Macanese Identity:
Code-switching and Code-mixing
in the Macanese Community in Macao

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INTRODUCTION

While a substantial amount of research has been dedicated to the study of social motivations of Cantonese-English code-mixing and the identity-related issues in Hong Kong, systematic studies that specifically deal with the code-switching and code-mixing phenomena in the Macanese community have rarely been addressed. Even fewer studies undertake to examine in detail how the solidarity or shared identity indexed by the mixed code relates to the local interactional work that participants are undertaking in a speech event. The investigation of these aspects calls for an interactional sociolinguistic approach in analysing the code-switching and code-mixing in the Macanese community, which creates a space for the present study. Adopting Gumperz's (1982) notion of 'we/they-codes' and Myers-Scotton's (1993) notion of 'code-switching itself as an unmarked choice', the present study aims to examine the social motivations of code-switching and code-mixing in the Macanese community with a primary focus on social motivations and discourse functions relating to ethnic identity.

Building upon the available body of the research, the present study focuses on both code-mixing and code-switching between different languages in the Macanese community, including Cantonese, English, Mandarin and Portuguese. Specifically, the study attempts to address the following four questions concerning the code-switching and code-mixing phenomena in the community:

What are the social motivations of code-switching and code-mixing phenomena the Macanese community?

What are the discourse functions of code-switching and code-mixing?

What are the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing?

Modern-day Macao is an independent territory of the People's Republic of China, which has undergone extraordinary developments, from a small fishing port in the 16th century to a world-class city with a flourishing tourist and gambling industry. Macao is now an integrated part of China, where it currently has the status of a 'Special Administration Region' (SAR) and the opportunity to continue its pre-handover economic and social system for 50 years following 1999. Like Hong Kong, it functions with a socio-economic system which is significantly distinct from that of the rest of China, as the Chinese government promised 'One Country, Two Systems'. Before the handover of its sovereignty to China on 20 December 1999, Macao had been administered by Portugal since 1557 for 443 years. The existence of a long-lasting colonial presence in Macao has had important effects on the formation of a distinct Macao culture and identity in the territory.

The population of Macao in 2010 is estimated to be 549,500. According to By-census 2006, 94.3% of Macao's population was of only Chinese ethnicity; the remaining 6% included Portuguese and other origins.

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Those who were of Portuguese ethnicity accounted for 1.6% (Statistic and Census Services Macao SAR Government, 2007). Chinese and Portuguese are the official languages of Macao. In the *Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration* of 1987 regarding the transition of Macao in 1999, Portuguese is designated to be the second official language (after Chinese) in the Macao Special Administrative Region. The official languages are used in all official documents and communications in government departments. Portuguese is used only in the government and public sectors, and spoken by about 0.6% of the population in Macao (Statistic and Census Service Macao SAR Government, 2007). It is not used in the commercial and business circles. Portuguese has little use for an ordinary Macao resident in his/her everyday life. Cantonese, a dialect spoken in Macao, shows a different picture. It is most widely spoken. According to By-census 2006, more than 95% of the population spoke Cantonese (Statistic and Census Service Macao SAR Government, 2007). English was widely used in trade, tourism and commerce. The Macanese language, a creole generally known as *Patuá*, was still spoken by several dozen Macanese.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MACANESE COMMUNITY IN MACAO

When the Portuguese vessels set foot on the Chinese soil in the mid 16th century, their crew was exclusively male, due to the rule that no women were allowed to embark. The first generation of the Macanese was therefore the outcome of the breeding between five hundred Portuguese and five hundred Indian and Malay women. A few years later, the Portuguese's commercial relations with Japan, the Philippines, Siam, Cochin-China and other lands in Asia facilitated marriages with women of these regions. Portuguese men began as early as in the 16th century to marry Chinese women, who were sold by their parents or robbed by the Portuguese from others as goods for trade (Almaro, 1994). In the 17th century, many Japanese Christians took refuge in Macao when the Church was persecuted in Japan. The second generation of the Macanese is believed mainly to be the product of Portuguese men and Japanese women and Chinese women, who at that time lived in the territory (Teixeira, 1982). The intermarriages between Portuguese men and Chinese women continued in the 18th century.

The definition of Macanese is ambiguous. There is no consensus on the definition of 'Macanese'. The very nature of the Macanese as a community that occupied an intermediary area between the Chinese majority and the Portuguese administrative minority makes for many situations of uncertain definition. For some, the Macanese are those who were born and lived in Macao, regardless of their ancestors' ethnicity. For others, the Macanese are merely the descendants of the Portuguese who were born and lived in Macao. Leonel Alves, a Macanese legislator and lawyer expressed his personal opinion on the definition of 'Macanese': 'A typical Macanese has to be Macao-born or a Eurasian with partial Portuguese blood, mostly the mix of Portuguese and Chinese blood' (Wang, 1995, p.1). In addition to the typical Macanese, he also classified some other types of Macanese: 'racially Portuguese Macao residents who were born in Macao; Portuguese residents who were not born in Macao but have assimilated into the local culture; and Portuguese-speaking Chinese who had received a Portuguese education since childhood and have blended well into local Portuguese society' (Wang, 1995, p.1). On the other hand, in an interview carried out by Pina-Cabral (2002, p. 39) in 1992, a Macanese informant gave a clear sense of the main terms of self-identification as to be a Macanese is 'fundamentally to be from Macao with Portuguese ancestors, but not necessarily to be of Sino-Portuguese descent'.

Pina-Cabral (2002), a Portuguese anthropologist, uses the following four criteria to define the Macanese:

(1) language – whether the individual or his family members have definite links to the Portuguese language;

(2) religion – whether the individual or his family members are Catholic;

(3) race – whether the individual or his family members are Eurasians; and

(4) individuals – whether they identify themselves as Macanese.

From Pina-Cabral's point of view, any Macao-born resident who fulfils all the above-mentioned criteria should be considered Macanese. Those who are in possession of all the above features make up the core membership of the Macanese community. However, there are some special cases where an individual does not possess one or two of the criteria but can still be considered Macanese (cf. Yee, 2001, p. 131).

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Language Situation and Ethnicity of the
Macanese Community

Language proficiency is a major marker of identity in the Macanese community. Most Macanese are bilingual or multilingual, speaking fluent Portuguese, Cantonese and English. Since the late 1970s, most of the Macanese have become Cantonese speakers, but their levels of proficiency vary. In a survey conducted among the Macanese in 1995, 50.2% of the respondents were found to speak Cantonese, while 46.4% spoke Portuguese at home. With regard to writing, an overwhelming majority (87%) claimed that they used Portuguese as their written language, while only 4.8% and 5.8% wrote in Chinese and English respectively. Furthermore, 66.7% of the respondents read Portuguese newspapers, compared with only 13% and 11% who read newspapers in Chinese and English (Yee, 2001). The use of the Portuguese language distinguishes the Macanese from other ethnic Chinese. However, there are remarkable signs indicating that the Portuguese language is losing its ground among the younger Macanese generation. They are much less proficient in Portuguese than the older generation. Proficiency in Portuguese among the younger and teenage Macanese has decreased significantly since the 1990s (Yee, 2001). An increasing number of Macanese families are sending their children to English schools instead of Portuguese schools to study English as a second language.

After the Portuguese armed forces left the city in December 1975, there was a change in the Macanese's ethnic positioning. By the late 1980s, Cantonese gradually became the home language of most Macanese homes. A major contribution to this was the growth and spread of the Cantonese TV programs of Hong Kong. In addition, the Macanese no longer live in identifiable districts occupied exclusively by the Macanese, such as areas near the churches. Owing to the economic boom in the 1980s, many Macanese families have moved to new residential areas. Gatherings among the Macanese families have thus become less frequent. A Portuguese language environment does not exist any more. According to By-census 2006, among the resident population aged three or above, the proportion of residents using Portuguese as their home language continued to decline, dropping from 1.8% in 1996 to 0.6% in 2006 (Statistic and Census Service Macao SAR Government, 2007).

For roughly three centuries, Macao's main language was *Patuá,* a creole derived from Portuguese, Cantonese, Malay, Sinhalese, English, Spanish and a string of other European and Asian languages (Pereira, 1984). It is very close to the Portuguese maritime creoles that were spoken in most parts of the Portuguese maritime empire. Pereira (1984) gives the following account on *Patuá*'s origin: 'Apart from the Malay and Spanish influence, it was influenced by the Indian canarin or language of Goa. The greater part of its syntactic forms is of Chinese origin' (p. 54). It took root in Macao and was transmitted from parents to children during those three hundred years, until the last century. It was used as a home language and was used by the Chinese in their daily communication with the Macanese. Nowadays, the Macanese are schooled in standard Portuguese and have mostly abandoned *Patuá*. Within the community, only a few families speak the Macanese Creole nowadays.

The Macanese ethnic identity has always been ambivalent with a combination of Portuguese and Chinese origins and cultures, but does not belong completely to either of these two groups. Since the mid 19th century, the subjects of the King of Portugal living in Macao integrated into their language, culture and life style the whole of the maritime world of East Asia and gradually developed their unique life style and distinctive identity while remaining Portuguese and Catholic. For most of the 20th century, the Macanese defined themselves as 'Portuguese of the Orient' (Pina-Cabral, 2002, p. 38). However, the Macanese started to look for some other ways that stressed their intercultural identity after the departure of the Portuguese troops from Macao in 1975 and the opening of China to an international economy.

Most of the Macanese felt strongly bound by their Macanese identity and signalled this by means of a set of cultural referents shared in the worlds of both the Chinese and the Portuguese before the handover in 1999. However, except for the few Macanese who had studied in Portugal, most of them did not feel comfortable within the Portuguese circle. There were two distinctive Portuguese-speaking social circles in Macao before 1999, which were the Macanese and the Portuguese expatriates. Power struggles between the Macanese and Portuguese from Lisbon were sometimes very severe between the 1940s and the 1980s, as the latter occupied high-ranking positions

in the government and felt a cultural superiority over the former. As the majority of the Macanese were locally born, many of them were emotionally attached to Macao and regarded it as their home. In spite of their Portuguese heritage, they had little enthusiasm for Portugal. Common Portuguese ancestors, shared languages and cultures, and the Catholic religion had served for a long time as powerful integrative forces that bound the Macanese together. But in the past three decades, these common forms of heritage have undergone substantial changes. Social integration and convergence between the Macanese and local Chinese has accelerated in recent years through intermarriages, the Hong Kong mass media, the improved Cantonese proficiency of the Macanese and the almost generalised use of English by the Chinese middle-class. According to a recent study, intra-Macanese marriages constituted 44% of all Macanese marriages during the 1960s and the 1970s, and the number decreased to only 30% in the 1980s and the 1990s. Within the same period, the proportion of Chinese spouses in Macanese marriages increased significantly from 42% to 64%. While intermarriages between Macanese and Portuguese declined from 14% to 6%. The study found that the Macanese community had been increasingly influenced by Chinese culture, but on the contrary, the Portuguese influence had weakened (Yee, 2001).

Regarding the future of the Macanese community, Article 42 of Chapter 3 in the Basic Law states: 'The interests of Macao residents of Portuguese descent are protected by the laws of the Macao Special Administrative Region; their customs, culture and traditions shall be respected' (Basic Law, 1999, cited in Yee, 2001, p. 143), though the term 'Macanese' is not specifically mentioned in this article. Members of the dominant community in Macao, the Chinese community, hold different attitudes towards the preservation of the Macanese as an ethnic group and Portuguese culture. The younger generation Chinese tend to be more positive, with the desire to preserve the Macanese ethnic group as a unique feature of Macao which makes it different from other cities in China. However, the older generation of local Chinese are reluctant to integrate with the Macanese, and therefore they pay only lip service to preserving Portuguese culture.

Attitudes of the Chinese community aside, the Macanese community may have a tendency to lose their own distinct cultural heritage and Portuguese

language in the near future as they gradually integrate with the Chinese community through processes such as intermarriage and acceleration of cultural assimilation. Understandably, some Macanese leaders have expressed their concerns that the Macanese culture and the Portuguese language may eventually disappear in Macao, citing evidence that the Macanese's cultural integration with the Chinese community is accelerating, and that the language policy of maintaining Portuguese language as one of the two official languages on a par with the Chinese language has been unsuccessful. Those Macanese who chose to stay in Macao after 1999 have adapted themselves to the political and economic changes. Their attempt to assimilate themselves into the Chinese community is manifested in their endeavours to learn Mandarin and written Chinese. This, in a long run, raises the question of whether Macanese as a distinct ethnic group will become extinct in the future.

CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING PHENOMENA

Although a distinction has often been made in the literature between code-switching and code-mixing, this distinction is controversial with some scholars questioning its usefulness of the distinction. Hatch (1976, p. 202) maintains that there is no sharp distinction between intersentential code-switching and intrasentential code-mixing and Gumperz (1982, p. 77) rejects the distinction on functional grounds and treats them both as 'situational shifting'. Others find it important and useful, particularly if the goal is to develop a grammar of language mixing. For the purpose of the present study, I adopt the term code-switching to refer to the use of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems *across* sentence boundaries within a speech event. Under this view, code-switching, which is motivated by socio-psychological factors, is intersentential and may be subject to discourse principles. On the other hand, code-mixing, defined as intrasentential, is constrained by grammatical principles and may also be motivated by social-psychological factors. Therefore, I use the term code-mixing to refer to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases) primarily from two participating grammatical systems *within* a sentence.

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This study was undertaken with three Macanese informants whose ages ranged from 25 to 53, all of whom were fluent in Portuguese, Cantonese and English. In addition, one informant speaks Mandarin. However, their competence in these four language varieties varied. All three informants were male, and all born and raised in Macao. None of them had had overseas education experience. At the time of the study, they were all employees working for B&B Lawyers. Given that variation with gender in language alternation is not the focus of the present study, it is believed that the corpus that had been established did not present a significant gender bias.

One of the three informants, C, who was in his 50s, was working as a registered trainee lawyer in Macao Bar Association at the time of the study. He had been a paralegal at B&B Lawyers for seven years since he acquired his Law Degree from the University of Macau in 2004. Prior to his current job, he was an economic inspector for the Economy Bureau of the Macau Special Administrative Government. The other two young informants, J and V, who were both in their mid twenties, were working as secretaries for B&B lawyers at the time of the study. C and J's language repertoire consisted of Portuguese, Cantonese and English. V had a good command of Mandarin in addition to his proficiency in Portuguese, Cantonese, and English. Neither of the two younger informants had been to university for higher education.

Before going on to the details of the data collection process, I would like to give a brief introduction of the law firm that the three informants worked for at the time of the study. B&B Lawyers is a law firm based in Macao, which provides legal advice and services for both domestic and international clients. The company was founded in the early 1980s and was expanded by two Macanese in the 1990s. Their legal practice areas cover various fields such as banking, insurance, intellectual property, corporate law, information and technology, gaming law and public law. The law firm have created a multicultural work environment to 27 lawyers, notaries and trainees, along with a supporting staff of thirty. Their multinational team come from Macao, Portugal, Mainland China, India, Angola and the Philippines. The legal services they provide have involved projects in a wide range of languages such as English, Portuguese, Spanish, French, German, Cantonese and Mandarin.

To explore language alternation phenomena, I had the desire to ground my analysis in naturally occurring conversations, and to adopt a qualitative approach to analysis. Drawing on the interactional sociolinguistic approach adopted in previous studies of language alternation and ethnic identity, data were collected through the three following means: participant observation, audio-recording of natural conversations, and questionnaires.

Firstly, I conducted participant observation, which involved 'observing a community while participating as much as possible in its activities oneself' (Cameron, 2001, p.48). In order to gain a solid understanding of the three informants and their work environment, I spent four hours on four consecutive days observing their conversations in the law firm, B&B Lawyers, noting patterns of their language alternation. I chose to focus on the spontaneous conversations conducted by the two young Macanese informants, J and V, who seemed to frequently alternate between Cantonese and Portuguese during their conversations in the law firm.

The second method used in the data collection was to audio-record natural conversations. I asked two informants to self-record their interactions in the workplace, in peer group social settings and at home. All of the informants gave their consent to record their conversations. Spontaneous conversations were recorded on an on-going basis, and the recordings thus obtained contained conversations involving language alternation among Portuguese, English, Cantonese and Mandarin. A small digital recorder was loaned to the two informants for self-recording of their interactions when socialising with family members, friends and colleagues. These interlocutors of the two informants came from diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds, including Macanese, Macao Chinese, Portuguese, and Africans who spoke Portuguese. The recordings provided a means to assess their language alternation phenomena in different settings, such as social gatherings, home and the workplace. A total of 13 one-hour digital tapes were collected in the course of the study. The majority of the conversations were recorded by the younger informant, J, in the law firm. The remaining conversations were recorded by the older informant, C, during the 40th wedding anniversary banquet of a Macanese couple, and at his home.

Finally, the questionnaire study that I carried out involved the same three informants. The objectives

were to examine how attitudes affected the language choice and use among the Macanese, and to explore their attitudes towards the minority language and the majority language, Portuguese and Cantonese respectively. The questionnaire was written in English, the language in which the informants were fluent. Two direct methods including direct questioning and semantic differential scales were adopted in the questionnaire to investigate the Macaneses' attitudes towards four language varieties and issues associated with these languages. The questionnaires for all three informants were filled out in the informants' office, on the basis of mutual agreement and convenience.

The methodology chosen to analyse the data of the present study was informed by the ethnographically-oriented interactional sociolinguistic approach to the study of language and ethnic identity in bilingual or multilingual settings. The approach views social identities as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction, with a focus on the negotiation of identities through code-switching and language choice. Gumperz's (1982) work on 'we-/they-codes' and 'situational/metaphorical code-switching' grounded an understanding of code-switching as another means through which speakers express social and rhetorical meanings and signify ethnic identities. Another well-established framework related to the negotiation of ethnic identities through code-switching is the Markedness Model, proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). According to this model, in some settings, code-switching itself serves as a way of in-group communication and can be seen as an unmarked choice. A major goal of the present study is to find out the patterns, social motivations and discourse functions of language alternation in the Macanese community in Macao and seek to raise consciousness to preserve the linguistic distinctiveness of the Macanese community.

LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS. A REVIEW

Malesevic (2004) has provided an overview of several of the most important sociological approaches to ethnic identity, from the materialist emphasis of Marxism and 'rational-choice' theory to the more subjective assessment of social constructivism. Some theoretical approaches stress the individual within the group, while others consider ethnic identity as

essentially a collectivist phenomenon. Some stress material and tangible features, others believe in the greater motive force of subjective and symbolic attachment (cf. Edward 2009). For instance, according to LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985), ethnic identity generally involves some combination of a sense of place, common origin and destiny; shared culture and/or language; a measure of consensus on the evaluation of out-group 'others'; active self-identification with the in-group; ascription to it by outsiders; and/or some idea of biological kinship and inheritance. From Joseph's (2004) point of view, ethnic identity, which is sometimes used as a synonym of 'national language', is 'focused on common descent and on a cultural heritage shared because of common descent, rather than on political aspirations for autonomy' (p. 162). Edwards (2009) suggests that a fuller version of ethnic identity might be the following:

> Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group—large or small, socially dominant or subordinate—with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessary for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'group-ness'; or by some combination of both. (p. 162).

Language and Ethnic Identity

Over the last few decades, there has been much debate about the relationship between language and identity and there is some consensus that language is a marker of ethnic identity (Giles, 1977; LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Joseph, 2004). Researchers who support this hypothesis argue that speakers who have strong group identification are likely to consider language to be an important symbol of their identity, and this identification may translate into greater use of language itself. For instance, Joseph (2004) points out that language and identity are 'ultimately inseparable'. Furthermore, Giles (1977) views language identity as an important gauge of language vitality in any given community. It has been claimed that ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language and language is commonly used as an identification to separate one community from another. For example, high ratings for solidarity features could also indicate that the language

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serves as a strong identity marker for the community (Fosold, 1984). Social identity and ethnic identity are in large part established and maintained through language (Gumperz, 1982). Within the 'social identity theory', which was developed by Taifel (1981), social identity is 'defined by individual identification with a group, a process constituted first by a reflexive knowledge of group membership, and secondly by an emotional attachment or specific disposition to this belonging' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2007, p. 25).

As a symbolic marker of individual and group identity, language may function as an important boundary device to separate and bind different sub-populations. This is exemplified in a number of Asian contexts. In Hong Kong, the use of English, as a linguistic symbol of the dominating foreign power, was once consciously avoided and considered a sign of disloyalty to the Hong Kong identity in the 1980s and 1990s (Pennington and Yue, 1994). The Hong Kong identity was dominant and in great measure signalled by Cantonese at that time. However, as the 1997 handover approached, English became less perceived as an alien property signifying the British colonial domination, and more as an economically useful international language. An increase in positive attitude towards English from 1990s onwards reflects Hong Kong's pursuit of modernity, cosmopolitanism, and connections with the global economy (Pennington and Yue, 1994). On the other hand, the status of Cantonese identity was firmly established by the 1980s. Cantonese occurred heavily in all of the major forms of expressions of the Hong Kong identity such as movies, popular music and television, as well as being the linguistic code which dominated everyday interactions among the stabilised population of Hong Kong (Simpson, 2007). A second linguistic innovation during the 1980s and 1990s was the significant rise of a use of Cantonese-English mixed code, which distinctively serves as a new marker of the Hong Kong identity. The mixed code was rapidly spreading in a number of domains, such as the government, the media, employment and education, encoding a further linguistic development of an independent innovative identity of Hong Kong with its roots in Cantonese (Li, 1996). As pointed out by Bhatia and Ritchie (2006), code-switching can be promoted if mixing becomes the marker of cultural or social identity, leading to individuals' positive self-identification of being bilingual. They further note that the creativeness of code-switching

has been widely exploited in advertising all around the globe (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2006).

In India, the linguistic diversity is remarkable. As King (1994) pointed out, India has a number of officially recognised languages which is similar to the number of major languages spoken in Western Europe. one hundred and fourteen languages were recorded in the 1991 census in India. The largest group of languages spoken in India today is the Indo-Aryan languages while the Dravidian languages comprise the second largest language family in India, including major languages such as Kannada, Mallyalam, Tamil and Telugu. In addition to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, there are languages classified as Tibeto-Burman, the Naga languages and Austro-Asiatic languages. The four major languages of the Dravidian language family, together with the eight major languages of the Indo-European family accounted for the language spoken by the majority of the population.

When India first attained independence in 1947, it was faced with the task of governing and integrating an ethnically and linguistically mixed population in a new state free of the controls of colonial rule. The country's leadership first regarded a shared official language as a way to bind the distinct population in India. Therefore, Hindi was promoted to become a new link language for the nation. However, with strong resistance to the perceived imposition of a northern Hindi identity from the Dravidian South of the country, such a promotion of Hindi proved to be unpopular. The government then revised its national language policy in order to allow for the use of English as an identity-neutral official language in government affairs alongside Hindi. Owing to the massive ethno-linguistic diversity and a wide range of religious and social variation, it has not been possible to forge any strong national identity for India based on one single language alone. The government therefore facilitated the maintenance and growth of different regional linguistic identities within the new nation through its allowance of a range of state languages. Meanwhile, a three-language formula in education to encourage the learning of two other languages besides the dominant state languages was adopted by the government for the promotion of a national identity (Simpson, 2007).

In the Philippines, the situation is quite similar. A *de facto* linguistic situation is in effect in the country. The local vernaculars are used at home and in the neighbourhood, while Filipino serves as the national

lingua franca and English is present as the language of wider communication, the language of economic mobility and employment. The Philippine culture is a mixture of the cultures of different ethnic groups, such as Malay, Chinese, Spanish and American. The Filipinos have chosen Tagalog-based Filipino as their linguistic symbol of national identity for legal and symbolic convenience, but in a rather wide range of domains in everyday life, they opt for being multilingual and adopt a mixed linguistic life. Code-mixing between English and Filipino is an increasing trend, particularly popular among the younger generations. The earlier mixed pidgins in the Philippines such as Bago in Northern Luzon and Chabacano in Spanish settlements, perhaps together with a Filipino English pidgin in the future, explain the Filipinos' roots (Pennington and Yue, 1994).

There are a remarkable number of countries characterised by considerable ethnic and linguistic diversity in Southeast Asia. For instance, in Burma, now officially renamed Myanmar, at least seventy languages are spoken, and they are linked to a similar number of ethnicities and identities (Bradley, 1994). Since its independence from British colonial power in 1948, the languages of the dominating groups, such as Karen, Mon, Shan and Kachin have been used as a means of dissimilating from the ethnic Burman majority. For the government, the Burmese language functions as an important element to consolidate control over the country, and has thus been promoted throughout the nation accordingly. One major aspect of the post-independence development of the national language in Burma/Myanmar was the attempt to downgrade the status of English. As a result, the use of English almost vanished from Burma/Myanmar for several decades until it was recently recognised officially as the linguistic tool to communicate with the outside world (Pennington and Yue, 1994).

In the case of Singapore, as a new state with no sense of collective identity among its inhabitants prior to the establishment of full independence from the British in 1965, its population is ethnically mixed with various descendants of immigrants from southern China, India and Malaysia, as well as many different sub-groups. The post-independence government of Singapore made the decision to attempt to maintain its multi-ethnicity and to build an overarching national identity. It was declared by the government that Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil would all be registered as co-official

languages. English would be added as a fourth official language for the pragmatic reason that English was the established language of government and administration and had been commonly used as a language for inter-group communication. Furthermore, the government also declared that Malay would be the national language of Singapore, alongside its status of being an official language. However, the earlier plans to develop Malay as a more widely used language were discontinued because of the permanent separation from Malaysia. Hence, the role of Malay as a national language has become symbolic and restricted.

In contrast, English has become increasingly more important and widely used in commerce, industry, politics and law. In education, English has to be learned by all students in Singapore and is the sole medium of instruction at university level. English use at home has also increased from 11.6% in 1980 to 20.2% in 1990 (Simpson, 2007). One feature of today's Singapore is that many conversations carried out among three ethnic groups, Chinese, Indians and Malay show extensive code-switching to and from English.

Concerning the development of a national identity, the natural means of constructing a shared identity, including Chinese, Indian and Malay was not available to the government due to the lack of a long national history. The government instead used the need for survival of the nation in face of the economic challenges as a means of creating a common, binding identity. The government maintained its previous strong commitment to Singapore as a multiracial nation-state, and emphasised the goals of economic growth and equal rights and opportunities as uniting Singapore (Simpson, 2007). Although the Singaporean policy of multilingualism does not directly bring about integration and the growth of a single national identity, it has nevertheless been instrumental to the harmony of different racial groups in the country, allowing for a collective identity to evolve (Simpson, 2007).

NEGOTIATION OF LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS

Traditionally, the key linguistic means of negotiation of identities discussed in the bilingualism/multilingualism literature include code-switching, code-mixing, and language choice. The *Sociopsychological*

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approach, which is the first paradigm to investigate the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts, comprises a wide number of inter-group approaches, drawing upon Taifel's (1981) theory of social identity (cf. Agnihotri and Sachdev, 1998).

Drawing on Taifel's framework, a theory of ethnolinguistic identity which regards language as a salient marker of ethnic identity and group membership is initially known as Social Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1977) and has been refined and evolved into what is now referred to generally as Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), extending Social Accommodation Theory to all aspects of communication. CAT proposes that individuals indicate their positive attitudes towards each other by adapting their communicative behaviours to those of their interlocutor, which is known as *convergence*. On the contrary, individuals can also distance themselves from the interlocutor by refusing to modify their original communicative style, which is known as *divergence* (Chin and Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 118).

Criticisms of sociopsychological approaches are commonly directed at the over-simplification and essentialisation inherent in their conceptual premises (Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Hoffman, 1989). The one-to-one correlation between language and identity is criticised for its monolingual and monocultural bias, which regards individuals as members of homogeneous and bounded ethnolinguistic communities. The monolingual bias obscures the fact that there are hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bilinguals/multilinguals living in the modern globalised world. Ethnographic investigations of multilingual contexts have posed challenges to the homogeneous view of minority communities and have revealed significant in-group differences in patterns of language contact and social organisation (Husband and Khan, 1982).

There are some studies with a focus on the role of code-switching in the construction of Asian ethnic identities. For instance, the work of Milroy and Li (Milroy and Li, 1995; Li *et al*., 1998) on a Chinese community in the Tyneside area in the UK sought to provide an integrated model of language choice and code-switching. The researchers constructed an 'ethnic index' of the strength of ties that a particular individual had to others of the same ethnic group. They found that this ethnic index helped to explain patterns of language choice in that the use of certain code-

switching strategies was related to an ethnic network. Li (1998) analysed the productions of Chinese-English bilingual children in the two sub-groups of the Chinese community in Tyneside, the Cantonese Punti families and Ap Chau families, and found that the Ap Chau families had many more opportunities to preserve their ethnic contacts and used Cantonese with a wider range of interlocutors in the Chinese community. As a result, children from these families were able to maintain more knowledge of the Chinese language, culture and history than their peers from the out-groups. Another study conducted by Lo (1999) in America is one of the few studies addressing the linguistic construction of Asian-American identities. Lo (1999) examined a conversation in which code-switching was adopted as a means of 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995, p.280), which 'focuses on code-alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ', by one of the participants, while another participant disproved the code-switching and refused to acknowledge the addresser's appropriation of Korean-American identity.

Interactional sociolinguistics focuses on the negotiation of identities in code-switching and language choice, and views social identities as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction. Two volumes which appeared in the 1980s, Gumperz's (1982) collection on language and social identity and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) ethnographic study of language use in the Caribbean, signified a transition from sociopsychological approaches to ethnographically-oriented interactional sociolinguistics. Gumperz's (1982) ground-breaking work based on earlier insights of Fishman (1965) pioneered an understanding of code-switching as another resource through which speakers express social and rhetorical meanings and index ethnic identities. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) investigation of the complex linguistic repertoires of West Indian communities demonstrated that multilingual speakers move around in multidimensional social spaces and that each act of speaking or silence may constitute an 'act of identity'. For Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (ibid.), linguistic behaviour involves 'shifts of identity' on the part of the speaker, through which he/she 'proclaims' his/her identity. Inherent in their work is the notion that social groups are constructs of individuals who choose to identify themselves with particular groups from time

to time. The most well-known sociolinguistic model of negotiation of identities through code-switching is the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993, 1998). This framework views talk as a negotiation of rights and obligations between speaker and addressee, and attempts to explain language choices as negotiations of self-identity and desired relationships with others.

The Gumperz' Notion of Contextualisation and a Sequential Approach to Analysis of Code-switching

In making sense of utterance meaning, one often has to access certain background information or assumptions in order to validate 'hypothesis-like tentative assessment of communicative intent' (Gumperz, 1992, p. 230), and to ultimately decide on how an utterance is to be interpreted. Rejecting the traditional view of context as unidirectional in the inferential process, Gumperz considers the relationship between message and context bidirectionally, in other words, while the interpretation of an utterance in conversation is based on context, the context itself is constantly undergoing revision and updating in the course of the conversation (ibid.). Under this view, Gumperz regards that the context is dynamic and interactively constructed. Therefore, Gumperz (1992) defines the notion of contextualisation as:

> Speakers' and listeners' verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions they must rely on to maintain conversational involvement (p. 230).

According to Gumperz (1982), contextualisation cues are 'surface features of messages form which speakers (use to) signal and listeners (use to) interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows' (p. 131). Such cues may consist of 'formulaic routines, formulaic expressions, discourse routines such as openings and closings, speech delivery features such as prosody (loudness, tempo, stress, intonation, silence, laughter, back channels) and even of language alternation' (ibid., p.129). Gumperz (1982) explicitly states that code choice, including code-switching, style switching or selection among phonetic, phonological or morpho-syntactic options, works as a contextualisation cue. Specifically, he remarks,

Code-switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. It generates the presuppositions in terms of which the content of what is said is decoded (p. 98).

The choices between languages that speakers make in conversation are determined not just by situational factors, such as topics, participants or settings, and the roles that the languages have in different social domains, but also by dynamic and creative factors that support expressivity (ibid.).

Developing on Blom and Gumperz's (1972) idea that code-switching worked as a meaningful device that helps speakers to re-define the conversational context, Auer (1984) carried out research on code-switching behaviours among second-generation of Italian immigrants in southern Germany, using a conversation analytic approach. His work made a landmark in the study of conversational switches as devices that serve a variety of discourse-structuring functions. The aim of Conversation Analysis is to study 'the order/organisation/orderliness of social action' (Psathas, 1999, p. 2). Conversation Analysis shares the same assumption with Speech Act Theory that 'Talk is social action' (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Auer (1995) proposes an approach that takes into account the sequential environment in which code-switching occurs—'the utterances both preceding and following the switching of codes' (p. 116). Accordingly, he interprets the meaningfulness of switches at the local level of the immediate conversation with an emphasis on their function in establishing sequences or demarcations between individual acts of speech (ibid.). Therefore, analysing an instance of code-switching sequentially will involve outlining the contextual factors and interactional activities prior to the switch, and note in the subsequent turn any display of the co-participant's recognition of the interactional meaning conveyed by the switching of codes. Milroy and Li (1995) also demonstrate how code-switching can be used as an instrument to organise the *sequentiality* of discourse, indicating special effects in sequences of speech. Drawing on the identification of adjacency pairs in Conversation Analysis, they argue that speakers act locally in order to achieve goals within the on-going interaction, instead of focusing on rationalisations that relate the choice of code to its overall societal function (Li, 1998, 2005).

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According to Gumperz (1982), languages form a structure and are functionally differentiated by 'we-code' and 'they-code' in bilingual/multilingual communities. He suggests that the ethnically specific, minority language comes to be regarded as a 'we-code' and is 'associated with in-group and informal activities' (p. 61), whereas the majority language serves as the 'they-code' and 'is associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations' (ibid., p. 66). Gumperz notes that different languages are functionally differentiated in multilingual communities. In code-switching, the 'we-code' and the 'they-code' are often used within the same conversation. For most users of these terms, 'we-code' and 'they-code' refer respectively to the ethnic language of a bilingual community and the language of the wider society within which that community forms a minority. The opposition of 'we-code' versus 'they-code' presupposes a particular relationship between monolingual and bilingual communities, as well as particular types of social relationship within the minority community (Auer, 1998). Because of this association, the identities associated with the two codes become co-selective.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) describe language choice in the Norwegian village of Hemnes as involving two varieties, namely a local dialect and a standard form of Norwegian being used in different situations. For instance, casual observations and recording of free speech among locals in 'homes, workshops, and the various public meeting places' show that only the dialect is used in these settings. However, in 'church services, presentation of text material in school, reports and announcements at public meetings', the standard form of Norwegian is used instead (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, pp. 125-126). Another study conducted by Myers-Scotton (1993) in Kenya, East Africa, can also exemplify Gumperz's idea of 'we-/they-codes'. In this bilingual community, English and Swahili functions as the high languages and 'they-codes', whereas the various local languages function as the low languages and 'we-codes'.

It has also been found that language alternation in the classroom reproduces language practices of the wider community. For example, Camillert (1996) reports that code-switching in Maltese classrooms conveys the same values and identities as those associated with the use of the two languages in the Maltese society. Maltese is used 'to convey friendliness and warmth and to reduce the distance between the teacher and the learners', while English is used 'to increase the social distance between the participants' (p.85). This dichotomy clearly echoes Gumperz's 'we-/they-codes'.

However, Gumperz's framework raises issues for its grounding on language segregation. Language alternation does not always constitute a meaningful juxtaposition that is symbolic. The 'we-/they-codes' distinction is not agreed upon by all researchers. For example, Gafaranga and Torras (2001) posit that code-switching 'is, not any occurrence of two languages within the same conversation, but rather any instance of deviance from current medium which is not oriented to as requiring any repair' (p. 1). Auer (1991) pinpoints the problematic nature of this formulation:

> The often invoked characterisation of languages as a 'they-code' and a 'we-code' tends to be used as an *a priori* schema imposed on code alternation data from outside. It is also too gross and too far away from participants' situated, local practices in order to be able to capture the finer shades of social meaning attributed to the language in a bilingual repertoire. (p. 333)

Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that when code-switching is an unmarked choice, it symbolises speakers 'dual membership', constituting a default option that is meaningful as a signal of shared, multilingual identity. Similarly, Auer (1998) proposes the notion of a 'fused lect' to denote a mixture-by-default, where the blending of structures from various language sources does not have any particular conversation-structuring function. In contrast, the combination of structures is meaningful as a symbol of group identity and mode of conversation. Gafaranga (2000) further indicates that 'language alternation may be an instance of deviance from language separateness, but it may also be a code in its own right' (p. 82). The fact that the adoption of code-switching may itself be an 'act of identity' can be clearly seen in the study of 'crossing' carried out by Rampton (1995), who describes adolescents in Britain using features of Punjabi and Creole so as to create a trans-racial 'common ground'.

The 'we-/they-codes' distinction breaks down in situations such as that described in Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998). They describe the Lingala-French language code-switching patterns among Zairians in Belgium as a type of 'monolectal code-switching', which means it is a combination of structures that is perceived by speakers as one code in its own right, acting as the

default choice in in-group communication with the same functions and effects as those usually associated with languages (Meeuwis and Blommaert). In Zaire, French is the official language. All the national languages of Zaire are integrated with French and thus spoken as code-switching varieties. For example, Lingala-French and Swahili-French, two code-switching varieties, both have their own range of social, stylistic and register-rated variation (Gardner-Chloros, 1995).

Gafaranga and Torras (2001) note that bilingual speakers of Kinyarwanda-French, Catalan-Castilian and Castilian-English may mix elements of their languages as if they are speaking one single language. Singh (1983) points out that in India, speakers with social aspirations may adopt English as their 'we-code' and Hindi as their 'they-code' to show themselves to be a different kind of minority group. A similar case where the 'we-/they-codes' distinction fails to account for the variation and the code-switching behaviours is reported in Swigart (1991) where code-switching forms a variety on its own in Dakar, known as Urban Wolof.

For British-born Caribbeans living in London, the 'we-code' and 'they-code' are more difficult to establish. For example, an ethnographic study of the community combined with an analysis of real conversational practices carried out by Sebba and Wootton (1998) suggests that both the ethnic minority language London Jamaican and the majority language London English have some of the features of being the 'we-code', particularly for young Caribbean Londoners. London Jamaican serves as the 'we-code' for the exclusion of outsiders in the domain of family and peer groups, mainly in informal situations. However, London English also has characteristics of the 'we-code' since it is used among family and peers in the most intimate discussions and is the preferred code for most of the participants in the study. The study suggests that the notion of 'we/they-codes' is much more complex than a simplistic equation of 'we-code' with the ethnic minority language and 'they-code' with the majority language.

In Hong Kong, Li (1996) demonstrates how code-switching is a 'local pragmatic response to the symbolic domination of English in Hong Kong' (p. 49). In Hong Kong, Cantonese, which is a majority language, can be seen as a 'we-code' for both teachers and students in classrooms where English is learnt as a second language. On the other hand, English, which has the higher status, is distant from the ethnic

Chinese population and functions as a 'they-code'. Teachers make use of the two languages to 'negotiate for different role relationships with the students' in Hong Kong schools where the medium of instruction is English rather than Cantonese (ibid., p. 68). Sebba and Wootton (1998) demonstrate that the notion of 'we-code' and 'they-code' is much more complicated than what is implied by invoking contrasts in language use regarding to gross association of situational factors by showing cases of 'we-/they-codes' in various contexts. Their study shows that English, which functions as a 'they-code', is widely used in formal situations such as business and higher education, while Cantonese, a 'we-code' is used in informal conversations.

Gumperz (1982) proposes two types of language alternation, which are 'situational code-switching' and 'metaphorical code-switching'. Situational code-switching occurs when distinct varieties are associated with changes in interlocutor, context or topic, and is therefore a direct consequence of a diglossic distribution of the varieties. This kind of language alternation can be directly related to the roles that each language has and the norms on the appropriateness of different language choices in specific sets of domains of social activity. In situational code-switching, where a code or a speech style is regularly associated with a certain class of activities, it comes to 'signify or connote them', so that its use can 'signal the enactment of these activities even in the absence of other clear contextual cues' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 98).

The case of metaphorical code-switching is more complicated than situational code-switching. Metaphorical code-switching occurs when there are changes in language variety without any 'external prompting' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 98). The signalling mechanism involved is 'a shift in contextualisation cues, rather than a shift in topic and other extra-linguistic context markers that characterise the situation' (ibid., p. 81). In metaphorical code-switching, the purpose of introducing a particular variety into the conversation is 'to evoke the connotations, the metaphorical 'world' of that variety' (p. 98). Situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching are different in the sense that situational code-switching consists of 'direct application of the norm', while metaphorical code-switching works through 'violation of co-occurrence expectations' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 98), that is to say, metaphorical code-switching is 'orderly' because it

is 'an instance of deviance from the norm of one-situation-one-language' (ibid, p. 98). Metaphorical code-switching is also functional, as it is used when the speaker wants to convey a meaning beyond what she or he says (Gumperz, 1982). Under this view, metaphorical code-switching has a 'semantic effect', which 'depends on the existence of a regular relationship between variables and social situations'.

There is one type of non-functional language alternation, which is referred to as 'conversational code-switching' by Gumperz. Gumperz (1982) further explains that this type of code-switching 'occurs in conditions of change where speakers' ethnic identities and social background are not matters of common agreement' (p. 64). Briefly, conversational code-switching is viewed as repairable deviance.

In addition to Gumperz's (1982) list of conversational functions, which includes 'quotation, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, addressee specification, a change in the participant constellation, and inclusion or exclusion of bystanders' (pp. 75-84), Auer (1984) also describes several conversation-oriented functions of code-switching, which include 'the highlighting of reported speech, parentheses or side-comments, recitations or quasi translations for emphasis, change of mode, language play and topicalisation' (Ch. 3). Furthermore, according to Milroy and Li (1995), typical functions of code-switching are to 'express disagreement, to refuse an offer or to initiate a repair on the part of the listener' (p. 288). Appel and Muysken (1987) offer a taxonomy of five functions of code-switching, which consist of 'referential, directive, expressive, phatic and metalinguistic' functions. Citing Poplack (1980), they stress that code-switching has an expressive function, which may be used by speakers to emphasise a mixed identity.

Some recent research on code-switching corpora examines how Conversation Analysis can be supplemented when relevant aspects of the social meanings are being taken into consideration. For example, Chen (2007) concludes from his/her examination of a corpus of Taiwanese/Mandarin code-switches in TV talk shows in Taiwan several functions which contribute to the organisation and structuring of the discourse, such as 'bracketing side-comments, reported speech, or self-repair, within turns; and for side-sequences, obtaining of the floor, and repair/reformulation, between turns' (pp.130-131).

Motivations to choose one language over another are multiple and complex. Myers-Scotton (1993) has proposed the Markedness Model of Code-switching, focusing on social motivations of code-switching. This model was developed by Myers-Scotton and her associates in a series of publications (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998). It was mainly influenced by Elster's (1989) Rational Choice model, which was set out to ask questions such as what the social motivations of code-switching are. Myers-Scotton (1993) answers the question by stating that 'the decision to engage in code-switching is a prime example of an intentional, if often unconscious, social message in a bilingual community' (pp. 1259-1260). The Markedness Model assumes that all linguistic code choices are 'indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in the conversational exchange' (Myers-Scotton, 1988, p.52) and suggests that 'speakers' language choices are not random but predictable via a set of indicators that are associated with each of the languages in their repertoire' (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 90).

From Myers-Scotton's (1993) point of view, language choices are either 'unmarked' or 'marked'. Myers-Scotton (2006) notes that in every multilingual community there is always 'a continuum of choices for a particular interaction type that are considered unmarked' (p. 159). 'Unmarked' is thus understood both as the 'default' choice and the most frequent choice. In regard to language, the unmarked choice is 'the linguistic variety which is most expected' (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 83). For example, for bilinguals in France, the unmarked code choice in a government office is French but not the other languages they speak. Or for most English-Spanish bilinguals in America, the unmarked choice for the elderly relatives in a family gathering is Spanish. With family and friends, in-group values prevail, however, in out-group situations 'it is the more dominant members who can influence the unmarked choice' (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 159).

In the Markedness Model of code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993) indicates that there are two types of unmarked code-switching: 'sequential unmarked code-switching' and 'code-switching itself as the unmarked choice' (p. 114). The two types of unmarked code-switching occur under different circumstances, but ultimately have related motivations: 'sequential unmarked code-switching' is triggered by 'a change in the situational factors, during a talk exchange' (ibid.).

When one or more of the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, it may cause changes in the unmarked Rights and Obligations set, which is external to the speaker. As a result, the speaker will switch codes if he or she wishes to index the new unmarked Rights and Obligations set.

Speaking two languages within the same conversation is also an unmarked choice for speakers in bilingual countries. Such switching is intrasentential and sometimes within the same word. Myers-Scotton (1993) explains code-switching itself as the unmarked choice as follows:

> The motivation for such switching is the same as that for choosing a single linguistic variety which is an unmarked choice. When the speaker wishes more than one social identity to be salient in the current exchange, and each identity is encoded in the particular speech community by a different linguistic variety, then those two or more codes constitute the unmarked choice (p. 162).

The optimal choice may turn out to be the alternate use of two languages or, in other words, 'code-switching itself can constitute an unmarked choice', if speakers choose to use language alternation to symbolise their social identity and social relationship in certain settings (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.117). Unlike Fishman and Gumperz, Myers-Scotton does not see this type of language alternation as a case of repairable deviance. However, the details of Myers-Scotton's statements regarding 'code-switching itself as an unmarked choice' are debatable and problematic. As Myers-Scotton (1993) herself notes, this type of language alternation is not found in all bilingual communities. It is community-specific rather than the result of simple mathematical addition.

According to the Markedness Model of Code-switching, the marked choice is the 'linguistic variety which is most unusual' and 'a break from the communicative norm' (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 89). In turn, they are two types of marked choices. The first type is when the speaker switches from one language to the other to 'negotiate a different Rights and Obligations set', or more commonly a change in the speech situation (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 160). The speaker making a marked choice is to call for a new situation, for a new Rights and Obligations set to be in effect. In the case of marked code-switching, the speaker initiates to re-define the context, starting the

negotiation of the 'speaker's persona and the speaker's relation to other participants' (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 160). Hence, making a marked choice can be seen as a negotiation about the solidarity or the power dimension (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In this type of marked code-switching, only one variety is used at one time. The second type of marked code-switching is when speakers momentarily use language B in a discourse language A. Myers-Scotton (1993) identifies that such instances of code-switching are functional and deviant from the norm of 'one-situation-one-variety (p.'169).

Assumptions about identities and indexicality made in Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model have faced a number of criticisms. Firstly, critical sociolinguists argue that identity should not be used as an explanatory concept in linguistic contexts, since the concept of identity itself needs explanation (Cameron, 1990; Johnstone, 1996; Tannen, 1993). Secondly, the essentialised links between languages and specific national or regional groups have been criticised for neglecting the fact that individuals may also construct particular identities through linguistic resources of groups to which they don't belong (cf. Cutler, 1999). Finally, a number of researchers are concerned about the notion of indexicality and the unproblematic link it posits between languages, identities and speech events. For example, Auer (1998) and Li (1998) argue that the notion of indexicality is too static to have the potential to capture the diversity of interactions in multilingual contexts, and the macro-sociolinguistic aspects of the speech situation will never wholly determine patterns of code-switching and language choice.

POSTSTRUCTURALIST APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF NEGOTIATION OF LANGUAGES AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS

In the past two decades, owing to the pioneering efforts of Gal (1989), Heller (1995), and Woolard (1989), sociolinguistic and anthropological research on multilingualism paved a solid foundation in poststructuralist and in political economic analysis. As a result, many researchers started to consider language choices in multilingual contexts as integrated into larger social, political, economic, and cultural systems. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, explains that the official language or standard variety becomes the language of hegemonic institutions because both the dominant and the subordinated group misrecognise it

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as a superior language (Bourdieu, 1982). Under this view, ideologies of language are not about language alone, but instead are always socially situated and bound to questions of identity and power in societies (Woolard, 1989).

Building on the basic premises of Bourdieu's model, Woolard (1989) contends that symbolic domination is grounded in the wide acceptance of the value and prestige of a particular linguistic variety, rather than in numerical disparities between majority and minority communities. Gal (1989) similarly notes that speakers may use the microstructures of interaction to transform linguistic norms and their own stigmatised social identities. Heller's ethnographic investigation of language choice in public and private settings in Canada from 1978 to 1990 has laid the foundation for the poststructuralist study of negotiation of identities, showing that language can no longer be seen as unproblematic markers of particular identities. Drawing on her ethnographic work, Heller (1995) developed a theoretical framework for exploring ways in which language practices and negotiation of identities are bound in power relations. This framework implies that code-switching needs to be examined not as a unique phenomenon but as a part of a range of linguistic practices which speakers employ to achieve their goals and to challenge 'symbolic domination' (Heller, 1995, p. 376). Citing examples from a Montreal company and a school in Toronto, she demonstrates how code-switching allows speakers to gain access to different roles by switching from French to English or vice versa, thereby various ambiguities inherent in the situation (Heller, 1995).

IDENTITY-RELATED ANALYSIS
OF CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-
MIXING PHENOMENA IN THE MACANESE
COMMUNITY IN MACAO

This section introduces the types of code-switching and code-mixing identified from the data. The code-switching and code-mixing patterns with their working definitions described below are to be applied to the whole data analysis chapter. In the following, I briefly present the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing by looking at the types of language alternation which regularly occur in the data. Five types of code-switching and code-mixing have been identified: Cantonese-Portuguese

code-switching; Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing; Cantonese-English code-switching; Cantonese-English code-mixing; and Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching respectively. They are classified on the basis of the language pair involved in the conversations.

As mentioned before, the language behaviour of the Macanese in Macao is characterised by the use of four distinct language varieties: Portuguese, English, Cantonese and Mandarin. All informants of this study seem to have a good command of speaking Portuguese, Cantonese and English. One informant is competence in Mandarin. It is observed that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching occurs the most frequently in the data. Cantonese-Portuguese and Cantonese-English code-mixing are relatively less common. Cantonese-English code-switching is relatively rare, and Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching is very rare in terms of the number of utterances in the data. This preliminary classification of the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing in the Macanese community in Macao will be examined against the data in the following sections of this chapter, with an aim to find out the social motivations and discourse functions of code-switching and code-mixing in the community.

(1) Cantonese-Portuguese Code-switching

It is observed that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching is very common in the data. As noted before, there are a significant number of cases in which the informants alternate between Portuguese and Cantonese in their conversations. Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching is defined to be, for the purpose of this study, involving an utterance in which the alternations between Cantonese and Portuguese take place across sentence boundaries. The following extract shows an instance of Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching.

The conversation takes place in the law firm. J and V, as typical code-switchers in the community, are both entirely capable of speaking monolingually in either Cantonese or Portuguese. The language pair involved in the conversation consists of Cantonese (plain characters) and Portuguese (bold).

Extract 1
J: **Isto é uma nova nomeação.**
  'This is the new appointment.'
V: **E.**
  'Er.'

J: 呢嗰係㗎啦, 我諗. 唔係喔又. 有喔呢嗰 (nei1 go3 hai6 gaa3 laa1, ngo5 nam2. m4 hai6 ngak1 jau6. jau5 ngak1 nei1 go3).
This CL COP PRT SFT, I think. NEG COP PRT again. Is PRT this CL
'This is the one, I think. Just a second. This is the one.'

V: **É muito forte.**
'It is strong.'

J: **É mesma geração.**
'It is the same generation.'

(2) Cantonese-Portuguese Code-mixing

Another type of language alternation between Cantonese and Portuguese is Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing. By Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing, I refer to the alternation between Cantonese and Portuguese within clause boundaries. In such cases, the utterances are mostly produced in Cantonese. In other words, the base or matrix language is Cantonese. Portuguese elements (lexical or syntactic) are occasionally inserted or mixed into the utterances. It is observed that Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing is relatively less common in the data. Extract 2 illustrates such utterances.

Again, the conversation is carried out by the two young Macanese, J and V. It takes place in the same law firm. The language pair involved in the conversation includes Cantonese (plain characters) and Portuguese (bold).

Extract 2

J: 呢嗰 **teste** 唔應該我哋做 (nei1 go3 teste m4 jing3 goi1 ngo5 dei6 zou6).
This CL teste NEG should I PL do.
'It is not our job to do this test.'

V: 唔? (ng4?)
What?
'What?'

J: 我話呢嗰 **teste** 唔應該我哋做 (ng5 waa6 nei1 go3 **teste** m4 jing3 goi1 ngo5 dei6 zou6).
I say this CL **teste** NEG should I PL do.
'I said that it is not our job to do this test.'

(3) Cantonese-English Code-switching

The term Cantonese-English code-switching refers to the utterances involving alternations between Cantonese and English at clause boundaries. However, instances of Cantonese-English code-switching are relatively rare in the data, with only a few cases having

been singled out. Consider the following extract which illustrates an instance of such a switch.

The conversation is conducted between two Macanese during the 40th wedding anniversary banquet of a Macanese couple. The languages involved are Cantonese (plain characters) and English (italics).

Extract 3

A: 佢哋話換六合彩 (keoi5 dei6 waa6 wun6 luk6 hap6 coi2).[1]
He/she PL say claim Mark Six Lottery.
'They say that they are going to claim the prizes of their Mark Six Lottery.'

C: 邊個有睇? (bin1 go3 jau5 tai2?)
Who CL COP check?
'Who has checked the result?'

A: 上個啲乜嘢上到喔 (soeng5 go2 di1 mat1 je5 soeng5 dou3 ngak1).
Go DEM CL what go COP SFP.
'You can check results online.'

C: 上到. 係電腦上. 你係出邊個電腦度上網 *H.K. Hong Kong Jockey Club Mark Six.* 睇到㗎. 今日開乜嘢? 睇到㗎 (soeng5 dou3. hai6 din6 nou5 soeng5. nei5 hai6 ceot1 bin1 go3 din6 nou5 dou6 soeng 5 mong5. *H.K. Hong Kong Jockey Club Mark Six*. tai2 dou3 gaa3. gam1 jat6 hoi1 mat1 je5? tai2 dou3 gaa3).
Go COP. COP computer go. You COP outside DEM computer COP go online. *H.K. Hong Kong Jockey Club Mark Six.* Check COP SFP. Today result what? Check COP SFP.
'You can go online. Use computers to go online. You can go online by using the computer outside. H.K. Hong Kong Jockey Club Mark Six. You can check the result. What is today's draw result? You can check it.'

(4) Cantonese-English Code-mixing

The conversations that have been recorded contain some cases of intrasentential Cantonese-English code-mixing. For the purpose of the present study, Cantonese-English code-mixing is used to refer to the cases where utterances are basically produced in Cantonese but with English elements (lexical or syntactic) occasionally inserted or mixed into them. Extract 4 below shows an instance of Cantonese-English code-mixing.

The conversation is conducted among two Macanese J and V and one Macao Chinese M. It

takes place in the law firm. The languages involved are Cantonese (plain characters) and English (italics).

Extract 4

V: 喂. 阿芳啊？阿王生啊. 我要一箱黃色 *file* 啊. 兩箱啊 (wai3. aa3 fong1 aa2? aa3 wong4 sang1 aa2. ngo5 jiu1 jat1 seong1 wong4 sik1 *file* aa2. leong5 seong1 aa2).
Hi. PRT fong1 SFP? PRT wong Mr. SFP. I want one box yellow *file* SFP. two box SFP.
'Hi. Is that Fong? This is Mr. Wong. I want to order a box of yellow files. Two boxes.'

J: 邊隻啊? (bin1 zek3 aa2?)
Which one SFP?
'Which one?'

M: 又係呢個問題 (jau6 hai6 ne1 go3 man6 tai4).
Again COP DEM CL question.
'The same question again.'

V: *A4* 嗰個囉. *Antonio*? 佢唔係度喔而家. 你拎住一箱以前黃色*A4*. 佢以後都無要呢個啦. 佢話個*file*你記得要黃色 (*A4* go2 go3 lo3. *Antonio*? keoi5 m4 hai6 dou6 ngak1 ji4 gaa1. nei5 ling1 zyu6 jat1 seong1 ji5 cin4 wong4 sik1 A4. keoi5 ji3 hau6 dou1 mo4 jiu3 nik1 go3 laa1. keoi5 waa5 go3 *file* nei5 gei3 dak1 jiu3 wong4 sik1).
A4 DEM CL SFP. *Antonio*? he/she NEG in now. You send PRT one box past yellow A4. he/she after also NEG want DEM CL SFP. he/she ask CL *file* you remember send yellow.
'The A4 ones. Antonio? He is not in the office now. Can you send one box of the yellow ones as usual? He is not going to order these ones anymore. He asked you to remember to send the yellow files.'

(5) Cantonese-Mandarin Code-switching

By Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching, I refer to the alternation between Cantonese and Mandarin at sentence boundaries. As noted before, the Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching is very rare in my data. Only one instance of code-switching between Cantonese and Mandarin has been recorded, which involves an informant who is capable of speaking fluent Mandarin in addition to Portuguese, Cantonese and English. Extract 5 shows this instance of Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching.

The conversation takes place in the law firm between V and W. The language pair involved is Cantonese (plain characters) and Mandarin (italics and bold).

Extract 5

V: 你覺得你自己係兒童? (nei5 gok3 dak1 nei5 zi6 gei2 hai6 ji4 tung4?)
You think PRT youself is child?
'Do you think of yourself as a child?'

W: 唔係囉 (m4 hai6 lo3).
NEG is SFP.
'I don't think so.'

V: 你頭先以為係波大. 咁兒童係乜嘢? (nei5 tau4 sin1 ji5 wai4 hai6 bo1 daai6. gam3 ji4 tung4 hai5 mat1 je5?)
You ASP think is bo1 daai6. LNK child is who?
'You thought you were bo1 daai6 just then? So who is a child?'

W: 兒童咪係兒童囉 (ji4 tung4 mai6 hai5 ji4 tung4 lo3).
Child EMP is child SFP.
'A child is a child.'

V: 即係你嘅名字啊. ***你的名字啊*** (zik1 hai6 nei5 ge3 ming4 aa4. ***ni de ming zi a***).
EMP is your LNK name. Your name SFP.
'It is your name. Your name.'

In sum, it is hypothesised that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching is the language alternation which regularly occurs in the data and bears interactional significance in the Macanese community under investigation in this study.

The Loss of the Portuguese Language among the Young Macanese

In general, most Macanese in Macao are multilingual and are capable of speaking fluent Portuguese, Cantonese and English, though they differ in their levels of proficiency. As the Portuguese language environment no longer exists in Macao, which is due to the recent economic and political changes in Macao, many Macanese families have found it more and more difficult to persuade their children to use Portuguese as their home language. For the young Macanese, basic education in Portuguese is regarded as a disadvantage since it suggests illiteracy in Chinese. Thus, they have resisted the effort made by their parents and teachers and are reluctant to expose themselves to a Portuguese-speaking culture. In any case, Portuguese is no longer an appealing language for the young Macanese generation who have been raised in a society where the predominant culture is influenced by the Hong Kong

television channels in which all programs are involved mainly in Cantonese. Consequently, teenage Macanese are more proficient in Cantonese than Portuguese. In fact, more and more Macanese people, especially the younger generation, has started to learn Mandarin and written Chinese.

In order to examine how attitudes have affected the language choice among the Macanese and to explore their attitudes towards the minority language and the majority language, in other words, Portuguese and Cantonese respectively, I use questionnaires to collect the data. It is not surprising that in the questionnaires conducted among the three informants of the present study, two out of the three informants, namely J and C, self-report that they speak Portuguese, Cantonese and English. The remaining informant V indicates that he has the competence in Mandarin in addition to Portuguese, Cantonese and English. In the questionnaire, the older informant C, who is in his 50s, remarks that he speaks only Portuguese at home, whereas the other two younger informants J and V, who are in their 20s, indicate that they speak in both Portuguese and Cantonese when talking to their parents and siblings. More interestingly, one young informant, J, reports that he speaks English and Cantonese, as well as Portuguese at home. When asked what language(s) they use to speak to their children, or what language(s) they are likely to use when they have children, the older informant C indicates that he speaks Portuguese to his children. In contrast, the two young informants J and V believe that if they had children, they would speak Cantonese and English to them. When asked which language they think is important for the future generation, all informants express that Portuguese, English and Cantonese are equally important. As indicated in the questionnaires, the two young informants J and V feel more comfortable using both Portuguese and Cantonese on a daily basis than using Portuguese only, whereas the older informant C remarks that he feels more comfortable when he only speaks Portuguese. As we can see from the data, Portuguese is losing its ground among the local Macanese, particularly among the younger generation.

The Macanese attitudes towards Portuguese culture, Chinese culture and the Macanese identity have also been elicited by using the questionnaires. Macao's lifestyle and popular culture are remarkably affected by

Hong Kong, which has a similar political and economic system and where people speak the same dialect, Cantonese. Unlike their parents and grandparents, who previously looked down on the local Chinese, the young Macanese who are in their 20s and 30s have no difficulties in mingling with them. Most of the Macanese feel very proud of their distinctive Macanese identity, which is perceived as a combination of Portuguese and Chinese cultures. Clearly, as indicated in the questionnaires, all three informants remark that they have extensive exposure to the Hong Kong mass media, including Cantonese TV programs, movies, pop music, newspapers and magazines. All three informants express that they would identify themselves as Macanese instead of either Chinese or Portuguese, which is in line with the previous studies that suggest the Macanese ethnic identity is a distinct mixture of Portuguese and Chinese cultures (Yee, 2001).

As noted before, the Macanese community may have a tendency to lose their own Portuguese culture and the Portuguese language in the near future as they gradually integrate with the Chinese community through processes such as intermarriage and acceleration of cultural assimilation. Although some local scholars have pointed out the importance of maintaining the Portuguese language in post-1999 Macao, it seems that the Macao SAR government is more enthusiastic in restoring Chinese as the first official language than maintaining Portuguese as a second official language. The Basic Law stipulates that the Macao SAR will make language policies on Portuguese language education. However, the prospects for Portuguese language education are not promising. This is evident, for example, in the fact that local Chinese schools are unwilling to include Portuguese as a second language in the curriculum. All these have raised the question of whether the Macanese community as a distinct ethnic group with both Portuguese and Chinese cultures will become extinct in the future. Thus I claim that more awareness of how to preserve the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of the Macanese community should be raised.

In sum, I have thus far demonstrated that the Portuguese language is losing its superior status in the Macanese community. It has become much less attractive to learn Portuguese in the Macanese community, particularly among the young Macanese. To account for the totality of the data, I claim that there

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is a strong need to preserve the Portuguese language and the unique Macanese identity in the Macanese community. In the following section, I will examine the relations between language and ethnic identity in the Macanese community by adopting Interactional Sociolinguistic approach, including Gumperz's 'we-/they-codes' and 'situational/metaphorical' framework and Myers-Scotton's 'code-switching itself as an unmarked choice' model.

LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE MACANESE COMMUNITY: AN INTERACTIONAL APPROACH

As stated above, Interactional Sociolinguistics focuses on the negotiation of identities in code-switching and language choice in the multilingual contexts, and views social identities constructed in linguistic and social interaction. Relating language use to identities, there are two of principles that are common in multilingual contexts: identities are constructed in conversations and identity work is interactional. The perspective of Interactional Sociolinguistic approach was pioneered by Gumperz, who was interested in examining how linguistic variation is used as an index of speaker's identity in actual face-to-face conversation. The most famous sociolinguistic model of negotiation of identities through code-switching is the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993, 1998). This model views talk as a negotiation of rights and obligations between speaker and addressee, and attempts to explain language choices as negotiations of self-identity. In the first section, I argue that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching can be regarded as a 'we-code' in the Macanese community, which suggests that the 'we-code' and 'they-code' distinction is not present in the way that Gumperz's (1982) 'we-/they-code' theory might have predicted. In the second section, I illustrate examples of situational and metaphorical code-switching following Gumperz's notions. In the final section, in line with Myers-Scotton's Marked Model, I hypothesise that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching is an unmarked choice in the Macanese community.

In the first instance, I will explore Gumperz's concept of 'we-/they-codes' and their association with the notion 'identity'. The concept of 'we-code' and 'they-code' was first introduced into the code-switching literature by Gumperz (1982). According to Gumperz,

'we-code' and 'they-code' refer respectively to the ethnic minority language of a bilingual community and the majority language of the wider society within which that community forms a minority group. The concept of 'identity' is often invoked at the same time. For example, Gumperz (1982) also makes a connection between the 'we-/they-codes' and the notion of group identity:

> The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we-code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they-code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (p. 66)

It is by no means certain that the 'we-/they-codes' distinction is meaningful in all bilingual minorities. Some minority communities within a larger society may be relatively easy to identify, while others are the opposite. The complexity of the relationships between minority communities and majority communities, as well as the languages involved, implies that 'we-code' and 'they-code' can not be taken as given in any particular situation (Auer, 1998). Auer (1991) pinpoints the problematic nature of the notion of 'we-/they-codes' with the following remark: 'The often invoked characterisation of languages as a 'they-code' and a 'we-code' tends to be used as *a priori* schema imposed on code alternation data from outside' (p. 333). However, Gumperz (1982) emphasises that this straightforward association between communicative style and group identity is a 'symbolic one' and 'does not directly predict actual usage' in any given instance (p. 66).

I have shown the problematic nature of Gumperz's notion of 'we-/they-codes'. In this section, I argue that in the Macanese community Cantonese-Portuguese switching can be seen as a 'we-code' to signify the Macanese in-group identity.

According to By-census 2006, in Macao Cantonese is a majority language spoken by 95% of the total population, mainly among the Macao Chinese. It is the language which is most widely used in various domains. Portuguese functions as the minority language spoken by only 0.6% of the population, mainly among the Macanese, and is used only in the government and public sectors (Statistic and Census Service Macao SAR Government, 2007). In the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration of 1987 with regard to the transition

of Macao in 1999, Portuguese is designated to be the second official language (following Chinese) in the Macao Special Administrative Region.

Within the Macanese community in Macao, while Portuguese is the minority language, it is deemed appropriate for formal functions with higher status, such as government and official communications. On the other hand, Cantonese, the majority language, had gradually become the language of most Macanese homes by the late 1980s, alongside the growth and spread of Cantonese-speaking television and the popular culture of Hong Kong. The language has increasingly been considered appropriate in informal situations such as family gatherings among the Macanese. Although a simplistic equation of 'we' with ethnic minority language would predict that Portuguese should function as the 'we-code' for Macanese, the actual language situation of Macanese community proves more complicated. There is no straightforward association between the situation in which an utterance occurs and the language in which it is produced. In addition, the boundaries of the communities and those of the languages are by no means clear-cut in the case of Macao.

Based on the data of the study, it is observed that conversations in both informal and formal settings usually involve Portuguese and Cantonese. While Portuguese could be seen as the ethnically exclusive code, I argue that it is the ability to use Portuguese and Cantonese which most saliently characterises the Macanese identity. For the informants of this study, instead of having one language exclusively as the 'we' code, Portuguese and Cantonese both seem to share some of the features of 'we-code'. Portuguese is a 'we-code' since it excludes outsiders, particularly the majority Chinese community in Macao. However, Cantonese is also a 'we-code', as it is used among family members such as parents and siblings in informal situations. As noted before, all three informants indicated in the questionnaires that they feel more comfortable using both Portuguese and Cantonese on a daily basis, which supports my hypothesis that Cantonese-Portuguese switching can be seen as a 'we-code' in the Macanese community.

In the next section, I will turn to my data to illustrate how Cantonese-Portuguese switching can be used as a 'we-code' in different social settings, including both formal and informal situations.

In bilingual societies, very often bilinguals alternate between two languages according to different discourse domains. For example, the majority language usually serves as a 'they-code' and is used in public domains, whereas the minority language functions as a 'we-code' and is used in private domains. The 'they-code' can perform a range of functions, including 'creating distance, asserting authority, expressing objectivity and suppressing the taboo-ness of an interaction' (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2006, p. 342). Bhatia and Ritchie further list the functions of the 'we-code', including 'conveying in-group membership, informality, intimacy and emotions' (ibid.). Let us now look at some extracts from the conversations involving the Macanese informants which support my hypothesis that Cantonese-Portuguese switching can be regarded as a 'we-code' and used in different domains.

Extracts 6 and 7 were taken from conversations in an informal and a formal situation respectively, namely the 40th wedding anniversary banquet of a Macanese couple and in the law firm. Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching regularly occurs in these two domains. The differential uses of the codes in the conversations suggest that the 'we-code' and 'they-code' distinction does not manifest itself in the same way as Gumperz's (1982) original formulation. The following extracts will illustrate this point.

Extract 6
C: **Olha! Olha! O que está o gajo lá a fazer?** 嘩, 狂叫啊 (**Olha! Olha! O que está o gajo lá a fazer?** waa4, kwong4 giu3 aa3).
Olha! Olha! O que está o gajo lá a fazer? PRT, scream SFP.
'Watch! Watch! What is he doing? Screaming.'
D: 一白遮三醜啊 (jat1 baak3 ze1 saam1 cau2 aa3).
One white cover three ugly SFP.
'A white complexion is powerful enough to hide seven faults.'
C: **Já comprou o bilhete**?
'Have you bought the tickets?'
A: 頭先滴咗啲水落去. **Está na minha mala** (tau4 sin1 dik6 zo3 di1 seoi2 lok6 heoi3. **Está na minha mala**).
Before spill DEM CL water down. **Está na minha mala.**
'I spilled some water on it before. It is my handbag.'

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C: 喂,喂,喂. **Não quero. Quero tinto pá** 狂叫啊 (wai2, wai2, wai2. **Não quero. Quero tinto pá.** kwong4 giu3 aa4).

Hey, hey, hey. **Não quero. Quero tinto pá.** Scream SFP.

'Hey, hey, hey. No, I don't want. I want red wine. I am screaming.'

Extract 7

V: **Qual é a resposta da Salina? A resposta dela.**

'How did Salina reply? Her reply.'

J: 乜嘢 **resposta** 啊? 乜野 **resposta** 啊? (mat1 je5 **resposta** aa3? mat1 je5 **resposta** aa3?)

What reply SFP? What reply SFP?

'What reply? What reply?'

V: *Ms*. 狄波拉囉 (*Ms*. dik6 bo1 laai1 lo3).

Ms. dik6 bo1 laai1 lo3.

'*Ms*. dik6 bo1 laai1 lo3.'

J: 哦 (o2).

Oh.

'Oh.'

V: **Espero que responde também fosse como a resposta da Salina.**

'I hope that the reply would be the same as Salina's.'

J: **Salina? O que ela disse?**

'Salina? What did she say?'

Extracts 6 and 7 are two instances which show that Gumperz's 'we-/they-codes' distinction breaks down in some contexts. A Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching pattern has been frequently found in both social gatherings and in workplaces. In other words, the switching of both the minority language (Portuguese) and the majority language (Cantonese) is associated with both informal situations and formal situations. It is observed that the three informants J, V, and C, rarely speak in only one language variety in either public domains or private domains. In fact, their speech is characterised by Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching. In such cases, Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching begins to acquire 'language-like' properties. Consequently, I hypothesise that in the data of the present study, this Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching functions as a 'we-code' to convey their in-group Macanese identity.

To sum up, following Gumperz's concept of 'we-/they-codes', I have demonstrated that the notion of 'we-code' and 'they-code' is much more complicated than what is implied by the gross association of code

choice with situational factors. Therefore, based on the data of the present study, I have hypothesised that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching serves as a 'we-code' and I also have argued that the adoption of Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching may itself be an 'act of identity'.

Research over the past three decades has highlighted local meanings and functions of code-switches in ways that can be subsummarised under two broad categories: situational and metaphorical code-switching. In this section, I briefly explain these two functional emphases of code-switching and then give examples of how situational/metaphorical code-switching generates meanings about identities.

Gumperz's (1982) model allows two types of language alternation: 'situational' and 'metaphorical' code-switching. Situational code-switching, as the term implied, are triggered by a change in the situation, such as changes in interlocutor constellation, context, or topic. Thus, situational code-switching is perceived as a 'direct consequence of diglossia' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61), in other words, codes are switched when observable changes occur in the settings, for example, to accommodate a speaker who comes from a different language background. Extract 8 illustrates an instance of such switch.

Extract 8

J: 呢嗰 **teste** 唔應該我哋做 (nei1 go3 **teste** m4 jing1 goi1 ngo5 dei6 zou6).

This CL **teste** NEG should I PL do.

'This test should not be our job.'

V: 唔? (ng4?)

What?

'What?'

J: 我話呢嗰 **teste** 唔應該我哋做. **É só puxar isto** (ngo5 waa6 nei1 go3 **teste** m4 jing1 goi1 ngo5 dei6 zou6. **É só puxar isto).**

I say this CL **teste** NEG should I PL do. **É só puxar isto.**

'I said that this test should not be our job. Only this one.'

V: **Na minha casa também não há nada a ver comigo**.

'It is none of my business either.'

A: 呢嗰牌子好貴喔 (nei1 go3 paai4 zi2 hou2 gwai3 ngak3).

This CL brand EMP expensive SFP.

'This is an expensive brand.'

J: 貴嘅啊 (gwai3 ge3 aa3).
Expensive PRT SFP.
'It is expensive.'

A: 義大利嘅嗎？使唔使 5 個? (ji6 dai6 lei6 ge3 maa1? sai2 m4 sai2 m5 go3?)
Italian LNK SFP? Need NEG need five CL?
'Is it an Italian brand? Does it cost 500 dollars?'

J: 1 千蚊到啦 (jat1 cin1 man1 dou2 laa1).
One thousand dollar around SFP.
'Around one thousand dollars.'

The conversation in Extract 8 takes place in the law firm. The law firm has created a multicultural work environment for 27 lawyers, notaries and trainees. Their multinational team comes from all around the globe, including Macao, Portugal, Mainland China, India, Angola and the Philippines. As the extract shows, from line 1 to line 4, the talk between two Macanese colleagues J and V is conducted in the alternation between Portuguese and Cantonese. They switch between the two codes as an unmarked choice in the Macanese community. In line 5, when a Macao Chinese colleague approaches them and addresses them in Cantonese, J and V shift to using Cantonese only to carry out the ensuing conversation, in recognition of the fact that their colleague A is not from the Macanese community. In this case, the switch from the mixed code of Portuguese and Cantonese to monolingual Cantonese is an instance of 'situational code-switching' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61), which is used by J and V to accommodate A, a Macao Chinese, who does not speak Portuguese but joins the conversation. Thus, this switch is used to narrow the social distance between the interlocutors.

Now let us consider another example of situational code-switching. Extract 9 illustrates an instance of situational code-switching as well.

Extract 9

J: **O que está a ouvir ?**
'Are you there listening?'

V: **Uma música de um cantor ?**
'A song of the singer?'

J: 咁你今晚同長毛過中秋.有無得諗啊? (gam3 nei3 gam1 maan5 tung4 coeng4 mou1 gwo3 zung1 cau1. jau5 mou5 dak1 nam2 aa1?)
EMP you tonight with Coengmou celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival. Would NEG EMP think SFP?

'So are you going to celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival with Coengmou? Would you think about it?'

V: 咁過啦一齊 (gam2 gwo3 laa1 jat1 cai4).
EMP celebrate PRT together.
'Then celebrate it together.'

J: 咁整個綠色嘅月餅啊 (gam2 zing2 go3 luk6 sik1 ge3 jyut6 beng2 aa1).
EMP give CL green LNK moon cake SFP.
'Then give me a green moon cake.'

The conversation in Extract 9 takes place in the same office. At the beginning of the conversation, as line 1 and line 2 show, the two Macanese colleagues J and V are chit-chatting in Portuguese, talking about the song that V is listening to. As the topic changes to the celebration of Mid-Autumn Festival, which is a traditional Chinese holiday, J switches from Portuguese to Cantonese. After that, J and V continue the rest of the conversation in Cantonese. Gumperz (1982, p. 61) termed 'situational' code-switching directly related to 'language choice in specific sets or domains of social activities'. Changing activity constellations, such as shifts in topics, will trigger a change in the language of the interaction. In this case, the switch from Portuguese to Cantonese is clearly situational, which is prompted by the change in topics.

Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, refers to changes in speaker's language choice when the situation remains the same. In this case, the function of metaphorical code-switching is to convey special communicative intent, which depends on the association between a particular language and a particular situation. Such switching 'occurs when there are changes in variety without external prompting' such as interlocutor, context or topic (Gumperz, 1982, p. 62).

Code-switching has a frequent correlation with reported speech in conversation. Framing a quotation is a significant function of code-switching. It is common for speakers to switch codes when they quote something mentioned by someone else before. The code used in the quotation may not necessarily be that of the actual speech being reported. Neither is the direction of the switch always significant. The use of code-switching not only marks 'the boundary between the quotative verb and the quote itself', but also gives speakers another 'voice' to encode expressive meanings (Gumperz, 1982, p. 78). Thus, code-switching in quotations is rather complex and involves additional phenomena apart from

a simple switch to mark a quotation. The following extract illustrates an instance of code-switching in reported speech. Extract 10 illustrates an instance of metaphorical code-switching.

Extract 10
S: 敏感嘅問題來啦 (man5 gam2 ge3 man6 tai4 lai4 laa3).
Sensitive LNK question come SFP.
'Here comes the sensitive question.'
L: 有幾敏感? (jau5 gei2 man5 gam2?)
How sensitive?
'How senstive?'
S: 好敏感. 有幾多個男朋友? (hou2 man5 gam2. jau5 gei2 do1 go3 naam4 pang4 jau5?)
Very sensitive. How many CL boyfriend?
'Very sensitive. How many boyfriends did she have?'
A: 四十年乜都化啦 (sei3 sap6 nin4 mat1 dou1 faa3 laa1).
Forty year PRT all fed up SFP.
'You will stop caring about this after all these forty years.'
C: 你唔好話有幾多個男朋友. 男女朋友 (nei5 m4 hou2 waa6 jau5 gei2 do1 go3 naam4 pang4 jau5. naam4 neoi5 pang4 jau5).
You NEG PRT say have how many CL boyfriend. Boy girl friend.
'Don't just say how many boyfriends. Boyfriends and girlfriends.'
S: 講錯咗 (gong2 co3 zo2).
Say wrong SFP.
'You said the wrong thing.'
C: *David* 係乜嘢? (*David* hai6 mat1 je5?)
David COP who SFP?
'Who is David?'
S: *David* 係曾經. 老公就話一個 (*David* hai6 cang4 ging1. lou5 gung1 zau6 waa6 jat1 go3).
David is ex. Husband EMP say one.
'David is the ex. The husband says that she had only one boyfriend.'
C: 好專一 (hou2 zyun1 jat1).
EMP faithful.
'Very faithful.'
L: 就信啊 (zau6 zeon3 aa3).
EMP believe SFP.
'We don't believe it."
S: 老公就答佢一個. 老婆就答三個. 老婆嗰方面就話有三個. 而老公都話佢曾經有三個 (lou5

gung1 zau6 daap3 keoi3 jat1 go3. lou5 po4 zau6 daap3 saam1 go3. lou5 po4 go2 fong1 min6 zau6 waa6 jau5 saam1 go3. ji4 lou5 gung1 dou1 waa6 keoi5 cang4 ging1 jau5 saam1 go3).
Husband EMP answer he/she one. Wife EMP answer three. Wife DEM side EMP answer has three. And husband also answer he/she ASP has three.
'The husband answers that he had one girlfriend. The wife answers three. The wife says that she had three boyfriends. And the husband also says three.'
L: **Ao contrário. Ela dissera que ele é mentiroso.** 你講大話. 打佢 (**Ao contrário. Ela dissera que ele é mentiroso.** nei5 gong2 daai6 waa6. daa2 keoi5).
Ao contrário. Ela dissera que ele é mentiroso. You lie. Beat him/her.
'She said that he was a liar. You lied. Beat him.'

In Extract 10, the conversation takes place during the 40th wedding anniversary banquet of the Macanese couple. The guests attending the banquet include both Macanese and Macao Chinese. They are playing a game called 'How well do the couple know each other?' The people involved in the conversation are three men and one woman from the Macanese community. They include C, who is one of the three informants in this study, and his Macanese friends, A, L and S. S, acting as the host of the anniversary banquet, asks the couple in Cantonese if they know how many ex-boyfriends or ex-girlfriends their partner had before they started dating. The husband says that he had had only one girlfriend before, but the wife says that he had had three. At this point (line 12), L, one of the couple's Macanese friends, switches to Portuguese and reports what the wife has said to her before. Note that there is no change during this conversation in either the interpersonal relations between the participants, the setting, the overall topic, or the key or mode of the interaction. Briefly, the switch from Cantonese to Portuguese is an instance of what Gumperz's (1982) calls 'metaphorical code-switching'. In Extract 10, this switch somehow indexes the Macanese identity and is shared by in-group Macanese members who are competent in both Cantonese and Portuguese.

Gumperz (1982) defines 'contextualisation cue' as any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions, and argues that code-switching functions as a 'conversational cue' (p. 131). Gumperz lists several conversational

functions that are noticeably associated with code-switching, namely 'quotation', 'addressee specification', 'interjection', 'reiteration', 'message qualification' and 'personalisation v. objectification' (Gumperz, 1982, pp. 75-83). There are many instances of switches which function to frame either direct quotations or reported speech. Addressee specification is a function of code-switching 'serving to direct the message to one of several possible addressees' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 77). In some cases, code-switching serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler. Another function is reiteration, where 'a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in a somewhat modified form' (ibid., p. 78). Such repetitions mainly serve the function to clarify what has been said, but often they may be used to emphasise a message. A significantly large number of switches comprise 'qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements', which is termed 'message qualification' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 79). Message qualification also takes the form of an argument as exemplified by the disjunctive argument. Finally, switches related to such things as 'the degree of speaker involvement in a message; whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge; or whether it refers to specific instances' are defined as 'personalisation versus objectivisation' (ibid., p. 80).

Let us consider the following example. Extract 11 illustrates an instance of reiteration and reported speech.

Extract 11

J: **Salina? O que ela disse?**
    'Salina? What did she say?'
V: **Ela disse que ela é uma grande miúda.**
    'She said that she was a big child.'
J: 兒童? 唔係點啊? (ji4 tung4? m4 hai6 dim2 aa1?)
    NEG COP what SFP?
    'Child? So what?'
V: **Assim que disseste. Ela é pequena.**
    'You once said that she was childish.'
J: **Eu não disse isto. Tu achas que tu és miúda**? **Eu só disse isto.**
    'I didn't say that. I just said, 'Do you think of yourself as a child?'
V: **Tu és muita pequena.**
    'You are really childish.'
J: **Não**. 癡線嘅. 我話你覺得. 癡線嘅. 叫你聽囉. **Tu achas que tu és** 你覺得你自己係兒童? (**Não.**

ci1 sin3 ge3. ngo5 waa6 nei5 gok3 dak1. ci1 sin3 ge3. giu3 nei5 teng1 lo3. **Tu achas que tu és** nei5 gok3 dak1 nei5 zi6 gei2 hai6 ji4 tung4?)
Não insane SFP. I say you think PRT. Insane SFP. Ask you listen SFP. **Tu achas que tu és** you think of youself COP child?
'No. You are insane. I said, "You thought?" You are insane. I asked you to listen. I just said, "Do you think of yourself as a child?"'

In Extract 11, J and V, the two young Macanese, are recalling a previous conversation about Salina, who is a female colleague working for the same law firm. The conversation takes place in the law firm. In line 1, J starts the conversation in Portuguese by asking V what Salina has said about herself. In line 2, V reports what Salina has said in Portuguese, that is to say, line 2 is reported speech. In line 3, J reiterates part of V's reported speech about Salina claiming herself to be a child, only this time she switches to Cantonese. This reiteration seems to be an attempt on J's part to seek clarification from V. From then on, J and V start to argue if J has made a comment that Salina was childish. In line 4, V claims that J has made such a comment using Portuguese. In line 5, J denies having done it, also in Portuguese. In line 6, V departs from the argument to make a side-comment that J is also childish. J and V both remain in Portuguese in lines 4, 5 and 6. In line 7, J switches back to Cantonese from Portuguese when repeating part of her utterance in line 5. It is an instance of Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing within the sentence. In this case, the function of code-mixing is reiteration for emphasis.

In some other cases, code-switching serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler. Consider Extract 12 below, which is a good example of this phenomenon.

Extract 12

C: **Ela, agora está muito bem, não tem de aturar as duas irmás. Porra, começa isso.** 又要? (**Ela, agora está muito bem, não tem de aturar as duas irmás. Porra, começa isso.** jau6 jiu3?)
    Ela, agora está muito bem, não tem de aturar as duas irmás. Porra, começa isso. again?
    'She is alright now. She doesn't have to put up with her two sisters. Shirt. It comes. Again?'
E: 又要? (jau6 jiu3?)
    Again?
    'Again?'

C: 又要 **aturar? É assim, é só esta vez** (jau6 jiu3 **aturar? É assim, é só esta vez**).
Again **aturar? É assim, é só esta vez.**
'To put up with again? This is the last time.'

Extract 12 is a private conversation carried out between a Macanese couple, C and E, where C is one of the three informants in the study. The conversation takes place at home. In line 1, C starts to talk about E's sister in Portuguese. At the end of line 1, C switches from Portuguese to Cantonese, marking an interjection of the phrase '又要' ('again'). In line 2, E repeats C's interjection '又要' ('again') in line 1. At the beginning of line 3, C repeats the interjection yet again in Cantonese. But then, he switches back to Portuguese within the same sentence to continue the rest of his utterance. This is a case of Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing triggered by the interjection.

In sum, Extracts 11 and 12 are clear examples which illustrate some of the conversational functions of code-switching. Extract 11 illustrates the function of reported speech and reiteration, on the other hand, and Extract 12 demonstrates how code-switching occurs as an interjection. In the next section, I will examine Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model as an alternative identity-related account of the relations of language and ethinic identity in the Macanese community.

CANTONESE-PORTUGUESE CODE-SWITCHING ITSELF AS AN UNMARKED CHOICE IN THE MACANESE COMMUNITY

Myers-Scotton (1993) suggests that 'code-switching itself is the unmarked choice in situations where two sets of identities are normally indexed simultaneously in the community' (p. 117). When participants are bilingual peers, the unmarked choice may be switching between languages with no changes at all in the situation, that is to say, 'the pattern of using two varieties or more for the same conventionalised exchange is itself unmarked' (ibid.). In most parts of Africa, where speech communities are multiligual, ethnic identity is signalled by the use of the mother tongue with each language having particular associations.

The unmarked choice for many bilingual speakers having duo linguistic identities when they talk to people similar to themselves is a pattern of switching between 'the two varieties indexical of the rights and obligations set which the speakers wish to be in force for the speech event' (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 120). Each switch needs to bear no special significance. Rather, it is the overall pattern of using two varieties which carries social meaning, such as the negotiation of two different rights and obligations balances as simultaneously salient (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Considering the data collected in the present study, I hypothesise that the Macanese's competence in Portuguese and Cantonese most saliently characterises their Macanese identity, and that the unmarked in-group code which most accurately represents the Macanese ethnic identity is Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching. The overall pattern of constant Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching in in-group interactions indexes their unique Macanese identity and helps them retain ethnic distinctiveness from other ordinary Cantonese speakers.

EXAMPLES OF CANTONESE-PORTUGUESE CODE-SWITCHING ITSELF AS AN UNMARKED CHOICE IN THE MACANESE COMMUNITY

The following extract between two young Macanese shows how code-switching itself can be used as the unmarked choice to index the Macanese identity.

Extract 13
V: 成日都唔得閒 (seng4 jat6 dou1 m4 dak1 haan4).
Everyday always NEG free.
'You are always busy.'
J: 你就唔得閒. 聽日囉. 聽日你得唔得閒? (nei5 zau6 m4 dak1 haan4. ting1 jat6 lo3? ting1 jat6 nei5 dak1 m4 daak1 haan4?)
You EMP NEG free. Tomorrow SFP? Tomorrow you free NEG free?
'You are busy. What about tomorrow? Would you be free tomorrow?'
V: 聽日? 好多帶睇喔今晚 (ting1 jat6? hou2 do1 daai3 tai2 ngak1 gam1 maan5).
Tomorrow? EMP many tape watch PRT tonight.
'Tomorrow? I have many tapes to watch tonight.'
J: **nós vamos beber uma garrafa de whisky e já é muito**. **E vais tu**. **Tem de pagar multa**.
'We are going to drink a bottle of whisky. It is already a lot. You have to go. Otherwise, you will be punished.'

V: **Eu náo disse nada**.
  'I didn't say anything.'
J: 你要逼. 有乜法子. 仲八點? **Nem penses**. 已經
  夠啦. 走啦我. **Já lá vamos** (nei5 jiu3 bik1. jau5
  mat1 faat3 zi2. zung6 baat3 dim2? **Nem penses**.
  ji5 ging1 gau3 laa3. zau2 laa3 ngo5. **Já lá vamos**).
  You need push. Has what choice.EMP eight o'clock?
  Nem penses. Already enough SFP. Leave I. **Já lá
  vamos**.
  'You need to be pushed. I have got no choice. Eight
  o'clock? Don't hesitate. That is already enough. I am
  leaving. Leaving.'
V: 走啦? (zau2 laa4?)
  Leave SFP?
  'Are you leaving?'
J: 走啦. 你望下幾點 (zau2 laa3. nei5 tai2 haa5 gei2
  dim2).
  Leave SFP. You look CL what time.
  'I am leaving. Have a look at what time it is now?'
V: **Também só vou ficar um bocadinho.**
  'I am just going to stay for a while.'

　　In Extract 13, the conversation between the two
Macanese colleagues, J and V, shows a conversational
exchange for which switching between Cantonese
and Portuguese is an unmarked choice for Macanese
peers. The conversation takes place in the law firm.
In this exchange, J and V initiate the conversation in
Cantonese by talking about going for a movie together.
In line 4, J switches to Portuguese and asks V to go out
for a drink. In line 5, V declines the offer by replying
in Portuguese. The switching between Portuguese and
Cantonese in the middle of line 6 is intersentential. In
line 9, V switches back to Portuguese, emphasising that
he is going to stay in the office rather than leaving right
away. Following the Markedness Model, I hypothesise
that Portuguese-Cantonese code-switching itself can be
seen as 'a product of unmarked choice' in the Macanese
community (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The overall pattern
of constant Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching in
this conversation conveys a message of dual identities,
in this case, both Portuguese and Chinese. In Extract
13, the two Macanese peers, J and V, switch between
Cantonese and Portuguese, not out of linguistic
necessity, but to claim their in-group membership of
the Macanese community.
　　Another example that lends support to the
hypothesis that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching

itself is an unmarked choice in the Macanese
community indexing the unique Macanese identity is
Extract 14 below.

Extract 14
D: 你哋唔好陪我啦. 我有啲嘢做 (nei5 dei5 m4
  hou2 pui4 ngo4 laa1. ngo4 jau5 di1 je5 zou6).
  You PL NEG EMP with me SFP. I COP LNK thing
  do.
  'Don't go with me. I have something to do.'
S: 得啦. 我哋唔使陪你啦 (dak1 laa1. ngo4 dei5 m4
  sai2 pui4 nei5 laa1).
  Ok. I PL NEG need with you SFP.
  'Okay. We don't need to go with you then.'
C: 小心啲啊 (siu2 sam1 di1 aa3).
  Careful PRT SFP.
  'Be careful.'
S: **Bom fim de semana**.
  'Have a nice weekend.'
L: **Uma comida de batatas.**
  'The food and the potatos.'
C: **Levar bolo. levar roupa.**
  'Rob the cake. Rob the clothes.'

　　In Extract 14, the conversation takes place near
the end of the wedding anniversary banquet of the
Macanese couple among three Macanese, D, S and C,
who are mutual friends. C is one of the three informants
in the present study. In line 1, D is leaving and saying
goodbye to S and C. He uses Cantonese to tell S and C
that there is no need to accompany him and he is leaving
by himself. In line 2, S responds in Cantonese, expressing
compliance to D's request that she and C are not leaving
with him. In line 3, C joins the conversation, bidding
goodbye to D in a Cantonese leave-taking token. In line
4, S switches from Cantonese to Portuguese to wish D
a good weekend. In line 5, L joins the conversation,
speaking in Portuguese about the food and potatoes. In
line 6, C continues speaking in Portuguese and makes
a joke about the above-mentioned potatoes and the
cakes. In line 4, 5, and 6, the conversation remains in
Portuguese. This is yet another example that provides
evidence for Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching itself
being an unmarked choice in the Macanese community.
Moreover, Extract 14 shows how effectively and efficiently
the Macanese can modulate between two identities, in
this case, the Chinese and Portuguese identities, by
switching between Cantonese and Portuguese. J and V

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use Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching to symbolise their Macanese identity and social relationship. The Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching itself in such instances occurs frequently at either the beginning or the closing phase of the interaction. In Extract 14, the switch from Cantonese to Portuguese in line 4 brings the verbal exchange to a close, marked by the constructive use of Cantonese.

To sum up, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, like Gumperz's, can be viewed as an alternative account within an Interactional Sociolinguistic approach to examine the relations between language and ethnic identity in multilingual contexts. Following Myers-Scotton's (1993) concept that 'code-switching itself can be seen as an unmarked choice', examples of this type of language alternation have been found in the present study. Therefore, I have hypothesised that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching can be regarded as an unmarked choice in the Macanese community and it symbolises the Macanese identity within which Portuguese and Chinese cultures are simultaneously salient.

CONCLUSION

Aiming to explore the patterns, identity-related social motivations and discourse functions of language alternation in the Macanese community in Macao and to raise awareness of the need to preserve the linguistic distinctiveness of this community, I have examined in this dissertation the negotiation of identity in multilingual contexts using an Interactional Sociolinguistic approach. This chapter concludes the dissertation by answering the research questions raised in the introductory chapter based on the findings from the data analysis.

In the first instance, a discussion on patterns of language alternation which are deemed relevant to the negotiation of identity in the Macanese community has been provided. This is followed by an analysis of identity-related social motivations and discourse functions of language alternation in the Macanese community as identified in the study. With the use of the Interactional Sociolinguistic approach, the study has laid an interactional foundation for the identity-related social motivations and discourse functions of language alternation in the Macanese community.

The first research question this study has attempted to address is what kinds of language alternation are interactionally relevant to the Macanese community. Accordingly, based on the data collected for the present study, five types of language alternation have been singled out, namely Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching; Cantonese-Portuguese code-mixing; Cantonese-English code-switching; Cantonese-English code-mixing; and Cantonese-Mandarin code-switching. Analysis of conversational data has revealed that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching is the type of language alternation which regularly occurs in the data and bears interactional significance in the Macanese community under investigation in this study.

The second research question has been set out to examine the identity-related social motivations of language alternation in the Macanese community in Macao. By adopting an Interactional Sociolinguistic approach, including Gumperz's notions of 'we-/they-codes' and Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, two social motivations with reference to identity have been identified. Firstly, based on the data of the present study, I have hypothesised that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching (rather than either of the two languages alone) serves as a 'we-code', and the code-switching is in itself an 'act of identity'. I have further demonstrated that the Gumperzian notion of 'we-/they-codes' is much more complicated than what is implied by the gross association of code choice with situational factors. Secondly, some instances of language alternation have been found to be in line with Myers-Scotton's (1993) argument that 'code-switching itself can be seen as an unmarked choice' (p. 162) in the Markedness Model. Thus, I have hypothesised that Cantonese-Portuguese code-switching can be regarded as an unmarked choice in the Macanese community, and it symbolises the Macanese identity within which Portuguese and Chinese cultures are simultaneously salient.

The third research question has been set out to examine the discourse functions of language alternation in the Macanese community in Macao. Using Gumperz's (1982) notion of 'situational/metaphorical' code-switching, I have found that language alternation between Cantonese and Portuguese carries the discourse functions of 'reported speech' and 'reiteration' (ibid.). **RC**

NOTES

1   The Mark Six Lottery is a 6 out of 40 lotto game conducted by Hong Kong Jockey Club Lotteries Limited, which is a subsidiary of Hong Kong Jockey Club. The Mark Six draw is held three times a week and is telecast live on TV. Results of the Mark Six Lottery are announced via television, radio broadcast, newspapers, the HKJC website www.hkjc.com and the Hotline 1835288.

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