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c) Pillai (2013) Rêgo (1932, 1938)
Description of grammar or lexicon-related categories	Baxter (1988, 1990) Hancock (1969, 1973) Rêgo (1942) Thurgood & Thurgood (1996)
Language shift or maintenance	Journal articles: David and Noor (1999) Lee (2011) Maros et al (2014) Dissertation or thesis: Sudesh (2000) Lee (2003)
Social and cultural studies (e.g. Language, culture and identity, family language policy)	O'Neill (2008) Pillai, Soh & Kajita (2014) Sarkissian (1997, 2000, 2005)
Narratives	Sta Maria (1982)

The younger generation's language shift away from MPC has been confirmed by researchers such as Baxter (1990; 2005), Nunes (1996), David and Noor (1998), Hancock (1969; 2009), Sudesh (2000) and Lee (2003, 2011). Despite some revitalisation efforts, there is no formal work done to document and investigate the revitalisation of MPC other than some suggestions made about preserving MPC (e.g. Baxter, 2005:31-33).

1.2 Developing a Research Focus

Employing a bottom up approach as Constructivist Grounded Theory (see Chapter 4 and 5), it is necessary to inform readers at this stage on how this thesis came to focus on what it does before purpose statement and research questions are presented in the next section. At this early stage, it suffices to say that Grounded Theory Methodology (more on this in Chapter 4), the umbrella term for approaches sharing common practices and

underpinnings of a Grounded Theory study as proposed by Bryant and Charmaz (2007a, 2007b), “serves as a way to learn about the worlds we study and a method for developing theories to understand them” (Charmaz, 2014: 33).

Initially, the purpose of the present study was set in a general way: to explore (i) MPC language revitalisation efforts that are initiated from the grassroots level and (ii) the recipient group’s reaction towards these efforts and possible future efforts. The purpose of research was motivated by the gap between language revitalisation efforts and PS MPC-speaking group’s reactions towards the efforts, and the gap in literature on language revitalisation efforts of MPC. The initial main leading research questions were:

- i. What are the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts?
- ii. What are the reactions of the PS MPC-speaking group members towards MPC language revitalisation?

As this research started shaping up with concepts and categories emerging from data, a theme emerged too. In the quest of a social process or central phenomenon as pursued in a Grounded Theory study (Charmaz, 2006, 2014), the process of managing heritage language relevance comes out strongly to capture research participants’ experience as reconstructed in their discourse and coping strategies and as co-constructed with researcher. The process of managing heritage language relevance can be related to the basic social process of coping mechanisms and refers to the process of keeping one’s heritage language relevant as an aspect of one’s social life while maintaining other parts of social life and identifications. This came as a result of pursuing further than the initial focus on the *what’s* and *how’s* of language revitalisation to understand the *why’s* of the language revitalisation process by persistently questioning *What function does it serve?* in which the word *it* can be, among others, a code, a category or a contrast in meanings or actions. Throughout the research process, in addition to the focus on meanings and

actions, there is a focus on unfolding temporal sequences as they are linked in a process and lead to change as single events become linked as part of a larger whole (Charmaz, 2014). Linking temporal sequences leads to filling up the sub-processes of the language revitalisation process: from how it begins to how it is perceived and received and where it may lead. By constantly comparing events and experiences, and questioning the implicit meanings, rules, and actions at play, contrasts were detected as the gaps to address the mismatch (i) between language revitalisation efforts and reactions and (ii) between positive perceptions of heritage language and actual practices.

The MPC-speaking group, with a focus on the core MPC-speaking group members in the PS, is placed on a continuum. This continuum depicts the dynamics of managing heritage language relevance among community members, from seemingly having a certain time slot for MPC to taking the initiative to reconnect or even promote and revitalise MPC, to understand how meanings and relevance of MPC are negotiated and by doing so, how one's *self* is managed via drawing from different accumulating and interacting ideologies. Theoretical links between managing heritage language relevance and its use as a tool in self-managing are uncovered. The pursuit of clues and ideas on self-managing was mainly driven by the constant questioning of the function of managing heritage relevance and partly driven by the natural progress towards a basic social process in Grounded Theory; the word *basic* here can be interpreted as more universal, more abstract and more general. Throughout writing this thesis, there has been a constant debate on the wording as the positioning between a researcher in linguistic training and one following a Grounded Theory approach; the debate eventually had to be balanced between linguistic jargons or terminology and a natural progress towards more general and abstract concept to situate the substantive area studied in a broader context. Decisions on wording were made based on considering how best this thesis can be understood by general readers with concepts presented in Chapter 3.

1.3 Purpose Statement and Research Questions

Based on data, the purpose of this research was thus redirected to capture the experience of research participants as co-constructed between researcher and research participants. It became the purpose of this research to explore how members of a minority- and contact-language-speaking group manage the relevance of their heritage language as illuminated by the bottom-up language revitalisation process. The main research questions were then reworded as:

- i. How is MPC relevance managed by negotiating and constructing its meanings against the backdrop of the language revitalisation process and the wider multilingual and post-colonial backdrop?
- ii. What implications can be drawn from experiences, strategies and tensions in managing heritage language relevance?

1.4 Significance

This section presents the significance of this research in a general way. The gaps that the present study eventually filled in the body of literature and in wider contexts will be revisited in Chapter 8 (Section 8.4). This is consistent with the emerging and exploratory nature of a study employing Grounded Theory.

This thesis proposes a new way of looking at the dynamics of a minority, contact language-speaking group facing language endangerment and managing heritage language relevance, as illuminated by the MPC language revitalisation process cycle. This process is one in which little is known in the first place as it is relatively new following its formal documentation in the 1980s. Though there had been language classes in the PS from time to time, a closer understanding of the language classes referred to by research participants and other PS MPC-speaking group members did not refer to MPC-oriented language

classes until the recent years. The previous Portuguese language classes had not been MPC-oriented, in that those classes were conducted not for the purpose of MPC language acquisition and transmission. Most importantly, though MPC would have been used in these earlier language classes, either for communication or for the purpose of comparison, the classes were conducted with an orientation on European Portuguese, as gathered from research participants.

This thesis is also the first study that employs Grounded Theory Methodology, or more specifically, Constructivist Grounded Theory, and the first formal research to profile and explore the MPC language revitalisation process cycle. This study has proceeded bearing in mind the co-construction between researcher and research participants to learn and conceptualise the experience of the PS community and the importance to involve community-driven and collaborative efforts when planning language revitalisation (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Hinton, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). In researching a part of the PS MPC-speaking group members' social life, social representation and self-managing via a bottom-top approach, it was not assumed and presupposed, but was learned in the research process, that the reciprocal relationship between self-managing and managing heritage language relevance underlies initiating or reactions towards language revitalisation. The present study provides a new way of approaching studies on MPC and PS MPC-speaking group members (see Chapter 6).

This study will also contribute to contact language (revitalisation) studies which are underrepresented, either due to the lack of studies on contact language revitalisation efforts or due to the lack of contact language revitalisation efforts to begin with, compared to studies of language endangerment and language revitalisation efforts on other languages. An understanding of the meanings of MPC language revitalisation efforts to group members was sought and the revitalisation process was evaluated up to a certain extent (as discussed in Chapter 7).

1.5 Thesis Outline

The outcome of research is presented in eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents a general introduction to the focus of this thesis, informing readers on motivations and justifications of research and how the focus of this thesis was derived. Chapter 2 presents the socio-historical and political development of MPC and PS MPC-speaking group members, with a general focus on how the socio-historical and political development has led up to the present interacting and accumulating ideologies. Chapter 3 discusses the major concepts in which this thesis is built around and how these major concepts provide the theoretical lens for approaching and understanding the case in study. Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical approach of this thesis, while in Chapter 5, how Constructivist Grounded Theory was drawn upon is presented. To address the first research question, Chapter 6 presents the discourses and coping strategies of the group in study in managing the relevance of their heritage language that are abstracted from the MPC language revitalisation process cycle where the sub-processes are also examined. Chapter 7 addresses the second research question by looking at what can be drawn from research findings in relation to language-related topics and to language revitalisation. Chapter 8 concludes this thesis by reflecting upon working on MPC and employing Constructivist Grounded Theory.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at socio-historical and political development of MPC, research participants and research site. One main argument developed in this chapter and throughout this thesis is the present sociolinguistic consequences have to be understood against the socio-historical, cultural and political experience of the group in study. A similar call-out has been expressed by one of the most representative voices in terms of his people's development, heritage and culture (Sta Maria, 1982: 11):

Unless we are intimately conscious of our evolutionary beginnings, we would not be able to fully appreciate nor comprehend or criticise those contributory factors or the consequences of what some had cause to label “our accidental historic origins”.

In a way, this chapter lays out one side of the story, the macro-sociolinguistic background, especially the change in power, socio-economic, and linguistic development, to analyse linguistic development and ideologies. This paves the way to understanding the PS MPC-speaking group members' experiences, expressivity and dynamics in Chapter 6 and 7. Chapter 6 presents a substantive model to approach the conceptions and conceptualisations of PS MPC-speaking group members' experiences in relation to their heritage language against the background of wider contexts and of the local language revitalisation efforts.

There is no formal consensus on the name of the language though it is categorised under *other languages* by the government. It is referred to in Malay as *Bahasa Serani*, ‘Serani language’, or *Bahasa Portugis*, ‘Portuguese language’, in documents such as sections in documents requiring self-reporting of mother tongue or language skills in school or for the use in government sectors. The status of MPC as a *creole* is mentioned in the government-related media platform in Malaysia, as exemplified in the government of Malaysia's official portal: “A small number of Malaysians have Caucasian ancestry

and speak creole languages, such as the Portuguese based Malacca Creoles, and the Spanish-based Chavacano language” (The Government of Malaysia, 2013). In the Malaysian context, in official documents and forms, the Portuguese descendants are classified as *Lain-Lain* (Malay, ‘others’) or *Others*, not fitting into other broad state-defined categories: Malay, Chinese and Indian. Although they were accorded some privileges reserved for *Bumiputra* citizens (Malay, ‘son of the soil’, this status is reserved for those categorised as Malay by the Federal Constitution and the indigenous population of Malaysia), such as the right to invest in certain national unit trusts schemes (see the website of Amanah Saham Nasional Berhad <http://www.asnb.com.my/english/eligibility.htm>), they are not classified as *Bumiputra* (Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014).

As a bottom-up, exploratory approach was employed, the literature review done prior to fieldwork was done generally to set parameters for research (see Chapter 4 & 5). Though I was aware of the debates for and against the use of the word *creole* in referring to a contact language that has come to be used as the heritage language and ethnic marker of a group of people with a common heritage, a deeper grasp of the different viewpoints was only brought into the picture at a later stage. Although this thesis does not deal directly with the origin and nature of MPC, this thesis was written with the awareness of the debates for and against *creole* and also how it can weigh in on a researcher’s analysis and positioning. The choice of MPC in the present study follows the registered name of the language in the UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2010) and in the Endangered Languages Archive (Pillai, 2013). Such a decision takes into consideration that the name of the language is registered as such internationally, and is made known in the literature with this name with a certain level of variation (e.g. Malacca Creole Portuguese) while, similar to other researchers who have worked on MPC, I was Grounded Theoryaware of the local names or some group members’ preferred name,

namely Kristang, Serani and (Antique) Malacca Portuguese (Baxter, 1988, 2012; O' Neill 2008).

The term Kristang is used in referring to three referents: (i) the name of the heritage language, (ii) the people who identify with the MPC-speaking heritage, and (iii) the Catholic faith (Baxter, 1988, 2005, 2012; O'Neill, 2008; Hancock, 2009). Baxter (2012) has also discussed the recent signs of change in the name of the language, from Kristang to Portuguese, in relation to several social factors: a growing self-identity in response to the partial bumiputera status and within contexts of the wider recognition of the Malayo-Portuguese culture, tourism discourse, the influence from the presence of European Portuguese tourists and others. The presence and prominence of Portuguese elements in the PS MPC-speaking group members' culture, whether imported or adapted, has also been observed by Sarkissian (1997, 2000, 2005). It must be made clear that the choice of name used in this thesis is not meant to downgrade or devalue the language or the people in any sense. If there comes a day the MPC-speaking group members have come to make a collective decision on the names of their people and their heritage language, I will very much gladly use the name(s) chosen by group members.

The historical account holds that the Portuguese conquest of Malacca started in 1511 and lasted for 130 years. It is generally held that MPC is borne out of the intermarriage between Portuguese and local residents though the real picture might have been more complicated and less romanticised. The diversity of the elements that make up the group of people who identify with a MPC-speaking heritage has come to be recognised in academic works while portrayals of the group of people may vary to a certain extent or be more romanticised in capturing the diversity of the people's elements in some accounts, such as in interviews, narratives and travel guides. In the MPC dictionary co-authored by Baxter with a late PS MPC-speaking group member, Baxter and De Silva (2004) introduce MPC as in the following excerpt:

Contrary to what has sometimes been claimed by lay authors, Kristang is not sixteenth-century Portuguese. Rather, it is a Creole language, a language born of the contacts between speakers of Portuguese and speakers of local and other languages. Certainly, the large majority of its vocabulary is derived from older varieties of Portuguese, along with contributions from Malay and several other languages. However, its grammar and its phonology both display considerable Malay influence, as well as Portuguese influence, and some input from Hokkien and Indian varieties of Creole Portuguese (Baxter, 1983, 1998, 1990).

(Baxter & De Silva, 2004: vii).

The presence of the Portuguese elements and the lack of a consensus on the naming of the language and people in study are observed in official documents and media. The following two excerpts are some of the depictions of the MPC-speaking group and the PS in digital media and on the official Malacca tourism website. The Portuguese link is accentuated in the first excerpt via the comparison of the Portuguese Square Malacca to Lisbon while the second excerpt highlights how the presence of PS and PS MPC-speaking group make Malacca different from other states in Malaysia.

Portuguese Square Malacca also known as Mini Lisbon symbolises the Portuguese community in Malacca. The square is the culmination of Portuguese culture in its splendour and colours where (there are) descendants of Malay and Portuguese intermarriages since the colonisation of Portuguese in the state.

(Attractions in Malaysia, 2012)

Malacca is the only state that has a Portuguese settlement founded in 1930. The inhabitants of this place (is) named Sua Chang Padre (Father Land) in conjunction with its founder. People living here are Eurasian of Portuguese descent living as fishermen.

The Portuguese Catholic religious practice and speak Cristang or Cristao. Ethnic Portuguese in Malacca provides traditional life, language, customs and music that appears unique. The most popular dance is Beranyo and Frapeirra. Christians also celebrate festivals with great (enthusiasm) including Christmas Day and Easter Festival San Pedra (Pedro).

(Melaka State Government, 2012)

The present propositions on the origin and nature of MPC are primarily put forward by Baxter (1988, 1996, 2012, 2013), building on previous works (e.g. Bickerton, 1988). Based on decades of research, Baxter (2012: 115) writes that the people who identify with a MPC-speaking heritage are “the descendants of Portuguese, Indo-

Portuguese, Malayo-Portuguese and diverse camp followers present in Malacca at the time of the Dutch takeover” in 1641. The descendants are said to be admixed with Chinese, Indian, Malay, Dutch, Sri Lankan, Filipino and English elements. The origins of the emergence of various Portuguese-based or –derived contact languages including MPC can be traced back to the Portuguese strategies in coping with a critical manpower problem in Asian colonies as maritime trade routes were conquered and trading posts were established (Baxter, 1996, 2012; Baxter & De Silva, 2004; Holm, 1989). Baxter (1988) points out that one cannot be definite about whether a stable Portuguese-based pidgin had arrived in Malacca. The genesis of MPC, either involving possible influences from West African Pidgin Portuguese or Indian elements, is discussed in Baxter (1988, 1996), aligning the birth of contact Portuguese varieties to the formation of fort creoles (Bickerton, 1988). Based on available documentations and foundation dates of the earliest Portuguese establishments, Baxter (1996) proposes that the earlier form of MPC was likely to have had an initially independent development followed by inflow influences from India, namely of pidgin Portuguese, L2 Portuguese and Creole Portuguese.

Having worked on MPC in the 1960s, Hancock (1975, 2009, 2015) is of the opinion that MPC has its origins in the early Portuguese lingua franca or low Portuguese which is said to have probably originated in the 15th century on the West African coast. According to Hancock (2009, 2015), MPC, a trade contact language that possibly developed from the earlier Mediterranean Sabir, was carried by Lusitanian seaman to the Near and Far East, and to Central and South America. MPC, both spoken in Malacca and Singapore, is believed to be the most conservative in comparison to existing members of the Malayo-Portuguese branch of the Lusoasian group which MPC belongs to. The conservativeness of the MPC is linked to how it has been out of contact with metropolitan Portuguese for over four centuries though it is pointed out that the non-Portuguese-derived lexical content of MPC is comparatively small.

After the takeover of Malacca by the Portuguese, the earlier form of MPC would have received considerable influence from (i) the pre-existing lingua franca, Bazaar Malay, (ii) other local languages that stood out in the pool of features for selection, and (iii) Portuguese-based contact varieties from other Portuguese colonies might have been present to some extent among the crews, labourers and other personnel, as demonstrated by the linguistic typology of MPC in Baxter (1996). The second-language Portuguese-based varieties provided the main input to the learning of this local contact Portuguese variety that would become the first language to many generations in this part of South East Asia, along with the weakening of ties and access to European Portuguese models (Baxter, 1988; Baxter & Silva, 2004).

There have been some proposals on the origin of contact languages and in particular of some Portuguese-based contact languages, which can be directly or indirectly related to the case of MPC and MPC-speaking group. These proposals have either viewed contact languages as having emerged in particular exceptional environments (Bickerton, 1988) or as the outcome of sociological or socio-historical phenomena (Ansaldi, 2009; Muysken, 1988; Mufwene, 2001, 2013). Proposals related to contact Portuguese varieties like MPC usually revolve around the process of creolisation and the exceptional environments in which contact varieties are formed (Baxter, 1988, 1996). The different opinions in the treatment of contact languages, though it is noted that different proposals may be still valid and evolving to their fellow followers, have changed how contact languages are perceived by researchers, the social world and contact-language-speaking group members themselves, either directly or indirectly. The status of contact languages as languages has come to be recognised following epistemological shifts and findings in more language contact situation studies, especially language contact and language change.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to elaborate and make a stand on the genesis and formation of MPC. However, the treatment of contact languages is crucial to understanding and advancing in language ecology, language evolution and in planning any language or culture efforts. The advance in understanding contact languages has lent some important insights to this thesis. Aligning this thesis with new insights from the literature by no means underscores and demeans any previous work done on MPC. Rather, as with most academic works, this thesis builds on previous research while in search of new perspectives to look at the language and group in study based on data and literature. This thesis draws upon Ansaldo (2009)'s work in the hope of providing new insights on the language and group in study. Perhaps what makes Ansaldo (2009)'s proposal in contact language formation much relevant to the case in study is the focus on motivation behind contact language formation, namely identity and multiple alignment. The focus on motivation in this thesis as will be seen in Chapter 6 and 7 as emerged in the research process is parallel with the focus on motivation in Ansaldo's work. Based on how in most contact settings, features transfer from the input varieties to the new grammar through various stages of adaptation and not directly from the source to the product, Ansaldo argues against the presence of a pidgin form prior to the formation of contact languages of his study, Sri Lankan Malay, Baba Malay and Makista. Despite how one's proposal about the origin and nature of a contact language may be, it is at least recognised among scholars including Baxter (1988, 1996), Ansaldo (2009), Mufwene (2001, 2003, 2013) and Siegel (1997, 1999) that contact languages are languages formed between varieties of languages used for inter-groups' communication in the ecology.

If one starts to reject exceptionalism in studying contact languages, as in accepting that the formation of a contact language is a natural outcome of multilingual environments in which languages are learned in informal contexts as Ansaldo (2009) puts forward, the multilingual matrix and ecology in which a contact language is formed and continues to

evolve can be better embraced. Ansaldo contends that altered or innovative replication is the norm in multilingual, informal transmission and cautions against a monogenetic, linear view of language evolution. Although intermarriages play a significant role in language contact situations, it is reminded that contact outside the household and societal multilingualism is reminded to be recognised as a force behind the evolution of new varieties.

To pave the way leading to understanding the micro processes that are presented and discussed in Chapter 6 and 7, this chapter has been written with a focus on: (i) the general development of MPC and (ii) the ideologies brought about throughout the different periods (the interacting and accumulating ideologies and contemporary ones will be discussed in Chapter 6 and 7) following the change in power and policies. What the people in the present study were experiencing socially, politically, economically and culturally are introduced in the following sections following periodisation:

- i. pre-colonial,
- ii. colonial in which Malacca was taken over by the Portuguese in 1511, by the Dutch in 1640 and subsequently by the British temporarily between 1795 and 1818 and then from 1824 as part of the Straits Settlement with Penang and Singapore before the British administration of Malacca as part of the Federation of Malaya lasting till independence in 1957,
- iii. post-colonial

This chapter does not delve deeply into the origin, nature and form of MPC, but concentrates instead on the interaction between socio-historical and political events and the circumstances of these events as brought upon the development of MPC and the ideologies revolving around MPC and people identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage.

2.2 The Pre-colonial Period

In the context of Malacca as an international port and trade centre under the Malay sultanate rule, prior to the takeover by the Portuguese in 1511, the lingua franca of the multi-ethnic community in Malacca (consisting of, among others, the Malays, Gujaratis, Parsis, Bengalis, Arabs, Javanese, Chinese and Tamils) was Bazaar Malay, a pidginised form of Malay (Baxter, 1988; Thomaz, 2000). In the background of a diverse pool of languages as Malacca was a busy trade entreport, as many as 84 languages were claimed by Tomé Pires (1944, cited here from Baxter, 1988: 3) to have been spoken at the port.

Pre-colonial language ideology took the form of reciprocal multilingualism, as gathered from oral historical records and other descriptions on precolonial Melanesian contexts although pre-colonial records are little, the vernaculars co-existed in a non-hierarchical relationship (Jourdan & Angeli, 2014, who also cite from Kulick, 1992 and Sankoff, 1980). Jourdan and Angeli (2014) employ the term *reciprocal multilingualism* to refer to a mutually understood system in which all vernacular languages occupied an equal position in linguistic exchange and were learnt by neighbouring groups in the pre-colonial period. Multilingual competence was highly valued, though individuals' multilingual competence might vary, as political power was obtained by individuals who were good orators.

The implications of reciprocal multilingualism are an openness to other cultures and languages. The benefits of reciprocal multilingualism are found to be social and can be seen as respect and goodwill in establishing friendly relationships; people speaking vernacular languages are found to be proud of their linguistic competence. Similarly, Ansaldo (2009) also recognises individual and societal multilingualism in the pre-colonial times in diverse ecologies in South East Asia.

2.3 The Colonial Period

In the biography of the Malacca Portuguese community, citing work from Freyre (1961) and Texeira (n.d.), Sta Maria (1982: 6) presents the chronical development of the people to develop a deeper understanding of his community and in the hope of “... if in writing this book, interest could be aroused, among my colleagues and others, to delve deeper into Malacca’s antiquity and publish more books on our past glories”. In the book, his people are described as:

As a consequence of these processes of luzo-tropical civilisation, the process of miscengenation and the adaptation of tropical values we find in lands where the Portuguese had colonised, a community comprising of Portuguese descendants that had emerged either through intermarriage or conversion. A people that is christo-centric in character and not a people identifiable or classified according to their pigmentation; their descendants evolved to be less ethnic-conscious.

(Sta Maria, 1982: 17)

Sta Maria took the liberty to refer to the people of his own as *Malacca Portuguese*, due to the absence of a precise terminology, explaining that it is common to hear references such as *Malaysian Chinese* and *Malaysian Indians* for they could not have been referred to in the same manner as how Portuguese descendants in Goa are called Goanese and Macaunese in Macau, because of differences in social context and fabric. Sta Maria also raises awareness on the proliferation of identity that had resulted in today’s absence of an identity consensus, pointing to references applied to describe the descendants of the Portuguese, including the earliest *mestizos* said to be a general term used to describe all Portuguese descendants in places where Iberians Portuguese had fathered or mothered children with the local inhabitants, and *topazese* which refers to *mestizos* of the Orient (Malacca) (Baxter, 1988; Thomaz, 2000).

The heterogeneity of the population of Malacca is given an overview in Thomaz (2000), consisting of passages originally submitted as a thesis in 1964, based on Portuguese documents. In the sixteenth century, the Malays, or also considered the

indigenous, were the most numerous while the Tamils made up the most important group of the non-indigenous population of Malacca back then. Other important groups were the Gujaratis, Bengalis, Javanese, Luzonites (people from islands which later became the Philippine islands) and Chinese while the Peguans and Jews were present but in a small number. The Portuguese who are said to have formed the last element of the Malacca population were the last to arrive but “were the lords of the place” (Thomaz, 2000: 81), as the first who arrived in Malacca came in the service of the King, serving in one Portuguese fortress for limited periods before another and being paid by the Royal Exchequer. The heterogeneity of the population of Malacca is pointed out by Thomaz as a possible factor of how the Portuguese had captured Malacca as not all were loyal to the Malacca Sultan.

The heterogeneity of the people who entered and eventually settled in Malacca via the Portuguese ships that arrived in the 16th century is also captured in historical records, as examined in the literature, specifically relevant to the present case in Malacca are Baxter (1988, 1996, 2005), Hancock (1969, 1975, 2009, 2015) and Thomaz (2000) who have examined Portuguese documents, as discussed directly thus far or indirectly in the discussion on the pool of language resources and features that were in the picture. Such heterogeneity is also discussed in other works that refer to the Portuguese colonial times such as in Heins (1975). Though not specifically dealing with the case of Malacca, works such as Cardoso (2014) shows that there could be a considerable degree of sociolinguistic variation in the Indo-Portuguese communities even when it is not recorded in available resources; Cardoso reminds that failing to take into consideration sociolinguistic variation of the communities may compromise the validity of linguistic studies.

During the Dutch period, the population speaking the Portuguese-based variety, which would have been the first language for at least two generations of people

identifying with Portuguese racial and cultural identity out of the 130 years under Portuguese control, was reduced as they moved or were transported to other places. However, the MPC-speaking group at this stage is said to have constituted the largest linguistic group in the town as Bazaar Malay and MPC continued as the alternating lingua franca of Malacca (Baxter, 2012; Baxter & Silva, 2004). 1469 persons of Portuguese-descent racial and cultural identity are listed in the census of 1678 (Bort, 1927[1678]: 39-44, cited here from Baxter & Silva, 2004: viii), and these people would have spoken the earlier Portuguese-based contact language. One fundamental factor of survival of MPC after the Portuguese period, according to Baxter (2012), is a bond between MPC and Roman Catholicism, through the Dutch and British period. Until the recent decades, the bond between language and religion was maintained via the *Irmang di Greze*, ‘brothers of the Church’, by maintaining Catholicism for the Portuguese descendant and/or Catholic population during the periods of prohibition, and by sending Portuguese-speaking priests which is said to be intermittently present in the late 17th century and permanent after 1610, through the Portuguese mission (Baxter, 2005, 2012).

Roman Catholicism which provided a strong cultural focus facilitating the maintenance of MPC was represented by Portuguese-speaking priests of Macanese, Goanese and Portuguese origins. Baxter (2005, 2012) states that the traditional name of MPC, Kristang, underlies this dynamic syncretism. As introduced earlier, Kristang refers to MPC, Christian religion and the ethnicity of people identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage, having derived from the Portuguese word *Cristão*, ‘Christian’. The historical accounts show that the earliest reference of the term *Kristang* (or *Cristao* in the original Portuguese text) in a scholarly text appears to be that of Teixeira (1963: 23), which records the Portuguese mission in Malacca and Singapore from 1511 to 1958:

These Eurasians who are not subjects of Portugal speak Cristao i.e. Portuguese patois because in these lands Cristao is synonymous with Portuguese... there are still several thousands of Eurasians who speak the patois or Cristao which our nationals understand without difficulty...

(Teixeria, 1963: 23)

The Portuguese period planted the seeds of the elements that would make up the people who identified with a MPC-speaking heritage and by the end of the Portuguese period, the people had become more diversified compared to the start of the Portuguese period. The Dutch period saw the growing diversity of the people through marriages between Dutch or Dutch-descents with Portuguese-descents. How Portuguese-descents were treated during the Dutch period is described in some accounts while referring to Portuguese documents and Portuguese's works. Either this aspect is mildly reported (e.g. subtle policies that led to social and religious suppression were reported in Sta Maria, 1982) or the harsh treatment of the Portuguese-descents and persecution against their religion are recalled (Fernandis, 2000, 2003) or observed (Sarkissian, 2000).

Based on historical records and Malaccan church documents, De Witt (2012) reports from another perspective. Although the Dutch period is commonly labelled by the historical and religious indifferences, between the Dutch and Portuguese powers, and between the Dutch Protestant and Roman Catholic, persecution and discrimination were not total and focused against the Portuguese descendants. Some were observed to have enjoyed economic gains and certain status. After the Dutch took over Malacca, according to De Witt (2012), three levels of Dutch assimilation exist:

- i. a group's full assimilation into the Malacca Portuguese-Eurasian community and embracing of culture and heritage (e.g. those residing in PS or having close relatives in PS),
- ii. another group adopting the Portuguese-Eurasian culture as their own while being aware of their Dutch heritage,

- iii. a third group holding fast to their Dutch heritage with minimum assimilation into the Portuguese-Eurasian community.

After the British takeover, the population identifying with Portuguese ancestry and MPC continued to reduce; the 1827 census (Dickinson, 1940: 260-261, here from Baxter, 1988: 8) records that “[t]he inhabitants that come next under consideration are the Siranies or native Portuguese” and “these are remains of the once large population of Malacca who are now dwindled to no more than 2,289 souls”. In 1933, the PS or *Padri sa Chang*, ‘Priest’s village’, was established and its existence is credited to have contributed, thus far, to the survival of the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians’ culture and native language (Baxter, 2005: 15). Prior to 1957, Portuguese descendants who were resettled in the Portuguese Settlement are associated with being fishermen and less well-off compared to the other Malaccan Portuguese Eurasians who were named the *upper ten*. As reported by Baxter’s elderly respondents, priests prior to the Second World War (during British colonial period) who were resident in Malacca were fluent speakers of MPC. These priests would have had exposure to Asian varieties of Portuguese-based contact languages and were trained in the seminaries of Goa and Macau.

The pre-colonial ideology of reciprocal multilingualism did not disappear following different European power takeovers of Malacca due to the nature of contact between mixed groups still being in existence: it is ingrained in the ideologies of what makes a multilingual society. Similar to what Jourdan and Angeli (2014) have found in the Honiara context, the social benefits and pride of being multilingual are also observed in the PS context. The benefits of being multilingual are also extended to business as the PS is known to be tourist attraction in Malacca which became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2008.

As Jourdan and Angeli point out, a profoundly different linguistic order is brought about by colonisation. In their Honiara research context, English is placed at the top of

the order. Colonial labels were used to reinforce a linguistic hierarchy to distinguish the local populations from the colonials and implied the coloniser's language ideologies. These include a strong bias in favour of literacy (e.g. true languages are necessarily written languages) and linguistic purism deprecating syncretic linguistic practices and equating language change with decay (e.g. the constant comparison between the more prestigious lexifier language and the hybrid language) (Jourdan & Angeli, 2014).

The hierarchical multilingualism in the Malacca Straits context underwent more than one major restructuring of the linguistic order as Malacca was occupied by the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and, for a brief period (between 1942-1945), the Japanese. MPC developed and was used as a lingua franca alongside Bazaar Malay until before the British period. Under different administrations, the target languages to be learned were different following the languages of the more powerful, prestigious and dominant. The period of British colonisation left remarkable traces in administration and education. In the post-independence era, English was still predominantly used despite Malay being the national language. Since the late 1960s, with the gradual replacement of English language as a medium of instruction in public schools and institutions of higher education, the linguistic landscape of the country began to shift. Pillai and Khan (2011) demonstrate how MPC-speaking group members outside the PS recalled their parents or families making conscious decisions in switching to the use of English as the first language, in place of MPC, for utilitarian reasons.

Language myths related to MPC are discussed in Baxter (2012). These language myths could not have been separated from the colonial language ideologies that continue to echo in perceiving the nature and form of MPC. The first language myth pointed out by Baxter is that MPC is perceived to be the sixteenth-century Portuguese that became isolated after the Dutch takeover of Malacca. As a scholar who has documented MPC in its fuller form since 1980s, Baxter has more than once pointed out that MPC is not 16th

century Portuguese, including in the dictionary of MPC (Baxter & De Silva, 2004). Although the historical connection between MPC and Portuguese cannot be denied, Baxter cautions that the language myth gives rise to a subordinate relationship between the local language and Portuguese. The second language myth is MPC is mislearned or broken Portuguese. Baxter draws attention to linguistic ignorance on the part of the observer such as early foreign travellers in the East. This second myth, again, “places the local language in a weaker position, as a language that, if broken, could somehow be fixed” (Baxter, 2012: 132-133). In contrast, there have been Portuguese missionaries, as Baxter points out, who have affirmed MPC as “a worthy language in its own right”, citing Coelho (1967 [1886]).

2.4 The Post-colonial Period, Independence and Nation Building

The new generation of MPC-speaking group members, after the Federation of Malaya achieved Independence in 1957, is observed to be “creating a place for themselves in the modern Malaysian nation” by using their cultural identity (Sarkissian, 2005: 168). The unique identity of the group in study is associated with hybridised Malaysian-Portuguese elements such as their cultural dance named *branyo*, their cultural costume named *sarong kebaya*, imported Portuguese folk costumes, and home-grown country-western bands; the type of music and dance for which it is now famous was introduced into the settlement to upper-class Eurasians by a foreign priest, Fr. Manuel Joachim Pintado, posted to the Portuguese Mission in 1948 (Sarkissian, 2000, 2005). The introduction of European Portuguese regional folk dances in the 1950s is thought to have far-reaching influence on the traditions of the Malacca Portuguese Eurasian community. Baxter refers to the introduction of European Portuguese regional folk dances as “an interesting case of innocent, yet uninformed, cultural intervention” (Baxter, 2012: 133),

citing Father António da Silva Rêgo's writing. Below is a translated version by Baxter from Rêgo and Baxter (1998: 280):

[The Portuguese folkdance group] was founded in 1951 by Fr Manuel Joaquim Pintado. In that year, the engineer Ruy Cinatti passed through [Malacca, and] Fr. Pintado asked him to teach some Portuguese songs... realising this a long-held dream... Songs and dances were quickly assimilated. Thanks to the songs... the Malacca traditional songs will undergo beneficial influence [they will] no doubt become part of the local folklore, will be sung by everybody with a better pronunciation, and former errors will thus be corrected. (Baxter, 2012: 134)

Although Portuguese folklore dance was imported and integrated into MPC-speaking group's culture, it has since become a key identification of their cultural identity. Cultural troupes in PS are invited for cultural performance, whether locally or in other states or even in other countries. There are group members who perceive that the Portuguese folklore dance is similar to that of the European Portuguese while there are those who perceive otherwise, as observed in fieldwork and by Sarkissian (2005). Below is an excerpt from a PS MPC-speaking group member who contributed to Pillai (2013). A view towards identifying with the European Portuguese in terms of culture and towards identifying with the earlier form of the present MPC speech as spoken in the 16th century is demonstrated in this excerpt. A similar folk dance is also present in Macau, where linguistic and cultural elements had transferred to following migration from Malacca.

Excerpt 2.1 Transcript of ELAR video recording mpc04

MPC	Balu di Portugis, teng ngua tempu, ngua padri.
English	Portuguese dance, there was a time, a priest.
MPC	Eli sa nomi Father Pintado.
English	His name was Father Pintado.
MPC	Father Pintado ja beng bizitah ku nus tudu.
English	Father Pintado came to visit us.
MPC	Ja fikah padri grandi di greza di San Pedro.
English	He became the head priest at St Peter's church.

MPC	Mutu tantu ki Father Pintado ja da sabeh kung, nus sa jenti di bairu di Portugis ki sorti balu, balu-balu balah di Portugal.
English	To many Father Pintado informed people at the Portuguese village how the dances are danced in Portugal.
MPC	So [English] eli ja abrasah tudu nus sa jenti.
English	So he embraced all of our people.
MPC	Mutu tantu jenti ja prendeh eli ja falah ki so ti.
English	Many of our people have learnt. he had said how.
MPC	Mas akeli balu ki nus ta balah retu balu na Portugis.
English	Most of the dances that we are dancing are correct Portuguese dances.
MPC	Mas eli sa bersu, kantiga kantiga palabra palabra di Portugis di Malaka.
English	But their music, songs, lyrics are Malacca Portuguese.
MPC	Kinzi onzi sa tempu.
English	The time of fifteen eleven.
MPC	Nus na Ropianu falah er.. antik Portugis.
English	Our in European say er.. antique Portuguese.

(Overee, 2013)

According to Bartens (2005), the strong emphasis on Islamic and the Asian nature of Malaysia society after the independence of the Federation of Malaya in 1957 resulted in the marginalisation of Portuguese Eurasians. Whilst O'Neill (2008: 63-76) expresses his hesitation at identifying “any original Kristang identity” since it is likely to have undergone transformations since the 16th century, the new generation of post-independent Portuguese Eurasians, found a place for themselves by using their cultural identity (Baxter, 2012; Sarkissian, 2000, 2005).

Post-colonial societies undergo restructuring to balance or replace the former colonial influences but the colonial language remains relevant especially when the colonial language is English, the global or international language. In the Honiara context, Jourdan and Angeli observe the awareness of the value of English as the language with

linguistic and social capital on a global market. Similar to the Honiara context, English in Malaysia has remained the language of social advancement. The sociolinguistic setting of Malaysian English began to develop during the British colonisation which was from the late eighteenth century until the mid-twentieth centuries (Lowenberg, 1993). The census of 1921 shows that based on the ability to read and write a letter, from the fifteen towns in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay states, 61,862 out of the total population of the towns which is 743,126 were able to speak English (here from Lee & Tan, 2000).

Jourdan and Angeli note how, in the Pijin speakers' perceptions, the superiority of English is now generally attributed to its greater instrumental value at the global level in terms of university education and job opportunities, rather than to its intrinsic qualities or to the prestigious status of its speakers. A similar trend is observed among the PS respondents, seeing how English mastery has helped secure jobs in various industries that require English speaking such as in the hospitality and service line. The linguistic currency of English is implied if not directly uttered by research participants from different generation groups.

2.5 Education and Minority Groups in the 20th Century

Similar to other postcolonial and multilingual nations, indigenous and minority languages struggle to survive in Malaysia, amidst the use of dominant local languages, such as Malay and Chinese dialects, as well as English. Malay or Bahasa Malaysia is the national language, while English is used widely in business, media, and private education. The Malaysian Constitution states that “no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language” (Federal Constitution Malaysia, Article 152). As it follows, Mandarin and Tamil medium primary schools continue to exist, and local media broadcasts and

publishes in Chinese (mainly Mandarin) and Tamil apart from in Malay and English. However, a selection process common to multilingual contexts occurs over time, as some languages begin to take precedence over others in various domains such as the home. The multitude of reasons for this have been discussed in studies on language shift in different communities in Malaysia, such as the dwindling number of speakers, intermarriage, education, social mobility, urbanisation and the economic and social value of a language (e.g. David, 1998; Kijai, Lampadan & Loo, 2010; Ting & Sussex, 2002).

The National Language Policy, including the use of teaching and learning of other languages apart from Malay, is enshrined in the Constitution (Article 152) as language planning began in 1956 (Omar, 1982) to prepare for Malaysia's independence in 1957. Malay, Bazaar Malay throughout the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, and Standard Malay post-language planning acquiring formal status and use, remains "the lingua franca in intergroup communication" in Malaysia (Omar, 1987: 58). Prior to independence, Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and English were used in public notices and important documents under the British rule though English was the language of the government. After Malaysia became independent in 1957, Omar (1982: 33) describes how "people speaking a common language acquire through this [Malay] language a feeling of unity and a common identity". The emphasis on English education during the British administration and the decade after independence, followed by the increased use of Malay in the public sector and education were partly responsible for indigenous and the heritage languages of minority communities, such as the Portuguese Eurasians being marginalised. After Independence, Malay, the national language also became the medium of instruction in 1980 except for Chinese and Indian primary schools and Chinese-medium secondary schools.

The National Language Policy states that *pupil's own language* could be taught in the schools if the parents desired and there were at least 15 students to make up a class.

Omar (1982, 1987) records that the Report of the Education Committee was concerned with education in general and specifically the policies governing the uses of English, Malay, Tamil and Chinese. There have been Chinese primary schools since 1904 and Tamil primary schools since 1913.

In Peninsular Malaysia where there are 18 indigenous groups, with a government department catering for the indigenous people's welfare, government initiative has recently been seen in the Semai Language Project. In East Malaysia where indigenous languages are more numerous, documentation has been in progress with the initiation of bodies and groups such as the SIL International, a language development non-profit organisation (see works such as Quankenbush, 2007). In Sabah, languages such as Timugon Murut, Kimaragan, Tombonuwo and others have books published by the Sabah State Museum, some dating from 1979 (Smith, 2003). In Sarawak, the presence of a local university with departments offering courses such as Human Language Technology for Indigenous Languages and organising conferences for indigenous languages has certainly brought more attention and interest to indigenous languages. Similar to other languages that have been included as school curriculum everywhere in the world, most of the minority languages that are taught in school in Malaysia are those with a bigger population size. In some cases, these minority languages are considered a regional lingua franca for communication between ethnic groups, namely Semai in Peninsular Malaysia, Iban in Sarawak, and Kadazandusun in Sabah. In Smith's personal communication with the then Minister of Education, population number, practicality and affordability are three factors considered when planning pupil's own language.

How policy is implemented such as what age indigenous languages are introduced in school conveys messages about the policy-maker. Kadazandusun programme begins in Grades 4-6 with plans to continue into the secondary school while Semai is introduced in Grades 3-6, the reason being the children need to learn their national language, Malay,

well first and not be burdened with more than one language, as reported by Smith (2003). A rather typical top-down perspective is evident in such policy implementation, overlooking the benefits of bi- and multilingualism education. Smith proposes considering additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975), in contrary to the present subtractive bilingualism trend for implementing pupil's own language policy in Malaysia.

2.6 Present Trends of Language Shift

The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger records a total of 26 languages in danger in Malaysia (Moseley, 2010); MPC is one of them. MPC today is estimated to be spoken fluently by between a half and one third of the overall population of the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians in Portuguese Settlement which is around 2000 people and they are mainly over 40 years old; elderly MPC mother-tongue speakers are few (see extrapolation by Baxter, 2005:16, based on his personal communication with Lee and Lee's self-report survey, 2004).

In the PS, English is now used by most age groups and is especially dominant in the family and friendship domains in the community, especially so among the younger generation (Baxter, 2005; Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014). The process of language shift from MPC to English among the MPC-speaking group members in Malacca is observed to have taken place within less than half a century. English became the language most widely spoken by group members when the members of the community sought employment in clerical and auxiliary positions in British colonial society during mid-19th Century (Baxter, 2005). In addition to that, the growing network of schools in Malacca during the 19th century and as well as the community's perception towards English as a prestige language further contributed to the shift towards English especially among the Portuguese Eurasian middle class (Baxter, 2005; Platt & Weber, 1980, 1983). Rapid socioeconomic change during the second half of the 20th Century coupled with natural demographic

change continued to encourage the language shift towards English among the MPC speech community members (Baxter, 2005). In Pillai and Khan (2011), the MPC-speaking group members outside the PS established a particular link between them being minority community members and choosing English as their first language: all respondents claimed that English is their language and the major reason behind this can be traced to utilitarian attitudes and reasons.

The decline in use of MPC has been associated with a mix of different reasons. Based on Nunes (1996), David and Noor (1999), Sudesh (2000) and Lee (2004), Baxter (2012) compiles five factors that are linked to the shrinkage in MPC use: generational loss, fluency, language status, core domain loss and intermarriage with other ethnic groups. Lee (2011) conclude that economic concerns and competing priorities are the reasons behind the decreased use of MPC, due to the change from an originally cordial, non-threatening relationship to a power imbalance between the ruling and minority groups after Malaysia achieved independence in 1957. These economic concerns and competing priorities include Malay fluency (a criterion in government service and education), the *bumiputera* policy ('the land of the soil's policy'), land issue and the advantage of English fluency in job opportunities. These concerns and competing priorities lead to language shift. Macro variables including socio-historical background, socio-cultural values, and socio-political dynamics of minority-majority group relations in the country are found to have a bearing on the micro-variables of community's attitude and language behaviour towards the language shift situation, as reported by Lee (2011). The survival of MPC, in contrast, has been accredited to three main factors, as Baxter (2012) reports:

- i. linguistic reinforcement through a dynamic association of Roman Catholicism, language and quasi-ethnic group,

- ii. the development of a common socioeconomic base in the poorer core community until the twentieth century,
- iii. population dynamics.

Although the number of speakers of MPC has declined over the years (e.g. Nunes, 1996; David & Noor, 1999; Sudesh, 2000), the feasibility of revitalisation of MPC has been discussed (see Baxter, 2005, 2012; Nunes, 1996). Related discussions will be revisited in Chapter 7. Studies related to language maintenance, language shift and language attitudes are found in works such as David and Noor (1998), Sudesh (2000), and Lee (2011). A significant finding from the past research is that the positive attitudes towards MPC are not always matched with group members' actual language use (Lee, 2011; Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014; Sudesh, 2000). Findings like this inform us about the potential challenges and concerns to be examined in language revitalisation. Some other findings and interpretations of findings related to MPC and MPC-speaking group members drew attention to the relationship between MPC and MPC-speaking group and how this relationship is considered. In the conclusion, Maros et al (2014: 281) write that the PS younger generation:

...seem to have a lack of appreciation towards their ancestral roots and this affects their usage of PK. The finding and discussion of the paper have also pointed that the usage is affected by mix-marriage, migration and lack of standardization. As a result, the use of PK (Papia Kristang, MPC) became more and more meaningless (my emphasis) and hence endangered now.

Maros et al base their conclusion on observation and interviews in two visits to the PS while drawing heavily on the ethnolinguistic vitality framework. What are reported in their work have been reported in earlier studies (e.g. David & Noor, 1999; Nunes, 1996), namely the language shift. However, to say a language has become more meaningless (i.e. "more and more meaningless" in the excerpt) is in many ways oversimplifying the complex make-up and historical development of the language and

people who speak it. In view of interpretation of findings related to MPC and PS MPC-speaking group members such as the excerpt above, it justifies that a more holistic approach is in need to approach how minority group members make sense of their present situations in relation to their heritage language, to understand the conceptions and conceptualisations of minority groups' experiences and expressivity. The present study argues that wider contexts, including socio-historical and political development, need to be considered in approaching the present linguistic circumstances.

Over the years, the awareness of the decline of MPC has been heightened. However, such awareness may not be translated into actions which may be similar to other cases of endangered language. Language policies in the homes of MPC speakers were examined in relation to the extent to which MPC is being transferred to younger family members prior to the data collection for this research (Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014). One of the key drivers for maintaining the use of a heritage language is known to be its use in the family domain (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004; Schwartz, 2008). The loss of natural intergenerational transmission among (i) the first generation of immigrants, (ii) the second generation (who grew up bilingual), and (iii) the third generation (who were commonly monolingual in the dominant local language with some knowledge of the heritage language, if any), was identified as a key marker of language loss (Fishman, 1965).

In consistence with previous studies (e.g. David & Noor, 1999), the older speakers were found to be more fluent in MPC compared to the younger ones. This is despite the fact that they considered themselves as native speakers of MPC, as the younger generation were found to have used predominantly English. Although older members of the family continue to use MPC, their children and grandchildren generally respond in English. The general sense of MPC being an ethnic and cultural identity marker for the Portuguese Eurasians is not translated into the transmission of the language in the family domain.

Thus, in the majority of homes in the Settlement, it is more common to hear a mix of English and MPC being used. MPC continues to exist in the family domain where there are still fluent older speakers, be they parents or grandparents, as seen in the five families studied in our case. However, the passing of the older generation will inevitably change the dynamics, especially if parents do not consciously insist on MPC being used at home. As family language policy is about “choice” (Spolsky, 2005: 2160), the use of MPC as a home language, similar to other minority languages, is influenced by socio-economic level of the families as families that are better educated or are economically better off may already be using more English for utilitarian purposes (Baxter, 2005). The socio-economic bearing on the continuous use of a language is also discussed by May (2003) and Mufwene (2003).

Although the recent decades have seen some revitalisation efforts of the language in study, it is unclear if the agenda and goals of the revitalisation of MPC have been identified and discussed. Similar to the case of Quechua revitalisation, King (2001: 203) observes that “despite extensive talk of the desire to revitalize... there are no explicit agendas for language revitalisation, and little agreement upon priorities or goals for doing so...there are no widely known goals or agendas concerning how this might come about through collective action”. It is high time an investigation was conducted on the MPC revitalisation efforts and reactions towards the efforts.

2.7 Concluding Thoughts

The interaction between socio-historical and political development, and the development of MPC and people identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage throughout the pre-colonisation, colonisation, post-independence periods, and up to the present introduced in this chapter lay the foundation for an ethnicity that would become the present group of people identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage, and the social,

political and cultural circumstance that still and will echo. The marginalisation and stigmatisation of a contact language is fundamentally built up by the change in power and policies, echoed by social, political, and economic disadvantages leading to the subordinated situation for people who have no connection and rights to a certain land or territory, unlike the dominant groups (powerful ruling groups) and the indigenous people (e.g. Maoris), though land and minority rights continue to be struggles and issues between the minority and majority groups. The present literature review justifies (i) the complex social, historical and political make-up of the group in study and (ii) the need of an approach to seek and understand minority group members' experiences, expressivity and dynamics from their perspectives. The next chapter looks at major concepts this thesis is built upon, paving the way to understanding how these major concepts provide the theoretical lens for approaching and understanding the case in study.

CHAPTER 3: MAJOR CONCEPTS

3.1 Introduction

Written in retrospect, as consistent with a bottom-up Constructivist Grounded Theory approach, this chapter presents the major concepts drawn from interrelated fields in search of ways of conceptualising the relationships between the concepts and categories that emerged in the research process. To string the interdisciplinary concepts together as a coherent framework, at the core of the string, there are three dimensions: discourses, ideologies and identities, as shown in Figure 3.1. The three dimensions are connected via:

- i. the construction of language- and heritage-related experience as a part of social life, namely language endangerment and language revitalisation, in discourses (though not limited to only verbal discourses) in response to a wider process of social, cultural and political development,
- ii. the relationship between mutually constitutive discourses, ideologies and identities,
- iii. the social basis and political power contributing to the *constructedness* of the language in study and of the experience of the people in study, bearing in mind that the representation of an aspect of social life and ideologies via discourses has to be understood against the power relations in the wider context.

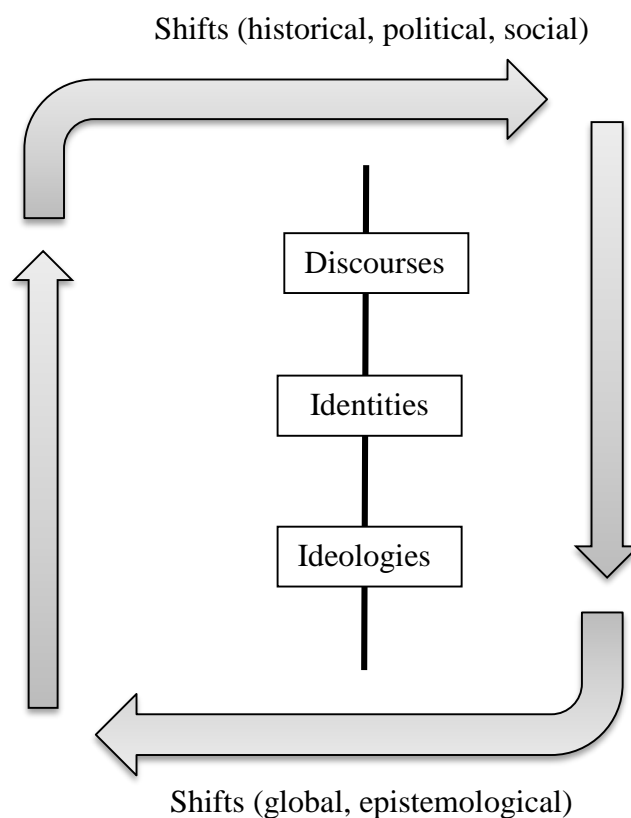


Figure 3.1: Theoretical framework

These interrelated dimensions and layers are discussed in the following sections. Relevant global and epistemological shifts and trends that have been encouraging for the fields of language endangerment and revitalisation are drawn upon. How these shifts interact with local, political and social shifts then provide insights on the construction of self, group, and realities. The critique towards relevant literature have been most useful as a reminder to be aware of the traps a researcher may fall into, particularly language essentialism though the connection between language and identity is recognised, or for fear of being not well-considered enough between the wider context and micro-processes.

3.2 Language and Discourses

Initially, this research started with exploring how language is used to talk about language and heritage. As the research progressed, the connection of language to other

dimensions, namely identities and ideologies, had to be conceptualised eventually. This research did not set out to analyse linguistic, structural and pragmatic components of a group of people's account on an aspect of their social life in relation to their endangered heritage language and language revitalisation. Rather, "language is a central topic, a motif, a target, in which language ideologies are being articulated, formed, amended, enforced" (Blommaert, 1999: 1). The present study draws from linguistic anthropology on the concept of language, identities and ideologies. Approaching language as a means to understand other types of structures, the present study follows the definitions of language as "a set of cultural practices", and "a set of symbolic resources that enter the constitution of social fabric and the individual representation of actual or possible worlds," while language speakers are social actors (Duranti, 1997: 3). This research looks at how language is used to construct and shape speakers' worlds, in particular, to conceptualise and represent an aspect of social life in study in view of language revitalisation. Perceiving worlds and reality as constructed, fluid, and multiple underpins the need to recognise the role of speakers as active and creative participants or actors in social interaction (Duranti, 1997). By recognising the fluidity and complexity of ideologies as expressing part of a social aspect and identities in discourses, the interplay between language, ideologies, and identities can be better conceptualised and something tangible can be proposed if group members would like to do so.

In linguistic anthropology, language and linguistic practices are approached as social semiotic actions, systems, processes, resources and acts of identification (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Duranti, 1997). Sharing about experiences of a part of social life, as focused on in the present study, demonstrates the semiotic renderings of life events (Ochs, 2004). The semiotic models of communication based on Peirce (1931-1958, see also Houser & Kloesel, 1992) are said to recognise a broad variety of sign-focused pragmatic relations between language users, the signs themselves, and the connections between these signs

and the world, as Kroskrity (2004) points out and contrasts with other models (e.g. Chomsky's linguistic models). Such a semiotic theoretical orientation became the foundation for ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964, 1974; Jakobson, 1957, 1960), continuing into the late 1970s and 1980s, as seen in the emphasis on practice theory and the agency of social actors, and inspiring earliest work in linguistic anthropological tradition of language ideologies (e.g. Gal, 1979; Hill, 1985; Irvine, 1989). The semiotics of language are recognised to concern not identity as a set of fixed categories but identification as an ongoing social and political process (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

The study of the indexical relationship between linguistic expressions and features of the context in which they are used contributes to the understanding of the research topic in study. Duranti (1997) reviews how linguistic expressions are studied in different fields and shows the importance of contextualisation in approaching how particular uses of language might sustain, reproduce or challenge particular versions of the social order and the notion of person (or self) that is part of that order.

3.3 Motivations, Self and Identity

Before the concepts of ideologies are looked at in the next section, it is essential to consider the concepts of motivations, self, and identity. Identity and self construction are considered a social phenomenon in linguistic anthropology, in line with the focus of the field on the social and cultural aspects.

Motivation has long been studied in cognitive and psychological studies (e.g. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The study of the notion of motivation in social studies in which social processes are concerned has also proven to be insightful such as in language acquisition (e.g. Farman, Natriell & Dornbursch, 2012). Motivation has also been explored in Grounded Theory studies that look at social processes, especially but not limited to the work industry, such as health-related research

or industry (e.g. Madiwale, 2013; Nasrin, Soroor, Soodabeh, 2012), and the work industry (e.g. McNickle, 2009). Recent studies on language endangerment and language revitalisation have also started to address the initially little studies on relationship between motivations and attitudes, or on the motivation of people involved in language revitalisation efforts (Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Sallabank, 2013). The notion of motivation can be manifested in individual, group or societal agency. In language contact situations set in multilingual and postcolonial context, to understand individual and group agency related to the MPC language revitalisation process cycle, it is necessary to consider their motivations underlying their choices of language use and coping strategies in managing their heritage language relevance. The concept of *identity alignment* or *multiple alignments* in terms of cultural, political, and linguistic in multilingual settings (Ansaldò, 2009, who also discusses *acts of identity* in Croft, 2003) is drawn upon in approaching the relationship between motivations and manifestation of motivations. Based on research on Sri Lanka Malay, Baba Malay, and Makista, Ansaldò (2009) contends that the formation of contact languages can be approached as a process of interacting and of negotiating linguistic identities in a new environment; these negotiations are still ongoing but with different linguistic codes involved following economic, cultural and political changes. The concept of alignment is discussed in Ansaldò's work as a more holistic approach to contact language formation. Contact language communities are said to achieve both integration within the new context and self-identification through cultural innovation. The notion of cultural innovation in the case of MPC-speaking group members has been discussed in Sarkissian (1997, 2005). Apart from language evolution and language ecology, such a view also draws on language socialisation: language transmission is approached as acculturation involving social participants, both adults and children, in the construction and representation of identity throughout life.

Once the relevance of the concept of motivation in language contact situations is acknowledged, the motivations behind identity alignment in multilingual context can add to much of the understanding of the dimensions of self or identity construction: from the language contact processes that give rise to language formation, identity alignment processes to language revitalisation processes. Identities have come to be referred to constructs that are attributes of situations, rather than of individuals and of groups though the same attributes are recognised to be ethnic and cultural marker in social grouping (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). As more studies on endangered and minority languages suggest the need to see bi- or multilingualism as common and that researchers need to reconsider using language as a central category or means in marking social, ethnic or cultural groups, a non-essentialist view of language is embraced (Austin & Peter, 2014; May, 2003, 2011). The present study shares the view that a non-essentialist view of language that can lead to overgeneralised notions of sameness and difference (in the sense of Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) is to be cautioned against while conceptualising the experience of the group in study set against the multilingual and postcolonial background and approaching the language in study as social semiotic action. That identification with a minority language or equating language with identity can impact negatively on language efforts and language planning due to negative associations with the language has also been considered and cautioned (Bankston & Henry, 1998; Myhill, 1999).

3.4 Ideologies

Intertwined with the use of linguistic resources to conceptualise and represent an aspect of social life is the consciousness and subconsciousness in expressing and negotiating complex, shifting identities, and indexing contents of ideologies which are constructed following the shift in social, political and historical development. The

concept of ideology can be traced back to Marxist approaches, sociology of knowledge, work on hegemony by Gramsci, and French structuralism (Woolard, 1998).

Language ideologies are generally known to be “thoughts about language” (Kroskrity, 2004: 496). Language ideologies have been used to refer to a wide range of related components: ideas or a system of ideas, perceptions, expectations (Blommaert, 1999; Steger, 2003; Woolard, 1998). The nature of language ideologies has been described as largely tacit, taken-for-granted (McCarty, 2011) and “the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language” (Errington, 2001: 110). In the present study, language ideologies refer to a set of conceptions and conceptualisations about languages that accumulate, interact and can be reinterpreted as embedded within historical, economic and socio-political contexts, reflecting beliefs and reflected in perceptions as conveyed in discourses.

The overlaps between definitions of ideologies and other related concepts which are sometimes used interchangeably with one another, namely attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs have been questioned by researchers. Though there is no consensus on the interchangeability and levels of overlaps, the present study draws on the attempt to conceptualise the relationship between the concepts by placing them on a continuum (Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Sallabank, 2013). Expressed attitudes can be seen as the overt manifestations of a recognition of an implicit and perhaps partial ideology (Sallabank, 2013). Jourdan and Angeli (2014) also make a similar distinction, but it is between perception and ideology. Perception is seen as the most visible layer as expressed in social discourses, while ideology is the underlying line of reasoning of which speakers may not be aware of and may not express freely. Jourdan and Angeli reason that changing perceptions are the audible outcome of evolving weighting between ideologies, while changing perceptions can interact with underlying ideologies and lead to partial reinterpretation of ideologies. Austin and Sallabank (2014) and Sallabank (2013) go one

step further and suggest that ideologies are social manifestations of the implicit belief system and private attitudes may closely reflect underlying ideologies though these are harder to discover than overt ones.

The shift towards postmodern views of identity as constructed, multiple and fluid is evident in the approaches to attitudes, perceptions and ideologies. As the suggested relations linked to ideologies above suggest, the level of consciousness and awareness of ideologies have come to be recognised as a key to change. After all, language revitalisation efforts begin with the assumption that components such as attitudes, perceptions and ideologies can shift or change (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001; King, 2001) while the efforts also target at changing and influencing behaviours. Kroskrity (2000) suggests that ideologies can be challenged or contested if group members are more aware of their underlying ideologies. Although language-ideological studies have held a place of its own in linguistics and anthropological studies and the importance of prior ideological identification (Fishman, 1991) has been enforced and applied in prestige planning (Ager, 2005), the language-ideological focus in endangered language studies has only come under the focus in the recent years, as Sallabank (2013) observes. Austin and Sallabank (2014) contend that studying language ideologies and beliefs provides insights on reasons for language decline, language revival and the likely success of language revitalisation projects. Though ideological clarification is always advised prior to language revitalisation in guides and handbooks, researchers, and groups speaking endangered languages are reminded that ideological clarification is complex and on-going instead of a final-end product (Bowern, 2011; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998; King, 2001).

Other than language-ideological aspects, the language-culture nexus is also another aspect looked at in endangered language studies and is closely related to cultural identities and ethnicity. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) proposes taking the essentialist view or

binary models of identity offered by group members as a starting point for understanding ideological underpinnings, as taken up in this research. Fishman (1989: 399) is of the view that language always exists in a culture matrix and “that the matrix rather than the language is the point at which support is most needed.” In their research, Daunhauer and Daunhauer (1998) observe how culture appears to be something put on and off and speakers do not seem to see the connection between language use and language transmission. Unstated beliefs and ideologies were observed to prevent language revitalisation efforts from influencing or changing individuals’ actual language practices. Such a mismatch between expressed positive attitudes or perceptions towards language and actual language use have also been reported elsewhere (e.g. Baker, 1992; Sallabank, 2013), including in the case of MPC (Pillai, Soh & Satomi, 2014). Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003) report that complexity of domains can determine the relationship between stated attitudes and behaviours, such as whether a long-term commitment (e.g. language learning) or short-term adjustment (e.g. changing speech style in job interview) is involved. Such discussions add to the knowledge of what could be more relevant and practical in language revitalisation and language planning. However, it is reminded that culture is a social construct and though language constitutes part of culture, it does not constitute all of it (Duranti, 1997). The language-ideological and language-cultural aspects are key areas to look at in language revitalisation which are discussed in the next section, particularly in bottom-up language revitalisation efforts.

3.5 Language Revitalisation

3.5.1 Overview

As with other fields of study, many endangered language and language revitalisation studies researchers have built on the past research (e.g. Dorian, 1982; Fishman, 1991) and developed frameworks, theories or guidelines as it is recognised that

every revitalisation effort is unique since every language or its speech community is unique. The following extracts show the recognition that every language situation or speech community is unique:

The goals of a language revitalisation program must depend on the situation in which the language finds itself.

(Hinton, 2001: 5)

It is tempting for anyone who is starting to work on language revitalisation to try to look for that one single program that works in every situation; in reality, every individual community is unique.

(Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 21)

Designations and definitions of language efforts may differ too. As noted by King (2001: 25), although the following terms may not have been used consistently in the literature, they are often used interchangeably: language revival (e.g. Dorian, 1994: 481), language revitalisation (e.g. King, 2001; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006), language shift reversal (coined as RLS, Reversing Language Shift, by Fishman, 1991), and language renewal (e.g. Otto, 1982; in Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989: 43, both cited here are from King, 2001: 25).

These terms differ from each other in some ways. Language revival is usually, though not consistently and necessarily, used in situation where a language has lost its last speaker (e.g. Dorian, 1998), while language renewal is an “organised adult effort” aimed at ensuring a declining language is spoken by at least some of the group members (Otto, 1982; in Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989: 43, both here from King, 2001:25). The differences between language revitalisation and Fishman’s Reversing Language Shift lie in the focuses, as King (2001: 24) points out: language revitalisation efforts do not necessarily focus on the reinstatement of mother-tongue transmission as prioritized in Reversing Language Shift, “but rather, as the definition suggests, attempt to promote new uses of the language and to increase the number of users of the language, often expanding it to new domain”.

Definitions of language revitalisation may involve:

- i. increasing the number of speakers such as “...the goals of revitalisation is to increase the relative number of speakers of a language and to extend the domains where it is employed” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 13), and “...with the aim of increasing its uses or users’ (King, 2001: 23),
- ii. extending the domains of language use such as King (2001: 23) who defines language revitalisation as “the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an embattled minority language...,” and Paulston et al.’s definition of “Imparting new vigor to a language still in limited use...” (1993: 276, here from King, 2001: 25),
- iii. changing or reversing, among others, attitudes, perceptions, ideologies, political mobility, and policies such as “speakers’ attitudes” and “counter-balancing the forces which have caused or are causing language shift” (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 13, 21), or “Assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation” (Fishman, 1991: 1).

Hinton (2001: 5), however, uses language revitalisation in a very broad sense since the goals of a language revitalisation program depend on each individual language situation. She describes how language revitalisation may mean “re-establishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life” in the most extreme case (in terms of the extent of its loss), while in a less extreme cases, it may mean turning the decline of a language around. In the present study, language revitalisation is used in a

broad sense, similar to Hinton (2001) and also King (2001) who proposes that language revitalisation has a broader scope than Fishman's Reversing Language Shift.

The interest in minority languages studies including endangerment and especially revitalisation cannot be isolated from the global and epistemological shift towards the recognition of minority groups' rights, including language rights. Such a shift is in line with the shift towards integrating language ecology or an ecological approach in language revitalisation and language planning (Hornberger, 2002; Mühlhäusler, 2000; Wendel & Heinrich, 2012). Integrating language ecology into their framework, Wendel and Heinrich (2012) propose that two issues are at the heart of change in language ecologies: (i) the changing socio-economic basis of language ecologies and (ii) the relations of domination and inequality in contact between communities, i.e. the power-differentials resulting from different socio-economic types of organisation. Two fundamental scenarios for endangered language communities are said to be possible. The first opposition is to strive for more equality and seek liberation from coercion and ideological dominance; language maintenance activities become an emancipative endeavour, a call for social change, usually loaded with political conflict. The second option is to reduce contact; language maintenance activities become involved in quests for more autonomy, one way of which may also include the formation and expansion of new close-knit endangered language networks. Network or new communities of practice are proposed to be at the fore of research. Such insights remind researchers about the importance of not only involving minority groups in language revitalisation but also of how language vitality is tied back to the overall well-being and development of a minority group, particularly economically and socially.

From the point-of-view of minority-group-external factors, the exposure to other minority languages and the efforts in documenting and revitalising minority languages, other than the awareness of outsiders' interest in minority languages, has encouraged

language-related activities aimed at promoting awareness, interest, and language use among minority groups. From the minority-group-internal perspective which interacts with the group-external factors that group members are exposed to or have experienced, the shift towards self-determination and self-actualisation is evident among more groups, leading to more ideological debates whether among group members or with the dominant group. The interactions between the internal and community-external factors, and between inward-looking and outward-looking factors, play a role on the awareness on matters related to heritage and ownership as will become clearer in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.1, 6.3.2) and Chapter 7 (Section 7.2, 7.3.2, 7.4).

By now, the agency of a minority group in revitalising a language has come to be recognised as interactive and active in negotiating, and not just being oppressed and dominated, following the recognition of minority language group's rights and community-based approaches (e.g. Sallabank, 2013; Trudell, 2006). The concept of prior ideological clarification (Fishman, 1991) is crucial and is foregrounded, whether with or without direct reference to the concept of prior ideological clarification in guides to and case studies of language revitalisation, emphasising the importance of listening to the minority groups and conducting research ethically (e.g. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001). Questions such as on whose terms a language is classified endangered (Thiebeger, 2002) or whether a language should be revitalised and if yes, the extent of the revitalisation efforts, have since then become a checking point for researchers and activists to be aware of their personal pursuits and bear in mind the overall goals and needs of a minority group.

There are some important shifts in endangered language studies that have made more studies possible, ethical and holistic. The dynamics and diversity of minority groups are now embraced among endangered language researchers, in contrast to the sole pursuit of language universality or foregoing dynamics over positivistic findings in the past.

Dorian (1993) reminds researchers on how a longer term dynamics of a social group facing language endangerment may be overlooked if the reacquisition efforts of an endangered language on the part of future group members are overlooked and only the abandonment phase of a language is reported. In their study, Marquis and Sallabank (2013) draw attention to how a static notion of a static, traditional island language is inconsistent with the dynamics of ongoing language change affecting the language varieties; two ideologies, static and dynamics, are identified to be in ideological conflict. On embracing diversity, Kroskrity (2004) has pointed out that since social and linguistic variation provide some of the dynamic forces which influence change, it is more useful to have an analytical device that captures diversity rather than emphasising a static, uniformly shared culture (see also Hill & Hill, 1986, Hill, 2002). Insights gained on the studies on contact languages including Sri Lankan Malay and Baba Malay (Ansaldi, 2009; Lim & Ansaldi, 2007) draw attention to how the terms *language shift* and *language death* may be limited in understanding contact language formation. Ansaldi puts forward that if patterns of contact language formation can be explored in terms of linguistic alignment, without necessarily associating it with notions of loss, whether in terms of language or identity, one can then better explain the linguistic and cultural negotiations in why a language in multilingual context that is often said to be undergoing language shift is never fully replaced in language situations. Even though how it can be balanced in theory and practice between eliminating the elements of language loss and acknowledging the heritage of a language is beyond the scope of this research, what can be gathered from such a view is that if integrated in language revitalisation and language planning, it can allow better embracing of the notion of being multilingual and over-focusing on what is lost.

3.5.2 Planning and Policy

Rather than giving an overview on the key works in language policy and language planning in this section, for the purpose of this research, it is more helpful to discuss how works in language policy and language planning have influenced language revitalisation, especially bottom-up efforts. To be more specific, how ideologies in language policy and planning have influenced ideologies on the ground are discussed. How language is invoked as an element to “assert the legitimacy of groups’ claims in the assertion, or contestation, of power” is considered (Ricento, 2006: 232).

Blommaert (2006) reviews the relationship between language policy and national identity and points out three crucial effects from a *monoglot* ideology (citing from Silverstein, 1996): (i) how it informs practical language regimes in education and other crucial spheres of public life, (ii) how it produces and regulates identities, and (iii) how it has also had a tremendous impact on scholarship. As interweaved in the previous sections, the interactions of global, ecological, and political shifts have effects and impacts on epistemological and ontological shifts. The shift towards embracing linguistic diversity is observed to have begun in the 1990s (Sallabank, 2011) and is evident in increasing studies on minority languages, minority-languages-speaking groups and self-determination (e.g. May, 1999; McCarthy, 2002). It follows that studies on language revitalisation have also increased since 1990s. A shift towards recognising language rights and language ecology paradigms is said to mark the third phase of modern history of language policy and planning (Ricento, 2009). In the first period during the Post-World War II era, language planning was oriented around post-colonial nation-building, while the awareness of and critiques towards the reinforcement of negative associations and social inequalities in language planning in the first period were raised in the second one.

Although this research focuses on bottom-up language revitalisation efforts, language revitalisation actors, with or without collaboration with expertise, often and

continue to draw from what have been socialised and internalised, namely the top-down planning and policy. Top-down planning tends to revolve around corpus and status planning while bottom-up efforts focus on prestige and image (Ager, 2005). Baldauf (2006) discusses the notion of micro planning in that it is a response to or resistance to macro or top-down policy and an act of self-determination. Top-down ideologies continue to interact with bottom-up ideologies on the ground.

Language revitalisation is recognised as a manifestation of language planning. With the growing recognition on the political and social mobility as important for language vitality (May, 2003; Mufwene, 2003), language revitalisation has since come to be not limited to only language in terms of its components and effects. The employment of a community-based approach suggests that linguists collaborate with communities and assist in possible ways that the linguists could then add to community development and language vitality (Austin & Sallabank, 2014).

To effectively address language endangerment, May (2003, 2006, 2012) contend that legitimatising minority language rights is an essential move. May (2011: 12) proposes to see ethnic identities not only as representation of inner psychological state or of particular ideologies about the world, but rather as “social, cultural and political forms of life – material ways of being in the modern world”. Such a view is parallel with an ecological view in considering the wider settings and is parallel with views expressed towards how the focus in the present language revitalisation has to consider a language’s role in the present socio-economic systems (Mufwene, 2003). This framework denotes a forward-looking sense while considering the social, cultural and political development in which language is used in but not limited to material ways.

3.5.3 Factors and Variables

When it comes to discussing successful language revitalisation efforts, languages such as Hebrew, Maori and Hawaiian would come to mind. Some salient factors have surfaced in language revitalisation efforts, though cannot be determinedly used as indicators for predicting the vitality of an endangered language without considering the context and socio-historical background.

Though whether language revitalisation efforts are deemed achieving their goals or not depends on where one is coming from and the complexity involved in judging these efforts successful or not, many of the languages that have been reported to be showing positive progresses in language revitalisation efforts are spoken by people who are considered *native* to the land such as indigenous languages all over the world, for instance, in North America (e.g. Yurok, Wompanoag), Australia and New Zealand (e.g. Maori) and even in Malaysia (e.g. Semai, Iban, Kadazandusun). Another related or non-related factor is population size. It is understood that factors and variables discussed in literature are not to be seen as definite indicators or predictors of a language's vitality (e.g. UNESCO), factors such as the inheritance of land or land rights and population size can play a significant role, among other factors and variables that may add to self-determination, empowerment and possible social and political mobility. Similar to other languages that have shown a positive progress in language revitalisation, contact languages that have been revitalised are mostly those with a large number of population, sometimes constituting the majority population of a nation, such as Tok Pisin (Siegel, 1999). In considering the presence of these salient factors or variables in this study, while the group in study has faced a longstanding land issue with the land that was made their settlement in the 1930s, the population speaking MPC is shrinking from the earlier record of thousands of speakers to 800-1000 speakers (Baxter, 1988, 2013).

Perceiving the significance of a minority language or a high identity marking has also been pointed out as a key factor in supporting language maintenance and revitalisation (Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Bradley & Bradley, 2002; Kroskrity & Field, 2009). Positive attitudes, perceptions, ideologies and beliefs, apart from loyalty and pride towards a language, among group members naturally underlie this key factor but the same coming from other groups or even outsiders would add to the positive image of the language. However, studies have also shown that there can be a mismatch between positive perceptions of a language and actual language use (e.g. Dauenhauer & Daunhauer, 1998; Pillai, Soh & Satomi, 2014; Sallabank, 2013). It may also be worrying if a positive perception of a language may give out misleading perceptions about language vitality.

Following more studies on the ecology and evolution of languages as discussed earlier, the consideration of the ecology and evolution of a minority language is increasingly relevant to understanding the factors and variables in language revitalisation. Cited earlier, Fishman (1988) points out that support is most needed at the point of the cultural matrix in which language is a part of, rather than the language. In a relevant sense, Mühlhäusler (2003: 241) points out that “[w]hat is at risk are not individual languages but the complex ecological support system that sustains linguistic diversity.” May (2003) points out the importance of political recognition and mobility of minority groups in campaigning or exercising their minority language rights. Also reminding researchers about the reality to be considered is how language vitality is linked to whether a language has a role to play in the socio-economic systems, a point made by Dorian (1998) and Mufwene (2003). What have been discussed so far point to the need to approach language endangerment and language revitalisation as larger phenomena, considerations, and support need to be directed at the overall development, well-being and cultural climate of minority groups.

3.5.4 Evaluating Language Revitalisation

Evaluation in language revitalisation has been mostly referred to in the sense of evaluating ideological underpinnings and assessing factors in language vitality, while drawing upon models and frameworks in language revitalisation studies, most notably the GIDS scale in Fishman (1991). This is different from the notion of evaluating language revitalisation throughout the present study as it is used to refer to the evaluation or rather, conceptualisation, of the processes and outcome of language revitalisation instead. In acknowledging that each language development is unique (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001), this implies that researchers are cautioned against imposing frameworks and models on each case while linguists and group members draw upon these frameworks and models in planning language revitalisation. To evaluate language revitalisation then can be subjective to individual interpretation and can differ among different parties (e.g. the policy-makers, the linguists, the group members).

In discussing the MPC language revitalisation process cycle, some kind of evaluation is in need though as will be discussed in Chapter 7, the notion of evaluating referred to in the present study is not strictly evaluating in terms of success rate and predicting vitality. The discussion on the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts then has to consider the efforts, which are fairly recent and mostly sporadic (e.g. mostly individual or group's efforts, on-and-off in reality, follow-up efforts could take a long time) to date, do not make a suitable candidate for a longitudinal evaluation at the time of research. Another two considerations are how, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it was observed prior to and during the conduct of this research that not many participated or knew much about the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation, and how strict and pre-mature evaluations that do not consider the context and environment of the language and group in study could leave negative impacts on the group and the bottom-up language

revitalisation efforts. For the purpose of this research, a better way of looking at the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation would be to understand the experiences of the group members and make propositions for language revitalisation based on data. The evaluation of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle is thus proposed to focus on the meanings of language revitalisation, how sub-processes can add to our understanding of the group members' experiences, and how such understanding can further inform language revitalisation planning.

In search of a suitable way of evaluating the MPC language revitalisation efforts, the present study takes cue from King (2001), who in turn draws from Cooper (1989)'s accounting scheme for language planning activities in framing the Saraguro language revitalisation. Such a decision is based on the accounting scheme's focus on grassroots activities, and Cooper's aligning language planning with types of influence to behaviours instead of outright change. Cooper puts forward a definition of language planning after reviewing previous definitions – *who plans what for whom by how?*. King's condensation of Cooper's accounting scheme phrased as eight sub-questions is referred to below and will be revisited in Chapter 7:

- (i) What actors, (ii) attempt to influence what behaviours, (iii) of which people, (iv) for what ends, (v) under what conditions, (vi) by what means, (vii) through what decision making process, (viii) with what effect?

3.6 Contact Languages

That contact languages such as pidgins and creoles are understudied in relation to language endangerment, documentation, and revitalisation has come to be noticed, including the case of MPC (Bartens, 2005; Garrett, 2006; O'Shannessy, 2011). Concerns are raised on contact languages being "marginalised doubly: marginalised among the world's languages in general, and then marginalised again among threatened languages"

(Garrett, 2006: 178). Garrett (2006) puts forwards two reasons to explain the lack of attention on contact languages as endangered languages: relatively short histories (less than 400 years is cited) and a lack of anatomy (many creoles are spoken alongside their lexifiers). The ethnic identities of contact-language-speaking groups are said to be more likely to be open to negotiation and contestation, in comparison to aboriginal groups with a long-standing history with a certain land or territory.

However, advantages can come out of the lack of autonomy, as is observed by Mufwene (2003) in cases in which strongly stigmatised vernacular varieties persist through despite pressures from standardised varieties acquiring literacy. Garrett postulates from Mufwene's reasoning that contact languages in contact with dominant languages other than their lexifiers would tend to be in greater danger. Bartens (2005) also relates the relatively high degree of creole endangerments to the particular socio-history of creole languages up to the present, but notes that creole languages have also come to be defined as a synchronically discrete class of languages, citing McWhorter (1998, 2005).

In the case of MPC, MPC is more than 500 years old, but nonetheless its socio-history is considered short, and there is a lack of record on its history if compared to other non-contact-language languages. MPC persists through despite not being spoken alongside European Portuguese though Portuguese and Brazilian tourists and researchers' visits to the PS, the advance of information technology, and Portuguese materials brought to and left in the PS have made European or Brazilian Portuguese more accessible. Baxter (2012) has also discussed the presence of European Portuguese in the PS. Though MPC, along with other contact languages, has come to be recognised as a synchronically discrete class of languages by linguists, a diachronic connection with its lexifier language has, according to Mufwene (2003: 330), lead to "speakers of stigmatised vernaculars think[ing] that they speak the same language as the prestigious variety in which they are

provided literacy”, though many among the speakers would recognise that they speak a unique variety when compared to its lexifier. The access to more literacy in European Portuguese may be part of the shift in trend that has, along with the echoes of the celebration of the Portuguese arrival in PS, and cultural activities such as those held in PS (e.g. annual San Pedro festival) or those held outside PS (e.g. Penang Eurasian Festival) that have drawn attention to both MPC and European Portuguese in Malaysia, or among Malacca Portuguese descendants immigrants in other parts of the world. The interaction between socio-historical development and the on-going negotiation and contestation of identification and ideologies demonstrated here again reinforces the argument in the present study: the present circumstances of any language and group have to be understood and examined against the socio-historical and political development, as discussed in Chapter 2.

O’Shannesy (2011) links the continuous pressure to shift to a target language, which has accompanied the emergence of a contact language right from the beginning, to the cause of endangerment for contact languages. The low prestige of the contact language and the continuous pressure to shift to new languages can lead to the possibly lower chances of documenting contact languages before they are lost, as well as valuable information such as what kinds of combinations and influences, the kinds of social situations that brought them about, detailed socio-historical data (e.g. the identity of the agents of change), the degree of bilingualism or multilingualism of the speakers, the relative dominance and use of the languages, and the types of interactions that took place (O’Shannesy, 2011; Winford, 2003).

Portuguese-based contact languages that are commonly referred to as creoles may be distinguished by two general groups: the African group (e.g. spoken in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angolar, Príncipe, São Tomé and Annobon) and the Asian group (e.g. spoken in Diu, Daman, Korlai, and Cannanore in India, in Batticaloa in Sri Lanka, in

Bidau, Macau and Malacca in East and Southeast Asia) (Clements, 1991). MPC is said to be “the last vital variety of a group of East and Southeast Asian Creole Portuguese languages” (Baxter, 2012: 115). Clements (1991) draws attention to and affirms the neglect in research on the Portuguese-based creoles of the Asian group. Speaking of the situation in India, Clements observes such projects do not hold interest as such research is regarded of secondary importance to, among others, literacy projects. In addition, in the West, an apparent lack of interest in the Portuguese-based creoles is said to due, in part, to the general state of Portuguese studies, as Portuguese is considered a minor Romance language and attracts far less attention in research despite surpassing speakers of Francophones in number (Holm, 1989).

Different scenarios have taken place for different Portuguese-based varieties all over the world (Bartens, 2005; Holm, 1989). Interrelated common reasons for contact language endangerment include stigmatisation of such contact languages as corrupt varieties, the shift towards language(s) with linguistic capital, and marginalisation of contact languages as driven by socio-economic and political development. Some Portuguese-based varieties have become recognised as separate languages when a change in power took place. These include Papiamentu and Cape Verdean. Some other Portuguese-based varieties continue to be spoken as a minority language without recognition alongside other majority and minority languages though being spoken less and less due to socio-economic and political development as in the case of MPC and Fa d’Ambu spoken on the island of Annobón (Bartens, 2005). Bartens also adds that sometimes no type of coercion is needed for a creole language to become endangered, as in the case of a Portuguese-based variety spoken in the Gulf of Guinea, Principense, that was drastically decimated by a sleeping sickness epidemic around 1900 and has been undergoing language shift due to importation of contract workers speaking varieties of Cape Verdean Creole Portuguese around 1900; language shift to Standard Portuguese is

also in the background though it is less influential than the language shift brought about by the Cape-Verdean-Creole-Portuguese-varieties-speaking contract workers (Holm, 1989). Discussion on MPC usually is filled with a surprising tone at its survival as it is not spoken by a large number of population compared to other minority languages in Malaysia, nor is it spoken alongside its lexifier language or recognised but these might have just be why it has managed to survive as it has been while MPC continues to bear witness of natural and socio-political development as it undergoes language shift and of linguistic empowerment as group members initiate language revitalisation efforts.

Similar to other languages, population size and status are determining factors in contact language revitalisation. These factors are demonstrated in cases in which contact languages are the first language of the majority of a nation such as Cape Verde and Pijin (Carter & Aulette, 2009; Jourdan & Angeli, 2014), and those that are national languages such as Tok Pisin. The inheritance of land for contact languages that fall into the parameter of migrant subordinate (Lieberson et al, 1975, cited here from Ricento, 2006: 248, in contrast to three other parameters: indigenous superordinate, migrant superordinate and indigenous subordinate) is out of the picture for migrant groups who have resettled in the new society. Their land rights are subjected to whether the group of people are allocated a settlement, as the group in study is. However, the rights to the settlement, though stated or promised, are still subjected to the top-down policies. Recall also how the criteria for planning pupil's own language in Malaysia include the number of speakers, as discussed in Chapter 2. These demonstrate the support needed and challenges in MPC language revitalisation.

3.7 Concluding Thoughts

This chapter discusses how language endangerment and revitalisation can be an ideological site for the interplay between discourses, ideologies and identities. The

present trends and shifts, be it global, social or epistemological, are encouraging for the overall cultural climate in embracing linguistic diversity and multilingualism. These contribute to the acknowledgment and recognition of the complexity and fluidity of identities and ideologies, minority language rights and group members' agency as interactive and active. These, in turn, are helpful in conceptualising the relationship between discourses, ideologies and identities. Towards the end of this chapter, contact languages are considered in relation to why they are underrepresented. What is also implied is the question as to why contact languages need to be studied, as questioned by Garrett (2006). The literature demonstrates that support is indeed in need at the cultural matrix (Fishman, 1988) and complex ecological systems (Mühlhäusler, 2003) in which MPC is a part of, and at the level of political mobility (May, 2003) and keeping MPC relevant in the present socio-economic systems (Dorian, 1998; Mufwene, 2003).

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL APPROACH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical approach of the present study that drew upon Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014) as heuristic guidelines. An introduction to this theoretical approach is necessary as Grounded Theory Method is still underused in the field of linguistics. Readers are firstly informed about how this theoretical approach was chosen based on its philosophical underpinnings and conduct that make it a fit for the qualitative, explorative inquiry. How Grounded Theory came about and how a study employing Constructivist Grounded Theory is positioned in relation to the present and past discussions are considered. Readers are then introduced to Grounded Theory Method, the umbrella term for a family of methods claiming the mantle of Grounded Theory Method. Towards the end of this chapter, some considerations in practice are discussed before how Constructivist Grounded Theory was adapted into the procedures of conducting this doctoral research is presented in Chapter 5.

4.2 Rationale for the Choice of Approach

The underlying philosophies of various approaches were considered before a decision was made on the approach of this research (see, for example, Creswell, 2012; Denscombe, 2010; Grbich, 2013 for discussions on various approaches to qualitative studies). This section discusses the fit between considerations in choosing an approach and Constructivist Grounded Theory.

Prior to starting data collection for this research, other approaches that might be suitable for this research such as ethnography, case study, phenomenology and conversation analysis were considered. Ethnography was considered in the beginning as

it would allow the voice of the people be heard. For the purpose of this research, however, it was reasoned that it would be more insightful and helpful to approach people who would be able to help shed some lights on this research topic as language efforts are not easily observed if compared to observing a culture or a phenomenon. Case studies, which allows researchers to investigate an issue in depth and provide an explanation that can cope with the complexity and subtlety of real life situations (Denscombe, 2010), were considered too. However, the approach of case study did not dictate which method or methods must be used, so I continued looking for method or methods that could be adapted for this research. Phenomenology makes a suitable approach in dealing with human experience, but it is concerned with getting a clear picture of the things as directly experienced by people and can be more descriptive than analytic. As for conversation analysis and other approaches to analysing discourse, in considering the fit between these approaches and the purpose of the present research, eventually decisions were made to look for another approach. This is because the present research purpose was not to weigh in on how people use language such as exerting power through language (e.g. turn-taking) or testing theories. This research also did not set out to test theory or hypotheses. It is essentially not so much about studying language but studying language as the central topic of debate. In the end, it was decided that the present research purpose, philosophical and methodological considerations were better matched by Grounded Theory Method, based on the following reasons:

- i. Listening to the research participants

To explore the language-related experience of the MPC-speaking group, a strong need was felt to look for an approach which would respect the idea that each endangered language and each community or group are individual and unique, following researchers such as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) who emphasize that there is no one language revitalisation program that can be

used for all endangered languages and their associated communities. That approach would allow listening to what research participants would have to say instead of going to the field while being driven by a theoretical framework. It was hoped that this would keep the extent of imposing ideas and pre-assumptions on research participants and their heritage language to a possible minimum and would let the data be the platform where concepts and meanings are derived from. Grounded Theory Method is known for its reflexive openness in exploring a central topic or phenomenon.

ii. Collaborative framework

When choosing an approach for this research, I hoped to continue the nature of prior fieldwork and connections built from earlier field trips for projects with the MPC-speaking group in the PS, Malacca. Although this thesis employs the term *research participants* as used in Constructivist Grounded Theory, they are in effect similar to how language consultants are to language documentation and fieldwork. In a study employing Constructivist Grounded Theory, research participants are seen as the experts who co-construct knowledge in a substantive area with me, the researcher.

iii. Researching in an ethical and productive way

Other considerations stem from previous visits to the research site and getting to know more members of the community since December 2011 such as how to explore my research topic with an open mind, care and ethics while trying to keep to a productive timeline. I reflected from reading literature and other language-revitalisation-related theses and also guts feelings after having visited the research site while working as a project

team member to document MPC language and culture in 2011-2012. Grounded Theory Method appealed to me, considering the depth, breadth and duration of research that could involve, in that it offers a systematic, inductive and comparative approach in guiding researchers to pursue theoretical leads that emerge from data, leading to a theory. The idea of conducting an individual, large scale, qualitative and exploratory inquiry that involved fieldwork was naturally intimidating in the beginning. The final decision was made based on how the approach's underpinnings and guidelines allow researchers to adapt the guidelines to their work while "learning about the specific and the general – and seeing what is new in them – then exploring their links to larger issues or creating larger unrecognised issues in entirety" (Charmaz, 2006: 181).

The feasibility and criticisms of Grounded Theory Method were considered too. For instance, Denscombe (2010: 122) lists the disadvantages of Grounded Theory approach to be, among others, the unpredictable end of research if not planned well, the tendency to "divorce the explanation of the situation being studied from broader contextual factors", the extent of minimising prior conceptions regarding one's research topic, potential strands of positivism, being too reliable on the data and potential risks in using generalisations from data gathered.

In the present research, a plan was set out which was to be prepared to be flexible to modify the research plan while keeping a clear timeline of research. It is true that it may be challenging to keep one's mind clear of any pre-conceptions but as this research addresses a new topic in its own way since there has not been much research done on the exploration of revitalisation of the contact language in study, pre-conceptions were able to be kept to a minimum. In addition, Constructivist Grounded Theory acknowledges that

it is essential to take the researcher's position, privileges, perspective, and interaction into account as an inherent part of the research reality (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). However, what is more important is how researchers have to be reflexive and mindful of their conduct of research, actions and words so as to be aware of possible pre-assumptions and impositions made and to acknowledge them if any. Literature read confirms that this thesis had not been re-inventing the wheel and that generalisations drawn from findings would have to be seen as theoretical generalisations since it is not the purpose of Grounded Theory to make generalisations from the sample to a wider population (Charmaz, 2006, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The findings of this research led to a substantive model. To say that a substantive model cannot be generalised does not mean that the concepts and categories that emerge in research cannot be related to concepts and categories of other social processes. It is only appropriate that it is recognised that there is no one research strategy out there that has received only supports and no critiques. Researchers have to be aware of what entails with each strategy and how to use each strategy with care and reflexivity.

After considering and weighing the suitability of the main variations of Grounded Theory, the guidelines from Charmaz (2006, 2014) were integrated into this research based on my position as a researcher, epistemological and methodological considerations. In Glaser and Strauss's original work (1967; see also Section 4.3 and 4.4 below), the process of discovering theory emerges from the data is separate from the scientific observer. This reflects the positivist strand from sociology methods. A constructivist approach, however, sees social reality as multiple, processual and constructed (Section 4.4). It follows that we must take the researcher's position and experience into account as a part of the constructed reality in the research context.

The present study sees knowledge gained from data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants, taking a constructivist stand

(Charmaz, 1990, 2000, 2006, 2014). Constructivist grounded theorists are said to take a reflective stance towards the research process and products and assume that both data and analyses are social constructions that reflect what their production entailed (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2014). Being aware of the disputes and critiques among grounded theorists resulting from the stand between interpretive or constructionist and positivist or objectivist traditions, Charmaz (2000) explicates the different forms of Grounded Theory. *How* and *why* participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations are studied by constructivists while objectivists assume that data represent objective facts about a knowable world, waiting to be discovered by researchers (see Section 4.4).

Adopting the inductive, comparative, emergent and open-ended approach from Glaser and Strauss (1965, 1967), Charmaz adapts the theory to her constructive underpinnings. Charmaz was motivated by her dissatisfaction with approaches in her discipline that treated their analyses as accurate renderings of the studied worlds rather than as constructions of them. Charmaz chose the term *constructivist* to acknowledge subjectivity and researcher's involvement in data construction and data interpretation while distinguishing her approach from the conventional social constructionism of the 1980 and early 1990s. Aligning herself with social constructivists whose influences include Lev Vygotsky (1962) and Yvonna Lincoln (2013), social contexts, interaction, viewpoints sharing, and interpretive understandings are emphasised while knowing and learning are seen as embedded in social life (Charmaz, 2014).

Charmaz's interpretation of the originators' work has drawn comments, even from the originator, Glaser (1998), though some are not directed at Charmaz but more at the variations of Grounded Theory including Strauss and Cobin (1990). It is fair to say that the original work has also developed since then and, as Bryant and Charmaz (2007a: 6) notes, "the method itself has now taken on a life of its own".

4.3 How Grounded Theory Came About

Grounded Theory is known to have been developed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss as they worked with the terminally ill (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Integrating logic and assumptions from symbolic interactionism rooted in pragmatism on Glaser's side and principles and methods from Chicago school of sociology on Strauss's side, Glaser and Strauss introduced a qualitative but nonetheless systematic, reliable and valid strategy to generate theory from data. The discovery of theory from data was seen as their major task confronting sociology as they felt a need to come up with a qualitative research approach that would allow qualitative research to be done in a systematic way, and to generate middle-range theories though the progress towards formal theories is possible and encouraged (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 2007). They also put forward an open invitation to stimulate other researchers to codify and publish their own methods for generating theory.

Table 4.1 shows Glaser and Strauss's background as individuals that contributed to the birth of Grounded Theory in the 1960s with reference to the Grounded Theory seminal texts (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b; Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory is said to bear strands of positivism while possessing interpretivist elements as it relies on empirical observations and depends on the researcher's constructions of them (Charmaz, 2014). The positivist strands are said to reflect Glaser's quantitative methods and training in middle-range theories at Columbia University with Paul Lazarsfeld and Glaser's advocating the building of useful middle-range theories, as proposed by the Columbia University theorist Robert Merton. On Strauss's side that contributed to the Grounded Theory methods are especially how reality and selves are viewed as constructed and fluid, drawing upon North American philosophical tradition, symbolic interactionism and ethnographic tradition.

Table 4.1: Insights from pragmatism and sociology

Glaser's background	Strauss's background
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Chicago school sociology foundations and methodological principles informed by pragmatist philosophy, life history analysis, and field research; assumes dynamic, reciprocal relationships between interpretation and action● Quantitative methods: empiricism, rigorous codified method, emphasis on emergent discoveries● Training in middle-range theories	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● North American philosophical tradition, views reality as characterised by indeterminacy and fluidity, and as open to multiple interpretations, assumes people are active and creative, meanings emerge through practical actions to solve problems and through actions people learn the world.● Symbolic interactionism: informed by George Herbert Mead's philosophical pragmatism, a theoretical perspective derived from pragmatism which assumes people construct selves, society, and reality through interaction, focuses on dynamic relationships between meaning and actions, meanings arise out of actions and influence actions, assumes individuals are active, creative, and reflective and that social life consists of process.● Ethnographic tradition

However, the 1990s saw a move away from positivism in Grounded Theory as the originators and their students eventually refined Grounded Theory in their own way following their underlying philosophical and epistemological influences. Such a progress is only natural as the original work by Glaser and Strauss (1967) points out the significance of keeping an eye on each researcher's ideology as it directs the research, other than the research being directed by the frameworks of ideas known as sociology of work and symbolic interactionism.

The following years saw the emergence of more variations of Grounded Theory, while Glaser (1992) and Strauss (Strauss & Cobin, 1990; Cobin & Strauss, 2008) went on different paths to develop and refine their versions of Grounded Theory. The original definition of Grounded Theory by Glaser and Strauss has since been refined by the originators separately or by their followers. As new waves of philosophical and methodological underpinnings have been introduced in the academic scene, Grounded Theory has also been adapted with reference to individual choices of ontological and epistemological stance such as constructionist (Charmaz, 1995; 2000; 2006) or

postmodernist (Clarke, 2005), to the extent that as many as seven different versions of Grounded Theory, though some versions overlapping in categories or some not having clear distinctions from others, were found by Denzin (2007: 454): “positivist, postpositivist, constructivist, objectivist, postmodern, situational, and computer assisted”. It is worth noting that different scholars may have different interpretations of the variations and categorisation of Grounded Theory; “at its simplest level, we have the Glaserian school of Grounded Theory, the Strauss and Corbin school and the Constructivist” since the seven versions found by Denzin can fit in these three main variations, as pointed out by Bryant and Charmaz (2007a: 10-11). It is observed that the importance of identifying one’s own philosophical and methodological positioning before drawing the best from a variety of thinkers in integrating Grounded Theory into individual research designs is acknowledged (Birks & Mills, 2011).

Although there is no consensus on the categorisation of the variations of Grounded Theory depending on how one interprets the different variations, the contemporary grounded theorists contend that there are some fundamentals or there is a set of methods or tools that are essential to Grounded Theory research design and must be used in order for the final product to be considered as such (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a; Charmaz, 2006, 2014) while building on and expanding the Grounded Theory literature. Glaser and Strauss (1967) encourage researchers to generate more theories and hope that their suggestions for systematising should not hinder anyone’s creativity for generating theory though, as with any other theories, it is inevitable that criticisms and debate about the variations of Grounded Theory continue.

The conceptual terminology used in Grounded Theory has developed over time. Table 4.2 summarises the conceptual terminology from the Grounded Theory seminal texts. It is expanded on Birks and Mills (2011: 178) by adding Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Charmaz (2014), though terms used in these later works do not differ from the same

authors' earlier editions in terms of the concepts. Depending on one's choice of Grounded Theory approach, the processes of coding can differ slightly in terms of coding paradigms, as in whether one follows a formulae or rules-of-thumbs in coding or not. Charmaz (2006, 2014) encourages researchers to resist mechanical applications of Grounded Theory Method as the concept of a coding paradigm can be problematic (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a). In general, researchers (i) code data in ways deemed suitable (e.g. word-by-word, line-by-line), (ii) group codes under categories and broader concepts, (iii) identify the most salient concepts and categories, and (iv) try to conceptualise the relationships between codes, categories and concepts before exhausting the codes and employing theoretical sampling (further sampling for concepts and properties of concepts) to saturate the properties and dimensions of codes. Readers are reminded that the coding process is iterative or cyclical as is with Grounded Theory Method as a whole, in the sense of how researchers move back and forth between data and conceptualisation (e.g. between codes and categories, categories and concepts).

Table 4.2: Development of conceptual terminology

	Concepts				
	Codes	Categories	Properties and dimensions	Core category	Methods of theoretical abstraction
Glaser and Strauss (1967)	Coding incidents	Categories	Properties	Systematic substantive theory	Common sociological perspectives
Strauss (1978)	Open coding that moves to selective coding of incidents once the core variable is identified	Categories which are interchangeably referred to as concepts	Properties and typologies	Core variables that explain a basic social process	Theoretical codes
Strauss (1987)	Coding paradigm: conditions, interactions, strategies, tactics, and consequence. Open, axial and selective coding	Categories	Properties and dimensions	Core category	---
Strauss and Cobin (1990)	Coding paradigm: cause, context, action/ interactions, and consequence. Open, axial and selective coding	Categories and sub-categories	Properties and dimensions	Core category is a central phenomenon	Storyline and the conditional matrix
Strauss and Cobin (1998); Cobin and Strauss (2008)	Coding paradigm: conditions, actions/ interactions and consequence. Open, axial and selective coding	Categories and sub-categories	Properties, dimensions and coding for process	Central category	Storyline and the conditional/ consequential matrix
Clarke (2005)	Codes	Categories	Seeking variation in the situation of enquiry through: situational maps, social worlds/ arena maps and positional maps	Multiple possible social processes and sub-processes	Situational maps, social works/ arena maps and positional discourse maps and associated analyses
Charmaz (2006; 2014)	Initial, focused and axial coding	Categories	Properties	Theoretical concepts	Theoretical codes

Critiques and arguments entail each version of Grounded Theory. For instance, in Glaser (1992)'s perspective, Strauss and Corbin's approach do not match the fundamentals of Grounded Theory as he finds that their procedures force data and analysis into preconceived categories and ignore emergence. The present study follows Charmaz (2006, 2014) and Bryant and Charmaz (2007a) in seeing the major versions of Grounded Theory as constituting a constellation or a family of methods. It is proposed that the constellation or the process of conducting a Grounded Theory study be labelled as Grounded Theory Method while the product of a Grounded Theory study is known as Grounded Theory although this thesis also uses Grounded Theory interchangeably between research method or methodology and product, especially when referring to works before such a constellation was proposed. The different versions of Grounded Theory Method share much in common in terms of approach (e.g. reflexivity, iterative, inductive) and procedures (e.g. coding, constant comparison, theoretical sampling) (see Section 4.4) while they differ on foundational assumptions, epistemology and ontology. The main distinction between the underpinnings of the two orientations in Grounded Theory Method is discussed in the following section before an overview of Grounded Theory Method follows.

4.4 The Objectivist and Constructivist Orientations

Glaser and Strauss (1967) take systematic qualitative analysis to another level by showing how it can have its own logic and could generate theory. In Glaser and Strauss (1967: 3)'s perspective, the interrelated job of theory in sociology include:

- i. to enable prediction and explanation of behaviour,
- ii. to be useful in theoretical advance in sociology,

- iii. to be usable in practical applications – prediction and explanation should be able to give the practitioner a perspective on behaviour – a stance to be taken toward data,
- iv. to guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of behaviour.

A theory is thought to be a strategy for handling data in research, leading to the producing of different modes of conceptualisation for describing and explaining. It must (i) “fit the situation being researched” or must be readily but not forcibly applicable to and indicated by the data, and (ii) “work when put into use”, meaning theory must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behaviour under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 4). The generating of both formal and substantive theories has always been welcomed in Grounded Theory Method literature. The building of middle-range theories, consisting of abstract renderings of specific social phenomena that are grounded in data and in contrast with grand theories, was advocated by Glaser. Nevertheless, Glaser (2007) shows how Grounded Theory Method can be used to construct formal theory. Although what *theory* means may be slightly different to different people, its meaning often revolves around “relationship” and “explaining”. Thornberg and Charmaz (2012: 4) define that “A theory states relationships between relationships between abstract concepts and may aim for either explanation or understanding”. These relationships between sets of relationships between abstract concepts provide the leads and triggers for taking research further and beyond.

There are generally two orientations to theory that weigh in on Grounded Theory Method: positivist, which lays the foundation for objectivist Grounded Theory approaches, and interpretivist, which has its roots in pragmatism and under which Constructivist Grounded Theory is aligned with, as introduced earlier. Grounded Theory, in the very beginning, was said to bear strands of positivism. Positivist definitions of

theory are said to treat theory as a statement of relationships between abstract concepts that covers a wide range of empirical observations. Positivists view theoretical concepts as variables and focus on observable facts. In contrast, interpretivist definitions of theory emphasise interpretation and give abstract understanding greater priority: the aim is to understand meanings and actions and how people construct them (Charmaz, 2014).

Differences between the two orientations lie in their underpinnings and are summarised in Table 4.3 (Charmaz, 2014: 236). It is recognised that there has been a move away from positivism or a move towards constructivist among grounded theorists such as Corbin (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) although Charmaz (2014) notes that the premises and perspectives emanating from positivism may be more transparent in Grounded Theory compared to other types of qualitative research. Stemming from different epistemological and ontological underpinnings, the differences between the two orientations are naturally rooted in how reality (e.g. external vs. indeterminate) and knowledge (e.g. separating vs. joining facts and values) are approached.

Table 4.3: Epistemological underpinnings of Grounded Theory

Objectivist	Interpretivist
Follows the scientific method	Emphasises problem-solving
Assumes an external reality	Assumes a fluid, somewhat indeterminate reality
Unbiased observer	Defines multiple perspectives
Discovers abstract generalities	Studies people's actions to solve emergent problems
Explains empirical phenomena	Studies people's actions to solve emergent problems
Separates facts and values	Joins facts and values
Truth is provisional	Truth is provisional

Charmaz (2014: 236) also compares objectivist to constructivist Grounded Theory Method in terms of foundational assumptions, objectives and implications of data analyses. This comparison allows readers to gain a clearer and fuller picture of the differences between the two orientations. The constructivist strand was a determining

factor when considering which theoretical approach and which variation of Grounded Theory Method to draw upon.

Table 4.4: Objectivist and Constructivist Grounded Theory

Comparisons and Contrasts	
Objectivist Grounded Theory	Constructivist Grounded Theory
Foundational Assumptions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Assumes an external reality ● Assumes discovery of data ● Assumes conceptualisations emerge from data analysis ● Views representation of data as unproblematic ● Assumes the neutrality, passivity, and authority of the observer 	Foundational Assumptions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Assumes multiple realities ● Assumes mutual construction of data through interaction ● Assumes researcher constructs categories ● Views representation of data as problematic, relativistic, situational, and partial ● Assumes the observer's values, priorities, positions, and actions affect views.
Objectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aims to achieve context-free generalisations ● Aims for parsimonious, abstract conceptualisations that transcend historical and situational locations ● Aims to create theory that fits, works, has relevance, and is modifiable, (Glaser) 	Objectives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Views generalisations as partial, conditional, and situated in time, space, positions, action, and interactions ● Aims for interpretive understanding of historically situated data ● Specifies range of variation ● Aims to create theory that has credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness.
Implications for Data Analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Views data analysis as an objective process ● Sees emergent categories as forming the analysis ● Sees reflectivity as one possible data source ● Gives priority to researcher's analytic categories and voice. 	Implications for Data Analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Acknowledges subjectivities throughout data analysis ● Views co-constructed data as beginning the analytic direction ● Engages in reflexivity throughout the research process ● Seeks and (re)represents participants' views and voices as integral to the analysis.

By employing Constructivist Grounded Theory, the foundational assumptions, epistemological and methodological underpinnings that come with it frame the present research as Charmaz (2006, 2014) builds on the pragmatist underpinnings in Grounded Theory and advances interpretive analyses that acknowledge any theoretical rendering offers an interpretation of the studied world and a construction of reality. The present study aims for a substantive theory in a particular context, which provides insights into a part of a minority group's social life: their experiences and expressivity in managing the relevance of their heritage language and in the MPC language revitalisation process cycle.

4.5 Grounded Theory Method

As introduced earlier, this thesis follows Bryant and Charmaz (2007a) in using the term, Grounded Theory Method, as an umbrella term to refer to a family of methodologies that share practices and methods, regardless of one's philosophical and epistemological orientation. These shared practices and methods allow studies drawing upon Grounded Theory Method to be replicated. It is noted that among studies claiming to be Grounded Theory studies, there can be studies that employ the approach partially or fully.

There can be different opinions on the most representative features of Grounded Theory Method. Bryant and Charmaz (2007a) draw from Wittgenstein (1953, cited here from Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a: 11)'s concept of family resemblances in explaining how researchers have their own ideas of what constitute the key features of Grounded Theory Method. The relationship between the approaches that come under Grounded Theory Method are analogous to how in real families, memberships can become contested or individuals can be excluded. Bryant and Charmaz talk about the demands for a prescribed manual in conducting a Grounded Theory study and argue for viewing Grounded Theory Method as a family of methods, in that researchers invoke differences of approach and of substance, and specify the relationships between approaches and substantive analyses. While pointing out that some researchers have defined a set of criteria for Grounded Theory Method, Charmaz (2006, 2014) is inclined towards resisting a mechanical application of Grounded Theory Method. To Charmaz, Grounded Theory Method involves learning about the specific and the general, seeing what is new in them, and exploring their links to larger issues or creating larger unrecognised issues in entirety: an imaginative strand is implicitly interwoven with the constructivist strand in the research process.

Figure 4.1 (Charmaz, 2014: 18) visualises a research process that is guided by Grounded Theory Methodology. The research process is inductive, in that it starts with open but purposeful sampling, approaching people who can shed lights on a research area or topic. In practice, the research process is not a strictly linear process, as might have suggested in Figure 4.1, instead it is iterative and recursive, as depicted in Figure 4.2.

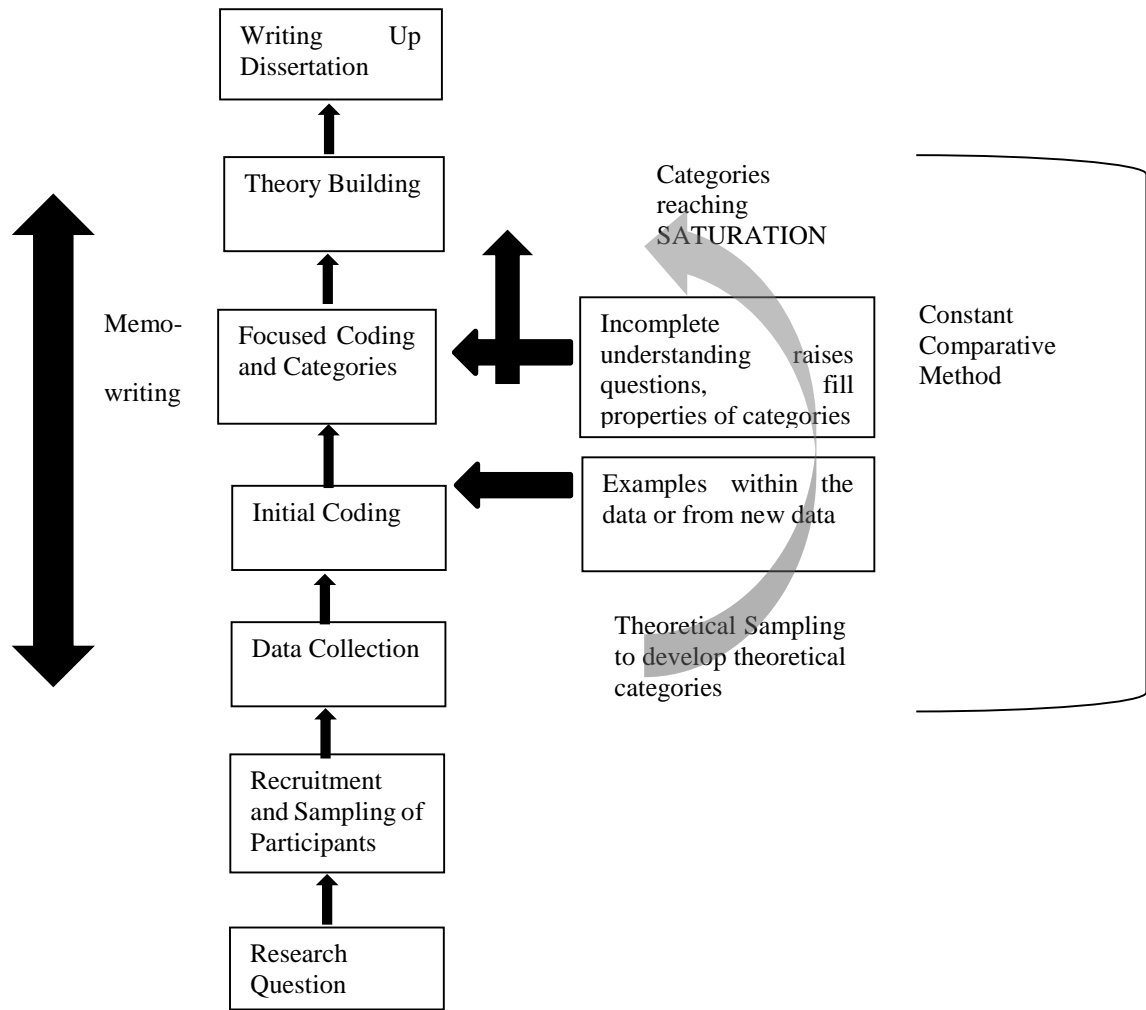


Figure 4.1: A visual representation of a Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014: 18, originally appeared in Tweed & Charmaz, 2011: 133)

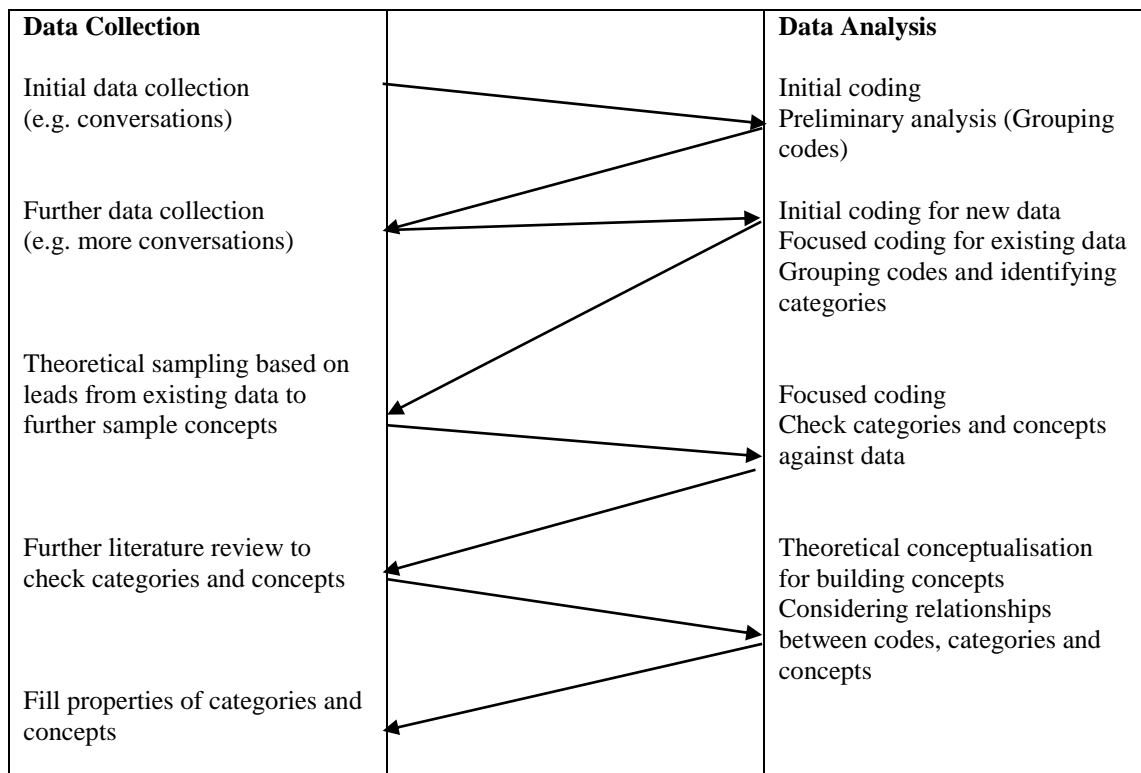


Figure 4.2: Illustrating the iterative Grounded Theory Method research process

However, the confusion and ambiguity researchers may face from dealing with codes, categories, and concepts when moving between data collection and data analysis, which could render endless and meaningless notions at times, are not able to be depicted in a general figure as Figure 4.2. The research process progresses in such a way that I was guided by initial data and later leads from data and subsequently builds concepts and eventually a theory. The theoretical pursuit in the course of research process depends on a combination of the researcher's purpose of research and where the leads from data guide researcher to fill gaps in explaining relationships between categories and between concepts. The systematic Grounded Theory Method research process is made possible

with a set of rigorous, systematic and flexible research tools or procedures. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.6 Considerations in Practice

In practice, the amount of literature prior to data collection and analysis has received different treatments among Grounded Theory Method researchers. The originators contend that the literature review should start only after data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). Some scholars advocate strictly against the use of interview protocols or extensive review of literature (Holton, 2007), some agree with this view but perhaps practise it less strictly or more flexibly in order to fulfil certain requirements as a literature review is seen as a must in fund and research proposal application (Stern, 2007). Others acknowledge the need to understand “the current parameters of the (theoretical) conversation” that one hopes to enter (Lempert, 2007: 254). Bryant and Charmaz (2007a) concludes that a balance needs to be struck between reliance on the literature to provide the framework to start with and having a level of understanding to provide an orientation. Following Charmaz (2006, 2014) and Lempert (2007), the use of literature in the present study is necessary to prevent reinventing the wheel, and to narrow down the focus in keeping with a productive timeline, while sensitising concepts and general disciplinary perspectives before constructing research questions.

The question of credibility or validity of data is bound to arise. Different scholars have different opinions about this. The originators of Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967: 4) believe that “[t]heory based on data can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory. Since it is too intimately linked to data, it is destined to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation”. Corbin

feels more comfortable with the use of the term *credibility* to indicate findings are trustworthy instead of *validity* and *reliability* (Cobin & Strauss, 2008: 301-302) as they are thought to carry with them many quantitative implications. The present study is aligned with the view shared by grounded theorists who believe that each method deserves its own set of judgment criteria (e.g. Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008), Grounded Theory Method has its own way of guiding researchers to scrutinise their data, checking their data again and again by comparing codes and concepts, either double-checking or cross-checking. As Charmaz (2006: 47) puts it, “[c]oding impels us to make our participants’ language problematic to render an analysis of it. Coding should inspire us to examine hidden assumption in our own use of language as well as that of our participants”. Data checking for credibility or validity is also aided by memo-writing as researchers record their honest interaction with data and integrate the memos in the process of theoretical conceptualisation.

The discussions on verification or validation or the like are common to all qualitative and quantitative studies. This thesis follows Bryant and Charmaz (2007a: 19) who acknowledge that independent testing for validation of theory, if one is not talking about testing for theorising (i.e. how theorising can be better improved), can be “problematic” for Grounded Theory Method “because the method itself depends on coterminous data gathering, analysis, and conceptual development”. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) also cite from Reichertz (2007) who contends that the outcome of abductive inference can never be verified, however extensive the testing may be, and who instead sees truth claims as at best provisional. If followed accordingly, the Grounded Theory Method research process engages researchers in going back to data and participants, looking for new data and sampling further for concepts when something triggers researchers to question the fit between data and what emerge from data, namely codes, categories, concepts or theory. This part of self-checking or self-verification by

comparison or further sampling for concepts is not restricted to a particular stage in research process but is on the go. The nature of the verification of a study employing Grounded Theory Method lies in the explicit systematic checks and refinements throughout the research journey (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

4.7 Applications of Grounded Theory Method

Although Grounded Theory Method has only been introduced for less than fifty years, it became widely used as a qualitative methodology in the late 1980s (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a: 2). Its application is seen in various fields, including exploring different phenomena in the health research or industry (e.g. Chiovitti & Piran, 2003), information technology (e.g. Urquhart, 2007) and, as Birks and Mills (2011) observe, in two growing fields: social justice (e.g. Charmaz, 2011; Edwards & Jones, 2009) and indigenous research methodologies (e.g. Bainbridge, 2009; Day & Nolde, 2009).

The use of Grounded Theory in language-related studies is feasible if we refer to works in social studies that employ Grounded Theory Method though its potential is yet to be explored or utilised by more researchers in language-related fields. Pitawanakwat (2009) is one language-related study that employs Grounded Theory Method, though overlapping with the research area of indigenous research. Pitawanakwat (2009) is especially relevant to the present research area as it employs Grounded Theory Method to look at the *Anishinaabe* language revitalisation in Manitoba and Ontario. Via long and in-depth interviews and using constant comparison method, following Corbin and Strauss (2008)'s approach, participants' motivations, methods and mobilisation strategies are explored to understand how Indigenous language revitalisation movements contribute to decolonisation and self-determination.

Bainbridge (2009) employs Constructivist Grounded Theory to construct an ecological model to approach and conceptualise the Australian Aboriginal women's empowerment. The core category identified, performing aboriginality, encompasses Aboriginal women's concerns towards carving a meaningful life and fulfilling perceived responsibilities as Aboriginal women. The proposed model has practical implications for improving the quality of life among Aboriginal women via policy-making decisions that resonate with their ways of knowing, doing and being.

Another linguistic-related dissertation that has employed Grounded Theory, though using Indigenous Action Research as its main research strategy, is Councillor (2010). Constructionist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2008; Seaman, 2008) is integrated with an existing framework, Action Research, to enrich Councillor's data analysis in documenting Kodiak Alutiiq-speaking research participants' voice in their heritage language revitalisation efforts.

Denzin (2007) discusses how by employing Grounded Theory Method, the Indigenous Grounded Theory research is, quoting from Smith (2005: 89, here from Denzin, 2007), "carried out by indigenous scholars, in and for indigenous communities, using the principles of indigenous inquiry." It is also noted that Grounded Theory Method allows researchers to evaluate research by participant-driven criteria where "a primary goal is the compassionate understanding of another's moral position" (Bishop, 1998: 203, cited here from Denzin, 2007: 457). Characteristics like these make Grounded Theory Method a suitable approach to be drawn upon in the present study.

It is observed that Grounded Theory Method is not widely used in the local academic scene. The employment of Grounded Theory in Malaysian context, though not necessarily done by Malaysians, can be found in works such as Birks (2007), a Grounded Theory study of nurses in Malaysian Borneo, and Loy (2010), a Grounded Theory study of Malaysian Chinese family firms. The present study will be an addition to studies that

employ Grounded Theory in Malaysian context, especially in the field of linguistics in which Grounded Theory is underused.

4.8 Summary

This chapter introduces how the theoretical approach of the present study came to be decided, the development of Grounded Theory Method, the major orientations underlying Grounded Theory Method, an overview of Grounded Theory Method, considerations in practice and applications of Grounded Theory Method. The next chapter looks at how Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014) is drawn upon in the research procedures of the present study.

CHAPTER 5: METHODS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presents the broad philosophical underpinnings of Grounded Theory Method and Constructivist Grounded Theory. It also discusses how it has come to be recognised that, even with different epistemological underpinnings, basic Grounded Theory guidelines such as coding, comparative methods, memo-writing, and sampling for theory development are neutral (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a; Charmaz, 2006). This chapter presents how data collection and data analysis of this research proceeded by drawing upon Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

As introduced in Chapter 1, the purpose and research questions of this study were set in a general way in the beginning of research: (i) to explore MPC language revitalisation efforts that are initiated from the grassroots level and (ii) the recipient community's reaction towards these efforts and possible future efforts. The present research was motivated by (i) a perceived gap between bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts and PS MPC-speaking group members' reactions towards the efforts and (ii) the gap in literature on language revitalisation efforts of MPC. As presented in Chapter 1, the initial main leading research questions were:

- i. What are the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts?
- ii. What are the reactions of the PS MPC-speaking group members towards MPC language revitalisation?

Based on theoretical conceptualisation, the revised main research questions were then reworded to:

- i. How is MPC relevance managed by negotiating and constructing its meanings against the backdrop of the language revitalisation process and the wider multilingual and post-colonial backdrop?
- ii. What are the implications of such managing heritage language relevance on language planning?

5.2 Pre-data collection

5.2.1 Research Participants

Research participants of the present study are MPC-speaking group members involved in language revitalisation efforts and PS MPC-speaking group members on the recipient side of these efforts (see Table 5.1 for a list of research participants).

Table 5.1: List of research participants

No	Identifier	Sex	Age (at the time of interview)
1	A1	M	57
2	A2	M	63
3	A3	F	50
4	A4	M	64
5	A5	F	69
6	A6	F	44
7	A7	M	58
8	A8	M	81
9	A9	F	59
10	B1	F	52
11	B2	M	24
12	B3	M	26
13	B4	F	9
14	B5	F	67
15	B6	F	67
16	B7	F	10
17	B8	F	23
18	B9	M	22
19	B10	F	52
20	B11	F	44
21	B12	M	11
22	B13	F	13
23	B14	F	54
24	B15	M	12
25	B16	M	22
26	B17	F	65
27	B18	M	17
28	B19	M	55
29	B20	M	22
30	B21	F	19
31	B22	F	24
32	B23	F	73
33	B24	F	47
34	B25	F	52
35	B26	F	47
36	B27	F	14
37	B28	M	15
38	B29	F	13
39	B30	M	60
40	B31	F	17
41	B32	M	21

As explained in Chapter 4, although this thesis employs the term *research participants* as used in Constructivist Grounded Theory, research participants are seen as the experts or language consultants who co-construct knowledge in a substantive area with the researcher. To gather information on the MPC language revitalisation process cycle in which group members' experiences are at the core of research, *exploratory samples* or approaching research participants to understand relatively unexplored topics are more relevant, compared to *representative samples* associated with matching a population in terms of variables (Descombe, 2010).

Purposeful sampling, also known as purposive sampling, is employed in the selection of interviewees, where researchers intentionally select individuals and sites that are relevant and can provide knowledge or experience about a research topic to help understand the central phenomenon and develop a detailed understanding (Creswell, 2012; Descombe, 2010). The strategies of purposeful sampling that are useful to the present study are homogeneous sampling which "purposefully samples individuals or sites based on membership in a subgroup that has defining characteristics" and snowball sampling to "locate people or sites to study" via recommendations by participants (Creswell, 2012:207-209).

Having stayed in or near the PS prior to this research helped establish friendship and the chance to be accommodated by a local family for this research. When data collection began for this thesis, a warm and helpful family from the PS provided accommodation and help through the connection of the family's late first daughter who assisted in the MPC research projects. The same family had also provided accommodation in one project fieldtrip while in other trips, the accommodation plan followed the project team members', usually renting a place just footsteps away from the PS. During the data collection for the present study, though I am not a MPC speaker, basic European Portuguese learned during undergraduate studies became handy in picking up some

vocabulary while spending time in the PS for, among others, joining or making conversations as an outsider, and learning MPC basic greetings and vocabulary. Many times the showing of understanding certain MPC words, expressions or even content of conversations had helped open the door to more conversations, or at least more smiles and nods. Fieldworkers would agree that in practice, time spent building rapport, friendship, and trust with people is a major part of research experience that would contribute to the overall understanding of a research topic.

Though the focus of this research looks at actions and meaning-making as expressed via linguistic resources, observation in informal settings complements the research procedures, as observation allows one to learn the implicit way or structure of life (Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Briggs, 1986). It is also common that in unrecorded or informal conversations that information pertaining to social and political situations would be revealed, the same goes for personal thoughts and judgements. In some cases, the role of researcher and research participant could be reversed and there would be questions posed on the possibilities on further MPC language efforts, including language policy on mother tongue education in schools and how the role of an institution could help in MPC language efforts. Being invited or welcomed to language revitalisation efforts, including MPC language class and MPC-speaking group session, or family events and cultural activities, added depth to the understanding of the experience of the PS MPC-speaking group members.

English was used as the medium of interaction. The concerns about whether using English instead of MPC in conversations would pose any challenges such as the understanding of questions posed soon became unnecessary a few months after being involved in fieldwork for other projects since 2011. This is because English is one of the MPC-speaking group members' family languages, though similar to other communities in a multilingual context, there is a localised English variety spoken by the community in

study. Other than sharing the purpose of research with participants, research participants were reminded that they could ask questions and pause the recording whenever necessary. When the participants did not understand the questions, mainly because some ideas such as *language revitalisation* and *varieties of language* were new to them, examples were drawn from what they might find easier to relate to.

5.2.2 Core Setting

This thesis focuses on MPC-speaking group members in Malacca - those who stay in or near the PS, except for the case of a language activist who grew up in Malacca but stays outside Malacca currently and also the case of another prominent figure in the culture scene who recently moved out of the PS to a neighbourhood of around thirty minutes of car drive away. The PS is a natural choice for this study as this is where MPC is spoken by active users (Baxter, 2012) though their proficiency and frequency may vary. It is also where cultural events close to the heart of group members can be found. In the present study, only language efforts initiated by MPC-speaking group members for MPC are documented although there have been non-group-members who have contributed to the language revitalisation efforts (e.g. Baxter, 1988; Baxter & De Silva, 2004). This decision was made based on observations in previous fieldtrips after coming across the MPC-speaking group members who have been trying to revitalise their heritage language in their own way. As almost all the MPC-speaking group members' language revitalisation efforts target the PS group members, it follows that the voice of the MPC-speaking group members are sought regarding the language revitalisation efforts.

5.2.3 Ethics

Consent (Appendix A) was obtained from individual research participants for the data to be used for educational purposes and for the conversations to be audio-recorded

after informing them about the objective and nature of this research, apart from not pressuring research participants and not bringing harm to them, as generally advocated in ethical guidelines (Crowley, 2007). The considerations in choosing a theoretical approach are elaborated in Chapter 4. The decision made was based on how via a theoretical approach, I could listen to the research participants, continue the collaborative nature of research as started in fieldwork prior to the present study, and conduct research in an ethical and productive manner. These considerations manifest not only in the theoretical approach chosen, but also in my positioning as a researcher throughout the conduct of research and how the thesis was written. Chapter 4 also explains how research participants of the present study were in effect similar to how language consultants and experts are to language documentation and fieldwork researchers. Although interview was employed as the primary research tool, the nature of the interview in effect resembled structured conversations, instead of the rigid structure interviews might be associated with. This explains in most parts of the present study, the term *conversation* is used in place of *interview*, unless it is indicated otherwise.

5.3 Data Collection

Prior to starting this doctoral research, experience in fieldwork gained as team member for two projects contributed to the research paradigm and process of the present study, in terms of ethical considerations (as discussed above and in Chapter 4), making contacts with PS MPC-speaking group members, research tools and technical aspects. The aims of projects previously involved are language and culture documentation (Pillai, 2013) and language use and family language policy (Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014). Following the projects' experience, the purpose of the present research was motivated by observation on the field related to awareness towards and participation in the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts.

41 interviews or conversations as referred to in the present study were conducted from July to October, 2013. A total of 41 questionnaire forms were completed and 41 conversations, totalling up to 23 hours and 35 minutes of recordings, were conducted. 34 conversations were audio-recorded with the consent of research participants, while for seven conversations, the participants did not consent to be recorded or the circumstances in which the conversing sessions were held did not allow the conversations to be recorded. Similar to how data collections were done in batches over four months, transcriptions were also done in batches over six months.

For the initial and following data collections, key points in conducting guided conversations as advocated by Charmaz (2006: 25-37) are referred to, including posing open-ended or semi-structured, focused, non-judgmental and directed questions (consider direct questioning and redirecting inquiry when necessary) in an open-minded manner, staying attuned to participants' statements, and making the best out of the flexibility of conversations instead of interrogating. Design of the initial coding data collection procedures was done with prior exposure and reference to the existing literature (e.g. Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001) and theses (e.g. Christensen, 2001; Pitawanakwat, 2009).

Here, there may be questions raised about the extent of pre-assumptions that would influence the research design of the present study as dissertations and literature were referred to since Glaser (1998: 94) cautions against preconceiving aspects of data collection including interview guides. The present study is aligned with Charmaz (2006: 36, 129-132) who contends that the focus of the interview and the specific questions are influenced by a more constructivist or objectivist approach (see Section 4.4); the former approach is taken in the present study and the reflexivity strand in Constructivist Grounded Theory was interwoven into the research process. The need to be aware of the assumptions and perspectives that may be imported into interview questions, and the

types of questioning for different topics such as direct questioning or open-ended questions holds a crucial part throughout data collection in the present study. This research takes the same position as Lempert (2007: 254) who contends that using literature does not define one's research and her pragmatic considerations in using literature throughout her research process as literature helps researchers to identify gaps and directions. I also take cue from Birks and Mills (2011: 24) who point out that perhaps the greatest advantage of using literature at an early stage of research is one gets to learn how Grounded Theory is employed by other researchers. In sum, using literature helped me stay engaged with the present research area while being focused on an exploration leading up to theoretical pursuit of concepts and categories.

The present study employs survey (Part I) and conversation (Part II) where the latter is the main research instrument. To answer the research questions, data to be collected are from (i) those involved in language revitalisation efforts (Category A) and (ii) those on the recipient side of the language revitalisation efforts (Category B). There are two parts to the initial data collection. Part I is a survey about the participants' language background (e.g. access to MPC when they were growing up, where they use MPC). In consistence with the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of Constructivist Grounded Theory, Part II is a conversation guided by mostly open-ended questions; the last few questions which are not open-ended but related to language revitalisation can be seen as a continuation of the survey (Part I). The reason the questions that are not open-ended are included in the end of the conversation, instead of the Part I survey, is due to considerations on the relevance of the questions: this was to allow participants to understand language revitalisation on their own terms before they were asked about it. Part I survey and Part II guiding questions for conversations are presented in Appendix B.

Questions may be raised about the relevance of the questionnaire in this study. The relevance of Part I Language Survey may seem irrelevant at an early stage. However, other than surveying perceptions and thoughts on language-related matters, information about participants was used to add dimensions, perspectives and depth to theoretical conceptualisation as (i) properties and consequences of major concepts and categories and (ii) relationships between concepts, categories and codes were pursued and identified. As for the decision on the guided conversation, it was made based on how it could be “open-ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent, and paced yet unrestricted” (Charmaz, 2006: 28). Charmaz also notes that in an interview (guided conversation in the present study), the researcher assumes more direct control over the construction of data than other methods such as survey and observation. This allows participants’ views to be elicited towards language revitalisation efforts in a more directed manner while allowing flexibility and reflexivity on my part. This is especially important in the exploration of a more complex and subtle phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Descombe, 2010; Morse, 2007).

5.4 Data Analysis

As discussed and demonstrated throughout the present study, the research process of a Grounded Theory Method study is naturally part of the outcome of research, due to its inductive and iterative nature (Chapter 4). This section explicates the research procedures in data analysis, in consistence with the nature and the common key features of a Grounded Theory Method study. It must be reminded that although the presentation of the data analysis may appear to be a linear process due to the need to describe research processes in a particular sequential and logical order in writing, the actual research process was not a linear one (see Chapter 4).

5.4.1 Initial Coding

The initial coding process may start as soon as the first piece of data is available. However, in the present study, as it is more convenient and efficient to have a few structured conversations for every field trip, recordings were listened to after each conversation was done to grasp the general concepts while checking (i) if the questions needed to be further modified or edited and (ii) if there was anything in need of clarification or confirmation with participants. The present study follows how “coding full interview transcriptions gives you ideas and understandings that you otherwise miss” (Charmaz, 2006: 70). The choice of transcription convention was based on the purpose of this research: approaching experiences and expressivity regarding a part of social life where the focus is on the content of the conversations. Since the mechanics of speech are not the focus of this research, it follows that a naturalised approach or a verbatim depiction of speech (e.g. Schegloff 1997), in which every utterance is to be transcribed in as much detail as possible, is not required. This is consistent with the works of grounded theorists which are observed to have employed a more denaturalised approach in transcribing data (e.g. Charmaz, 2000).

The advantage of coding as soon as after the first conversation was considered as researchers can then immediately identify whether questions need to be modified at an earlier stage to accommodate any emerging needs. However, the concern of whether questions designed were appropriate in terms of ethical considerations and the general direction of research was overcome in the beginning of data collection. This is because prior field experience and other interactions with the PS MPC-speaking group members in previous fieldworks for other projects at different times throughout a time span of 18 months equipped me with prior knowledge such as the more appropriate way of posing

questions. Being aware of the prior knowledge that might have been brought into the present research, as inevitable in any Grounded Theory research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a: 19-20; Lempert, 2007: 245-264), and some reasoning against using preconceived “problem statement, interview protocols or extensive review of literature” (Holton, 2007: 269), prior knowledge and literature were drawn upon cautiously in designing and conducting the present research (as discussed in Chapter 4).

Coding is the process of categorising segments of data with a short name, simultaneously summarising and accounting for each piece of data. It is said to generate the bones of analysis (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). Although the earlier Grounded Theory rules prescribed that initial coding be done without preconceived concepts in mind (Glaser, 1978, 1992), it is gaining recognitions that researchers are equipped with prior ideas and skills (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005; Lempert, 2007). Codes emerge as the data are selected, separated and sorted to begin an analytic accounting of them. It is essential to ask the following questions during initial coding, as Charmaz (2006: 47) advocates:

- i. What is this data a study of? (Glaser, 1978: 57; Glaser & Strauss, 1967)
- ii. What does the data suggest? Pronounce? (Writer’s note: What does the data claim to be?)
- iii. From whose point of view?
- iv. What theoretical category does this specific datum indicate? (Glaser, 1978)

There are also a few tips that are referred to when coding data such as working quickly, preserve actions by using gerunds following Glaser (1978), making your codes fit the data rather than forcing the data to fit them (Charmaz, 2006). Whether one codes

word-by-word, line-by-line, or incident-by-incident, constant comparative methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is used to establish analytic distinction by comparing data with data to identify similarities and differences.

Memo-writing, “the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers,” is practised from the beginning of the research (Charmaz, 2006: 72; 2014). Grounded Theory Method researchers are encouraged to write memos freely and about anything throughout the coding process to help them organise thoughts, and decide further ideas and categories or properties to pursue. This is especially necessary during theoretical sampling and refining theoretical conceptualisation at a later stage. The advantages of memo-writing are abundant such as sparking ideas, directing further coding, and preventing forcing data into extant concepts and theories since memos force researchers to reflect honestly. Equally important, it helps researchers to find their own voice and increase confidence and competence (Charmaz, 2006, 2014; Lempert, 2007).

Based on coding attempts and readings, it was realised that the computing software that was decided to be used in this study, NVivo, had to take a backseat. Attempts to code in NVivo have, similar to experiences shared by Gorra (2011, here from Birks & Mills, 2011: 101-103) and Urquhart (2013), led to a point where having too many initial codes while coding line-by-line became unmanageable and affected the process that followed. The present study agrees with Urquhart (2013) who thinks that the advantages of computing software lie primarily in data management, rather than data analysis. It is recognised that computing software can help researchers do a good job when the researchers are coding with pre-conceived themes or categories though this type of coding is not in consistency with any Grounded Theory approach. It was decided that the data of the present study could be better focused on in the progressing from the raw

data to the abstraction of concepts and categories by coding with a more manual manner, in word documents.

To demonstrate the application of Constructivist Grounded Theory to the case at hand, illustrations of the different research procedures are presented in the rest of this chapter. Table 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 show excerpts of line-by-line initial coding of four Category A conversations. How these initial codes play out will follow in the following sections.

Table 5.2: Excerpts of conversation with A1

<p>Losing artefacts (heritage)</p> <p>Talking about artefacts' values</p> <p>Commenting on <i>nyonya baba</i> being more organised</p> <p>Referring to the straits-born museums and intact artefacts</p> <p>Comparing to MPEs</p> <p>Not having a proper museum</p> <p>Talking about taking granted of heritage-related things</p> <p>Talking about traditional food, festivals</p> <p>Having unique food, festivals</p> <p>Having a unique language</p> <p>Keeping MPEs unique</p> <p>Wanting to have more (heritage-related things)</p> <p>Willing to talk about MPE and MPC</p> <p>Proposing a resource centre</p> <p>Having the idea for years</p> <p>Allowing others a place for getting to know MPE and MPC</p>	<p>And there are a lot of artefacts still around, so these artefacts are also slowly disappearing. It's... it's like... like those artefacts of religious value, some artefacts of antique value. They're slowly going away. In fact, many has gone already. See like the Nyonya Baba, they have uh... I would say, a more organized... a more organised uhm... you know, they're more organized. They have a... a, you know, museums, not private museums but they have all the artefacts all quite intact. Where else we... we... we don't because we have kind of taken for granted, you know, uh... on all these things. Uh... in fact the... the... the... the... the... the story goes on we have our own unique traditional cakes, the way of uh... preparing uh... food, huh.... Our... our festivals, um. So there's so many things that like... like I said will... will... will keep us, you know, unique. Our... like I said, we have traditional cakes, we have traditional games, we have, you know... even the... like I said, the conversation is so unique. So that is actually like I say, uh... the things that keep us... or especially in my case, keep me wanting, you know, to... to... to have more. To try, you know... to give time to people like you, in... in... in interviews. And hopefully like I say, some form of assistance can come. You know, where... where... where, OK, let's set up a resource centre. Because this idea, of resource centre, has been dangling for many years but anybody coming to the settlement, they don't know where to start, unless they have a contact.</p>
---	---

Table 5.3: Excerpts of conversation with A3

<p>Having a vision Trying their best to document words and maybe getting interested people to help write a book or dictionary Helping children to learn MPC Hoping that their goals can be achieved</p>	<p>But we... I mean we have a vision la. Now we're trying our best to get all these words done then maybe we'll get say, people from Portugal, one or two who's interested to know about our work so maybe they can come and sit with us and help us to write a book or, you know, maybe a dictionary, uh. So with that, maybe we can start helping our children here who don't speak that language. Hopefully la, mmm... hopefully we achieve our goals. Mmm...</p>
<p>Talking about aim Explaining their aim</p>	<p>Yes, that is our aim actually. Because we... we started off just uh... coming together and speaking about the language, huh, talking about it and then how we can help these children nowadays. Because with English and Bahasa being taught in school, children are not speaking this language now. I can say about 30 or 40 percent of them they don't know the language. Mm, so I think it's time that we do something about it. If not, the language will just die off. We are getting older, huh, if we die with what we have, with our knowledge and not uh... giving the knowledge to the young ones then the language will just die off.</p>
<p>Helping children learn MPC</p>	
<p>Children not speaking MPC Having children not knowing MPC Being determined to do something to help children learn Expressing worries about language dying off Expressing worries on aging generation Dying with knowledge and language</p>	

Table 5.4 : Excerpts of conversation with A5

<p>Wondering why MPC was not written down Comparing MPC to English and (Bazaar Malay)</p>	<p>And... it started as a concern for me that "Why is my language not written down?", "Why is the English language written down so well?", "Why is the Malay language starting to develop and... and uh... when it was only Bazaar Malay." And if that can develop, so also can my uh... [(xxx)]</p>
<p>Comparing MPC to Chinese dialects Wondering why Chinese dialects survive without being written down Lasting forever if spoken</p>	<p>Kristang language be developed and why? We were speaking it and... and just like the Chinese, like the Hokkiens and all that. You didn't have it written down as well but you are still speaking it. So I said, "Yeah, if they continued speaking it, maybe it will last forever."</p>

Table 5.5 : Excerpts of conversation with A7

Talking about objective of LR Having a fear factor Backing with experience Experiencing language erosion Slipping language Neglecting the language Emphasising English Using English and Malay in school Relating to environment Having less domains to use MPC Not realising the decreased domains and language use Realising and brushing it off	The objective is uh... because... as I said uh... there's a fear factor involved with that because uh... I have seen, I have felt, and they are testimonies that... that can back... back this uh... generally that the... the language is slowly eroding. Ah, it's... it's slipping away because we tend to neglect it, we tend to uh... emphasize more on English and the students tend to sort of uh... uh... be more exposed to... to the... language in school, that is uh... Bahasa Malaysia and uh... of course English. So, the environment to speak the language is getting more and more, what do you call it... uh... confined now, you know... Less opportunities and people don't seem to realize that, even if they realize also, they feel that... "What's the big deal? So what's so important?"
---	---

5.4.2 Focused Coding and Categorising

Focused coding refers to “using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data”, and based on frequency of certain codes or making explicit what seem implicit earlier, it “requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorise your data indecisively and completely” (Charmaz, 2006: 57). It give rises to more directed, selective, and conceptual codes than word-by-word, line-by-line, and incident-by-incident coding at the initial coding phase (Glaser, 1978). In the present case, after coding a piece of data line-by-line, the next step involved identifying the most significant and/or the most frequent codes and compiling them into a table of potential focused codes, and grouping initial codes under them as properties and dimensions. The next piece of data was then coded while exploring if there were any most salient codes that were similar to or different from the initial and focused codes in the table of potential focused codes and initial codes, in consistence with the constant comparative method.

The memo-writing process at this stage is still similar to the initial memo writing process in many ways. However, at this stage, researchers have a better idea about what their data is about as the emerging codes lead to emerging categories. Researchers make further comparisons including comparing people, categories, subcategories, and the entire analysis with existing literature or the ruling ideas in a field. As a code is raised to a category, the following points were referred to (Charmaz, 2006: 92):

- i. Define the category
- ii. Explicate the properties of the category
- iii. Specify the conditions under which the category arises, is maintained, and changes
- iv. Describe its consequences
- v. Show how this category relates to other categories

The initial codes are grouped into potential focused codes, as seen in Table 5.6. The selected initial codes in Table 5.6 imply or show a certain level of concerns, worries or fear, leading to a tentative focused code, *Having worries and fear*. Focused codes can be raised from initial codes or renamed to encompass the related initial codes after the initial codes are studied. Again, the process of initial coding to focused coding is not a linear one. Instead, the iterative nature of data analysis allows researchers to multiple-check codes and relationship between codes and compare them across the interviews, making it a natural way of verifying findings (Charmaz, 2024; Urquhart, 2013).

Table 5.6: From initial codes to a focused code

<u>Grouping related initial codes together</u>	<u>Studying codes</u>	<u>Focused code</u>
Interview with A1 <div>Talking about taking granted of heritage-related things</div>	Implies concerns	<i>Having worries and fear,</i> later refined as <i>channelling inner feelings and needs</i> (the addition of the latter is a result of combining with another focused code)
Interview with A3 <div>Expressing worries about language dying off Expressing worries on aging generation</div>	Shows worries	
Interview with A5 <div>Wondering why MPC was not written down</div>	Shows concerns	
Interview with A7 <div>Having a fear factor</div>	Shows fear	

5.4.3 Theory building

Theory building is not a liner process but an iterative one, similar to the research process as discussed and illustrated in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.1). It can start from the very first piece of data, in keeping with the emergent nature of Grounded Theory as researchers employ tools or procedures including coding, constant comparative analyses, memo-writing, and theoretical sampling to conceptualise a theory.

Every tool or procedure in a Grounded Theory approach has its function to serve in theory-building and the systematic checking and refinements. Table 5.7 illustrates an example of a theory building process, from how the data analysis proceeded from the raw data, initial coding, focused coding to the emerging category before a theme was finally

decided. Table 5.7 is an extension from the initial codes that are presented in Table 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 and the grouping of initial codes under a focused code in Table 5.6.

Table 5.7: Examples from a theory building process

Interview excerpts	Initial codes	Focused code, later raised to be a sub-category	Category	Theme
<p>“We are getting older, huh, if we die with what we have, with our knowledge and not uh... giving the knowledge to the young ones then the language will just die off.”</p>	<p>Expressing concerns about aging generation</p>	<p>Having worries, fear; later refined as <i>language revitalisation as channelling inner feelings and needs</i></p>	Being motivated to revitalise MPC	How is MPC relevance managed by negotiating and constructing its meanings against the backdrop of the language revitalisation process and the wider multilingual and post-colonial context?
<p>“... it started as a concern for me that “Why is my language not written down?”</p>	<p>Wondering why MPC was not written down</p>			
<p>“... there’s a fear factor involved with that because uh... I have seen, I have felt... the language is slowly eroding.”</p>	<p>Having a fear factor</p>			

Once the data analysis started taking some forms, the emerging leads and puzzling questions pointed to the need for further actions through theoretical sampling, such as going back to the data, re-examining codes and categories or drawing from literature as data for adding properties, dimensions and contexts, and to use literature as an ideological site to claim, locate, evaluate and defend position or argument (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). I also followed Urquhart (2013)'s idea to start compiling some of the literature that one can relate to, to contradict, confirm or extend existing theories once one has entered the realm of theoretical conceptualisation as it involves thinking about the relationship between the categories found in the data.

Excerpts from my memos are presented in Table 5.8 to show my trends of thoughts as I was exploring and conceptualising relationships between the emerging codes, categories, concepts and the final core category or theme. Before the substantive model (Chapter 6) was finalised, I had drafted more than 10 diagrams of relationships in my memos. As introduced in previous sections, writing memos freely and honestly helps researchers to clarify what is happening in the field and to refine conceptualisation as certain categories are adopted as theoretical concepts.

Table 5.8: Excerpts from memos

21052014

The tension, the problem... Between taking control or claiming ownership of language (and heritage?) AND refuting control or disclaiming ownership or rendering control to others?

I have to look at how participants said things when claiming ownership and when disclaiming it. This may be the tension and would tell me about the conflict the community have. This is related to why they have done what they have or have not done more with or via their language and heritage. For instance, notice how one person may feel or say things when claiming that MPC is theirs but may feel or say things differently and redirect the controlling power to others. Does this count as part of characteristics of a minority community? Is this one category on its own?

Participants' strategies! What are their strategies in claiming, refuting, agreeing with, etc. something? When it comes to language revitalisation?

01072014

I am taking a step back today and I am going back to my codes since I am still looking for a better way to conceptualise relationships between codes and categories. I have grouped the initial codes together previously and have some tentative categories but somehow I am still looking for better representation or grasp of the data. I seem to have got more “mechanical” (in Charmaz’s sense) in grouping codes together and the relationships between the codes and categories seem to be predictable... Something is missing.

I find two codes speak to me: “reconnecting” and “regenerating interest”. Aren’t these two codes talking about why the community members have decided to take things into their own hand and are involved in language revitalisation? The concept of language revitalisation is not something new, the interest has been there among some people and the efforts have been on and off, but they have not been accessible for the whole community. WHY? Is language revitalisation a luxury? Is it something belonging to the lots who have the privilege to do so? Is my core category reconnecting with identity/self/heritage/culture through language revitalisation?

25072014

What is my central question or core category? Is it “What does language revitalisation mean to the MPC speakers”? Or is it “What is the process of the MPC language revitalisation”? These two questions are interrelated. Both questions will provide insights on why language revitalisation efforts are or are not getting the response anticipated (or not)...

In contrast with purposeful sampling employed in the initial coding data collection, theoretical sampling, though bearing some resemblances with purposeful sampling if we compare the criterion of choosing samples based on what one is looking to answer, is a different process. As Charmaz (2006: 99) puts it, “initial sampling in Grounded Theory is where you start, whereas theoretical sampling directs you where to go”. The purpose of theoretical sampling is to obtain data to help researchers explicate their emerging categories. It is acknowledged that by moving back and forth between data collection and data analysis, researchers refine their categories and conceptualisation, and produce substantive understandings on a chosen topic (see also Voorman & Gut, 2008, for a similar concept in the cyclical process of their agile corpus creation approach which encourages researchers to start annotating early to test one’s coding instrument, obtain guidelines for further corpus annotation from initial smaller corpus and allow any necessary fine-tuning). Sampling in Grounded Theory Method is in essence different from other sampling methods in that it is *concepts* that are being sampled, instead of *numbers* or *persons*, particularly in theoretical sampling.

An important concept that would determine when to terminate theoretical sampling is theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1998, 2001; Strauss, 1987). It refers to “the point at which gathering more data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the emerging Grounded Theory” (Charmaz, 2006: 189). Since the term was first introduced in 1967, Glaser (2001: 191) has elaborated on theoretical saturation, which is achieved via “intense property development”, and comments that:

“[o]nce a category is saturated it is not necessary to theoretically sample anymore to collect data for incident comparisons... once many interrelated categories of Grounded Theory are saturated, theoretical completeness is achieved for the particular research” (p.192)

The point of saturation in theoretical sampling for the present study was decided based on how no new concepts and categories could be added to the substantive model in all data collected, whether collected and examined initially or at a later stage. The memos written from the start help researchers to clarify what is happening in the field and to refine conceptualisation as certain categories are adopted as theoretical concepts. The process of sorting memos allows researchers to work on the theoretical integration of their categories. Some grounded theorists also encourage creating visual images of emerging theories as a part of Grounded Theory (Clarke, 2003, 2005; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Cobin, 1998). Following the increasing numbers of grounded theorists who use diagramming to integrate ideas, and to establish the logic of their ordering, Charmaz (2006, 2014) introduces diagramming: potential options include conceptual map (Clarke, 2003, 2005), conditional or consequential matrix (Strauss & Cobin, 1990, 1998).

5.4.4 Verification

The concept of verification or validity checking is not compulsory and can be problematic as most grounded theorists believe that each method deserves its own set of judgment criteria, for reasons discussed in Chapter 4. In general, Grounded Theory Method has its own way of guiding researchers to scrutinise their data, checking their data again and again by comparing codes and concepts, either double-checking or cross-checking. As discussed in Chapter 4, Bryant and Charmaz (2007a: 16) observe how Grounded Theory is not only an inductive approach, but that the process of abduction is also intertwined in a Grounded Theory research process, based on their understandings and interpretations of the originators' works and on other Grounded Theory researchers' insights. An important insight is that of Reichertz (2007) who observes how attending to the process of abduction, the process of considering all possible interpretations of the

emerging ideas and concepts, reunites the topics of the logic of discovery and the logic of validation or justification as both are intertwined and brought into the realm of methodological consideration. The next section presents the criteria that Grounded Theory Method researchers can aim for, as proposed by Charmaz (2014).

5.5 Criteria: Credibility, Originality, Resonance and Usefulness

There have been criteria for researchers employing Grounded Theory Method for researchers. This research refers to Charmaz (2006, 2014)'s criteria that Grounded Theory studies should aim for (see Table 5.1): credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness. The criteria of credibility and originality serve as checking points to add breadth and depth to the research by constantly considering and regrouping relationships between concepts and categories in conceptualising the experiences of one aspect of social life among minority group members and situating their experiences in larger contexts. The criteria of resonance and usefulness guided this thesis in being more practical, both in conduct and in thesis-writing, as Grounded Theory Method's roots in Pragmatism suggest (see Chapter 4), in that their studies should make sense to those whose experiences are conceptualised. These criteria are introduced in Table 5.9 and will be revisited in the concluding chapter, Chapter 8.

Table 5.9: Criteria researchers can aim for (Charmaz, 2014: 355-357)

Credibility	Has your research achieved intimate familiarity with the setting or topic?; Are the data sufficient to merit your claims? Consider the range, number, and depth of observations contained in the data; Have you made systematic comparisons between observations and between categories?; Do the categories cover a wide range of empirical observations?; Are there strong logical links between the gathered data and your argument and analysis?; Has your research provided enough evidence for your claims to allow the reader to form an independent assessment – and agree with your claims?
Originality	Are your categories fresh? Do they offer new insights?; Does your analysis provide a new conceptual rendering of the data?; What is the social and theoretical significance of this work?; How does Grounded Theory challenge, extend or refine current ideas, concepts and practices?
Resonance	Do the categories portray fullness of the studied experience?; Have you revealed both liminal and unstable taken-for-granted meanings?; Have you drawn links between larger collectivities or institutions and individual lives, when the data are so indicate?; Does the Grounded Theory make sense to your participants or people who share their circumstances? Does your analysis offer them deeper insights about their lives and worlds?
Usefulness	Does your analysis offer interpretations that people can use in their everyday worlds?; Do your analytic categories suggest any generic processes?; If so, have you examined these generic processes for tacit implications?; Can the analysis spark further research in other substantive areas?; How does your work contribute to knowledge? How does it contribute to making a better world?

5.6 Summary

This chapter presents the research procedures of the present study, based on considerations on research paradigms and design discussed in Chapter 4, and practice in consistence with Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). The outcome of research is presented in the next chapter, in the form of a substantive model to approach how relevance of MPC is managed.

CHAPTER 6: A SUBSTANTIVE MODEL

6.1 Introduction

The starting point of this research is how language is talked about, or more specifically, how a minority, heritage language and efforts to revitalise it are talked about. This chapter presents the building of a substantive model to approach the study on MPC and PS MPC-speaking group members, in the hope of providing fresh insights and a new way of looking at MPC and PS MPC-speaking group members, as discovered from how MPC and bottom-up MPC language revitalisation are talked about. This section sets the tone for the substantive model which is introduced in the next section, and which will also be revisited in Chapter 7. The proceeding of this chapter reflects the process of building concepts via a bottom-up approach as guided by Constructivist Grounded Theory (Chapter 4 and 5). Such a research process moves from a focus on actors and actions (e.g. what is happening?), to conditions of actions (e.g. how is something happening?) before leading eventually to the explication of meanings and consequences of actions (e.g. why is it happening? so what?). The sub-chapters that follow the next section mirror the piling up of the substantive model as the research progressed.

The past research on MPC and MPC speakers (Chapter 1 and 2) has helped illuminate on the possible relations between language and identity relevant to the group in study. Findings up to date have informed us on the social factors and historical development that have led to language shift and loss (Baxter, 2012; David & Noor, 1999; Lee, 2011; Nunes, 1996; Sudesh, 2000) and the handful of researches on language and identity have explored the subject area through the struggles and possible facets of Portuguese Eurasian or Kristang identities (Fernandis, 2000; O'Neill, 2008; Sarkissian, 1997, 2005) (Chapter 1 and 2). However, maintaining and especially revitalising MPC, particularly from the perspectives of the MPC-speaking group, remain much to be discovered, particularly more so when this heritage language is a contact language spoken

in a multilingual and postcolonial setting. The focus in studies on what aspects of language and identity of minority-language-speaking groups have changed or lost inform much but seem to suggest a lack of *agency* (in the sense of Duranti, 1997; Kroskrity, 2004), and *control* on the part of the groups, as might be overlooked and brushed it off as a given or normal. This is closely linked to how such groups are usually labelled minority and associated with less privileged social circumstances and livelihood. In addition, the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation has also not been studied as a social movement; neither have MPC and MPC speakers been approached from the emotional and socio-psychological perspective in terms of their experiences, expressivity and strategies in managing an aspect of their social life, particularly in managing relevance of their heritage language. As introduced in Chapter 1, the process of managing heritage language relevance can be related to the basic social process of coping mechanisms, and refers to the process of keeping one's heritage language relevant as an aspect of one's social life while maintaining other parts of one's social life and identifications.

The initial plan was to explore the nature and impact of bottom-up revitalisation efforts but as it turned out during research, not many had participated in or knew much about the efforts. This also further confirmed prior observation of the lack of response towards the efforts which was also the motivation of this thesis. To explore the nature and impact of bottom-up revitalisation effort under such circumstances would involve evaluating the efforts pre-maturely and this would risk imposing ideas on group members without understanding their experiences. A more tangible way of looking at the bottom-up revitalisation efforts then would be to understand group members' experiences and make propositions based on data. Such a focus on valuing minority groups' experiences, though previously more common in linguistic anthropology research, has increasingly been taken up by language endangerment and language revitalisation researchers. This thesis adds to the studies on minority groups' experiences that have been reported to cross

temporal and spatial borders and construct boundaries (see a special edition on *Reconceptualising Endangered Language Communities*, *Language & Communication* [38], as contributed by, among others, Avineri, [2014], Kroskrity [2014]). By studying the emotional and socio-psychological experiences of endangered language-speaking group members with a social basis, it permits us to gain a fuller picture of how salient features of their existence emerge via managing relevance of an endangered heritage language and of self in social contexts.

The global and epistemological trends (Chapter 3 and 4) and social, historical and political development (Chapter 2) have contributed to the overall culture climate of studying heritage language and heritage language-speaking groups. These have led to increased attention to minority group members' experiences, expressivity and dynamics (in the sense of Dorian, 1993, 1998). Considerable attention has been given to (1) what and (2) how heritage-language-speaking groups have changed or lost in terms of their language and identity (e.g. Dorian, 1981; Fishman, 1991, 2001; King, 2001). More research have thus also contributed to broadening the views on minority and contact language studies socially (e.g. multilingualism, minority language rights) and theoretically (e.g. an ecological framework, an evolutionary framework). However, the notion of talking about language and language revitalisation among the PS MPC-speaking group members remains a substantive area with much to be explored.

Against the backdrop of the wider multilingual, postcolonial contexts and local language revitalisation efforts, approaching the notion of talking about language and language revitalisation among group members allows their explicit actions and meanings within subjective accounts, and the absence or presence of these in a lesser degree, to be discovered. Such a discovery allows the implicit actions or processes to be posed larger questions and made explicit via research procedures in Grounded Theory Methodology (e.g. theoretical sampling, comparative analysis and interpretive rendering) and manifest

in the properties and consequences of a process or category (Charmaz, 2014). Approaching the present study with a pre-conceived framework may risk masking implicit actions and meanings, as reasoned by Charmaz (2014). In Charmaz's studies on the experiences of people with chronic illness, the raw experiences from a participant's perspective fit neither narrative logic nor the comprehensible content of a conventional format. This means interpreting the experiences of the participants with a pre-conceived framework then may risk producing work that lacks substance or is unrepresentative or superficial. As explained in Chapter 4, it takes conversations, rather than structured and rigid tools to reach down the experiences, expressivity and dynamics of participants, and to go beyond: (i) the *what* and *how*, (ii) what meanings and actions are explicit, not explicit and those in the middle, and (iii) as well as when, why and how the meanings and actions emerge. These contribute to a processual analysis of how participants and researcher co-construct meanings about self and subjective existence in which crucial features of their existence (in the sense of Charmaz, 2014) and close-to-heart matters emerge. The co-construction between participants and researcher may be of selective but nonetheless valorised experiences and expressivity, as Charmaz (2014) argues. Ultimately, understanding experiences and expressivity fosters analysis of self and meaning.

The substantive model presented in this chapter approaches PS MPC-speaking group members' experience in managing the relevance of their heritage language as part of their social life. This theme, having emerged from a long process of constant comparison, questioning and conceptualisation, can be related to the basic social process of coping strategies (Chapter 4 and 5). A process, as referred to by Grounded Theory Methodology researchers, generally refers to something that occurs over time and involves change over time while a basic social process is said to process a social or social psychological problem from the point of view of continuing social organisation and

irrespective of whether it solves the problem, to some degree, it processes it (Glaser, 2005). Coping strategies as referred to in this thesis point generally to how social actors, through processes of negotiating and constructing, establish relationships, patterns of behaviours and selfhood. In the quest of a basic social process or central phenomenon as pursued in a Grounded Theory study (Charmaz, 2006, 2014), there is a general tendency to progress towards a more abstract and general theory that can be related to other basic social processes or phenomena. When conceptualising a study employing a Grounded Theory approach, the maxim of *all is data* is borne in mind as data, analysis and literature are interwoven in the outcome of study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In line with Constructivist Grounded Theory, ideas and analytical framework take the centre stage of the substantive model of managing relevance of heritage language instead of particular research participants or number of participants. As such, this thesis is written in such a way that the substantive model is illuminated by statements, events and experience of research participants. Relevant background of research participants will be brought into the picture whenever necessary, but to protect their identities, more contexts could not have been used when presenting excerpts of conversations. Thus, some details have been deliberately left out, and transcriptions have also been slightly edited. This is because, to encourage conversations, research participants were promised that their identities would be kept anonymous as the research site is a place where most people know each other.

6.2 Building a Substantive Model

This section illustrates the building of a substantive model on managing heritage language relevance which can be used to approach the focus of this thesis, MPC language revitalisation but it can also be scaled up or down for other MPC-related or group-member-related studies. Much consideration was given to the presentation of this substantive model. The final decision made was based on how best to illustrate the

substantive model while making it possible for readers to catch a glimpse of the research process. Considering the research process is part of the research outcome (Charmaz, 2006, 2014), it is believed that the chain of evidence that supports the substantive model can be better demonstrated and grasped by mirroring the research process. Figure 6.1, to be read bottom-up (figures enclosed within figure are only for rough illustration purpose, please refer to each component major discussed below for each clearer illustration), illustrates the building of the major components of the substantive model of managing heritage language relevance. These major components will be discussed in the following sections.

As introduced earlier and depicted in Figure 6.1, talking about language in the context of language revitalisation was the starting point of the present research. The coding and conceptualising data at this stage proceeded with an initial focus on actions (*what's* and *how's*) (see Chapter 5 for research procedures). Eventually meanings of actions (*why's*) either emerged or were made explicit. The categories and sub-categories that were identified then led to unfolding temporal sequences, as they became linked as sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle, as introduced in Chapter 1 (Charmaz, 2014). The MPC language revitalisation process cycle makes up the first major component of the substantive model, providing concrete evidences for on-the-ground experiences and expressivity.

Theme	Managing relevance of heritage language
	Finalising a theme: What are all these part of?
Major component	Establishing close-to-heart matters, peoplehood Towards aligning with macro settings <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>← Towards aligning with macro settings Towards aligning with a MPC-speaking heritage →</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> Peoplehood ↑ Language, Way-of-life, History, Ceremony, Place/Community </div>
	Pushing boundaries: What is the purpose of it all?
Major component	Situating findings thus far in wider contexts: social, historical, global <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> Representing a part of social life ↑ A part of? ↑ Motivations: The extent of aligning with a self identifying with heritage ↑ Why? ↑ Language revitalisation as a site for doing things with language </div> </div>
	To move up: What are the meanings and actions a part of?
Major component	The continuum of coping strategies Towards self-accommodating <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>← Towards self-accommodating Towards self-differentiating →</p> </div>
	To move up, pursue implicit actions and meanings
Major component	Bottom-up MPC language revitalisation process (The figure below is only for a rough illustration, see Figure 6.2 for the process cycle) <div style="text-align: center;"> <pre> graph TD 1 --> 2 2 --> 3 3 --> 4 4 --> 5 5 --> 1 </pre> </div>
	To move up, pursue actions and meanings
Starting point	Talking about language in the context of language revitalisation

Figure 6.1: Building a substantive model (to be read from bottom-up)

The meanings of actions that had emerged provided leads (i.e. what were participants doing in their talks and through their actions?) for pursuing the implicit actions and processes. Reaching down the implicit actions and processes was made possible by posing larger questions about them and through the research procedures which made explicit the properties and consequences of a process or category. The outcome of the pursuit of implicit actions, processes and meanings constitutes the continuum of coping strategies in managing heritage language relevance. This continuum, with towards self-accommodating on one end and towards self-differentiating on the other, marks the second major component of the substantive model.

After the continuum of coping strategies was developed, there were still gaps and questions to be addressed as these concern the meanings and conditions of coping strategies. Going back to the literature and data (both primary and secondary), and situating the first two major components in wider contexts, it was established that the micro processes feed back into and are never isolated from the wider contexts. The wider contexts were found to be multidimensional and the interaction between the contexts had to be considered. The wider contexts were identified to be social (multilingualism), historical and political (pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, contemporary), and global (epistemological, ontological). The wider contexts then make up another major component of the substantive model.

The theoretical conceptualisation would have ended by this stage. The three major components established thus far were reconciled with a tentative theme which was identified to revolve around managing heritage relevance, as driven by motivations behind the extent of aligning with a *self* identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage. The three major components, as abstracted from on-the-ground experiences and expressivity, represent a part of the people's social life. However, there seemed to be in need of something which could make the substantive model more complete, to reconcile the

salient and dynamics meanings that were discovered or made explicit (as discussed in Chapter 7).

Boundaries were pushed to consider the purpose of managing heritage language relevance as identified as the theme that emerged in data. The theoretical pursuit turned to close-to-heart matters for the people which were re-examined. These close-to-heart matters can be related to peoplehood. The notion of peoplehood (i.e. what support the larger sense of identity of people identifying with a group) had been around prior to this stage but was not fully considered. Though a full range explication of the notion of peoplehood to the MPC-speaking group members would have to take another doctoral research, this thesis initiates the possibility of considering peoplehood to speakers whose heritage language developed and continues to develop in contact language situation. The matters that are close to the heart of the people that are related to peoplehood and managing heritage language relevance complement each other in how group members draw from these close-to-heart matters to keep heritage language relevant, or it can also be said that these matters manifest in the managing of heritage language relevance. The close-to-heart matters and peoplehood were then integrated into the substantive model as another major component. By this, the theme of the substantive model was also finalised: managing heritage language relevance. The following sections discuss each major component.

6.3 The MPC Language Revitalisation Process Cycle

The logic of presentation of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle, visualised in Figure 6.2, follows that of how emerging categories and concepts fill up the different sub-processes. It is recognised that these sub-processes may and can overlap, instead of progressing as orderly as depicted in Figure 6.2. The sub-processes constitute the process of initiating, recruiting, responding to or receiving, and aspiring in language

revitalisation efforts. Half of the process cycle in Figure 6.2 is filled up by the sub-processes of the coping strategy of taking things into own hands (see section 6.3); these sub-processes are being motivated to revitalise MPC, using available resources and creating resources and mobilising support, as group members get involved in language revitalisation efforts. Other coping strategies of managing endangered language relevance that will be discussed in the next section such as drawing upon temporal experiences and preferring ambiguity, are employed throughout the language revitalisation process, both by language revitalisation actors and non-actors. As with other social processes or movements, motivations are the starting point of the MPC language revitalisation process. In assessing or reflecting upon any social process or movement, it is essential to go back to reconsider the motivations. This explains why the MPC language revitalisation is depicted in a process cycle, starting from motivations and going back to motivations towards the end of the process cycle.

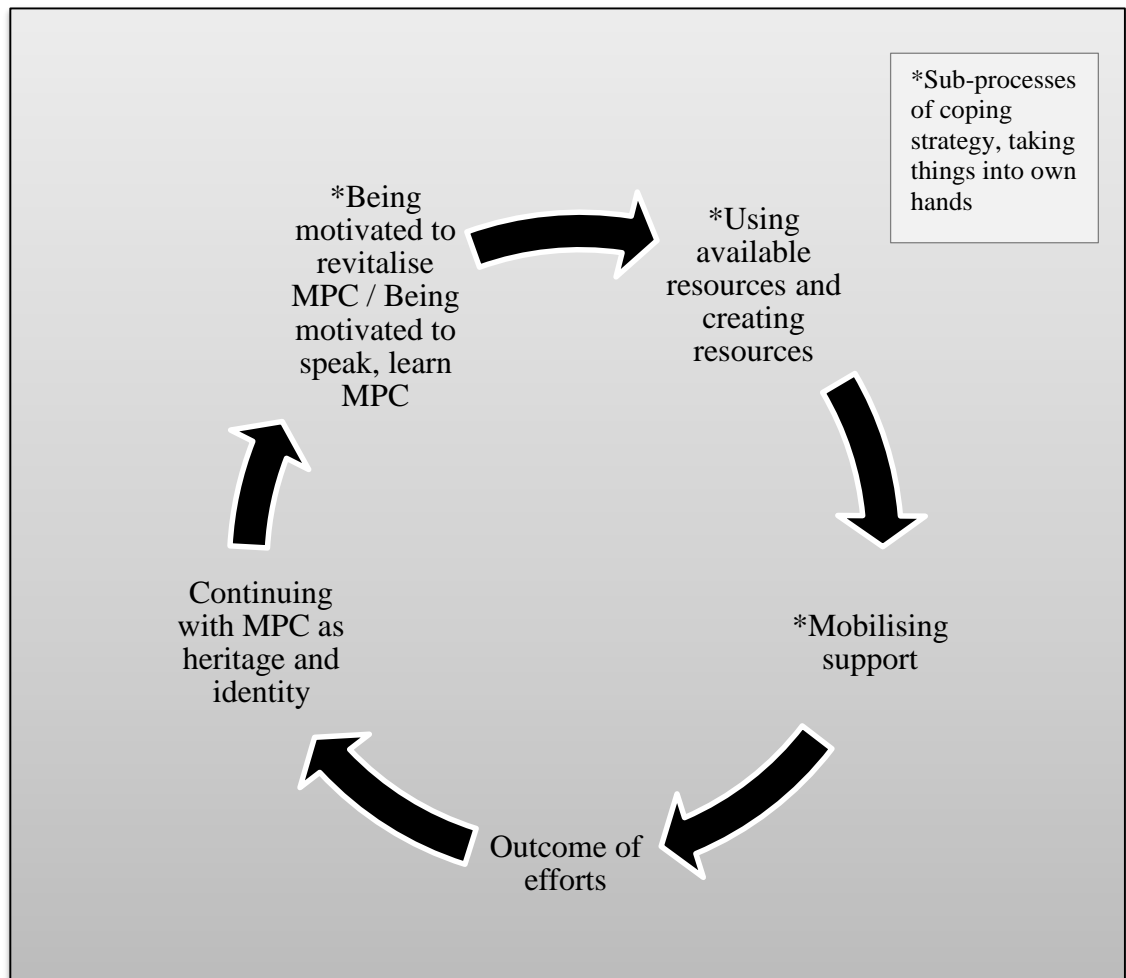


Figure 6.2: The MPC language revitalisation process cycle

Motivations of the MPC language revitalisation process refer to both those of revitalising MPC, or speaking and learning MPC. Motivations of revitalising MPC are dealt with firstly while those of speaking and learning MPC are presented lastly in the MPC language revitalisation process as this order matches how bottom-up language revitalisation efforts start with motivations of language revitalisation actors and at the end of the process cycle, the efforts would be received or perceived by group members, with a range of motivations to speak or learn MPC. In general, the motivations of revitalising MPC revolve around how group members attempt to connect with their MPC-speaking heritage, self and group. For those involved in language revitalisation process, they turn to or chance upon available and accessible resources and mobilise support from their

network. Outcomes of the efforts follow, in the hope of leading to intended goals while some underlying ideologies and tensions would surface. As this thesis unfolds further, it will be learned that to sustain the efforts and resolve related disconnect or tensions, it is helpful to go back to the motivations of speaking, learning and revitalising MPC. It is recognised that in practice, the process could be ad hoc and iterative instead of always following the order of the process cycle as depicted in Figure 6.2. Based on emerging categories and concepts that are linked as temporal sequences as part of a larger whole, this process cycle serves its conceptualisation purpose in the attempt of making sense of the experience of managing heritage language relevance.

A recap of research participants is necessary (see Section 5.2.1). At the time of the present study, the language revitalisation efforts initiated by MPC speakers were found to be a MPC-speaking meet-up group, language classes and compiled or written materials. Group A research participants are A1, A2 and A3 who are members of the MPC-speaking meet-up group, A4, A5, A7 and A8 who have contributed to the community's language classes, A6 who has published written materials in MPC and A9 who has compiled some recordings intended for sale. Group B research participants are made up of 32 MPC-speaking group members, mostly staying in or around PS, ranging from 8 to 80 years old at the time of research.

6.3.1 Being Motivated to Revitalise MPC

Motivations of revitalising MPC presented here are grouped following the similarity and saliency in them. However, it is recognised and emphasised that a combination of these internal and external motivations, which can overlap and influence each other, have accumulated over the years in the overall cultural climate and led to the rise of awareness on matters related to heritage, ownership and language revitalisation. The social development and processes locally or internationally in the past would have,

along with the input brought about by the past researchers and other outsiders to the MPC-speaking group in PS, inspired, triggered, motivated or encouraged the growing awareness on heritage, ownership and language revitalisation. Interaction between group members and the past, present or future researchers will continue to add to the knowledge-sharing between each other, whether done directly or indirectly, intentionally or not so.

6.3.1.1 Language revitalisation as channelling inner feelings and needs

The first sub-category sees language revitalisation as channelling inner feelings and needs, as triggered by (i) the interaction between self and heritage language, and (ii) how heritage language is positioned and liberates inner feelings and needs, in relation to self and bigger sense of presence. A combination of inner feelings, needs and personal interest was recalled by research participants, as demonstrated in the following excerpts. A3 grew up in Portuguese Settlement and is active in Catechism teaching. A3 expresses a sense of responsibility to transmit knowledge including MPC to the younger generation as her age is catching up with her in the following excerpt as how the transmission of heritage language is related to the bigger sense of existence is demonstrated:

[E6.1, A3]

Mm, so I think it's time that we do something about it. If not, the language will just die off. We are getting older, huh, if we die with what we have, with our knowledge and not uh... giving the knowledge to the young ones then the language will just die off.

Although MPC has been linguistically described (e.g. Hancock, 1979) before its grammar and dictionary were compiled (Baxter, 1988; Baxter & De Silva, 2004), a writing system is not common and widespread to its average speakers. With the advent of technology, MPC is used in social media and electronic messages but because there is no systematic spelling convention, people generally write or type as they like or based on how the words sound. Having started her work in 1990, A5 describes her concern about

the lack of a writing system for MPC in the following excerpt as she questioned herself over the situation of her heritage language compared to other languages:

[E6.2, A5]

And... it started as a concern for me that “Why is my language not written down?”, “Why is the English language written down so well?”, “Why is the Malay language starting to develop and... and uh... when it was only Bazaar Malay.” And if that can develop, so also can my uh... Kristang language be developed and why? We were speaking it and... and just like the Chinese, like the Hokkiens and all that. You didn’t have it written down as well but you are still speaking it. So I said, “Yeah, if they continued speaking it, maybe it will last forever.”

As inner feelings and needs interact with personal interest, motivations can change or layer up over time. By comparing E6.2 to the following excerpt, E6.3, the development of A5’s motivations behind her work is demonstrated as her work was seen as a promise to her late sister in the beginning:

[E6.3, A5]

My elder sister, uh, I told her to write because she was suffering from a kind of uh... heart problem. I said, “Ok, will you write down how would you translate like *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star*”. So she did all these translations for me, and that’s why I promised her that I will write a book.

A7’s case continues to demonstrate how heritage language is positioned and liberates one’s inner feelings and needs. A7 supports language-related activities and puts in efforts to speak MPC such as when speaking in formal events. In the following excerpt, A7 talks about how his support for language revitalisation efforts is driven by a fear factor.

[E6.4, A7]

The objective is uh... because... as I said uh... there’s a fear factor involved (my emphasis) with that because uh... I have seen, I have felt, and they are testimonies that... that can back... back this uh... generally that the... the language is slowly eroding. Ah, it’s... it’s slipping away because we tend to neglect it, we tend to uh... emphasise more on English and the students tend to sort of uh... uh... be more exposed to... to the... language in school, that is uh... Bahasa Malaysia and uh... of course English. So, the environment to speak the language is getting more and more, what do you call it... uh... confined now, you know... Less opportunities and people don’t seem to realise that, even if they realise also, they feel that... “What’s the big deal? So what’s so important?”

The sense of self-determination is clearly demonstrated by research participants who are language revitalisation actors as they ponder upon what they themselves can do for and with their heritage language (see excerpts above), as triggered by inner feelings and needs. A4, who is also friends with A2 and has been writing songs and learning MPC, was approached about an opportunity to make recordings in conversational MPC to be posted online for sale though he has not received order at the time of research. He is hoping to reach out to the younger generation via making music in MPC:

[E6.5, A4]

As I've said... I'm... I was thinking to myself... it... it... our language is going down. Maybe there is a chance for me... through my music... or through this I can some way or another help our language and our culture maybe to... we consider it come to a bit of life.

6.3.1.2 Language revitalisation as restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships

The second sub-category emerged from seeing language revitalisation as restoring and reconstructing (i) heritage in relation to peoplehood (i.e. the larger sense of being MPC-speaking group members) and communities of practice (i.e. the networks one socialises using MPC) and (ii) relationships (i.e. old and new ties). Research participants are found to express their longing for times spent hearing about or talking in MPC, often overlapping with time spent with family and friends. Their pride in speaking MPC is expressed in their relating speaking MPC to being who they are, as demonstrated by A1 who associates his love and passion for MPC to his growing up and the activities and stories, in search of restoration and reconstruction of heritage and relationships that made up those years in the following excerpt:

[E6.6, A1]

I... I... I can strongly say that my influence of the love and passion for the language and the culture started when I was a growing, ah, teenager... like I said, the conversation is so unique. So that is actually like I say, uh... the things that

keep us... or especially in my case, keep me wanting, you know, to... to... to have more... We... we'll usually come together at about 8.30 after dinner and we sometimes go on till three o'clock in the morning because it's so exciting sometimes, so interesting and the conversation can just go on and go on. And then sometimes we also uh... relate some personal uh... stories about... about how we were growing up, you know... things were different and the games we used to play, the experiences still have because before the reclamation, uh... of our sea-front, there was a lot of games, a lot of activities that were connected to the sea. So some of the stories like stories of fishermen, like stories of uh... of when we were kids, we used to play by the sea, we used to catch those small fishes by the beach and oh a lot of things. So stories can never end. So hopefully in the future we can record our... our sessions and then we can also maybe slowly record conversations of uh... the native speakers, that we feel have got a lot to share.

Identity alignment motivates and entails the restoration and reconstruction of heritage and relationships, as one aligns himself or herself towards a more self-differentiating heritage language speaker or not, in contrast to other languages. The following excerpt demonstrates how research participants self-differentiate: “We would never use the English prayers”. A6 relates to how prayers were always recited in MPC when they were little, foregrounding it in contrast to the English prayers. For the largely Roman Catholic community, the link between the language and religion is a strong common cultural denominator (see Baxter, 2012).

[E6.7, A6]

Actually these prayers in not being translated... it's mine... it's brought down by my grandfather. My grandfather used to say these prayers at home when we had our family Rosaries. He would use the (Malacca) Portuguese prayer. We would never use the English prayers (my emphasis).

That MPC as a heritage language is used in hopes of restoring heritage in relation to peoplehood and communities of practice is demonstrated in the following excerpt, as A8 expressed his longing to see MPC spoken at home and on the streets in the PS like it used to be:

[E6.8, A8]

That's what like I told you earlier, I want the mo... mothers to come in so they can speak the language at home and then whenever they see me on the road and say, “Hello, teacher.” They could say... sometimes in (Malacca) Portuguese... you know... Bong Dia (MPC, Good morning) or Bong Atadi (MPC, Good afternoon)... (xxx) good evening teacher... you know...

6.3.1.3 Language revitalisation as reclaiming ownership

The third sub-category captures the trigger to take control and reclaim the ownership, not only of heritage language, but also of heritage (e.g. way-of-life, culture, ceremony and peoplehood), and of the community and place in which the heritage, peoplehood and livelihood (e.g. fishing as making a living, tourism) interact. Language revitalisation is political in a way as one group moves towards self-determination and taking things into their own hands. This is in response to social development and can bring possible tension to their social positioning and in the social structure. The following excerpt demonstrates the subordinated social positioning of the group in study, as A1 laments about losing ground as a community although they have a unique culture and heritage. The place of heritage language in the language-culture nexus (in the sense of Fishman, 1988) is foregrounded:

[E6.9, A1]

You see now, actually we... we... we are losing so much of ground. We have stayed together as a community with our language, our culture, with our identity for the last 500 years, huh. And hopefully like I say, we can live and with this uh... unique culture of ours for the next 500 years... So, but basically things... we think it's more to keep your heritage, it's the identity, you know, the language will tell who you are, your identity. So the language is important eh... the language of our forefathers. Why let it die... of... or disappear if we can, you know, just have it going on as... as... as long as we are... we... we... our descendants are, you know, are around.

The positioning of heritage language and its relation to the positioning of one's identification and portrayal of self is demonstrated in the following excerpt. A2, perceived to be a knowledgeable and proficient MPC speaker by other group members, reiterates the need to speak MPC as part of their cultural identity below. The value of MPC, distinguished from its linguistic currency in the present socio-economic system by A2, is linked to the positioning of one's self: feeling proud identifying with the MPC-speaking heritage:

[E6.10, A2]

See my way of thinking is different. Not to make anything, not to gain anything, just continue to build what we are. Yeah, ah. The Portuguese descendants and we are speaking this language, I am always proud that this thing can go on with others, this younger generation. I always love that. Since what we know, if you are keeping to yourself, is no value, and if you know something that you can share, it's not the value of money that value that but you feel so proud of what you are as a... ah... descendants of Portuguese as speaking Kristang, you should be very proud (my emphasis).

Similarly, as one of the oldest and well-respected MPC speakers, A8 talks about how he realised that he must reclaim his heritage language in the following excerpt. A8 expresses the need to change and to take things into their own hands for matters related to their culture. As explained in Chapter 2, in Malaysia, where it is mandatory to identify one's race from birth according to rigid categories, the MPC-speaking group members tend to be placed under the category of a broad umbrella term, *Others*, which negates one's right ability to claim an ethnic, cultural and even geographical heritage.

[E6.11, A8]

...when I was kid I used to speak Portuguese (MPC) and then I grow up I speak Portuguese (MPC), English and then I used to observe our community is being so lack in... in... dialect; not using their mother's tongue, they promote more English and Malays. That was I came to the sense of it ya... I said I must get it back this thing what we lost (my emphasis). So what I did is I had one fellow by the name of (made anonymous), so we managed to register ourselves uh... uh... as a Portuguese culture societies. So we revised back all whatever is been lost, not in practice. So after the Portuguese culture, after register everything I'll become, I became my instructor, you see. For... uh... cultural dance, dialects, songs and so forth and I managed to do it, I formed a group, (19)67 until now I retired... Now if you say that you are a Portuguese, "I'm a Portuguese". Can you speak Portuguese? You can't. Eh... What sort of Portuguese you are. That's why by and by, the government also but they don't bother. You don't keep your culture to them is nothing, right? So there's no more kaum (Malay, 'ethnic group') Portuguese. There only will be orang Cina (Malay, 'Chinese people'), Melayu ('Malay'), orang India (Malay, 'Indian') dan (Malay, 'and') orang Sikh (Malay, 'the Sikhs'). Now, Sikh is coming up because they are promoting their culture but actually there's one identity only as an Indian. OK... The Sikh also they come from India. So now as a kaum Portuguese, akan datang dihapuskan dengan sebab tidak mempunyai budaya sendiri (Malay, 'the Portuguese ethnic group might be removed based on the reason they do not have their own culture'; my emphasis).

It is demonstrated here again that the motivations of research participants can overlap with one another. The wish to re-claim ownership of their heritage, to restore and reconstruct their heritage, and reconnect with family, friends or people of their own in general are expressed strongly by A7 in the following excerpt:

[E6.12, A7]

...so what I wanted to do most is, e... besides the party and the song and the dance, it's the people meeting and meeting old friends and say, "Hey, this is ours la... We forgot, that's where... where we came from. This is where our roots la" (my emphasis). And that happened. So I feel... to me, the greatest success of that (500 years celebration) event was people, huh, coming back and giving it's uh... respect and... and what... what is due to that. I think in the matter of thirty to fifty years, the language will be gone. So, that was my greatest fear. So, I thought we had to do something about it or else we lose something that is a gem to our... our heritage. Because that is something that is worth, there's no price tag attached to it. That gives us part of our... our identity.

Multiple alignment among group members is demonstrated in the following excerpt. A5 talks about the need to reclaim MPC as part of their heritage and identity, while they identify with English-speaking and its associations:

[E6.13, A5]

So that generations to come will say, "Yes, we speak English but we also have a heritage language and that is descended from the time the Portuguese were here". Developed and evolved throughout the periods of the Dutch and the... uh... English. And even now, it's further developing. But will it go on if it's not written? Will it go on when this is the age of technology where everything can be, you know, kept in files... and... and, you know, disc whatever it is. If it's not done now, when is it going to be done? They have a language and they know at least a smattering of phrases and words, they can call it their language... But I'm saying the... the only fine factor is, if you have the same culture, you are a Christian, now you ah... you have a choice to have another thing added to your culture and that is your language. If you want it, fair enough; if you don't want it, that's your problem. This is another little jewel that you can add to your culture. You know how to celebrate Christmas, good. You know how to celebrate all the festivals that the Eurasians celebrate but, you know, the people of the Portuguese settlement have a language. Do you want to know their language? If you want to know, fine. You're... tha... it is available.

6.3.1.4 Language revitalisation as work opportunities

The fourth sub-category of motivations sees the potential of language revitalisation in giving MPC a role in livelihood and, by extension, the present socio-

economic systems. All language revitalisation efforts involve a certain level of work. This section deals particularly with research participants who have chanced upon or have had to take up language revitalisation as work or post-retirement work opportunities, either as an individual choice or because of certain affiliation with association. Although language revitalisation fell to certain research participants and became part of their work, these works remain generally voluntary in nature and most of them in the PS do not gain monetary profits. The voluntary nature is exemplified mostly by the Group A research participants. For instance, A9, who holds a post in a local association, started her involvement in language classes in 2012 as it “fell” to her since other committee members were held up by other commitments. The local association that A6, A7 and A9 are involved in invited A8 to teach MPC in 2012 and paid a minimal wage to A8 as a token of appreciation.

The potential of using outcome of language revitalisation as work opportunities is also showing slightly in the following excerpts. Although A4 did not charge potential buyers of his recordings at the time of research, A4, who was making recordings for conversational MPC, started doing so as he chanced upon interest towards buying MPC recordings from outside the PS.

[E6.14, A4]

Can say it maybe it's ah... thing I'm making money out of it. Ya... it's not... basically it's because a lot of... of my nephew's friends is asking him they want to learn... So they keep telling him... “You get some materials I don't mind paying you”. So I've compiled about a hundred over. It's in here. So... He says he wants to... I tell him “Ok if you can make money, you make money. It's up to you”.

Coming from outside PS, A5 recalls how she started language revitalisation work after retiring as she got in touch with a foundation for a possibility of getting funded on her book writing to pave her way towards her post-retirement planning. A5's case will also have to be considered for community-external factors which are discussed in Section 6.3.2.3.

[E6.15, A5]

Yeah, I first got very passionate about uh... writing the language immediately after I retired, opted... opted out a teaching profession and that was like in 1989. And from there on I did my research in the PS. I gathered a few bits and pieces of conversation as well as uh.... vocabulary in the settlement. And I wrote to the foundation to help me uh... develop a book which I was going to write. I knew the trustee of the foundation because he visited Malacca.

6.3.2 Using Available and Creating Resources

Methods employed in bottom-up language revitalisation efforts are informed or influenced by personal experience and training. Their methods can be categorised into three forms: regenerating interest in endangered heritage language, making use of available resources and creating resources, and community-external factors. Most of these actors are fulfilling their personal interest while engaged in language revitalisation through the three forms as they are also learning and reconnecting with their heritage language at the same time.

6.3.2.1 (Re)generating interest in MPC

Research participants relate to the joy and fun in speaking and learning MPC which keep them committed to their work while spreading this joy and fun of speaking and learning MPC to others. The MPC speaking group who meet at least once a week with five or more people in each session could not have demonstrated this point enough. The group started out as “random, spontaneous and habitual chatting” at funerals. They took the chance to converse with others who they could practise MPC with and learn MPC as among the attendees at the funerals would be some MPC speakers who are regarded as more proficient speakers including the elders and fishermen by the group members. The group members decided to meet weekly if not more to continue their pursuit of speaking in MPC and learning from each other through their sessions. A1 elaborates about their usual activities in a session in the following excerpt:

[E6.16, A1]

So uh... if we are not very sure of uh... the meaning of a word or how to apply it, what we'll do is, we'll take note and this friend of ours, he will do further reference or further research. He'll maybe go to the Internet and try and get the Portuguese equivalent of the word or maybe uh... the meaning of the word tha... that is closest or that maybe connected and then at the same time we also sometimes uhm... take note of the different ways the word can be applied and we take note, whatever we do we always write. A note about the words, or the phrases, or even the stories. So uh... each of us take our own notes and then we... we study the notes when we go back and maybe if there is further questions, we ask in our next conversation. And at the same time we also uhm... listen to other people speak, especially native speakers, and we will note the words that uh... are seldom used. We will also maybe note the words that are... not correctly used, like Bahasa Malaysia words or English words, and we will take note of all those words and we'll bring it up at our session. And see what is the proper word or uh... whether it's been applied correctly.

The generating of interest in MPC plays an important role. However, as will be shown later, the generating of interest in MPC will have to match the interest in language revitalisation efforts, as discussed in the outcome of efforts (section 6.3.4), seeing reasons that have been laid out for the response to the language classes revolve around comments on whether the classes were interesting or fun.

6.3.2.2 Making use of available resources and creating resources

MPC language classes, conducted by A8 in 2010-2011 and resumed by A6 in 2013, were targeted at children and youngsters though A5 welcomed anyone interested to attend the classes. No fees were charged for attendees. Classes started in 2010 but were put on hold after experiencing a decrease in attendees and losing the original classroom. Both language classes started in 2010 and resumed in 2013, similar to other beginner's language classes, started from greetings and eventually added more into the syllabus. From 2010 to 2011, A8 conducted the language classes while A6 assisted in teaching and other aspects of the language classes. The language classes were thought to be a part of the academy of culture and arts under the local organisation, according to A7. A8 talks about what he taught in classes in the following excerpt, and as can be gathered from what

he says, at the grassroots level, the materials are self-determined and developed similar to other minority communities:

[E6.17, A8]

Just to make them to know how to say good morning... what's the meaning of good morning, what's the meaning of good afternoon, evening huh... and how to address an elderly person... this... all sort of things la. I go like that... you see... I go important is to respect. After that only, will come to the other words... OK how to... say a (xxx), how to say plate, how to say saucer, how to say drain... all that... lesson got. I went until that circumstances but suddenly I cannot go more than that because there's no attendance, you see... I have to do my homework... you see... Now OK... this... this... like Friday I give... what sort of class, what kind of words I use. So the next one, I'll make them to repeat... the next time. So I see oh... they can... they write down everything... OK. Then the other time the class, I change different paragraph... so this all my work... you see...

A6 took a similar approach when resuming language class in 2013. She inherited materials from her late father, and assisted in previous language classes. She also draws from her training in teaching. In the following excerpt, A6 explains how she started teaching MPC and the approach she uses:

[E6.18, A6]

OK... Where I started uh... actually is from my dad. When... before he passed away in that 20... uh... 29... 2009... 2008... sorry he passed away, he already prepared all these documents, all the syllabus for classes. He's supposed to start in Dec... January 20... 2009. He already had a group of teenagers that he want to teach and they were quite keen to learn. But unfortunately he passed away in December. So I said, 'these documents are all here, they not going to sleep with him. So I am going to do something about it.' So I'm doing it now... My way I doing it like how I have studied in the pre-school. So I go to that level but no ABCs. So I may start with "Good Morning", the greetings and all that... ya... that way and make the children speak to each other... Because I'm going to use a hundred percent solely on my father's books. Because we had some teachers who came in, who tried to help but they don't speak the language and then they helped us half way and then just left like this. So I say, like this, I might as well do it on my own. I can do it...

To teach MPC in a classroom setting and compile written materials involve writing. MPC has always been an oral language. There is currently no consensus on the spelling convention for MPC. The views on the spelling conventions for MPC will be revisited in Chapter 7. In general, the views expressed show a tendency towards a spelling

convention that reflects a phonemic spelling system but reflect the complexities involved in deciding such conventions.

6.3.2.3 The community-external factor

Publications and reference materials in MPC, targeted at Eurasians and anyone who might have an interest in the language have been written by A5. To protect the identity of research participants, there will be no direct links provided to the works. In the following excerpt, A5 talks about how she learnt and wrote books on MPC. The community-external factor adds to the motivation to continue language revitalisation efforts when works are received well outside the Portuguese Settlement and recognised in academic platforms such as conferences. Although other research participants do refer to Eurasians outside Malacca, only A5 includes the diaspora Eurasian community as one of the target audiences:

[E6.19, A5]

I just went uh... to the Portuguese settlement, I knew I could conver... I... I could only count from one to ten. So I sat in the coffee shop there and I said, “Eh, what is ele... eleven and what is twelve and I went on. Numer... for the... for the numbers. And then I heard them speak and I jotted little things down and, you know, started a conversation with them... When I first wrote the first book there was no target. I’ll just write it for the community. Just for the community and I thought there were tons of Eurasians in Malacca, Singapore, and Malaysia and in Perth. So the target group were all Eurasian. The second one was... the target group were school children. Secondary school children. The third one was for the whole community that means children, adults, and anybody and everybody who wanted to know about the Kristang language. That’s why I used it in (xxx) in Malay like Bahasa (xxx). And all my books are only in English and in Kristang, not in Bahasa at all.

Apart from receiving recognition, funding is clearly crucial to sustaining language revitalisation and A5 has, from the beginning of her work, applied for funding and she feels encouraged to go on with her work and “will not stop” as she is hoping to eventually reach out to undergraduates in universities as she believes that they are the ones who will

transmit MPC to the next generation. A few local college or university names were mentioned in her considerations.

Apart from A5, A8 has also gone overseas to talk about his heritage language, heritage and people in the company of interested parties including academicians, as recalled in the following excerpt. The realisation that the world out there is interested in their heritage and development has invoked positive feelings towards his efforts and added value and recognitions for his heritage language:

[E6.20, A8]

I think I was there (in Portugal) around... I went there 195... 2009 la... and think so... month of October. I was there. I stayed there for eighteen days. So I was attending conference for seven (xxx) every morning, just like you interview me. Huh... They want to know how we speak... and how... huh... we go... go along and how are still the people managed to keep the dialect. So I used to tell them what is happening to Malacca but I said of course the heritage we are still keeping on the dialect (MPC) still there...

The community-external factor is also found in the references and materials research participants refer to. These include the European Portuguese dictionaries and materials the language speaking group refers to and European Portuguese spelling conventions referred to by research participants. A7, according to his research, claims to have found possible links between MPC and Galician and quotes what people have commented on the uniqueness of MPC, compared to other Portuguese-based varieties:

[E6.21, A7]

So, even... even if you ask a Galician, they will tell you that they feel more Portuguese than they feel themselves as Spanish. Ah... that they... how they feel la... and uh... Brazilian, I wouldn't say they feel Portuguese; they feel Brazilian. [Yes] but they know their language is Portuguese. [Yes] Ah... that... that... The same goes with the Cape Verde and all those sub pictures la... but, according to a lot of people, they say ah... even Father Chera, he said he went to all these Portuguese places but the one he felt the most affinity and felt the most welcomed are the Malacca Portuguese la... [Mmm...] They said, "Malacca Portuguese are not like Macau or Goa, they're the people lovers. They're the people who feel so much for us. We are so welcomed here." So, they felt the most here, their sentiments. That's what I read.

6.3.3 Mobilising Support

In relation to methods, actors are found to have turned to familiar or selective networks to mobilise support in the form of recognition of efforts such as others' positive comments towards efforts or being recognised as representing the MPC-speaking community, followers or members, or support towards efforts and outcome of efforts such as recognising or purchasing MPC materials. The three sub-processes of mobilising support are reaching out to listening networks, understanding audience and revaluing endangered heritage language.

6.3.3.1 Reaching out to listening network(s)

Although research participants may not have an exact idea of who their target audience would be, they naturally reach out to people from their familiar or selective networks. It will become clearer by the end of this chapter and in the next chapter that decision-making in language revitalisation matters could not be isolated from the underlying accumulating and interacting ideologies from the past and present. For instance, A5 has become associated with MPC outside the PS as her work is recognised by MPC heritage speakers outside the PS. Past events were recalled including being complained for holding an illegal assembly in the PS when she wanted to conduct MPC classes and it appears that response towards her works outside the PS has been encouraging, in contrast to the response from the PS. As her books were funded, she has not felt pressured over the sales of her books as "it's all paid for already" and "as far as Singapore and Perth and other parts of Australia, they've taken my books and they've managed to, you know, distribute them and sell them".

Which network one reaches out to stems from one's identification and portrayal of self, whether one wants to align with the MPC-speaking heritage. A5 expresses her

opinions about who MPC belongs to by relating to the dynamics of the Eurasian heritage in the following excerpt:

[E6.22, A5]

In this case, I don't think anybody who can say that, "It only belongs to people who have Portuguese surnames". It should belong to all Eurasians who have a colonial past and an Asian past in them (my emphasis). That means they can be descended from the English or German or, you know, if they have one parent who has been or grandparent who has been a... from a... Europe and one from Asia, it's fine. And even now it's so watered down that they say, "Oh, yeah, my grandmother used to say, you know, this and that. Or my great-grandmother was in Malacca and she came from Malacca but now she's in... in Kuala Lumpur or she's in Ipoh now. And we don't know... we don't know anything." Now, if you don't know anything about your language, that means you are excluding your community. I feel so. You do not want to belong.

The MPC language group also exemplifies the natural tendency of reaching out to familiar or selective networks. However, the group membership seems to be rather exclusive as expressed in the following excerpt since the group started out as casual sessions among like-minded friends:

[E6.23, A1]

We are open to anybody who wants to come but obviously that person has to involve one of the members that he wants to come, no problem. And uh... like I say, whether we want to expand the group to a... a... a bigger group or to a... other places, at the moment, no. At work, we are quite comfortable with where we are, but we hope to s... to... to at least uhm... start this enthusiasm with other groups. Maybe like our, like I was telling you, my sister from Australia also called me and said, you know... "We are having our own session here." Because they heard of our session. So that's what we... we hope to do. And like I say, hopefully, you know, others can start their own splinter groups. And make it like something... like what we have, a weekly get together of friends. And say, "OK, today is a s... speak Kristang session, anybody uh... who speak other than Kristang uh... you will be forfeited".

6.3.3.2 Understanding audience and spreading fun

At a more formal level of learning MPC, language classes are open to children of the Portuguese Settlement community members who wish to learn MPC. A6, with a background in teaching pre-school children, shared how she keeps her students interested in attending her language classes by integrating fun and outings as part of the lesson in the following excerpt:

[E6.24, A6]

Uhm... Most of the kids they know me. So how I... I have to, like, give them reinforcements. You know... when they come for class after six months I took them for boat ride... you know... bring them out. This what the children here they want. Not just come for class. But they want something behind that... So that's what I did, I bring them out. I... as I took them down the river cruise, I explained to them in Malacca Portuguese what you see now... OK... where we are going, this and all that. Hmm... So that's part of the lesson. That's how it goes.

Prior to starting language classes in 2011-2012, the local association was reported to have surveyed around casually, as recalled by A9. It was decided that the classes should start from basic MPC. However, the interest towards language classes was found to differ from one age group to the other. This goes on to emphasise the importance of considering the group members' needs, way-of-life and close-to-heart matters when planning language revitalisation efforts.

[E6.25, A9]

But unfortunately sometimes the youth they have their own mind set. To them that they see children coming for classes, (they think) "Oh this is children's class". So we... you know... they don't want and they have their own things to do.

6.3.3.3 Revaluing MPC

Based on his exposure and research, A7 puts forward a need to be cautious of how other people, including researchers, to have assumed some position that might have placed MPC farther away from European Portuguese.

[E6.26, A7]

I don't feel that way. I just feel that it should be proper and uh... even though you want to call it the creole or whatever, it should not be made intentionally uh... far in moved from its Portuguese uh... origins. Because I feel that, maybe it's not done intentionally, but uh... maybe it was part of... of an assuming position that uh... people sometimes also like to make it as much of a creole... I use the word creole, ah... [Mmm...] uh... as much of um... what do you call it um... as further removed from the original language as possible. Ah... so to make it... but that is taking the head and then... but we... we feel different. From our hearts we feel we are Portuguese, you see? And we cannot be removed from that. Even though we can speak a corrupted form or whatever it is, but still we are speaking Portuguese. Ah... that's the thing.

More will be discussed in relation to what research participants are doing with their heritage language in the next chapter. In Chapter 7, the discussion over a range of language-related issues will demonstrate how research participants are revaluing their heritage language and heritage when doing what they are doing.

6.3.4 Outcome of Efforts

Outcome of language revitalisation efforts profile the MPC-speaking group's perceptions and reception towards bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts. Compared to the language-revitalisation-actors or Group A research participants, non-language-revitalisation actors or Group B research participants are less eloquent on the topics related to their endangered heritage language, except for a few from the older generation and a few from the younger generation. Such a difference in eloquence is depicted in the continuum of managing endangered language relevance: self-assimilating on one end and self-differentiating on the other, as the Group A research participants have gone through different stages of exposure to, reflections, and discussions (whether within self or with others) on possible language revitalisation efforts. They have also taken the initiative to learn more about their heritage language, including looking into possible source languages and reading up on academic work on MPC.

6.3.4.1 Perceiving MPC language revitalisation efforts

Generally, research participants expressed that they welcomed language revitalisation efforts and recognised the positive effects and influences that will be brought upon by language revitalisation efforts. However, views towards language revitalisation suggest a sense of reservation among some towards participating in it and a mismatch between positive perceptions of language revitalisation and actual participation though in general, research participants welcome language revitalisation efforts.

Although language revitalisation efforts are welcomed, the following excerpt shows the view of B24 who perceived that researchers working on MPC or culture-related works in the PS have done so for their own personal pursuits. By now, we know that how a researcher positions himself or herself can impact on how his or her work is perceived and received, based on more works on minority language groups and how researchers approach them (e.g. Bower & Warner, 2015; Crippen & Robinson, 2013). The present and future research and fieldworks in the PS will have to consider how one positions himself or herself as a researcher. By extension, the future language revitalisation efforts actors, be it coming from the PS or outside PS, will also have to consider how they position themselves in relation to other MPC-speaking group members.

[E6.27, B24]

They come here to get the (PhD or Master) no problem la... But there has never been a solid thing to say that oh they are...they... they do this documentation and this is what is supposed to be known. They have not given their grounds. They did... most of them they come to do their research it's for their own this one la... So far we also have not put research for more words or the language. We have not la... Ah... So I think so that one is very difficult... Even with help, somebody will be against it and you know... So what we can do for ourselves, we do, those we want help, we help...

How MPC language revitalisation efforts are perceived and received by group members and other language revitalisation actors allow the heterogeneous voices of group members who commonly identify with a MPC-speaking heritage to be uncovered, as well as how group members perceive each other. The following excerpt demonstrates the different views and positioning in language revitalisation efforts, and by extension, in how group members align with a self identifying with the MPC-speaking heritage in practice and how they position themselves in the social structure and community structure:

[E6.28, A7]

Lethargic, lethargic. And because they don't see nobody likes to hear bad new la... If I tell you, you know, this language if not careful can die off, you know...

they don't hear that, uh. They'll... they'll shut off. Not... not normally there, you know, but some will be receptive, you know bought Toto (a local betting operation) din... don't know whether I struck or not, that's more important than (xxx), you know... (xxx) la... you know... but as a momentum... momentum (xxx)... that's why I say, it cannot be done in a very imposing manner la... you know... uh... but I also heard there are certain groups are doing uh... certain kind of uh... activities like uh... one of the holidays here, (name made anonymous) is having a... a conversational Portuguese, they're sitting down and they're talking in Portuguese like... but they... they make it such a... an exclusive thing, they put their directory uh... what uh... "Attendance is by invitation". Ah... So that's what I don't like about it, you see... so, for them means OK, "We have that so we will keep to our group". So they are trying to form a class system. It's bad, you know... In our case, we are open to all, see... you cannot have that kind of uh... closed mentality. Where got sometimes uh... these Eurasians ah have got their this... this... this... this... this uh... call it uh... inclination towards being elite there, you know... I always tell our... our Eurasians whenever... when we go to Singapore also I tell them, "Your elitist... elitist learnings must go la". You know... we have to cater for the masses, huh... and I... many... many... many of them don't like it when I say that.

The next chapter will discuss how group members make sense and meanings of language revitalisation efforts, both (i) the salient and general meanings (Section 7.2) and (ii) the different meaning-makings (Section 7.3). Overall, there is a general positive perception towards language- and culture-related efforts, as demonstrated in the following excerpt, as B8 points out that there is a comeback of MPC following language classes and new interest in it: "most of the people are speaking MPC nowadays".

[E6.29, B8, R]

R: How would you describe the community's attitude towards the language?

B8: I see everything is doing good la... down here. The... how to say ah...

R: Do you think they feel proud to be speaking the language?

B8: Definitely la... because mostly we... we go around, most... most of the people are speaking Portuguese nowadays ah...

R: But uh... perhaps the teenagers are not speaking the language...

B8: Ya. On... because now they have to have a class or maybe event according to this Kristang la... So let the... let the interest come, then the people will join ah... They have to make groups, maybe learn about this poem ah... about the talk... Just simple, simple words, that's how they will learn, then they will come back...

R: When there's a language class, how do the uh... community people respond to this language class?

B8: They are all Ok la... Like we, that day we did the dinner; about hundred tables and a lot of people par... participate la... They have dance, they have poems, they have singing, they have talking and how the marriage of the Kristang all la... That's how you learn la... But of course a lot of people la... And this people here, if you say about Kristang, I think most of them will come out and hear ah... So better if... like you say once in a week you have event, event about Kristang... ah... or we have like poems, we have competitions, maybe I see a lot of people la... Ah... Because our own community is keeping quiet maybe, they just don't wanna ah... So we cannot blame anyone la...

6.3.4.2 Reception of MPC language revitalisation efforts and materials

As observed prior to starting research, both projects involved and this thesis, there appeared to be a lack of awareness if not response towards the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts. The findings of further research confirm the perceived gap between the efforts and awareness of or response towards the efforts. Most non-language-revitalisation-actors reported that they were not aware of or knew little about the language revitalisation efforts when answering follow-up questions to structured questions posed such as the following excerpts. Only a handful had come across MPC materials published as revitalisation efforts. Most of them have, however, seen MPC written down in booklets made for cultural activities or as used on social media.

[E6.30, B6]

R: Do you think having books in Kristang would help people to learn the language?

B6: Ya. But uh... we don't get... we don't have that.

[E6.31, B10]

R: Uhm... what do you hope people can do to help the community continue... [Maybe...] speaking Kristang?

B10: ...they can try their very best to say like, talk to our leader, our kampong (Malay, "village"), right, Portuguese, this uh... Regedor. To try to put one or two teachers to teach our... our children, especially. Uh... some Kristang so that our Kristang won't die off.

R: OK. Um... There have been some books and dictionaries published in Kristang. Have you ever come across any books or dictionary?

B10: So far, I never see, honestly, yeah, I never see.

R: OK. But if you get to get hold of these books...?

B10: Yeah, I would like to... [You would like to...] mmm...

R: Ho... how would you feel if you get to read um...

B10: A book of Portuguese?... [Yeah, in Kristang] Um... I think it will be nice la... if I can read, but I guess, I don't know, I don't think I can read because I don't understand reading Portuguese at all.

R: OK. Do you know of any friends or families who have books in Kristang?

B10: Maybe A7... A7 might have, ah... because they're leaders, right, ah... maybe they will have.

[E6.32, B9]

R: So... You... haven't got any friends or family members who are using any Kristang books or...

B9: No.

R: Kristang dictionary?

B9: No.

R: Ok. Uh... But you are aware that there are these books or ah... you are not... aware of... of the existence of these books?

B9: Mmm... Not aware ah... They have books ah...?

As most people in the PS are not aware of publications and materials in MPC, it would be an important step for legitimatising MPC as will be discussed in Chapter 7. In the following excerpt, B20 expresses that everyone in the PS wants a book written in MPC.

[E6.33, B20]

R: Um... There... as we mentioned, there have been some materials such as... such as dictionaries and books published in Kristang... [Mhm...] How do you feel about seeing Kristang written down?

B20: Wah, I think I'll... I'll be the most happiest guy on earth, I guess. Yeah, that is... that is what we want also la... to be honest with you. That is what everyone in the settlement wants like getting a book which is written in Kristang. Yeah, that is what everybody wants. Everybody in the settlement wants that.

R: Just now we talked about the language classes and language documentations and documentations of the Kristang culture, how do you think the people here are reacting towards these uh... efforts and documentations?

B20: Um... so, so la... [So, so...] yeah.

R: Do you think they support it, do you think they agree with the efforts and documentations?

B20: Well I mean, some of them will, some of them won't agree with it, some of them will agree with it.

R: Mhm... Do you think they feel nice that all these are being done?

B20: Yeah, yeah. They will definitely... they will definitely feel nice... [Mmm...] cause it's... they... it's different la... I would say.

R: On your part, are you doing anything to help keep the language alive?

B20: Um... Not really, I would say. But I just... I just uh... what I do is like if one of my friend who ask... ask me about um... no, ask me a word, what's... what is this... what is this in Kristang? What is this Kristang? I'll... I'll proudly let them... I'll proudly and find out just to let them know. If I don't... if I don't know those words, I'll proudly go and find out and let them know. But if I know, I'll directly just tell them, (xxx), yup. That is what I do la... And at first, of course, making fun, that's the main thing la... We Kristang, if you don't know something, we have to make fun of you... we'll have to make fun first then... and then we'll start giving you.

Only four out of 33 non-language-revitalisation-actors have participated in the bottom-up efforts; one having attended language classes conducted in 2011-2012 while the other three having attended language classes conducted in 2013. At the time of research, the age range of these four research participants were 10-19. The three research participants who attended the 2013 classes happened to stay on the same street. Two of them are siblings while the other research participant is their neighbour. B27, who attended language classes in 2011-2012, shared why she had stopped attending the classes. Reasons that have been laid out for the response to the language classes revolve around comments on whether the classes were interesting or fun.

[E6.34, B27]

R: Did you enjoy the classes?

B27: Ya.

R: You like the classes?

B27: Fun.

R: Fun. But why did you stop?

B27: Because I don't know how to layan (Malay, "entertain") I don't know how to entertain other... that type of people.

R: Uh... you mean the other children... [Hmm...] or... [Ya] or the instructor?

B27: The children.

R: The children. Why?

B27: Hmm... not close to them.

R: Not close to them. So...

B27: But we talk la... I just... just not close to them. I can't... not comfortable.

However, A7 is optimistic with a possible better response towards bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts.

[E6.35, A7]

Uh... actually, of anticipation, I expected that kind of amount. Uh... but uh... people are just uh... not uh... call it uh... because people... everybody loves a winner, right? And then people maybe are looking... wait and see kind of thing first. So, some will be waiting for it to fail; some will be waiting and say how it happens. So, if it catches momentum, and there's some degree of... of... of... success, that will encourage more to come. So now I... they're just watching and they... it's not that they're not watching; they're watching, you know? But I think if things catches up, they will come also. Ah, so we have to start from there. Ah, they will. So, we are waiting for the momentum to start. When it starts going, and then I'm telling you, others will also start to do their own thing.

A few group members have participated in language revitalisation activities but those have been mostly activities organised or carried out by non-PS-MPC-speaking-group-members usually conducted by foreign or local teams or researchers and for the production of cultural and language-related documentaries, both have had representatives from foreign and local teams. These will be revisited in Chapter 7. The following excerpts demonstrate how different research participants perceive what they were learning in the

classes organised by the Portuguese foundation, Korsang. Experiences with the language classes conducted by foreigners have come to be retold slightly differently according to the time and conductors. B9 talks about his experience in language classes conducted by Portuguese.

[E6.36, B9]

B9: Uh... Actually I... I learned about our language itself... I mean like how to converse properly ah...

R: Properly?

B9: Ya... How to... I mean like how do we combine those words and all together... There's a lot of things...

R: You... you do that... you did that in the class?

B9: Yah... Quite... (xxx)

R: Uh... When the... when that lady spoke to you... could you understand what she was talking about?

B9: At that time I mean she... she spoke in Kristang so certain thing I can I know, certain... both of the things I didn't know that time la... Yeah.

R: So she wasn't speaking in European Portuguese?

B9: No, not European Portuguese. It's our Portuguese.

R: OK. Was the class conducted...

B9: Conducted at the school, yeah...

R: At the school?

B9: At the school yeah

R: In this school?

B9: In this school, yeah

R: Oh, Ok. Were... were there many students?

B9: I mean uh... quite a number of us la... I think 20 or 20 students who are there... Yeah... all... all also of us our friends are there.

In the excerpt above, B9 thinks he was learning MPC while in the following excerpt, B22 recalls learning European Portuguese in the classes organised by the same Portuguese foundation:

[E6.37, B22]

R: So and you have also uh... attended language classes, the Kristang language classes...

B22: Before, when I was young.

R: Was it conducted by a Portuguese?

B22: Ya... Portuguese from Portugal.

R: Uh... um... Did you learn the European Portuguese or the local Portuguese?

B22: European Portuguese.

R: European Portuguese... OK. How long were the classes?

B22: The classes um... every weekends uh... two hours... Mmm.. But it only last for one year.

R: Only for one year. So you attended the classes for a year?

B22: Yes.

6.3.5 Continuing with MPC as Heritage and Identity

Both Group A and Group B research participants were invited to share how they would like to propose for further language revitalisation efforts if they had unlimited resources. Many Group B research participants, when asked to propose activities for language revitalisation, language classes are the most often cited choice and are hoped to be made livelier by including more cultural aspects or skills training; other cited choices are funds and community centre. Group A research participants, on the other hand, have more specific aspirations or plans in mind. Their cited choices are creating materials and resources that represent the variety and dynamic of their heritage language such as prayers and publications in MPC and continuing or expanding language classes. Prayers in MPC were eventually released in the form of CD in early 2015. The following sections close

in on the salient patterns that emerge from their discourses on proposing language revitalisation efforts.

6.3.5.1 Looking for communities of practice

Group members' motivations of speaking, learning or revitalising MPC include restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships. This continued to surface when group members were asked to propose language revitalisation efforts as their recommendations include gathering like-minded people. The following excerpts are two such recommendations:

[E6.38, B30]

This is how we must do, you know... As I said, you cannot call them to come here; you have to go and see them. First and foremost, you have to make a step by talking like I said, No... if I had the funding, I will get the young people – those who are twenty or thirty years old, you know... must be able to speak and communicate to this generations of people. By how? By talking to them, “How are you Uncle?” “Good evening” “Good morning”, ke... everything. Just talk about natural things, it’s about you and... and this one; I’m not talking about the neighbours. I came here to talk to you. So you have to build that relationship, you know... that he should be able to share... he will share it with you because he knows you are here not to uh... you must build that confidence, you must give it. So we must teach these people who are going to meet these people, how to talk to them. How you should be able to sit down and listen to them, even for five minutes, never mind. You have to start in that moment first. Slowly, you create... when you’re coming, and then they will call you. (xxx). Instead of five minutes you are talking to him or talking to this family, ten minutes. As time goes by, you will be sitting down talking one hour with them. In our language.

[E6.39, B20]

B20: I will definitely do it, because we already have like Portuguese classes and... while... I mean Portuguese I was a bit... I would say a bit, not really that a bit, but just difference... [Ya] between Kristang and Portuguese... [Yes] Yeah, so um... we... we have uh... Portuguese classes for the children, I’ll definitely try my best to make Kristang classes. I mean to have Kristang classes for children. And also um... do it like... like a tuition thing where, you know... where you have exams and... I’ll also have like... like a Kristang club where... where you have all these... all these children playing um... indoor games, outdoor games, and just to make them speak Kristang. I feel that’s the best way to improve their Kristang because that is the place where everybody, I mean all the children, will be on one spot at one time. So... and they just get few... few mentors and leaders being inside there just speaking Kristang everytime attend to children who definitely know how to speak Kristang. That is what I think I’ll do la...

R: What do you hope to achieve with the... the... the... the Portuguese club and the classes?

B20: No, it's just that um... instead of just being in a room, Facebook, speaking English, and telling people... proudly telling people that you're Kristang or you're Portuguese and you don't even know how to speak. Why... why... why not I just have a club and let all the children... all the children be inside there and s... learn how to speak Kristang. And I can.. I... I mean, I definitely... if we do like a concert thing and have a play thing on stage with all the children, the parents will have tears of joy... I mean, they'll have tears of joy in their eyes and thinking that, "What a wonderful children I have." They're like so young and they can speak Kristang.

R: So if it's... if it's up to you, do you think you will target the children in your... [Settlement...] in... in the propo... [The club thing, is it?] the club thing. Would you target the children or teenagers or t... young adults or...

B20: I'll probably say like I... I target the youth... [The youth.] Yes. It's like probably um... the section like, thirteen till thirty... I mean, thirteen till thirty then uh... six till thirteen or something, yeah. And like everybody be at that one place (xxx), having fun, even though... even though they want run around and... whatever, want to have fun. But just have a few mentors there standing, speaking Kristang, they'll definitely learn how to speak Kristang quickly.

B8 is of the opinion of reaching out to interested people only since calling people to come forward may be hard. She hopes to see her group on par with other groups in terms of having cultural trademarks. She makes a point on commitment: though there may be interest in language classes, commitment towards language classes is feared to be less compared to participating in events which are short term.

[E6.40, B8]

R: If it's up to you and you had unlimited resource and you had like support from the community and you had fund uh... funding, uh... would you like to do something to help keep the language alive?

B8: Ya. Like I said just now we have some event, maybe every Friday like before we have... we have events. Like Friday, Saturday, Sunday we have the Portuguese cultural dance. That's how tourist come in and they learn our language. Then we will talk. That's how we will talk. Like now, they don't have anything; only expect the classes. And some children they don't interest. Because they think they have to go to school, then go tuition, then come back. Maybe Saturday they have rest, but instead have to go for Kristang class. So maybe I think like event, more better event la... ah... They can contrib... can... can (xxx) more better event, so that the things will have more interest la...

R: So you are thinking of proposing some interesting... events... to attract the people... to come and learn about the language and culture...

B8: So like the own people also have the interest... they don't think that language already die...

R: Do... Would you try to attract the young people or anyone who's interesting in learning the language and culture?

B8: Better to teach the ones who's interested than you want to call them to get the interest because not easy la...

R: So uh... you... you won't target like a special group of... age group, you won't target only just the young people or just the children?

B8: Maybe from the... how you... how you do the event, that's how the... the people will learn la... That's how the people will get or maybe when you do a exciting event; that's how volunteers; you don't care what age; maybe he old age also when they don't understand they will learn. They have the interest to join...

R: So uh... is it... what do you hope to achieve with the events?

B8: What I hope to achieve?

R: Ya. If you could decide uh... on what to do, if you had the support and money, what do you hope to achieve with the... the events that you just proposed?

B8: Maybe can have more events outside. Like they have shows, maybe sometimes they have show like Indian shows, Malay, all the cultural, so we can put Portuguese also because like now they only main... maintain these three – Chinese, Indian and Malay. So maybe we can put Portuguese together... Ah...

R: Who do you think should play a role in getting more people involved in language efforts?

B8: I think the community have to la... because as a community, they have to a... a group... to make sure that our village is still alive and never let the people down la...

6.3.5.2 Learning MPC from fluent MPC speakers

Even though fluency of speakers may be a matter of perception, impression or even political, most research participants agree that the older generation and fishermen are among the fluent MPC speakers they can learn from.

[E6.41, B20]

R: Who do you think should play a role in getting more people involved in the language efforts?

B20: Uh... Yeah, all the grandparents

R: What about the parents?

B20: Uh... Parents all... the parents will be more... will have work and blah, blah, blah... so it's better to bring their grandparents and...

R: What do you hope that this grandparents can do?

B30: Um... Because grand... grandparents, all the grandparents in the settlement, they speak Kristang like most of the time. Even though you're two years old, three years old, like they'll just speak Kristang like most of the time. So they don't care what's your age. If they want to talk to you, they'll be... they'll be speaking... they'll be talking... I mean, speaking in Kristang. [Oh...] Yeah, so that's where I think grandparents will be good la...

6.3.5.3 Hoping for financial means and leadership

Some research participants were quick to point out financial resources as one of the needs to be resolved, whether for the development of the PS community or language revitalisation. A5, who has received funding for her work, is hopeful for a foundation for Serani (Malay, "Eurasians").

[E6.42, A5]

I would like to create a yayasan ,(Malay 'foundation'). Yes. Uh... I already said this and I want... I wanted to say Yayasan uh... National Serani. It would serve to give a... the Eurasians a chance to learn their language, to acknowledge their language, and have scholarships to go and, you know, try and preserve this language, for future... for future generations of the community. We have to ask the government first. The Malaysian government first. And this is the crucial time where we should ask because it's One Malaysia. If you are giving so much to one race, uh... you don't... this is just a small race and we're asking to keep just for a small group of us which will contribute to the uniqueness of the country, why not?

B30 similarly proposes an education foundation to be initiated for children of PS and Portuguese descent.

[E6.43, B30]

The form must be there to put it, I, we, this association guarantee, if your child can study, can go to university, everything will be paid for. But I don't have the money <chuckles> Regardless of who is your father, whether he can be a millionaire, that is not my business. If your son are entitled to get the... your son or your children are entitled to get that scholarship, we will give it. Provided you are a member of this association. But you pay every month two ringgit. I'm not asking you to pay hundred dollars a day or a hundred dollars a month, no, two

ringgit. So slowly we can open to all the Portuguese-descent children all over the wor... all over Malaysia. When the fund is bigger, so the more money inside there, the more the children will study because the parents will force the children to study.

A7 comments on not receiving support from the committee of the PS at the time of research, resulting in a powerless situation with little support for cultural activities and festivals to continue when such events have been a platform for promotion of their heritage language. Months after fieldwork, a new committee was appointed to manage the welfare of PS group members.

[E6.44, A7]

A7: Nope, nothing. No, nothing. They... they've got money, they've got uh... regular income because they've got the parking lots and all that. If we have got that kind of thing, we could... we could really do a lot of things, you know, but we don't have. They have got hundreds of... thousands of Ringgit but my argument... for example, you, were you down for San Pedro?

R: This year, no.

A7: No.

R: Last... last year I was.

A7: Last year were down. San Pedro has sunk into a... a mockery of the... of the... what do you call it... uh... culture. It has sunk to the level of k... pasar malam (Malay, 'night market') Whatever uh... elements that were... that portrait the culture has gone missing and people that used to come to... to San Pedro because they can relate to it, those Eurasians from afar do not come anymore because they cannot connect with what's happening anyway. So, this committee has, as I told earlier on, when I was (xxx) with them also I say, "Yeah, you're the... the... the... the festival is mutating, you got to do something about it, you got to change it." So, they are... in fact, they are killing it. They have killed it last... last San Pedro was the worst, man. It's the worst. So that's why we need to have changes la... We have to do it, no choice already.

6.3.5.4 Representing and capturing the uniqueness of MPC

Those who are involved in bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts have come to embrace the uniqueness of MPC more confidently. Among the non-language-revitalisation-actors, there is also general trend towards appreciating the uniqueness of MPC, though it may not be expressed as fully or confidently as the language revitalisation

actors. It was often expressed among research participants that the world outside may not know about them and their heritage language, which is undergoing changes as more attention is being given to the PS due to the land reclamation matters in the media. The following excerpt demonstrates how research participants perceive their heritage language to be and invite outsiders to get to know about them and their heritage language:

[E6.45, A3]

Yes we don't want the language to die off, uh... and we... we're trying to uhm... print a book maybe. So we can uhm... it... it's not about making money, no ah. Because sometimes people think uh... making book means selling and making money, no, that is not our aim. Our main aim is to let the people know that uh... there's so many other words that can uh... be used in our daily lives, huh, and to use the proper word at the... uh... with a proper sentence. Uh... because sometimes you see, they speak English in between or they speak... speak Bahasa in between. We don't want that to happen. We want them to speak fluent... fluently so that uh... other people uh... when they hear... because Kristang is a beautiful language and many people do not speak uhm... many people outside of Malacca I would say, they don't practice the language. But we here we do, every day we practice the language. It's a beautiful language if you come to learn about it, it's very beautiful. So we want people to appreciate the language, to know more about our language.

6.3.6 Being Motivated to Speak and Learn MPC

Motivations of speaking and learning MPC, as gathered from Category B research participants who would be the recipients of the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts, share similarities with motivations of initiating and participating in the efforts among the Category A language revitalisation actors.

6.3.6.1 MPC speaking and learning as identity and self construction

MPC-speaking group members, similar to other minority groups, see their heritage language as their identity and self construction. Group members see it as natural for them to speak MPC, mostly accrediting PS for a MPC-speaking environment. B20 is one of those who are in their twenties and still staying in the PS, in comparison to those who have moved to other cities for work opportunities. Having joined a cultural group

and participating in cultural documentary production, he sees speaking MPC as being a “Portuguese” (descendant):

[E6.46, B20]

R: OK. Do you think the language is important to everyone or just to certain groups of people?

B20: No, I think to everyone ah...

R: To everyone. Ok. So when people ask you uh... “Why do you still speak Kristang?”

B20: I will say, “It’s my language. How can I don’t speak? If you don’t speak uh... Kristang, then you are not a Portuguese.” We are born, breed here as ah... Portuguese, so might as well.

6.3.6.2 MPC speaking and learning as restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships

B20 recalls his experiences with a cultural dance troupe he used to be a part of in E6.47 and how such experiences have provided him a MPC-speaking environment.

[E6.47, B20]

R: Did you enjoy your experience like this?

B20: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Seriously I... I do enjoy because um... mainly you get to see places. Like when I was like thirteen, fourteen, and I... and I’m going... and I’m going to do a show, which is take me like, forty-five minutes and I’m going to be there for like three days. So fourteen years old going for holidays... without parents, that’s fun. Yeah, that’s fun for me.

R: Did you enjoy getting involved in the shooting... [Yes] of the cultural dance?

B20: Yes. Not... not just shooting, we also do private uh... functions.

R: Private functions?

B20: Yeah. As long as I’m on stage, and that’s the time there... that’s the time I’ll my best. So yeah, it’s just that.... it’s just that so fun, you know... Like, while we do our Portuguese dance, we also actually communicate and try to make fun each... each and other. Like... like... we’ll be like, “Oi, you swinging so slow, quick”. And we’ll speak in Kristang. So that’s why instead of you see smiling face, I mean, instead of seeing smiling face, you’ll be laugh... you’ll be seeing laughing face on stage.

R: When... when you are asked to um... perform for outsiders or when you are asked to um... be interviewed in Kristang or about the Kristang language... and culture... did you enjoy... all this?

B20: I mean uh... speaking about interview, mainly... I'm talking about few years ago, OK? Mainly that... what... what I think is I'm gonna be on TV, I'm going to be on TV and then I don't care who ever going to see this but that's me... and then secondly, I'll be like, speaking about my roots.

R: Yes.

B20: Yeah, I'm speaking about my roots and I'm sharing people about the history and the language, mainly language, not history la... I don't... because I don't know much about history. The language, the culture, the lifestyle of um... the Portuguese or Kristang in Portuguese settlement. So that... that is why I'm so proud because uh... people come to learn and to know more about us... So why don't we just let it out and let the whole world know about us. So that is... that is what I do and that's how I feel. Yeah, that is... that is what I feel.

6.3.6.3 Speaking and learning MPC as group and heritage survival

In a multilingual nation such as Malaysia, minority groups have different levels of exposure, either their exposure to the social world or the social world's exposure to these groups. The group in study remained isolated until the recent decades and this has helped contributed to their heritage language (Baxter, 2012). The wish to be “seen” by the social world to prove that they exist is expressed directly by group members such as in the following excerpt:

[E6.48, B8]

Yeah la... do something let... let the world know that we are still exist in the world la... [Mhm...] Or like some people think we all really pupus (Malay, ‘extinct’) ah... So we still is... beside, we still learn the language. And sometimes we do the cultural show, like before, I used to dance for B10, so when we go, people will think we all from Portugal. “We all, no, we all from Portuguese settlement”. So that's how the tourists come here and they... they get to know. And some people they get interesting, they learn la... that's how they learn Portuguese.

Sometimes we do talk. We will say,” Don't know next time our children grow up will have or not in this kampung”. We will have... we will talk la... about that. We will... we will never like let our culture to go away just like that. Because we have the interest ah...

MPC, like some other heritage languages, has also become a secret language among group members, especially in the presence of outsiders, either on social media (E6.49) or outside PS (E6.50).

[E6.49, B9]

Yeah. I've seen my friend around Facebook la... [You have seen your friends...] I mean... cause a lot of people don't know about the language right? [Uh...] So... I mean write in Kristang is like trying to tell us something secret la... [Oh... OK] I mean you don't want others to know ah... Yeah, something like that, so that people around here only know la...

A7 also shared that he would deliberately speak MPC when outside the PS:

[E6.50, A7]

Of course. If you speak Malacca Portuguese among the community, there is of course that... that... that sense of belonging, uh, and of course respect. If people can speak Portuguese la... we so insulting la... they speak better than us, you know... But when you speak outside the community, when you're say, going shopping and you want to say something that the shop people might not want to know, we speak in Portuguese and suddenly they say, "Wah, that bugger uh can... can speak different language, uh." And they ask, "Hey... hey, what you speaking, uh?" you know... that kind of thing they're... they're... because it sounds different, uh... [Yes] They're overawed by these things even now it happens, even in Malacca also, right. Even what more we're talking about in KL, uh, and other places. So, sometimes I deliberately do that, uh, just to... just to... to get their attention, just to show that... that, you know, we too have got our own language. so I thinks it's... it's an... a... to me it's always a plus factor la...

6.3.7 Explicating Relationships between Sub-processes

This section explicates the relationships between sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle before the next major component of the substantive model is presented. This serves as a signpost in highlighting the relevance the relationships between sub-processes which will be revisited in Chapter 7. Figure 6.3 illustrates the relationships of the sub-processes.

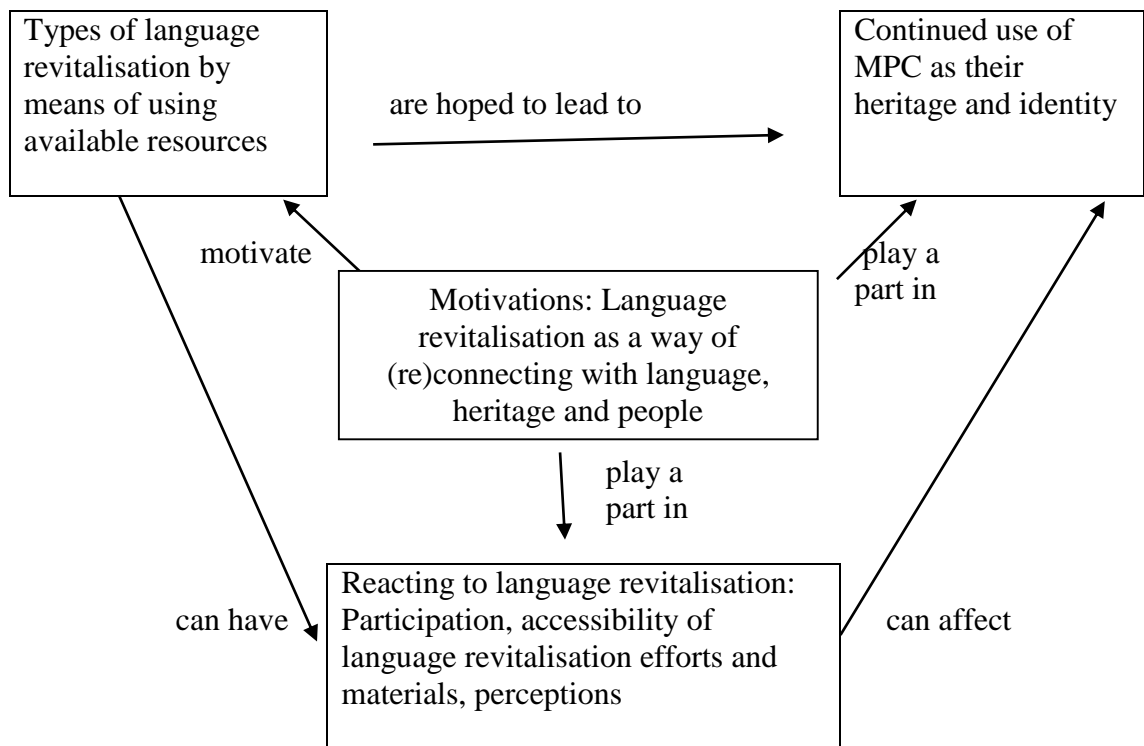


Figure 6.3: Explicating relationships between sub-processes of MPC language revitalisation process

As depicted in Figure 6.3, motivations to speak, learn and revitalise MPC, to reconnect with heritage language, heritage and people, drive the types of language revitalisation, and play a role both in the reactions towards language revitalisation efforts and the goal of language revitalisation: the continued use and relevance of MPC as heritage and identity. It must be emphasised again that a combination of internal and external motivations would have led to the rise of heritage and ownership awareness, accumulating in the overall cultural climate over time (see Section 6.3.1). While the types of language revitalisation lead to reactions towards language revitalisations, and are hoped to lead to the goal, the reactions towards language revitalisation naturally affect the outcome of language revitalisation and, by extension, the goal of language revitalisation. The next section looks at the implicit actions and meanings that emerged from the MPC language revitalisation process cycle.

6.4 The Continuum of Coping Strategies

The shift in epistemology and research has led to more studies on minority group members' conceptions and conceptualisation of themselves in relation to their native or heritage language, their group and their social worlds which emerge in social contexts, as researched, particularly in linguistic anthropological studies (e.g. Dorian, 1981; Gal, 1979; Kulick, 1992) and indigenous language studies (e.g. Alfred, 1999, 2005; Smith, 1999). The experience of minority group members provide windows into understanding the growth and development of self and group. However, as explained in Chapter 3, this research was conducted and this thesis was written bearing in mind the traps researchers may fall into, most particularly language essentialism, as it is not the intention of this thesis to equate a group of people with only one linguistic identity or see linguistic resources as the sole identity marker (Austin & Sallabank, 2014; May, 2003).

What and how group members say something and do or not do in relation to their experience as minority, heritage language speakers reflect, among others, the immediate concerns, agency of individuals or group in response to social worlds, and the political, cultural and historical societal-level shift. The MPC-speaking group members draw upon more implicit strategies to manage heritage language relevance. It is postulated that on one end there are group members who have little or occasional connection with a MPC-speaking heritage; on the other end, those who have initiated language revitalisation efforts have been motivated to take things into their own hands, showing their coping mechanisms in a more explicit way.

The continuum of coping strategies is presented in Figure 6.4 with two points on each end: more implicit strategies and more explicit strategies. As we move from the left point to the right point, the coping strategy becomes more explicit as group members decide to take things into their hands and get involved in language revitalisation efforts. This continuum explains why certain group members take up the role of getting involved

in language revitalisation efforts. At the end of showing or having little connection with a MPC-speaking heritage in the continuum, group members self-accommodate and connect with heritage by establishing occasional links, while on the other end, group members self-differentiate and self-determine as they establish more explicit links with a MPC-speaking heritage and come to speak about or promote MPC and speak on behalf of the MPC-speaking group after going through negotiation and reflection within self following exposure to possible language revitalisation ideas, inspirations and resources.

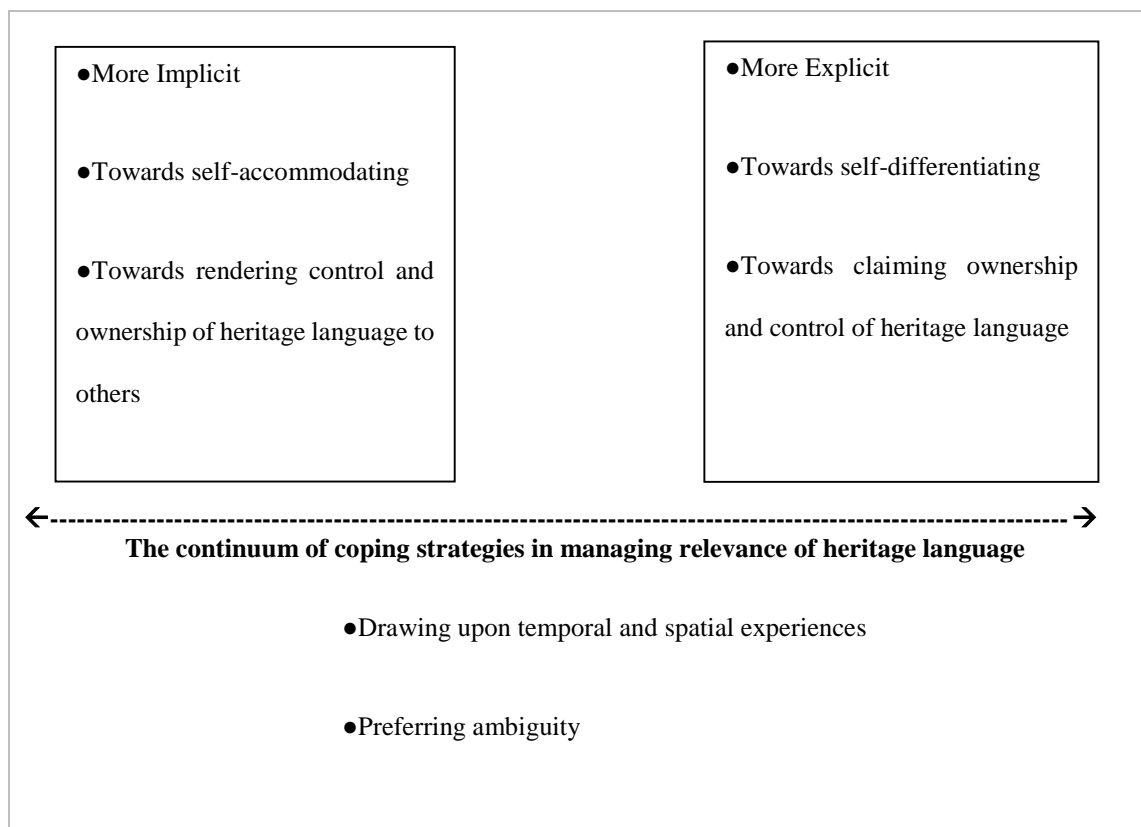


Figure 6.4: The continuum of coping strategies

The general goal of these coping strategies is the continued identification with a MPC-speaking heritage for a range of reasons and motivations. The coping strategies that emerged from data have been found to echo what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 69) found in their research, that culture is seen as something that can be “put on and off”

and the connection between language use and language transmission is not seen. The resemblance lies in how culture and heritage are drawn upon for self and group construction and identities while for the non-language-revitalisation-actors, their assurance by or reliance on others when it comes to confidence in the survival of their endangered heritage language suggests the connection between individual or family language use and language transmission.

The rest of this section discusses coping strategies that are employed along the continuum. One of these coping strategies employed by the MPC-speaking group is connecting with the past and future by drawing upon temporal experiences to manage relevance of their heritage creole language which relates to and reflects self directly. How temporal experiences are constructed have provided insights on self-constructing among other social groups such as among people with chronic illness (e.g. Charmaz, 2002; Corbin & Strauss, 1987), but this aspect of coping strategy is not as widely researched on endangered-language-speaking groups, less so with a bottom-up approach and from a perspective bridging socio-psychological and emotional experiences with endangered language and culture studies.

Backward-looking and forward-looking are two sub-strategies of drawing upon temporal experiences through which emotions and thoughts related to particular experiences are evoked and brought to the foreground. It may seem obvious that such coping strategies are employed because people usually look to the past for nostalgic reasons, and to the future for hopes and aspirations in a basic social process, both in majority or minority circumstances. However, why such coping strategies are employed in the situation in study provides valuable insights. By backward-looking, group members evoke emotions related to the past, often with a pinch of nostalgia towards the heritage language as heard spoken since little (e.g. see E6.51); the nostalgia towards the heritage language is closely linked to that towards the people who spoke it or the company in

which it was spoken. By forward-looking, group members shift focus to something in the near future and feel positive about what may take place (e.g. see E6.52). Both sub-strategies share one similarity: by looking to the past or the future, the present worries and problems are less felt and the relevance of the endangered heritage language is managed, without any necessary commitment to any present actions, via the connection made through positive emotions and thoughts towards the endangered heritage language. What is enacted is how the present agency of controlling the fate of their endangered heritage language is minimised and shifted: to the past one has no control over and to the future one may or may not have control over.

[E6.51; B9]

For now I think it's just normal la... I mean compared to before and now, when those days are much better la... I think. See everyone, I mean everyone who's older I mean they... they can speak, some very well you know... compared to children these days and now I mean people at my age and everyone they don't, they are most of them are not really fluent in Kristang as they are those days...

[E6.52; B25, R]

R: What do you feel about people uh... what do you feel about the works done? Like the documentations of your language and your culture. What do you feel about these works? Do you agree with these works? Do you like to see more of these works to be done?

B25: Yeah.

R: Yeah. Um...

B25: It is good actually because you taking just to know about the Kristang then next time it will never die, somebody knows and the thing, you know, maybe they will try to carry on and doing something better. Mmm...

R: Mmm... OK... mmm... What do you hope people working on your language can do for the community?

B25: I think next generation can learn from this next time.

The other coping strategy employed in managing endangered language relevance, preferring ambiguity, can be related to avoidance strategies (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer,

1998). This coping strategy allows a connection with the endangered heritage language, whether the connection may be foregrounded, kept neutral or kept in the background, while avoiding any possible confrontation with social power or judgement. A preference for ambiguity such as “I don’t know” and “I’m not sure” may mask real thoughts, though there are pre-assumptions that we must be aware: that it may not always be done so as intentionally and Asian values need to be taken into consideration. Acknowledging this is a step away from sounding too deterministic as this coping strategy allows a range of conditions that prompt this strategy. Apart from preferring ambiguity as prompted by an intention to avoid confrontation, it may also uncover any uncertainties or confusion about associating with or talking about their endangered heritage language and that it can also help avoid further pursuit on certain topics such as those related to their heritage or their social or political views. This coping strategy is sometimes accompanied by another strategy, redirecting question to others, when group members are feeling humble and not in place to comment or act. A combination of conditions can prompt these related strategies. Why one prefers ambiguity in social context are telling in terms of power, social structure and ideologies. For instance, note how B8 opted for an ambiguous way of talking about why MPC is not being learned by the younger generation in the first exchange in E6.53.

Another coping strategy employed by group members is drawing upon others’ experiences or works on confidence in the survival of their endangered heritage language and their continued identification with a MPC-speaking heritage. This strategy can also be linked to having a lower expectation or broader concept on what makes speaking MPC counts which is common in other endangered-language-speaking groups too though it must be noted that it is a natural process for heritage language to change and take a slightly different shape or form nonetheless. In the second exchange in E6.53, B8 employs this

strategy and cites how people outside PS are speaking MPC so this adds to the assurance and confidence in the survival of MPC:

[E6.53; B8]

R: Why is it that the young people don't want to learn the language?

B8: Don't know la... Maybe for them it's too hard or because we don't have like proper classes. Then we don't go like school for Kristang. So maybe they... they think the language is not important ah... [Mhm...]

R: If let's say in the future, less and less people are speaking the language, do you think your cul... the people's uh... culture and traditions can still continue without the language?

B8: I think still can la... but this... the language cannot go off la... because not only here. We have Australian, we have Penang, we have KL also, they have Eurasian. Maybe because they married outside... outsiders but they still learn the language and they want to learn more... [Mhm...] Ah...

R: Do you think it's a... a must for one to understand and speak Kristang if he wants to be a member of the community?

B8: Not definitely la... If you don't know also you can learn what... [OK] Ah... They can teach you because it's not difficult. It's whether you want or don't want, that's all.

On one end of the continuum is self-accommodating, where most non-language-revitalisation-actors group members are less eloquent in expressing their thoughts on topics related to their heritage language, in contrast to the group members who have taken up the role of language revitalisation actors on the other end of the continuum. E6.54 shows how in reply to a follow-up question after the question about personal efforts of keeping their heritage language alive was posted, a research participant shared that he does not talk about the future of their heritage language with family and friends. Such a reply to the same question is attested among other non-language-revitalisation-actors group members too. The low level of eloquence or expressivity towards their heritage language and reinforced by the preference for ambiguity among the non-language-revitalisation-actor group members deserves attention as less-than-expected attitudes towards their heritage language have been associated with certain perceptions or

interpretations: that such attitudes of theirs are associated with their laid-back lifestyle and being “complacent” (Lee, 2010) or as mentioned earlier, “lethargic” (see E6.28).

[E6.54, B19]

R: OK. Do you talk to your friends and family about the future of Kristang?

B19: No.

R: No. So you haven’t really, like, sat down and talked... and (have some) chat (about it)?

B19: Uh... We don’t talk about this.

On the other end of the continuum, motivations drive certain group members into taking charge and taking actions, taking things into their own hands. The explicit coping strategies that distinguish language revitalisation actors from non-actors are evident in the first three sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle presented above, namely motivations, methods and mobilising support, as group members decide to take things into their hands and get involved in language revitalisation efforts. The strategy of taking things into own hands can be aligned to the process of self-determination as studied from a socio-cognitive process (Self-Determination Theory as an approach to human motivation and personality in Ryan & Deci, 2000) and as related to Indigenous Self-Determination in indigenous language studies (Crawford, 2000).

These motivations can go back a long way, tracing to what one has experienced growing up socially and internally. Group members share about interrelated rather than distinct motivations when sharing about why they have initiated or participated in language revitalisation. The motivations reported by group members are channelling inner emotions and needs, restoring and reconstructing heritage and relationships, reclaiming ownership of heritage and landscape and work opportunities. Their motivations revolve around one thing in common, personal interest in aligning with a self identifying with MPC-speaking heritage in a more self-differentiating way. Generally, all

language revitalisation efforts can be seen as opportunities to fulfil personal interest, either to take on personal callings, transform inner feelings or needs into actions or influence others' behaviours and ideologies. This personal factor has its role to play in decisions made on the sub-processes of taking things into own hands, which are methods and mobilising support.

6.5 Situating Findings in Wider Contexts

This section highlights the presence and interaction of wider contexts. As presented in Chapter 2, the implications of reciprocal multilingualism are an openness to other cultures and languages and other languages can be learned. The benefits of reciprocal multilingualism manifest socially as being multilingual can be seen as respect and goodwill in establishing friendly relationships; people speaking vernacular languages are found to be proud of their linguistic competence. Similarly, Ansaldo (2009: 151) discusses the role of multilingualism in enabling multilingual contact language speakers (citing from the Sri Lanka Malay, Baba Malay, Makista cases) become mediators or power-brokerage between local society and colonial structures. The accumulating ideologies since the pre-colonial period continue to interact with ideologies from the colonial periods, and from the present and future. These ideologies may take on newer packaging or restructuring, and the elements and contents that accumulate and interact are never and will never be static and permanent. The interactions between ideologies are further discussed in Chapter 7. This section situates the MPC language revitalisation process cycle and the continuum of coping strategies in wider contexts.

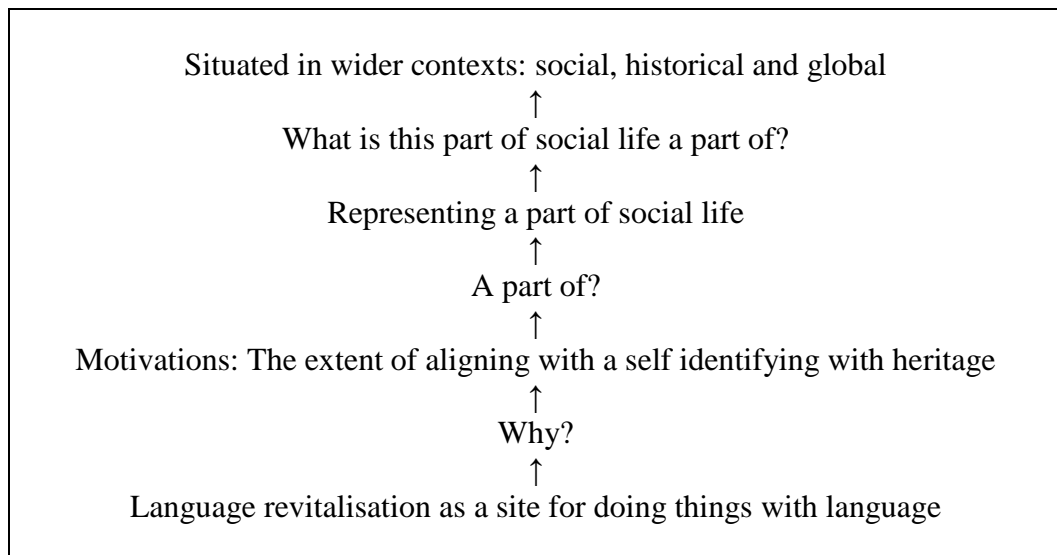


Figure 6.5: Situating the MPC language revitalisation process cycle and the continuum of coping strategies in wider contexts

Figure 6.5 illustrates how from approaching the experiences and expressivity of the MPC-speaking group members in relation to MPC language revitalisation, language revitalisation becomes a site for doing things with language, as depicted in the continuum of coping strategies. The motivations behind the coping strategies which are implicit in the more explicit sub-processes in the MPC language revitalisation process cycle are traced to the extent of aligning with a self identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage. These motivations that lead to the conceptions and conceptualisations among group members in constructing a part of their social life have to be situated in the wider contexts. The social contexts refer to the multilingual and multicultural society. The historical contexts include the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and contemporary development, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. The global contexts include the overall cultural climate and epistemological shifts, as discussed in Chapter 3. The interactions between the wider contexts will be discussed in relation to the implications on language-related matters in Chapter 7.

6.6 Close-to-heart Matters and Peoplehood

This section serves as an attempt in approaching close-to-heart matters for the PS MPC-speaking group members and how these can be related to peoplehood. In considering the motivations of speaking, learning and revitalising MPC, the motivations behind aligning with a self identifying with a MPC-speaking heritage are identified. In doing so, the processes of speaking, learning and revitalising MPC are related to the presence of a larger sense of being part of the MPC-speaking group members. What make up the larger sense of being part of the MPC-speaking heritage leads to the considerations on what make them who they are as a group of people. The notion of peoplehood is widely discussed in indigenous studies. In the research process, there were attempts to understand the PS MPC-speaking group members' values and matters that are close to the people's heart in conversations but these values and matters were not able to be conceptualised beyond a superficial examination until a later stage of the research process. It has to be pointed out that the social and historical development of the indigenous and the people who identify with a contact language situation are essentially different.

However, being contact-language-speakers should not be taken as a given as to why they have less of what make up their peoplehood, as a new society speaking a new language (in the sense of Ansaldo, 2009). The reasons discussed about why contact languages are understudied in research, namely the shorter history timeline, the lack of autonomy and the pressure to accommodate (Bartens, 2005; Garrett, 2006; O'Shannesy, 2011), do not mean contact-language-speakers are any less than other language speakers, a point affirmed in an evolutionary framework as related to how contact language situations are not exceptional but rather, are natural evolution (Ansaldo, 2009; Mufwene, 2001, 2003, 2013). The re-examination of values and matters important to the PS MPC-speaking group members was triggered when considering what could possibly reconcile the dynamics of voices and views as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

As illustrated in Figure 6.6, the larger sense of being part of the MPC-speaking heritage goes beyond speaking, learning and revitalising MPC and goes back to what make them identify with the heritage. These close-to-heart matters, abstracted as larger parts in life, constitute the peoplehood of the MPC-speaking group members.

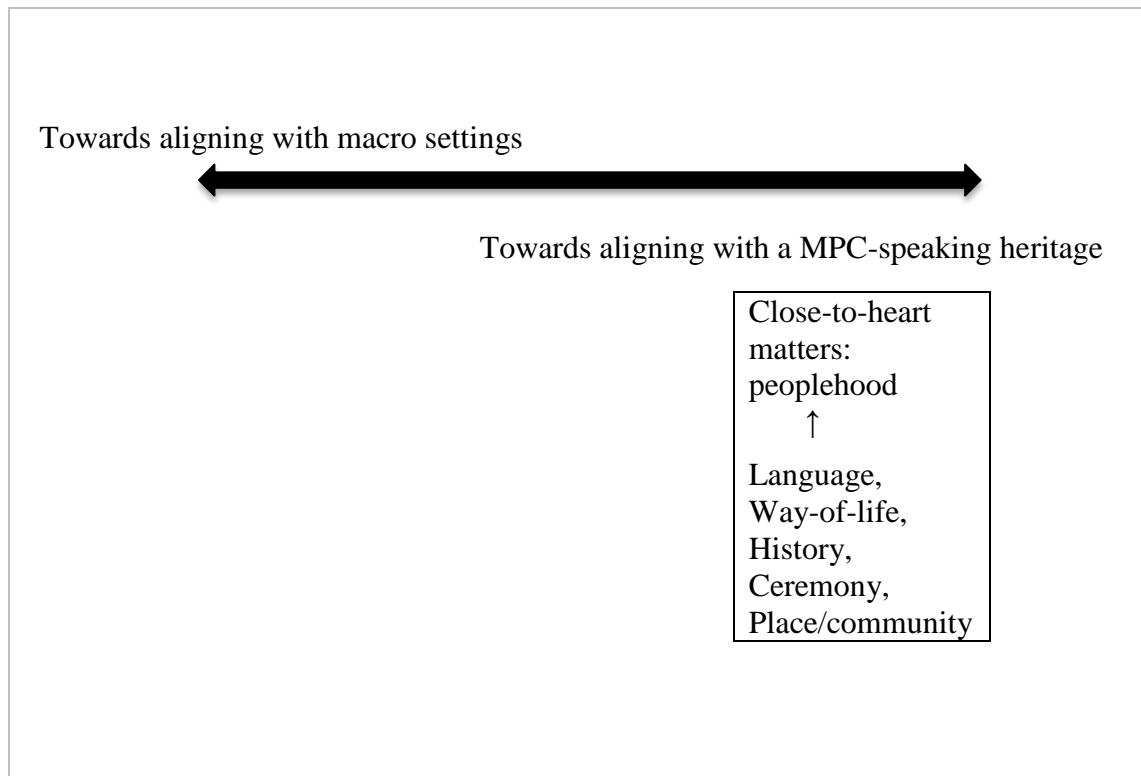


Figure 6.6: Close-to-heart matters and peoplehood

In Figure 6.6, place or community, specifically for the PS MPC-speaking group members, refers to the presence of PS (i.e. geographically and physically) and of the PS community (i.e. the people, the network, the communities of practice). For MPC-speaking group members, though not directly dealt with in the present study, the place and community can refer to their respective communities of practice and network, which can also include the digital space and social media. Similarly, the PS MPC-speaking group

members are also establishing a voice and space in the digital space and social media. The ceremony refers to cultural (and religious) practices and celebrations. The history constitutes the socio-historical development that has made them who they are. The way-of-life is essentially made up by practices and elements from their everyday life, including food and music. The language is the linguistic resources in which the peoplehood can be manifested, in complementing other larger parts of what make up the peoplehood of the MPC-speaking group members. These larger parts of the peoplehood are explicitly or implicitly manifested throughout the present study. The consideration of the peoplehood in relation to language revitalisation is discussed in Chapter 7.

6.7 Summary

This chapter concludes with a cleaned up version of the illustration of the substantive model of managing heritage language relevance which will be discussed in relation to the meanings of MPC language revitalisation in Chapter 7. In Figure 6.7, the substantive model comprises four major components. The arrows suggest the source and destination or cause and effect relationships as usually indicated by arrows. Note that the major component that was established towards the end of research process after the other three major components were identified is now integrated as the third major component. This is because close-to-heart matters and peoplehood, like other micro-processes, feed into and are in response or resistance to the wider contexts.

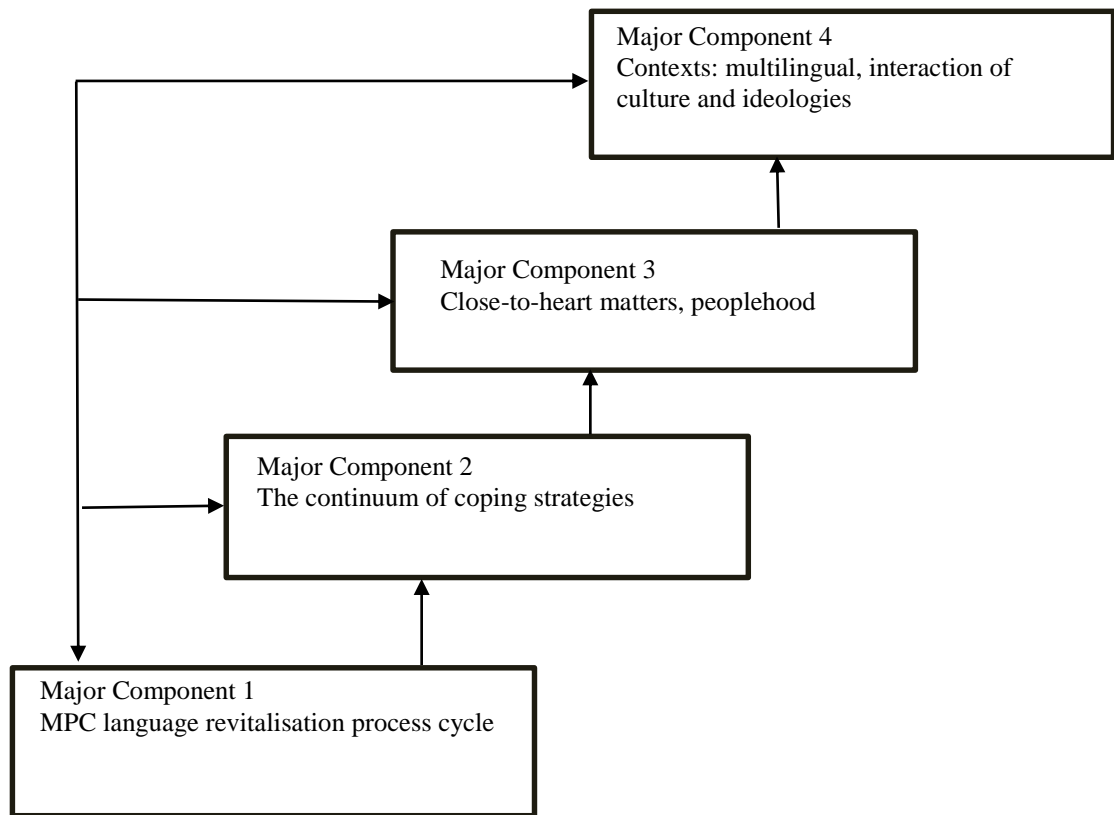


Figure 6.7: A substantive model of managing heritage language relevance

Against local language revitalisation efforts (Major component 1) and the wider contexts, research participants align with a particular sense of self: a self that identifies or identifies to a lesser degree, since few things are ever black or white, a MPC-speaking heritage. The motivations and extent of such aligning manifest in the managing of the relevance of MPC-speaking heritage (Major component 2) and for those who identify with the PS (as are most participants since the present study focuses on the PS MPC-speaking group members), being part of the PS MPC-speaking group members. Close-to-heart matters in terms of peoplehood, i.e. being part of the people who identify with a (PS) MPC-speaking heritage (Major component 3), support and complement each other while making up the larger sense of MPC-speaking heritage and identity, as a part of their

social life and crucial features of presence (in the sense of Charmaz, 2014) against the wider contexts. In the discussion in Chapter 7 on what can be drawn from the substantive model over a range of matters related to language and language revitalisation, these major components in the substantive model will be discussed.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

As introduced in Chapter 1, the process of managing heritage language relevance emerged strongly to capture research participants' experience as reconstructed in their discourse and co-constructed with researcher, situated against the wider multilingual and postcolonial context and local language revitalisation efforts. Such a theoretical progress towards coping strategies of the group in study is in line with the quest of a social process or central phenomenon as pursued in a Grounded Theory study (Charmaz, 2006, 2014), while the outcome of research can be related to coping strategies as employed in other social processes or phenomena. The first research question is addressed in the previous chapter: How is MPC relevance managed by negotiating and constructing its meanings against the backdrop of the language revitalisation process and the wider multilingual and post-colonial backdrop? Chapter 6 presents a substantive model on how MPC-speaking group members manage the relevance of their endangered heritage language as illuminated by:

- i. the sub-processes filling up the MPC language revitalisation process cycle,
- ii. the continuum of coping strategies
- iii. the matters close to the heart of the people
- iv. the wider contexts

This chapter discusses what can be drawn from the substantive model of managing heritage language relevance, from the sub-processes, coping strategies, outcomes and ideologies from wider contexts as emerged in MPC language revitalisation process. To weave the four major categories of the substantive model into a coherent analysis, and to string the interdisciplinary concepts (see Chapter 3 for major concepts drawn from disciplines including linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, an ecological framework,

an evolutionary framework, language revitalisation) together as a coherent framework, at the core of the analysis, lies three dimensions: discourses, ideologies and identities. As explained in Chapter 3, these three dimensions are connected via:

- i. the construction of language- and heritage-related experience as a part of social life, namely language endangerment and language revitalisation, in discourses (though not limited only to verbal discourses) in response to a wider process of social, cultural and political development;
- ii. the relationship between mutually constitutive discourses, ideologies and identities;
- iii. the social basis and political power contributing to the *constructedness* of the language in study and of the experience of the people in study, bearing in mind that the representation of an aspect of social life and ideologies via discourses has to be understood against the power relations in the wider context.

The notion of social motivation, the drive behind social processes and social representation which themselves also drive further motivations, speaks to all social processes. *Motivation* here is used in relation to the meaning of *acts of identity* as discussed by Croft (2003) and of *identity or multiple alignments* discussed by Ansaldo (2009; see Chapter 3), both coming from an evolutionary framework. This thesis attempts to approach and reconcile the three dimensions:

- i. the conceptions and conceptualisations of experiences and coping strategies (discourses, though experiences and coping strategies discussed in this thesis also include actions in language revitalisation),
- ii. the identifying of the underlying tensions, disconnect between what is said and what is done, and goals and needs (ideologies),

- iii. the discovering of what choices have been made and identities aligned with (identities).

As stated in Chapter 3, although the present study deals with evaluating bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts up to a certain extent, the nature and ideologies of *evaluating* here are not strictly evaluating in terms of success rate and predicting vitality. This is because the MPC language revitalisation efforts are fairly recent and mostly sporadic to date (e.g. mostly individual or group's efforts, on-and-off in reality, follow-up efforts could take a long time), and thus, do not make a suitable candidate for a longitudinal evaluation at the time of research. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it was observed prior to and during the conduct of the present study that not many research participants participated in or knew much about the MPC language revitalisation efforts. However, a bigger consideration is how strict and premature evaluations that do not consider the context and environment of the language and group in study could leave negative impacts on the group and the language revitalisation efforts. As such, a better way of looking at the MPC language revitalisation would be to understand the experiences of the group members and make propositions for language revitalisation based on data by connecting implications of findings over a range of interrelated matters. In search of possible explanations of implications of findings, this chapter draws on language evolutionary framework (Ansaldi, 2009; Croft, 2003; Mufwene, 2001, 2003, 2013) in going beyond the link between language and identity though the framework is also drawn upon where relevant in Chapter 3, allowing a fuller picture of the interaction between language contact, language endangerment and language revitalisation, all of which are social processes in which humans interact with their ecology and social powers.

The four major categories of the substantive model are weaved into the discussion to examine the strategies and sub-processes in light of literature (e.g. factors, variables,

considerations and practices in language revitalisation), and to discuss the prospects of keeping MPC relevant. As presented in Chapter 6, the coping strategies of managing the relevance of MPC can be approached as a continuum, with more implicit strategies on one end and more explicit strategies on the other end. The more implicit strategies and more explicit strategies are similar to accommodation and differentiation through language use (Ansaldi, 2009). Along the continuum, coping strategies can be more ambivalent for reasons such as avoiding confrontation and rendering or refuting control to others. The sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle are situated in a larger context in the present discussion.

There are three parts to the present discussion. The first part of the discussion in this chapter discusses the meanings of and evaluates the MPC language revitalisation efforts thus far. The focus is on the meanings of managing relevance of MPC against the language revitalisation process cycle: what the efforts could mean to those involved, and as well as to those on the recipient side of the efforts, rather than strictly judging or predicting language vitality and revitalisation efforts success. The second part discusses the dynamics as emerged in the interwoven (i) discourses and (ii) coping strategies over a range of related matters: language purism, language ownership, literacy and post-colonial planning, language acquisition, language transmission and contemporary trends. The third part discusses what can be drawn from the present study in relation to language revitalisation.

7.2 Meanings of MPC Language Revitalisation Efforts

Language revitalisation is a manifestation of language planning but is not limited to only language in terms of its components and effects (Chapter 3). In search of ways of framing and evaluating the MPC language revitalisation in a way suitable for the case in study, this section takes cue from King (2001) who in turn draws from Cooper's (1989)

accounting scheme for language planning activities in framing the Saraguro language revitalisation. Such a decision is based on the accounting scheme's focus on grassroots activities, and Cooper's aligning language planning with types of influence to behaviours instead of outright change. Cooper puts forward a definition of language planning after reviewing previous definitions, *who plans what for whom by how?* King's (2001: 205) condensation of Cooper's accounting scheme phrased as eight sub-questions is referred to below:

- (i) What actors, (ii) attempt to influence what behaviours, (iii) of which people, (iv) for what ends, (v) under what conditions, (vi) by what means, (vii) through what decision making process, (viii) with what effect?

In relation to the MPC case, each component is discussed in the following:

- i. What actors

MPC language revitalisation efforts are sporadic, spontaneous and initiated by interested individuals or individuals associated with or forming a group. These individuals are motivated by a range and a combination of interrelated internal and external motivations, as presented in Chapter 6, including personal interest or pursuit (e.g. reclaiming ownership of heritage and community, reconnecting with heritage, reconnecting with social space-time using MPC) and community-external factors (e.g. being exposed to other minority groups' experience, receiving recognition on efforts, being funded). These individuals stand out from other group members by motivations that drive them to take the initiative to take things into control and exhibit a stronger sense of agency, empowerment, self-determination and self-differentiation via their actions and discourses. Their coping strategies in managing the relevance of their heritage language are more

explicit in comparison to group members who are not involved in language revitalisation. Among these individuals, there are those whose background is related to how they approach MPC language revitalisation efforts (e.g. qualification and experience in teaching, experience in representing the MPC-speaking heritage in public and world forums such as in international conferences) though all individuals' background and experience are valued. Given more specific qualification and experience, some individuals demonstrate leadership qualities or can work individually in a self-motivated way. All individuals enjoy the communities of practice and social space-time that allow them to cross temporal and spatial borders (e.g. being nostalgic, looking to the future, reigniting familial or good experience with MPC) to reconnect with their heritage.

ii. What behaviours

Similar to the case of most minority groups, there is no single one source of language planning activity, language planning goal or activity (e.g. King, 2001). As efforts are sporadic and spontaneous, goals depend on individuals or groups. Since the efforts are often done in isolation, and actions and goals of efforts are often not made known to others other than their target audience, there have been similarities in the actions and goals of efforts, such as compiling MPC words and materials. The efforts aim generally to generate interest in speaking and learning MPC with some attempting to generate both interest and fun in speaking and learning MPC. The goal of language transmission is less explicit as the focus is on getting the younger generation to learn basic MPC even though there were views expressed by research participants to engage parents in language activities. The focus on

the connection between language use and language transmission (in the sense as referred to by Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998) was not foregrounded.

iii. Of which people

Most efforts focus on getting children and teenagers to learn MPC though adults are also welcomed. The general perception is children still have the capacity to learn MPC while teenagers shy away from speaking MPC. The annual activities (e.g. festival performances including those of San Pedro and Christmas) are perceived to be the public sphere to demonstrate that the younger generation, especially children, are still capable of speaking MPC though in most cases, the performances in which MPC is used are scripted and checked by individuals who are deemed qualified to do so. Such an orientation is also observed in language revitalisation, in the hope that MPC use among the younger generation can encourage more people to speak MPC. At the time of research, the recipient group members were observed to be less aware of or not informed on the MPC language revitalisation efforts; those who were aware of the efforts did not know much about the efforts.

iv. For what ends

Although there is no consensus on this as there is no one single body which reconciles goals and needs, the general goal is keeping MPC relevant as part of the people's heritage and identity or seen conversely, manifesting their heritage and identity through MPC. More MPC resources, which range from matching the local variety more accurately, portraying the "old" MPC more

accurately (e.g. words and expressions used by the older generations) or looking for a more “correct” portrayal of MPC (e.g. drawing from European Portuguese vocabulary, using Malay words was deemed less “correct”), are hoped to be created.

v. Under what conditions

The conditions that have encouraged the bottom-up language revitalisation efforts include the commemoration of the arrival of the Portuguese in Malacca in 1511 and cultural activities and festivals (e.g. San Pedro and San Juan festivals) that promote the use of at least symbolic use of MPC in public spheres and more MPC use in social space-time among group members (either from the PS or outside PS who come to PS for the cultural activities and celebrations) and enforce the role MPC plays as part of the people’s heritage. The portrayal of the PS and the PS MPC-speaking group in tourism in Malacca and funds (though not consistent from year to year, see Chapter 2) has drawn interest to the cultural activities and celebrations in the PS. Such interest, giving a boost to MPC prestige and image, not only flow from tourists but also people who identify themselves with the same heritage but have grown up in or moved to other places (e.g. Penang, Singapore, Melbourne).

vi. By what means

The MPC language revitalisation efforts to date manifest in three forms: language classes, the creation of MPC materials and the language-speaking group, mostly self-determined and the extent of engaging group members varies. Based on reactions towards these language revitalisation efforts at

the time of study (Chapter 6), the engagement with group members is minimal to medium (language classes in 2011-2012). Language efforts are complemented as being part of larger cultural activities, festival celebrations or conferences and campaigns to raise awareness on heritage- and PS-related matters.

vii. Through what decision making process

The orientation of learning MPC is more institutional (e.g. language classes) and may focus on a certain variety that is deemed culturally “correct” or “authentic” when the efforts target the younger generation. Even in more casual settings, conversations in MPC also show an orientation in search of the “old” words or expressions as used by the older generation which are no longer used by the younger generations. There would be discussions among group members on how some words are Malay or from other languages and how those “old” words used to be used in place of the contemporary vocabulary.

viii. With what effect

At the time of research, the fairly recent MPC language revitalisation efforts were not suitable for a longitudinal evaluation. The more dated efforts produced MPC materials but mainly target audience outside the PS which are out of the scope of this thesis. However, the MPC language revitalisation efforts have, along with complementing cultural activities, heightened interest in MPC, which by no means refutes that the interest in MPC was in presence all along. It could be said that interest in MPC, after more language revitalisation efforts are undertaken, has come to be expressed in a more

explicit way, in consistent with a shift towards more explicit coping strategies if group members are more self-differentiated and self-empowered in matters related to their heritage. Heightened interest in MPC was observed in the use of MPC in social media, and in more MPC use in public spheres (e.g. conferences, public talks) and private spheres (e.g. more MPC-speaking sessions were reported in the conduct of research), and among both MPC-speaking group members in the PS and outside PS. The efforts also contribute to the overall culture climate (Dorian, 1987) and are perceived to be able to transmit a part of culture and traditional way-of-life.

This thesis adds to the growing acknowledgment and recognition of on-the-ground language revitalisation efforts initiated by minority group members, however big or small scale, as the efforts bear witness to self-determination and empowerment, not only linguistically but also generally in all aspects of a group. Drawing upon Constructivist Grounded Theory (Chapter 4 and 5) has allowed, in addition to the focus on meanings and actions, the unfolding of temporal sequences as they are linked in a process and lead to change as single events become linked as part of a larger whole (Charmaz, 2014). Linking temporal sequences leads to filling up the sub-processes of the language revitalisation process: from how it begins to how it is perceived and received and where it may lead.

As emerged in data, motivations, be it of speaking, learning or revitalising MPC, are important for understanding the MPC language revitalisation process, which also give indications on group members' interaction with the social structure. Via motivations, indications are also given on individuals' relationship with group members and with the social space-time using MPC. Motivations drive construction of identities and ideologies

in reaction to ecology while they are simultaneously driven by identities and ideologies alignment and construction.

The motivations driving the MPC language revitalisation efforts revolve around keeping MPC relevant in either the language revitalisation actors' life and for those who reach out to other group members, the group's daily life. It is expressed among research participants that it is hoped that MPC will be spoken and kept relevant in daily life. The MPC language revitalisation actors mostly think positively of the prospects of keeping MPC relevant among the PS MPC-speaking group. Such views should be considered against a bigger picture of the daily life of the PS MPC-speaking group where MPC, though perceived to be spoken less among the younger generations, can be found or heard in the daily events (e.g. spoken within family and neighbourhood) and events (e.g. funeral and mass). The seemingly active and receptive use of MPC in the PS in contrast to the lack of intergenerational language transmission is possibly one of the reasons why a heritage language labelled as endangered by researchers is getting the treatment as it has received among its language users, the way it has always been: spoken and transmitted orally and informally.

Research participants who are on the recipient side of the MPC language revitalisation efforts find solace in the idea that their language is being taken care of by someone, even more so by someone from their own. Dorian (1998) notes how it is almost easier to insist on the importance of language to heritage and identity in settings where the ancestral language is entirely lost than in settings where it's retained by a relatively small number. Dorian (1987) puts forward four possible reasons for undertaking language revitalisation efforts even when the success of the efforts may be deemed low at the outright: (i) internalised negative attitudes, (ii) the transmission of traditional cultural values and ways of life, (iii) economic, and (iv) the overall cultural climate. The

motivations behind MPC language revitalisation share all though in terms of *economic*, only a fairly small portion of the group members are affected.

Chapter 6 presents a substantive model. This model can be referred to in understanding the meanings of bottom-up MPC language revitalisation and strategies in managing relevance of MPC. The meanings of language revitalisation are explicated in the relationships between codes, categories and concepts, and later between the major components of the substantive model. Immediate concerns, conceptions and conceptualisations of experience, identity alignment and ideologies are uncovered in coping strategies through language use and actions. As presented in Chapter 6, research participants who are motivated to take things into their own hands employ explicit strategies to keep MPC relevant in everyday life by creating more social-space time for MPC use. To research participants who employ implicit strategies in drawing on MPC relevance to construct self and identities, the social space-time for MPC use is considerably more limited in that there appears to be a time and space for MPC. Recall how school children are thought to have “no time” for MPC language classes or how language revitalisation actors are perceived to “have the time” for language revitalisation efforts (see Chapter 6).

The connection between language and culture remains a site for MPC group members to make sense of their experience as individuals and as group members in relation to the meaning of their presence and interaction with social worlds, and to negotiate and construct their identities. That cultural activities are often included as part of language revitalisation, or language revitalisation is seen as part of cultural activities by language revitalisation actors, demonstrates the intertwined nature of the language-cultural nexus. Such demonstration is not the same as saying a group’s culture cannot survive without their heritage language, as research shows otherwise (see Pillai & Khan, 2011). A more relevant way of looking at this can be drawn from Fishman (1989: 399)

who contends that “language always exists in a culture matrix and that the matrix rather than the language is the point at which support is most needed”, as discussed in Chapter 3. The need to support the overall development of minority groups and not just the language has also been pointed out in Chapter 3 (May, 2003; Mufwene, 2003; Mühlhäusler, 2003).

In general, the MPC language revitalisation process cycle presented in Chapter 6 demonstrates the recognition of MPC as part of the group’s heritage and identity and how the relevance of MPC is managed. Group members find meanings in and make meanings out of a part of their social life, that of dealing with language evolution and language revitalisation. The general meanings revolve around the language-cultural nexus, apart from the language-ideological aspects that will be examined in the next section, as it is hoped that MPC continues to be relevant to the group members as part of their heritage and identities.

7.3 Examining Discourses and Coping Strategies

The previous section looks at the salient meanings of MPC language revitalisation as put into perspectives. In contrast, this section discusses and highlights the dynamics of meanings of language revitalisation among PS MPC-speaking group members to address the mismatch between language revitalisation efforts and reactions and between positive perceptions of heritage language and actual practices. To allow the dynamics of meanings to show, this section examines discourses and coping strategies over a range of interrelated matters. Some of those discussed have been reported elsewhere or even expected in similar circumstances though every contact language situation is unique. This has to be understood against the ideologies (e.g. pre-colonial, colonial, nation-state) that have been deeply ingrained and become part of the identities of some minority groups, leaving impacts and traces on the people’s conceptions and conceptualisations of what

should and should not be. The discussion below can be seen as the overall effects of and catalysts of motivations underlying social processes. The concepts discussed and exemplified are interrelated as a web of the present circumstances of past development and can be future determining factors. Discourses and coping strategies on the ground are connected to social motivations and processes. This connection will foreground which identity out of multiple identities and ideologies to align with, or are at play or interact. The understanding of a social aspect of the group in study in managing the relevance of their heritage language provides windows into how members continue to construct the new society that was formed from a range of heritage societies in settlement colonies (Mufwene, 2001) while conforming to colonial ideologies, and shaping and reshaping new society ideologies. The multiple, simultaneous and continuous interactions of pre-colonial, colonial, new society and contemporary ideologies contribute to the nature of the make-up of the language (think lexical, substance and schematic linguine as discussed by Croft, 2003), of the group of people identifying with a language and of the society in which contact languages develop.

As agency or motivation-based drive (in terms of identity) is recognised behind all language processes, and it is evident that it is “a matter of choice” (Croft, 2003: 14), it can be reasoned that what can be done in language revitalisation is also, as it follows, a matter of choice and agency matters, despite continuous subordinating to, resisting and interacting with social powers and structure. However, to recognise the agency or motivation-based drive behind language processes is not the same as saying speakers are always making conscious decisions to speak or not speak a language. It is acknowledged that, though there have been cases of conscious cases of giving up languages due to political and survival reasons (e.g. genocide, disaster or illness), research has shown that in language processes such as language shift and language loss, language speakers may not consciously make decisions to give up on a language (Mufwene, 2003). Language

revitalisation thus becomes complex and multifaceted, having to consider the reality of the role of a heritage language in the present socio-economic systems (Mufwene, 2003; see also Dorian, 1998, on a similar stance on how navigating by traditional means is harder compared to navigating by modern means), while attempting to influence behaviours and ideologies at the psychological level which are hoped to manifest in practice, either consciously or subconsciously. The underlying dynamic ideologies that are at play are manifested through the coping strategies used in managing relevance of MPC: self-differentiating (e.g. claiming ownership explicitly), self-accommodating, preferring ambiguity and rendering control of matters such as heritage language efforts to others and drawing upon temporal and spatial experiences, as examined in the next section.

7.3.1 Language Purism

This section examines perceptions towards possible varieties of MPC and the way perceptions are affected by purism before how shifts towards and away from purism are at play against language revitalisation are discussed. Language purism “can be seen to represent a form of conservatism, a harking back to the favoured forms or styles of earlier times” (Dorian, 1994: 480). Sarkissian (1997, 2005) has discussed how the elements of Portugueseness is perceived and manifests in relation to the PS MPC-speaking group members and a strand of purism is present in the make-up of the Portugueseness.

Historically, there has been a division between the upper class, also known as the *upper tens*, who bear Dutch or British family names though some have Portuguese family names, and the less well-off fishermen in the PS, who mostly have Portuguese family names but Dutch and British family names can also be found. The historical account records that the PS was built for the less well-off Portuguese or Eurasian descendants (Baxter, 2012). Apart from distinct family names, the upper tens are associated with

speaking English as their first language, their employment by the British during British era for white-collar jobs and literacy. The division between the upper tens and the PS residents that lies in family heritage, socio-economic conditions, literacy level and home language then construct the difference in social structure. Among the PS MPC-speaking group members, the division between the upper tens and the PS residents is still noticeable albeit in a static form of portrayal of the relationship between the upper tens and the PS residents. This static account has been passed down from previous generations and internalised and socialised as a key division among the MPC-speaking group members. The division between classes has perhaps blurred in the contemporary times as the characteristics used to associate the classes with have mellowed down in a way. Such a trend echoes how categories are social constructs and when the ecologies in which the categories are constructed are undergoing shifts, so are the constructed categories (Ansaldi, 2009; Mufwene, 2001, 2008). Reconnecting with a MPC-speaking heritage and way-of-life has been evident in the past few years, especially more so when the arrival of Portuguese in Malacca in 1511 was commemorated via mass celebrations in 2011 (Chapter 1). Shifts in perceptions and ideologies are encouraged by the global and epistemological shifts towards embracing minority language rights and multilingualism (Chapter 3). After all, all MPC-speaking group members, regardless of the historical division, have come to be associated with some common grounds, including English command, faith, festivals, food and their kind and helpful characteristics (Chapter 2). The later is demonstrated by E7.1 who recalled the value that has been passed down from the older generations among the PS MPC-speaking group members. The present study is also a manifestation of the good will and assistance from the PS community, similar to how fieldwork is made possible in other minority language studies.

[E7.1, B25]

Say like June the twenty-third. We have candles litted up, night, in our houses. Uh... like Christmas we all get together... [Hmm...] The value of we Kristang what. We never say that, you know, you have to make appointment to see us, you can just pop in anytime you like. Ah... and we that type... we never say like, even how poor we are also, when you come time for lunch or what, we will never say that, “No, we cook enough for us.” No, come and join us, whatever we have, we... Not to say very generous, we are taught to be like that, we are brought up to be like that, ah...

Like other groups, MPC-speaking group members have their similarities and differences as discussed above. Their perception of whether there are dialects or sub-varieties of MPC is relevant to the present discussion on language purism. Most PS MPC-speaking group members perceive that MPC is the only distinct variety of its own, meaning there are no other distinct dialects or sub-varieties. However, according to some research participants, especially those involved in language revitalisation or those who had prior exposure to the notion of *dialects* or *varieties of language*, differences in MPC-speaking due to geographical factor (e.g. having grown up in different parts of Malacca, such as in the PS, Praya Lane or Tengkerah) are reported in vocabulary and pronunciation though the level of distinction is perceived to be minimal. A closer examination relates the historical division between group members discussed in the previous paragraph to the geographical factor though it was not usually mentioned outright by research participants. The link between the historical division and geographical factor is based on how group members associated with different social statuses and structure have resided in different locations. The comparison between the PS and areas outside PS is also extended to their ways-of-life, notably food though it is noted that even in the PS, every house or every cook has a recipe of their own for the dishes that have come to be associated with their heritage, for instance, curry devil. Research participants were briefly introduced about the concept of dialects and varieties so that they could understand the questions directed at exploring their perceptions on possible MPC language varieties. For those who did not

have prior exposure to the notion of dialects or varieties of language, the same response was given after follow-up questions were posted to exemplify language and its dialects or varieties: that to them, there was only one variety of MPC. For those who thought otherwise, slight differences in word pronunciation or differences in words and expressions were mentioned. For instance, the use of the word *keteping* (said to have Malay influence) to refer to crabs, as used in Tengkerah, was contrasted to *kanggrezu* used in the PS, Ujong Pasir and Praya Lane. Some research participants also pointed to the relation of MPC to other Portuguese or Portuguese-based varieties. For instance, MPC and the local Portuguese variety spoken in Timor Leste was compared by a research participant who perceived the two varieties to be much intelligible based on what he had heard.

In PS, a division between a more “antique”, pure and authentic MPC variety and a more “mixed” version was perceived among research participants. Sometimes, the distinction was made between the “deep MPC spoken by the older generation” and the “simple” MPC spoken by the younger generations. The old, deep and authentic MPC version is valued by all generations, showing a hint of nostalgia as also reported by other researchers (e.g. Hill & Hill, 1986). While an old, deep and authentic MPC version is idealised and valued, speaking differently from the perceived “original” MPC speech is perceived to be slightly more negative in comparison in this sense. E7.2 is one of the instances in which research participants perceive a move away from the “original” MPC speech as negative when one moves away from the concentrated MPC-speaking PS.

[E 7.2, A1]

No, no, because when that place which fully populated is different. When some of the population move ah... they become less. They tend to make mistakes and nobody to correct them. Here we got more people use same words, so the words are still original la...

(=No, no, because when a place is fully populated with MPC-speaking population, it is different. When some move away from the concentrated area, they become less proficient. They tend to make mistakes and there is no one to correct them. Here in the PS, there are more people using the same words, so the words are still original)

This slightly negative perception of language change and language evolution, however, clashes with group members' positive perceptions of social mobility and continuous drawing on their association with English command: that for making a living and keeping up with the social worlds. Such a clash between ideologies among minority groups has also been reported by Marquis and Sallabank (2013) who distinguish between static and dynamic ideologies (Chapter 3). Group members are aware of how English can bring opportunities to them. The *mixedness* and *constructedness* that make MPC a new language to a new society are not socialised as something normal and natural to most group members. Such perceptions are manifestations of the colonial ideologies and nation-state ideologies. A shift in ideologies, however, is evident among group members involved in language revitalisation, who are driven by a range of personal, global and societal-level motivations (Chapter 6) and have either been exposed to or taken the initiative to research on work and materials on MPC.

Views on language mixing are varied. Similar to other cases that have been reported (e.g. Sallabank, 2013), there are hopes expressed towards a seemingly more “pure” version of MPC, with less loanwords and more words and expressions used by the older generations. Parents, who perceive that their children and their children's peers do not speak MPC as much as they should or some are even perceived to not understand MPC though such judgments are subjective to personal ideas on good or proficient MPC speakers. Receptive skills of MPC appear to be less valued when in contrast to speaking skills. However, if we consider how the younger generations are perceived by the older generations as not being able to understand MPC, receptive skills then become more valued when it is found out or compared that the younger group members can actually understand MPC. The views expressed by the PS younger generation also vary, depending on the ecology and socialisation they have experienced. Inevitably, some of

them might have also expressed views that are perceived to be culturally correct or as expected of them to live up to the name of being a Kristang or Portuguese (Eurasian).

There are two trends of perceptions towards the origin and nature of MPC among the respondents. MPC is mistakenly perceived by some (i) to have mainly retained the Portuguese spoken in the 16th century: “we are speaking the ancient Portuguese language here” or (ii) to be a simplified version of Portuguese with local flavours: “we speak Kristang, we don’t speak Portuguese”. That MPC is perceived synchronically instead of diachronically is observed in how many research participants who are not involved in language revitalisation do not talk about the future of their heritage language among themselves. Similar to other minority groups, the PS group members look up to their elders as a point of reference in terms of speaking MPC fluently. For one to be perceived to be a good MPC, speaking the same speech as the elders is one of the criteria, alongside one’s family background (having grown up in the Portuguese Settlement or not, having been associated with people perceived to be good MPC speakers or not). This criterion is then extended to the language ownership and roles in language revitalisation as noted in how some research participants expressed that “if we want to teach, we must teach properly”. A hybrid language bears the witness to languages in contact though it is somehow equated to language decay in colonial ideologies, along with other ideologies that reinforce the idea of a hybrid language being inadequate to be on par with “real” languages, including the lack of literacy (see discussion on literacy below). The diachronic development of a hybrid language like MPC has little space in the colonial ideologies as speaking differently from the older generations’ speech is perceived to be negative instead of language change or evolution.

What also accompanies and underlies the perception among group members towards seeing the elders as a point of reference of good speakers is that the elders are perceived to be the legitimate faces of MPC. It was often to hear research participants

suggest getting the elders to teach MPC to the younger generations; both institutional and informal settings were suggested in learning MPC from the elders. This is related to language ownership which will be discussed in the next section.

Purist views are observed to limited to a small but influential or well-respected segment of people. Such views are in contrast to the creativity, agency and development demonstrated on language users' part, even though others or the language speakers may perceive the MPC speech spoken by the younger generation to be "simple". Although more researchers have come to recognise the relevance of diachronic models that embrace language evolution and change as natural and normal, language speakers may continue to see language as "synchronic text-based code and lexicon" (Anderson, 2009: 71). This is especially relevant to our understanding of the formation of a new language and new society in language contact situation, particularly with new social order brought about by a new political order that then is socialised into the new society. The outcome of the language contact situation, including the language, society, social order or the overt or underlying ideologies and identities could be perceived by the new group members and members of their social worlds to be static and synchronic instead of fluid and diachronic. Categories are, after all, inherently static constructs, and should not influence our understanding of diachronic processes (Ansaldi, 2009; Mufwene, 2001, 2008). With such understandings about group members' possible different degrees of views regarding the *time-space* dimension (Anderson, 2009, e.g. synchronic vs. diachronic), the conflicts in views between language purism and language evolution, change, transmission and reproduction then can be better understood instead of merely focusing on the static and synchronic aspect of the different components in managing and constructing self and identities. Readers are reminded again that language is one of the identity markers, instead of the sole identity marker (see Chapter 3). Reporting on the Arapaho's case, Anderson (2009) observes how the young generations demonstrate a neotraditional ideology that

places their identity and authenticity in more recent and contemporary linguacultural contexts that may not require Arapaho language. This is one of more instances that exemplifies how young generations can still manage the relevance of their heritage without a heritage language. Outside PS, Pillai and Khan (2011) interview MPC-speaking group members of the larger diaspora within Malaysia who identify with Malaysian English as their first language, and construct their ethnicity and identities by drawing upon minimal use of MPC. Such a study continues to demonstrate the complexity in conforming to politically and culturally constructed categories in the alignment of one's identities, with or without drawing upon one's heritage language (see also Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014). This also leads us to the question on language ownership: who can legitimately speak about MPC and on behalf of the PS MPC-speaking group? This issue is discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 Language Ownership

In Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.1 and 6.3.7), it is pointed out that the awareness on heritage and ownership would have come from a combination of internal (e.g. empowerment, self-determination) and external motivations (e.g. the community-external factor), and knowledge-sharing between researchers and group members, whether directly or indirectly, done intentionally or not so. The internal and external motivations would have been triggered or swayed by the global and epistemological shifts on one hand, and social, political and historical shifts on the other.

The historical division between the upper tens and those who identify with the PS and MPC leaves a question open to the on-going ideological debates on language ownership. Notice the question on *Who can legitimately speak about MPC and on behalf of the MPC-speaking group?* is not about who can speak MPC as most PS MPC-speaking group members welcome anyone to learn and speak MPC, and they feel proud when

outsiders are interested in their heritage language and more so when they want to learn their heritage language. Group members usually also show a hint of pride when they recalled speaking to Portuguese-speaking tourists and tourists could understand their MPC speech. While more MPC materials and resources are welcomed, response towards names associated with the MPC materials and resources can determine the recognition and reception of MPC materials and resources. There is a general unspoken agreement towards certain background and experience that legitimatise one's speaking about MPC and on behalf of the PS MPC-speaking group, as are also reported among other minority groups (e.g. Daunhauer & Daunhauer, 1998; King, 2001; Sallabank, 2013). These background and experience revolve around whether one is perceived to identify with the PS community in ways acceptable to the community (e.g. having grown up in the PS or outside PS, having spoken MPC as the first language or not) and experience in representing the heritage and development of the people (e.g. having performed or represented the people in public spheres outside PS and even overseas, having been in contact with experts and authorities regarding heritage and community development).

The following excerpt demonstrates views towards whether language revitalisation actors are deemed legitimate for the work undertaken. This excerpt also uncovers one's position in the ideological debates related to their heritage language, particularly in legitimatising one language revitalisation actor's efforts over another actor's. Language revitalisation actors who are not associated with the background and experience that are deemed legitimate in speaking about MPC and on behalf of the people by research participants are appreciated for their time and efforts in their language revitalisation involvement, though comparably valued differently in contrast to individuals deemed with legitimate background and experience. That the notion of there is a time and space for MPC is also evident in this excerpt: "she has the time", "I just, at the moment, no time". This temporal and psychological dimension is to be understood

against the interacting ideologies and identities, in addition to the minority groups' socio-economic system: whether there is a role for MPC or whether MPC is kept relevant (Mufwene, 2003).

[E7.3, B24]

Ya. He speak very good Portuguese. Very good Portuguese. Local Portuguese... OK. But then uh... for others uh... maybe not necessary... (recording was paused before it resumed with the following) because she does a good work la... She has the time take and all that la... Hmm... They have asked me so many times but I just, at the moment, no time, no time... Because I also have the group at night time and now the department is taking more of our time. Hmm... Too much. Nowadays work is too hectic hmm...

With the awakening of self-determination and empowerment, research participants have also showed a trend towards referring to people of their own (from the PS, particularly, since this thesis focuses on PS MPC-speaking group members) when citing from existing MPC materials, other than referring to experts who are accepted by the PS community (see Chapter 6). Many research participants on the recipient side of the language revitalisation express views on how they perceive they do not know well enough to get involved in language revitalisation (e.g. in teaching or passing knowledge to others) or how they perceive they are already speaking MPC at home so language classes may not be necessary. Views like this go back to the question on whether the PS MPC-speaking group members perceive that they are engaged or not in the language revitalisation process and whether the individuals associated with the efforts are legitimate according to the group members. In the following excerpt, the relationship is again demonstrated between group members' perceptions and reaction towards language revitalisation efforts. It also demonstrates again that certain background and experience are required in order to represent the people and heritage language legitimately as the context of this excerpt has to be understood against to what extent one is perceived to identify with the PS MPC-speaking group. To protect the identity of the individual

discussed, it suffices to say that the criteria of the certain background and experience are not met in terms of perceived identification with MPC and residency in the PS (e.g. having grown up in the PS and speaking MPC or not):

[E7.4, B8, R]

B8: He's the one who's bringing up all these things. But these people in this village here, they don't trust in him... So they... they just don't want to give him a chance. Ah...

R: Hmm... Why is it that he's not trusted?

B8: I don't know la... Because some people la... all think he is fighting for the... fighting want to become a leader... but it's not. Actually he is bringing up our community you know... He's showing the people out there how we are, how we are this one. That's why he... he is doing all this. Sometime we have uh... dinner here but it's all about Kristang. They record here, they do a tape then they sell the tape. But it's all in Kristang language, from the starting until the end. You can... you can watch people speak... And that's how we learn. But these people here, they just don't... they don't like... they just putting him down. Ah... But he's... he never give up... ah... Most of the tourists also go down there and ask him for stories.

Apart from background and experience, the conduct of work and ethics also come into play as a determining factor, especially whether one has conducted work in ways deemed respectful and acceptable by the people. Apart from perceptions towards individuals behind MPC resources and materials, we also have to consider whether MPC materials and resources are accessible and affordable, target audience of the materials and resources (e.g. targeting the PS MPC-speaking group or the larger diaspora) to help explain the gap between language revitalisation efforts and reactions towards efforts. The spontaneous MPC language revitalisation so far has been perceived by research participants as symbolically representing the heritage and the people. What underlies these factors is the question of the extent of whether the PS MPC-speaking group members have been considered and consulted. Research has shown how policies and planning that do not consider the micro processes and minority groups' perspectives and only engage the groups in a minimal way have not bode well. The importance of prior

ideological clarification has also been recognised but challenges remain in achieving consensus and reconciling the dynamics of perceptions and ideologies. Though one thing that can be certain is if group members do not find policies and planning relevant to their everyday life, the chances of sustaining these policies and planning are lower. Other than factors discussed above that can increase or hinder the chances of MPC language revitalisation efforts and outcomes reaching the PS MPC-speaking group members, leadership has been touted as a determining factor. Recall also that in the PS, the *regedor* or the headman is appointed by local authorities. In 2014, a new *regedor* and committee were appointed to represent the people. The new appointment was received with good response from the PS community. The need for leadership in the PS to advance has been expressed for decades (e.g. Fernandis, 1995; Sta Maria, 1982). Prior to the new appointment, there had always been talks about the need of new leadership as one key factor that will change the fate of the people, as also evident among research participants.

The issue of naming a language is discussed here as part of language ownership though the different aspects discussed here are interrelated, such as how language purism views can lead to or be swayed by language ownership views. Underlying these perceptions and views lie motivations (e.g. which identity to align with?) and ideologies (e.g. which ideologies to draw upon?). Having no official consensus on the naming of their heritage language, names referred to their heritage language by research participants depend on who and in what language they are conversing. What was observed by Baxter (1988) still holds as PS MPC-speaking group members tend to use Kristang to refer to themselves among group members and switch to using Portuguese as there is a perception that outsiders may not understand what Kristang means or even, it has been expressed that outsiders may not be aware of their presence in the multilingual and multicultural nation. These will have to be traced back to the subordinated social positioning and ideologies that have been socialised and internalised among minority group members.

Kristang is the name that has been used to refer to the heritage language in study, as research participants recalled how it has been so since childhood. In the recent years, attention has been drawn to the naming of the heritage language, as observed by Baxter (2012). The proposition against using Kristang is framed around how Kristang denotes Christianity and other ethnic groups in Malaysia do not refer to themselves via their religion. A related proposition for the naming then is Malacca Antique Portuguese, though this view is presently limited to a limited segment of the group members. Similar views are also found in Pillai (2013) though for ethical reasons, no direct links will be matched between the views expressed in the present study and in the ELAR archive. Baxter (2012) has cautioned against perceiving the present form of the language in study as a form that is directly transferred from the presumably earlier form of the language in study spoken five hundred years ago.

The proposition for the exclusion of the Portuguese element in naming the group members who speak the heritage language in study, as in Malacca Eurasians and Seranis, in place of Malacca Portuguese or Malacca Portuguese Eurasians is set around how the people who identify with a common heritage in study include not only Portuguese (see Chapter 2). Such a proposition is directed mostly at people outside PS who form the larger diaspora of a common heritage since PS is more historically associated with a Portuguese presence. The public callouts to the people in social media in the present has employed a more inclusive approach, placing various names side by side in the callouts such as “to all Portuguese-Eurasians (Portuguese, Eurasian, Serani, Cristang, brackets are original) diaspora” and “of Malaysian-Eurasian heritage, all Seranis, all Kristangs”.

The complex history and make-up of the MPC language and people who identify with a MPC-speaking heritage have led to the present circumstances: that many group members have only a vague idea of how their heritage language came about. E7.5 is one of many similar replies to the question on the origin of MPC.

[E7.5, B22]

R: Mmm... OK. If uh... one day your daughter asks you about the origin of Kristang language, would you be able to tell her anything about it?

B22: Origin of Kristang language huh... [And the history how it came about...] I um... I can tell her but I'm not very sure.

R: Mmm... What would you tell her?

B22: If she were to ask me I would tell her that our great-great-great-grandfather south of Portuguese and then they came here for war uh... [Mmm...] and then we are mixed now.

R: What about the language? How it came about?

B22: I won't be able to answer (that about) the language.

In relation to language ownership and language legitimacy, the notion of linguistic insecurity and empowerment continue to be explored here. There is a perception expressed fairly strongly among research participants on why the younger generation are not speaking MPC, as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

[E7.6, A3, R]

R: Do you think the language is important to uhm... certain age groups or people only?

A3: I think it's important for everybody. Uh... all walks of life. Because even uhm... a little this age you also have to... to speak to them in Kristang. So when they grow up, it's natural in them. [Yes] Because if they don't learn when they are young, when they grow up, they'll... th... have a har... tough time learning.

R: So you think to be a member of the Kristang community [mmm...] one must be able to speak [Yes] the Kristang [Yes, yes] language? OK.

A3: If not fluent also, you must know, you must understand the language. Mmm...

R: So, if people ask you to predict the future of the Kristang language, [now] how would you...

A3: Looking at the situation nowadays, I think it's going to die off. If somebody don't do something, it's going to die off. Because now with the Bahasa and English some children don't... d... I'm telling you, some children don't even speak the language. You speak to them in Kristang, they say, "Aunty, I don't know what you are saying." Ah, so because they are so fluent in English nowadays and Bahasa (Malay), they... they don't uhm... practice the language. They don't speak the language at home.

The younger generation referred to by research participants point to both group members from the larger diaspora outside PS and the younger generation in the PS. Group members from the larger diaspora referred to include those who have migrated to big cities within Malaysia or those who have migrated to, settled down or grown up in other countries. Those in the PS referred to are said to be “shy” and “do not want to speak MPC”. Following the encouraging overall cultural climate, research participants observe how more people who have migrated or are from the migration generation in other cities come back to the PS because they are perceived to want to get to know their heritage and heritage language and “they know MPC is a nice language to learn”. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the interest flowing into the PS and towards MPC has been a boost to the prestige and image of MPC. Despite this, research participants are divided between claiming full ownership of MPC and rendering ownership and control to others, particularly the elders who are seen as the legitimate faces and voices that represent MPC. The notion of linguistic insecurity is also evident in how many from the younger generations shied away when approached for a MPC-speaking recording for a documentation project (Pillai, 2013).

7.3.3 Literacy and Post-colonial Planning

This section discusses how the interaction between the accumulating ideologies, particularly colonial ideologies, nation-state ideologies and self-determination ideologies can be at play in matters related to literacy and nation-state planning. Tensions in ideologies underlie research participants’ reference to a Portuguese Eurasian heritage, to the presence of Portugal and European Portuguese and in some cases, Brazilian Portuguese and representing the locality of MPC on related matters.

Having been an oral language learned and socialised informally (Chapter 2 & 6), MPC is still perceived to be one such language by many in the PS although it is

increasingly written down by group members in individual, ununiformed ways, mostly following what one perceives the words to sound like, unless one attends MPC language classes which prescribes a spelling form. Having attended MPC language classes, it was observed that a self-determined spelling form was used in the language classes targeted at children. The colonial and *western ideologies* (Dorian, 1998) impose that an oral language without a written form would be ranked low. It follows that similar to many other minority groups, the MPC-speaking group members see literacy as a significant goal in language revitalisation.

In reality, research has shown that languages with a writing system or with high prestige can still face endangerment and that a focus on achieving literacy is in effect preserving rather than revitalising a language (Mufwene, 2003). Not all parties in the language revitalisation are informed on the distinction between preserving and revitalising a language though this thesis acknowledges that preserving a language may lead to opportunities of revitalising it. Research participants who are involved in the bottom-up language revitalisation efforts would have given more thoughts to topics on spelling conventions and teaching and reference materials. Those involved in the bottom-up language revitalisation efforts are developing MPC reference materials of their own, for example, when designing MPC language lessons or when compiling MPC materials such as in the language speaking group. Most of the existing MPC materials seem to cater for a wider diaspora of the Eurasian community and only one material from the existing MPC materials (Baxter & De Silva, 2004) is referred to other than references and materials inherited by A5 from her late father and materials compiled by non-PS-MPC-speakers and non-PS-community-members such as European Portuguese dictionaries.

The views on which spelling convention to use cannot be isolated from identity alignment. Generally, a preference was expressed towards a spelling convention that reflects a phonemic spelling system among research participant. In the following

excerpts, multiple alignment is manifested in the spelling conventions one chooses to align with:

- i. the standard European Portuguese spelling when necessary (E7.7, multiple alignment is present because of the occasional alignment with European Portuguese while favouring a more localised spelling form),
- ii. a more phonemic and sometimes seemingly Malay-influenced spelling convention as in the MPC dictionary (E7.8),
- iii. a self-determined spelling convention based on earlier wordlists (E7.9),
- iv. a possible spelling convention that can better capture the locality of the language that is yet to be created (E7.10).

[E7.7, A1]

Ok, um... the spelling for... personally for me, I feel that I will fall back to Patrick De Silva's book, his dictionary. Uh... his dictionary for me, I feel is more uh... accurate, in terms of how to spell the word. But there is also sometimes uh... some in... in... in... one or two feel that, you know, some of the spelling is uhm... not so correct. And... and they want to spell maybe a bit differently and follow more of the Portuguese uhm... spelling system. Because uhm... I don't know how to say... put this but uhm... because the Portuguese uh... spelling is very difficult to really uhm... how should I say, very difficult to make it accurate because they have conversations up and down and the sound is different, you see. But ours is basically based on the local Malay uh... spelling and system, huh. And... ba... and basically how it sounds. OK? How it sounds. So the word *falah* (MPC, 'speak') f_a_l_a_h (spells the word out), you see? So, it will more or less sound like the uh... Malay spelling system and phonetics... So sometimes we need to... to... to get a clearer uh... understanding of a particular word, we refer to our English dictionary. And then we have a Portuguese-English dictionary uh... English-English-Bahasa dictionary, a Kristang Dictionary, we also have some (xxx) materials... we, we compare notes...

[E7.8, A5]

Alan Baxter said that uh... we should try to use the... Bahasa Malaysia orthography. So, simply using the Bahasa orthography, I think I have it in this one. Uh... which is very simple, very clear. And somebody wrote to me and said, "Hey, I got your dictionary but it's so difficult for me to follow how to go about using your spelling." Now, very simply, we don't want any highfalutin kind of thing. Just c represents the sound ch (/tʃ/) And in... in Ma... Malay too. So for instance, chair in English or children, same value in Bahasa (Malay) is *cendawan* (Malay, 'mushroom', /tʃəndawan/) or *cuci* (Malay, 'wash', /tʃutʃi/). You... you

see, we're... we're... we're following the Malay system already. Then sh sound (/ʃ/) in English. As in *shoes* and *shop*. It is in the same value as sh sound (/ʃ/) in Bahasa, which is *syarikat* (Malay, 'company') or *syabas* (Malay, 'well done').

[E7.9, A6]

The spelling... is so far different like Alan Baxter spells it as k_u_n_g (spells the word out) kung, we say kum (MPC, and) but my father's one is k_u_m (spells the word out) which is easier to read. When I wrote on the board k_u_n_g (spells the word out) automatically the children said kung... k_u_n_g (spells the word out) is kung because Bahasa Malaysia the sound... When I put k_u_m (spells the word out) they say kum. So it's... it's easier for them to read, you see... so that's why I'm using this, my father's spelling... What I know is (my father) has done research himself. You see... and f... Ah... whom I do not know. But when I have... I used this with children and I see that it's very, very effective and they could read. So if children can read, what's more adults? You see... even adults could read then.

[E7.10, A7]

We are still trying to formulate the correct form of writing the language. Because the spelling that has been put forward by some authors are... well I would not say they are wrong but um... we... we would uh... beg to differ at certain areas. For example, certain fundamentals have to be retained although we agree that it should be felt for... uh... spelt phonetically and not the way that it's... standard Portuguese is being... being spelt. So, we are now going to work in those areas, ah... know? Where we have to eventually uh... have a standard form of written Portuguese. But I do not discourage others from buying these books written by other authors... because they have done a lot of work. They put a lot of efforts in their work and we have to give them due respect, give credit for their work. Because currently there is no um... material except theirs, so even though we disagree with their (xxx) or the way they wrote, I would still encourage others to buy those books because theirs the books that are presently available.

A phonemic spelling convention can also be seen in the souvenir programme book of Festa San Pedro 2013 ('Festival San Pedro 2013') distributed in the PS, extracting MPC phrases from the Festa San Pedro 1998 souvenir programme book:

Table 7.1: Some MPC phrases from Festa San Pedro 2013 souvenir programme book

English	Portuguese (original in the book)
Good morning Sir	Bong pamiang Senhor
Good day Sir	Bong dia Senhor
Good evening Sir	Bong atadi Senhor
Good night Sir	Bong anoti Senhor
Are you married?	Bos ja kazar?
I am married	Yo ja kazar
How many children you have	Kanto familia bos teng?
I have 3 boys and 4 girls	Yo teng tres filo kuarto fila
Today is the feast of Saint Peter	Ozi San Pedro
The feast falls on what day	Isti festa kai no kal dia?
On 29 th June each year	Na binti novi Jun kada ano

Some research participants also observe that there have been some propositions towards a more pro-European Portuguese spelling convention within PS. This can be related to what Baxter (2012) comments as the possible effects of Portuguese language teaching personnel sent to PS, Malacca. Survey with research participants in study shows that there is no uniformed perception on what language was taught in language classes organised by the Korsang Portuguese foundation. As such, individuals could draw upon the multiple ideologies and identities to align with when reconstructing experiences of attending these language classes. However, a look at the poster for Portuguese language classes organised by the Korsang Foundation is telling about the language that is taught and the positioning of the instructor or foundation or both:



Comments on the link between MPC and European Portuguese have uncovered interesting positions among group members, generally maintaining the link with Portugal but some have proposed to focus on capturing or demonstrating the locality and uniqueness of MPC. Most group members show a good impression towards the foreign

language class conductors or the classes conducted by them. However, group members who are language revitalisation actors are mostly more explicit in demonstrating a preference for capturing the locality and uniqueness of MPC. In the following excerpt, there is a viewpoint on how teaching European Portuguese is not as relevant to the PS MPC-speaking group:

[E7.11, A3]

Because uh... you see, when they first had the Portuguese class, conducted by AS16, uh... there were about 200 children who registered. [Ooh!] Uh... but as... [That's a lot.] Uh... yes, that's a lot. But as uh... time went by, uh... they ended up with only a few. [Mmm... OK.] That's not good. [But in] Maybe... maybe... maybe... maybe, ah... I... I... I'm not say it is, ah? I'm saying maybe it's because of the language, because they are teaching Portuguese. Portuguese we don't apply in our... our daily use. So I think maybe some parents found out that it's... you know, it doesn't make sense, maybe. I don't know.

On the part of other MPC-speaking group members, there is a need to consider how group members do not find orthographic variation as used in texting and social media problematic, which demonstrates creativity on language users as agents. Most research participants expressed that they could understand what others were saying in MPC in social media although others spelled words according to how they perceived the words to sound like. At the time when this thesis was written, there has been a collaboration between representatives from the PS MPC-speaking group, some of which are research participants of this research, and linguists from the University of Malaya on producing teaching materials in MPC; prior to that, a CD of MPC prayers and hymns was released. In preparing for the CD of MPC prayers and hymns, aspects of MPC were discussed and MPC was contrasted to Portuguese spelling conventions (Pillai, personal communication).

Adding to the tensions is the need to find ways for the MPC-speaking group members to represent themselves in a post-independent multicultural nation, as observed by Sarkissian (1997, 2000, 2005). In national planning, though some of their rights are

included in the constitution and some promised in the past, the PS MPC-speaking group continues to remain underrepresented or marginalised and overlooked in many ways, especially in their decades-long campaign towards their land rights. As introduced in Chapter 2, the more concentrated MPC use in PS has been accredited as one of the key factors of MPC's vitality (Baxter, 2005, 2012). In the present, PS is no longer as isolated as before following the establishments of hotel and tertiary education institute, which were said to possibly benefit the PS residents by increasing their job opportunities and education level when the construction of these establishments faced objections from the PS residents. At the time of research, campaign was still underway to demand authorities to look into the latest addition to the PS coastline development which will impact on the PS in terms of the fishermen's livelihood and possible pollution (Cheah, 2015; Kumar, 2015; Lee, 2015; Singh, 2015; The Malay Mail Online, 2015). The PS residents have experienced several similar experiences in not being consulted prior to constructions impinging around or on the PS area. The following excerpt makes a strong case for how authorities can appear to be oblivious to the group's livelihood and heritage preservation. As stated in Chapter 2, in Malaysia, where it is mandatory to identify one's race from birth according to rigid categories, people who identify with the common heritage in study are placed under the category of a broad umbrella term, *Others*. One's right to claim an ethnic, cultural and even geographical heritage is negated under such circumstances.

[E7.12, A8]

Now if you say that you are a Portuguese, "I'm a Portuguese." Can you speak Portuguese? You can't. Eh... What sort of Portuguese you are. That's why by and by, the government also but they don't bother. You don't keep your culture to them is nothing, right? So there's no more *kaum* (Malay, 'ethnic group') Portuguese. There only will be *orang Cina, Melayu, orang India dan orang Sikh* (Malay, 'Chinese, Malays, Indians and Sikhs, *orang* denoting 'people'). Now, Sikh is coming up because they are promoting their culture but actually there's one identity only as an Indian. OK... The Sikh also they come from India. So now as a *kaum* Portuguese, *akan datang dihapuskan dengan sebab tidak mempunyai budaya sendiri* (Malay, 'the Portuguese ethnic group might be removed based on the reason they do not have their own culture').

The presence of other ethnic groups' rights as stated in the constitution does not translate into actions easily, including language rights. In practice, although language rights are established in the constitution, except for vernacular schools, school laws usually prohibit the use of mother tongue languages outside mother tongue lesson hours, allowing only Malay and English. Research participants who were of schooling age also expressed that they would not speak MPC in schools though it could be used as a secret language.

Prior to colonial periods, reciprocal multilingualism was valued (Chapter 2). The colonial ideologies have also undergone restructuring following different colonial powers. The restructuring in hierarchies have to be understood against how a once-most-frequented-port became a state among other states that make up the new nation. The restructuring impacted on and affected hierarchies in everyday life, including linguistic, social, spiritual or religious and economic. The dynamics and openness of pre-colonial, reciprocal multilingualism went through restructuring through the different colonial periods before undergoing further restructuring in the new nation-state planning; the restructuring, similar to the fluidity of identities and concepts, is negotiated and adjusted on-the-ground. The colonial ideologies of literacy as an important characteristic of real language in contrast to an oral language without a written form prior to language documentation and the post-colonial ideologies that are associated with nation-planning will always be in presence. Isolation that has helped sustain MPC which is also simultaneously a form of marginalisation of the PS community, are the circumstances of the hierarchical multilingualism restructuring following historical power takeovers of Malacca, especially after independence. The historical records show the fading of MPC as lingua franca following the reduction in the MPC-speaking community after the Portuguese lost power over Malacca.

To express their cultural identity, MPC-speaking group members have also undergone restructuring in terms of the linguistic hierarchy. Before independence, MPC held a lower status due to its associations with a lower socio-economic status. After independence, beginning in the 1980s, there have been attempts to establish the stance of the MPC-speaking group members regarding their heritage. Pillai and Khan (2011) also provide evidences on the negative associations MPC used to be associated with and the past negative perceptions towards the PS which was to be shunned. MPC is presently observed to enjoy a new found prestige and interest with more concerted efforts within and flowing into the PS to celebrate and promote their heritage (e.g. the 500 years celebration in 2011, cultural dance troupes, music bands).

The hierarchical multilingualism brought about by British colonisation has shaped the linguistic hierarchy and the ideologies on how “real” languages whose criteria are not met by contact languages without literacy and are associated with being the less version of prestigious colonial languages. Present prejudices towards MPC are found to be similar to the Honiara context (Jourdan & Angeli, 2014) and Vanuatu context (Crowley, 2000), in which minority languages in study are perceived to be “inadequate” and “backward” due to having no literacy and being “simple” for having “no grammar” and no words for the modern usage. For those few who have access to MPC academic works or exposure to language-related discussions such as Baxter and De Silva (2004) and involved, their perceptions towards MPC are different as they acknowledge that their heritage language is a unique language of its own. The colonial ideologies in which vernaculars were not considered to be adequate for teaching or learning in schools are also found in the PS. Many from the PS have not heard about the possibility of teaching and learning MPC in schools and were surprised: “I don’t know schools allow”. Despite the link between language and identity as perceived, the sense of obligation to learn MPC does not match comparably as it is the language to be learned when the children “have the time”.

Post-colonial societies undergo restructuring to balance and resist the former colonial influences. However, a colonial language remains relevant especially when the colonial language is English, the global or international language. Jourdan and Angeli observe the awareness of the value of English as the language with linguistic and social capital on a global market in the Honiara context. Similarly, English in Malaysia has remained the language of social advancement. The sociolinguistic setting of Malaysian English began to develop during the British colonisation from the late eighteenth century until the mid-twentieth centuries (Lowenberg, 1993). Based on the ability to read and write a letter, the census of 1921 shows that 61,862 out of the total population of the towns which is 743,126 were able to speak English from the fifteen towns in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay states (here from Lee & Tan, 2000). Jourdan and Angeli note how the superiority of English is now generally attributed to its greater instrumental value at the global level in terms of university education and job opportunities among Pijin speakers, rather than to its intrinsic qualities or to the prestigious status of its speakers. A similar trend is observed in the PS, seeing how English mastery has helped secure jobs in various industries that require English speaking such as in the hospitality and service line. The linguistic currency of English is evident, either implied or directly uttered by research participants from different generation groups.

7.3.4 Language Acquisition and Transmission and Contemporary Trends

Concepts and implications discussed above have impacts on choices in language acquisition and transmission, and language revitalisation (see Section 7.3). MPC was perceived by many research participants to have its time and place. In contrast is how MPC was very often recalled in conversations to be a “natural” choice of language for those who actively speak MPC and grew up speaking MPC, especially a hint of nostalgia

always prevailed when recalling how MPC used to be spoken and heard everywhere in the PS. Such views can be understood against the relevance of the role of a heritage language in the present which determines its vitality and development (Dorian, 1998; Mufwene, 2003). In light of this view, MPC, which used to hold a significant role in the livelihood of the PS fishermen, becomes a heritage language with its functions revolving around its use in the present communities of practice. This is especially so when the language has always been learned in informal settings and still an oral language to most of its PS group members though there are evidences that MPC is unofficially gaining a literacy status among group members involved in language revitalisation and also other group members on social media platform and in digital communication. Not restricted to only home and neighbourhood domains, MPC has come to be used in more contemporary domains, such as social media and contemporary cultural performance. MPC continues to serve its purpose as linguistic resources for the present communities of practice, such as when attending funerals or church, identity alignment (e.g. drawing upon this heritage in expressing a part of social identities) and aesthetic appreciation.

Disconnect in the view between language use and language transmission can also be understood by considering what Anderson (2009: 75-76) contends: that ideologues are constrained by the limits of space-time and *social space-time* has not been revernacularised. The coping strategies of managing the relevance of MPC, particularly of taking things into own hands (e.g. more explicit self-differentiation, self-determination, drawing upon temporal and spatial experiences to align with target identities and self-differentiation), in the case of MPC have involved reclaiming heritage language in ways and in the space-time more locally to group members.

A contemporary trend of linguistic empowerment is on rise. Decades of calls for MPC-speaking group members to connect with their heritage and establish their stance, sporadic language efforts and interest from outside the PS since the eighties have been

brewing the linguistic empowerment that is in response to being underrepresented or represented inadequately in group members' opinion. As discussed in the previous chapters, the global ideological and epistemological shift towards recognising the rights and self-determination of minority groups are encouraging for the overall cultural climate of linguistic empowerment. MPC serves its symbolic function as the cultural and ethnic marker while being used in the present communities of practice (e.g. family, neighbourhood, funerals, church, social media). For the well-being and sustaining of the community, PS group members are establishing or reclaiming their rights or ownerships: one major establishment is towards the land that has been home to PS community since 1930 that is being encroached by development. Some major points in socio-political events of the group members include the rights to invest in certain national trust schemes which are usually restricted to people of other ethnic groups except for the Malays and indigenous and the sea reclamation project that would have led to a community centre for the PS community though the promise was not delivered.

Another contemporary trend also concerns multilingualism which has been discussed before. However, the contemporary heritage speakers are redefining what it means to be heritage speakers while reinforcing multilingualism as members of a larger society. MPC speakers are reinforcing the values of MPC via what they have been associated with: music, culture and tourism, be it within or outside PS. It is thus relevant to also draw on what happens outside the PS. The notion of being part of the MPC-speaking group, equipped with the internet and technology, is no longer confined to being a certain group in a specific location or time-space. The reciprocal multilingualism from the precolonial period ingrained in the contemporary society at large welcomes and encourages different cultural identities though this does not reflect the response to other establishments and rights related to minority groups. Recall how research participants expressed that anyone could learn MPC and there is a division on views regarding

whether MPC is a prerequisite to be one of the PS MPC-speaking group members (Chapter 6). The heritage speakers have found and given new meanings to being heritage MPC speakers as the new meanings are associated with imagined communities of practice, the lines become less clear for what are used to define a typical PS MPC-speaking community. One instance is how having grown up in or identifying with PS or not is less relevant on social platforms when people of Portuguese ancestry share about music, culture and tourism information while embracing multilingualism and the cultural freedom attached. Linguistic resources are then used to define and express these new meanings. In turn, the relevance of the heritage language is managed when one aligns with it or to a lesser degree in construction of identities and ideologies.

The contemporary trends in MPC use are important especially in understanding views on language acquisition and language transmission. In the present communities of practice, it is observed that while MPC may be written phonemically in ununiformed ways, the informal setting provided in social media and digital communication matches how MPC has always been acquired and transmitted. It is hard to access and predict, if no further language revitalisation and language planning are in place, whether to what extent MPC can continue to be used actively in social media and digital communication. Based on the evidences in this research and in literature, given the multilingual context and the active use of MPC remains more so among certain age groups or families, language change is inevitable and language is always evolving, be it for internal or external factors (e.g. Mufwene, 2001, 2013). The form and shape MPC has taken and will take among younger generation speakers and in contemporary communities of practice will likely to have to be embraced, with or without intervention. Group members, in any further language revitalisation efforts, will have to make decision on how to reconcile what Dorian (1994) discusses as the tensions between purism and compromise.

To research participants, there are three parties that are responsible for MPC language teaching: the elders (see discussion on language purism and language ownership), the leaders (see discussion on language ownership), and parents. Parents were often cited as to why children in the PS did not attend the available MPC language classes. The following excerpt is one such demonstration. In the excerpt, the research participant is one who grew up in the PS and remains a PS resident with young children who were not among those who had attended the language classes. The reason given as to why the language classes were not attended was how contacts with the elders were believed to be sufficient for MPC language acquisition:

[E7.13, B24]

There has been I think two, three efforts... [two, three efforts] ah... ya... But how much the interest from the settlement children, I do not know. Because I think they have no encouragement from the family. To me is that, you see... uh... actually if they only spoke the language at home or put 20% to 30% on the language in Portuguese, speak the language 20%, 30% at home, we won't have to worry. Ah... We won't have to worry la... Because even classes that uh... have been uh... actions that have been taken to have classes but I think the attendance is very poor... very poor. Because no encouragement from the families.

The same excerpt also demonstrates what has been observed in field trips and among other research participants: that there are many group members who are aware that language use at home is important for language transmission. This is in contrast to what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) have observed where language speakers may not see the link between language use and language transmission though to what extent the connection between language use and transmission is understood and conceptualised is beyond the scope of this research. Another observation by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, however, holds in this research in how culture is seen as something that can be put on and off, as evident in the coping strategies of managing MPC relevance, such as self-differentiating or self-accommodating or preferring ambiguity to align or not align with the MPC-speaking heritage or to take control or render control to others (Chapter 6).

It follows that in language revitalisation, group members will be facing a decision to make: the extent of aligning with a MPC-speaking heritage and of control towards MPC and heritage. Topics relevant to the discussion of MPC language revitalisation are presented in the rest of this chapter.

7.4 MPC Language Revitalisation

Although this thesis explores and focuses on the on-the-ground or bottom-up MPC language revitalisation process, the social structure and development, especially possible top-down ideologies as drawn on throughout the thesis, are inseparable from the ecology and discussion of MPC language revitalisation. Some instances from the on-the-ground processes demonstrate the relationship between on-the-ground processes and top-down processes are:

- the wish for better leadership in the PS cannot be isolated from the interaction between the PS and the local authorities as even though PS has a committee led by a headman (the *regedor*), another committee presumably acting as the bridge between PS and the local authorities is appointed by local authorities to attend to their welfare matters
- the on-going campaigning for land rights and against coastline development that could impact on the PS livelihood and well-being, including their heritage language which has been spoken actively in the settlement with a concentrated population
- the wish for a community centre has been long expressed and the PS community's hopes were raised at one point when there were speculations that it might be built on a piece of reclaimed land which later was built a hotel before being bought over by a learning institute. Research participants still hope that a community centre will be built for their community which is touted as a place in which anyone could go and interact in MPC.

The discussion so far has exemplified the meanings, considerations, tensions and conflicts in bottom-up MPC language revitalisation. The discussion shows the relevance of considering the role of MPC in the present socio-economic systems and of influencing and bridging behaviours and the psychological dimension (e.g. ideologies and identities alignment and construction), which is one important argument throughout this thesis. Another argument stems from how socio-historical and socio-political background has to be considered when discussing language endangerment and language revitalisation. A third argument lies in what choices to make and what identities to align with in language revitalisation when drawing from a range of ideologies and self-identifications in keeping one's heritage language relevant as a part of social life (i.e. aligning with a MPC-speaking heritage) while maintaining other parts of social life and identifications (eg. identifying with being and representing a Malaysian or Malaccan). Reconnecting with a MPC-speaking heritage has been making a comeback through cultural activities and language revitalisation, as well as campaigning in defence of land rights and self-determination.

This section relates findings thus far to language revitalisation which can be seen as a form of manifestation of language planning though as pointed out earlier, components and impacts of language revitalisation can go beyond language planning and extend to non-language areas such as overall group well-being and minority rights. A detailed proposal for MPC language revitalisation is beyond the scope of this research. The outcome of this research can be aligned with ideological clarification via the experiences and expressivity of the people in study. As such, this section focuses on what can be drawn from this research, while taking further steps and building on previous recommendations and literature. Based on research since the 1980s, Baxter (2012) lists down recommendations for MPC language revitalisation: a community-based body devoted to language preservation, community involvement, sustainability (e.g. being critical and persistent, engaging new members), associated professional consultants (e.g.

outsider linguists), financial base and school support. These recommendations are a match to what research participants of this research have named when discussing about language revitalisation efforts that they would like to organise or see happen. Seeing there has not been any formal work on MPC language revitalisation other than recommendations, the following sections attempt to begin conversations on considerations and ideological clarifications in the planning and conduct of MPC language revitalisation while drawing on findings of this research. It can be gathered that to address the gaps between language revitalisation efforts and reactions towards efforts in practice, there will be a need to search for ways to act as bridge between efforts and reaction. The rest of this chapter attempts to consider two questions:

- i. How can the substantive model of managing MPC relevance be drawn upon in further language revitalisation efforts?
- ii. How can language revitalisation efforts engage and reach out to the recipients?

This thesis, thus far, has demonstrated that language revitalisation actors manage the relevance of their heritage language in a more explicit and self-differentiating way, setting them apart from other group members who may manage more implicitly and render control and ownership to others, as discussed in the continuum of coping strategies in Chapter 6 (Major component 2 in Figure 6.7). The division between the two categories of group members must be seen as a continuum. In planning MPC language revitalisation, then, one can draw upon the four major components of the substantive model to better approach and understand the experiences and conceptualisations in the sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle. As demonstrated in the MPC language revitalisation process cycle (Major component 1 in Figure 6.7) in Chapter 6 and discussed earlier in this chapter, MPC language revitalisation actors are motivated to reclaim their

heritage language by a range of and a combination of internal and external factors (e.g. reconnecting with heritage) and their psychological dimension, discourses and actions set them apart from other group members. As shared by language revitalisation actors, the source of motivation, inspiration and encouragement can come in two directions: community-internal or community-external. These language revitalisation actors are individuals who have been in touch with linguists and researchers and who have been exposed to other minority groups' experiences.

If one contends that in language revitalisation efforts, ideologies and behaviours are assumed to be able to be influenced and directed towards certain alignment (see Chapter 3), it can be reasoned that when more MPC-speaking group members experience what the language revitalisation actors have experienced to take things into their own hands, there is a chance for more group members to join them and reclaim their heritage language. This suggests more conversations with more group members are necessary. While having more conversations in forms and mediums possible and appropriate to the group members by referring to what the language revitalisation actors have experienced is important, it is equally important to consider seriously what the people would like to do with and see happen to their heritage language. The approach in *language development* is relevant here as it is suitable for on-the-ground language revitalisation though other relevant frameworks are to be drawn from whenever necessary. Language development is defined by Quakenbush (2007: 45) as the “advancement of language resources and competencies so that a community can effectively use its language(s) for the varied purposes it requires and desires”. One closely linked consideration is what the group members are capable of doing (Bower, 2011; Quakenbush, 2007) and can be made capable of doing (the literature is growing on how collaborative work can be done with group members for specific trainings e.g. Black & Black, 2012).

Motivation has been demonstrated as a determining factor in social processes throughout this thesis. The motivations of initiating or participating in MPC language revitalisation efforts can be understood from two viewpoints, inward- and outward-looking motivations which overlap and interrelate, instead of being completely exclusive of each other. The inward-looking motivations stem from among others, fear, worries, nostalgia and pride, as the speakers are looking for networks to reconnect with MPC, their heritage and their people such as the language speaking group and social media groups, longing for new communities of practice (Wendel & Heinrich, 2012). As demonstrated in Chapter 6, the outward-looking motivations are driven by reaction or resistance towards social forces in the language ecology. There are two questions to consider here. The first one concerns who should provide motivations for language revitalisation while the second question concerns what motivations are closer to the group members' heart though it is recognised that motivations can be interrelated.

In language development studies (Premsrirat & Malone, 2003; Quakenbush, 2007), leaders can be seen as motivation providers. Such a view is shared by research participants of this study, in that they point to leaders, elders and parents as responsible for language acquisition and transmission. In language endangerment, language revitalisation and language planning and policy studies, we have seen how different age groups can play a part in the role of policy-making or at least policy-influencing, whether one is an elder, a parent, a teenager or a child (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014; Ruby, 2012; Schwartz, 2008; Spolsky, 2004).

Although the elders will always be looked upon as the faces of a heritage language, the voice of the group members has become audible through the voice of the middle-age groups in the case of MPC. The MPC language revitalisation actors, equipped with individual knowledge and experience, have stepped forward to reclaim their heritage language. Many young adults are presently working in places far from the PS, making

their representation in the case in study less visible. However, it may also be reasoned that the cultural climate through which the present young adults grew up with might not have been as encouraging in comparison to the time of research. Their lack of representation in matters related to their heritage and community development may then be understood as a looser link to being the legitimate owners of MPC and of their heritage and community, as can be gathered from the socio-historical and political development of the people and their heritage language, as discussed in Chapter 2 and 6 (Major component 4, Figure 6.7). At the present, it appears that there are children of certain families in which constant access to MPC is available and those who have the experiences in language classes and cultural troupes will likely to inherit the roles to continue to reclaim their heritage language in the future. Though, as shared by research participants, once some children enter teenage years and later when they enter the working world, things may change. The present motivations to keep MPC relevant as part of their heritage language are complementing each other by a number of variables: the available communities of practice (thus access to MPC), the overall cultural climate boosting multilingualism and interest in MPC and social and community development which can unite group members and establish links to MPC (e.g. campaigning for land matters).

In the present, we are seeing a bit more of concerted efforts in the PS to raise awareness and also garner possible funding, as shown in the efforts to produce CDS for prayers and hymns in MPC. MPC teaching materials which are collaboration between representatives from the PS MPC-speaking group members and a team from University of Malaya are presently in progress (University of Malaya Community Engagement Grant 2015, CE2015/26). Such interest in MPC from outside PS, especially coming from a tertiary education institute, add to the motivations to revitalise MPC (see also community-external motivations in Chapter 6). To answer the question of who should provide motivations for MPC language revitalisation, though everyone has his or her role to play,

it is clear that to reconcile group members' goals, needs and tensions, a bridge is needed to allow communication to happen. That bridge can be local leaders or a body to overlook matters related to MPC language revitalisation though unofficially, such a body is in presence under a local association. This academy of arts and culture saw through the language classes in 2011-2012 which eventually closed due to a dwindling number of students. Comments were also given by research participants against the nature and conduct of language classes, which will be discussed below. As such, this bridge will have a lot of work to do. Although having a body to overlook matters related to language revitalisation does not guarantee the commitment to efforts and language vitality, such a body can in effect increase awareness of language vitality and be a platform for like-minded people to join efforts.

The motivations of speaking, learning and revitalising MPC revolve around how group members attempt to connect with their MPC-speaking heritage, self and group in social and self representation and identification (Chapter 6). While the symbolic function or use of MPC as an ethnic and cultural marker has been discussed and sometimes taken as a given, it is also important to consider the communicative and affective functions of language and the socio-psychological dimension. Language learning and speaking are not solely done for pragmatic and instrumental purposes, nor are they solely motivated by socio-political factors. Humans speak languages for communicative and affective purposes and essentially, to connect with other human beings. The relevance of the notion of communities of practice in the present (Wendel & Heinrich, 2012, in contrast to *domains* used extensively in literature) is discussed in Chapter 3 and can further be demonstrated in how research participants, when answering survey questions on the typical domains of MPC use, provided answers that often do not match the typical domains of language use. They could have learned MPC from a certain elder in the PS while they speak little MPC at home or they have acquired MPC because their daily life

is spent with a family with constant access to MPC though they are not related to the family by blood ties. What can be gathered from their sharing is how MPC-speaking is essentially spoken as it is on the ground. This is to say it is not restricted to the typical domains due to the language contact situation in which MPC developed and continues to develop. To answer the question on what motivations are closer to the group members' heart, it will essentially take a combination of reconnecting with people (e.g. communities of practice, the PS community, the people looked up to), self-managing and reconnecting with heritage in aligning with a MPC-speaking heritage while maintaining other social and self-identification and representation in social life. Viewpoints on commitment, as discussed by Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003, also discussed in Chapter 3), remind us that the complexity of domains can determine the relationship between stated attitudes and behaviours and have to be taken into consideration in considering the motivations of learning and revitalising MPC. In the present case, based on self-reporting among participants and observation among other group members, language classes which require a long-term commitment fare less than those requiring shorter-term commitment and short-term adjustment such as participation in festivals and ceremonies.

The present bottom-up MPC language revitalisation are, if placed on a continuum, with two orientations on each end. One orientation is inclined towards formal, institutional setting while the other one tends to be casual and informal. The present bottom-up MPC language revitalisation efforts can also be approached by another two orientations, again, on a continuum: PS community-based or reaching out to a wider diaspora. This study adds to the research which observe that works that do not consider a group's language goals naturally do not reach out to group members significantly. Granted, one needs to consider a range of factors, including perceptions towards individuals associated with language revitalisation efforts, access to language revitalisation efforts and outcomes. Drawing on the close-to-heart matters and

peoplehood (Major component 3 in Figure 6.7), the local way-of-life needs to be considered for considerations on the practicality and approach of language revitalisation efforts. The following example can demonstrate the need to consider as such. Though research participants expressed that they would like to see more MPC resources created and reacted positively to the ideas of reading MPC books, the practicality and approach of books will have to be considered, as more group members still see MPC as an oral language. This by no means dictates that book reading is of little importance among group members but this has more to do with the local way-of-life. If more books and other resources are being created, the questions to be considered include, among others, *Are more resources created in the form that can be relevant to group members? How can book-reading be designed in a way to engage group members?*

To questions above, perhaps we can, again, draw from language development studies to take cue on how language efforts can be approached and designed to suit purposes as the group requires and desires (Quakenbush, 2007). A community centre that has been talked about for a long time, funds which are for education purposes and not restricted to language teaching, language classes and classes that equip one with skills (e.g. sewing, cooking) but conducted in mostly MPC to teach MPC received more votes when research participants were asked to imagine what they would like to do for their heritage language if there was sufficient funding. Apart from the forms of efforts, the nature and approach of efforts are equally important. Research participants have shared how they enjoyed certain language classes over other efforts because those are deemed more fun and enjoyable or there were peers or companies that they could click with. What is interesting among those who expressed is how some research participants agree with a more institutional approach while there are also those, though they are not language revitalisation actors, have given the nature of MPC more thoughts than others. The following excerpt was taken from a conversation with an elder group member. This

excerpt demonstrates what MPC-speaking is to group members and how it can continue in the present, spoken as the language of peoplehood. As discussed above, reconnecting with people and heritage, apart from self-managing, is identified to be the core motivation of speaking, learning and revitalising MPC. As such, in planning MPC language revitalisation, it is essential to integrate their values and way-of-life that are close to their hearts. These would include topics on livelihood (e.g. fishermen), culture (e.g. food, cultural activities) and how peoplehood is valued by PS MPC-speaking group members:

[E7.14, B30, R]

R: Do you talk to your family members or friends about the future of the Portuguese language?

B30: No, no, I don't. So far I haven't come uh... in that stage yet la... But I talk to the younger generation like I say that the young children, you know, more a bit in English and more a bit... a bit of Portuguese. A bit, a bit so in order they will pick it up. So that is how we must talk to them. We must talk to them in English and as well in Portuguese, cause these are the subjects they are learning in school and this is their talking every day with their parents. So we... we will continue talking to them, few words also never mind. At least out of five por... two or three words also never mind. So that's what keeps the children from learning, so they will learn. "Eh, why the uncle talking in Portuguese?" They will ask and then we speak to them and slowly they will learn and then they will talk to us back again in Portuguese.

R: B30, if it is up to you, and if you had support from the community and you had funding, you had enough financial resources, would you like to do anything for the language?

B30: Yes. If I have the resources, I will do. I'll preserve it and I'll talk and... and make sure that I will get the people, the young generations and get the old generations to come in and speak to them, explain to them properly how to use the phrases in the words. *Papia Kristang Antigu* or *Papia Portuguese Antigu*, let them learn. This... these are the things that, you know, if you don't keep, if you don't speak, it will die off.

R: How do you think... these young people and the elder people can be brought together?

B30: Eh, you must need a funding la... Main thing is that you... you must need a funding and you need a place. I know a couple in KL, she's a Portuguese Eurasian, and... her relations are here. But, you know, certain words she forgets, she does because she used to talking in English, working in KL and the only thing they talk is in English and Bahasa, and maybe whatever it is they are learning but they are... they lost. They're... they're lo... uh... they can speak Portuguese. Not much, few words, so they come and ask me, I give them. I share it to them. Ah... then certain words they have asked me, I tell them. What it means, how to talk. So they...

they're... they're coming back again, you see, the younger generation are coming back to learn what they have lost. That is very important, you see... So we don't like... An example, if you come and ask, I'll give. If... if nobody ask, I won't give, you know... It's no point of you taking the... the camel to the well and ask him to drink when he doesn't want to drink, right? So you must be able to have that... that thinking, "Aiyoh (Malay expression, similar to 'alas'), I lost my full mother's... my mother's tongue." You know? "So I must speak again. Catch it back again." Come, I will teach. No problem, and then you go back you practice it. Talk to your husband or talk to your... then, teach your children.

R: So you think um... to bring the people together, if it's in the Portuguese settlement, you may need a place, you will need funding?

B30: No, you need the funding to go out and meet them. Don't bring them in one place. You know, like you want to keep the culture, the language alive, don't bring them in one place; go and visit them.

R: So...

B30: The words must go to them. Go to their houses and visit them.

R: So it... if it's just in the Portuguese settlement, you think maybe a group of people can... and go to...

B30: go round and visit them, talk to them. This is how you keep the thing alive. You see... you ask them to come out from the house and come here, they got no time. They have commitments at home, they have... they got children to take care of, they have to cook, you know... they have to clean the house. So if you can spend ah... if you got a few people to go out and talk to them, today, OK uh... you go to (xxx) Road, OK, how many houses you have got? So you OK, you break it into three days. OK today you go to three-four houses and talk to them. Talk, talk, talk, talk, then OK. And then tomorrow you go to another three or four houses, just of... no need to spend hours.

R: So what will the people talk about? Do they talk about daily life or...?

B30: No, you... when you go there, you talk to them; you let them talk to you about what they want to talk.

R: In Portuguese (MPC)?

B30: In Portuguese (MPC). And then if they find comfortable in talking to you in English, talk, but then you explain back to them in Portuguese. That's how you keep the culture, that's how you keep the... the language alive. They forgot how to use it, so you teach them how to use it by let them converse to you in English; you converse them in Portuguese. "Oh, that's all, this is what it means, OK, OK." So then they will use it back again, you know... You must go out, don't bring them together here. Go out, go and visit them.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the awareness on heritage, ownership and language revitalisation among language revitalisation actors has come from a combination of internal and external motivations, including the construction of knowledge and interaction between researchers and group members in the past, present and future, whether the knowledge-sharing is direct or indirect, intentional or not so. Generally, PS MPC-speaking group members found experts, teachers and researchers coming into the PS to do work in relation to their heritage language a positive sign as long as there is agreement between both parties and there is respect appropriate to the local culture. Research participants generally expressed that they enjoyed the experiences of being involved in language revitalisation efforts, such as participating in language documentation and language classes. The chances of further collaborative efforts appear to be welcomed, as expressed by research participants, hoping for more help and advice in language revitalisation. Ultimately, researchers will have to consider how they can offer help if asked or at least help identify what could hinder language revitalisation efforts.

7.5 Concluding Thoughts

There are three main arguments throughout this thesis. This thesis demonstrates the relevance of considering the role of MPC in the present socio-economic systems and of influencing and bridging behaviours and the psychological dimension: ideologies and identities. The second argument concerns how studying present circumstances has to consider the socio-historical and political development and that the present circumstances are part of larger social processes. The third argument concerns the choices individuals and groups may make in social processes and by recognising the agency of minority groups and embracing multilingualism in its fullest way possible, the minority groups can get involved in efforts and decision-making processes in relation to their heritage

language. Motivation is an important notion to consider in language revitalisation research as it drives social processes while also being driven by social processes. Motivations of speaking, learning and revitalising have been considered in this thesis. A range and combination of internal (i.e. motivations emerging from inner dimensions, ideologies and identifications), external (i.e. motivations emerging from community-external sources), inward-looking (i.e. looking to the PS MPC-speaking community) and outward-looking (i.e. looking to outside the PS MPC-speaking community) motivations are closely linked. The motivations that inspire and encourage initiation and involvement in language revitalisation, though the personal pursuit in motivations is evident but this does not mean this cannot be for a good cause, that have been identified are discussed in relation to possible considerations in MPC language revitalisation.

The take on language endangerment and language revitalisation throughout this thesis as a social process is informed by the interaction between micro processes and macro settings (e.g. power relations, social structure, socio-economic conditions), based on data and on past research. That micro processes can be seen as response to or resistance to macro policies and an act of self-determination has been recognised (Baldauf, 2006). Whether all parties that might be involved in language revitalisation are aware of or conscious about it, language revitalisation processes become a proxy for wider socio-political struggles (Woolard, 1998). Language revitalisation in reality is not just about language, it is part of a larger social movement, depending on larger social forces.

To be more specific, this research is informed by the interaction between motivation, agency, culture or language-cultural nexus, language-ideological aspects and power, seeing how these continue to interact, construct and reconstruct identity and ideologies to represent an aspect of social life. The bottom-up MPC language revitalisation is being done in a way where people are looking for networks to reconnect with MPC and heritage (e.g. language classes, meet-up groups, social media groups),

fulfilling the needs of peoplehood and communities of practice, and also communicative and affective needs. In Wendel and Heinrich's (2012: 163-164) terms, "What is needed is scholarship that takes as its point of departure minority perspectives and issues in an effort to develop greater insights into the dynamics of language endangerment". The tensions and concerns emerged in this research are shared by other minority groups across the world (e.g. *minority language situations* in Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). As shown in other case studies, a language in a situation as MPC, which is probably in the middle on a possible continuum of language vitality, with a total language loss and an imagined "healthy" language (but evolving and changing nonetheless) on both sides of the continuum, is one that can be worked on but whether group members involve themselves in the language efforts is something that needs even more work.

The present trends in language and linguistic research, whether it is the epistemological shifts that have driven researchers or more research findings have driven the epistemological shifts though a combination of both is most likely, have come to be more positive and encouraging than ever to language revitalisation and contact language studies. The same can be said about embracing multilingualism. In planning tangible actions in language revitalisation, researchers are reminded that ideological clarification is complex and should be on-going instead of regarded as a final-end product (Bower, 2011; Dauenhauer & Daunhauer, 1998; King, 2001). Language revitalisation is not just about revitalising the language of the past, it is necessary to situate the language in its current context, while building on its historical trajectories. If group members express something differently from what researchers may have in mind as the group's goals, Bower (2011) reminds researchers that it is viable to start with short term goals and work from there. More importantly, language revitalisation brings group members closer to their heritage as a way of reconnecting with their MPC and heritage (connection to culture and identity), brings a sense of empowerment and self-determination by reclaiming

ownership (empowerment) and can add to the overall group's well-being and development. Via a cooperative framework, the relationship between researchers and the researched are writing new pages on the language revitalisation scenes. Present and future language revitalisation planning and practice will have to balance between learning from previous researchers and improvising research, planning and practice as languages evolve following social processes in the ecology.

CHAPTER 8: REFLECTIONS

8.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter, reflections from conducting this study are discussed from three perspectives: working on MPC language revitalisation, employing Constructivist Grounded Theory and situating the present study in wider contexts. Reflections from working on MPC language revitalisation present after thoughts and ideas that emerged from working on MPC and with MPC-speaking group members. The next section on reflections from employing Constructivist Grounded Theory discusses the research process and challenges faced before, as mentioned in Chapter 4, revisiting the four criteria of Grounded Theory research (Charmaz, 2006, 2014). These four criteria helped examine the extent of this research and whether I had allowed the data to speak to me, guided by the verification process in Grounded Theory which is the explicit systematic checks and refinements (see Section 4.6 and Section 5.4.4).

Towards the end of this chapter, in Section 8.4, where the present study stands in relation to the body of literature and wider contexts are discussed, covering matters including the researcher's positioning. The gaps that the present study would eventually fill were presented in a general way in Chapter 1 (see motivations and justifications of the present research in Section 1.1, the significance of the present study in Section 1.4). This is due to the natural progress and characteristics of a study employing a bottom-up approach like Grounded Theory. It is after researchers have completed data analysis and theoretical conceptualisation that they are able to identify more specifically about the gaps the process and outcome of research have filled.

8.2 Reflections: MPC Language Revitalisation

Drawing from the experiences of the PS MPC-speaking group members in managing the relevance of their heritage language as part of their social life, this thesis examines coping strategies as uncovered in discourses (e.g. reclaiming ownership, rendering control to others or preferring ambiguity) and actions (e.g. participating in language revitalisation or not) that underpin the MPC language revitalisation process cycle. The codes and categories emerged as temporal sequences that are linked and fill up the sub-processes of the MPC language revitalisation process cycle though it is acknowledged that in reality and in practice, the temporal sequences are not as orderly as depicted. Such a depiction is meant to profile and conceptualise the MPC language revitalisation process cycle and sub-processes, and put things into perspectives. This allows teasing out the meanings and actions in the MPC language revitalisation process cycle. Through these meanings and actions, the saliency and dynamics of meanings and actions as emerged from codes and categories that make up the discussions on the salient meanings and actions in how MPC relevance is managed (Chapter 6), and the dynamics of meanings and actions (Chapter 7) against the local MPC language revitalisation efforts and the wider multilingual and post-colonial context (Chapter 2).

Similar to many other minority groups which is sometimes expected or even taken as a given, the present bottom-up MPC language revitalisation relies on the paradigm of language essentialism, portraying the symbolic representation of MPC in the public spheres and in the talks on, among others, language authenticity, ownership and literacy for MPC. Such an orientation, if examined against the socio-historical and political development, goes back to colonial, post-colonial or nation-state and Western (Dorian, 1998) ideologies which continue to interact with the ideologies of a new society and a new language (in the sense as referred to in Ansaldo, 2009) and the contemporary trends. The shifts in paradigms that allow the embracing of multilingualism and diversity

(Chapter 3), such as those of language ecology and language evolution, are yet to reach the practices and processes on the ground, as the shifts are still mostly the talk among philosophers and researchers in contrast to practice and reality.

This research provides concrete evidence and propositions for understanding and approaching the on-the-ground MPC language revitalisation process cycle. Past MPC research has generally focused on social factors of language maintenance and language endangerment (e.g. Lee, 2011) and interpreting Portuguese Eurasian or Kristang identity construction (e.g. O'Neill, 2008; Sarkissian, 2005). This thesis extends MPC research to group members' experiences and expressivity, particularly meanings of language revitalisation efforts to group members. The dynamics and variation of voices underlying the group of people who identify with the PS and a MPC-speaking heritage are demonstrated while examining their individual and overall collective experiences, perspectives and ideologies. In this thesis, the PS MPC-speaking group members' voice and agency emerged through the bottom-up approach and co-construction between the researcher and research participants of this research. How language revitalisation actors are driven by a range and combination of motivations to step forward, take control and reclaim their heritage language are demonstrated. Attempts are also made to understand and explain the gap between what is done and what is said and perceived via the accumulating and interacting ideologies from the socio-historical and political development. Values and matters that are close to the people's heart are identified, generally revolving around reconnecting with heritage (e.g. inheriting traditional ways-of-life and knowledge, acts of identity in the sense of Croft, 2003 or identity or multiple alignment in the sense of Ansaldi, 2009) and peoplehood (e.g. communicative and affective functions of language, communities of practice, the social space-time in the sense of Anderson, 2009) in social processes.

In terms of language endangerment and language revitalisation (more on this topic in Section 8.4), this thesis adds to the studies on minority groups' constructed and reconstructed experiences that have been reported to cross temporal and spatial borders and construct boundaries (e.g. see a special edition on Reconceptualising Endangered Language Communities, *Language & Communication* (38), as contributed by, among others, Avineri, [2014], Kroskrity [2014]). This research also demonstrates the conception and conceptualisations of group members who speak a contact language as their heritage language in relation to a part of their social life as exhibited through the bottom-up language revitalisation process, adding to studies on contact languages.

This thesis was written while being aware of different perspectives on the take of language revitalisation among scholars and researchers: whether one should work via a community-based or lone wolf approach (Bower & Warner, 2015; Crippen & Robinson, 2013) or whether one should be involved in community work and give back to the community or focus only on scholarly work (Ladefoged, 1992; Dorian, 1993; Austin & Sallabank, 2014). The general answer to the different takes might be *to each its own*. This thesis is aligned with a collaborative nature and sees work as co-constructed between the researcher and research participants (Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Charmaz, 2006, 2014; Crowley, 2007). That it is hoped that this work can add to the empowering of the group in study underpins this thesis by acknowledging and recognising group members' contributions to MPC language revitalisation efforts, either as actors, participants or group members who have added to the overall cultural climate.

The present overall cultural climate is encouraging for MPC language revitalisation, for reasons discussed throughout this thesis (Chapter 1, 2, 6 and 7). The present MPC language revitalisation efforts are on-the-ground, spontaneous and sporadic. What can be learned from the studies on language revitalisation thus far is how top-down

policies (e.g. legitimatising the status of a heritage language in institutional context and public spheres either as a symbolic representation or functional use, achieving formal literacy status) and bottom-up processes can complement and support each other. As observed within the PS, the present perceptions on having MPC as a school subject remains an idea that is far and detached, as many group members did not know prior to this research about their language rights as established in the constitution, particularly their rights to a MPC mother tongue program. By now, we are aware of the studies in which researchers have reported on how having an endangered language achieve a formal, legitimate and symbolic status does not guarantee the language vitality as it takes primarily group members' commitment to the use of a language for a language to be vital although a combination of both are ideal and have shown to work for some languages such as Maori, as discussed by Spolsky (2004, see also Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Hornberger, 2002). However, it is also argued that achieving a certain status is a boost to the prestige and image of a language (Ager, 2005; Sallabank, 2005).

Though we can never say for sure how an endangered language that is left to develop without intervention will turn out to be, it is reminded that it may be too late when group members want intervention to be introduced when a language is deemed severely endangered and there is little that has captured its fuller form that can be used for language revitalisation (e.g. Sallabank, 2013). When a heritage language like MPC has lost speakers over generations due to its role no longer being relevant in the present socio-economic system (Mufwene, 2003) and other factors (e.g. migration, intermarriage) as discussed in the previous chapters, somehow, the PS MPC-speaking group members will have to make some decisions regarding whether further language efforts are what the group members want, and if affirmative, what approach, form and outcome the efforts would be.

8.3 Reflections: A Constructivist Grounded Theory Approach

Employing a bottom-up approach has led this research to be more multidisciplinary than initially imagined. Such an outcome is based on theoretical leads and directions pursued in the course of study, in search of ways to explain relationships between codes, categories and concepts as emerged from data. As explained in Chapter 1 and 5, to explore the nature and impact of bottom-up revitalisation effort would involve evaluating the efforts and this would risk imposing ideas on group members without understanding their experiences. Considerations such as this lead to the choice of theoretical approach of this research, Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

This thesis has come to focus on what it does, following the conceptual and development working from codes to categories and finally concepts. Figure 8.1 shows an overview of what this thesis has come to focus on.

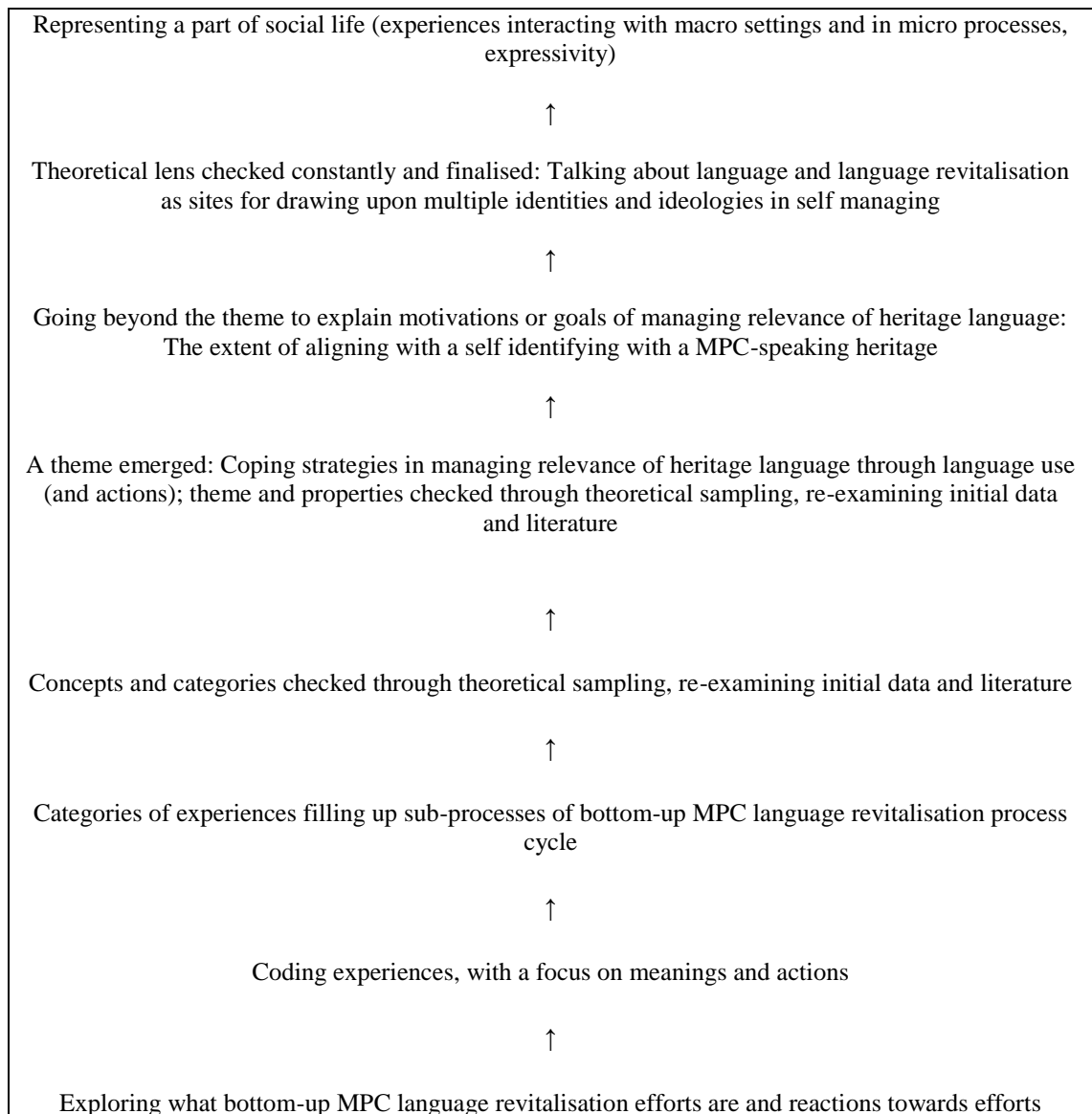


Figure 8.1: An overview of how this thesis developed a focus

A bottom-up approach was chosen at the beginning of this research, for considerations and reasons that would allow this research to continue the nature of prior fieldwork and connections built in earlier trips with the PS MPC-speaking group members to explore language revitalisation efforts initiated by group members and reactions towards efforts while recognising that every endangered or heritage language case is individual and unique (Chapter 1 and 4). Although the focus of this study was general and only came to shape up gradually in the research process, the purpose of research was

clear in seeing language as the central topic of debate (Blommaert, 1999) instead of testing hypotheses or theories or examining linguistic aspects. An exploratory study was deemed more suitable to minimise pre-assumptions, remind or even force researchers to check their assumptions throughout the research process as it can show if data do not reflect the codes, categories and concepts that are leading up to the final product. The decisions on choosing a research approach then were based on how one could understand MPC language revitalisation in view of a seemingly disconnect between efforts and reactions towards efforts.

A fit was found with Constructivist Grounded Theory as it allowed one to go to the field without being driven by a theoretical framework while I was kept directed towards the pursuit of knowledge in a substantive area. It acknowledges bias and that knowledge is co-constructed between the researcher and research participants. As such, a researcher employing Constructivist Grounded Theory will somehow be forced to question the fit between data and concepts repeatedly and constantly while checking against any assumptions or imposing of ideas and concepts until there is a fit between data and the final product, be it a framework, model or theory.

The nature of fieldwork and employing Grounded Theory Methodology (Chapter 3) are similar in certain aspects, particularly the uncertain conditions ahead in the conduct of research. The inductive nature of this research often was faced with the logico-deductive, conventional format in different stages of institutional research assessment, research sharing in conferences and journals or funding application, such as the requirement of reporting on the scale and size of sampling, the duration of data collection and data analysis, the number of chapters and even the way one writes as one is encouraged to write to represent the emergent nature of research process which had to be

moderated against a more conventional format. Eventually, attempts were made to balance between the inductive nature and deductive format.

The process of employing Grounded Theory Methodology is iterative and moves between looking at data in an inductive and abductive way (Chapter 4). The research process is guided but it can be challenging for researchers to have to bear with ambiguity for a long period while having to keep to a productive timeline. The focus on coding for actions and processes in Constructivist Grounded Theory, instead of topics, and the focus on sampling for categories and concepts, rather than people, guide researchers to consider relationships between codes, categories and concepts and search for ways to explain the relationships by constant comparison and trials. Inevitably, the research process is part of the final product of research. The take on verification of research in the present study is discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.6). This thesis follows Bryant and Charmaz (2007a: 19) who acknowledge that independent testing for validation of theory, if one is not talking about testing for theorising can be problematic for Grounded Theory Method.

The four criteria of Grounded Theory research that can be seen a point of reference and reflection in employing Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014: 355-357) and how they have been met by this research are discussed below.

- i. *Credibility* (Has your research achieved intimate familiarity with the setting or topic?; Are the data sufficient to merit your claims? Consider the range, number, and depth of observations contained in the data; Have you made systematic comparisons between observations and between categories?; Do the categories cover a wide range of empirical observations?; Are there strong logical links between the gathered data and your argument and analysis?; Has your research provided enough evidence for your claims to allow the reader to form an independent assessment – and agree with your claims?)

A familiarity with the setting was established prior to undertaking data collection for this research with field experiences gained at the same research site for a language and culture documentation (Pillai, 2013) and a study (Pillai, Soh & Kajita, 2014). The data are believed to merit the claims of this thesis as the categories emerged from and cover a wide range of empirical observations, namely from primary data (conversations, language survey, observations on the ground and in social media) and secondary data (data from previous projects involved, examination of MPC materials, literature). Links between the gathered data and the arguments and analysis of this thesis were established through an exploratory and guided process (see Chapter 5 and Table 8.1 for how this thesis came to focus on what it does) which required constant comparison between sets of data or across data and between codes, categories and concepts. In proposing a continuum of managing MPC relevance set against the local language revitalisation efforts and a wider multilingual and postcolonial context, this thesis provides a new way of approaching the PS MPC-speaking group members' experiences and expressivity in representing a part of their social life. Concrete evidence is provided for the MPC language revitalisation process cycle, the coping strategies of the group in study in managing relevance of their heritage language via language use and actions, group members' making sense and conceptualising their experiences in relation to their heritage language, and the dynamics of meanings, perceptions, ideologies and identities alignment among group members. These evidence, along with the considerations of different dimensions (linguistic, psychological, socio-historical and political, epistemological and ontological) and different frameworks and orientations (linguistic anthropology, language ecology, language contact, language evolution, language revitalisation, language planning and policy, sociolinguistics) in

theoretical conceptualisation and in explaining what has been conceptualised, make a strong case for the analysis, arguments and propositions of this thesis. The strong case is supported by a chain of evidence, as demonstrated by the MPC language revitalisation process cycle which gave rise to the continuum of managing MPC relevance, and by situating the process cycle and MPC relevance managing in wider contexts.

ii. *Originality* (Are your categories fresh? Do they offer new insights?; Does your analysis provide a new conceptual rendering of the data?; What is the social and theoretical significance of this work?; How does Grounded Theory challenge, extend or refine current ideas, concepts and practices?)

Categories used were considered in terms of whether meanings and actions were captured to convey the intended message to readers and in how a fresh perspective could be gathered from data to look at MPC and MPC-speaking group members. These categories offer new insights to MPC work in that group members' experiences, expressivity and ideologies that have not been approached in ways as approached in this research, particularly the bottom-up process and drawing upon different dimensions and different frameworks and orientations. The new insights allow readers to consider the present circumstances related to MPC and MPC-speaking group members from the perspectives of different dimensions, of different frameworks and orientations (see above). By approaching the micro processes as part of larger social processes, the forces that are at play are also considered. The forces include not only political and social forces but also the global epistemological and ontological shifts. The new insights gained by the different dimensions, frameworks and orientations provide a new conceptual rendering of the data. Theoretically, this thesis adds to studies examining micro-

processes from minority group members' perspective and allow their agency and expressivity to emerge through their experiences via discourses and coping strategies and to contact language and contact language revitalisation studies. Socially, this thesis profiles, recognises and reflects the contributions of group members towards language revitalisation and linguistic empowerment. Drawing upon Constructivist Grounded Theory has allowed the contact-language speaking group members' experiences to extend MPC research to be considered in an ecological way, considering the interaction (i) between the group members and the social worlds, (ii) of accumulating ideologies over time, (iii) between language revitalisation studies or contact language studies and the global, epistemological and ontological trends, and (iv) between linguistic, psychological and social or global dimensions. The findings of this thesis demonstrate the relevance of considering these interactions to avoid a superficial understanding of the people and their experiences.

iii. *Resonance* (Do the categories portray fullness of the studied experience?; Have you revealed both liminal and unstable taken-for-granted meanings?; Have you drawn links between larger collectivities or institutions and individual lives, when the data are so indicate?; Does the Grounded Theory make sense to your participants or people who share their circumstances? Does your analysis offer them deeper insights about their lives and worlds?)

The categories in the MPC language revitalisation process cycle are linked temporal sequences to represent sub-processes of a larger process. Experiences are abstracted into a continuum of managing relevance of heritage language to conceptualise the actions and meanings in the data. Links are drawn between larger collectivities or institutions (e.g. colonial powers, multilingual setting,

nation-state policy makers, and researchers' paradigms) and individual lives. Without considering the interactions above, the experiences of the people might not have been captured and understood in a fuller form as the experiences of the people are sometimes taken as granted or pre-assumed because of their present circumstances. Parts of findings were discussed in recorded or off-the-record conversations with research participants in order to see if findings make sense to them as a way of checking if ideas have been imposed upon participants. Conversations were engaged with research participants to see how their experiences of part of their social life could be conceptualised to gain deeper insights about their lives and worlds.

iv. *Usefulness* (Does your analysis offer interpretations that people can use in their everyday worlds?; Do your analytic categories suggest any generic processes?; If so, have you examined these generic processes for tacit implications?; Can the analysis spark further research in other substantive areas?; How does your work contribute to knowledge? How does it contribute to making a better world?)

In line with the move from specific to general interpretations in the understanding of processes in a substantive area as part of larger social processes in Constructivist Grounded Theory, Chapter 7 discusses the implications of findings in relation to different aspects (e.g. language purism, language ownership) and components (e.g. motivations, considerations in practice) to be considered in language revitalisation after generic processes are identified and discussed in Chapter 6. The analysis opens up conversations on further language revitalisation efforts and contact language studies. It builds on data and past research and examines one's bias, assumptions, paradigm and positioning in relation to studying a heritage language which is also a contact language and the processes

involved in managing relevance of it and revitalising it against wider contexts and from different dimensions. Implicitly or explicitly, it argues against seeing minority group members as without agency, motivations and expressivity. The substantive model presented in Chapter 6 provides a new way of approaching studies on MPC and MPC-speaking group members, in that it is based on a chain of evidence that emerged and was established based on the conceptions and conceptualisations of group members' experience, expressivity and dynamics. Employing Constructivist Grounded Theory, the micro-processes were allowed to be approached with reflexivity. I had to reflect from time to time on choices made in research process in acknowledging bias and becoming reflexive in responding to bias.

To wrap up this section, employing a bottom-up approach, Constructivist Grounded Theory, has made it possible for the voice of the PS MPC-speaking group members to “emerge more organically than would have been possible”, in the words of my supervisor. As I reflected upon the research process, I did wonder about how the present study would turn out to be if I had taken another approach. Since I will never know how it would be, I would like to at least think that there is, essentially, a difference between setting out to study matters such as language and identity and allowing voices in relation to these matters to emerge from conversations and “speak for themselves”.

8.4 Reflections: Situating the Present Study in Wider Contexts

As mentioned previously (Section 1.4, 8.2), the present study proposes a new way of approaching a minority, contact- and heritage-language-speaking group in managing

the relevance of their heritage language, employs a bottom-up approach and adds to the under-represented contact language (revitalisation) studies. Chapter 7 and Section 8.2 discuss how implications of the present study can be drawn to understand the tensions, ideologies and motivations, and to be considered in planning MPC language revitalisation efforts. Section 7.4 deals particularly with (i) How can the substantive model of managing MPC relevance be drawn upon in further language revitalisation efforts? and (ii) How can language revitalisation efforts engage and reach out to the recipients?. Based on what the present study has demonstrated, this section deals more specifically with how it can be situated and the gaps it has come to fill in relation to (i) the international body of literature, with a focus on the conceptual and practical considerations, and (ii) the wider contexts, which are reflected in the ecological approach of the present study.

The present study fills a gap in the body of literature via how it extends a new theoretical framework to the language revitalisation studies and fieldwork methods. It is the first to apply Grounded Theory to MPC language revitalisation, and is also one of the few to do so when situated in the international language revitalisation literature (see Section 4.7). The theoretical framework of a Grounded Theory is built from the data and by relating the framework-in-progress to the literature while in most cases, a theoretical framework is built from the literature which is then applied and extended based on findings which Urquhart (2013) associates with more of a theory-testing approach. By adapting from and applying Grounded Theory to the substantive topic on language revitalisation, and building on existing knowledge while drawing from a range of frameworks, the present study provides new insights that were not recognised or not easily categorised as new concepts, theory or specific implications or in more traditional approaches. The four major components in the substantive model of managing heritage language relevance (Figure 6.7) are grounded in data and in everyday contexts: their “grounded” nature is why the model provides rich and fresh insights. These insights

developed from coding which is also research procedure or tool that is used in a different manner compared to other more traditional approaches, in that the coding process is not top-down where the codes come from the literature, nor is it mid-range coding where the codes come from both the literature and the data itself (Urquhart, 2013). In retrospect, I can now understand why Star (2007: 80) writes “a code sets up a relationship with your data, and with your respondents”. Researchers start with data, work from the data and go back to the data whenever necessary to work out how best they can unravel the emerging ideas and concepts and the relationships within, in order to understand or explain a substantive area in its everyday contexts. An ecological strand naturally underlies the approach to heritage language management in that all contextual factors are able to be considered and discussed with a bottom-up approach.

The present work demonstrates the cause-and-effect relationship between one’s chosen approach and practice (see Section 2.6 for how the PS MPC-speaking group members are portrayed in the literature using other approaches). Other than the general idea of how I saw myself as a researcher prior to starting this doctoral study (see Section 4.2), employing Constructivist Grounded Theory had weighed in on my positioning as a researcher conceptually, ethically and in practice. Although a researcher’s positioning in relation to the research topic and participants is usually presented early in a thesis, the inductive nature of the present research approach is the reason why only a general idea of how I saw myself as a researcher before and during the research and how it interacted with my research process is mentioned in the preceding chapters (see Section 1.2, 4.3, 5.2.3). Conceptually and ethically, the choice of my approach had made my intention to be an open-minded and reflexive but guided (since I considered myself a novice fieldwork researcher though I had experience assisting in previous fieldwork projects) researcher possible. In contrast to employing research approaches that require researchers to decide from the beginning whether they are to be objective or subjective, more in control or not,

emotionally-detached or not, in control or not, or an outsider or insider, researchers employing Constructivist Grounded Theory set out to be reflexive about any choices that will be made and open-minded in learning about the studied world.

In practice, in the beginning, I struggled and grappled with the idea of following the heuristic guidelines and adapting from Constructivist Grounded Theory. The concept of *all is data* was rather new to me. I found going back to (i) the data, (ii) my research purpose and (iii) Grounded Theory researchers' sharing of their research experience most useful, including Charmaz (2006, 2014)'s sharing. Equally important was allowing myself time to be confused and lost while trying to make sense of what the data was trying to speak to me. The tensions that arose in the research process made me question if I was as open-minded as I hoped to be and to acknowledge my bias, assumptions and impositions. Later, I realised how confronting my bias, assumptions and impositions, when I did not think my work reflected the experiences and expressivity of my research participants, helped me to see things in ways previously not thought of or brushed aside. As researchers are seen as part of the research process, the reflexive strand of Constructivist Grounded Theory helped maintain my positioning as an open-minded researcher who was learning about the studied world, seeing data and analyses as social constructions and knowledge gained about the studied world as co-constructed between researcher and research participants. Throughout the research process, Grounded Theory researchers explicitly examine and re-examine the emerging codes, categories, concepts and their relationships to one another. Simultaneously and naturally, the examinations also involve examining one's position and pre-conceived ideas in relation the studied world. This study also shows that this perspective is possible and adds to the studies that employ a knowledge-sharing and community-based approach while building a theory or model, in this case.

As for how the present study can be situated in the wider contexts, it adds to the encouraging overall cultural climate of MPC language revitalisation efforts. Parts of the findings of the present study are being used for decision-making and communication with group members in planning language teaching materials and a collaborative, knowledge-sharing approach is likely to continue. However, the society both research participants and I are a part of has yet to fully embrace the notion of being part of a multilingual and multicultural society, as reflected in the data. Despite the encouraging overall cultural climate for MPC language revitalisation efforts, some research participants expressed that they are happy when they hear the world outside knows of their presence (see Section 6.3.6.3). The policies and rights for the minority group in study also remain detached from the minority group members on the ground, as reflected in this study: they were not consulted in matters directly affecting their livelihood and well-being. It goes to show how the present social system is working. This research demonstrates the need to support the overall development of minority groups and that given the exposure, mobility and access, minority groups are empowered, as reflected by discussions on *agency* and *control* in this study (see Section 6.3.1, 6.4 and 7.2), to reclaim their rights in the hope of sustaining their livelihood, culture and group.

8.5 Concluding Thoughts

To sustain the bottom-up MPC language revitalisation, it requires what group members have been doing all along: the nostalgia, the peoplehood, the drawing on MPC as a symbolic ethnic or cultural marker are among the combination of alignment with a MPC-speaking heritage. Even though the paradigm of language essentialism is heavily relied in the present MPC language revitalisation, research has shown the symbolic use of an endangered language is still an important link in language revitalisation. It is

important to recognise and acknowledge what have been done so far, be it done as a given or intentionally as efforts. What is to be decided by the group members (or not decided, see Ladefoged, 1992, when he asked “Who am I to say he was wrong?” while observing Swahili become the language of the educated in place of Dahalo, see also response towards this question among other matters in Dorian, 1993) remains something to be “had from the inside” (Dorian, 1998). Research thus far has shown that with exposure and collaborative work, minority groups are interested and willing to take a leap of faith, as evident in the growing number of studies on language revitalisation (e.g. Austin & Sallabank, 2014; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton & Hale, 2001) even in times when language revitalisation may be predicted to be unsuccessful (Dorian, 1987).

Looking back on the MPC language revitalisation, to reconcile the variety of meanings and actions as shown in this thesis (Chapter 7), other than exposure to what other minority groups are experiencing and doing to keep their heritage languages vital and relevant in the present and in the future, going back to what a language is essentially for the people can perhaps help group members see their present dynamics of meanings and actions (e.g. the division on views on goals, needs and other possible tensions and conflicts) in a new light:

To have a language means to be part of a community of people who engage in joint, common activities through the use of a largely, but never completely, shared range of communicative resources. In this sense, having a language also means being part of a tradition, sharing a history, and hence access to a collective memory, full of stories, innuendoes, opinions, recipes, and other things that make us human. Not having a language or having only a very limited set of its resources means to be denied such access. (Duranti, 1997: 334)

This thesis ends with a more positive note, on embracing multilingualism and the dynamics of the PS MPC-speaking group members (in the sense of Dorian, 1993), in the hope of seeing opportunities and possibilities amidst the range of meaning-makings, perceptions and ideologies among group members as more group members feel empowered and self-determined to come together and to reclaim their heritage language.

REFERENCES

- Attractions in Malaysia. (2012). Portuguese square. Retrieved June 8, 2015, from <http://malacca.attractionsinmalaysia.com/Portugues-Square.php>
- Melaka State Government. (2012). Community In Melaka - Official State Government Portal [Page]. Retrieved from <http://www.melaka.gov.my/en/pelancongan/masyarakat-di-melaka>
- Ager, D. (2001). *Motivation in Language Planning and Policy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ager, D. (2005). Prestige and image planning. In Hinkel, E. (Ed.) *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning* (Chapter 56). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Anderson, J. D. (2009). Contradictions across space-time and language ideologies in Northern Arapaho language shift. In Kroskrity, P. V. & M. C. Field (Eds.), *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* (pp. 48-76). Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.
- Ansaldi, U. (2009). *Contact Languages: Ecology and Evolution in Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Austin, P. K., & Sallabank, J. (2014). Introduction. In Austin, P. K. & J. Sallbank (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Beliefs and language ideologies in language documentation and language revitalisation* (pp. 1-26). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Avineri, N. (2014). Yiddish endangerment as phenomenological reality and discursive strategy: Crossing into the past and crossing out the present. *Language & Communication*, 38, 8-17.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baldauf, R. B. (2006). Rearticulating the case for micro language planning in a language ecology context. *Current issues in Language Planning*, 7(2), 147-170.
- Baldauf, R. B. Jr., & Kaplan, R. B. (2003). Language policy decisions and power: Who are the actors? In Ryan, P. M. & R. Terborg (Eds.), *Language: Issues of Inequality* (pp. 19-37). Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico.
- Bainbridge, R. (2009). *Cast all imaginations: Umbi speak*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). James Cook University, Australia.
- Bankston, C. L. I., & Henry, J. (1998). The silence of the gators: Cajun ethnicity and intergenerational transmission of Louisiana French. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(1), 1-23.
- Bartens, A. (2005). The loss of linguistic pluralism: Creoles as endangered languages.

- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497-529.
- Baxter, A. N. (1988). *A grammar of Kristang*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.
- Baxter, A. N. (1990). Some observations on verb serialisation in Malacca Creole Portuguese. *Boletim de Filologia (Lisbon)*, 31, 161-184.
- Baxter, A. N. (1996). Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim. In Wurm, S. A., Mühlhäusler, P. & D. T. Tryon (Eds.), *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas* (pp. 299-338). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baxter, A. N., & De Silva, P. (2004). *A dictionary of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese) - English*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.
- Baxter, A. N. (2005). Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese) - A long-time survivor seriously endangered. *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 6, 1-37.
- Baxter, A. N. (2012). The Creole Portuguese Language of Malacca: A delicate ecology. In Jarnagin, L. (Ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011: Culture and identity in the Luso-Asian world: Tenacities and plasticities* (pp. 115-142). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Baxter, A. N. (2013). Papiá Kristang structure dataset. In Michaelis, S. M., Susanne, P., Maurer, M., Haspelmath, M., & Huber, M. (Eds.), *Atlas of pidgin and creole language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
Retrieved from <http://apics-online.info/contributions/42>
- Birks, M. (2007). *Becoming professional by degree: A Grounded Theory study of nurses in Malaysian Borneo*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Monash University, Australia.
- Birks, M., & Mills, J. (2011). *Grounded theory: A practical guide*. London: SAGE.
- Bickerton, D. (1988). Creole languages and the bioprogram. In Newmeyer, F. J. (Ed.), *Linguistics: the Cambridge survey. Vol. 2: Linguistic theory: extensions and implications* (pp. 268-284). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Black, C. A., & Black, H. A. (2012). *Grammars for the people, by the people, made easier using PAWS and XlingPaper*. Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.
Retrieved from <http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/4532>
- Blommaert, J. (Ed.). (1999). *Language ideological debates*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Blommaert, J. (2006). Language ideology. In Brown, K. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, (2nd ed.) (pp. 510-522). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Blommaert, J., & Dong, J. (2010). *Ethnographic fieldwork*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Bowern, C. (2011). Planning a language documentation project. In Austin, P. K. & J. Sallabank (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* (pp. 459-482). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowern, C., & Warner, N. (2015). 'Lone wolves' and collaboration: A reply to Crippen & Robinson (2013). *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 9, 59-85.
- Bradley, D. (2002). Language attitudes: the key factor in language maintenance. In Bradley, D. & M. Bradley (Eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance: An active approach* (pp. 1-10). London: Routledge.
- Brandt, E. A., & Ayoungman, V. (1989). A practical guide to language renewal. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 16(2), 42-77.
- Bryant, A. (2002). Re-grounding grounded theory. *Journal of Information Technology Theory and Application*, 4(1), 25-42.
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007a). Grounded theory research: Methods and practices. In Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory*, (pp. 1-28). London: SAGE.
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007b). Grounded theory in historical perspective: An epistemological account. In Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 31-57). London: SAGE.
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2010). *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory: Paperback Edition*. London: SAGE.
- Bucholtz & Hall, (2004). Language & identity. In Duranti, A. (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 369-394). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cardoso, H. C. (2012). Oral traditions of the Luso-Asian communities: Local, regional and continental. In Jarnagin, L. (Ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011: Culture and identity in the Luso-Asian world: Tenacities and plasticities* (pp. 143-166). Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Chan K. E. (1969). *A study in the social geography of the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Malaya.
- Charmaz, K. (1990). Discovering chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social Science and Medicine*, 30, 1161-1172.

- Charmaz, K. (1995). Grounded theory. In J. A. Smith, Harré, R. & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking methods in psychology* (pp. 27-49). London: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2000). Constructivist and objectivist grounded theory. In N. K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2001). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K., & Mitchell, R. G. (1996). The myth of silent authorship: Self, substance, and style in ethnographic writing. *Symbolic interaction*, 19(4), 285-302.
- Cheah, B. (2015). Residents call on govt to intervene Portuguese Settlement land reclamation works. *The Sun Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.thesundaily.my/news/1365348>
- Chiovitti, R. F., & Piran, N. (2003). Rigour and grounded theory research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 44, 427-435.
- Christensen, I. (2001). *Ko te Whare Whakamana: Maori Language Revitalisation*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Clarke, A. E. (2003). Situational analysis: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, 26(4), 553-576.
- Clarke, A. E. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Clements, J. C. (1991). The Indo-Portuguese Creoles: Languages in transition. *Hispania*, 74(3), 637-646.
- Cobin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research*. California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Councillor, A. G. L. (2010). *Niugnulikuyut (we are making new words): A community philosophy of language revitalisation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alaska.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE.

- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Cripen, J. A., & Robinson, L. C. (2013). In defense of the Lone Wolf: Collaboration in language documentation. *Language Documentation & Conversation*, 7, 123-135.
- Croft, W. (2003). Mixed languages and acts of identity: An evolutionary approach. In Matras, Y. & P. Bakker (Eds.), *The Mixed Language Debate* (pp. 41-72). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Crowley, T. (2007). *Field Linguistics: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford University Press.
- Day, D., & Nolde, R. (2009). Arresting the decline in Australian indigenous representation at university: Student experience as a guide. *Equal Opportunities International*, 28(2), 135-161.
- Dauenhauer, N. M., & Dauenhauer, R. (1998). Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: examples from Southeast Alaska. In Grenoble, L. A. & Whaley, L. J. (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects* (pp. 57-98). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- David, M. K. (1998). Language shift, cultural maintenance and ethnic identity: A study of a minority community: The Sindhis of Malaysia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 130, 67-76.
- David, M. K., & F. Noor Mohd Noor. (1999). Language maintenance or language shift in the Portuguese Settlement of Malacca in Malaysia? *Migracijske teme*, 15, 417-549.
- Däwes, B., Fitz, K., & Meyer, S. N. (2015). *Twenty-First Century Perspectives on Indigenous Studies: Native North America in (Trans)Motion*. London: Routledge.
- Denzin, N. K. (2007). Grounded theory and the politics of interpretation. In Bryant, A. & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *Handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 454-471). London: Sage.
- Descombe, M. (2010). *The good research guide: For small-scale social research projects*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- De Witt, D. (2012). Enemies, friends, and relations: Portuguese Eurasians during Malacca's Dutch era and beyond. In Jarnagin, L. (Ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011: Culture and identity in the Luso-Asian world: Tenacities and plasticities* (pp. 257-272). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

- Doerfler, J., Sinclair, N. J., & Stark, H. K. (2013). *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*. Michigan: MSU Press.
- Dorian, N. (1981). *Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dorian, N. (1989). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, N. C. (1981). *Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dorian, N. C. (1987). *The value of language-maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed*. Retrieved from <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.1987.issue-68/ijsl.1987.68.57/ijsl.1987.68.57.xml>
- Dorian, N. C. (1993). A response to Ladefoged's other view of endangered languages. *Language*, 69(3), 575-579. doi:10.2307/416699
- Dorian, N. C. (1994). Purism vs. compromise in language revitalisation and language revival. *Language in Society*, 23(04), 479-494.
- Dorian, N. C. (1998). Western language ideologies and small-language prospects. In Grenoble, L. A. & Whaley, L. J. (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects* (pp. 3-21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Errington, J. J. (2001). Ideology. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture* (pp. 110-112). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Farman, G., Natriello, G., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1978). Social Studies and Motivation: High School Students' Perceptions of the Articulation of Social Studies to Work, Family and Community. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 6(3), 27-39. <http://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.1978.10506037>
- Fernandis, G. (1995). (Ed.). *Save our Portuguese heritage conference 95, Malacca, Malaysia*. Malacca: Author's own.
- Fernandis, G. (2000). Papia, Relijang e Tradisang - The Portuguese Eurasians in Malaysia: Bumiquest, A Search for Self Identity. *Lusotopie*, 261-68.
- Fernandis, G. (2003). The Portuguese community at the periphery: A minority report on the Portuguese quest for bumiputera status. *Kajian Malaysia*, XX1(1&2), 285-301.
- Fishman, J. A. (1988). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?: Reversing Language Shift, Revisited : A 21st Century Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
- Garrett, P. B. (2004). Language contact and contact languages. In Duranti, A. (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 46–72). Oxford: Blackwell
- Garett, P. B. (2006). Contact languages as "endangered languages". What is there to lose? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 21(1), 175-190.
- Garrett, P., Coupland, N., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2005). *The grounded theory perspective III: Theoretical coding*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2007). Doing formal theory. In Bryant, A. & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 97-113). London: Sage.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1965). *Awareness of dying*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (7th printing). New Jersey: Aldine Transaction Publisher.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Transaction Publishers.
- Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (1998). *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (1998). Toward a typology of language endangerment. In Grenoble, L. A. & Whaley, L. J. (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects* (pp. 22-54). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (2006). *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goh, B.-L. (2002). *Modern dreams: An inquiry into power, cultural production, and the cityscape in contemporary urban Penang, Malaysia*. New York, U.S.: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.

- Grbich, C. F. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction*. London: Sage.
- Haarmann, H. (1990) Language planning in the light of a general theory of language: A methodological framework. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 86, 103-126.
- Hancock, I. F. (1969). The Malacca Creoles and their language. *Afrasian*, 3: 38-45.
- Hancock, I. F. (1975). Malacca Creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European? *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17(5), 211-36.
- Hancock, I. F. (2009). The Portuguese Creoles of Malacca. *București*, 3-4, 295-306.
- Hancock, I. F. (2015). Papia Kristang: The Creole Portuguese of Malacca and Singapore. Retrieved from <http://www.kreolmagazine.com/arts-culture/history-and-culture/papia-kristang-the-creole-portuguese-of-malacca-and-singapore/>
- Houser, N., & Kloesel, C. J. W. (Eds.). (1992). *The essential Peirce: Selected philosophical writings (1867-1893)*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Heins, E. (1975). Kroncong and Tanjidor - Two cases of urban folk music in Jakarta. *Asian Music*, 7(1), 20-32.
- Hill, J. H. (2002). "Expert rhetorics" in advocacy for endangered languages: Who is listening, and what do they hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 12(2), 119-33.
- Hill, J. H., & Hill, K. (1986). *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of a Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Hinton, L. (2001). Language revitalisation: An overview. In Hinton, L. & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalisation in practice* (pp.3-18). New York: Academic Press.
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (Eds.). (2001). *The green book of language revitalisation in practice*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Holton, (2007). The coding process and its challenges. In Bryant, A. & K. Charmaz, (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory*, (pp. 265-290). London: SAGE.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2002). Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy*, 1(1), 27-51.
<http://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014548611951>
- Holm, J. (1989). *Pidgins and creoles. Vol.2, Reference survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, D. (ed.) (1964). *Language in culture and society: A reader in linguistics and anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row.

- Hymes, D. (1974). Ways of Speaking. In Bauman, R. & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking* (pp. 433–451). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Irvine, J. (1989). When talk isn't cheap: Language and political economy. *American Ethnologist*, 16, 248-267.
- Jakobson, R. (1957). *The Framework of Language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Jourdan, C., & Angeli, J. (2014). Pijin and shifting language ideologies in urban Solomon Islands. *Language in Society*, 43, 265-285.
- King, K. A. (2001). *Language revitalisation processes and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Korsang. (n.d.). Retrieved June 12, 2015, from <https://www.facebook.co/pages/Korsang/423307147710475>
- Kijai, J., Lampadan, R., & Loo, D. B. (2012). Factors related to language shift among the Tindal population in Ratau, Kota Belud, Sabah. *Catalyst*, 7, 4-13.
- Kroskrity, P. V. (Ed). (2000). *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Kroskrity, P. V. (2004). Language ideologies. In Duranti, A. (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 496-517). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kroskrity, P. V., & Field, M. (Eds). (2009). *Native American language ideologies: Beliefs, practices, and struggles in Indian country*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Kroskrity, P.V. (2014). Borders traversed, boundaries erected: Creating discursive identities and language communities in the Village of Tewa. *Language & Communication*, 38, 8-17.
- Kumar, K. (2015, March 25). Malacca Portuguese upset over land reclamation. *Malaysiakini*. Retrieved from <http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/293207>
- Kulick, D. (1992). *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self and syncretism in a Papua New Guinean village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ladefoged, P. (1992). Another view of endangered languages. *Language*, 68, 809-811.
- Lee, E. (2004). *Language shift and revitalisation in the Kristang community, Portuguese Settlement, Malacca*. (Unpublished PhD dissertation). Department of English Language and Linguistics, University of Sheffield.
- Lee, E. (2011). *Language maintenance and competing priorities at the Portuguese Settlement, Malacca*. Paper presented at the South Eastern Conference on

Linguistics LXXV111 (SECOL 78), Dept of Linguistics, University of Georgia, Georgia, USA.

- Lee, L. (2015). Land reclamation adversely affects Portuguese Settlement. *The Ant Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.theantdaily.com/Main/Land-reclamation-adversely-affects-Portuguese-Settlement>
- Lee, K. H. & Tan, C. B. (Eds). 2000. *Chinese schools in Malaysia: a case of cultural resilience*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.
- Lempert, L. B. (2007). Asking questions of the data: Memo writing in the grounded theory tradition. In Bryant, A. & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 245-264). London: SAGE.
- Lim, L., & Ansaldo, U. (2015). *Languages in Contact*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenberg, P. H. (1991). Variation in Malaysian English: The pragmatics of language in contact. In Chesire, J. (Ed.), *English around the world: sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 364–375). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Loy, T.-C. J. (2010). *Dynasting across cultures: A grounded theory of Malaysian Chinese family firms*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, United States.
- Madiwale, S. (2013). *A grounded theory analysis of early treatment motivation in Anorexia Nervosa*. Retrieved from <http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au:80/handle/2123/9826>
- Marbeck, J. (1995). *Ungua adanza – An inheritance*. Malacca: Loh Printing Press.
- Marbeck, J. (Ed.). (1996). *A revival of Spoken Kristang and the Development of the Malacca-Portuguese Heritage*. Malacca: Joan Marbeck.
- Marbeck, J. (2004). *Linggu mai – Mother tongue: A Kristang keepsake*. Lisbon, Portugal: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Marbeck, J. (2011a). *Commemorative Bahasa Serani dictionary*.
- Marbeck, J. (2011b). *Bersu Serani – Eurasian verse and song*.
- Marbeck, J. (2011c). *Speak Serani – Comprehensive Bahasa Serani language book*.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Cultural variation in the self-concept. In Goethals, G. R & J. Strauss (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary perspectives on the self* (pp. 18-48). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Maros, M., Abdul Halim, N. A., Mohd. Zaki, N. F., Che Abdul Rahman, A. N., Razak, S. S., Kaswandi, S. S., Wan Rosmidi, W. F. H. (2014). Portuguese Settlement community's awareness and response to Papia Kristang language shift. *Procedia - Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 118, 273-281.

- Marquis, Y., & Sallabank, J. (2013). Speakers and language revitalisation: A case study of Guernesiais (Guernsey). In Jones, M. C. & S. Ogilvie (Eds.), *Keeping Languages Alive: Documentation, Pedagogy, and Revitalisation* (pp. 169-180). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- May, S. (1999). *Indigenous Community-based Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- May, S. (2001). *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. London: Longman.
- May, S. (2003). Rearticulating the case for minority language rights. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 4, 95-125.
- May, S. A. (2011). *Language and Minority Rights: ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language* (2nd). New York: Routledge.
- McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A place to be Navajo: Rough rock and the struggle for self-determination in indigenous schooling*. London: Routledge.
- McNickle, E. A. (2009). *A grounded theory study of intrinsic work motivation factors influencing public utility employees aged 55 and older as related to retirement decisions*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Capella University, Minneapolis. Retrieved from <http://gradworks.umi.com/33/72/3372746.html>
- Moseley, C. (Ed.). 2010. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (3rd ed.). Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Online version: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>
- Mühlhäusler, P. (2000). Language planning and language ecology. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1(3), 306-307.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (2003). Language endangerment and language revival. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(2), 232-45.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2003). Language endangerment: What have pride and prestige got to do with it? In Joseph, B. D., DeStefano, J., Jacobs, N. G. & I. Lehisté (Eds.), *When languages collide: Perspectives on language conflict, language competition, and language coexistence* (pp. 324–345). Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2008). *Language evolution: contact, competition and change*. Continuum.
- Mufwene, S. S. (2013). The origins and the evolution of language. In K. Allan (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics* (pp. 13–52). OUP Oxford.

- Muksyen, P. (1988). Are creoles a special type of language? In Newmeyer, F. J. (Ed.), *Linguistics: the Cambridge survey. Vol. 2: Linguistic theory: extensions and implications* (pp. 285-301). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myhill, J. (1999). Identity, territoriality and minority language survival. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20(1), 34-50.
- Nasrin, H., Soroor, P., & Soodabeh, J. (2012). Nursing Challenges in Motivating Nursing Students through Clinical Education: A Grounded Theory Study. *Nursing Research and Practice*, 2012, e161359.
<http://doi.org/10.1155/2012/161359>
- Nunes, M. P. (1996). *By how many speakers, by whom, with whom, and for what purposes, is Kristang still used in the Portuguese Settlement of Malacca?* Paper presented at the CIEC Conference (Colloque International d'Études Créoles), Guadeloupe, Carribean islands.
- Ochs, E. (2004). Narrative lessons. In Duranti, A. (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 269-289). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Omar, A. H. (1982). *Language and society in Malaysia*. Selangor, Malaysia: Zizi Press Sdn. Bhd.
- Omar, A. H. (1987). *Malay in its sociocultural context*. Selangor, Malaysia: Zizi Press Sdn. Bhd.
- O'Neill, B. J. (2008). Displaced identities among the Malacca Portuguese. In Roseman, S. R. & S. S. Parkhurst (Eds.), *Recasting culture and space in Iberian contexts* (pp. 55-80). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Organising Committee of Festa San Pedro. (2013). *Festa San Pedro Portuguese Settlement Melaka traditions lives on [souvenir program]*. Malacca town, Malacca: Organising committee of Festa San Pedro.
- O'Shannessy, C. (2011). Language contact and change in endangered languages. In Austin, P. K. & J. Sallabank (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* (pp. 78-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Overee, G. (2013). Teaching Portuguese dances. In Pillai, S. (Ed.), *Malaccan Portuguese Creole: A Portuguese-based Creole*. London: Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) [distributor]. Retrieved from <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/pillai2012malaccan>
- Peirce, C. S. (1931–58). *Collected Papers*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Pillai, S. (2013). *Malaccan Portuguese Creole: A Portuguese-based Creole*. London: Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) [distributor].
<http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/pillai2012malaccan>
- Pillai S., & Khan, M. H. (2011). I am not English but my first language is English: English as a first language among Portuguese Eurasians in Malaysia. In

- Mukherjee, D. & M. K. David (Eds.), *National Language Planning and Language Shifts in Malaysian Minority Communities: Speaking in Many Tongues* (pp. 87-100). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Pillai, S., Soh, W. Y., & Kajita, A. S. (2014). Family language policy and heritage language maintenance of Malacca Portuguese Creole. *Language & Communication*, 37: 75-85.
- Pires, E. (2010). Reading Emptiness: On Tourism, Appropriation and Contested Spaces. *iNtergraph: Journal of Dialogic Anthropology*, 3(1). Retrieved from <http://intergraph-journal.net/enhanced/vol3issue1/3.html>
- Pitawanakwat, B. (2009). *Anishinaabemodas pane oodenang – A qualitative study of Anishinaabe language revitalisation as self-determination in Manitoba and Ontario*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Platt, J., & Weber, H. (1980). *English in Singapore and Malaysia: Status, features, functions*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.
- Platt, J, Weber, H., & Lian, H. M. (1983). *Singapore and Malaysia: Varieties of English around the world*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Quakenbush, J. S. (2007). SIL International and endangered Austronesian languages. In Rau, V. & M. Florey (Eds.), *Documenting and revitalising Austronesian languages* (pp. 42-65). Hawaii: National Foreign Language Resource Center.
- Rêgo, A. da S. (1942). *Dialecto Português de Malacca: Aparentamentos para o seu Estudo*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias.
- Rêgo, A. da S., & Baxter, A. N. (1998). *Dialecto Português de Malacca e outros escritos*. [Reedition of the 1942 edition, including re-edition of some of the author's articles]. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- Reichertz, J. (2007). Abduction: The logic of discovery of Grounded Theory. In Bryant, A. & Kathy C. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*, (pp.214-228). London: SAGE.
- Ricento, T. (2006). *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Ruby, M. (2012). The role of a grandmother in maintaining Bangla with her granddaughter in East London. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(1), 67-83.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 5(1), 68-78.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2002). Overview of self-determination theory: An organismic dialectical perspective. In Deci, E. L. & R. M. Ryan

- (Eds.), *Handbook of self-determination research* (pp. 3-33). NY: The University of Rochester Press.
- Sallabank, J. (2005). Prestige from the bottom up: A review of language planning in Guernsey French. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 6(1), 44-63.
- Sallabank, J. (2013). *Attitudes to Endangered Languages: Identities and Policies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sarkissian, M. (1995). 'Sinhalese Girl' meets 'Aunty Annie': Competing expressions of ethnic identity in the Portuguese Settlement, Malacca, Malaysia. *Asian Music*, 27(1), 37-62.
- Sarkissian, M. (1997). Cultural chameleons: Portuguese Eurasian strategies for survival in Postcolonial Malaysia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 28(2), 249-262.
- Sarkissian, M. (2000). *D'Albuquerque's Children: Performing Tradition in Malaysia's Portuguese Settlement*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sarkissian, M. (2005). Being Portuguese in Malacca: The politics of folk culture in Malaysia. *Etnográfica*, IX(1), 149-170.
- Schwartz, M. (2008). Exploring the relationship between family language policy and heritage language knowledge among second generation Russian-Jewish Immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29(5), 400-418.
- Seaman, J. (2008). Adopting a grounded theory approach to cultural-historical research: Conflicting methodologies or complementary methods? *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 7(1), 1-17.
- Siegel, J. (1997). Using a pidgin language in formal education: help or hindrance? *Applied linguistics*, 18(1), 86-100.
- Siegel, J. (1999). Creoles and minority dialects in education. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20(6), 508-531.
- Singh, R. (2015, March 25). Heritage being destroyed to make way for Malacca Gateway, claims Portuguese settlement. *The Rakyat Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.therakyatpost.com/news/2015/03/25/heritage-being-destroyed-to-make-way-for-malacca-gateway-claims-portuguese-settlement/>
- Smith, K. J. (2003). Minority language education in Malaysia: Four ethnic communities' experiences. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(1), 52-65.
- Speas, M. (2009). Someone else's language: On the role of linguists in language revitalisation. In J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (Eds.), *Indigenous Language Revitalisation: Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned* (pp. 23-36). Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sta Maria, B. (1982). *My people my country: The story of the Malacca Portuguese community*. Malacca: The Portuguese Development Centre.
- Star, S. L. (2007). Living grounded theory: Cognitive and emotional forms of pragmatism. In Bryant, A. & Kathy C. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory* (pp. 75-93). London: SAGE.
- Stern, P. N. (2007). On solid ground: Essential properties for growing grounded theory. In Bryant, A. & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 114-126). London: SAGE.
- Strauss, A., & Cobin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Strauss, A., & Cobin, J. (1997). *Grounded theory in practice*. California: SAGE.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: SAGE.
- Sudesh, N. (2000). *Language maintenance and shift among the Portuguese - Eurasians in the Portuguese Settlement*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.
- Teixeira, M. (1963). *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511-1958), Volume 3: Singapore*. Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar.
- The Government of Malaysia. (2013). *Language*. Retrieved from <https://www.malaysia.gov.my/en/aboutmalaysia?subCatId=3208956&type=2&c>
- The Malay Mail Online. Melaka Gateway project will go ahead, says Idris. (2015, March 4). *The Malay Mail Online*. Retrieved July 2, 2015, from <http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/melaka-gateway-project-will-go-ahead-says-idris>
- Thieberger, N. (2002). Extinction in whose terms? Which parts of a language constitute a target for language maintenance programmes? In Bradley, D. & M. Bradley (Eds.), *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance: An Active Approach* (pp. 310-328). London: Routledge.
- Thomaz, L. F. F. R. (2000). *Early Portuguese Malacca* [based on passages selected from *Os Portugueses em Malacca (1511-1580)* submitted as a thesis in 1964]. Macau: Macau Territorial Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries.
- Thornberg, R., & Charmaz, K. (2012). Grounded theory. In S. D. Lapan, M. Quartaroli, & F. Reimer (Eds.), *Qualitative research: An introduction to methods and designs* (pp. 41-67). San Francisco, CA: John Wiley/Jossey-Bass
- Thurgood, E., & Thurgood, G. (1996). Aspect, tense, or aktionsart? The particle *ja* in Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese). *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 11, 45-70.

- Ting, S.-H. & Sussex, R. (2002). Language choice among the Foochows in Sarawak, Malaysia. *Multilingua*, 21, 1-15.
- Trudell, B. (2006). Local Agency in the Development of Minority Languages: Three Language Committees in Northwest Cameroon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(3), 196–210.
- Urquhart, C. (2007). The evolving nature of Grounded Theory Method: The case of the Information Systems Discipline. In Bryant, A. & Kathy, C. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory*, (pp. 339-360). London: SAGE.
- Urquhart, C. (2013). *Grounded Theory for Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE.
- Wendel, J., & Heinrich, P. (2012). A framework for language endangerment dynamics: The effects of contact and social change on language ecologies and language diversity. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 218, 145-166.
- Wallace, A. R. (1989). *The Malay Archipelago*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press.
- Winford, D. (2003). *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Winstedt, R.O. (1923). *Malaya, the Straits Settlements and the Federated and Unfederated Malay States*. London, U.K.: Constable & Co. Ltd.
- Woolard, K. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard & Kroskrity, P. (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3–47). New York, U.S.: Oxford University Press.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS PRESENTED

Published paper	<p>Pillai, S., Soh, W.Y., & Kajita, A. S. (2014). Family language policy and heritage language maintenance of Malacca Portuguese Creole. <i>Language & Communication</i>, 37, 75-85.</p> <p>Pillai, S., Soh, W.Y., & Yusuf, Y. Q. (Accepted for publication). Perceptions about one's heritage language: The case of the Acehnese in Kampung Aceh and Malacca Portuguese-Eurasians in the Portuguese Settlement in Malaysia. <i>Kajian Malaysia</i>.</p>
Papers presented at conferences	<p>Pillai, S., Soh, W.Y., & Kajita, A. S. (2012, Nov). <i>Family language policy and heritage language maintenance of Malacca Portuguese Creole</i>. Paper presented at the International Conference of Linguistics, Literature and Culture, Georgetown, Penang, Malaysia.</p> <p>Soh, W.Y., & Pillai, S. (2014, Nov). <i>Motivations of language revitalisation: The case of Malacca Portuguese Creole</i>. Paper presented at the International Conference of Linguistics, Literature and Culture, Georgetown, Penang, Malaysia.</p> <p>Soh, W.Y. (2014, Nov). <i>Seeking views on Malacca Portuguese Creole revitalisation: Reflections from employing a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach</i>. Paper presented at the 5th Faculty of Languages & Linguistics Graduate Research Conference, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.</p>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET, CONSENT FORM AND HONORARIUM RECEPTION/DECLINING FORM

INFORMATION SHEET

The aim of this research is to gather information about the heritage language spoken in Portuguese Settlement and the efforts made towards the language. The research is being conducted by Soh Wen Yi, a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya, following her involvement in previous related projects for the heritage language. It will contribute to the on-going research on the heritage language and towards her doctorate research.

Wen Yi's supervisor is Associate Professor Dr. Stefanie Pillai, Department of English, Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya. Any queries about the research can be directed to Dr Stefanie Pillai at stefanie@um.edu.my and Wen Yi at wenyisoh@gmail.com.

You are asked to take part in this study because you have contributed to language efforts towards the heritage language in study or you are one of the community members who speak the heritage language. You will be asked to answer questions and discuss in relation to the language and language efforts. The interview should take about an hour and it will be audio-recorded if you agree. You may raise any questions should you have any enquiries or are not sure about the content of the interview. You have the right to withdraw from this study and to decline answering any questions.

Heritage Language Research Study

CONSENT FORM

I have read or been explained on the details of the Information Sheet, and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfactions, and I understand that I may ask further question at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding the information will be used for educational purposes, research reports and publications.

() I agree to the interview being audio-recorded

() I do not agree to the interview being audio-recorded

I agree to participate in the study under the conditions set above. I agree to allow the use of my pictures (if any) and voice recording(s) for educational purposes, research reports and publications.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

I.C. no.: _____

Date: _____

Heritage Language Research Study

HONORARIUM RECEPTION FORM

I hereby acknowledge that I have received a token as a favour for my participation in the language study from the researcher named Soh Wen Yi in the amount of _____.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

I.C. no.: _____

Date: _____

Heritage Language Research Study

HONORARIUM DECLINED FORM

I hereby acknowledge that I would like to turn down the token as a favour for my participation in the language study. This is because

Signed: _____

Name: _____

I.C. no.: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B: PART I SURVEY AND PART II GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR CONVERSATIONS

Part I Survey: Background of interviewees

Information

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Current/previous (if retired) occupation:

Highest level of education:

Ethnicity:

Remarks on ethnicity:

When filling in public documents	
When being asked by people of other ethnic groups, e.g. Malays, Chinese	
When among your own people	

Grew up in:

Currently staying in:

Parents'

	Mother/ Female guardian	Father/ Male guardian	Grandmother/ Grandfather/ Others
Brought up by			
Ethnicity			
Occupation			
Level of education			
First language or language brought up speaking as a child	Δ Only your language Δ Mostly your language, some English Δ About equally your language and English Δ Only English Δ Don't know Δ Another language	Δ Only your language Δ Mostly your language, some English Δ About equally your language and English Δ Only English Δ Don't know Δ Another language	Δ Only your language Δ Mostly your language, some English Δ About equally your language and English Δ Only English Δ Don't know Δ Another language

Language Background

1. In general, what do you call your first language or the language you were brought up speaking as a child?

--

2. What do you call your language when

You are with someone who understands and speaks your language	
You are with someone who does not understand your language	

3. Do you remember what the adults with whom you were brought up living with call your language?

--

4. What other languages do you speak?

--

5. Where do you use your language?

	Tick if applicable
Home	
School (in the past if past schooling age)	
Work	
Church	
Ceremonies / Cultural activities	
Language classes	
With friends and neighbours in Portuguese Settlement	
Outside Portuguese Settlement	
Others	

6. What language(s) do you read and write in?

--

7. When you were growing up, what language do you remember adults in your household using when speaking to each other?

	Tick if applicable
Only your language	
Mostly your language, some English	
About equally your language and English	
Only English	
Don't know	
Another language	
Remarks	

8. What language do your family members use now when speaking to each other?

	Tick if applicable
Only your language	
Mostly your language, some English	
About equally your language and English	
Only English	
Don't know	
Another language	
Remarks	

9. Can you identify the adults who lived in your home when you were growing up, and what language they spoke to you.

Adult person	Language they spoke to you

10. Can you identify any of the below that was applicable when you were growing up?

	Tick and specify who if applicable
Family members taught you how to speak your language?	
Any non-family members who taught you how to speak your language?	
Family members who encouraged or insisted that you speak to them in your language?	
Any non-family members who encouraged or insisted that you speak to them in your language?	

11. Think of your immediate family going back as many generations as you can. Over the years, would you say your family has:

() generally held on to speaking your language (go to question 8)
() generally shifted towards speaking mainly English or another language

12. Can you identify when this shift to English or another language happened and the reasons for it?

When:
English or another language
Reason(s):

13. Can you conduct everyday conversation in your language? (e.g. talking to your child or parent about school or work, or your friend about going out etc.)

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>

14. Can you tell a story to a child in your language (not reading)

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>

15. Can you talk in your language about issues that are in the news?

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>

16. Can you give directions how to get to the local school in your language?

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>

17. Can you talk in your language about something like a TV programme or movie that you have seen?

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>

18. If you were overseas on holiday, could you write a letter or send a text message to a friend in your language, talking about your experiences?

	<p>Limited ability</p> <p>I can only use a few words</p> <p>It is hard to get my message across</p> <p>My language is often mixed up and incorrect</p> <p>I think in English</p> <p>My language is often hesitant, and sometimes I am not sure of my pronunciation</p>
	<p>Basic ability</p> <p>I can usually get my message across, although I sometimes don't have a wide enough vocabulary</p> <p>Sometimes my language is mixed up and incorrect, except for short sentences</p> <p>I usually think in English</p> <p>Sometimes my language is hesitant, but pronunciation is usually good</p>
	<p>Good ability</p> <p>I can always get my message across, although sometimes I wish for a wider vocabulary</p> <p>My language is usually grammatically correct</p> <p>My responses are usually fluent and automatic</p> <p>I usually think in my language</p>
	<p>Excellent ability</p> <p>My responses are always fluent and automatic</p> <p>I can say things in a variety of ways</p> <p>I can use my language sayings and expressions</p> <p>My language is grammatically correct</p>
Remarks	If yes, how do you decide how to write in your language?

19. What is your strongest language now?

--

20. Would you say you always speak your language or you wish you could use it more? Do any of the following reflect your feelings about your language?

I always speak in my language, as	I would like to use it more, but
<p>Δ it is the mostly used language with my family (specify who speak it:_____)</p> <p>Δ it is the mostly used language with my friends who speak my language</p> <p>Δ it is easy/natural to use it</p> <p>Δ it is the language I grew up speaking</p> <p>Δ it is the language of my people</p>	<p>Δ I often do not know how to say things</p> <p>Δ I often forget and slip into using English</p> <p>Δ it is easier to use English</p> <p>Δ there are not enough other people living here who can also speak your language.</p> <p>Δ it is not used in our other activities except for dance and singing</p>

21. Below lists some questions on your confidence in the different aspects of your language?

Your pronunciation	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident
How you form your sentences	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident
The range of vocabulary that you can choose words from	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident
Your ability to use sayings and expressions	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident
Your ability to communicate as well as you would like to	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident
The influence that thinking in English might be having on your language	<input type="checkbox"/> extremely confident <input type="checkbox"/> confident <input type="checkbox"/> a little confident <input type="checkbox"/> not confident

22. Where is your language used?

	Tick if applicable
Home	
With family and relatives in Portuguese Settlement	
With friends in Portuguese Settlement	
Church	
Religious classes or ceremonies (e.g. baptism and Catholic classes)	
Ceremonies (e.g. weddings and funerals)	
Cultural practices (e.g. Intrudo, San Juan, San Pedro)	
School	

23. Do you think there is a need to standardise the name of the language? What is your preference?

<input type="checkbox"/> Kristang	<input type="checkbox"/> Papiiah Kristang	<input type="checkbox"/> Portuguese	<input type="checkbox"/> Malaccan Portuguese	<input type="checkbox"/> others, _____
-----------------------------------	--	-------------------------------------	---	---

Part II Guiding Questions for Conversations

(A) Questions for people involved in language revitalisation efforts

1. Please tell me about the work you have done.
 - What type of work
 - How long have you been doing this
 - Objectives / Long term visions of your work
2. How did you get started in these works/language revitalisation efforts?
 - Motivations
3. What are your methods?
 - Methods based on what source, what considerations
 - Did you consult anyone such as the community members?
4. What materials do you use?
 - Materials based on what source and what considerations?
 - How did you decide on the spelling?
5. There can be different outcomes of your work.
 - Who are the target group of your work?
 - What do you hope to achieve in your work?
6. Did/Do you get support from the community?
 - What about financial support?
 - If you had unlimited financial and other resources to design a language program, what would you create?
7. From your observation, how would you describe the people?
 - What do you think define being a member of your people?
 - Are there any values that are important to the people?
8. From your observation, is language seen as an important part of the people? If yes, in what ways and important to who?
 - Why is the language important? What are the values and advantages of speaking the language?
 - Do you think the people's culture and traditions can continue even though in the future, people no longer speak the language?
 - To be a member of the community, do you think one must speak and understand the language? What are the criteria to be one of the people?
9. Can you share with us if you have experienced any challenges or obstacles in your work?
10. From your observation or experience, how would you describe the status of the language?
 - How would you describe the community's attitudes towards the language?
 - How would you describe the community's attitudes towards your language efforts?
 - Do you think the people who can speak your language are respected? What about those who speak little of it or don't speak it?

11. Do you think your work has received the recognition or response you anticipated or wished for?

- Can you identify anything which would help maintain the language or help with language efforts?

12. Do you know the origin of the language?

	Tick if applicable
Old Portuguese	
A variety of Portuguese	
A language that developed based on Portuguese with some influence from other languages in Malaysia such as Malay	
Other(s)	

13. With efforts, what do you think can be achieved in the future?

i. efforts

	Tick if applicable
Children know how to speak in your language at home and in the Portuguese Settlement	
Children know how to write in your language	
Children and adults can learn your language using online dictionary and materials.	
Teaching of your language to children in kindergarten	
Teaching of your language to children in primary school	
Teaching of your language to children in secondary school	
Teaching of your language to adults who are less fluent or confident by the elders	
Create a second-language program for adults who do not speak your language as their first language	
Parents teaching your language at home, making it children's first language	
Develop classes for parents to guide and support them in teaching your language to their children as a first language at home	
Support and encourage the use of language in cultural practices * What cultural practices can possibly be considered for the supporting and encouraging the use of your language?	
Support and encourage the use of your language in church or for religious activities	
Publish your language in print (e.g. newsletter, magazines, newspapers)	
The increase of vocabulary in adapting to new concepts and modernity	
More documentations of your language can be done to record the language used by the elderly generation.	

ii. language fluency

	full fluency of all community members
	spoken command by all community members in all domains
	full fluency for some community members in many domains
	full fluency for some to most community members in some domains
	partial knowledge among some community members with fluency on some topics and in limited to restricted domains
	use of language limited to set phrases and memorized texts

14. Would you say the language has different varieties? (e.g. like how Malay has Kelantanese Malay and Malaccan Malay) / Do you notice some people in Portuguese Settlement or other people outside Portuguese Settlement who speak your language differently?

15. Is there anything you would like to add on this topic?

(B) Questions for the recipient community

1. Have you heard of any language-related efforts?

	Tick if applicable
Documentations of your language such as being interviewed in your language, being recorded completing certain tasks speaking in your language, being asked to teach in your language, being consulted for grammar or vocabulary for a project	
Documentations of your culture with or without using your language	
Contribute to works published in your language (e.g. dictionary, stories, grammar)	
Language classes	
Others	
None	

2. Have you participated in any of the language efforts?

- If answer is yes – What did/ do you feel about your experience in your participation in any language revitalisation efforts? Did/ do you enjoy it?

3. Have you seen or do you know anyone who has worked on documenting, promoting or teaching your language?

- If yes, what did/do they do?

4. What do you feel about these efforts and the people who have done some work on your language?

- Do you agree with what they have done?

5. There are some people who have been working on promoting, recording/documenting or teaching your language. What do you hope they can do to help your community members continue speaking your language?

6. There have been some materials published in your language such as dictionary, grammar, word list, stories, poems, songs, etc. (Show works in the language) Have you come across any of these?

- How do you feel about seeing your language written down and recorded in these books/materials?

- Do you or your friends and family use any of these materials? If no - Why do you think materials like these are not used?

- Do you think these materials are useful in teaching or learning your language?

7. How would you describe your people?

- What do you think define being a member of your people?

- Are there any values or principles that are important for your people?

8. Is language seen as an important part of your people? If yes, in what ways and important to who?

- Why is your language important? What are the values and advantages of speaking your language?

- Do you think your culture and traditions can continue even though in the future, people no longer speak your language?

- To be a member of your community, do you think one must speak and understand your language? What are the criteria to be one of your people?

9. From your observation or experience, how would you describe the status of your language?

- How would you describe the community's attitudes towards your language?
- How would you describe the community's attitudes towards language efforts?
- Do you think the people who can speak your language are respected? What about those who speak little of it or don't speak it?

10. On your part, are you doing anything to help keep your language alive?

- Do you think speaking the language at home is one way to keep your language alive?
- Do you talk to your grandparents / parents / children / friends (use those applicable) about what is going to happen to your language in the future, say 10-20 years?

11. If you had unlimited financial and other resources to design a language program or any language efforts, what would you create?

- What do you think the language efforts should be based on? Based on what considerations, factors or values?
- What do you hope to achieve in the work you suggested? Who do you think you should target in your work?
- Who do you think should play a role in getting more people involved in language efforts?

12. Can you identify anything which would help you in maintaining your language in your family or community?

13. If a child asked you about the origin of your language, would you say it is

	Tick if applicable
Old Portuguese	
A dialect / variety of Portuguese	
A Portuguese-based language that emerged as a medium of communication among people who did not have a language in common and became a creole upon nativisation *Remarks: Have you heard of the term creole? What do you think of the term?	
Other(s)	

14. Would you say the language has different varieties? (e.g. like how Malay has Kelantanese Malay and Malaccan Malay) / Do you notice some people in Portuguese

Settlement or other people outside Portuguese Settlement who speak your language differently?

Δ no

Δ yes

Can you identify the differences?	
Can you tell where or in which families the different varieties are spoken?	

15. With efforts, which of the below do you hope will happen in the future:

i. efforts

	Tick if applicable
Children know how to speak in your language at home and in the Portuguese Settlement	
Children know how to write in your language	
Children and adults can learn your language using online dictionary and materials.	
Teaching of your language to children in kindergarten	
Teaching of your language to children in primary school	
Teaching of your language to children in secondary school	
Teaching of your language to adults who are less fluent or confident by the elders	
Create a second-language program for adults who do not speak your language as their first language	
Parents teaching your language at home, making it children's first language	
Develop classes for parents to guide and support them in teaching your language to their children as a first language at home	
Support and encourage the use of language in cultural practices * What cultural practices can possibly be considered for the supporting and encouraging the use of your language?	
Support and encourage the use of your language in church or for religious activities	
Publish your language in print (e.g. newsletter, magazines, newspapers)	
The increase of vocabulary in adapting to new concepts and modernity	
More documentations of your language can be done to record the language used by the elderly generation.	

ii. language fluency

	full fluency of all community members
	spoken command by all community members in all domains
	full fluency for some community members in many domains
	full fluency for some to most community members in some domains
	partial knowledge among some community members with fluency on some topics and in limited to restricted domains
	use of language limited to set phrases and memorized texts

16. Is there anything you would like to add on this topic?